

MEMORANDUM

RM-6069-RC

JULY 1969

TELECOMMUNICATIONS IN URBAN DEVELOPMENT

H. S. Dordick, L. G. Chesler, S. I. Firstman and R. Bretz

The **RAND** *Corporation*
SANTA MONICA • CALIFORNIA

MEMORANDUM

RM-6069-RC

JULY 1969

TELECOMMUNICATIONS IN
URBAN DEVELOPMENT

H. S. Dordick, L. G. Chesler, S. I. Firstman and R. Bretz

The **RAND** *Corporation*

1700 MAIN ST. • SANTA MONICA • CALIFORNIA • 90405

Copyright © 1969
THE RAND CORPORATION

This study is presented as a competent treatment of the subject, worthy of publication. The Rand Corporation vouches for the quality of the research, without necessarily endorsing the opinions and conclusions of the authors.

Published by The RAND Corporation

PREFACE

Early in 1968, President Johnson appointed a Task Force on Communications Policy. The Task Force was asked to examine the prospects and problems of future communications technology within the United States. It was recognized that the rapid development of the communication sciences, ranging from communication satellites to cable television, could bring about significant changes in society and its institutions. It was also recognized that there are serious economic and legal stumbling blocks to taking full advantage of the benefits that could be derived from improved and increased use of communications technology.

At the request of L. L. Johnson, the Director of Research for the Task Force, Rand undertook an exploratory study of the role of telecommunications in urban development.

That study, described in this Memorandum, was primarily concerned with ways in which modern communications technology can be used to improve life in the urban ghetto--by improving education, by increasing community awareness and participation among ghetto dwellers, and by making important public and social-service information available within the ghetto.

The research leading to this Memorandum was performed over a period of only four months. This is therefore clearly a preliminary study; much more research could and should be performed before any definitive conclusions are drawn.

This Memorandum can best be described as a nonquantitative benefits analysis: Technological and program feasibility are examined in detail and, wherever possible, relevant costs are provided. But the potential benefits cannot be quantified because too many factors are uncertain. A major conclusion of this study is, therefore, that a demonstration project should be undertaken that will resolve some of these uncertainties and validate some of the hypotheses presented here.

A summary of the findings of this study has been published in the report of the President's Task Force on Communications Policy. This Memorandum in its entirety will be issued as an Appendix to the Task Force Report to the President.

SUMMARY

It is clear that communication of community information is sorely lacking within the ghetto areas of U.S. cities, and communication between these areas and neighboring communities is equally inadequate. There is considerable evidence that the problem of communications is, to some degree, responsible for the isolation of ghetto residents and for their inability to enter into the economic mainstream of their cities. Even a cursory examination of the channels of communication for information concerning the availability of jobs, welfare and health services, educational and training opportunities, and current affairs in city government shows that these channels are inefficient and generally ineffectual. Even when information does get conveyed, those receiving it frequently do not feel that it is credible, and therefore it is of little value.

Electronic communications media, however--radio and television--are beginning to replace the print media as the major sources of news and information in this country, and television, in particular, is generally considered by minority groups to be fairly credible. The availability of improved telecommunications techniques is increasing rapidly; new technologies ranging from satellites to cable television systems offer the opportunity for providing specialized information services to those who need them. Available technology could be used to meet many of these demands, and with time a variety of electronic media should become economically available to all.

This Memorandum presents an exploratory study of how these new communications technologies might be made available to neighborhoods and cities to improve the lives of the minority or ghetto residents, and how these technologies could be effectively used to bridge the present communications gap.

A pilot survey was made in two cities (Los Angeles and New Orleans) to examine their channels of communication in some detail. Serious deficiencies were observed in the process of providing information about jobs, job training, health and welfare services, housing, political events, public services, and cultural activities. On the basis of this

survey, some specific suggestions are made for radio and television programming that could improve the transfer of important, credible information to those who need it and who have the greatest difficulty obtaining it.

The role of television in education--both formal and informal--is discussed, primarily as it might be used in three major areas: (1) the education of the preschool child, (2) elementary and secondary education, and (3) adult education. The discussion makes no attempt to enumerate all the possible benefits that could accrue to education from the use of television but rather is intended to indicate overall potential. Examples are given of possible benefits, and areas in which more intensive use of telecommunications might have great value are indicated. However, many questions remain to be answered as to the nature and use of the communications media; the types of programs that should be presented; the kinds of institutions that will be required to produce and broadcast these programs; sources of financial support; and most important, the degree of public acceptance and utilization that can be expected. These questions will best be answered from experience gained through ongoing programs. A major conclusion of this study, therefore, is that one or more low-cost pilot or demonstration projects should be implemented to assess the effectiveness of the suggested programs and to answer important questions about programming and costs. Hopefully, such pilot projects could also indicate possible methods of financing fully operational systems.

The pilot project suggested here would involve the installation of a four-channel wired system in South Central Los Angeles that would provide programs on job information, educational opportunities, city-hall news, and cultural events. Two rather different communities within the black ghetto of Los Angeles would be serviced by this system. If successful within this small but generally representative area, the coverage could be extended. If not deemed successful, the system could easily be removed.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors have a long and distinguished list of creditors to whom they are gratefully indebted for assistance provided in the preparation of this Memorandum. It is not possible to enumerate all the contributions individually; that would occupy much time and many pages. Therefore, appreciation is expressed to all those who participated in interviews and responded to questions in Los Angeles, New York, New Orleans, and San Francisco. The persons interviewed were unfailingly patient, even in times when patience might have been worn extremely thin.

Thanks are also expressed to Pamela Brier and Stanley Azen, of The Rand Corporation, whose diligent work made possible the efficient evaluation of the pilot-survey data; to N. E. Feldman, A. L. Hiebert, and E. E. Reinhart, also of Rand, who provided invaluable technical advice; to B. Bagdikian and J. M. Goldsen (Rand) and J. Lyle (University of California, Los Angeles) for their careful and critical review of the final manuscript; and to L. Wiggins (Behaviormetrics, Inc., New York City) and R. Lane (University of San Francisco), who provided much help in the formulation of the survey questionnaire.

Last but not at all least, the authors would like to thank their secretary, Bernice Jacobs, and their editors, Janet Murphy and Laurel Rottura, whose efforts contributed considerably to making this work presentable and readable.

CONTENTS

PREFACE	iii
SUMMARY	v
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	vii
LIST OF TABLES	xi
Section	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. COMMUNICATIONS WITHIN URBAN AREAS: PROBLEMS AND PRESENT TECHNIQUES	2
Job and Training Programs	7
Community Service Programs	11
Sources of Information in the Ghetto	12
Comparative Value of the Mass Media	15
The Television Job Center	20
III. THE POTENTIAL ROLE OF TELEVISION IN GHETTO EDUCATION	23
Television and the Preschool Ghetto Child	23
Television and Ghetto Schools	28
Television and Adult Education	30
IV. A SUGGESTED PILOT PROJECT FOR TELEVISED INSTRUCTION AND SERVICE PROGRAMS IN THE URBAN GHETTO	42
Introduction	42
Objectives of the Pilot-Project Research Program	42
Suggested Programming for the Pilot Project	45
Pilot Study Options: Feasibility and Cost of the Alternatives	54
V. CONCLUSIONS	61
Appendix	
A. THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION IN THE GHETTO: A PILOT SURVEY	63
B. THE COMMUNITY EDUCATION CENTER	106
C. PUBLIC SERVICE BROADCASTING ON EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION STATIONS FOR AND ABOUT THE GHETTO	121
D. COMMUNICATION SYSTEMS FOR USE IN AN URBAN GHETTO	145
REFERENCES	163
BIBLIOGRAPHY	169

LIST OF TABLES

1. Referral Sources for East Los Angeles YTEP	8
2. Referral Sources for South Central Los Angeles YTEP	9
3. Information Sources for the Transportation-Employment Project	12
4. Relative Credibility of News Sources	15
5. Negro Opinions of Two Los Angeles Metropolitan Daily Newspapers	17
6. Evaluation of Communications Media	20
7. A Proposed Schedule for Televised High-School-Equivalency Courses	40
8. Neighborhood Characteristics in South Central Los Angeles Area	47
9. Summary of Initial Costs of Alternative Systems	59
A-1. Comparison of Housing in Gert Town and New Orleans	68
A-2. Male Employment Distribution	69
A-3. Educational Achievement of Gert Town Residents	70
A-4. Male and Female Employment Distribution	75
A-5. Family Income Statistics	75
A-6. Condition of Housing According to 1960 and 1965 Census	79
A-7. Population Age Distribution	79
A-8. Avalon Employment Statistics	81
A-9. Los Angeles County Employment Statistics	81
A-10. Educational Achievement	82
A-11. Evaluation of Local White Politicians and Legislative Bodies (1965)	84
A-12. Evaluation of Los Angeles Negro Politicians	85
A-13. Evaluation of Local Service Agencies	85

A-14.	Evaluation of Federal Anti-Poverty Program	86
A-15.	Statistical Summary	87
A-16.	Interest in School Activities	90
A-17.	Sources of Information About Schools	91
A-18.	Sources for Information Regarding Schools	92
A-19.	Responses Concerning Jobs	93
A-20.	Expected and Actual Sources of Job and Training Information: Total Sample	94
A-21.	Actual Sources of Job and Training Information: By Educational Achievement and Social Group	96
A-22.	Utility or Credibility of Information Sources	97
A-23.	Information Sources Most Often Used	97
A-24.	Possible Interest in Housing	98
A-25.	Sources of Housing Information: Total Sample	99
A-26.	Actual Sources of Housing Information: By Educational Achievement and Social Group	101
A-27.	Services Used When Persons Are Ill	102
A-28.	Health Services Information Sources	102
A-29.	Sources of Community Activity Information	103
A-30.	Information Sources for Community Activities	105
B-1.	Example Schedule of High-School Courses	114
B-2.	Length of Time to Obtain High-School Diploma	115
C-1.	Analysis of Ghetto Programming Reported by 20 ETV Stations	124

I. INTRODUCTION

In recent years, it has become clear that significant numbers of citizens are effectively out of the mainstream of the economic life of this country. This dropout can be attributed to many causes. The result, however, is a great isolation from the rest of our society. This isolation is continuously aggravated by the breakdown of communications both with and within the groups involved. These segments of the nation live primarily in the core cities or ghettos, although these observed difficulties also are apparent to some degree in the rural areas of the nation.

In the ghettos deficiencies can be observed in the process of providing information on jobs, health service, job training, welfare services, housing, political events, and cultural experiences, along with deficiencies in the formal education offered by public schools.

The premise of the study reported in this Memorandum is that modern communications technology--radio, television, and computers--can be used to significantly improve life in the urban ghettos. It is further hypothesized that more imagination in the programming of radio and television and more efficient use of new technical developments can strengthen and expand the channels for both formal and informal education.

This study consists of three major sections: Section II is concerned with the transfer of information about social and public services within the ghetto, and with how improved communications (radio and television) can enhance this flow. Section III discusses the role of television in education and considers channel and time requirements commensurate with both formal and informal education objectives. These requirements are consolidated in Section IV, which describes a suggested pilot project that could use one of several potential systems for achieving the desired communications objectives. The alternative demonstration projects suggested are evaluated, as far as possible, from a cost-benefit standpoint, to indicate the nature and feasibility of the potential benefits that could be realized, to evaluate them, and to explore the institutional arrangements necessary for their achievement.

II. COMMUNICATIONS WITHIN URBAN AREAS:
PROBLEMS AND PRESENT TECHNIQUES

There is a good deal of evidence to suggest that the social agencies in U.S. cities have become "disengaged from the poor."⁽¹⁾ While the number of health, welfare, and education services available grows steadily, the ability of the agencies to provide these services to the poor and the jobless is decreasing. Social programs in urban areas were originally geared to serving the middle class; and in spite of the large post-World War II migration of the poor and the unemployed from the rural South to the large Northern cities, agency staffs are still primarily biased toward providing service for middle-class people. Staff personnel frequently have little understanding of the language and customs of the ethnic or racial groups they are supposed to be serving. It is therefore not surprising that there is often a severe lack of communication between social agencies and ghetto dwellers; not having an adequate understanding of the life style of the ghetto dweller, the agencies are unable to find the best ways to reach him with important information about services for which he is eligible. This lack of understanding has led to inefficiencies in and possible failures of many ghetto social-service programs.

Many factors influence the availability and usability of social services in a community. A major factor is the social philosophy that the greatest rewards should go to the most productive people, and that dependency can be attributed only to those who are less adequate. The solution suggested by this philosophy--that of eradicating dependency by eliminating the "inadequacies" of these people--completely disregards the mutual dependencies within our society that result from its extreme specialization.⁽²⁾

Another important factor is the desire for status and prestige among social workers that leads them to avoid overidentification with those they must serve in slum communities. Manners of speech and dress that are intended to maintain proper professional appearances frequently set up effective communication barriers between service workers and service recipients.⁽³⁾

Closely related to this problem is the concept of "social-work colonialism,"⁽⁴⁾ especially prevalent in voluntary agencies which may choose to operate in ways that, due to the agencies' ignorance of the clients' social milieu, are neither responsible nor professional.*

Another factor that reduces the value of social services is the discriminatory attitude found in even the most honest and sincere of teachers and social workers. The attempt to protect the Mexican-American child from future disappointment by routing him into the same types of jobs that society has offered his father, regardless of his own ability, is in reality a subtle form of discrimination. At the other extreme, many social workers have accepted the concept of "color blindness" and consequently denied the existence of differences arising out of membership in different racial groups. Subtle differences exist even within a racial group, and the social worker exhibits prejudice by not being sensitive to them. The client, because of this lack of understanding, places little or no credence in the information given him, and the social service suffers.

On the other side of the picture, the potential recipients often fail to avail themselves of services about which they are well informed. This may be partly due to the barrier the bureaucracy imposes between itself and the needy person whose life-style orientation does not train him for the role he must play. The tempo and reaction time of the agency do not correspond at all to those of the client.⁽⁵⁾ The imposing offices and forbidding personnel at the service centers frequently frighten away the service seeker who long ago has learned to distrust officialdom.

These are only a few of the numerous issues that affect the quality and quantity of social services offered in a ghetto community. In each case, however, the problem is, in some sense, one of communication. Moreover, there is a serious lack of direct communication among community agencies.⁽⁴⁾ Often, members of the same family are known and served by several agencies, but because there is little communication

* It is interesting to note how few Negroes are on the Boards of many traditional agencies primarily serving Negro areas.

among the agencies, the clients suffer. They frequently "get lost" between agencies, when agency personnel do not constantly keep in touch with them, to help them connect with the service. It is true that the "life style of the low-income client necessitates more agency reaching-out than would be necessary with middle-class clients."⁽⁶⁾ Only half of the agencies in Los Angeles reported that they have no problem with clients failing to keep appointments.⁽⁶⁾ The others have problems in spite of extensive attempts to connect clients and services (many agencies make home visits), standard attempts such as phone calls, and minimal efforts such as form letters.

Thus the presence of a social agency or agencies in a community is frequently not sufficient to insure the availability and usability of its services. Not only must an agency be located within a reasonable distance--usually walking distance--of its users, the users must recognize the agency as a resource worthy of being tapped. To a remarkable extent, the potential users are not aware of services, even those within walking distance of their homes. In South Central Los Angeles, for example (and this is by no means a unique case), "agencies are not engaged in a concerted effort to make their services known or to reach out with case-finding techniques to the population located within their service boundaries. It is upon word of mouth, referrals from other agencies, and the client's ingenuity that they rely. These are not methods that will bring people in need to their doors in large numbers."⁽⁶⁾

Nonwelfare information, such as new transportation schedules and information on community action and development programs (e.g., those required by the Model Cities program), are even more difficult to disseminate effectively. As an example, new transportation services provided by the South Central and East Los Angeles Transportation-Employment Project received extremely slow acceptance and little use, even though they were made extremely convenient for job seekers⁽⁷⁾ (see pp. 11 - 12).

Job information, likewise, is frustratingly difficult to disseminate. In one supposedly extensive and well-organized Concentrated Employment Program in Los Angeles, fewer than 50 of the 900 on-the-job

training slots were filled, after "several months of probing."⁽⁸⁾ Furthermore, the number of applicants initially attracted was pitifully small. This lack of interest cannot be attributed entirely to lack of knowledge, but after a careful examination of other possible problems (e.g., salary, education, police-record restrictions), there remains a very clear impression that connection to or communication with the hard-core unemployed is just not being made.

It is significant, therefore, that New York State reported a 25 percent increase in the welfare rolls since the introduction of Medicaid.⁽⁹⁾ This increase came about "largely because many persons were informed of their right to welfare payments while enrolling in the health program." This was the first instance of a requirement, under Federal law, to advertise a welfare program's benefits. The "advertising" campaign in New York included radio and television spot announcements, subway-car cards, and mobile public-address systems in vehicles that cruised the streets.

As social-service agencies become increasingly aware of the problems of getting information to ghetto residents, many are making conscientious efforts to communicate to and with prospective clients, through news releases to both community and citywide newspapers, radio and television spot ads, radio and television "job-athons," handbills, and telephone squads. We do not know how successful these efforts are, since no evaluation has yet been undertaken. But, as will be shown subsequently in the more detailed examination of several programs in New York and Los Angeles, there is very little evidence that the telecommunications media (and the print media) have been used as effectively as they might be.

Moreover, there is evidence that an approach that works in one area for one group of people will not be effective for the same group in another city--and is certainly unsuitable for other groups needing different services in either city. Television job-finding programs work well in some areas but not in others; ghetto residents have been known to listen to one local, ethnic radio station solely for news and information and to another solely for music, although the same news and information may be delivered by both.

In short, while the telecommunications media appear promising as means of disseminating social-service information, evaluation of their effectiveness requires a much better understanding of the information-gathering characteristics and habits of the ghetto dwellers. The cost of using these media is high and the funds available to social-welfare agencies, unfortunately, are not adequate for this important phase of their activity. Perhaps even more serious is the current lack of understanding of just what telecommunications technology has to offer in terms of flexibility and capacity.

With presently available cable systems that are capable of carrying as many as twenty television channels into every home, communications capacity need not be a serious problem. We do know that ghetto residents listen to a great deal of radio and watch a great deal of television. A survey in the Watts area of Los Angeles showed that 55 percent of the residents regularly listened to radio news, and 84 percent regularly watched television newscasts.⁽¹⁰⁾ Seventy percent of those surveyed considered television to be a more reliable news source than the daily newspaper, while only 12 percent thought the newspaper more trustworthy. Radio or television connection to an employment-service office or to a neighborhood information center thus could be highly effective. To some extent, connections already exist in the form of ethnic radio stations that serve the public through their "spot" job advertisements.

Agency-to-agency communication could also be greatly improved by increased utilization of communication technology. In 1966 the National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress recommended a computerized nationwide job-information exchange service with priority of installation given to the large urban centers.

Unfortunately, future promise of more efficient and more plentiful communications systems for urban and particular ghetto areas is not accompanied by prospects for reduced media costs. Radio time is expensive--even on the smallest ethnic stations a charge of \$20 to \$30 per minute is not uncommon. And this does not include the preparation of effective scripts and other program material. Television time costs run anywhere from \$200 per half-hour to well over \$5000 per half-hour,

MEMORANDUM

RM-6069-RC

JULY 1969

TELECOMMUNICATIONS IN
URBAN DEVELOPMENT

H. S. Dordick, L. G. Chesler, S. I. Firstman and R. Bretz

Copyright © 1969
THE RAND CORPORATION

This study is presented as a competent treatment of the subject, worthy of publication. The Rand Corporation vouches for the quality of the research, without necessarily endorsing the opinions and conclusions of the authors.

Published by The RAND Corporation

PREFACE

Early in 1968, President Johnson appointed a Task Force on Communications Policy. The Task Force was asked to examine the prospects and problems of future communications technology within the United States. It was recognized that the rapid development of the communication sciences, ranging from communication satellites to cable television, could bring about significant changes in society and its institutions. It was also recognized that there are serious economic and legal stumbling blocks to taking full advantage of the benefits that could be derived from improved and increased use of communications technology.

At the request of L. L. Johnson, the Director of Research for the Task Force, Rand undertook an exploratory study of the role of telecommunications in urban development.

That study, described in this Memorandum, was primarily concerned with ways in which modern communications technology can be used to improve life in the urban ghetto--by improving education, by increasing community awareness and participation among ghetto dwellers, and by making important public and social-service information available within the ghetto.

The research leading to this Memorandum was performed over a period of only four months. This is therefore clearly a preliminary study; much more research could and should be performed before any definitive conclusions are drawn.

This Memorandum can best be described as a nonquantitative benefits analysis: Technological and program feasibility are examined in detail and, wherever possible, relevant costs are provided. But the potential benefits cannot be quantified because too many factors are uncertain. A major conclusion of this study is, therefore, that a demonstration project should be undertaken that will resolve some of these uncertainties and validate some of the hypotheses presented here.

A summary of the findings of this study has been published in the report of the President's Task Force on Communications Policy. This Memorandum in its entirety will be issued as an Appendix to the Task Force Report to the President.

SUMMARY

It is clear that communication of community information is sorely lacking within the ghetto areas of U.S. cities, and communication between these areas and neighboring communities is equally inadequate. There is considerable evidence that the problem of communications is, to some degree, responsible for the isolation of ghetto residents and for their inability to enter into the economic mainstream of their cities. Even a cursory examination of the channels of communication for information concerning the availability of jobs, welfare and health services, educational and training opportunities, and current affairs in city government shows that these channels are inefficient and generally ineffectual. Even when information does get conveyed, those receiving it frequently do not feel that it is credible, and therefore it is of little value.

Electronic communications media, however--radio and television--are beginning to replace the print media as the major sources of news and information in this country, and television, in particular, is generally considered by minority groups to be fairly credible. The availability of improved telecommunications techniques is increasing rapidly; new technologies ranging from satellites to cable television systems offer the opportunity for providing specialized information services to those who need them. Available technology could be used to meet many of these demands, and with time a variety of electronic media should become economically available to all.

This Memorandum presents an exploratory study of how these new communications technologies might be made available to neighborhoods and cities to improve the lives of the minority or ghetto residents, and how these technologies could be effectively used to bridge the present communications gap.

A pilot survey was made in two cities (Los Angeles and New Orleans) to examine their channels of communication in some detail. Serious deficiencies were observed in the process of providing information about jobs, job training, health and welfare services, housing, political events, public services, and cultural activities. On the basis of this

survey, some specific suggestions are made for radio and television programming that could improve the transfer of important, credible information to those who need it and who have the greatest difficulty obtaining it.

The role of television in education--both formal and informal--is discussed, primarily as it might be used in three major areas: (1) the education of the preschool child, (2) elementary and secondary education, and (3) adult education. The discussion makes no attempt to enumerate all the possible benefits that could accrue to education from the use of television but rather is intended to indicate overall potential. Examples are given of possible benefits, and areas in which more intensive use of telecommunications might have great value are indicated. However, many questions remain to be answered as to the nature and use of the communications media; the types of programs that should be presented; the kinds of institutions that will be required to produce and broadcast these programs; sources of financial support; and most important, the degree of public acceptance and utilization that can be expected. These questions will best be answered from experience gained through ongoing programs. A major conclusion of this study, therefore, is that one or more low-cost pilot or demonstration projects should be implemented to assess the effectiveness of the suggested programs and to answer important questions about programming and costs. Hopefully, such pilot projects could also indicate possible methods of financing fully operational systems.

The pilot project suggested here would involve the installation of a four-channel wired system in South Central Los Angeles that would provide programs on job information, educational opportunities, city-hall news, and cultural events. Two rather different communities within the black ghetto of Los Angeles would be serviced by this system. If successful within this small but generally representative area, the coverage could be extended. If not deemed successful, the system could easily be removed.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors have a long and distinguished list of creditors to whom they are gratefully indebted for assistance provided in the preparation of this Memorandum. It is not possible to enumerate all the contributions individually; that would occupy much time and many pages. Therefore, appreciation is expressed to all those who participated in interviews and responded to questions in Los Angeles, New York, New Orleans, and San Francisco. The persons interviewed were unfailingly patient, even in times when patience might have been worn extremely thin.

Thanks are also expressed to Pamela Brier and Stanley Azen, of The Rand Corporation, whose diligent work made possible the efficient evaluation of the pilot-survey data; to N. E. Feldman, A. L. Hiebert, and E. E. Reinhart, also of Rand, who provided invaluable technical advice; to B. Bagdikian and J. M. Goldsen (Rand) and J. Lyle (University of California, Los Angeles) for their careful and critical review of the final manuscript; and to L. Wiggins (Behaviormetrics, Inc., New York City) and R. Lane (University of San Francisco), who provided much help in the formulation of the survey questionnaire.

Last but not at all least, the authors would like to thank their secretary, Bernice Jacobs, and their editors, Janet Murphy and Laurel Rottura, whose efforts contributed considerably to making this work presentable and readable.

CONTENTS

PREFACE	iii
SUMMARY	v
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	vii
LIST OF TABLES	xi
Section	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. COMMUNICATIONS WITHIN URBAN AREAS: PROBLEMS AND PRESENT TECHNIQUES	2
Job and Training Programs	7
Community Service Programs	11
Sources of Information in the Ghetto	12
Comparative Value of the Mass Media	15
The Television Job Center	20
III. THE POTENTIAL ROLE OF TELEVISION IN GHETTO EDUCATION	23
Television and the Preschool Ghetto Child	23
Television and Ghetto Schools	28
Television and Adult Education	30
IV. A SUGGESTED PILOT PROJECT FOR TELEVISED INSTRUCTION AND SERVICE PROGRAMS IN THE URBAN GHETTO	42
Introduction	42
Objectives of the Pilot-Project Research Program	42
Suggested Programming for the Pilot Project	45
Pilot Study Options: Feasibility and Cost of the Alternatives	54
V. CONCLUSIONS	61
Appendix	
A. THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION IN THE GHETTO: A PILOT SURVEY	63
B. THE COMMUNITY EDUCATION CENTER	106
C. PUBLIC SERVICE BROADCASTING ON EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION STATIONS FOR AND ABOUT THE GHETTO	121
D. COMMUNICATION SYSTEMS FOR USE IN AN URBAN GHETTO	145
REFERENCES	163
BIBLIOGRAPHY	169

LIST OF TABLES

1. Referral Sources for East Los Angeles YTEP	8
2. Referral Sources for South Central Los Angeles YTEP	9
3. Information Sources for the Transportation-Employment Project	12
4. Relative Credibility of News Sources	15
5. Negro Opinions of Two Los Angeles Metropolitan Daily Newspapers	17
6. Evaluation of Communications Media	20
7. A Proposed Schedule for Televised High-School-Equivalency Courses	40
8. Neighborhood Characteristics in South Central Los Angeles Area	47
9. Summary of Initial Costs of Alternative Systems	59
A-1. Comparison of Housing in Gert Town and New Orleans	68
A-2. Male Employment Distribution	69
A-3. Educational Achievement of Gert Town Residents	70
A-4. Male and Female Employment Distribution	75
A-5. Family Income Statistics	75
A-6. Condition of Housing According to 1960 and 1965 Census	79
A-7. Population Age Distribution	79
A-8. Avalon Employment Statistics	81
A-9. Los Angeles County Employment Statistics	81
A-10. Educational Achievement	82
A-11. Evaluation of Local White Politicians and Legislative Bodies (1965)	84
A-12. Evaluation of Los Angeles Negro Politicians	85
A-13. Evaluation of Local Service Agencies	85

A-14.	Evaluation of Federal Anti-Poverty Program	86
A-15.	Statistical Summary	87
A-16.	Interest in School Activities	90
A-17.	Sources of Information About Schools	91
A-18.	Sources for Information Regarding Schools	92
A-19.	Responses Concerning Jobs	93
A-20.	Expected and Actual Sources of Job and Training Information: Total Sample	94
A-21.	Actual Sources of Job and Training Information: By Educational Achievement and Social Group	96
A-22.	Utility or Credibility of Information Sources	97
A-23.	Information Sources Most Often Used	97
A-24.	Possible Interest in Housing	98
A-25.	Sources of Housing Information: Total Sample	99
A-26.	Actual Sources of Housing Information: By Educational Achievement and Social Group	101
A-27.	Services Used When Persons Are Ill	102
A-28.	Health Services Information Sources	102
A-29.	Sources of Community Activity Information	103
A-30.	Information Sources for Community Activities	105
B-1.	Example Schedule of High-School Courses	114
B-2.	Length of Time to Obtain High-School Diploma	115
C-1.	Analysis of Ghetto Programming Reported by 20 ETV Stations	124

I. INTRODUCTION

In recent years, it has become clear that significant numbers of citizens are effectively out of the mainstream of the economic life of this country. This dropout can be attributed to many causes. The result, however, is a great isolation from the rest of our society. This isolation is continuously aggravated by the breakdown of communications both with and within the groups involved. These segments of the nation live primarily in the core cities or ghettos, although these observed difficulties also are apparent to some degree in the rural areas of the nation.

In the ghettos deficiencies can be observed in the process of providing information on jobs, health service, job training, welfare services, housing, political events, and cultural experiences, along with deficiencies in the formal education offered by public schools.

The premise of the study reported in this Memorandum is that modern communications technology--radio, television, and computers--can be used to significantly improve life in the urban ghettos. It is further hypothesized that more imagination in the programming of radio and television and more efficient use of new technical developments can strengthen and expand the channels for both formal and informal education.

This study consists of three major sections: Section II is concerned with the transfer of information about social and public services within the ghetto, and with how improved communications (radio and television) can enhance this flow. Section III discusses the role of television in education and considers channel and time requirements commensurate with both formal and informal education objectives. These requirements are consolidated in Section IV, which describes a suggested pilot project that could use one of several potential systems for achieving the desired communications objectives. The alternative demonstration projects suggested are evaluated, as far as possible, from a cost-benefit standpoint, to indicate the nature and feasibility of the potential benefits that could be realized, to evaluate them, and to explore the institutional arrangements necessary for their achievement.

II. COMMUNICATIONS WITHIN URBAN AREAS:
PROBLEMS AND PRESENT TECHNIQUES

There is a good deal of evidence to suggest that the social agencies in U.S. cities have become "disengaged from the poor."⁽¹⁾ While the number of health, welfare, and education services available grows steadily, the ability of the agencies to provide these services to the poor and the jobless is decreasing. Social programs in urban areas were originally geared to serving the middle class; and in spite of the large post-World War II migration of the poor and the unemployed from the rural South to the large Northern cities, agency staffs are still primarily biased toward providing service for middle-class people. Staff personnel frequently have little understanding of the language and customs of the ethnic or racial groups they are supposed to be serving. It is therefore not surprising that there is often a severe lack of communication between social agencies and ghetto dwellers; not having an adequate understanding of the life style of the ghetto dweller, the agencies are unable to find the best ways to reach him with important information about services for which he is eligible. This lack of understanding has led to inefficiencies in and possible failures of many ghetto social-service programs.

Many factors influence the availability and usability of social services in a community. A major factor is the social philosophy that the greatest rewards should go to the most productive people, and that dependency can be attributed only to those who are less adequate. The solution suggested by this philosophy--that of eradicating dependency by eliminating the "inadequacies" of these people--completely disregards the mutual dependencies within our society that result from its extreme specialization.⁽²⁾

Another important factor is the desire for status and prestige among social workers that leads them to avoid overidentification with those they must serve in slum communities. Manners of speech and dress that are intended to maintain proper professional appearances frequently set up effective communication barriers between service workers and service recipients.⁽³⁾

Closely related to this problem is the concept of "social-work colonialism,"⁽⁴⁾ especially prevalent in voluntary agencies which may choose to operate in ways that, due to the agencies' ignorance of the clients' social milieu, are neither responsible nor professional.*

Another factor that reduces the value of social services is the discriminatory attitude found in even the most honest and sincere of teachers and social workers. The attempt to protect the Mexican-American child from future disappointment by routing him into the same types of jobs that society has offered his father, regardless of his own ability, is in reality a subtle form of discrimination. At the other extreme, many social workers have accepted the concept of "color blindness" and consequently denied the existence of differences arising out of membership in different racial groups. Subtle differences exist even within a racial group, and the social worker exhibits prejudice by not being sensitive to them. The client, because of this lack of understanding, places little or no credence in the information given him, and the social service suffers.

On the other side of the picture, the potential recipients often fail to avail themselves of services about which they are well informed. This may be partly due to the barrier the bureaucracy imposes between itself and the needy person whose life-style orientation does not train him for the role he must play. The tempo and reaction time of the agency do not correspond at all to those of the client.⁽⁵⁾ The imposing offices and forbidding personnel at the service centers frequently frighten away the service seeker who long ago has learned to distrust officialdom.

These are only a few of the numerous issues that affect the quality and quantity of social services offered in a ghetto community. In each case, however, the problem is, in some sense, one of communication. Moreover, there is a serious lack of direct communication among community agencies.⁽⁴⁾ Often, members of the same family are known and served by several agencies, but because there is little communication

* It is interesting to note how few Negroes are on the Boards of many traditional agencies primarily serving Negro areas.

among the agencies, the clients suffer. They frequently "get lost" between agencies, when agency personnel do not constantly keep in touch with them, to help them connect with the service. It is true that the "life style of the low-income client necessitates more agency reaching-out than would be necessary with middle-class clients."⁽⁶⁾ Only half of the agencies in Los Angeles reported that they have no problem with clients failing to keep appointments.⁽⁶⁾ The others have problems in spite of extensive attempts to connect clients and services (many agencies make home visits), standard attempts such as phone calls, and minimal efforts such as form letters.

Thus the presence of a social agency or agencies in a community is frequently not sufficient to insure the availability and usability of its services. Not only must an agency be located within a reasonable distance--usually walking distance--of its users, the users must recognize the agency as a resource worthy of being tapped. To a remarkable extent, the potential users are not aware of services, even those within walking distance of their homes. In South Central Los Angeles, for example (and this is by no means a unique case), "agencies are not engaged in a concerted effort to make their services known or to reach out with case-finding techniques to the population located within their service boundaries. It is upon word of mouth, referrals from other agencies, and the client's ingenuity that they rely. These are not methods that will bring people in need to their doors in large numbers."⁽⁶⁾

Nonwelfare information, such as new transportation schedules and information on community action and development programs (e.g., those required by the Model Cities program), are even more difficult to disseminate effectively. As an example, new transportation services provided by the South Central and East Los Angeles Transportation-Employment Project received extremely slow acceptance and little use, even though they were made extremely convenient for job seekers⁽⁷⁾ (see pp. 11 - 12).

Job information, likewise, is frustratingly difficult to disseminate. In one supposedly extensive and well-organized Concentrated Employment Program in Los Angeles, fewer than 50 of the 900 on-the-job

training slots were filled, after "several months of probing."⁽⁸⁾ Furthermore, the number of applicants initially attracted was pitifully small. This lack of interest cannot be attributed entirely to lack of knowledge, but after a careful examination of other possible problems (e.g., salary, education, police-record restrictions), there remains a very clear impression that connection to or communication with the hard-core unemployed is just not being made.

It is significant, therefore, that New York State reported a 25 percent increase in the welfare rolls since the introduction of Medicaid.⁽⁹⁾ This increase came about "largely because many persons were informed of their right to welfare payments while enrolling in the health program." This was the first instance of a requirement, under Federal law, to advertise a welfare program's benefits. The "advertising" campaign in New York included radio and television spot announcements, subway-car cards, and mobile public-address systems in vehicles that cruised the streets.

As social-service agencies become increasingly aware of the problems of getting information to ghetto residents, many are making conscientious efforts to communicate to and with prospective clients, through news releases to both community and citywide newspapers, radio and television spot ads, radio and television "job-athons," handbills, and telephone squads. We do not know how successful these efforts are, since no evaluation has yet been undertaken. But, as will be shown subsequently in the more detailed examination of several programs in New York and Los Angeles, there is very little evidence that the telecommunications media (and the print media) have been used as effectively as they might be.

Moreover, there is evidence that an approach that works in one area for one group of people will not be effective for the same group in another city--and is certainly unsuitable for other groups needing different services in either city. Television job-finding programs work well in some areas but not in others; ghetto residents have been known to listen to one local, ethnic radio station solely for news and information and to another solely for music, although the same news and information may be delivered by both.

In short, while the telecommunications media appear promising as means of disseminating social-service information, evaluation of their effectiveness requires a much better understanding of the information-gathering characteristics and habits of the ghetto dwellers. The cost of using these media is high and the funds available to social-welfare agencies, unfortunately, are not adequate for this important phase of their activity. Perhaps even more serious is the current lack of understanding of just what telecommunications technology has to offer in terms of flexibility and capacity.

With presently available cable systems that are capable of carrying as many as twenty television channels into every home, communications capacity need not be a serious problem. We do know that ghetto residents listen to a great deal of radio and watch a great deal of television. A survey in the Watts area of Los Angeles showed that 55 percent of the residents regularly listened to radio news, and 84 percent regularly watched television newscasts.⁽¹⁰⁾ Seventy percent of those surveyed considered television to be a more reliable news source than the daily newspaper, while only 12 percent thought the newspaper more trustworthy. Radio or television connection to an employment-service office or to a neighborhood information center thus could be highly effective. To some extent, connections already exist in the form of ethnic radio stations that serve the public through their "spot" job advertisements.

Agency-to-agency communication could also be greatly improved by increased utilization of communication technology. In 1966 the National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress recommended a computerized nationwide job-information exchange service with priority of installation given to the large urban centers.

Unfortunately, future promise of more efficient and more plentiful communications systems for urban and particular ghetto areas is not accompanied by prospects for reduced media costs. Radio time is expensive--even on the smallest ethnic stations a charge of \$20 to \$30 per minute is not uncommon. And this does not include the preparation of effective scripts and other program material. Television time costs run anywhere from \$200 per half-hour to well over \$5000 per half-hour,

depending upon the type of station (UHF, VHF, educational, or commercial) and its location. And effective television program material is extremely expensive; high-quality advertisements can cost as much as \$25,000 per minute.

Although service agencies are very conscious of their problems of communicating with the clients, their budgets rarely allow for any formal kind of advertising. Moreover, there is widespread feeling that the welfare agencies should not have to seek out their clients. As a result, most agencies take a perfunctory view of their "advertising" role. Those that do have job-finding or job-training programs have occasionally tried to determine how their recipients found out about the service. The usual method of investigation has been the questionnaire which asks, for example, "How did you hear about this service?" The results of some of these surveys are described in detail below.

JOB AND TRAINING PROGRAMS

The Youth Training and Employment Program, YTEP, now operating in East and South Central Los Angeles^{*} provides training, employment, and/or counseling for youths between 16 and 21 years of age who have not attended school full time for at least 6 months, who are unemployed, and who are residents of the area. A youth may join the program through referral by another agency or through his own initiative.

East Los Angeles YTEP

Referral sources used by youths in the East Los Angeles YTEP for two calendar periods are shown in Table 1.

The questionnaire from which these data were obtained was poorly worded, and therefore these results may be inaccurate. Nevertheless, they indicate at least two important communication problems. First, the low rate of referrals from other welfare agencies^{**} (23 percent in

^{*} East Los Angeles is a primarily Mexican-American community with a population of about 200,000; South Central Los Angeles is a predominantly Negro community with a population of about 400,000.

^{**} Including probation officers, parole officers, the Bureau of Public Assistance, and the "other" referrals.

Table 1
REFERRAL SOURCES FOR EAST LOS ANGELES YTEP⁽¹¹⁾
(percent of referrals)

Referral Source	Nov. 1964 through Oct. 1965 ^a	Jan. 1967 through Dec. 1967 ^b
State Employment Service	1	9
Schools	2	5
Probation officers	5	5
Parole officers	8	3
Bureau of Public Assistance	5	1
Project Youth ^c	14	..
Relatives	33	11
Other persons	28	36
Mass media	2	16
Other	2	14

^a906 referrals.

^b1628 referrals.

^cA locally sponsored, semi-private program which ran for about one year.

the earlier period, 37 percent in the later) reflects a lack of inter-agency communication; second, the even lower rate of mass-media referrals bespeaks a failure to use these media effectively, if at all. No formal advertising was employed, although there was occasional mention of the program in the local Spanish-English newspaper, La Raza, and infrequent publicity was offered as a public service on the two local Spanish radio stations. The rise in mass-media referrals in the 1967 survey is, unfortunately, not as significant as it may appear. Early in 1967, the YTEP office moved into a building that was more easily seen by the people in East Los Angeles. Clients therefore dropped in out of curiosity, having seen the YTEP sign and other activity. The interviewer did not discriminate carefully in his questions and included these clients under both "mass-media" and "other-persons" referrals.

There was, however, a considerable increase in publicity on the radio stations and in La Raza, sponsored by local businessmen and community leaders. A careful review of the data indicates that mass-media

referrals increased to 8 percent in 1967; thus even this small amount of advertising resulted in a fourfold increase in referrals. We do not have data that distinguish between radio, television, and newspaper referrals, nor do we know whether this increased rate has since been maintained.

South Central Los Angeles YTEP

Approximately 140 interviews of youths who were involved in the South Central Los Angeles YTEP during 1967 revealed the referral-source percentages shown in Table 2.

Again, the percentage of referrals from non-YTEP welfare agencies was low--22 percent. No referrals from mass media (radio, television, or newspapers) were reported. There was no organized advertising campaign in South Central Los Angeles, and the radio spots donated by the stations were few and very irregularly spaced.

Table 2

REFERRAL SOURCES FOR SOUTH CENTRAL LOS ANGELES YTEP

Referral Source	Percent of Referrals
State Employment Service	2
School	11
Other agencies	9
Self	21
Relatives	9
Friends	42
Other persons	6
Mass media	..

New York City HARYOU-Act Program

As stated earlier, information must be presented to the potential recipient in a way that will make it appear useful and of some value to him. If the information is incorrect or misunderstood, the damage done may be worse than if he had received no information at all. Consider, for example, the HARYOU-Act Program in New York City.⁽¹²⁾

A survey of 201 Negro youths who had applied for jobs and/or training at either the JOIN or HARYOU-Act job centers but had not been placed at the end of three months indicated that the clients viewed the centers almost exclusively as placement centers for well-paying jobs, rather than as training centers. Indeed, training, remedial services, and information were of minor importance to them; they viewed application at the center as registering for a job.

When the centers failed to call them (62 percent reported no contact after the initial application), the clients assumed that no jobs were available; most assumed that they would be called when a job did become available. Fifty-seven percent of the respondents were not aware of any other service provided by the centers, although to some extent the center did provide information about the Youth Corps, the Job Corps, the Police Academy Training Program, etc. When asked if the centers had mentioned these programs, the interviewees responded as follows:

	<u>Percent Who Had Been Informed</u>
Neighborhood Job Corps	25
Job Corps	62
Other programs	22

Within the "Other-programs" category, the Police Academy Training Program was cited most frequently.

These results emphasize the need for service agencies to provide accurate and meaningful information during the first contact with the client. There is considerable evidence that information is not being effectively used in job and training programs. "To the extent that... interviewers have been able to observe the placement process, it operates on the shape-up system. Those around get the available jobs, since quick response to job opportunities seems to be required."⁽¹²⁾ Little advantage is taken of techniques for communicating job requirements to all available, qualified candidates. As a result, the hustler gets the job, whether he is qualified or not; hence there is a great deal of placement failure, which serves mainly to discredit the programs.

COMMUNITY SERVICE PROGRAMS

Los Angeles Transportation-Employment Project

Early in 1967 the State of California undertook a two-year project^{*} to evaluate the relationship between public transportation and job opportunities for low-income groups in East and South Central Los Angeles, an area of about 46 square miles. The income levels in this area are extremely low, unemployment rates are high, and relatively few persons can afford to own automobiles. Preliminary data obtained in this area indicate that the unemployment is due in large measure to restricted mobility. Within the group interviewed, 30 to 40 percent are unemployed; only about 25 percent have full-time jobs. Sixty-four percent of the interviewees do not have usable automobiles, and fewer than 30 percent have automobiles covered by insurance.⁽¹³⁾ The relationship between unemployment and lack of transportation is described as follows in Ref. 13:

Men without automobiles give up looking for jobs because of the high costs and difficulties in trying to travel by public transportation to interviews in the scattered job locations. It does not take a person too long to become discouraged when he is able to make only one or two futile interviews a day at a cost of two or three dollars for bus fare. His money is soon gone and so is his motivation.

The Transportation-Employment Project established several demonstration bus lines providing very low-cost service to areas in which job opportunities existed. Advertising of the project was minimal, consisting primarily of handbills and an occasional story in the newspapers; toward the end of the project, some radio and television spot commercials were used, as well. How did people hear about the demonstration bus lines? A survey of 2000 people in the area revealed the information sources shown in Table 3.

^{*}Financed by a \$2.7 million grant from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Table 3

INFORMATION SOURCES FOR THE TRANSPORTATION-
EMPLOYMENT PROJECT

Information Source	Percent of Users
Employer	4
State Employment Service	6
Friends, relatives	66
Mass media	2
Bus-line personnel	3
Other agencies	4
Seeing the bus	15

Welfare Programs

The only welfare program for which specific funds have been provided for mass-media advertising is the previously mentioned New York State Medicaid program. And even in this case, the director stated that he did not believe the welfare programs should be advertised.

The HARYOU-Act Program in New York's Harlem was advertised through an extensive door-to-door campaign, along with the distribution of illustrated books and leaflets. The books soon disappeared, and the information in them certainly was not used, judging by the poor response to the program.*

SOURCES OF INFORMATION IN THE GHETTO

To ascertain the sources of information that are actually used and relied upon in ghetto areas, a Rand team conducted a brief pilot survey among the residents of some predominantly Negro neighborhoods in Los Angeles and New Orleans. (The details of this survey are given in Appendix A.)

A total of 253 Negroes were interviewed; these interviewees represented three specific groups:

- o Young adults 18 to 25 years of age

* Personal communication from K. Marshall, Metropolitan Applied Research Corporation, New York, April 1968.

- o Housewives and mothers over 25, not employed and generally at home
- o Working adults over 25, ordinarily employed away from home

The control groups were drawn from white or integrated communities contiguous to the ghettos. In each case, the control-group community was as close as possible (geographically) to the survey community and shared as many physical, social, and economic traits as possible. The results of the survey are summarized below.

School Information

The primary source of school information among the Negro respondents was reported to be school children, either their own or those of friends and relatives. The Parent-Teachers Association in New Orleans provides a good deal of school information, especially to the better educated and working adults, but in both New Orleans and Los Angeles, the credibility of the PTA was questioned. This was especially true in the strongly militant areas of Los Angeles.

The patterns were similar in the control groups, except that about 25 percent of the respondents said that they relied on mass media for information about their schools.

Job and Training Information

As might be expected, the Negroes have had more experience searching for jobs and training than have the control-group people. The New Orleans Negroes and all the control groups showed a strong expectation that agencies would find them jobs, and they expressed little reliance on word of mouth. In reality, however, the large majority of jobs and training situations are obtained through friends and relatives. The Los Angeles Negroes relied primarily on friends and relatives for job information and often continued to do so even after getting a job through an agency.

Negro newspapers were almost never used as sources of job information, and few Negroes mentioned using the radio for job news, although many were aware of the 30-second advertising spots on Negro radio.

Attitudes toward the availability of jobs and training varied: Central City (New Orleans) residents generally felt that media and agencies exist that could help place them, while Los Angeles Negroes felt that their chances of finding job assistance were only 50-50. Those in New Orleans were completely down on jobs advertised on Negro radio stations--low-paying, hard-labor, "nigger jobs," they felt--but this feeling did not exist in Los Angeles.

Housing Information

Between 24 and 30 percent of all those interviewed (including the control groups) reported having moved recently or being about to move. Very little information on available housing appeared to come from friends or relatives. Negroes in somewhat higher social and economic categories (i.e., those in Los Angeles and Central City) made some use of real-estate agencies, and in Los Angeles the Negro newspapers (especially the Sentinel) were considered credible and useful sources of housing information. Major metropolitan newspapers were rarely used in any cases.

Health-Services Information

Information about the location and value of health services was generally passed along by word of mouth. In all groups, there was an appalling lack of such information, and apparently no attempts had been made to use other media for informing those who need to know.

Community-Activities Information

Community activities (jazz concerts, dances) are rarely advertised through mass media in the ghettos. Social activities (jazz concerts, dances) are advertised by posters and handbills, and information about transportation, zoning changes, etc., is usually passed along by word of mouth. While the control-group whites used the metropolitan newspapers, the Negroes did not. Radio was frequently mentioned as a hoped-for source, but it was never considered successful.

COMPARATIVE VALUE OF THE MASS MEDIA

Nationwide News-Media Preferences

A national survey of the American public's news interests and sources reported that "People do not make choices of one medium over another as a source of news. Four out of five read the newspapers on the average weekday, but three out of five watch news on television and over half listen to news on the radio, so obviously there is tremendous overlap."⁽¹⁴⁾ And, of course, different people are interested in different kinds of news--major international stories, national stories, disaster reports, local news, personal items, etc. For the "average" item, newspapers were named as the best source by 37 percent, television by 26 percent, radio by 14 percent, and magazines by 7 percent.⁽¹⁴⁾ It appears that where explanations are required, newspapers are preferred, while television attracts more audience for items where a vivid pictorial description is all that is required. Radio is widely used for local neighborhood news and most citywide news that requires a minimum of elaboration.

A series of national studies ranging from 1959 to 1964 reported that while newspapers dominated television as a news source in 1959, television had become preeminent by 1964.⁽¹⁵⁾

A very important related issue is the degree of credibility of the various news media. The survey reported in Ref. 15 included the question, "If you got conflicting or different reports of the same news story from radio, television, the magazines, and the newspapers, which of the four versions would you be most inclined to believe?" The responses are summarized in Table 4.

Table 4
RELATIVE CREDIBILITY OF NEWS SOURCES⁽¹⁵⁾

News Source	Preference (percent)	
	1959	1964
Newspaper	32	23
Television	29	41
Radio	12	8
Magazine	8	8

News-Media Preferences in the Ghetto

There is considerable evidence that information-transfer characteristics in ghettos differ from those of the general urban population. A wide variety of news sources other than the established media are relied upon in the ghettos. The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders Report⁽¹⁶⁾ stated that one study found that 79 percent of a total of 567 ghetto residents interviewed in seven cities first heard about the outbreak of rioting in their own city by word of mouth. The Report also states that among the established media, television and radio are far more popular in the ghetto than the newspapers, although radio is not considered a credible source of news there. A very large number of Negro children and teenagers (like their white counterparts) listen to the radio only for music, as a background accompaniment for other activities. However, radio is a sort of "open line" that could exert considerable influence (both good and bad) on listeners.

Television. Television appears to be the major formal news source in the ghettos. One report quoted by the Commission found that 75 percent of the sample interviewed turn to television for national and international news, and 86 percent of these watch the news regularly between 5:00 and 7:00 p.m. The significance of this is highlighted by Census Bureau estimates that in June 1967, 87.7 percent of nonwhite households in the United States had television sets.

Newspapers. To evaluate the effectiveness of the newspapers as sources of information in the ghetto, we have examined the press coverage and attitudes toward it in a representative ghetto area, South Central Los Angeles.

The metropolitan newspapers of Los Angeles have provided generally good coverage of civil-rights and race news, at least when the news originated in other parts of the country.⁽¹⁷⁾ On the other hand, prior to the Watts riots of 1965, these newspapers had given little attention to the segregated areas of the city. They did not treat the issue of de facto segregation in the schools in a way that would win favor among the Negro population, and their position on open housing did nothing to increase their popularity. Thus, to the Negro, the metropolitan newspapers present a white world.

The significant Negro distrust of the metropolitan press is indicated in the results of a survey summarized in Table 5.

Table 5
NEGRO OPINIONS OF TWO LOS ANGELES METROPOLITAN
DAILY NEWSPAPERS(10)

Survey Question	Opinion (percent)		
	Yes	No	Don't Know
Do you think a Negro church or organization has an equal chance of getting a story published as does a white church?	25	40	28
Do you think a Negro candidate for public office against a white candidate has an equal chance of getting a story published as does his white opponent? ^a	32	45 ⁺	19
Do you think the (name of newspaper) prints both sides of issues that involve Negroes and whites? ^b	13	11	..

^aResponses to this question would undoubtedly have been different if the survey had been taken in 1969, following the defeat of Thomas Bradley, a Negro, in the Los Angeles mayoral election.

^b31 percent answered, "Yes, most of the time," and 43 percent answered, "Sometimes not."

In 1967 there were three weekly Negro newspapers in Central Los Angeles, the Eagle, the Herald Dispatch, and the Sentinel. The Eagle concentrated on coverage of civil-rights activities; it had the reputation of being the quasi-official voice of the local Negro organizational establishment and generally supported Democratic candidates. The Eagle has since ceased publication.

The Herald Dispatch is something of a maverick, having flirted with the Black Muslim movement before 1964 and then becoming very anti-Muslim after the Muslims allegedly bombed their offices. Now it strongly attacks the Negro "establishment" (including the NAACP and the Urban League) and frequently lashes out against both major political parties, although it generally endorses Republican candidates.

The Sentinel is the dominant newspaper in circulation and in size. It is a professional newspaper, strong on civil-rights issues but moderate in tone. Its content concerns primarily the Negro middle class, but it also is an excellent source of news of Negro activities in South Central Los Angeles, and it is recognized as the central clearinghouse for local Negro real estate. In 1963, 70 percent of the people interviewed in the area reported that they read the Sentinel, compared to 10 percent reading the Eagle and 6 percent reading the Herald Dispatch.

There are several other newspapers in the South Central area: Muhammad Speaks and Harambee, the underground-press voice of the black militants; the South End Bee and the South Side Journal, primarily shopping guides, but also neighborhood-news organs. To date, little is known about the effectiveness of these smaller newspapers.

As stated earlier, there is a high rate of radio listening and television viewing in the ghetto. When asked in a survey to choose between television and newspapers on the criterion of reliability, 70 percent chose television and only 12 percent chose the newspaper. The credibility of the Los Angeles Negro radio stations also ranks high,^{*} which is unusual in light of the findings of the Civil Disorders Commission Report.

Radio. When television replaced radio as the primary entertainment for the masses, radio turned to specialized programming to recapture part of its audience. This specialization (e.g., two-way talk shows, classical music, rock and roll, country music, soul music) often amounts to focusing on a single ethnic group and, hence, upon a ghetto neighborhood. For example, station KGFJ in Los Angeles, which is white-owned and white-managed, is programmed exclusively for the Negro audience.^{**} Although it is primarily a soul-music station, it runs twelve to eighteen 30-second public-service spots per day, usually devoted to carefully selected job advertisements. The job listings are submitted by the California State Employment Service, and KGFJ selects those they

^{*} It is of interest to note that one of these stations, KGFJ, is neither Negro-owned nor Negro-managed. Nearly all of the disc jockeys are Negro, but not all of them are.

^{**} Until recently, it was the only station (out of over 50 AM/FM stations) in Los Angeles programming exclusively for Negroes.

believe to be most suitable and most relevant to their audience. Thus, they eliminate the computer-programmer and legal-stenographer listings, for example, since they feel that these people will be likely to have other sources for job information.

Station KGFJ also broadcasts a Negro culture program five times a day. This program, called "This Is Progress," presents Negro success stories drawn from history.

Obtaining qualified Negro broadcasters has been a serious problem for the station, according to its general manager,^{*} who believes that it is important to attract Negro youths into the profession. To this end, a philanthropic organization known as the Negro Economic Union has agreed to share with the station the cost of training young Negro announcers.

Surveys performed regularly by KGFJ provide station personnel with valuable feedback information on how well they are satisfying their intended audience. Their June 1967 survey revealed that 69 percent of those interviewed listened mostly to KGFJ; 32 percent of the homes had two radios, and 39 percent had three; and the weekday listening time averaged 6 hours and 20 minutes.

It is clear that the soul stations can be a most effective mechanism for conveying information to the Negro ghetto. The present system of depending entirely on public-service broadcast time to make important announcements is inadequate. It is necessary for the public-service agencies to begin an active and professional advertising campaign. It should be possible, for example, for the interested listener to call the station for information about an advertised job. The listeners apparently have confidence in the stations, as indicated by a survey performed as part of the Los Angeles Riot Study.⁽¹⁸⁾ (These results are shown in Table 6.) Thus there is a high likelihood that they would call the station, whereas they might be reluctant to call an employer by whom they might fear being intimidated. The radio stations could, in effect, become extensions of the State Employment Services. This concept has, in fact, been tried, with some success, as described below.

^{*}Personal communication from A. Schorr, Radio Station KGFJ, Los Angeles, April 1968.

Table 6
EVALUATION OF COMMUNICATIONS MEDIA⁽¹⁹⁾

Medium	Response (percent)		
	Favorable	Unfavorable	No Opinion
Communitywide			
Los Angeles Times	38	44	19
Los Angeles Herald-Examiner	54	31	14
Television in general	63	29	8
Radio in general	64	26	11
Negro-oriented			
Muhammad Speaks	24	30	47
Herald Dispatch	35	17	48
Sentinel	48	6	46
Station KGFJ	76	7	17

THE TELEVISION JOB CENTER

Since television plays an important part in the life of the ghetto dweller, it is not surprising that attempts have been made to use television as an information-transfer device. Probably the most significant development in this direction is the introduction of job-information programs, which are now being produced locally on many commercial and educational stations across the country.

In June 1967, station WBBM-TV in Chicago began a job-information program, which they called "Opportunity Line." Originally telecast on Saturdays from 1:00 to 1:30 p.m., the program was also occasionally telecast on Tuesday nights at 9:00, during prime time. The Illinois State Employment Service cooperated fully, even to the point of revamping their entire operation to handle the unexpected load of applicants the television program had brought out.

A special counter was set up at each of the Employment Service offices, under an "Opportunity Line" sign, to which the respondents from the program were directed. The television station had 35 people answering telephones during each broadcast, directing each caller to the office nearest his place of residence. This information was correlated after each broadcast, and a list of the referrals was forwarded to the Employment Service people on Monday mornings, so they would know

what to expect. In the past year (1967-68), a total of over 30,000 people have actually been placed in jobs through this program; there were about 110,000 telephone responses. Thus, with the cooperation of the Illinois State Employment Service, nearly 30 percent of the respondents to the television broadcasts were able to find employment.

The national publicity about this program has encouraged stations in 20 other cities to initiate similar programs. At the present writing, more than 50 percent of the U.S. homes having television sets are within the coverage area of some station that regularly broadcasts a job-opportunities program.*

Not all of these programs have been as successful as the "Opportunity Line," however. An educational television station in Des Moines, Iowa, KDPS, attempted a job-information program but gave it up after a few months because it was ineffectual. They reportedly were unable to identify any jobs actually acquired as a direct result of the program. The station staff felt that the major problem resulted from inefficient participation by the State Employment Service, which, they felt, had only managed to raise people's hopes falsely.

Probably the most successful of the noncommercial stations in the area of job information is station WETA-TV, a UHF station in Washington, D. C., which broadcasts "TV Job Center" during prime viewing time, 7:30 to 8:00 p.m., four nights a week. This program is presented in support of the District of Columbia Employment Service and the Maryland State Employment Service. It broadcasts brief rundowns on available jobs, available personnel, and training programs, and includes interviews (by a Negro program host) of guests who describe their occupations, the requirements for them, and how to go about getting similar jobs. Most of the jobs offered in the rundowns are at beginning levels, but other opportunities pay up to \$3.10 an hour. The "TV Job Center" elicits from 20 to 40 calls a night, 60 percent of them from women.

When compared to the Chicago "Opportunity Line," which elicits over 2000 calls a night, the "TV Job Center" response seems small, but it must be considered that Chicago contains about twice the nonwhite

* Personal communication, Edward Kenefick, General Manager, WBBM-TV, Chicago.

population of Washington, D. C., and Chicago's WBBM-TV is the CBS VHF station, which is a heavily used outlet in ghetto homes. Many of the Chicago viewers happen upon the program in the course of their regular viewing, while those in Washington would have to hear about the "TV Job Center" by word of mouth or through television listings. Moreover, broadcasts on UHF educational channels (such as WETA-TV) automatically reach a more limited audience, since many television sets in ghetto homes are not equipped to receive UHF.* Even for the sets that can receive UHF channels, viewing habits may effectively eliminate the educational stations from regular home viewing.

There has been no formal evaluation of the effectiveness of the "TV Job Center," primarily because the Employment Services in the Washington area have not had their part of the operation as well organized as they have in Chicago. Nevertheless, it is clear that a closer relationship is needed between the job-information programs and the employment-service agencies. Television can and should play a more vital role in providing information to the unemployed, but it is unfair to expect the broadcasters to provide a full personnel service. It is up to the service agencies to help create the programs and then to provide a special staff at their offices to handle the people who are referred to them through television.

* For example, only about 40 percent of the television sets in the Los Angeles ghetto areas are equipped to receive UHF channels.

III. THE POTENTIAL ROLE OF TELEVISION IN GHETTO EDUCATION

While the potential for television as a means of communicating social-services information is only beginning to be exploited, the use of this and other technological tools has been studied extensively in another application of vital importance to the ghetto: education. Technology in education is often equated only with computer-assisted instruction, but for the special problems and needs of the ghetto dweller, television may be an even more valuable tool. As indicated in Section II, the television screen is a familiar, credible information-transfer medium for the ghetto dweller, and experience has shown that television can be a most effective classroom aid. Because it can make well-trained teachers available for lesson presentations in areas that would otherwise have only partially skilled or trained staffs, television presents a unique capability to expand school curricula. This is not to say that the classroom teacher could be replaced by television; rather, television is seen as a tool to be used by teachers who have been trained to use it effectively.

Much the same can be said of the computer as a classroom aid, particularly for individual drill and practice purposes, but the most effective ways of using the computer in this role have not yet been established. Therefore, the remainder of this section will concentrate on the potential for television in ghetto education.

We shall not attempt to discuss all of the possible benefits that could accrue to education from the use of television; our intent is to indicate overall potential. We have chosen three major areas for this discussion: (1) the education of the preschool child, (2) television in elementary and secondary schools, and (3) adult education.

TELEVISION AND THE PRESCHOOL GHETTO CHILD

The qualified success of Project Headstart has nevertheless been a clear indication of the importance and necessity of providing educational opportunities for children of preschool age. The question then arises, What can television do to aid in the intellectual growth and development of these preschool children?

Television in the home already has a considerable influence on children, as almost every parent knows.⁽¹⁹⁾ The influence of commercial television may be particularly great in ghetto homes, where there is often very little other entertainment or activity for small children. Although it is not possible--and probably not even desirable--to completely replace commercial television in the lives of the very young, it would be very desirable to have their viewing include at least some programs that stimulate intellectual growth. There are some worthwhile and popular programs available on commercial television, of course; a fine example is "Captain Kangaroo," which has been a successful commercial program for over 12 years.

Good children's programming is an important service of the educational stations; many of these programs are also highly successful and very popular. The "Friendly Giant" program, which was developed at the educational television (ETV) station at the University of Wisconsin, for example, was a staple of the ETV network for many years.

National Network Children's Programming

A 26-week series of programs, called "Children's Television Workshop," has been proposed by the Carnegie Corporation; sponsorship of this series is to be shared by Carnegie, the Ford Foundation, and the United States Office of Education. The series will include about 130 hours of programming, to be presented one hour a day, five days a week. The series will be broadcast over the national ETV network stations in over 150 metropolitan areas; it will also be offered to selected commercial stations.

The proposal for the "Children's Television Workshop" describes the kinds of things that preschool children are capable of learning, should be learning, and will learn with great natural drive, if given a chance:⁽²⁰⁾

1. Recognition of numbers 1 through 10, or simple counting ability.
2. Recognition of letters of the alphabet and the sounds most commonly associated with them: in effect the first steps in learning to read.

3. Basic language skills (the ability to handle grammatical contrasts, to differentiate among prepositions, to speak in whole sentences, to express in clear language such ideas as how to get some place, or what happened today).
4. Concepts of space and time (shapes, forms, special perspective, the notion of time).
5. Beginning logical concepts (logical classification, concepts of relationships).
6. Beginning mathematical concepts (conservation of quantity, one-to-one correspondence, number relationships).
7. The growth of reasoning skills (cause and effect, reasoning by association and inference).
8. Beginning awareness of basic emotions (aggression, fear, anger, etc.) as a step toward mastering them.

The program series will attempt to contribute to this development through such presentations as story reading, puppets, animated films, musical jingles, guessing games, new children's films, old films used in new ways, mime and dance, and construction projects. As much as possible, the programs will be designed to involve the viewing children in active participation.

The "Children's Television Workshop" is budgeted at about twice the level of most National Educational Television (NET) programming; the first 26-week series has been allocated about \$8 million,^{*} which amounts to about \$61,000 an hour. Typical NET programming has been estimated to cost about \$30,000 an hour, and the same figure holds for good children's programming on the proposed public television system. While a large portion of the Workshop's budget may have to be used for overhead and developmental costs, it is certain that funding is sufficient to permit complex, high-quality programming.

Nevertheless, the Workshop can only be considered a beginning, in terms of presenting intellectually stimulating children's programming, particularly in the ghetto areas, where this is most needed. The programs will have a limited audience in ghetto areas, because many of the television sets in ghetto homes do not have UHF receivers, as indicated in Section II; and few of the sets that are equipped to receive UHF

^{*}The New York Times, March 21, 1968.

broadcasts are apt to be tuned habitually to educational channels. Also, it is recognized that it may take a great deal more than one hour's educational viewing per day to make a measurable difference in a child's behavior. But if the Workshop series is judged successful and additional grants are forthcoming, the length of the program time or of the run of the series may well be expanded.

Local Children's Programming

While children's programs that are based on a strong central personality (such as Captain Kangaroo) can be effectively distributed on a nationwide basis, those in which children participate in a studio group can best be done locally. A large part of the appeal of such programs is the possibility that a child might actually participate on the program, or at least that some of his friends or schoolmates might appear. Programs that originate locally (within the city, the ghetto, or the neighborhood) can also be more closely related to the daily experience of the child and may be broadcast in his own dialect.

City-level programming can include televised tours of metropolitan centers, downtown areas, zoos, and historical parts of the city. Neighborhood programs can describe local industries and activities that are familiar to the child and are part of his immediate world. Portable videorecorders and camera systems could be used to cover activities at playgrounds or child-care centers, for example. In addition, of course, nationally produced film or video-tape segments of types that would be impractical to attempt to produce locally could be broadcast on local programs.

A Suggestion for Preschool Television Programming

Effective preschool education demands more than can be provided by any combinations of communications media. Family and community activities are probably the most effective mechanisms for preparing children for school. However, these are precisely the activities that are frequently lacking in the life of the ghetto child. Mothers often work, and their children are left in the house during work hours. Thus,

television may be the only activity to which many children are exposed throughout the day.

Therefore, it is suggested that a televised Project Headstart be made available, with programs running all morning (say, from 9:00 a.m. until 12:30 p.m.) and during the early evening. The schedule would probably be conceived as running five days a week, Monday through Friday. However, children require the same basic learning and entertainment elements on weekends as they do during the week. There may be some merit in modifying the schedule to capitalize on the increased possibility of parents being at home on weekends, but aside from this consideration, it might be best if a basic Headstart series ran every day of the week.

Parent Involvement

It is very important that parents become involved and interested in participating in preschool-children's programs. The attitudes of the children are strongly influenced by those of their parents, many of whom (particularly in slum areas) may need help themselves in understanding and managing their children. Portions of the children's programs that are in fact directed toward parents could provide a valuable service to the parents who may need a basic education in parenthood. Also, the child who watches programs that are designed to teach him something about the society outside his home may learn things that his parents do not know, or he may develop attitudes which are in conflict with those held in the home. Serious problems could arise in such situations--problems that would be alleviated by the parent participating in the child's learning process.

The emphasis in children's programming should be placed on responses and activities undertaken by the child watching the program. A child can benefit only superficially from televised instruction if he is not given the encouragement and simple materials with which to do things himself. The parent, of course, is an important part of this activity.

There are many ways in which additional motivation to participate in programs could be encouraged. Locally produced programs could be

made more effective by incorporating a feedback mode: A means could be devised by which the viewer responds to the program by pressing a button when he is given a question or an instruction. Immediate feedback can provide the child with knowledge of the results. It will also indicate who is listening and who is not. To the parent who is serious about the child's participation, this is very important. Periodic correspondence between the television station and the parents--questionnaires and summaries of children's viewing experiences--would also provide an effective means of encouraging participation.

TELEVISION AND GHETTO SCHOOLS

Ghetto schools, like ghetto children, are traditionally underprivileged. In virtually every city, the inner-city schools are the most overcrowded, are housed in the oldest and most poorly equipped buildings, and are staffed by teachers with the least experience and lowest qualifications. Lately, however, some districts have recognized the need to provide more effective teaching in these areas. In 1964, New York City established its "More Effective Schools" program; demonstration projects have been made possible in many city ghettos through Federal funding from the Elementary and Secondary Education Act; the District of Columbia public schools have established their own Model Schools Division. In other cities, some of the most promising innovations in ghetto schools have involved the use of instructional television.

Every major metropolitan area has developed some sort of regional coordinating body to plan and produce instructional programs geared to the needs of the school districts within the area.* Because of the diversity in curricula and the variations in class schedules at the different secondary schools within a district, it is very difficult to

* In the Los Angeles area, for example, the Regional Educational Television Advisory Committee (RETAC) finances the transmission of 29 programs weekly to schools in about 85 different districts. These districts are assessed \$0.50 per average daily attendance per year for this service.

It is estimated that about 20 percent of the children in the nation's schools receive some part of their instruction via television. (21)

plan a series of programs that will cover the right material at the right time for all the students. These problems are reduced in the elementary schools, where the self-contained classrooms have more flexibility in their schedules. As a result, the great preponderance of instructional television broadcasting is at the elementary-school level.

Because most courses in secondary schools are taught to several groups throughout each day, televised lectures would need to be repeated each hour to reach all the students of any particular subject in any one school. A full day of broadcasting, thus, would have to be devoted to repeating each lesson of each course. Therefore, one channel would be needed for every course to be taught. Since this does not appear practical with the limited number of channels currently available for television broadcasting, wide-scale televised instruction will probably not be possible until major reorganizations are made in secondary-school schedules, classroom groups, etc., and, of course, until new channels are added.

It is clear that the broadcasting of instructional programs to many different school districts, with the requirement of fitting the needs of all, cannot reach very deeply into the instructional process.

Where school districts are operating their own television systems, either broadcast or closed circuit, they are able to design and present basic instruction^{*} to a much greater extent. Such systems have been used at Anaheim and Santa Ana, California;⁽²²⁾ Hagerstown, Maryland;⁽²³⁾ and American Samoa. While television can indeed bring into the classroom experiences that might not otherwise be available to students, perhaps its greatest value is that it can release the teacher from many repetitive and time-consuming activities, so that she can devote her major energies and attention to the needs of individual students.

^{*}As distinguished from "enrichment materials" (information that is nice to know but not essential to a given course) and "supplementary presentation" (information that is needed for a course, in addition to lesson presentations, but which could not ordinarily be presented by a classroom teacher).

Television in the Chicago Ghetto Schools: A Working Example

Successful integration of television into the instructional process has thus far been directly related to the degree of its localization. It has been found that urban communities of different socioeconomic levels and ethnic makeup require different school curricula and educational planning. This is especially true of ghetto areas. The Chicago public schools have moved toward a practical solution to the problem of improving ghetto education through a very localized use of instructional television systems. This was done despite the fact that supplementary educational broadcasts have long been available in Chicago via the local ETV and commercial channels.

In 1964, five Chicago ghetto schools established a television studio, installed a wire interconnection, and began using television in much the same manner as Hagerstown, Anaheim, and various other entire districts have done, for the purpose of sharing their best resources and making the best use of their classroom teachers. The results of the first four years were so encouraging that four additional school clusters of the same sort have now been established in other Chicago slum areas. This division of a large urban school system into small clusters of schools in specific ethnic or socioeconomic neighborhoods, each with its own curriculum needs, is unique. Other cities that use instructional television administer the service from a central agency for the entire city. Since most large cities are highly heterogeneous in population, such instructional television (ITV) services cannot be as basic, as intimately integrated into the curriculum, and as responsive to the needs of the individual pupil as the small-cluster ITV approach.*

TELEVISION AND ADULT EDUCATION

There is little disagreement that the most critical need among ghetto adults is employment for the unemployed and full employment for

* A brief study of the Chicago approach will be published separately by Rudy Bretz.

the underemployed. The following nationwide figures for unemployment and underemployment have been reported:⁽¹⁶⁾

Hard-core unemployables who have not been reached by current programs	500,000
Unemployed but employable	1,500,000
Underemployed	
Part-time employed	9,250,000
Full-time employed, but earning less than \$3200/year	<u>750,000</u>
Total	12,000,000

A major reason for this condition is lack of education and salable skills among ghetto adults. In this section, we shall explore some of the possibilities for increasing educational opportunities through the use of television. We have chosen two basic areas of educational need for this study: literacy training and high-school equivalency courses. There are, of course, many other areas--vocational training, junior-college courses, college and university extension, etc.--that should be carefully considered in later studies.

Literacy Training

The need for literacy training is particularly high in our city ghettos. In Chicago alone it is estimated that there are between 200,000 and 500,000 adults who are functionally illiterate. The latest national census shows a total of over 2.5 million persons 14 years of age and over who are unable to read and write in any language. While this includes 1.6 percent of the white population, it includes nearly 10 percent of the nonwhite males. This figure is high, however, because nonwhites over 65 have an illiteracy rate of 25 percent. About 5 percent of the nonwhites in prime working years (between 25 and 44) are illiterate, but the rate is above 10 percent among those 45 years of age and over.⁽²⁴⁾

The report of the National Commission on Civil Disorders recognized the need for literacy training, and made a strong recommendation for immediate action:

....To compensate for educational disadvantages already incurred, we recommend a substantial

appropriation to support an intensive year-round program beginning in the summer of 1968 to improve the verbal skills of people in low-income areas, with primary emphasis on the language problems of minority groups.

The present effort simply does not match the need. Current estimates indicate that there are approximately 16,000,000 educationally disadvantaged Americans (those who have less than an 8th grade education). While exact figures are not available, it is highly likely that a disproportionate number of the educationally disadvantaged are Negroes. Census data establishes that 36.9 percent of Negroes over 25 years of age, but only 14.8 percent white, are functionally illiterate.

The principal Federal literacy program--Adult Basic Education--is meeting only a small fraction of this need; as of June 1966, it had provided assistance to some 373,000 people.

The adult basic education program is a sound instrument for implementing an intensive literacy program. By affording both the public schools and community-based organizations the opportunity to conduct literacy projects, this program could provide the desired flexibility. It should be strengthened and expanded to make a major impact on illiteracy.

To concentrate its effect where the need is greatest and the potential payoff high, we suggest that priority be given to the unemployed and the underemployed and to welfare mothers. Increasing the literacy level of these groups would eliminate a major barrier to productive employment, and improve support for education in the home.

The high school dropouts should be brought into the program by lowering the age limit from 18 to 16, as proposed by the President. Course offerings should be expanded to include matters of interest and concern to residents of low-income areas.⁽¹⁶⁾

A major problem is the initial identification of the illiterates. This problem is particularly great in the United States, because of the shame which is associated with illiteracy. The report of a television literacy program in Memphis, Tennessee, stated, "In our country an illiterate does everything he can to hide his illiteracy from others. The very word 'illiterate' is taboo; persons are urged to come and 'improve their reading.'"⁽²⁵⁾ If these persons can be identified,

organized or motivated to start independent study, and encouraged to continue until they have learned to read and write, television can play a very helpful role in the process.

The usefulness of both radio and television in the teaching of reading has, in fact, been demonstrated in several projects. The Memphis program mentioned above was a large-scale literacy effort carried on for several years by the local ETV station, using the Laubach visual-association mnemonic method. A similar project, also using the Laubach method, was undertaken in Alabama.⁽²⁶⁾

In the Alabama project, 364 volunteer teachers met with individuals or small groups of adult illiterates to watch televised lessons and help the learners practice their newly acquired skills. Of the 600 adults who enrolled, 20 percent had no schooling whatever, and 60 percent had less than three years of schooling; the remaining 20 percent had had five years of schooling but were still illiterate. The most common reason expressed for taking the course was to improve employability.

One-half of the original enrollees dropped out; the major reasons for dropping out involved some inadequacy of the local organization, i.e., lack of a place to meet or lack of volunteer teaching personnel. But those who did finish the program, which started considerably below the level of beginning second-grade lessons in the Alabama schools, "moved ahead somewhat further than Alabama second-graders did during the same time."⁽²⁶⁾

Experience in the Memphis literacy program indicates a requirement for a nine-months course, with half-hour televised lessons three times a week. As in the case of most adult-education programs, it is desirable to have both daytime and evening courses--the former for the unemployed, and the latter for those who are busy during the day. If a course begins only once every semester, a sudden demand is placed on facilities for learner recruitment at the beginning of each period. If courses were to begin several times throughout the year, recruitment could be accomplished with far less strain. Once a person has been motivated to join a literacy program, it should be possible to motivate him to continue the course until he reaches his goal. The key is in

the attitude and supervision of the teachers who participate in the project.

These programs have demonstrated that with the aid of television lessons, a large number of unspecialized and essentially untrained teachers could successfully teach an adult literacy course. They have also shown, to some extent, that literacy teaching can be done on a volunteer basis, provided there is a good overall structure to organize, motivate, and follow up on the learners involved.

High-School Equivalency Programs

The possession of a high-school education is a necessary certification for many employment opportunities in our society. Adults who did not complete high school when they were young often find, after a few years, that most employment doors are closed to them. Yet they are reluctant to go back to public high school and sit along with teenagers.

General Equivalency Development Tests. During World War II, many men and women left high school to join the Services and returned after several years to find the same employment problem nongraduates face today. Many of these people had attended various training schools and had absorbed considerable education through travel and general experience; therefore, they did not need to complete all of the regular high-school credits to attain the real educational level of a high-school graduate. To help these people obtain the credentials they needed, the General Educational Development (G.E.D.) tests were constructed. These high-school-equivalency tests were standardized in 1943 by the Examination Staff of the United States Armed Forces Institute.⁽²⁷⁾

The G.E.D. tests have been widely used since in civilian applications, and today most states offer them to people 21 years of age and over who have been out of school for at least two years. (In some states, the minimum age is 18.)

The battery of tests is generally given by an agency of the State Department of Education. It takes two days to complete and covers such subjects as mathematics, English expression, reading interpretation,

interpretation of social-studies material, and the natural sciences. Many adult schools provide course programs designed to assist adults to prepare for the G.E.D. test. While these courses are considered by some as "cram courses," that designation is not appropriate, since they do not concentrate on memorization of information but rather on the ability to read and interpret materials on the subjects involved and on the ability to think or reason about them. In some respects this is a more valuable kind of course than the usual knowledge courses a student encounters in high school. The basic communication and computational skills are useful in all occupations, no matter what subject matter or purpose may be involved; rote knowledge, on the other hand, is related only to its own specific field and is rapidly forgotten if the individual has no further contact or interest in the subject. Only the skills of interpretation and expression that were learned incidentally to the required memorization remain as useful residue of many high-school courses.

The G.E.D. preparation courses also teach "how to take a test" and provide opportunities to practice the kinds of responses required.

"TV High School." In 1967, the Manpower Education Institute of the American Foundation on Automation and Employment, Inc., an industry public-service agency, financed the preparation and production of a television G.E.D. preparation course. A total of 60 half-hour programs were prepared, covering five subject areas: natural sciences, English usage, social studies, general mathematics, and literature.

A series of ten books, aimed for the eighth-grade reading level, were selected to assist students in their home study. These books, inexpensive paperbacks, were made available at cost, on mail request. The price was \$12.50 for more than 2200 pages of reading matter plus a 540-page dictionary. Included were three volumes on literature (short stories, nonfiction, selections from the Legend of King Arthur, poems, and plays); textbooks in fundamental mathematics, general science, American history, and English expression; a book on faster and better reading; and, perhaps most useful of all, a volume on high-school certification through the G.E.D. tests.⁽²⁷⁾ A person preparing for the G.E.D. tests would certainly need to study and master at least

this last book, which includes a 14-page study guide and suggested reading assignments in relation to each of the televised lessons.

Experiences to Date with TV High School. As of the present writing, the TV High School series has been broadcast over ETV stations and some commercial stations in 25 different cities. It has been impossible, however, to obtain any hard data concerning the results or effectiveness of the course. In the few personal interviews that have been made with people who have used the programs, discouraging results have been reported. However, because of the high potential value of such a program series, a more extensive study must be made of these results in order to identify those factors that were supporting and those that were destructive in the application of the project.

Information from the Manpower Education Institute is not very reliable for evaluation purposes, since they undertook the project primarily for public-relations reasons, and public relations are often not well served by disseminating discouraging results. On the basis of the very sketchy data available, it is possible to guess some of the reasons for the ineffectiveness of this project.

To begin with, TV High School was conceived as a "broadcasting" project, intended to produce programs that people could use. The need for supporting materials was recognized, and the books and study guide were provided. But the need to coordinate this activity with existing local adult-education agencies came as an afterthought, or was, unfortunately, overlooked. In Los Angeles, the city school district was not informed until the program was scheduled and about to start; newspaper publicity brought a flood of inquiries to adult schools, Board of Education offices, and the Instructional Television Center. Because these agencies had no information, the callers were frustrated in their search for information, and the school-system personnel were annoyed and very quickly exhibited a negative attitude to the project. There was adverse comment on the content of the television programs and the supplementary books. The program director at the Washington, D.C., ETV station considered the series "singularly unsuccessful" and ascribed this feeling to the discouraging nature of the supporting books (too difficult for many students) and the fact that the television lessons were rather

dull.* The present authors observed only two of the sixty lessons personally but found them to be well presented--above the average of most instructional television--and designed to elicit considerable response from the student during the lesson through the use of multiple-choice questions. Obviously designed to keep the learner's eyes on his goal, the programs were punctuated with constant references to the G.E.D. test, which indicated to the outside observer that the lessons were planned and executed by people who knew these goals well.

In both Washington, D.C., and Los Angeles, TV High School was broadcast during the dinner hour, 6:00 to 6:30, which is no time, in the average household, for concentration on learning. It may have been that no other time was available, and if so, this points up the need for additional channel availability at more useful times. Further, the programs were broadcast over UHF, which can be received on less than half of the ghetto television sets.

The Manpower Education Institute apparently made little effort to integrate the programs into the activities of local indigenous organizations; their major supporting effort was in use of the newspapers to contact learners individually. In Watts, group viewing at the Westminster Job Center was independently instituted. Learners were recruited locally, but, probably because the lessons were presented at an inconvenient time, the dropout rate was extremely high--60 percent of the participants left after the first week.

Improving Televised Literacy-Training Programs

It is clear that high-school equivalency courses must be highly relevant to the needs of the learner. In many cases, this will mean strong vocational emphasis. Thus, the lesson program must be designed as an integrated part of a community program for obtaining useful educational skills.

There are many ways in which persons who have had some basic education and experience could be taught the necessary subject matter and

* Personal communication from R. Smith, Station WETA-TV, Washington, D.C., April 1968.

test-taking skills to enable them to pass the G.E.D. test. The method suggested below is only one possibility, and it may have its own limitations and impracticalities. This proposed program is based on the same set of television tapes that are presently being used in the TV High School.

An appropriate organization must undertake the responsibility to administer the course, promote it, register students, supervise and assist them, and advise them on their readiness to take the G.E.D. test. This cannot be done entirely by either the broadcasting station or an industry group; it could be done by the local school-district adult-education service or by one or more local proprietary schools, such as the International Correspondence Schools.

It might be practical for the training division of an industrial plant to function as the field education organization for its own employees. Persons wishing to take the course might then be allowed time during the work day for the televised lessons, or some form of subsidy might be provided. Perhaps the greatest advantage of such an arrangement is its community-involvement function. Without an administrative structure present to take over responsibility for motivation and supervision of the learners (e.g., the field education organization), there appears to be little hope for success of a televised high-school-equivalency course.

The instructional method should make major use of programmed instruction, both in the televised lessons and in the supporting printed materials. It is not enough to provide a series of lessons and a set of "helpful" textbooks to accompany them; a coordinated instruction system must be designed. At appropriate times, a local representative of the coordinating educational agency could appear on "live" telecasts for short meetings with the learners; by attempts such as this to establish rapport and indicate an interest in the students, it might be possible to reduce the number of enrollees who drop out during the course. The elements of a coordinated system of televised instruction might include the following:

1. Lessons recorded on video tape
2. Programmed textbooks that are interrelated with the lessons

3. Written work that is critiqued via correspondence after each lesson
4. Telephone question-and-answer periods in which students can contact local correspondence teachers involved in the program
5. Televised quizzes that the student can correct himself
6. Televised final exams that the student can correct himself, to indicate readiness to take the G.E.D. test
7. Regular live appearances of a course coordinator to give information announcements, answer questions, and provide general encouragement
8. Organized administration of the G.E.D. test in local areas, coordinated with the State Department of Education, which scores the tests
9. An examination that a prospective student can take to determine his readiness to take the televised lesson course (the examination must be available by mail or through delivery by welfare workers or volunteers)

Courses should be offered constantly, and new series should be started frequently. A full series may take, say, four months; but a student who fails to enroll in time should not have to wait until the end of the course for a new series to begin. It is suggested that two new series should be started per month, with special programs being given monthly for those who have completed the course and are about to take the G.E.D. test.

If the courses were scheduled to be presented sequentially within each series, it would be possible to enter a series at any time, which would reduce the need for frequent series. The schedule should include skill drills and practice sessions. A proposed schedule that would take 16 weeks to complete is shown in Table 7. Two or three lessons are given per week in this schedule; each lesson is repeated the following day (or evening) for those who may have been unable to view it at the normal time.

Drill sessions are provided to permit directed practice in the skills being taught in English and mathematics. The other courses in the curriculum do not require this type of practice session.

Table 7

A PROPOSED SCHEDULE FOR TELEVISED HIGH-SCHOOL-EQUIVALENCY COURSES

Daytime Lessons	Evening Lessons	Subject	Lesson Number			
			1st Week	2nd Week	3rd Week	4th Week
1st Month						
Mon	Tue	English	1	4	7	10
Tue	Wed	English	2	5	8	11
Wed	Thu	English	Drill	Drill	Drill	Drill
Thu	Fri	English	3	6	9	12
Fri	Mon	English	Drill	Drill	Drill	Drill
2nd Month						
Mon	Tue	Math	1	4	7	10
Tue	Wed	Math	2	5	8	11
Wed	Thu	Math	Drill	Drill	Drill	Drill
Thu	Fri	Math	3	6	9	12
Fri	Mon	Math	Drill	Drill	Drill	Drill
3rd Month						
Mon	Tue	Soc. Studies	1	4	7	10
Tue	Wed	Literature	1	3	5	7
Wed	Thu	Soc. Studies	2	5	8	11
Thu	Fri	Literature	2	4	6	8
Fri	Mon	Soc. Studies	3	6	9	12
4th Month						
Mon	Tue	Phys. Sci.	1	4	7	10
Tue	Wed	Literature	9	10	11	12
Wed	Thu	Phys. Sci.	2	5	8	11
Thu	Fri	Review ^a	1	2	3	4
Fri	Mon	Phys. Sci.	3	6	9	12

^a In English and mathematics.

Ideally, the lessons that are presented on the televised series should be available for review purposes at community educational centers (e.g., on sound film cartridges or via closed-circuit television). This would make it possible for people who feel they need a review to see the lessons in question without waiting for the next course to be given.

An educational system such as we have proposed includes many elements in addition to the televised lessons and the supporting textbooks, and these elements incur additional costs. Unless volunteer teachers can be found and trained, the costs for teachers constitute the largest budget item. Assuming that the written assignment for each program requires an average of 5 minutes of a teacher's time, plus 10 minutes of clerical time, the following estimate can be made: On a three-lessons-per-week basis, one teacher and two clerical people could handle the input from 160 students. (The teacher is assumed to be able to work a 40-hour week.) It will take approximately 6 teachers and 12 clerical people for every 1000 enrollees. At salaries of \$7200/year for teachers and \$4200/year for clerical help, the costs would be as follows:

	<u>Cost (\$)</u>
Six teachers @ \$7200/yr	43,200
Twelve clerical people @ \$4200/yr	50,400
One administrator @ \$8500/yr	<u>8,500</u>
Total salaries	102,100
Overhead at 60% of salaries	<u>61,260</u>
Total annual cost per 3000 learners *	163,360
Average cost per learner per course	54

To these costs must be added rental or amortization on production costs of the televised lessons, and costs for broadcasting time.

Because in many cases the high-school-equivalency courses will have strong vocational emphasis, it will be important to make available parallel opportunities for vocational training in the community. In any case, it is very important that the high-school diploma or certification not be considered merely a passport to the ghetto resident's goals of achievement but rather as an integrated part of a community program for obtaining useful educational skills.

* Three 16-week courses per year, each broadcast to 1000 students.

IV. A SUGGESTED PILOT PROJECT FOR TELEVISED INSTRUCTION
AND SERVICE PROGRAMS IN THE URBAN GHETTO

INTRODUCTION

In the previous sections of this Memorandum we have indicated areas in which potential benefits could be derived from various programs for communication in the urban-ghetto environment. We have tried to illustrate through several examples the specific types of benefits to be obtained and indicate where more intensive use of telecommunications facilities might have great value.

However, many questions remain to be answered as to the nature and use of the communications media; programs to be presented--their content and preparation; the kinds of institutions that will be required; sources of financial support; and most importantly, the degree of public acceptance and utilization. These questions will best be answered from experience gained through ongoing programs. For this reason we have suggested that one or more pilot projects be implemented which contain the elements of the proposed ghetto communication programs and which can be used to evaluate them under actual working conditions.

OBJECTIVES OF THE PILOT-PROJECT RESEARCH PROGRAM

The objective of the pilot-project research program suggested here is to test the hypothesis that modern telecommunications techniques--in particular, television--when properly and creatively used can be an effective means for improving urban life. A fair test of this hypothesis must include a comprehensive and well-designed research, test, and evaluation program.

It is difficult to quantify the benefits that could accrue to the programs suggested in this Memorandum. It is quite clear that the new technologies offer the opportunity for much more diversity in communications than is now available. But there is also the question of how much diversity is good for our society and necessary for the growth and vitality of the country, and how much could be damaging to national unity.

We do not feel that a pilot project by itself will resolve the issue of diversity. But we do believe that only through a reasonably long-term demonstration can the benefits and costs of increased diversity be evaluated.

The objectives of the proposed research, test, and evaluation program should be:

- o To determine the benefits and costs--if possible, quantitatively--of increased and improved communications to a ghetto community
- o To test the various hypotheses concerning programs that have been set forth in this study
- o To determine the preferred times for various kinds of radio and television programs
- o To evaluate the most appropriate programs, their content, and their style
- o To determine how long it will take to alter old viewing habits and create new ones
- o To determine how long it will take to create credibility in the media
- o To determine the kinds of institutions that will be needed to make the system work
- o To determine costs, both for the programs and for their operation
- o To determine the nature of the organizational support, in addition to broadcasting, that will be required to make the system work

The pilot project should seek answers to a wide variety of additional questions that could not otherwise be answered. Will adults make use of the G.E.D. programs? Will the underemployed or the unemployed adult benefit from the suggested job-information programs? Will parents cooperate in the preschool programs as they must in order for the programs to succeed? Will it be possible for the classroom teacher effectively to integrate cluster programs and district programs with state or national programming? Will the ghetto community make good use of a closed-circuit neighborhood net? Will such a net generate

beneficial community action? How long will it take to achieve positive results?

In addition to these questions, the research program should consider the relative merits of all competing forms of communications. In short, tests should be designed that will seek out the best medium through which to deliver the message. For example, there is some evidence that certain kinds of information are best disseminated via word of mouth or posters and bulletin boards placed in strategic locations (see Section II). It makes little sense to attempt a sophisticated electronic substitute for a relatively primitive but effective medium. But perhaps a combination of media, both electronic and nonelectronic, can provide an even more effective information-transfer mechanism. In addition, experiments in programming techniques and styles must be performed; the effectiveness of these techniques in getting the message across will depend not only on the audience to be reached but also on the medium to be used.

Our surveys have indicated significant differences among black ghettos in different areas of the country. One must certainly expect that these differences will affect the costs and benefits of novel communication approaches. A comparative study among different groups in different geographical areas among large ghetto populations is an attractive research model. Similarly, a comparative study of media and message mixes, both in one ghetto population and among several populations, will greatly enhance our understanding of the program content, techniques, style, and cost.

In neighborhoods designated for funding via the Model Cities or Community Redevelopment programs, community action is a requirement. The people concerned must be mobilized into action. Therefore, in a Model City or Community Redevelopment Area the communication sociologist will have the opportunity to test, once again and under unusually ideal conditions, the effects of mass media on the attitudes of people--especially where changes in attitudes are desired.

The Pilot-Project Demonstration Area: South Central Los Angeles

For this study, we have selected as a test or demonstration area

a large and rather diverse ghetto in South Central Los Angeles; we shall structure our discussion around this area, which contains over 300,000 people. Smaller areas would be equally suitable, but the value of diversity in programming can best be illustrated where there are a variety of service demands.

The predominantly Negro ghetto in South Central Los Angeles consists of seven communities: Central, Avalon, Exposition, Green Meadows, Florence, Watts, and Willowbrook. To the northeast and contiguous with the Central community are the two racially mixed neighborhoods of Boyle Heights and City Terrace, and the predominantly Mexican-American community of East Los Angeles. Our suggested pilot project focuses on the seven Negro ghetto communities (see Fig. 1).

In 1965 the South Central Los Angeles (SCLA) area had a population of 320,830, 81.0 percent Negro, 17.4 percent white, and 1.6 percent of other races. Of the white, 9.9 percent had Spanish surnames. The SCLA area as a whole has had a shifting population. Between 1960 and 1966 there was a 10 percent decline in population, primarily due to selective out-migration of those who could afford to move. The proportion of Negroes increased by over 11 percent, indicating a rather steady influx of new immigrants. Some very preliminary investigations indicate that a large number of the migrants come from Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas.

The SCLA ghetto is not demographically uniform. There are substantial differences among the seven communities. Using several key variables, we have summarized some of these neighborhood differences in Table 8.

SUGGESTED PROGRAMMING FOR THE PILOT PROJECT

For the pilot project, we suggest that several specific types of television programs be made available to the ghetto resident. These include programs on employment, education, city government and business, black culture, and community interaction.

Job-Information Programs

There are several major job-finding services in the SCLA ghetto. Our surveys in this area (reported in Section II) show that, to a

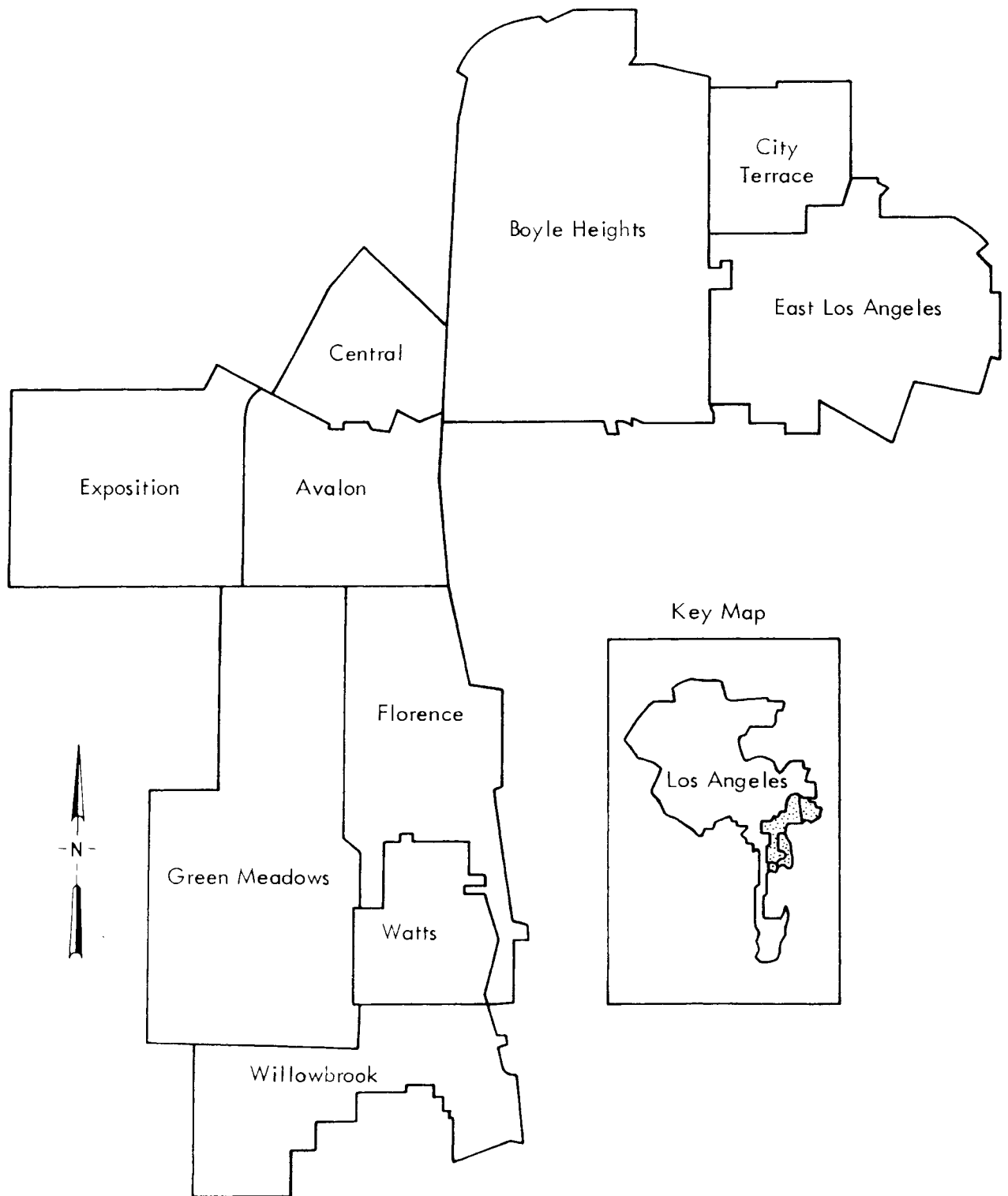


Fig.1—The ghettos of Los Angeles

Table 8

NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTERISTICS IN SOUTH CENTRAL LOS ANGELES AREA

Neighborhood	Population	% Negro	Median Income (\$)	% Under 5 Yrs of Age	% Between 5-14 Yrs of Age	% Between 15-44 Yrs of Age	No. of Elementary Schools	% Unemployed Males	% Welfare Mothers
Central	15,510	68.3	3,743	10.3	19.5	38.0	5	12.2	59.7
Avalon	43,610	95.5	3,913	12.3	21.1	34.1	6	13.1	60.8
Exposition	66,920	79.4	5,010	10.5	18.6	39.9	13	8.3	53.1
Green Meadows	91,360	83.2	5,009	14.6	23.3	39.6	17	10.2	58.9
Watts	29,990	90.0	3,803	17.6	31.4	34.1	9	13.2	66.6
Florence	41,690	56.7	4,846	13.4	25.2	37.4	13	8.5	59.8
Willow Brook	31,750	84.2	5,607	13.3	28.5	38.3	5	10.0	54.4

surprising degree, the Negroes use the U.S. Employment Service as a source of job information. But these surveys also show that there is a considerable lack of confidence in this agency, as well as in several other local, State, and Federal agencies. It is suggested, therefore, that the point of origination for programs that provide job information be one of the more credible Negro-run organizations, such as the Watts Labor Community Action Council (WLCAC) or the Westminster Job Training Center. Both are in the heart of the SCLA ghetto and both have acquired considerable respect in the community.

Programs originating from this center could include the following:

- o Job-Information Bulletin Board--a continuous and updated listing of available jobs; commentary and interviews with job seekers; employers, etc.; description of new jobs as they are added*
- o Job Success Line--on-the-spot interviews with people who have obtained jobs via the Job-Information Bulletin Board
- o Job Applicant Training--programs on how to apply for jobs, filling out applications, interview techniques, etc.
- o High-School-Equivalency Programs (see Section III)
- o Literacy Programs (see Section III)
- o Industry Programs--training programs normally beamed to industrial plants in the area, showing the unemployed viewer the kind of training that industry is providing.

Job programs should be broadcast round-the-clock, and the originating studio should maintain a very close relationship with the local Negro radio stations. The staff at the originating location should be large enough to accept all calls for jobs at all times and to route the caller to the employer or the employer to the caller. Industry or the U.S. Employment Service should prepare and "sponsor" special programs. Thus a job studio at, say, the WLCAC becomes, in essence, both a broadcast studio and a job clearinghouse.

While the job studio centralizes and focuses the job market in a single convenient location, it is equally important that it be responsive to the needs of the community. Hence, programs filmed in Watts

* This is similar to the job-information program broadcast over WETA-TV, Washington, D.C. (see pp. 21 - 22).

(where there is a high unemployment rate) and focused on success stories of Watts residents would be most appropriate for that area.

Educational Programs

The local school is a most important part of the ghetto child's environment. Thus, providing a comprehensive program for the classroom utilization of instructional television forms an integral part of the pilot project. Schools in the pilot area should have instructional programs implemented along lines similar to those described in Section III.

The local school in the pilot area should have for its use (1) programs originated nationally (with NET, Carnegie, and Ford sponsorship); (2) programs originated at the state level (several states have already funded studies for developing statewide ETV nets, including California, Illinois, South Carolina, and Georgia); (3) programs originated at the school-district level; (4) programs originated at a neighborhood or cluster level; and, finally (5) programs originated at the school itself.

In addition, facilities should be provided at the school to receive programs of national, state, or local importance requiring live transmission. These could include special sessions of legislative bodies; addresses by executives; and spectacular news events, such as the first lunar landing. The local school board will decide whether or not to receive such programs.*

School-Information Programs Sponsored by the District. Our surveys have indicated the need for a more formal communications link between the school and the home.** Special programs for parents of school-age children prepared by the local school district or cluster should be made available. These programs, which will help parents to better relate to their children's work in school, should be shown in the evening when the parents are home from work.

* It is this discretionary power emphasizing separateness which protects against the threat of national infringement on local education.

** See p. 13.

The local school district can also prepare special vocational-skill courses for adults. (Courses of this type are discussed in Appendix B.) These programs can be used to supplement Community Education Center programs when a local center is available.

Programs for Preschool Children. Programs for preschool children can be broadcast directly to the home; but unless the parents have been prepared for interaction and are at home during the telecast, some form of supervised community center might be more suitable. (In Avalon, for example, preschool programs could be received in the Avalon-Carver Community Center.) The mothers can either participate at the center (as they do in many Headstart programs) or leave the children in the care of one or more responsible adults.

In a typical situation, an adult would prepare the children for the program to be viewed and would work with them after the presentation. Several 15- to 30-minute programs could be presented in the course of a day. The children might spend about 2 hours per day watching televised programs; the total class time should occupy at least half of each day. Television teaching, when well done, will set examples for both the mothers and the teachers. In fact, one of the most important functions of the televised programs might be to increase the awareness and capability of mothers and supervisory personnel of providing a stimulating and beneficial environment for the children.

The community center must have a suitable place to hold classes, at least one responsible adult for every five to ten children, a television set and about two hours of appropriate daily programming, and some form of parent participation and orientation.

If no community center is available, classes could be held at a private residence. It is unlikely that outdoor play facilities would be available in or around most residences, but these would be suitable meeting places for classes of children whose parents can bring them for several hours of participation.

In many cases, the parents will not be able to attend the televised classes with their children. Because parent involvement is vital to the success of preschool training programs, it would be advisable to present television programs in the evening that describe and depict the preschool

sessions. These programs could show the parents what they can do for their children, how to teach them, and what the children are learning at school. In addition, they could encourage the parents to pay periodic visits to the teachers of the preschool classes to discuss their children's progress.

Clearly, more is needed than just a televised broadcast for an effective preschool-children's educational program. In addition to parental involvement and participation, it is necessary to provide play material and other devices related to the broadcasts. For the televised preschool program to be more than babysitting, it must offer a mix of activities--play, art work, basic learning, and personal contact between child and "teacher."

Information Programs on City Government and Business. We feel that there is a need for programs devoted exclusively to the city government. To begin with, these programs might serve as an open line from City Hall to all ghetto listeners. Perhaps a two-way line could eventually be developed, but for the present we believe it will be extremely useful for the ghetto community to know that City Hall is ready to speak and to report to them at all times. The content of this open line is difficult to predict and to plan. Whatever the content, it will be necessary to cultivate a feeling of informality, timeliness, and immediacy in the programs.

Reports from the Mayor of specific interest to the ghetto residents might include the following:

- o Public Service Line--information concerning transportation in the ghetto, compensatory education programs, welfare and health-service information, special city jobs available to the poor, recreational news, etc.
- o City Business Line--information on business matters in the city for Negro businessmen who feel that they do not have an adequate share of city business--even of ghetto projects.*

*The extent to which this is due to lack of qualifications or to prejudice is not clear. But a City Business Line can at least eliminate the communications complaint.

City Hall programming need not be live, although in some cases time and the emotional impact of immediacy would be important. For example, disproving dangerous rumors with facts or presenting arguments and statements from credible Negro leaders can be extremely important in tense situations.

A most important and significant source of information for the ghetto resident is the leader of a neighborhood group--not necessarily a Black Power group. While these groups, which represent all shades of opinions regarding life in the city, are frequently small (sometimes they have no more than 50 members), there is some evidence that they are extremely useful for spreading information. Indeed, the leader is often judged by how well he can obtain useful and accurate information.* A City Hall program can provide an open channel to these leaders. Viewing habits being what they are, it will take some time for the general viewer to begin to listen to these programs (as well as the other specialized programs). Knowledge of these programs through neighborhood-group leaders can be an important factor in altering viewing habits of the people generally. (28)

Black-Culture Programs

South Central Los Angeles and other ethnic ghettos need programs relevant to their own lives, developed and produced by the ghetto residents themselves. There already exists a rich cultural background from which such programs could draw their content.

The Watts Writers' Workshop has become nationally known; and Chicago's Blackstone Rangers have been on commercial television on prime time. Many more cultural activities need outlets that could be provided by a "soul" television channel. Black-culture programs could originate in any one of the seven neighborhoods in the SCLA ghetto. Studios could be located, for example, in the Avalon-Carver Community Center in Avalon, the WLCAC offices in Watts, and/or Manual Arts High

* Personal communication from William Hibbard, Director of the South Central and East Los Angeles Transportation-Employment Project, and Mr. Robert Farrell, Special Assistant to Billy Mills, Los Angeles Councilman for the 8th Councilmatic District.

School in Exposition. These studios need not be ornate. (A proposed low-cost television origination facility is described below.) Taping equipment could be located not only at these studios but at several other locations as well, such as the community education centers, if these are available (see Appendix B).

Because the black-culture programs reach a very specific audience, local businesses might wish to advertise over a soul channel. Commercial sponsorship of this type of ghetto programming is a distinct possibility.

Community-Interaction Programs

Communities could talk to each other via television. Simultaneous origination of broadcasts would allow talks not only between communities in the Negro ghettos but also between originating points in other areas. Thus it is conceivable that an East Los Angeles group could be seen and heard conversing with a Watts group on the same program. Through the use of tapes, other communities could also receive these programs.

Community Television Origination Facilities

To promote two-way communications, several originating points located away from the studio and essentially open to the public are required.* Conceivably, arrangements could be made by neighborhood groups (or possibly even individuals) to go on the air and be heard by their neighbors, by City Hall, or by other groups in other neighborhoods. It is desirable that it be relatively easy for these amateurs to get on the air, and most important of all, they ought not be encumbered by the artifacts of the studio professional. Indeed, many of the types of ghetto programs described above may involve people who are not familiar with television techniques.

The environment of the usual television studio is hardly conducive to relaxation and informality. It is difficult for a person to "just

* Station KPFK-FM has recently opened a "store-front" broadcast studio in Watts.

be himself" when he is blinded by lights, hung with microphone wires, surrounded by strangers doing mysterious things, listening on headsets to instructions from some invisible voice.

Communication origination facilities for the pilot project should be much simpler than the usual studio environment. Lights, cameras, microphones--all should be played down or disguised altogether. Studio crew should be eliminated as much as possible. Studios should be located in each of the seven SCLA communities, housed in present community centers, wherever possible.

Finally, the possibility of live response, during or after a television presentation, from any member of the viewing audience, will make the televised presentations as close as possible to face-to-face conversation. The simplest way to provide this facility is to use the existing phone lines. At most, this would require the installation of extension phones in meeting rooms at convenient locations.

PILOT STUDY OPTIONS: FEASIBILITY AND COST OF THE ALTERNATIVES

It is not possible at this time to analyze in detail the cost and feasibility of the pilot project. But we will attempt to provide some point of reference from which feasibility analyses can begin. An understanding of the cost and feasibility of the pilot project is vital if the concept is to have credibility.

From the discussion of system alternatives presented in Appendix D, it can be seen that there are several technological systems available for implementing a demonstration program. The major systems are (1) the use of conventional broadcast facilities, (2) instructional television fixed service (ITFS), and (3) wired systems. There are also two scales on which the demonstration can be implemented: The pilot project can be performed throughout the ghetto, which would demonstrate benefits and costs to residents with varied styles of life; or one or more communities within the ghetto can be selected, so that the project can indicate the benefits and costs for a smaller sample of ghetto residents. In the following, we shall discuss several specific options which utilize the three alternative systems described above within these two implementation scales.

Total-Ghetto Project Options

Single Commercial/Noncommercial UHF Station. Coverage of the entire ghetto area by a single UHF station would involve utilization, wherever possible, of programming time on existing stations received in the area; it might also require that an additional channel be established for ghetto use. This option has the appeal of requiring a minimum of new systems and equipments. However, as is shown in Appendix D, not much can be expected from presently operating stations. Commercial stations could not be expected to be available for the large numbers of programs suggested in this pilot project, since their purpose is to serve a larger audience; and presently operating noncommercial stations are also serving entire communities (i.e., both the ghetto and nonghetto sectors) and thus could be available for ghetto use on only a very limited basis.

The implementation of any kind of pilot project that incorporates the basic elements suggested here will require the establishment of at least one new television station. However, even this station will not have adequate capacity to carry all of the suggested programs. The station could share its time among the different types of programs, and satellite community origination facilities could feed locally produced programs into the central broadcast facility, either live, via telephone line, or via prerecorded tapes. How much credibility or spontaneity will be lost when tapes are used is hard to determine, but it is quite clear that time on a single multipurpose channel for these noncommercial and amateur programs and talk shows will be severely limited.

A single station would be hard-pressed to provide adequate programming time for local school and classroom use, not to mention preschool programming. It would not be possible to implement many of the ETV programs described in Section III; in particular, it would not be possible to demonstrate the value of the neighborhood or cluster concept for program origination and utilization.

A UHF transmitter with an effective radiated power of 10 kw and an antenna height of 200 ft was found capable of providing acceptable television coverage in the pilot area.⁽²⁹⁾ As for the availability of a UHF channel, a preliminary analysis indicates that several UHF channels are,

indeed, available.* It is necessary to use UHF because VHF is either unavailable or only marginally feasible in the ghetto area, due to adjacent-channel interference.⁽²⁹⁾

Unfortunately, over half of the ghetto homes (about 60 percent) do not presently have sets equipped for UHF reception. These sets must be adapted at a cost of about \$30 per set. We estimate that the cost to provide adapters to those households presently unable to receive UHF will be \$2,160,000.** This cost is considerably greater than the \$200,000 capital cost required to establish the station transmitting facilities and the \$50,000 or so required for placing a minimal but professionally useful station into operation.

Multichannel UHF Facility. The single-station option provides a minimum program for a demonstration. However, the major cost is not in establishing the station but rather in equipping older ghetto television sets to receive UHF programs. Once this is accomplished, it is relatively cheap to provide additional channels. For example, we estimate the capital cost for a four-channel transmitting facility to be about \$553,000, while four television originating studios might cost about \$200,000.

These cost considerations, coupled with the fact that the single-channel option in all likelihood could not provide either the growth potential or the flexibility that such an experimental program requires, suggest the implementation of a four-channel facility. The entire SCLA ghetto could readily be served by a job-information channel, a City Hall channel, and a soul channel. In addition, the local school system could utilize a channel for the presentation of national, state, or district-originated programs, in addition to any ETV (or ITV) channels that may now be available to them. There is considerable evidence of a continually growing demand for this capability in the future.^(30,31)

In addition, several ITFS systems should be provided to the demonstration-area elementary schools to show the value of the neighborhood or cluster concept for program origination and utilization.

* Preliminary analysis indicates the availability of channels 64, 70, 76, and 82.

** UHF adapters for 72,000 sets at \$30/set.

For the purposes of the pilot project, we have defined clusters in accordance with the seven neighborhoods shown in Fig. 1. But this rather artificial clustering may not be satisfactory for achieving the objectives of such arrangements. Clusters can fall out in several ways. They can result from a school-district decentralization process; they can be defined as we have on the basis of historical community boundaries; or they can reflect the school population--its cultural background and needs. This last process is certainly preferable.

We do not now know what the cultural differences are within the elementary-school population in the ghetto. During the course of our survey work we found concentrations of recently arrived Texans in the Avalon neighborhood and a relatively large group from Alabama in Watts. There is no need for the school cluster to correspond to the physical boundaries of the community. Green Meadows and Exposition with their larger school populations could very well have more than one cluster. And clusters need not depend entirely upon the use of the ITFS. Closed-circuit wired systems may also be used, but the cost increases rapidly with increasing geographical distribution of the school cluster.

Local programs can, as before, be originated either live or taped from satellite community origination facilities.

The Wired Ghetto. All of the demonstration objectives and more can be satisfied by wiring the entire SCLA area. In addition, the feasibility and value of the community education center (see Appendix B) can be demonstrated and evaluated. The cost of wiring the ghetto is very high, over \$6 million; but it does offer the greatest opportunity for demonstration.

Selected-Ghetto-Community Project Options

Partial-Coverage Multichannel UHF Facility. A single UHF channel in a partial-coverage mode, e.g., reaching about 40 percent of the residents or those having sets capable of receiving UHF, is quite low in cost, about \$370,000. But programming limitations coupled with the limited audience make this option, at best, only of long-range value as more residents purchase newer television sets capable of receiving UHF. Furthermore, since those who most need the programs will probably

be unable to receive them, the demonstration value of the project would be doubtful.

A reasonable alternative is one that uses four 10-kw UHF channels and seven ITFS systems but provides UHF attachments only to residents of two communities, say Avalon and Watts. There would be full coverage in these two communities, thus allowing for a rather fair test of the system. Partial coverage in the surrounding neighborhoods could create a sort of control group for comparison with the fully covered areas. The cost of this option is estimated at about \$1.3 million.

Partial-Coverage Wired Ghetto. Finally, all of the demonstration objectives and more can be satisfied by completely wiring two test communities within the SCLA area at a cost of about \$840,000.

Summary of Option Costs

The initial costs for the various pilot options are summarized in Table 9. To these initial "hardware" costs must be added the important elements of research and evaluation. To be meaningful, the demonstration must run at least a year--and perhaps several years--so that the output of the schools, training center, job-finding programs, etc., can be adequately evaluated. The research, test, and evaluation support for this pilot project is of utmost importance, for any future development will depend upon what is learned in this demonstration.

Finally, it is important to select that option having the best prospects for future growth. From the discussion of the wired-ghetto option, it is clear that growth means expansion to other ghettos and other areas in Los Angeles (East Los Angeles and Compton, for example), eventually achieving a "wired city." But the initial cost for the wired ghetto--over \$6 million--may prohibit so great a demonstration step.

Expanding any of the UHF options requires either the additional purchase of soon-to-be-outmoded UHF adaptors or the eventual replacement of UHF with cable in order to obtain the benefits of real diversity from multichannel broadcasting.

On balance, the partial-coverage wired-ghetto option, four channels at a cost of \$839,500, offers the desired diversity for the lowest

Table 9
SUMMARY OF INITIAL COSTS OF ALTERNATIVE SYSTEMS^a

Option	Capital Cost (\$)
<u>Total-ghetto single-channel UHF facility</u>	
10-kw transmitter, including 200-ft tower, land, and installation	200,000
Studio equipment	50,000
UHF adaptors for 72,000 TV sets @ \$30/set	2,160,000
Six community origination facilities ^b @ \$20,000/studio	120,000
Total	2,530,000
<u>Total-ghetto multichannel UHF facility</u>	
Transmitters, four 10-kw channels, including 200-ft tower, land, and installation	553,000
Studio equipment, four studios @ \$50,000/studio	200,000
UHF adaptors for 72,000 TV sets @ \$30/set	2,160,000
Seven ITFS systems	
Avalon: 8 schools, \$27,000	
Exposition: 13 schools, \$34,500	
Green Meadows: 17 schools, \$40,500	
Florence: 13 schools, \$34,500	
Willowbrook: 5 schools, \$22,500	
Central: 5 schools, \$22,500	
Watts: 9 schools, \$28,500	
Total ITFS systems	210,000
Three community origination facilities ^c @ \$20,000/studio	60,000
Total	3,183,000
<u>Wired ghetto^d (to reach 130,000 homes)</u>	
12-channel VHF, high-quality color TV, \$20/drop line, 17 cable mi/sq mi, 46.5 sq mi, @ \$4,500/cable mi	6,155,000
Three community origination studios @ \$20,000/studio	60,000
Four major origination studios for major programs @ \$50,000/studio	200,000
Total	6,415,000
<u>Partial-coverage single-channel UHF facility</u>	
10-kw transmitter, including 200-ft tower, land, and installation	200,000
Studio equipment	50,000
Six community origination facilities @ \$20,000/studio	120,000
Total	370,000
<u>Partial-coverage multichannel UHF facility</u>	
Transmitters, four 10-kw channels, including 200-ft tower, land, and installation	553,000
Studio equipment, four studios @ \$50,000/studio	200,000
UHF adaptors @ \$30/set	
60 percent of Central	93,600
60 percent of Watts	180,000
Seven ITFS systems	210,000
Three community origination facilities @ \$20,000/studio ..	60,000
Total	1,296,600
<u>Partial-coverage wired ghetto</u>	
Central (5,200 homes)	313,500
Watts (10,000 homes)	326,000
Four studio facilities for major programs and community origination @ \$50,000/studio	200,000

^aBased on the technical discussion presented in Appendix D.

^bOne community can use the major studio facilities.

^cWise location of the UHF studio facilities can allow them to be used also as satellite community origination studios. Hence, only three additional, less expensive facilities may be required.

^dFor a detailed derivation of these costs, see Ref. 29.

initial costs, even though it would not cover the entire SCLA area. The two communities chosen (Central and Watts) provide a sufficiently large and diverse population (about 60,000 persons) for carrying out a meaningful analysis of benefits and costs. Furthermore, it would be relatively easy to expand the coverage to other neighborhoods in a stepwise fashion. Should the program prove undesirable after a sufficient time has elapsed for research and evaluation, the service could be discontinued.

V. CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of the study reported here, we have drawn the following conclusions:

- o The ghetto resident lives, in many respects, isolated from the rest of society. Lack of adequate channels of communication is in part responsible for this isolation and certainly plays a major role in his inability to enter the economic and social mainstream of the rest of the community.
- o Present channels of communication for information concerning the availability of jobs, welfare and health services, educational and training opportunities, and current affairs in city government are few and inefficient; moreover, these information sources are often not considered credible by minority groups.
- o The electronic media--radio and television--are rapidly replacing the printed media as the primary source of news and information throughout the country. This has already happened in the ghettos; television, in particular, is considered by ghetto residents to be generally quite credible.
- o In the area of formal education, ghetto schools have not adequately met the needs of ghetto children. Considerable effort is currently being expended to improve this situation. Many of the more promising innovations involve the use of instructional television and radio.
- o There are at present numerous new communication techniques, ranging from satellites to cable television, which offer a unique opportunity for providing specialized information services.
- o The use of this technology for bridging the communication gap in the ghetto and helping to improve the educational system is strongly recommended. The overall potential uses of television for these purposes have been indicated, leaving unanswered, however, many questions that will probably be best answered through experience gained from ongoing programs.

- o A major conclusion of this study, therefore, is that one or more low-cost pilot or demonstration projects should be implemented to assess the kinds of institutions that will be required to produce and broadcast these programs, the potential sources of financial support, and most important, the degree of public acceptance and utilization.

Appendix A

THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION IN THE GHETTO: A PILOT SURVEY

To supplement the observations of social workers, job program directors, and educators, a pilot survey was conducted in three ghettos. The primary purpose of the survey was to ascertain the sources of information concerning schools, jobs and training programs, housing, health services, and community activities. The details of this survey and brief descriptions of the ghettos surveyed are given in this Appendix.

No final conclusions should be drawn from the observations in this pilot survey. These observations, however, may offer some useful guidelines for preparation of more complete and detailed surveys.

In order to obtain some diversity with respect to geography and social economic status, the communities of Gert Town and Central City in New Orleans and Avalon in South Central Los Angeles were chosen for survey.

SURVEY TECHNIQUE

Control groups were drawn from white (or integrated) communities contiguous to or near the target Negro communities. Each control-group community was selected to share as many physical, social, and economic characteristics with the primary group as possible. The Gert Town control group was drawn from a low-middle-income housing development across a major thoroughfare from Gert Town. The Central City group was found in an integrated community immediately west of the all-Negro part of Central City. The Los Angeles control group was drawn from Lawndale, a lower-middle-class white community adjacent to the South Central Los Angeles Negro ghetto.

Interviews were conducted by three people in each Negro target community and by one person in each control community. The following interviewers were selected:

Central City: three Negro semiprofessional research aides; trained and experienced in interviewing; on loan from the staff of Total Community Action, Inc., the New Orleans War on Poverty Agency

Central City control group: a Caucasian graduate student; trained in interview techniques; from the School of Social Work, Tulane University, New Orleans

Gert Town: three Negro junior and senior students from the Departments of Sociology and Political Science, Xavier University; trained in interview techniques, having previously conducted surveys in Gert Town as part of their academic program

Gert Town control group: a Caucasian junior in the History Department at Xavier University; minimal training and experience

South Central Los Angeles: three Negro semiprofessional interviewers, employed by Rand and trained to do interviewing for an Office of Economic Opportunity job-training-program evaluation survey

South Central Los Angeles control group: a Caucasian member of the Rand Research Staff; a history graduate of the University of California, Berkeley; trained in interviewing techniques, having taken part in several ghetto surveys in Oakland, California

The interviewers were instructed in the use of a questionnaire (shown on pp. 65 - 66). They were to deviate from the questionnaire's wording only when necessary to communicate in the local vernacular. They were allowed to repeat or explain a question but not to suggest answers.

In order to minimize the potential for systematic bias of interview responses, each interviewer questioned 10 persons in each of three groups:

- o Young adult, male or female, 18 to 25 years old, married or single
- o Housewife/mother, over 25 years old, not employed
- o Working adult, male or female, over 25 years old, ordinarily employed away from home

Interviewers were instructed to interview only one person from a family; to cover as many blocks as feasible in their assigned area; and to cover different social groups. Individuals were contacted informally, e.g., in their homes, in pool halls or bars, or on street

QUESTIONNAIRE

Interview No. _____ Location _____

DESCRIPTION OF RESPONDENT

First, I'd like some information about you. Male/Female? Are you: Married/Single?

How old are you? _____ N/W/L/O/Other

What grade have you completed? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 College

Any vocational or special training? (describe) _____

What is your regular work? _____

Do you have a job now? Yes/No Full Time/Part Time

At your regular type of job? Yes/No If no: Why do you think that is? _____

Live in? House/Apartment/Public Housing/ _____

Community lived in is primarily: Single family residences/Apartment buildings/Public Housing/ _____

How long lived in neighborhood? _____ Where from? _____

Do you talk back and forth with people on your block? Yes/No

All in all, would you say this is a friendly neighborhood? Yes/No/Don't know

Do you read any of these newspapers regularly?

Los Angeles		New Orleans	Other Newspapers
() <i>Sentinel</i>	() <i>South End Bee</i>	() <i>Louisiana Weekly</i>	_____
() <i>Los Angeles Herald Examiner</i>	() <i>Harambee</i>	() <i>Times-Picayune</i>	_____
() <i>Muhammad Speaks</i>	() <i>Southside Journal</i>	() <i>States-Item</i>	_____
() <i>Herald Dispatch</i>	() <i>Los Angeles Times</i>	() <i>Clarion Herald</i>	_____

What radio stations do you listen to?

How frequently?

INFORMATION SOURCES

Now I'd like to find out where you get information of several kinds. (Record exact names of all newspapers and radio or TV stations.)

Schools

Do you have any children in school? Yes/No

Are you concerned about what's happening at any one of the schools? Yes/No

Where do you get information about what's happening at the schools? _____

Do the schools distribute information about what's happening there? (Record comments.) _____

Jobs and Training

How many jobs have you held in the last year or so? _____

If employed: Do you have in mind looking for another job? Yes/No

If unemployed: Are you looking for a job? Yes/No

How would you get information about jobs or about training programs? _____

Do you think there are some places or newspapers or something that would not really help you?

Yes/No/Don't know Which ones? _____

How did you find your current job? _____

Housing

Have you moved in the past couple of years? Yes/No

Do you have in mind moving soon? Yes/No

If you were going to move, how would you get information about what is available? _____

Do you think there are some places or newspapers or something that would not really help you?

Yes/No/Don't know Which ones? _____

How did you find your current house? _____

Health Services

When you or someone in your family is sick, who do you go to (family doctor, public health, private clinic, etc.)? _____

Where do you find out about where to go? _____

Community Activities

Are you a member of any organizations like churches, social clubs, political groups,

Black Power groups, community improvement groups? Yes/No

What kind?

Do you participate actively?

Yes/No

Yes/No

Yes/No

Where do you find out about what's going on in your neighborhood? _____

Which of these men do you most admire?: (show respondent list)

- | | |
|------------------------|------------------------------|
| () Stokely Carmichael | |
| () Dick Gregory | |
| () James Meredith | (check as many as indicated) |
| () Bill Cosby | |
| () H. Rap Brown | |
| () Roy Wilkins | |

Which of these local men do you most admire?: (show respondent list)

- | Los Angeles | New Orleans |
|------------------------|---------------------------|
| () H. H. Brookings | () Lolis Ely |
| () Louis Lomax | () Revius Ortique |
| () Walter Bremand | () Mike Saurez |
| () James E. Jones | () Llewelyn Soniat |
| () Rev. James Hargett | () Rev. Norwell Thompson |
| () Ron Karenga | () Ernest Morial |

Do you think these people can make life better in the neighborhood? Yes/No/Don't know

Do you think that white public officials care at all about Negroes? Yes/No/Don't know

Interviewer: _____

corners. The interviewers were instructed to identify themselves to these individuals and say that some people in Washington are interested in how information gets around in order to improve the publicizing of their programs. If further information were requested by the interviewee they were to say that the work is being done for The Rand Corporation, a research company in Santa Monica, California, that does work for the government and that the interview is part of a small survey being conducted in several cities and is sponsored by the President's Task Force on Communications Policy.

Interviews were conducted during daylight hours on weekdays, beginning April 20, 1968, and ending June 10, 1968.

To provide a better understanding of the context in which the surveys were conducted, a description of each survey community is given below.

COMMUNITIES OF SURVEY

Gert Town, New Orleans

The Neighborhood. Gert Town is a pishaped area of 1/3 square mile, bounded by three major thoroughfares: Carrollton Avenue, Earhart Boulevard, and Washington Avenue. With the exception of a small Negro area across Earhart Boulevard, the community is surrounded by white neighborhoods.

Dr. Gary Lloyd of the School of Social Work, Tulane University, describes Gert Town in the following terms:

Although close to transportation, and not too far distant from business centers, the major thoroughfares which surround Gert Town help seal it off from the rest of the city: the neighborhood is almost as compact and isolated (in terms of residents' feelings and municipal services) as a rural village. The general feeling of Gert Town is one of decay and apathy. Although not too different from other New Orleans neighborhoods with regard to poor streets, inadequate sanitation services, and decrepit housing, Gert Town has the additional problem of being far removed from health and recreational services, of being a transitional neighborhood moving from residential to light commercial use, and of being excluded from poverty programs. (32)

Table A-1 compares the condition of housing in Gert Town with that in the remainder of New Orleans, according to the 1960 census statistics.*

Table A-1
COMPARISON OF HOUSING IN GERT TOWN AND NEW ORLEANS

Area	Condition of Housing (percent of total)		
	Sound	Deteriorating	Dilapidated
Gert Town	59.0	31.1	10.0
New Orleans	75.4	17.6	7.6

Of the Gert Town housing classified as sound, 31.2 percent lacked at least one of the necessary amenities such as hot running water, bathtub or shower, or inside water closet; 67.2 percent of the deteriorating housing lacked such amenities.

Gert Town houses are small and old. The median number of rooms per house is 3.2 (compared to 4.1 for New Orleans); 85.9 percent of the houses were built in 1939 or earlier. The prospects for significant improvements in housing are not strong. Since the community is in a long-term transition to light industry, there are few incentives for nonresident owners to invest in the houses; and only 19 percent of the residents own their own homes.

The inferior condition of the streets is one of Gert Town's main problems. It has been estimated that three-fourths of the streets are in a condition that hinders driving.

Demographic Characteristics. The current population of Gert Town is approximately 4500.

In 1966 the median ages of Gert Town residents were 24.5 years for males and 27.4 years for females. These ages compare to 28.9 years and 31.4 years for the males and females of the Orleans Parish (the city of New Orleans exclusive of some suburbs). In Gert Town, 21.1

*The last complete set of data available on Gert Town is from the 1960 census, and most of the statistics quoted for this community are from that source.

percent of the males and 16.9 percent of the females were 14 years old and younger; this compares to 15.6 percent and 15.1 percent for males and females of Orleans Parish.

Thus, the average population of Gert Town is considerably younger--with a heavy concentration being in their early teens and younger--than the total population of New Orleans.

Marital statistics reflect instability of the Gert Town families relative to the general New Orleans population: 7.7 percent of the Gert Town women were divorced and 5.2 percent separated, whereas in New Orleans 2.0 percent were divorced and 2.5 percent separated.

However, while families are not especially stable, the community, as measured by its residents, is stable. According to Dr. Lloyd,

Despite poor housing, the neighborhood has been fairly stable: 386 residents had lived there at least three years in 1960, and 456 others had lived there seven years or longer.

Employment and Income. The Gert Town labor force* consisted of 76.1 percent of the males and 41.5 percent of the females, as compared with 75.9 percent of the males and 35.4 percent of the females for New Orleans.

Of the Gert Town males, 9.6 percent were unemployed as compared to 6.2 percent for New Orleans. (The national unemployment level in 1960 was 5 percent.)

Most of the employed males held jobs as skilled and unskilled laborers. The distribution of these jobs is shown in Table A-2.

Table A-2

MALE EMPLOYMENT DISTRIBUTION

Type of Employment	Percent Employed
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	13.0
Operatives and kindred workers	19.8
Private household workers	1.4
Service workers	12.2
Laborers	33.3

* All persons over 14 years old, either employed or unemployed and seeking a job (1960 census).

Less than 9 percent of the employed males held white-collar jobs. This figure included about 1 percent "professional, technical, and kindred workers"; whereas 10 percent of the New Orleans employed males held professional and technical jobs, and 12 percent were laborers.

Of the employed Gert Town females, 42.0 percent were domestics and 26.3 percent were service workers (nonprivate household). These figures compare with 12.8 percent and 15.1 percent, respectively, for New Orleans as a whole. And, 7.6 percent of the Gert Town females were professional, technical, and kindred workers, with a total of 13.7 percent in white-collar jobs. These latter figures compare with 12.9 percent and 52.9 percent, respectively, for New Orleans professional and white-collar employed females.

Of the 1015 Negro families living in Gert Town in 1960, 429, or 42.2 percent, had incomes of less than \$3000. For all of New Orleans only 27.8 percent had similar incomes. The median family income in Gert Town was \$3439 as contrasted to \$4807 for New Orleans.

Education. In 1960, the educational achievement of Gert Town residents 25 years old and older is shown in Table A-3.

Table A-3

EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT OF
GERT TOWN RESIDENTS

Education Completed	Percent Completing
None	5.2
Elementary school	
1-4 years	16.3
5-7 years	31.8
8 years	13.5
High school	
1-3 years	16.4
4 years	10.9
College	
1-3 years	3.2
4 years	2.6

The median number of years completed was 7.7. Thus, half the adult population 25 years old and older had not completed elementary school.

Community Services. In his October 1967 assessment of the social and economic status and needs of Gert Town, Dr. Lloyd summarized the community services as follows:

Police and Sanitation Services. We do not have sufficient data to make hard judgments in these areas. On the basis of observation and discussion, however, it would seem that the police are viewed ambivalently at best. Although the police summer recreational program was a success, in terms of numbers served and improved police-community relationships, police activity is still of concern to residents.

Sanitation services appear to be minimal in Gert Town as in other sections. All things considered, the streets are perhaps cleaner than might be expected. Litter is evident in many places, however, and much of it seems to have been present for a long time. It should be noted that part of the litter and refuse is not on private property, but along railroad right of way, around commercial establishments, and in vacant lots.

Recreation. No especially created, well-equipped playground exists in Gert Town. One play area has been set up with City help, but it is inadequate to the need, and totally unattractive. There is no place in the neighborhood where inclement weather play activities can be held, nor are there areas for adult recreation. Bars serve as informal meeting places for adults, particularly males, but the recreational needs of children and young adults are largely met within the area.

Health. Like most low-income areas, Gert Town does not have immediate access to medical facilities. The public health clinic which serves the neighborhood is located several miles away in the Magnolia project. Gert Town does, however, have the advantage of visits twice a week from a mobile health unit. [This unit has since been discontinued.]

Community Organizations. There are few functioning organizations in Gert Town. The Fourteenth Ward Improvement Association, a civic group which was able to convince the city to make some minor physical improvements, no longer exists. There are eleven churches (all Protestant) in the community; but only three of the ministers live in the

community. Only one of the churches, a Methodist church, was reported to have active programs; these included a Commission of Social Concern, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Voters League, and Urban League. Three Catholic churches near Gert Town have charitable organizations focused at Gert Town and offer some recreational programs for the youth.

The Parent Teachers Association (PTA) is the most active group in the community. Its major activities, according to Dr. Lloyd, are to raise money (presumably for some school-related need) and to listen to speakers.

Dr. Lloyd describes the community associations as follows:

Perhaps the most crucial element related to participation in the total community is the opportunity to participate in one's own immediate community. Although certain persons in Gert Town are identified as leaders by residents, there is no feeling of community expressed in formal or informal neighborhood associations. A few halting efforts have been made to form a kind of improvement association, but these have been unsuccessful, further heightening of the resignation and apathy of residents. Persons designated as influential or leaders do not appear to be able (or perhaps willing) to work in concert for the benefit of the community. There is, therefore, something of a leadership vacuum in Gert Town, and this situation has direct bearing upon the ways the outside community is perceived, and can be used.

Central City, New Orleans

The Neighborhood. Central City was so named by Total Community Action, Inc., the War on Poverty agency in New Orleans. An area of about 1-2/3 square miles, which contains the oldest Negro community in New Orleans, Central City is bounded by South Broad Avenue, Earhart Boulevard, St. Charles Avenue, and Louisiana Avenue. Within the area is Dryades, a street which was once the center of New Orleans commerce. Several other major thoroughfares, each supporting public transportation and commercial development, traverse Central City.

South of the city is an old, almost entirely white community with gracious houses and tree-shaded streets. Between Central City and

Tulane and Loyola universities on the west is a middle-class, racially mixed neighborhood. Commercial and industrial developments bound Central City on the northeast, and a small white community is on the northwest. One-half mile northwest is Gert Town.

Central City has primarily residential, single-family housing. Several large public-housing projects are in the area, as well as numerous, mostly several-family, apartment buildings, and some light industry. Even though about 25 percent of the population lives in the three relatively modern public-housing projects, 43 percent of the housing is classified substandard (i.e., deteriorating or dilapidated); whereas only 25 percent of New Orleans housing is so classified.

Although dilapidated housing, debris-littered streets, and old cars are the pervasive scene, some small parts of Central City are clean, with well-groomed lawns setting off houses that, although old, are handsome in appearance.

The streets of Central City are not safe. In 1966 in New Orleans (exclusive of the War on Poverty target areas), the adult (17 years old and older) crime rate for major offenses* was 9.1 per 1,000 persons; the rate for Central City was one-third higher, i.e., 12.1.

Central City boasted a rate of 31.1 adult offenders per 1,000 arrested for major offenses. The arrest rate for comparable crimes in the non-poverty-program area of New Orleans was 11.8 per 1,000 persons arrested.

The impact of the social environment on the youth is reflected in the first-offender juvenile crime rate. While New Orleans juvenile crime was at a level of 1.2 first offenders per 1,000 persons, the level for Central City was one-third higher, i.e., 1.6. Central City youth had a repeated-arrest rate of 1.7 per 1,000 persons, compared to 0.8 per 1,000 for New Orleans (excluding poverty-program target areas).

Demographic Characteristics. In September 1966, the population of New Orleans was 675,076; of this population 8 percent, or 54,252, lived in Central City; 45,268 Central City residents were Negroes, 7,931 whites.

* Includes murder, rape, aggravated assault, robbery, and burglary.

The balance of the available demographic characteristics, based on the 1960 census, show that

- o Approximately 41 percent of the residents are under 21
- o Approximately 8 percent of the residents are over 65
- o About 26 percent of the population is between 6 and 16 years old
- o About 28 percent of the males and 51 percent of the females are between 17 and 65 years old

Thus, the Central City population is biased to youthful members and strongly imbalanced with respect to the male-female ratio in the 17-to-65 age group.

Employment and Income. As of late 1966, approximately 54 percent of the Central City residents, those from 18 to 60 years old, were considered to be within the labor force; of those, 46 percent were male and 54 percent female. It was estimated that 10 percent of this labor force was unemployed (as of November 1966) and another 45 percent underemployed.

The 1960 census showed the unemployment rate among the labor force (14 years old and older) in Central City to be 9.5 percent for males and 6.4 percent for females, as compared with 6.2 percent and 4.4 percent, respectively, for all of New Orleans.

Of those Central City residents employed, 64.8 percent of the males and 70.7 percent of the females held low-skilled occupations as shown in Table A-4. For New Orleans as a whole, 36.9 percent of the males and 36.6 percent of the females held such occupations; excluding the poverty-program target areas, 32.5 percent of the males and 30.5 percent of the females held these occupations.

Incomes reflect these employment conditions. Of the 12,326 families living in Central City during 1960, 6,884, or 56 percent, had incomes of less than \$3,000. For New Orleans the analogous figure was 28 percent. The Central City family income statistics are shown in Table A-5.

Table A-4

MALE AND FEMALE EMPLOYMENT DISTRIBUTION

Type of Employment	Percent Employed	
	Male	Female
Operatives and kindred workers	21.2	9.4
Private household workers	0.7	34.1
Service workers	15.0	26.4
Laborers	27.9	0.8
Total	64.8	70.7

Table A-5

FAMILY INCOME STATISTICS

Income	Percent of Families
Less than \$1000	10.8
\$1000-\$1999	20.2
\$2000-\$2999	21.9

The median family income in Central City was only \$2916--well below the Department of Labor poverty-level standard of \$3130 for an urban family of four.

The welfare rolls in 1965 showed that 15.6 percent of persons under 21 years of age received AFDC payments, and 45 percent of persons aged 65 and over received Old Age Assistance.

Education. In 1960 the percent of Central City persons 25 years old and older with less than eight years of education compared closely with that of New Orleans: Central City, 38 percent; New Orleans, 35 percent.

Community Services. As a poverty-program target area, Central City has numerous services and organizations directed toward it. The most important of these organizations is the New Orleans Total Community Action Agency, which operates the Central City Neighborhood Center. The functions of this Center include

- o City Welfare Family Counseling--provides 24-hour-a-day social-work services by a staff of 15

- o Central City Federal Credit Union
- o Concentrated Employment Program--provides employment counseling, an employment orientation program, and some job referrals

Other agencies and organizations that function in the community include

- o Bethlehem House of Bread--provides social services, especially breakfast for children, as recommended by school authorities, and a hot midday meal for those in need
- o Central City Child Development Center--provides day care, pre-school training, health care, and hot meals for children
- o Edna Pilsbury Health Center--provides public-health services, including prenatal instruction and well-child clinics

Additionally, a YMCA and several churches offer youth and young-adult programs and some social services. Although not centrally located, there is a public library in Central City.

Community Organizations. There are few formal community organizations in Central City. The several school PTAs function to involve the parents in the affairs of the school. Numerous informal social clubs serve the needs of their members. And the Total Community Action (TCA) office has organized several community-improvement-centered groups. The following is quoted from a TCA publication which describes the facility and its services. (33)

Present neighborhood-action Committees:

- o The Remedial Education Committee--whose chief concern is the upgrading of public education with emphasis on effective remedial classes for the slow learner and mentally retarded.
- o The Welfare Rights Committee--whose chief concern is to provide better services, including higher grants for Welfare clients.
- o The Youth Organization--whose chief concern is to involve young people of a social and civic nature, which will be helpful in creating pride, dignity, self-identification and community spirit.
- o Recreation Committee--whose primary concern is to provide adequate recreation facilities in the target area and to bring about desired improvements.

All of the above mentioned Committees work as task forces for the Economic Opportunity Committee, which is the focus of representational policy working on behalf of the total Central City Area. Each committee works with one aspect of one of three broad problem areas, cultural, political or economic.

Proposed new committees:

- o Concentrated Employment Program and Neighborhood Youth Corp Worker--to apply pressure for maximum effectiveness of the Concentrated Employment Program.
- o Housing Committee--to pressure and tap all resources to provide adequate low-rent housing in the Target Area.
- o Health and Medical Service Committee--to provide public health and emergency medical services in the Target Area.
- o Business Improvement Committee--to develop and improve small businesses.
- o Consumer Education Committee--to provide information to the Committee on buying, budgeting, and saving.

Avalon, South Central Los Angeles

The Neighborhood. Avalon, the area chosen for the Los Angeles survey, represents a very small portion of the Negro ghetto of South Central Los Angeles. The entire South Central area, containing the communities of Willowbrook, Green Meadows, Watts, Florence, Exposition, Central, and Avalon covers 45.5 square miles. Avalon is bounded by Alameda Avenue on the east to the Harbor Freeway on the west and from Slauson Avenue on the south to Santa Barbara Avenue on the north. This survey covered about 3 square miles of this area.

The neighborhood is primarily residential and relatively stable in that there are many families who have lived in Avalon for many years. The rate of migration to the area has remained rather constant--11.7 percent in 1960 and 11.0 in 1965. (This compares to 16.8 percent in 1960 and 10.0 percent in 1965 for Watts.)⁽³⁴⁾

The population is 95.5 percent Negro, 3.9 percent Mexican-American, and 0.6 percent other races. This mix remained remarkably constant

between the census periods in 1960 and 1965. The total population of Avalon is 43,610, which makes it the third largest community in South Central Los Angeles. However, of the three, it has the highest percentage of Negroes. So it can be concluded that Avalon is certainly not a racially transitional neighborhood but rather one that has been predominantly black for many years.

On casual observance along the main streets, Avalon appears to be a fairly comfortable lower-middle-class community having plentiful schools and wide, paved streets lined with well-cared-for parks. Well-kept small and medium-size (usually white and apparently single-family) dwellings line these streets. There are numerous cars parked in driveways and in front of the houses. However, more than half of these cars are not in usable condition. But a tour of the narrow back streets and alleys quickly reveals several of the more noticeable elements of a typical slum: littered streets, yards, and alleys, unpainted run-down houses, and small, shabby business areas.

Unlike Eastern ghettos, where high-rise apartments or rows of wall-to-wall houses quickly evidence high density, high-density population is not immediately evident in Avalon. However, the density is among the highest in the county, ranging from about 8,700 to 10,912 persons per square mile. This compares to the Los Angeles County average of 1,479 and the Central City average of 4,795.⁽³⁵⁾

Sharp contrasts are apparent in much of the residential housing in Avalon. Near the neat, attractive, well-conditioned homes owned by the long-time residents of the community can be found run-down houses in need of repair or even replacement and usually inhabited on a rental basis by relative newcomers to the community.

Table A-6 shows the condition of housing as classified by the 1960 census and by a special census taken in 1965.⁽³⁴⁾

According to the 1965 census, 84.5 percent of the housing units were more than 20 years old; 1.6 percent of the sound and deteriorating houses were lacking in one or more plumbing facilities, and 1.9 percent either shared a bathroom or had none at all. About 28 percent of the units were owner occupied; 71.9 percent were renter occupied. The median dollar value of the owner-occupied homes was \$13,300; and the median rental was \$73 per month.

Table A-6

CONDITION OF HOUSING ACCORDING TO 1960 AND 1965 CENSUS
(percent of homes)

Condition	1960 Census		1965 Special Census ^a Avalon
	Avalon	L.A. County	
Sound	80.4	92	56.0
Deteriorating	16.8	7	37.1
Dilapidated	2.8	1	6.9

^aComparative figures for Los Angeles County were not available for 1965.

Comparing 1965 data with that from 1960, it becomes clear that Avalon has been changing. The number of sound housing units has diminished; the number of deteriorating units has more than doubled; the number of owners has decreased and renters have increased. But more plumbing has been added and the number of houses without any plumbing has been decreased by half. However, it is difficult to ascertain from the statistics whether the trend is toward better, the same, or worse conditions.

Demographic Characteristics. The population of Avalon, as reported in 1965, was 43,610. The age distribution of this population is shown in Table A-7.

Table A-7

POPULATION AGE DISTRIBUTION
(percent of population)

Age (yr)	Avalon	South Central Los Angeles
Under 5	12.3	13.2
5-14	21.1	23.4
15-24	12.4	13.9
25-44	21.7	23.9
45-64	21.3	17.9
65 or over	11.2	7.7

The average age for the Avalon population is markedly older than that of the total South Central area. The national median age for Caucasians is considerably older than that for Negroes. Thus, the age distribution for the Avalon population is perhaps closer to that of the national white population than is the distribution for other areas in the Los Angeles ghetto.

Marital-status statistics reflect the general instability in the Negro ghetto, despite the higher age level: 11.0 percent of the residents in Avalon were reported divorced and 11.6 percent separated. This compares with 8.9 percent and 9.6 percent, respectively, for the entire South Central area and about 2.2 percent and 2.8 percent, respectively, for the Los Angeles County population generally. Thus, while the family unit is not especially stable, the community itself as measured by its long-time residents is relatively stable.

Employment and Income. In South Central Los Angeles, the median family income (adjusted because of rise in prices) dropped by 8 percent--from \$5,100 in 1959 to \$4,700 in 1965. In Avalon, the median income dropped by 4.6 percent--from \$4,078 in 1960 to \$3,913 in 1965. About 35 percent of all the families in Avalon had incomes below the poverty level (less than \$2,999 per year). This is seven percentage points higher than the figure for the entire Negro ghetto in South Central Los Angeles and seven points lower than the figure for Watts, which had the highest percent of below-poverty-level incomes in the area. The average (reasonable estimate of the median) income for Los Angeles County was reported in 1965 as \$6,727. (36)

The Avalon labor force^{*} includes 64.0 percent of the males and 38.4 percent of the females. This compares to about 73 percent of the males and 38 percent of the females for the rest of Los Angeles County. Avalon stands about in the middle as compared with other communities in the South Central ghetto.

In 1965, 13.1 percent of the males were reported as unemployed and 29.1 percent as enrolled in school. Of the females, 14.0 percent were reported as unemployed and 14.6 percent as enrolled in school.

^{*}Persons 14 years old and older.

The male and female unemployment figures compare with a figure of 5.7 percent for Los Angeles County overall.

The distribution of employment in Avalon for both males and females is shown in Table A-8.

Table A-8
AVALON EMPLOYMENT STATISTICS

Type of Employment	Percent of Employed
Male	
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	1.7
Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farmers	2.7
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	12.9
Operatives and kindred workers	27.2
Service workers, except private household	18.7
Laborers, except farm and mine	14.6
Other	22.2
Female	
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	4.1
Clerical and kindred workers	12.2
Operatives and kindred workers	21.7
Private household workers	29.0
Service workers, except private household	19.8
Other	13.2

Direct comparisons with overall Los Angeles County employment statistics are not possible because of differences in categories. But the statistics⁽³⁶⁾ shown in Table A-9 may be of some value.

Table A-9
LOS ANGELES COUNTY EMPLOYMENT STATISTICS

Type of Employment	Percent of Employed
Professional	5.2
Technical	2.9
Managerial	3.1
Clerical	15.9
Sales	4.4
Service	9.1
Skilled	17.6
Semiskilled	21.3
Unskilled and other	20.5

Less than 10 percent of all Negroes in Avalon held white-collar jobs as compared to over 11 percent for Los Angeles County as a whole. As one might expect, the Negroes in Avalon held a much higher percentage of service jobs than did those in Los Angeles County.

Education. There are six elementary schools in the surveyed area (eleven for all of Avalon), one junior high school, and one high school (two for all of Avalon). Detailed data on educational achievement specifically for Avalon were not available. However, the percentage of high school graduates in South Central Los Angeles is high (over 80 percent) as is the average number of school years completed (11.6). But these data were obtained from a very special group--those 18 to 21 years old who are seeking employment. From the survey sample itself the data shown in Table A-10 were obtained.

Table A-10

EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT

Education Completed (yr)	Percent Completing
1-8	11.8
1-8, plus some vocational school	5.8
9-11	41.2
9-11, plus some vocational school	5.9
High-school graduate	10.6
High-school graduate, plus some vocational school	20.0
College graduate	4.7

Some additional information from other areas in South Central Los Angeles may be of comparative value. For example, the median number of years of schooling of adults in Watts was 9.7.⁽³⁷⁾ Statistics show that 66 percent of the adults in the entire ghetto failed to graduate from high school and 14 percent had less than 5 years of schooling. Functional illiteracy is presumed to be high.

Community Services. There are few hard data on such community services as sanitation within Los Angeles. Numerous complaints are heard concerning the lack of adequate sanitation services in many areas

of South Central Los Angeles, including Avalon; and the summer-student clean-up programs seem to lend credibility to these complaints. However, observation reveals not much more than the normal amount of dirt and refuse usually found in the downtown section of a large city.

The influence of police is difficult to assess. Any police action strong enough to provide adequate protection or to counteract the high crime rate in the South Central area* would probably be labeled as excessive in this sensitive area.

There are few recreation areas for children other than streets and back lots. The Avalon-Carver Community Center caters to all ages. Schools provide after-hour and summer playground areas, but supervision, except at the community center, is rare.

There is no health clinic in Avalon, but the community center provides information and transportation to several nearby centers for those requesting aid.

Transportation has been and continues to be the major problem not only in Avalon but throughout the entire South Central area. In spite of the thoroughfares around and through Avalon, 47.3 percent of the households do not have automobiles; and at least one-third of the automobiles that do exist are inoperable. Southern California Rapid Transit lines run along the thoroughfares, but the fares are high (over \$1.50 to go one way, say, to the airport) and the travel time is long. Since transportation to central Los Angeles is cheaper and shorter than that to other areas, there is a high percentage of city-government workers--14.7 percent held these jobs in 1965.

Public welfare is perhaps the most important public-service activity in the Avalon area: 35.4 percent of Avalon families live below the poverty-level standard, 60.8 percent having a female as head of household and 41.7 percent being unrelated individuals. It is fortunate for the Avalon residents that the Avalon-Carver Community Center is available to them as a focal point for benefit actions.

* Although only 17 percent of the population of Los Angeles live in this area, the South Central Los Angeles area accounted for 44 percent of the murders, rapes, and aggravated assaults; 40 percent of the robberies; 33 percent of the thefts; 24 percent of the burglaries; and 27 percent of all crimes committed in Los Angeles in 1965.

Community Organizations. South Central Los Angeles has a surprisingly large number of community organizations. At last count there were over 35 community groups, including community clubs, black improvement societies, tenant groups, homeowner's councils, PTAs, and a few official political groups. Because many of the more educated and politically conscious people work for the state or local government, they cannot participate in formal political organizations. However, a keen awareness of the political atmosphere in Los Angeles and a rather high degree of political sophistication can be seen in the results shown in Tables A-11 and A-12. Both of these tables are the results of surveys conducted throughout the Negro ghetto. Table A-11 shows the Negro evaluation of local white politicians and legislative bodies and Table A-12 shows that for Los Angeles Negro politicians.

Table A-11
EVALUATION OF LOCAL WHITE POLITICIANS
AND LEGISLATIVE BODIES (1965)

Politician or Legislative Body	Evaluation (percent of respondents)		
	Favorable	Unfavorable	No Opinion
Sam Yorty, Los Angeles Mayor	25	66	9
William Parker, Chief, Los Angeles Police Department	10	76	8
Los Angeles City Council	73	15	12
John Gibson, Los Angeles City Council	27	5	67
Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors	70	16	14
Kenneth Hahn, Los Angeles County Supervisor	58	3	39

The Negroes of South Central Los Angeles and of Avalon also have specific opinions about the various local service agencies as well as the Federal anti-poverty programs in the area (see Tables A-13 and A-14).

Table A-12

EVALUATION OF LOS ANGELES NEGRO POLITICIANS

Politician	Evaluation (percent of respondents)		
	Favorable	Unfavorable	No Opinion
Augustus Hawkins, U.S. Congress	67	3	30
Mervyn Dynally, California State Assembly	44	2	55
Douglas Farrell, California State Assembly	35	21	44
Tom Bradley, Los Angeles City Council	54	3	44
Gilbert Lindsay, Los Angeles City Council	54	6	40
Billy Mills, Los Angeles City Council	59	5	35
J. E. Jones, Los Angeles Board of Education	45	1	54

Table A-13

EVALUATION OF LOCAL SERVICE AGENCIES

Agency	Evaluation (percent of respondents)		
	Favorable	Unfavorable	No Opinion
State Employment Agency	50	29	21
Los Angeles Human Relations Commission	32	10	58
Bureau of Public Assistance	56	19	24
Aid to Dependent Children	54	15	31

There is, also, a lively interest in the Negro civil-rights movement. The awareness of the work of Ralph Bunche, the NAACP, the Urban League, SCLC, SNCC, and CORE is very high; in no case did the interviewers record a "no-opinion" report of more than 18 percent. There are few Negroes in South Central Los Angeles and in Avalon who are not aware of the Black Muslims, Elijah Muhammad, or John Shabazz.

Table A-14

EVALUATION OF FEDERAL ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAM

Program or Agency	Evaluation (percent of respondents)		
	Favorable	Unfavorable	No Opinion
Economic and Youth Opportunities Agency	46	11	43
Youth Opportunities Board	48	11	41
Neighborhood Adult Participation Project	29	7	64
Youth Training and Employment Program	49	10	41
Headstart	41	8	51
Teen Crash Program	24	5	71

SURVEY RESULTS

Statistical Summary

The statistical summary of those interviewed in the survey is shown in Table A-15. In an effort to assess the respondents' militancy, they were asked whom they most admired of a list of national Negro figures. Multiple responses resulted. These results are discussed further in the following section.

Observations

The following observations may be made on the data found in the statistical summary:

Sample Group

- o There were 70 percent of the Central City respondents and 65 percent of the Los Angeles respondents who did not complete high school; 50 percent of those in Gert Town completed high school.
- o The Gert Town respondents are an unusually well-educated group for New Orleans Negroes and are not representative of the total Gert Town population in this respect.

Table A-15

STATISTICAL SUMMARY
(percent of respondents)

Item	Sample Group				Control Group			
	CC ^a	GT	LA	Average	CC	GT	LA	Average
	Number of Respondents							
	87	78	88	253	20	16	15	51
Sex								
Male	46	45	50	47	35	27	53	37
Female	54	55	50	53	65	75	47	63
Marital status								
Married	71	64	62	66	80	54	60	73
Single	29	36	38	34	20	44	20	27
Age group								
18 - 25	38	37	36	37	40	37	33	37
26 - 40	37	44	46	41	15	25	20	20
41 - 65	25	19	16	20	45	25	33	35
Over 65	0	0	2	1	0	13	14	8
Education								
Grades 1 - 8	40	12	12	22	20	0	7	10
Grades 1 - 8 plus vocational ^b	1	0	6	2	0	13	0	4
Grades 9 - 11	24	28	41	31	20	6	27	18
Grades 9 - 11 plus vocational	6	10	6	7	0	13	0	4
Grade 12	12	13	11	12	30	25	27	27
Grade 12 plus vocational	16	17	20	17	5	13	13	10
Some college	1	21	5	9	25	31	27	27
Occupation ^c								
Housewife	6	32	25	20	32	7	33	24
Common laborer and domestic	40	16	11	23	5	0	0	2
Skilled laborer	22	19	28	23	37	20	33	31
Office-clerical and sales	7	8	10	8	16	33	7	18
Semiprofessional	2	10	2	5	5	27	13	14
Professional	0	5	1	2	0	0	0	0
Student	1	4	1	2	5	13	13	10
No reported occupation	24	6	21	17	0	0	0	0
Full-time employed ^d	80	72	76	76	X	91	X	77
Employed at regular type work ^d	88	87	93	90	X	X	X	95
Residence								
House	70	65	68	68	56	75	67	65
Apartment	26	34	30	30	44	25	33	35
Public housing	3	0	2	2	0	0	0	0
Length of stay in neighborhood								
Total life	97	99	97	97	100	88	93	94
Longer than 6 months	67	65	56	62	65	25	47	47
Membership in organizations ^e								
Social Orientation								
Positive to neighbors	84	91	83	86	60	63	80	67
Positive to community	83	86	81	83	79	88	67	78
Positive to Negro leaders	62	88	84	78	..	..	..	..
Positive to white public officials	42	62	16	40	..	..	..	..
Militancy								
Admire Stokely Carmichael	12	16	43	24	..	..	..	..
Admire Rap Brown	22	22	34	26	..	..	..	..
Admire James Meredith	44	53	29	42	..	..	..	..
Admire Roy Wilkins	35	57	33	41	..	..	..	..
Admire Dick Gregory	29	39	36	34	..	..	..	..
Admire Bill Cosby	57	70	71	66	..	..	..	..
Mass media								
Read Negro newspapers	84	74	82	80	..	..	..	..
Read city newspapers	88	83	67	79	85	94	100	92
Listen to Negro radio <u>only</u>	93	78	70	80	..	..	..	..
Listen to many radio stations	82	72	93	83	75	87	67	76

^aCC, Central City; GT, Gert Town; LA, Los Angeles.

^bVocational training included, for example, secretarial, banking, practical nurse, mechanic, business-machines operator.

^cCommon laborers and domestics (laundry worker, gardener, porter, janitor, waitress); skilled laborers (cook, checker, teacher, mail carrier, electrician's helper); office-clerical and sales (telephone operator, postal clerk, receptionist, shoe salesman, saleslady); semiprofessional (banker, shop-owner, foreman); professional (lawyer, minister, probation officer).

^dPercent of those employed.

^ePercent indicating some membership.

- o Some housewives were not identified as such (on the interview sheets) by the interviewers in Central City; they apparently were identified as unemployed workers in other occupations or as people with no reported occupation.
- o Three-fourths of the employed Negro respondents reported themselves as being employed full time; but this group includes some housewives who reported themselves as working at the job of housewife.
- o Almost all of the Negro respondents had lived in their current neighborhood for more than 6 months. Therefore, they should have had adequate knowledge of the local information sources, organizations, and neighborhood characteristics.
- o The Gert Town respondents are more positively oriented to the several elements of society examined than are either the Central City or Los Angeles groups. More than 60 percent of the Gert Town respondents feel that white public officials do care about Negroes, while only 42 percent of the Central City and 16 percent of the Los Angeles respondents have such positive views of white public officials.
- o The Gert Town respondents feel more positive about the possible role of local Negro leadership than do their Central City counterparts. (And, it should be noted, Negro leaders have done almost nothing for Gert Town or for Central City. In fact, Negro leadership in New Orleans has historically been, and continues to be, generally politically ineffectual.)
- o As noted previously, many responses resulted to the question of which national Negro figures the respondents most admired. Bill Cosby (an entertainer) is preferred and within some groups, overwhelmingly so, over such Negro leaders as Stokely Carmichael, Rap Brown, Roy Wilkins, James Meredith, and entertainer-leader Dick Gregory. The New Orleans Negro respondents identify far less with the militant national Negro leadership (Stokely Carmichael and Rap Brown) than those in Los Angeles. The Gert Town respondents are much more positively oriented to the moderate leadership of Roy Wilkins than are either of the

other Negro respondent groups. The relative strength of James Meredith's respondent identification in New Orleans is probably due to the geographic incidence of his civil-rights work.

- o An overwhelming majority of the respondents listen with great frequency only to Negro (soul) radio stations.
- o Only two-thirds of the Los Angeles respondents read the city newspapers, while more than four-fifths read the Negro newspapers.

Control Group

- o Only 2 percent of this group are common laborers or domestics, but none of these people hold professional positions.
- o The same problem of job identity for housewives appears to have occurred for the Gert Town control group as occurred for the Central City sample group.
- o The Gert Town control-group respondents hold better jobs than do those of Central City or Los Angeles.
- o Only one-fourth of the Gert Town control group maintain memberships in organizations. Of these people, 88 percent feel that theirs is a friendly neighborhood, but only 63 percent "talk back and forth" with people on their block. This latter trait of orientation is also true to a lesser extent of the Central City control group.

Sample-Group/Control-Group Comparisons

- o The control group contains relatively more females and married persons than does the sample group.
- o The housewife/mother and working-adult respondents in the control group are older than those in the sample group.
- o The control group has received more formal education than the sample group; about two-thirds of the control group has completed high school, while less than two-fifths of the sample group has done so.
- o The control group holds better jobs than does the sample group.
- o The residential patterns of the two groups are similar, to the extent that all members are from low-density communities.

- o The Negro sample group are more positively oriented toward both their immediate neighbors and their neighborhood than are the Caucasians in the control group. Only 67 percent of the whites "talk back and forth" to people on the block while 86 percent of the blacks do so.

Information Sources

Schools. To establish the extent of interest in school activities the respondents were asked if they had any children in school or were concerned about what is happening at the schools. The response is shown in Table A-16.

Table A-16

INTEREST IN SCHOOL ACTIVITIES (percent of respondents)

Respondents	Sample Group				Control Group
	CC	GT	LA	Average	
	Number of Respondents				
	87	78	88	253	51
Those with children in school	47	50	55	51	29
Those concerned about schools	88	76	85	83	46

Respondents were asked about the sources of their information about what is happening at the schools. These responses are shown in Table A-17. There is an overwhelming dependence on the school children and other people as information sources in the Los Angeles ghetto as well as a strong dependence on this informal mechanism in New Orleans.

The control group, being older than the sample group, had fewer children in school. They also were significantly less concerned about happenings at the schools. Mass media were considered as sources by one-fourth of these people.

Table A-17

SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT SCHOOLS
(percent of respondents)

Source	Sample Group				Control Group
	CC	GT	LA	Average	
	Number of Respondents				
	71	61	78	210	38
School children	55	38	72	56	34
Other people	18	23	15	19	16
School publications	1	0	5	2	11
School organizations (PTA)	18	33	5	18	13
Mass media	6	3	3	4	26
Other	1	3	0	1	0

A further breakdown of the data on information sources concerning the schools is shown in Table A-18, where the sample is divided by educational achievement and by social group per city for Negroes with children in the schools. Also noted are aggregated data for whites with children in school and for respondents without children in school but with a concern for the schools. The data are given in number of rather than percent of respondents, because of loss of precision in percentages when there are so few respondents.

The following observations may be made on the data in Table A-18:

- o Children serve as primary information sources for all educational and social groups in Los Angeles, but the role of the Los Angeles PTA is insignificant.
- o There is decreasing dependence on the children and increasing importance of the PTA as an information source in New Orleans with increasing respondent educational achievement. This may be due to the role played by the PTA in Gert Town, where most of the better educated members of the New Orleans Negro sample reside.
- o About one-half of the working adults in New Orleans use PTA sources; their counterparts in Los Angeles do not.
- o New Orleans and Los Angeles Negroes with no children in school use other people's children and other people as information sources. Only a small number use the mass media.

Table A-18

SOURCES FOR INFORMATION REGARDING SCHOOLS
(number of respondents)

Groups Surveyed	Sources					
	Chil- dren	Other People	School Publi- cation	PTA	Mass Media	Total
New Orleans						
Negroes with children in school						
Those with elementary-school education ^a	15	0	0	4	0	19
Those with some high-school education	14	4	0	10	1	29
High-school graduates	10	3	0	12	0	25
Those with college education ^b	0	0	0	3	1	4
Total	39	7	0	29	2	77
Young adults	4	1	0	3	0	8
Housewife/mother	12	2	0	6	1	21
Working adults	21	3	0	19	1	44
Total	37	6	0	28	2	73
Other groups						
Concerned Negroes without children in school	21	19	1	1	3	50
Whites with children in school	0	3	3	3	3	11
Concerned whites without children in school	2	2	3	1	0	5
Los Angeles						
Negroes with children in school						
Those with elementary-school education ^a	8	0	0	0	0	8
Those with some high-school education	17	1	1	3	1	23
High-school graduates	8	1	2	1	0	12
Those with college education ^b	1	0	1	0	0	2
Total	34	2	4	4	1	45
Young adults	4	1	1	0	0	6
Housewife/mother	13	0	1	2	1	17
Working adults	16	1	2	2	0	21
Total	33	2	4	4	1	44
Other groups						
Concerned Negroes without children in school	16	8	0	0	1	25
Whites with children in school	2	0	0	2	0	4
Concerned whites without children in school	5	0	0	0	0	5

^a Includes those who completed elementary school and those who did not.

^b Includes those who completed college and those who did not.

Jobs and Training. To obtain some insight into the respondents' awareness of information sources for jobs and training programs, they were asked how many jobs they had held in the last year or so, if they were looking for another job (if employed), and if they were looking for a job (if unemployed). The responses to these questions are shown in Table A-19.

Table A-19

RESPONSES CONCERNING JOBS
(percent of respondents)

Job Circumstance	Sample Group				Control Group
	CC	GT	LA	Average	
	Number of Respondents				
	87	77	87	251	50
No. of jobs held					
0	30	38	38	35	40
1	44	49	37	43	46
2 or more	26	13	25	22	14
Looking for job (employed)	56	26	44	43	4
Looking for job (unemployed)	40	24	38	34	13

It is interesting to note the difference between the 4 percent of those in the control group who are employed and considering looking for a job, and the percent of those in the sample group, especially in Central City and Los Angeles. This difference is probably due in part to the high number of menial jobs held by the Central City and Los Angeles Negroes.

Respondents were asked how they expected to get information about jobs or training programs and how they found their current job. The first question required the respondent to anticipate what he thought he would do; the second question probed his actual experience. The responses are shown in Table A-20.

Table A-20

EXPECTED AND ACTUAL SOURCES OF JOB AND TRAINING INFORMATION: TOTAL SAMPLE
(percent of respondents)

Information Source	Sample Group								Control Group	
	CC		GT		LA		Average		Ex-pected	Ac-tual
	Ex-pected	Ac-tual	Ex-pected	Ac-tual	Ex-pected	Ac-tual	Ex-pected	Ac-tual		
	Number of Respondents									
	86	48	76	34	87	36	249	118	46	24
Friends/relatives	10	58	13	59	33	53	19	57	17	63
Employment agency	1	0	25	6	33	33	20	12	46	17
Public-service organization	43	6	5	6	3	0	18	4	0	0
Civil-rights organization	9	9	11	3	2	0	4	1	0	0
Negro newspaper (city wide)	0	0	1	0	3	0	2	0	..	..
General city newspaper	3	0	7	0	6	11	5	3	22	13
Community newspaper	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Other newspapers	21	8	13	3	7	0	14	4	0	0
Negro radio	7	2	0	3	1	0	3	2	0	0
General radio	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Other	3	23	14	21	7	3	8	16	9	8
Source unknown	10	..	11	..	2	..	8	..	7	..

The following observations may be made on the statistics shown in Table A-20:

- o Although the Central City, Gert Town, and control-group respondents do not expect to depend primarily on friends and relatives for information, these people prove to be the actual primary information sources. Possibly as a result of the strength of the Black-Power philosophy, the Los Angeles Negroes are more realistic in their appraisal of the role of friends and relatives.
- o The Los Angeles and Gert Town Negroes both expect to use employment agencies to a great extent; the Los Angeles Negro's experience matches his expectations.
- o The high expected use by the Gert Town Negroes of the employment office relative to the public service organization probably

results in part from (1) the higher education level of the respondents and (2) the absence of a nearby public-service organization office.

- o The whites anticipate the use of an employment office far more than they have experienced its help.
- o Of the Central City group, 43 percent look to a public-service organization for job information, but only 6 percent have gotten jobs through such an organization.
- o Civil-rights organizations, such as the Urban League, were not reported as useful for finding jobs, nor are they anticipated to be. This may reflect a lack of information about these organizations.
- o Negro newspapers have been of little or no help in job or training-program searches. None of the New Orleans and only one of the Los Angeles newspapers carry such information.
- o No jobs were reportedly found by New Orleans Negroes through general newspapers, nor were any anticipated to be. In this context it should be noted that newspaper reading is a difficult task for poorly educated people. And want ads are especially difficult to read due to the many abbreviations.
- o There are no community newspapers in the two Negro areas surveyed in New Orleans and those newspapers in the Los Angeles area carry little or no job information.
- o The Negro radio in Los Angeles has not been, and is not expected to be, a source of job information. This is also the case in New Orleans.
- o In the category labeled "other" were such sources as personal search, school placement offices, and school counselors.

The data on the sources of information used to obtain current jobs were divided according to educational level and social group of the respondents. These data, shown in Table A-21, are presented in number rather than percent of respondents.

- o The strong dependence on friends and relatives for information is true of all groups.

Table A-21

ACTUAL SOURCES OF JOB AND TRAINING INFORMATION:
BY EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT AND SOCIAL GROUP
(number of respondents)

Information Source	Educational Achievement				Social Group		
	Elementary School	Some High School	High School Grad.	College	Young Adult	Housewife/Mother	Working Adult
New Orleans							
Friends/relatives	12	18	12	5	23	1	24
Employment agency	0	1	1	0	0	0	2
Public-service organization	0	1	3	1	2	0	3
Civil-rights organization	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Negro newspaper	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
General city newspaper	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Community newspaper	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
Other newspapers	1	3	1	0	1	0	4
Negro radio	1	0	1	0	2	0	0
General radio	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	3	4	6	4	7	0	11
Total	17	27	26	10	36	1	44
Los Angeles							
Friends/relatives	2	6	8	1	11	0	8
Employment agency	1	5	3	2	5	0	7
Public-service organization	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Civil-rights organization	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Negro newspaper	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
General city newspaper	1	2	1	0	2	0	2
Community newspaper	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other newspapers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Negro radio	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
General radio	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Total	4	14	12	3	18	0	17

- o Both the young-adult and working-adult groups in Los Angeles have successfully used employment agencies. Those with only a partial high-school education have also been successful in finding jobs through employment agencies in Los Angeles.

The respondents were asked if they felt that any possible sources of information were not useful or credible. The responses are shown in Table A-22.

Table A-22

UTILITY OR CREDIBILITY OF INFORMATION SOURCES
(number of respondents)

Response	Sample Group			Control Group
	CC	GT	LA	
Yes	5	26	44	2
No opinion	37	31	39	11

The anomalous Central City result is probably in part the result of improper interviewer technique or difficulty in the wording of the question. The sources most often mentioned by those Negroes who answered "yes" to the above question are listed in Table A-23.

Table A-23

INFORMATION SOURCES MOST OFTEN USED

Source	Percent of Respondents
New Orleans	
Newspapers in general	44
Negro radio	26
Regular city newspapers (<u>Times Picayune</u> and <u>States Item</u>)	17
Los Angeles	
Regular city newspapers (<u>Los Angeles Times</u> and <u>Los Angeles Herald Examiner</u>)	67
Newspapers in general	19
Negro newspapers	14

The utility and/or credibility of regular city newspapers and of newspapers in general were questioned by people across the range of education and age groups in New Orleans and Los Angeles. The role of the Negro radio was questioned mostly by the better educated and older groups in New Orleans. Numerous explanations might be offered for these responses, but the investigation necessary to substantiate such were beyond the scope of this pilot investigation. It appears that the potential for embarrassment for a Negro responding to a job ad meant for a white man is implicit in use of regular city newspaper want ads. Some Negroes in New Orleans felt that jobs advertised on their white-owner soul stations were either short term, hard work and low pay, or jobs that demanded more skill and training than most Negroes had.

Housing. To ascertain whether respondents were interested in or aware of available housing, they were asked whether they had moved in the past couple of years and whether they had in mind moving soon. The responses are shown in Table A-24.

Table A-24

POSSIBLE INTEREST IN HOUSING
(percent of respondents)

Response	Sample Group				Control Group
	CC	GT	LA	Average	
	Number of Respondents				
	87	78	86	251	50
Moved in past couple of years	19	22	30	24	30
Considering moving soon	7	37	32	25	26

A reasonable level of interest in and awareness of available housing is implied. The low level of change expectancy by the Central City Negroes could reflect satisfaction with their surroundings, but it could also reflect a sense of resignation and frustration at having nothing better to go to.

To ascertain their sources of housing information, respondents were asked in what manner they would get information about what was available if they expected to move and in what way they found their present house. The response is shown in Table A-25.

Table A-25
SOURCES OF HOUSING INFORMATION: TOTAL SAMPLE

Information Source	Sample Group								Control Group	
	CC		GT		LA		Average		Ex-pected	Ac-tual
	Ex-pected	Ac-tual	Ex-pected	Ac-tual	Ex-pected	Ac-tual	Ex-pected	Ac-tual		
	Number of Respondents									
	83	79	78	75	85	57	246	211	50	41
Friends/relatives	13	54	27	76	22	53	21	62	16	34
Real-estate agency	27	10	21	0	24	14	24	8	32	12
Public-service organization	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Civil-rights organization (e.g., fair-housing center)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Negro newspaper	1	0	1	0	32	23	12	6	0	0
General city newspaper	9	8	8	5	1	0	6	5	38	17
Community newspaper	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other newspapers	36	13	24	7	12	0	24	7	2	0
Personal search	2	8	12	11	7	11	7	9	8	37
Poster, handbill, billboard	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
General radio	6	1	1	0	2	0	3	0	0	0
Negro radio	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Other	1	6	4	1	0	0	2	2	4	0

The following observations may be made on the statistics shown in Table A-25.

- o The expected role of friends and relatives is far lower than their actual role.
- o The Central City and Los Angeles Negroes and the control group made approximately the same use of the real-estate agency, while those in Gert Town anticipated use of this source but did not derive benefit from it.

- o Public-service organizations and civil-rights organizations were almost useless to the Negroes as sources of housing information, nor were they expected to be useful.
- o Many Los Angeles Negroes found housing through Negro newspaper ads; there are no such ads in the New Orleans Negro newspaper (the Louisiana Weekly, distributed statewide).
- o The general city newspapers are little used for housing information in either Los Angeles or New Orleans. New Orleans Negroes may feel more free to use the city newspapers in housing searches than Negroes in Los Angeles, because New Orleans newspaper advertisers indicate the location of housing when there may be doubt as to the type of neighborhood.
- o Community newspapers are not used by the Negroes in Los Angeles because these newspapers do not include housing information.
- o Personal search appears more effective for the whites than for the blacks.
- o The radio is not used for housing information.

The data on actual sources for housing information were tabulated according to the educational level and social group of the respondents. Only the sample group was considered. Table A-26 shows the results. The following observations may be made on these data.

- o The use of friends and relatives as primary sources of information is characteristic of all educational levels and social groups.
- o It appears that those New Orleans respondents with only an elementary-school education make somewhat greater use of newspaper ads for housing information than do their better educated neighbors. This is interesting in light of the difficulty that these people must experience in reading newspaper ads.

Health Services. Of primary concern was the means by which public-health-services information was obtained as compared to the means by which other health services are located. To ascertain the extent to which public-health services are used, persons were asked to whom they went when someone in the family was ill. The responses are shown in Table A-27.

Table A-26

ACTUAL SOURCES OF HOUSING INFORMATION: BY
EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT AND SOCIAL GROUP
(number of respondents)

Information Source	Educational Achievement				Social Group		
	Elementary School	Some High School	High School Grad.	College	Young Adult	Housewife/mother	Working Adult
New Orleans							
Friends/relatives	19	38	31	10	38	18	36
Real-estate agency	4	1	3	0	3	1	3
Public-service organization	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
Civil-rights organization	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Negro newspaper	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
General city newspaper	6	2	1	1	4	3	3
Community newspaper	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other newspapers	5	4	4	1	6	3	4
Personal search	4	5	3	2	5	2	7
Poster, handbill, billboard	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
General reader	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
Negro reader	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	1	1	2	1	2	0	3
Total	40	52	44	15	60	27	56
Los Angeles							
Friends/relatives	6	15	6	2	13	4	11
Real-estate agency	1	4	3	0	2	1	5
Public-service organization	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Civil-rights organization	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Negro newspaper	3	3	6	1	4	4	3
General city newspaper	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Community newspaper	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other newspapers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Personal search	1	3	1	0	1	2	3
Poster, handbill, billboard	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
General reader	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Negro reader	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	11	25	16	3	20	11	22

Table A-27

SERVICES USED WHEN PERSONS ARE ILL
(percent of respondents)

Service	Sample Group				Control Group
	CC	GT	LA	Average	
	Number of Respondents				
	84	78	84	246	47
Family doctor	23	59	35	38	94
Charity clinic	70	35	58	55	4
Private clinic	6	5	7	6	2
Other	1	1	0	1	0

The greater use of the family doctor by the Gert Town sample may be the result of the higher education (and thus higher potential income) of the group, or it may be the consequence of the relatively great distance of Gert Town from Charity Hospital, the major charity clinic in New Orleans.

To ascertain sources of information about health services, respondents were asked where they found out about where to go. The sources are shown in Table A-28.

Table A-28

HEALTH SERVICES INFORMATION SOURCES
(percent of respondents)

Sources	Sample Group				Control Group	Negroes Using Public Health Services Only
	CC	GT	LA	Average		
	Number of Respondents					
	39	62	69	190	44	
Friends/relatives	54	39	83	59	73	59
Long-term personal knowledge	32	11	6	16	25	19
Mass media	2	0	0	1	0	1
Ads of health services	2	2	1	2	0	2
Job	2	5	3	3	0	0
Telephone-book yellow pages	0	15	0	5	0	5
Other	8	29	7	15	2	14

The following observations may be made on the data in Table A-28:

- o Friends and relatives were the dominant sources of information for whites and blacks as well as for those using only the public-health services.
- o The very low reported use of mass media (newspapers, radio, television) or ads by health services indicates the use of an exceptionally ineffective publicity mechanism by the public-health agencies in these areas, where the disease rate is exceptionally high, prenatal care is too often neglected, and the infant mortality rate is far in excess of that in the white communities.

Community Activities. The majority of the Negroes and almost half of the Caucasians are members of some organization; the type of organization and their level of participation are not known. To identify sources of information about community activities, the respondents were asked where they found out about what was going on in the neighborhood. The results are shown in Table A-29.

Table A-29

SOURCES OF COMMUNITY ACTIVITY INFORMATION
(percent of respondents)

Source	Sample Group				Control Group
	CC	GT	LA	Average	
	Number of Respondents				
	73	77	69	219	51
Friends/relatives	64	75	85	75	53
Community newspapers	13	5	1	6	4
Community advertising	1	3	0	1	0
Negro radio	5	1	3	3	0
General city radio	0	0	0	0	3
Television	4	1	1	2	3
Negro newspaper	0	0	0	0	0
General city newspaper	0	0	0	0	14
Other newspapers	7	1	0	3	0
Organizations	3	1	1	2	0
Source unknown	4	13	9	9	24

The following observations may be made on the data in Table A-29:

- o Community advertising appears to play almost no role in the Negro communities.
- o Friends and relatives are a dominant source of information.
- o The whites use the general city newspapers; the blacks do not.
- o Organizations are barely mentioned, although many of the respondents are members.
- o Negro radio, although it broadcasts community-activity information in Los Angeles and New Orleans, was little noted as a source of such information.
- o Although Negro newspapers contain such information, they were not used by either group.

Table A-30 provides greater insight into this area of inquiry. It identifies the sources of community-activity information for the sample-group respondents only, who are separated according to educational achievement, membership in organizations, relationship to the community (based on social orientation questions), and social group. The dominant and persuasive role of friends and relatives is evident in this breakdown. Members of organizations and working adults in New Orleans use the community newspaper with greater relative frequency than do their subgroup counterparts. Very few of those who are members of organizations identified organizations as their information source.

Table A-30
INFORMATION SOURCES FOR COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES
(number of respondents)

Information Source	Educational Achievement				Organization Membership		Relationship to Community		Social Group			
	Elementary School	Some High School	High School Graduate	College	Member	Not Member	Related	Not Related	Young Adult	Housewife/Mother	Working Adult	
New Orleans												
Friends/relatives	22	39	29	10	69	32	87	14	40	19	34	
Community newspaper	4	3	5	1	11	2	11	2	2	2	9	
Community advertising	0	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	3	0	0	
Negro radio	3	1	0	0	1	3	2	1	3	0	1	
General city radio	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Television	1	2	2	0	4	1	4	1	1	1	3	
Negro newspaper	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
General city newspaper	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Organizations	1	1	1	0	3	0	3	0	0	1	2	
Other newspapers	4	2	0	0	2	4	5	0	2	1	2	
Source unknown	1	3	5	4	10	3	10	3	3	2	8	
Total	36	52	43	16	102	46	124	22	54	26	59	
Los Angeles												
Friends/relatives	7	30	16	4	28	30	41	9	21	8	23	
Community newspaper	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	
Community advertising	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Negro radio	1	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	1	0	1	
General city radio	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Television	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	
Negro newspaper	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
General city newspaper	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Organizations	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	
Other newspapers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Source unknown	2	2	2	0	3	3	2	3	2	2	1	
Total	12	32	19	4	35	34	48	12	25	11	26	

Appendix B

THE COMMUNITY EDUCATION CENTER

There is a need in each ghetto community for a community education center, conveniently located, where adult classes can be held, children or adults can study independently, and community groups can hold meetings. Such a center could also be the local origination and/or distribution point for instructional television and radio programs.

It is beyond the scope of this Memorandum to determine who might operate such an omnibus facility, or even whether all these functions should indeed be under one roof. The relations between the people of the community and the existing local government, industry, philanthropic organizations, political factions, etc., may make different solutions of this problem appropriate to each community.

There is much to be said for locating such facilities in the community schools.⁽¹⁾ There is an elementary school within walking distance of nearly every urban dwelling, and these schools are generally unused after 4:00 p.m. Classroom spaces could be shared between daytime elementary-school classes and evening adult school, although some of the community-center facilities, such as rooms containing automated teaching devices, computer terminals, or television equipment, probably could not be shared.

One significant objection has been raised against the use of elementary schools for community education centers. Many adults who have dropped out of school--and even many who have completed high school--may have been conditioned to dislike school. This conditioning, coupled with a feeling of indignity about "going back to elementary school," may prevent the individual from attending a community education center housed in an elementary school.

If the community center were located in a high school, the opprobrium would not be as great; moreover, if the center were located at a junior college, the adult learner might conceivably be proud to have others see him going there.

MAJOR FUNCTIONS OF THE COMMUNITY EDUCATION CENTER

There are a number of functions which a community education center might perform, depending on the space available and the auspices under which the center might operate. Two of the most important functions, group classes and independent study, are described below.

Group Classes

Most city school systems provide day and evening classes for adults in special adult schools. In addition, these schools are often decentralized, with branch locations where one or more courses may be offered. In greater Los Angeles, for example, adult evening classes are held at elementary and secondary schools, city parks, county facilities, post-office buildings, community centers, recreation centers, city playgrounds, police stations, churches, parochial schools, homes for the aged, apartment-complex social halls, hospitals, and industrial plants. The purpose of this decentralization is, of course, to make adult courses more available and convenient. Community education centers would assist toward this end by providing even more such locations.

If city-school-system adult classes could be coordinated and standardized, television presentations could be integrated with classroom activities, which would (1) further increase the number of locations in which a given course might be offered, and (2) provide all students in the city the dual advantage of the best available lesson presenter combined with personal guidance from a classroom teacher.

Independent Study

Instructional technology has made it possible in recent years to pursue a great variety of learning activities individually and independently. In the past, this could be done only through the medium of print, and textbooks did not have the advantage of the techniques of programmed instruction. Today a variety of audio-visual equipment is available; and machine methods have been developed for record-keeping, providing individual guidance, motivating the learner, and providing drills. As the use of these methods grows, their costs will come down and further growth will become easier.

The future community education center will probably require some facility for each of the following individual instruction functions:

1. Sound-film-cartridge viewing
2. Sound-film-strip viewing
3. Audio-tape listening (some language-laboratory response and self-evaluation facilities will also be required)
4. Reading of both conventional and programmed books
5. Computer-assisted instruction (CAI) (through locally originated or on-line computer audio-visual materials, which would utilize wire or point-to-point broadcast facilities to interconnect with a central computer facility; the central facility could be used simultaneously by many individuals at a number of community education centers.

Any of these audio-visual presentation methods might be supplemented with printed materials and/or audio tape.

It will be necessary to bring the opportunity provided by the community education center to the attention of the prospective adult student, and to convince him of its ease, convenience, and value. It will be important to emphasize the concepts of individual control, individual pacing, and privacy. It should be possible, where necessary, for all or nearly all of the individual's independent study to be done with anonymity. This is not to say that he would have no personal contact with people; on the contrary, the staff at the center would greet him and help him start whatever it is he needs to do. But, where desirable, the learner should be able to proceed without anyone knowing what he is learning or how well he is doing. A screening exercise could be administered to determine if the individual has the necessary skills, knowledge qualifications, and motivation to succeed in his elected course of study. If his qualifications are not adequate, the machine can inform him of the deficiencies and the courses that are recommended to overcome them. When the individual has mastered the material or the skills, the computer could issue him a certificate of competence which would enable him to enroll in group classes or to begin the next auto-instructional course.

INSTRUCTIONAL MEDIA AND EQUIPMENT

The learner should have a wide choice of media and modes of media, through which he can obtain the same instruction, to allow for individual variation in circumstances, needs, and preferences. Large-screen color-film projection, for example, while one of the most effective teaching media, would be feasible and useful only for scheduled group meetings. Other media, such as the illustrated pocket book, may be less effective but more portable and hence usable at home or elsewhere. Media for the individual study mode, such as books and sound films in cartridge form, should be provided at the community education center. Various combinations of media may be recommended for a particular individual, such as home viewing of television lessons, followed by reviews of the same lessons at a computer terminal in the center.

Three types of computer-assisted instruction might be used. The first type, which is currently in use, is limited to the medium of print (including alphanumeric characters, symbolic graphics, and line drawings, either printed, typed, drawn, or hand written).

The second type would incorporate both auditory and visual stimuli (still or moving pictures with sound). The pictures and sound would not come from the computer but from library materials. The computer would be used to administer and evaluate entrance screening, to process student response and provide immediate results, provide on-going evaluation of learner progress, redirect the learner into faster or slower tracks, offer remedial branching, and/or maintain records of student achievement.

The third type of computer-assisted instruction would use on-line audio and video outputs from the computer itself--computer graphics, still pictures, or motion pictures accompanied by sound. Considerations of available channel bandwidth, cost versus effectiveness, and learner demand will determine which of these three types of computer-assisted instruction will be required in particular situations.

Course materials for which there is a heavy demand may be stored locally and offered via individual cartridge film viewers, local videotape playback, and other devices which will make the audio-video material available on an individual one-to-one basis. Courses for which

there is very little demand need not be stored locally in any form, but could exist at a central point in the urban area or geographic region. These might be courses of the third type above, for which audio-visual materials would have to be transmitted on-line from the computer.

APPROPRIATE PROGRAMS FOR A COMMUNITY EDUCATION CENTER

The programs to be offered at the community education centers would vary somewhat with the needs of the individual communities. However, a general range of appropriate programs can be identified. These programs might include some (but not necessarily all) of the following:

- o Literacy programs
- o Eighth-grade-diploma programs
- o Adult courses in high-school subjects
- o General Educational Development (G.E.D.) test preparation courses
- o Courses in vocational subjects
- o Televised college-level courses
- o Tutorial programs
- o Guidance and counseling services

Some of these program areas which appear to be of most general interest and the ways that technology could be applied to them are discussed in more detail below. The preparation courses for the G.E.D. test are considered at length as an example of the use of television for adult education in community centers on pp. 34 - 41.

Literacy Program

A literacy program should be provided that would bring reading and writing skills up to mid-second-grade level. For some learners this may require only a few weeks of concentrated study; for others it may mean many months.

Eighth-Grade-Diploma Program

The purpose of the eighth-grade-diploma program would be to raise the skill level of learning to the eighth-grade national average in reading, writing, and arithmetic.

Achievement of this level might require up to 60 hours of instruction, plus 120 hours of homework practice, in each area. Some persons will require even more time than this. An individual who requires more time than the average could implement his instruction and homework by reviewing the lessons individually, with suitable equipment. If he could not devote the extra hours to this individual study, the student could extend his training period over additional weeks; or he might achieve more through a combination of independent study and tutoring than in group classes. To make midstream changes in learning mode or level possible and convenient, class groups should begin frequently so that a range of classes on a given subject would always be in progress and available. The learner would also be able to test himself at any time to see how close he is to the goal he has set for himself.

Regularly Scheduled Low-Demand Courses Via Television

There will always be courses for which the enrollment is so low that class groups cannot be formed every few weeks at each center. Rather than delay the offering of such courses until the demand is great enough, a number of centers could be joined and instruction given via television. The main instructor, located at one of the centers, could present the lessons live and then answer questions from students at the other centers through a feedback audio line. (This kind of interconnection between neighborhood centers could be used for many other purposes, as well.) For the administration of such courses, teacher aids would be in charge of the viewing groups at each neighborhood center. These teacher aids could very well be people who have already met the requirements of the course.

Guidance and Counseling

Individual counseling must be available if an independent study program is to function well. The community education center should have office and interview space for a number of counselors--say, at least one for every 30 or 40 students. A learner should be able to see his counselor at least once a week for a 30- to 45-minute visit.

The counselor would encourage the learner, commend his achievements, diagnose difficulties that might arise, and suggest changes where appropriate.

Tutoring

Another important function of the local neighborhood education center will be to provide tutoring help for those who need it. The typical tutor might be another learner from the neighborhood who is slightly more advanced, having demonstrated his competence in the course he is tutoring in.* His wages for tutoring should be based on the number of hours he spends, not on the number of pupils. This would encourage one-to-one rather than group tutoring.

ADULT EDUCATION VIA TELEVISION: COURSES LEADING TO A HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA

Even with currently available review and refresher study programs (such as TV High School, discussed on pp. 35 - 37), not everyone is capable of passing the G.E.D. test. Moreover, the certificate of high-school equivalency awarded by some states on successful completion of the G.E.D. test is not a diploma and may not be accepted by a potential employer. Other states do not award a certificate at all; California, for example, registers a candidate's scores at the State Department of Education where they may be obtained by a prospective employer.

Each employer or educational agency within a state may determine for itself what is a "passing score." A firm may thus establish different passing scores for various tests for particular job categories. Acceptance and integration of the G.E.D. test also varies from one educational agency to another. Veterans in California may qualify for a high-school diploma by passing the G.E.D. test and taking an additional 20 semester credits. Since 170 credits are required for a high-school diploma, the G.E.D. test is accepted, for veterans, in lieu of 150 semester credits. In the Los Angeles City Adult Schools, the G.E.D. test

* Not only is another learner apt to be able to communicate more effectively with his pupil, there is also the certainty that tutoring will increase the tutor's understanding of his subject.

is accepted in lieu of 85 semester credits. The passing score in this case is established by the city schools at 45 as an overall average, with no score lower than 35. In addition to the G.E.D. test, the nonveteran in California must complete 85 semester credits to receive a diploma.

Currently, over 3000 adults receive high-school diplomas from the Los Angeles Adult Schools each year.* An adult normally takes two evening courses at a time, each requiring a 3-hour class meeting once a week. In a semester (approximately 20 weeks), the average night-school student will qualify for 10 semester credits.

These figures can be translated into terms of television courses to calculate roughly how much broadcast time might be required to make a full high-school education available to groups in community education centers, and/or to individuals at home. A rule of thumb in such matters is that a conventional class period, which is usually about 50 minutes long, translates into a 30-minute television lesson.** This is due to the tighter organization which always results from better planning. To complete 85 semester units, an individual might take, for example, five 10-credit courses and seven 5-credit courses. The 10-credit courses would require 60 television sessions each, the 5-credit courses, 30 sessions.

These 12 courses are a minimum program for the 85 possible credits; no flexibility or individual choice in terms of a subject major is allowed for. However, additional courses should eventually be added so that students would be able to elect different majors (e.g., academic, business, fine arts and music, homemaking, industrial education, or secretarial). Although laboratory courses, which cannot be taught entirely by television, could be required, those portions of a course that are usually taught by classroom lecture could be provided by television. In typing courses, television has proven to be extremely useful

* Data from the North Hollywood Adult School Schedule of Fall Classes, September 11, 1967, p. 2.

** The television input would generally last 30 minutes, but the actual class using the televised lesson would be in session for a longer time. Of course, the length of the television presentation will probably vary with the subject being taught, in actual practice.

for pacing the student and demonstrating techniques. If televised typing courses were available to a community center, typewriters might be supplied to welfare recipients who are taking home-study courses.

High-school courses should be available during the day for the homebound and the unemployed, as well as during the evening. Example day and evening schedules for the minimum 12-course program are shown in Table B-1. Each course would take 15 weeks to complete, and all courses would begin and end together. Thus, three course programs could be offered per year. For midterm and final exams, even home-study viewers would have to present themselves at a testing location.

Table B-1

EXAMPLE SCHEDULE OF HIGH-SCHOOL COURSES

Time		Course Schedule		
Day Classes	Evening Classes	Mon - Wed	Tues - Thurs	Fri
10:00-11:00	7:00-8:00	Course 1 (10) ^a	Course 2 (10)	Course 6 (5)
11:00-11:30	8:00-8:30	Course 7 (5)	Course 8 (5)	...
11:30-12:30	8:30-9:30	Course 3 (10)	Course 4 (10)	Course 9 (5)
12:30-1:00	9:30-10:00	Course 5 (10)	Course 10 (5)	Course 12 (5)
1:00-1:30	10:00-10:30	Course 5 (10)	Course 11 (5)	Course 12 (5)

^aNumbers in parentheses indicate number of credits per course.

The outside study time of the individual taking televised instruction would be the same as that required for the same number of courses taken during regular sessions. However, there would be certain time savings: Because the televised presentations are compact, the student could devote some of the time normally spent in class to individual study, and if he did his television viewing at home or close to home, he might save transportation time, as well. Thus, an evening student might be able to carry up to 20 credits, and a day student might carry up to 30 credits. Table B-2 shows the length of time required to obtain a high-school diploma, based on the number of credits carried simultaneously.

Table B-2

APPROXIMATE LENGTH OF TIME TO OBTAIN HIGH-SCHOOL DIPLOMA

Credits Taken Simultaneously	Time of Completion of Requirements		
	Credits Required for Diploma		
	85	50	20 ^a
10	3 yr	1-2/3 yr	2/3 yr
15	2 yr	1-1/3 yr	1/3 yr
20	1-1/3 yr	1 yr	1/3 yr
25	1-1/3 yr	2/3 yr	1/3 yr
30	1 yr	2/3 yr	1/3 yr

^aRequirement for veterans in California, in addition to passing G.E.D. test.

TELEVISED INSTRUCTION INCORPORATING LEARNER RESPONSE

There are many alternative ways of presenting a series of courses on television; the above material refers to the conventional method, in which lectures and lecture-drills are adapted for television and presented on the screen, much as they would be presented in a class. However, when they are being adapted to television, such courses could be revised to integrate learner response, e.g., choosing an answer from several possibilities by pushing the appropriate button. This response could be fed into a device associated with the individual television receiver and the machine, following a branching process, might increase or decrease the speed of presentation or provide remedial instruction when responses show that students have failed to grasp a point.

One such method, in regular use today in association with the International Correspondence Schools, is called "Educasting." In this system only one television channel is used. Each increment of stimulus material is followed by a multiple-choice criterion question, for which the student pushes a numbered button corresponding to his choice. The screen then divides into four quadrants, each having its own narration. On any one receiver, three of the quadrants are blacked out, according to which button has been pushed. If the learner has pushed the wrong button, the narration corrects him and gives a bit of remedial instruction. If the right answer was chosen, the narration provides enrichment material while the remedial instruction is being given to others.

The disadvantages of this method are (1) the information displayed on a quarter-screen must be limited, and (2) the fast learner cannot increase the pace of his instruction. The first problem can be reduced by using two or four channels instead of only one. With two channels, the screen would divide into halves, and the device would switch channels if necessary to display the proper remedial instruction. With 4 channels, the screen would not have to be divided--the device would simply switch channels in response to the learner's action. In all of these cases, however, all learners would have to progress at the same pace if the instructional-stimulus frames are presented simultaneously.

If multiple-channel, multiple-track broadcasting could be used, individual learners could progress at a rate commensurate with their abilities. It must be stated that the rate at which a learner progresses has yet to be proven conclusively important to his achievement. Studies at Pennsylvania State University have shown that within certain limits, a learner may speed up or slow down without affecting his learning. However, the range of student abilities represented in a disadvantaged population may be too wide to fit within these learning-rate limits. The possibility of multiple tracks for different ways and rates of learning, geared to different kinds of learners, has yet to be investigated and may hold considerable promise.*

An illustrative programming schedule for a five-track system, based on a lesson with five segments, each followed by a criterion question, is shown in Fig. B-1. Each of these five segments might be subdivided into many frames to which the learner would respond and then be given results. Only the criterion questions which follow instructional segments are shown in the figure. The difference between questions following individual frames and the criterion questions at the end of each segment is that the criterion questions would be used for branching. If the learner answers a criterion question incorrectly, the receiver device automatically switches to a channel presenting remedial instruction, which the learner then receives before he can progress to the next segment.

* Such systems would have wide applicability, and their usefulness would not be limited to the high-school course schedules described earlier.

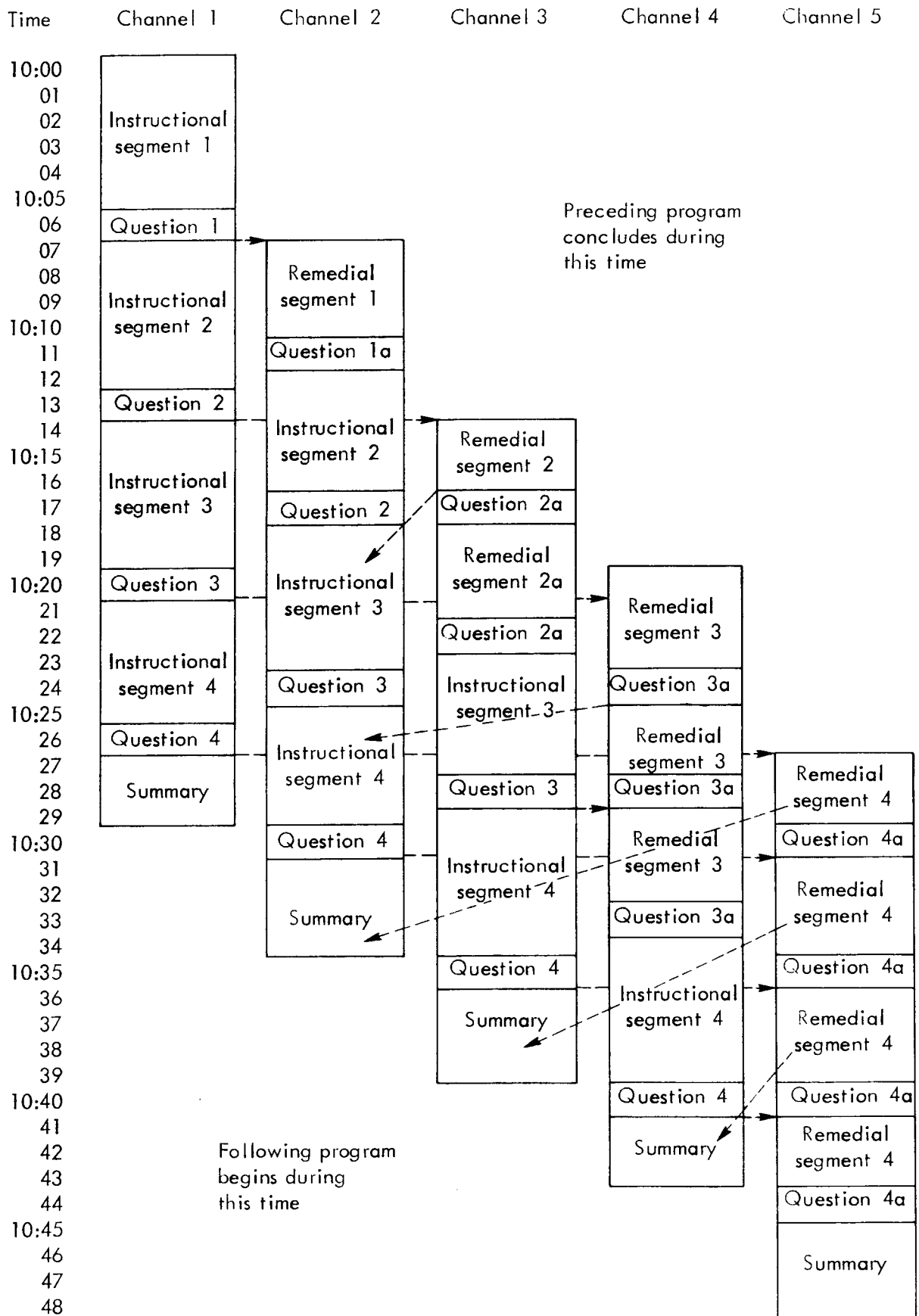


Fig. B-1—Illustrative five-track remedial programming

If the learner makes no errors on criterion questions, he will continue on channel 1 and end the lesson at 10:30. If he answers the first question incorrectly, he is automatically switched to channel 2 for a 4-minute segment of remedial instruction. If he answers all the other criterion questions correctly, he continues on channel 2 and finishes at 10:34:30. If he should answer the first two questions correctly and miss the third one, he is automatically switched to channel 4 for the remedial instruction associated with segment 3, then he is returned immediately to channel 2 for segment 4. The dashed arrows in Fig. B-1 show the directions of this branching and switching. If the learner misses each question, he is given each piece of remedial instruction, switching successively from track to track until he finally ends up on track 5 at 10:48.

The channel time for which no programming is indicated (at the top and bottom of the figure) would be used for other courses, involving other learners, following the same scheme.

Figure B-2 illustrates a method of interleaving three simultaneous broadcast courses, each with three tracks (slow, fast, and standard) for a total of nine tracks, which requires only six channels.

The lesson in Course 1 starts at 8:52 a.m.; the same day's lesson in Course 2 starts at 9:06; Course 3 starts at 9:20; Course 4, at 9:48; and Course 5, at 10:02.

Each lesson proceeds on the standard track for the first 12 minutes. During this time three frames are presented and the learner is given three criterion questions to determine whether he is competent to move to the fast track or should be switched to the slow track. If he goes to the fast track he will finish the lesson at 9:18; if he is dropped back to the slow track, he will finish at 9:46; if he remains on the standard track, he will finish at 9:32. The switching of tracks is not indicated to the learner in any way. Under this system the student does not select the track he wants to view; he only selects the course he is taking. The device does the necessary timing and switching for him.

The channel needs of the three simultaneous lessons which will be transmitted throughout the day can be interwoven, so that six channels

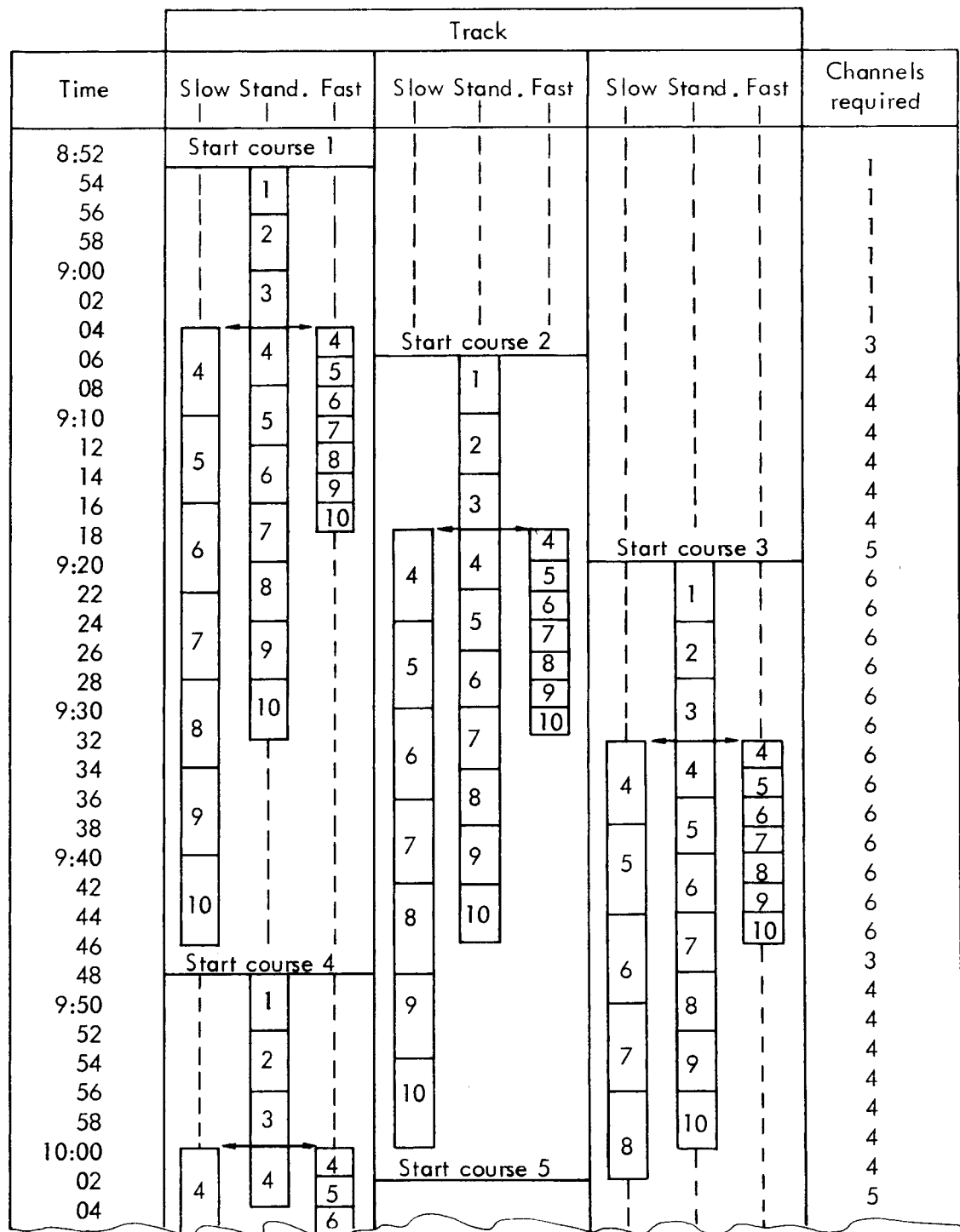


Fig. B-2—Illustrative programming for simultaneous broadcasts

will be needed, although there will be times when only four or five are being utilized. The beginning of the learning day is shown at the top of Fig. B-2. From 9:20 on until the end of the lesson period the pattern repeats every hour.

A fairly sophisticated automatic switching system may be required to relate the proper track to the channel on which it is being transmitted. The alternative, a separate channel for each track of each simultaneous course, would require nine channels instead of six. This would be the simplest system, but it would be more practical only if channels are both readily available and inexpensive to operate.

The three tracks indicated in Fig. B-2 might, alternatively, be used for three different ways of learning, instead of three different rates of progress. For instance, some persons respond better to reading lessons using the look-say approach, some to the phonic approach; perhaps a combination of the two, or some as yet undiscovered method may be best for other learners.

Lessons in the future might be prepared in six or more versions, some faster or slower than others, some utilizing one approach, some another. For example, reading lesson IA might be based on word recognition, while lesson IIB would use the phonic method. Each version could be made in two tracks to accommodate students with different learning rates.

Appendix C

PUBLIC SERVICE BROADCASTING ON EDUCATIONAL
TELEVISION STATIONS FOR AND ABOUT THE GHETTO

OVERVIEW OF TELEVISION PROGRAMMING FOR GHETTO RESIDENTS

The material for this appendix has been summarized from two reports prepared by Dr. Richard J. Meyer, WNDT, New York, with Chalmers H. Marquis, Executive Director, Educational Television Stations, National Association of Educational Broadcasters (NAEB): Report on ETV in the Ghetto and Addenda to Report on ETV in the Ghetto, dated April 19, 1968. This material, much of which is used verbatim here, was collected and compiled in response to a request by the staff of former Vice-President Hubert Humphrey. All ETV stations were asked to supply information about past, present, and future programs dealing with ghetto matters and to submit this information to the Vice-President before the end of April 1968.

Since that date there have been many changes in the manner and the amount of action taken by ETV stations in discharging the responsibility they feel toward minority groups and ghetto communities. No attempt has been made to bring this study up to date so that it would reflect the state of ghetto broadcasting at time of the present publication. It is reproduced here, except for this statement, in the form in which it was originally prepared, approximately a year before.

At about the time that this report was compiled, the Educational Television Stations division of the NAEB held a full-day meeting in New York in which 5 hours were devoted to presentations and workshop sessions on the subject of broadcasting and the ghettos. Some of the information included in this appendix was obtained from those presentations and discussions.

Report on ETV in the Ghetto begins with the following paragraphs:

Most Negroes refer to the communications media as the "white press" according to the report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders.^[16] Educational television stations are considered part of this "white establishment". The report studied

the communications media and reached three conclusions: one, the media made a real effort to give a balanced factual account of the 1967 disorders; two, despite this effort, the portrayal of the violence failed to reflect accurately in scale and character and was an exaggeration of both mood and event; and three, and most important of all, the Commission believed that the media had failed to report adequately on the causes and consequences of civil disorders and the underlying problems of race relations.

Initial reactions of ETV people appear to indicate their conviction that the recommendations of the Kerner Commission as relating to the media (and ETV as well) should be implemented; that there should be in every ETV station, staff people who can communicate with the inner cities which are served by that station; and that there should be constant two-way communications between residents of the core area and the ETV stations. The Kerner Commission Report also indicates that Negroes seem to be excluded from employment in the communications field. The Institute of Urban Communications, recommended in the Report, probably would go a long way in establishing the climate for a further improvement of reporting in depth about these problems of the inner cities. It is anticipated that ETV stations could benefit substantially from such an Institute.

The Kerner Commission was not alone in recommending the use of television for communication between white and black society. The Mayor's Development Team in the City of Detroit Report to Mayor Jerome P. Cavanagh in October of 1967[38] (after its study of the Detroit riots) stated ETV should provide effective communication within the city of Detroit to: (1) improve communication among grass-root organizations and existing authority at the person-to-person level; (2) deliver community services, both public and private, including health, welfare, public order and recreation; (3) improve education, job training, and increase employment opportunities; (4) give legal and financial aid; and (5) work on redevelopment, housing rehabilitation and recreational facilities. However, the most important problem as recommended by the Mayor's Team was the improvement of communications between the core inhabitants and the white power structure.

It is interesting to note that a post-riot study conducted in five cities in 1967 by the Disaster Research Center at Ohio State University[39] found that nothing was learned from the riots for future situations in the way of broadcast station organization,

and, secondly that very few documentaries concerning the conditions which led up to the riots and which still prevailed were being produced. The Center also discovered that the stations, before the riots, had not had any preparation for operating in a riot situation or for that matter, even operating in a natural disaster situation. It also discovered that the broadcasting stations had no organized method of getting cues from their inner city communities. This made quick information at the time of riots impossible to obtain.

The NAEB Report continues with a listing, in random order, of many different kinds of program projects which had been done, were being done, or were in the planning stage. This list, while extensive, represents a mere drop in the broadcasting bucket--a bucket which educational television is already well along toward filling with many other kinds of programming.

There are, at latest count, some 160 ETV stations in the country, all of which were canvassed for the NAEB Report. Only 20 of them (12.5 percent) reported having done programs for or about the Negro people. There was no indication as to what proportion of the stations responded to this survey, whether they had anything to report or not. Undoubtedly, some of the stations may have done Negro programming but did not get their reports in. A few stations are in small towns and rural areas where there is no sizable ghetto population. Some of the station activities which were listed in the NAEB Report were so generally or vaguely worded that it was impossible to classify them by program type, so they were left off the present list, thus making it smaller than it should be. But even if these unknown or unspecified activities could be added, the proportion of stations now doing ghetto programming is very small.

The amount of programming is likewise small in proportion to the total broadcast schedule. The average ETV station broadcasts 55 hours a week.⁽¹⁹⁾ During the 13 weeks prior to April 21, 1968, then, there had been a total of 114,400 hours of programming on all ETV stations (160 stations x 55 hours/week x 13 weeks), comprising 208 programs (see Table C-1). These programs varied in length from 30 minutes to 3-1/2 hours. Since the great majority of local ETV programs are 30 minutes long, the average program length can be estimated at 45 minutes; 208

Table C-1

ANALYSIS OF GHETTO PROGRAMMING REPORTED BY 20 ETV STATIONS

City ^b	Station	Total Population in Metropolitan Area ^a (thousands)	Negro Population (percent of total)	Programs Broadcast During 13 Weeks Prior to 4-21-68 ^c	Programs Planned for 13 Weeks Following 4-21-68 ^c	Involvement of Community Groups Mentioned? ^d
Washington, D.C.	WETA	2,002	24.3	52	..	Yes
Boston, Mass	WGBH	2,595	3.0	5	..	Yes
				33	..	No
Pittsburgh, Pa.	WQED	2,405	6.7	29	..	No
Denver, Colo.	KRMA	929	3.4	22	..	No
New York, N.Y.	WNDT	10,695	11.5	15	8	No
Buffalo, N.Y.	WNED	1,307	6.3	13	..	No
Hartford, Conn.	WEDH	549	5.2	3	3	No
				8	..	Yes
Chicago, Ill.	WTTW	6,221	14.3	8	..	No
Milwaukee, Wis.	WMVS	1,233	5.1	5	..	No
Hershey, Pa.	WITF-TV	7	..	4	..	Yes
Syracuse, N.Y.	WCNY-TV	564	2.2	3	..	No
	WXXI-TV			1	..	No
San Diego, Calif.	KEBS-TV	1,033	3.8	2	..	No
Houston, Texas	KUHT	1,418	19.5	2	..	No
Philadelphia, Pa./ Wilmington, Del.	WHYY	4,343	15.5	1	..	No
Roanoke, Va.	WBRA-TV	159	12.7	1	3	No
Seattle, Wash.	KCTS-TV	1,107	2.6	1	..	No
Cincinnati, Ohio	WCET-TV	1,268	10.3	..	13	No
Minneapolis/ St. Paul, Minn.	KCTA-TV	1,482	1.4	..	13	No
Sacramento, Calif.	KVIE	625	3.3	..	13	No

^aData from Ref. 40.

^bIn general, the broadcast area or range exceeds the metropolitan area.

^cA total of 208 programs were broadcast, and 53 were planned, for a grand total of 261 programs.

^dSixty-nine programs (36 percent of the total) mentioned community group involvement; 192 programs (64 percent) did not.

programs at 45 minutes apiece amounts to 156 hours. This is only 0.14 percent (less than two-tenths of 1 percent) of the total ETV programming on all ETV stations, and only slightly over 1 percent of the total programming of the 20 stations reporting.

The station with the most ghetto programming, WETA in Washington, D.C., devotes 3 hours a week to this area--4-1/2 percent of WETA's total schedule.

Of course, the 55-hours/week average does not constitute exhaustive use of a broadcasting channel. It might represent programming between 11 a.m. and 12 p.m. only 5 days a week. A typical schedule of a commercial station, on the other hand, will run from 6 a.m. to 12 p.m. daily--a total of 126 hours a week. Assuming that the potential usefulness of an ETV station is 110 hours a week (neglecting all other factors), the proportion now being devoted to ghetto programming drops to only one-half the very small percentages given above.

It should also be noted that about 25 percent of all reported ghetto programming consists of talk or discussion, one of the easiest and cheapest types of programming to produce and often the least interesting.

To question what proportion of a station's programming should be directed to the urban minorities may be quibbling at a time when the integration of these groups into the larger society is the most pressing of all our domestic problems. The nature of ETV station operation and financing, however, places rather severe limitations on the amount of local programming which the station can do--and ghetto programming must be largely locally produced. "...[The] means of producing ETV programming are not equally distributed and, further,...these means (or lack of means) may not be within the power of the local station management to control. This point is quite often overlooked by the critics of ETV programming."⁽⁴¹⁾

Thus, the first factor that must be taken into account in estimating the extent to which the noncommercial stations should broadcast for or about the Negro ghettos is financial capability.

How Much Local Ghetto Programming Can Be Done?

Much of the income of ETV stations is earmarked and tied to specific programming. Half of the average ETV station's broadcasting, for example, is in-school instructional programming for which it is paid under contract or as part of its regular budgeted support by the school districts or the institutions involved. None of this money, of course, is available for the station to use as it wishes. Local programming which is done entirely out of station funds is very limited. In 1965 it was noted that "this type of programming has been diminishing rapidly in recent years. Many stations have never produced a program series with their own money."⁽⁴²⁾

How much is available at the average ETV station for local programming? There are no figures that supply a direct answer to this question, but an estimate may be derived indirectly. The average ETV station spends about \$250,000 a year for operating costs.⁽¹⁹⁾ Most of the wages and salaries at an ETV station, as well as technical maintenance costs and studio production materials, go directly into local programming. This can be estimated at about 75 percent of operating costs, or \$194,000. Approximately 50 percent of local programming is for in-school use.⁽⁴²⁾ Assuming a close to 50-50 split on costs as well as hours, about \$100,000 is left for community programming. This amounts to about \$2000 a week.

How much programming can be done on \$2000? Studies of the Hagerstown, Maryland, and the Anaheim, California, closed-circuit systems show per-hour costs of \$255 and \$475, respectively,^(23,43) for in-school instructional television. Broadcasting stations, however, cannot operate on such a minimum basis. It has been estimated that a nationwide educational television system would have a minimum cost of about \$3000/hour for "local and exchange programs produced at key stations."⁽¹⁹⁾ (Commercial network programs, incidentally, average about \$120,000/hour.)⁽¹⁹⁾ How much programming an average ETV station can do on \$2000 depends primarily on the type of programming attempted. Assuming that much local programming will consist of inexpensive discussion and talk programs, it can be judged that \$2000 would provide about an hour of average programming on the average station.

Now we must ask, How much of this possible one hour per week should the ETV station devote to ghetto programming?

How Much Local Ghetto Programming Should Be Done?

There are two basic types of ghetto programs: programs for the ghetto residents, and programs about the ghetto problem, directed primarily toward the larger society. Either of these types may be wholly or partially produced by Negroes, or may have no Negroes involved in program planning and production.

The criteria for how much broadcast time should be devoted to the ghetto will be different for each of these two types. Programs for the ghetto people could be expected to represent roughly the same proportion of all community programming (exclusive of in-school broadcasts) that the Negro represents of the total population in the metropolitan area within range of the ETV station (see Table C-1). Defining community programming as everything the station broadcasts except in-school instructional television, all community broadcasting by the average ETV station would amount to 27-1/2 hours/week (50 percent of 55 hours). Nine percent of this is about 2-1/2 hours.

The criterion for how much broadcast time should be devoted to programs about the ghetto problem should probably be based on the importance or seriousness of the problem, and the extent of public interest in it. These judgments could only be made locally and should be made frequently to reflect changing conditions.

The amount of possible ghetto programming could be importantly affected by the Public Television Act, but there has as yet been no appropriation of funds. Nine million dollars was authorized for 1968 but was not appropriated because the corporation was not yet formed. As of May 1968, Congress had authorized the \$9 million to be transferred to the 1969 budget. Assuming that this, or some similar sum, is appropriated in the near future, what difference might this make in what the ETV stations can do about ghetto programming?

An ETV station manager, testifying at the hearings on the then-proposed Public Television Act, expressed the hope that new monies

would be available for local public affairs programming:

We are painfully aware that many local program opportunities exist which cannot be met because of inadequate financing. The ETV stations in Nebraska would welcome the opportunity to produce timely documentaries dealing with public affairs and issues facing Nebraskans. We look forward to producing local out-of-school general educational programs for children; but these productions take a full complement of professionals, not part-timers or the inexperienced, or even capable professionals who must perform 2 or 3 different production tasks. Again we are pleased to note the Corporation can assist.[44]

The funds that are now being considered for the Corporation for Public Television (CPT), however, if they are indeed appropriated, will be insufficient to allow very many stations to do what the Nebraska station had in mind.

If \$9 million is allocated from Federal funds, and this is augmented by grants from television networks or industry, a total of perhaps \$14 million might become available. (Foundations typically grant 5 to 10 times as much for television projects as they do for radio.) On such a basis, the \$14 million would amount to only \$65,000 to \$70,000 for each of the approximately 180 ETV stations in the country. It would be difficult to set up a formula which would make the division of such funds equitable between large and small stations, radio and television. One option is for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) to make grants to stations for specific programs or series of programs in accordance with population coverage. Another option is for the CPB to ask for proposals and allocate funds on the merits of specific projects. Many of these projects would, of course, concern ghetto subjects. The latter approach could favor those stations that have more experience and higher-level skills and are thus more qualified for awards and more competitive. But it could also result in stations already programming for special audiences being given even more funds. Stations less experienced but in "problem" areas would not be greatly aided.

One additional criterion could be used in assessing the extent of any given station's responsibility for ghetto programming: the history

of the station's activity in this programming area. If, for example, the station has operated for several years in an urban area with a sizable Negro community but has done little or nothing for, about, or with the Negroes, the station could be considered to have a backlog of unfulfilled responsibility. Such a station would need to do more ghetto programming than the criteria of experience or population coverage might indicate, so in spite of shortcomings in these areas, they would qualify for support.

The major roles of telecommunications media in the ghetto are many: to improve the employment situation and to enable community dialogue; to help change the attitudes of the white community; to foster community development. Whatever role is played, the important point is not what can be done for the black people but what can be done towards working with them.

Several NET program series on Negro subjects have been announced; these will be offered to the 128 ETV stations affiliated with NET. If, for example, NET were to provide a "Black magazine" once a month, plus focusing a segment of the monthly "NET Journal" on aspects of the Black society, and possibly adding enough other such materials to amount to one half-hour program a week, the proportion of ghetto programming on an average station subscribing to this service would rise another 1 percent.

The value of network programming, either national or regional, in ghetto-related productions may, however, be quite limited.

Ghettos are different in each city, and each has different problems. If the objective is community development, the problem is a community problem. An urban community or "neighborhood" may consist of only a few square blocks and yet be quite different from adjacent communities in the same city. The largest possible unit that can become involved in specific community problems is the city itself, or more properly, where television is concerned, the urban and suburban metropolitan area. Many community concerns are even too localized to involve the entire city.

Local origination of television programs, as well as local coverage, is mandatory for addressing most aspects of community development,

community dialogue, and employment; regional or national network broadcasting must be directed toward much broader, more distant goals. The network programs can bring the conditions of the slums and of minority groups to the attention of the rest of society; it will be up to the local programmer to convince the viewers that these problems are their problems, that there really are slums, not only in the larger cities where the network programs happen to have been made, but also in their own cities and towns.

Viewing Habits of Ghetto Residents

The question must be raised as to the potential effectiveness of ETV stations in improving the lot of the ghetto. While almost all slum homes have television sets, a great many of these sets are not adapted to tune in the ultra-high-frequency channels which the ETV stations use.* Even in the majority of cases where a ghetto home can tune in the local ETV station, the people are very unlikely to do so. If the very name "educational" does not put them off, a few random samplings of the program fare on these stations will. Even the program titles-- "Pablo Cassals," "Great Decisions," "Skiing," "Keeping an Open Mind," "The Business Round Table"--convince the slum resident that the station is for somebody else.** Any ETV program intended for the inner-city resident must be preceded by a well-organized, very thorough promotional campaign. It should be remembered that at any given time, an ETV station is generally tuned in by no more than 1 or 2 percent of the sets in use in its coverage area.*** This audience is not likely to be in ghetto areas.

* As indicated in Section II, fewer than 50 percent of the people having television in South Central Los Angeles can receive UHF.

** A 1966 study showed that 83 percent of the Pittsburgh ETV audience had at least a high-school education; in Boston, it was over 90 percent.

*** The ETV people point out, however, that the typical ETV station on a VHF channel reaches about 25 percent of the homes in its area on a weekly basis and 50 percent of the homes on a monthly basis with at least one program.

Limitations on Freedom to Broadcast Ghetto Programs

In 1965-66, ETV stations depended on local, state, and Federal government for 69 percent of their income. Foundation grants, local subscribers, local business, and other sources made up the balance.

One major problem of the community stations (the one-third of all ETV stations that depend to a large extent on general community support) is that when they do programs about the ghettos, they are telling the white community precisely those things that it least wants to hear.

Several ETV people have identified state legislatures and the board of directors of ETV stations as major impediments to the effective use of ETV for urban improvement.

This situation appears to be little changed from that in 1962, when it was stated:

The greatest stumbling block to the programming of community issues is financial pressure. Most ETV stations get their funds from political or semi-political bodies such as legislatures and school boards or from the general public which normally includes a number of major business and individual contributors who make the difference between financial success or failure. The problem presented to the ETV station in the presentation of such programs is obvious. As the key political leader of one state put it:

"The price of my support [for your ETV bill] is no programs on controversial issues. By controversial issues I don't mean the national and international junk. I mean the local stuff."

This may not be a common occurrence, but the very possibility of such an occurrence is enough to impose a considerable degree of self-censorship in this program area.

The writer is not suggesting that ETV stations necessarily crusade and editorialize directly on community issues (indeed it may not be legally possible), but rather provide a forum for informed citizens and leaders to discuss such issues on a regular basis and in depth. Documentary reporting, which is another approach to community-issue programming, is usually beyond local ETV station budgets. It is more difficult and places even greater responsibility on the station in regard to fairness

and accuracy. However, whether it is a commentator, a forum, or a documentary, one must recognize that even to mention some issues--let alone discuss them--is "controversial" to some powerful interests.[41]

The basic question, as stated earlier in Ref. 41, was the following:

The question of the role and operation of boards of trustees and similar school policy-makers who own ETV stations is another factor in ETV program problems and has not been explored adequately. However, the writer can do little more to raise the point; namely, to what extent does a board influence programming for good or for bad and to what extent does it support ETV management in their attempt to supply the various resources necessary to produce a top program schedule. Boards in general are not always known for their courage, their imagination and leadership. Operating an ETV station is a major responsibility to society. It requires great attention, guidance, and support. One wonders to what extent these boards have influenced ETV programming--either positively or negatively.

Not all educational broadcasters take a sinister view of the motives of their boards of directors. An NAEB spokesman suggested that while local boards may want to do public-affairs programming that might be considered "controversial," they are hesitant to do it at the expense of any of their more traditional services. The appearance of new money, however, from foundation or Federal sources such as the CPB, might make new programming possible and acceptable where it had not been before--particularly if such funds could be earmarked, like most ETV programming funds, for use only in community public-affairs or ghetto programming.

ACTIVE GHETTO PROGRAMMING AS OF APRIL 1968

The specific ghetto programming described in the remainder of this appendix was reported by the NAEB and by attendees at the April 1968 meeting of the ETS division of NAEB. For the purpose of this Memorandum, the program projects discussed have been classified according to program format or type.

Local NET Programs of Negro Culture

Negro Entertainment, Picked up at Source and Broadcast. The mobile unit of station WEDH, Channel 24, Hartford, Conn., recorded two jazz programs from a neighborhood center in the ghetto. A series of programs from various ghetto areas in the state are planned, such as "Evening in a Hartford End Bar," "A Negro Church Service in Bridgeport," and "Teenage Social Activities."

In Boston, the night that Martin Luther King was assassinated, James Brown and "The Flames" were booked at the Boston Garden. Fifteen thousand black youngsters were expected to show up. When the news of riots in Washington and elsewhere began to come in, the first reaction of the City Council was to cancel the show. Tom Atkins, a recently elected Negro member of the Council, convinced them that cancellation would surely cause a riot. At 3:00 p.m. the Mayor called the ETV station, WGBH, Channel 2, and asked if they could clear all programming for that evening and get a mobile unit down to the Garden to broadcast the show. There was some consternation on the part of the WGBH staff over whether this was a fitting tribute to the memory of Dr. King. Keeping the kids off the street at such a critical time, however, might prevent the occurrence of another sort of memorial to Dr. King which many cities were already witnessing. Everyone cooperated, including the telephone company. All available media--AM, FM, television--were used. The program went on at 8:30 p.m., and instead of the 15,000 expected, only 2500 turned up at the Garden. At least 12,000 were home where, it was estimated, nearly every television set in the Boston ghetto was tuned in. Mayor Kevin White and Councilman Tom Atkins were both able to join James Brown in an appeal to the viewing public to stay home. The program was video-taped and repeated immediately, running until 2:00 a.m. The following night it was repeated again. Neither on those nights nor in the weeks that followed was there any rioting in Boston.

Public Meetings and Events. A two-hour public meeting of the Citizen's Advisory Committee of the Hartford Human Relations Commission was recorded and then televised the following night by station WEDH, Channel 24, Hartford, Conn. The meeting concerned the cause of violence

which had occurred in Hartford. The station later produced various remote telecasts from the Human Relations Commission hearings, Model Cities hearings of the Hartford Council, New Haven Commission on Human Rights and Opportunities Public Hearing on National Discrimination and Tension in the Public Schools, and several other special programs concerned with civil rights, black-white relations, and civil disorders.

Station WGBH, Boston, covered the hearings of the Commission on Civil Rights when they were held in the Boston ghetto. They also covered ghetto meetings of the Boston School Committee.

Specially Produced Local Programs

Entertainment. Station WTTW, Channel 11, Chicago, produced a weekly entertainment program in the summer of 1967, entitled "The Way It Is," and cooperated with the Public Broadcasting Laboratory of NET in presenting the ghetto program which inaugurated this experimental series.

Station WGBH, Channel 2, Boston, also broadcast a series of entertainment programs from the ghetto in the summer of 1967.

General-Interest Documentaries. Station WITF-TV, Channel 33, Hershey, Pa., began airing a documentary series entitled "A Time to Act" on April 1, 1968. The programs in the series included "Ring Around the Ghetto," "Programmed for Failure," "Color Me a Man," "Was Yesterday Too Late." The broadcasts were followed by comments from citizens, either at home or at one of 15 Mini-Town meetings in the greater Harrisburg area where the programs are viewed and discussed. In addition, open television forums were broadcast live from Hershey, extending and summarizing the dialogue from each Mini-Town meeting.

Station KCTS-TV, Channel 9, Seattle, broadcast a one-hour special with local personalities who were personal friends of Dr. King. They were the only television station to have a local program on the air relating to his murder. The next day major portions of the memorial program replaced regularly scheduled news programs in the in-school broadcasts to give separate exposure to the student audience.

Station WXXI-TV, Channel 21, Syracuse, featured a special tribute to Dr. King, with Reverend Marvin Chandler singing gospel songs, hymns, and spirituals.

The newly formed public-affairs unit of station KEBS-TV, Channel 15, San Diego, did a half-hour special with the leaders of the white and black communities in San Diego. During the same time slot, a program on the Brown Berets, a group of Mexican-American activists, was also featured.

Discussion and Confrontation Specials. Station WNDT, Channel 13, New York City, has presented various special programs during the evening hours, addressed to the problem of ghetto conditions.

"They Speak Out from East Harlem," for example, was a live, remote telecast which brought together for the first time indigenous community groups, Federal, state, and local authorities, and the middle-class viewer in a melange of confrontations.

A new series, "Blacks and Whites in Contact," inaugurated in New York, has been broadcast over the Eastern Educational Network.

In Boston, regular community programs funded by station WGBH concerned themselves with various social, economic, and educational problems of the ghetto. The program topics included the Boston School Committee, the Colman Report, the NAACP in Boston, the Roxbury riot, and Roxbury citizens speaking for themselves.

Station WCET-TV, Cincinnati, was seeking funds for a project utilizing television to motivate and arouse Cincinnatians and those in satellite communities to see what the function of a city is and to become involved in creating a city of value to all of its citizens. The object of the program was to draw together divergent viewpoints among various segments of the population. Programs would include town meetings, open-ended discussions, civic meetings, adult discussions, and children's shows.

Station WQED, Channel 13, Pittsburgh, for two years has presented a series, "At Issue," which discusses urban problems--public housing, action against poverty, Negro education, ghetto art, etc. The station also aired an informal conversation series, "Q.E.D.," which brought into focus Negro militancy, drug addiction in the ghetto, the clergy

and social responsibility, and VISTA. Three specials were presented on VISTA workers in Pittsburgh ghettos, urban housing, and a town meeting discussing housing and code enforcement.

The University of Wisconsin radio and television facilities had made plans to join with WMVS, Channel 10, Milwaukee, to acquaint citizens throughout the entire state with life in the inner core of the city and to express why those in the inner core feel as they do. Fifty percent of the educational radio network programming was to be devoted to developing the Negroes' place in American society. On both radio and television, a one-and-one-half-hour program each evening was to bring together representatives of the establishment and the inner core. Negro newspaper people were also to be involved.

Station WCNV-TV, Channel 24, Syracuse, produced two specials concerning Dr. King. One, "Syracuse Talks About Dr. King," featured filmed excerpts of a Syracuse memorial service for Dr. King, followed by a studio discussion with local high-school and college students. On the other special, Syracuse high-school students participated in a discussion on "Youth Pay Tribute to Dr. King."

Following Dr. King's death, station WBRA-TV, Channel 15, Roanoke, Va., expanded its "Night Line" program to present a 2-hour-and-20-minute discussion by four social psychologists on the psychology of violence, morals, what causes a society to turn to killing, and possible aftermaths related to Roanoke. The station received a record number of calls (the program format) from both Negro and white viewers. Plans were being made for WBRA-TV to present a monthly report relating to the Roanoke commission, which had recently been appointed to study race problems.

Station KUHT, Houston, Texas, had unexpected success in stirring up a meaningful community dialogue by devoting one session of the monthly discussion program, "Critical Issues," to the subject of "Racial Understanding in Houston." Starting at 8:00 p.m., the program ran three and one-half hours. A second program was presented on the same subject, and this ran over three and one-half hours. Such program participants as the editor of the Houston Chronicle, a black minister, the Mayor of Houston, a young (and voluble) black militant, the television

station manager, and a black member of the Texas State Legislature were questioned by the viewing audience via telephone. The five telephone lines were filled continuously throughout both programs. Documentary film had been shot locally and was ready for use during lulls in the conversation, but there were no lulls, so the film was never used. A commercial station in Houston subsequently presented a similar program and got similar results.

Interview and Talk Programs. In New York, WNDT's daily news analysis program, "Newsfront," continually brings contemporary Negro and ghetto representatives to air their views. Bayard Rustin and other national civil rights figures appeared on "Newsfront" to discuss the implications of Dr. King's murder the night it happened.

Station WEDH-TV, Channel 24, Hartford, Conn., aired a one-and-one-half-hour special on April 5, 1968, which included film footage of man-on-the-street reactions to Dr. King's death. Films of news conferences held around the city, including one with the Mayor, were also presented. A live studio portion of the program included black and white community leaders reacting and discussing constructive steps the community should take.

News Coverage. Station WHYY, Channel 12, Philadelphia/Wilmington, expanded its news coverage following the assassination. From its Wilmington studios, the film crew covered the Wilmington civil disturbances. No other Delaware station provided this local coverage.

Local Educational and Instructional Programs

Preschool Programs. Station WETA, Washington, D.C., was the producer of "Roundabout," an eight-month series of television programs for preschoolers who live in the inner city. "Roundabout" now has been shown by stations of the Eastern Educational Network and is being distributed nationally by the National Center for School and College TV, Bloomington, Indiana.

Enrichment Programs for Elementary- and Secondary-School Students. Station WNED, Channel 17, Buffalo, N.Y., produced a series, entitled "Mr. Whatnot," for the Buffalo Public Schools, using funds from Title I

of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The 90 programs were designed to provide cultural and social enrichment for kindergarten through third-grade children of the inner city in Buffalo. The content of these programs ranged from health, safety, science, music, and manners to history, art, citizenship, literature, and home economics. Filmed field trips were included, as well as story-telling and visits to various cultural, historical, industrial, and civic sites on the Niagara Frontier.

The Denver Public Schools, under a Title III ESEA Cultural Understanding Project, broadcast fourteen 25-minute programs over KRMA, Channel 6, on the historical, cultural, and sociological development of four major ethnic groups: American Indians, Hispanic-Americans, Asian-Americans, and American Negroes. The programs were telecast for in-school viewing by fifth-grade students during the day and for community viewers in the evening.

Local Information Programs

General Information. The State University of New York developed a plan to utilize the New York State network for the summer of 1968. A summer workshop was designed for inhabitants of the inner cities of New York, with programs including vocational training, baby care, employment potentials, consumer economics, and literacy. On April 24, 1968, WETV, Washington, D.C., presented a television town meeting concerning the District of Columbia schools and their various problems.

Job Information. Station WETA, Channel 26, Washington, D.C., produces a series entitled "TV Job Center," on which jobs and training programs are announced and job-seekers advertise their skills. Training and work opportunities are explored in live half-hour programs three nights a week, and the television audience participates by phoning in queries about jobs during the program.

About three dozen jobs are described during a typical program, and between 20 and 40 viewers interested in jobs call in each night. The program has been recently extended from three to four nights a week. The station has operated the program on a very tiny budget, and

all participants have been voluntary. In 1969, however, an HEW grant will permit public-relations activities and an evaluation program.

Election Information. Station WGBH in Boston provided a one-hour program for each of the ten candidates for the City Council during a recent election campaign, and the same for each of the candidates for the school committee. When a Negro, Tom Atkins, was elected to the City Council, he credited his appearances on the ETV station with giving him the biggest boost. He had no funds with which to buy commercial time and would have had no television exposure without the ETV station.

Entertainment and Information. In Denver, Colorado, "Operation 'Gap-Stop'" used television for an experiment involving 650 disadvantaged families living in public housing of the Denver Housing Authority. The project was divided into three phases: The first was concerned with conducting interviews before any programs were produced. These preprogram interviews revealed valuable information about the families of the urban poor in the United States. It was discovered that women were usually the heads of households; less than half of the men interviewed were employed; the majority of the families came from rural areas; there was a great lack of education; and television was the most important source of information and was the communications medium to which they were most accustomed. Those interviewed were asked their reasons for watching television. The majority gave these reasons: (1) to learn about what is going on in the world; (2) to learn new things, or (3) "to keep me company so I don't get lonely."

The second phase of "Operation 'Gap-Stop'" consisted of the writing, production, and televising of eight soap operas with accompanying commercials. These soap operas were designed to appeal to this particular audience and contain information about health, welfare, housing, etc., which the preexposure survey discovered was lacking. The scripts were written about the poor and for the poor. "Our Kind of World," the program's title, focused on two families (Negro and Spanish-American) and their tribulations.

A third phase, which had not been completed at this writing, was to evaluate the effectiveness of the programs as they delivered information to the target audience.

Local Programs Produced by and for Negroes

Station WCNY, Channel 24, Syracuse, N.Y., was planning a series, "Black on Black," to be aimed at the low-income Negro in the Syracuse metropolitan area. The weekly series, to be produced by Negro journalists and leaders, was to provide a platform for Negroes to speak directly to other Negroes on such topics as opportunities and entertainment, and to deliver indirect messages to the white establishment and power structure.

Station KTCA-TV, Minneapolis/St. Paul, received a \$75,000 grant from the Rockefeller Foundation to produce a series of programs by and for the black community of the twin cities, designed to contribute to an understanding of the problems of this group. The project was designed as a training program in television techniques for Negroes.

A series entitled "Like It Is," which would provide Negroes and other minorities in Sacramento a medium for communicating within their communities and with the majority community as well has been planned by KVIE, Channel 6, Sacramento, California. Program content would be determined by the young leaders of the Negro and poverty areas, and the station would assist in the production.

National Educational Television Network Programs

The National Educational Television Network (NET), New York City, has provided many outstanding programs about the ghetto to its 128 affiliated ETV stations, including several programs in its new national ETV network series, "PBL--The Public Broadcasting Laboratory." The "NET Journal" series has devoted many of its programs to urban and ghetto problems, including the much-heralded "Time for Burning," "What Is Prejudice?" and "The Way it Is."

In June 1968, NET launched an experimental black magazine of the air. The hour-long program concentrates on news and cultural developments in the American Negro community. Two "NET Journal" programs

focusing on aspects of black society, "Still a Brother" and "Color us Black," have also been presented.

Commercial Television

Although data are lacking on what the nation's commercial television stations have done in the area of ghetto programming, there is no doubt that commercial broadcasters have, by and large, made a conscious effort to respond to the need, and in some cases the results have been considerable. The CBS-owned and operating stations, for example, are airing "TV Job Center" programs.

Unfortunately, no survey or listing has been made of ghetto programming on commercial stations, as was done for ETV. However, the Information Office of the National Association of Broadcasters has put together a sheaf of copies of press clippings, news releases, and the like totaling some 60 items representing activities between 1962 and 1968. While such a sampling can be of limited value in estimating the quantity of ghetto programming, it can give some indication as to the kinds of things which are being done.

About half of the items concern special civil-rights programs, documentaries, news specials, and individual programs in public-affairs series, plus coverage of such special events as the funeral and services for Dr. King. Twelve of the items are news stories and articles about the hiring of Negroes by broadcasting organizations, both specific hirings and general "recognition-of-a-trend" actions. Four articles discuss the growing trend toward the specialization of some broadcast stations in specific minority audiences. One of these, an editorial in a trade journal, pointed out quite logically that Negro-directed or Spanish-speaking-directed marketing was poor business, since (1) minority groups do not want to be treated as different from the rest of society, (2) such programming must compete with network entertainment programs which have equally strong appeal in minority-group homes as they have elsewhere, and (3) as foreign-speaking immigrants learn English and their children are educated in American schools, minority audiences tend to constantly diminish.

It is significant that almost all programming mentioned was network programming; only one or two items concerned local stations and local public-affairs broadcasting.

The rest of the items consisted of good reviews and commendations for public-affairs programs, and reports of speeches and statements by broadcasters defending their actions against criticism.

In 1962, before the real start of the "Negro revolution," this contrast was made of the effects of news coverage of public problems with those of ongoing regular public-affairs broadcasting:

Crisis coverage...leaves much to be desired from the point of view of informed public judgment. If the community is taken by surprise, sudden mass coverage can endanger public order by encouraging the formation of a "crowd mind." In local communities this happens when sentiment is highly unified against other communities, which may give rise to sectional conflicts imperiling national unity, or foreign relations are made more complex. Crises are not to be avoided; but the chances of destructive results, domestically or internationally, can be reduced by wise anticipation of the critical challenge and proper preparation. This is the true challenge of all media of public information in a democratic society. It is the true test of adequacy.[45]

The same article expresses the essential incompatibility between good public-affairs broadcasting and the commercial station:

Effective [public-affairs] programs do not aim at a universal audience; they are directed at the stratified components of the potential audience. Audience building means that a given stratum of the community is trained to view programs at definite times, and to stay out of the audience when little of interest is going on.

It is not too much to say that educational TV begins at the opposite pole from commercial broadcasting, although both necessarily overlap. In educational programming it is taken for granted that, for the most part, the potentially universal audience is to be serviced piecemeal through time. The commercial approach, on the other hand, is to aim at universality every time.[45]

Commercial stations are licensed to operate "in the public interest, convenience, and necessity." This is interpreted to mean public-service programming; thus, a station which does not present at least some public-service programs is considered derelict and may have its right to a broadcast license challenged by some would-be competitor, or it may be subject to outright cancellation or nonrenewal of its license by the Federal Communication Commission. There have been few, if any, licenses lost for this reason, however, and since public-service broadcasts are expensive for a commercial station, they are normally held to a bare minimum. Stations reporting on past performance in association with their applications for license renewal will list nearly everything that is not strictly entertainment (for example, news, fine arts, education, religion) as public-service broadcasting.

Most programming that is not indisputably entertainment only appeals to limited numbers of viewers, and hence such time has no appeal for paying sponsors, nor do the adjacent 30-second and 60-second spot announcement times. In fact, the salability of adjacent entire program slots is jeopardized. This is especially true of the slot directly following a low-rated program, which has no "inherited" audience--and the inherited audience is generally considered to be responsible for a large portion of a program's rating. If the public-service program and the slot following are network programs, the local broadcaster is not as concerned, since he can lose little profit on network time. But he is most reluctant to sacrifice any of his high-income local time by putting on unsponsored local public-affairs programs. Therefore it is not realistic to expect very much ghetto programming from local commercial television stations. The reluctance to sacrifice income may seem a little difficult to justify when it is known that such commercial stations average a profit of 30 percent on the dollar invested, but this is the nature of commerce.

The public-service broadcaster, however, should have a deeper purpose than mere profit. Part of this purpose should be the encouragement of community development, social change, or attitudinal change. But most public-service broadcasters see themselves as commercial broadcasters do: as producers of a program service. The real value of

public-service broadcasting can only be understood by looking beyond the program to the total framework of which it is a part.

Appendix D

COMMUNICATION SYSTEMS FOR USE IN AN URBAN GHETTO

This Appendix presents an overview of the relevant communication-system alternatives available for use in an urban ghetto. The purpose of the overview is to provide the necessary technical background for the discussion of the pilot ghetto project. This background is intended to be primarily descriptive in nature and not a complete nor comprehensive discussion of communication systems. Costs have also been included whenever available and are presented in general terms to put the various systems into their proper economic context.

BROADCAST SYSTEMS

The use of both conventional UHF and VHF television broadcasting is discussed as well as the possible use of limited "low-power" stations in the VHF, UHF, 2500 Mc, and other portions of the frequency-band broadcast spectrum.

Use of Commercial Stations

Obtaining programming time on presently operating commercial stations for the type of programs suggested in this report poses many problems. Commercial broadcasters want to reach as large an audience as possible. The evening hours are often treated as an entire unit for which audience size must be maximized.⁽¹⁹⁾ The scheduling during these hours of programs of interest to a small, specialized audience may cause other potential listeners to turn to other stations for the entire evening. Thus, such programs may be rejected.

Rates^{*} for air time on many of the major commercial stations are usually high, one thousand dollars or more per hour.^{**} However, many of the stations offer as a public service special low rates (several

^{*} Rates presented here are exclusive of costs of program preparation.

^{**} In the larger urban areas charges for prime evening time can run to several thousand dollars per hour.

hundred dollars per hour) to educational and other public-service institutions. Thus, for example in Los Angeles, several programs are offered to the city school system over one of the major commercial stations.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Costs for programming time on many of the smaller commercial UHF stations run lower than those for VHF stations. This of course is largely due to the fact that the newer UHF stations generally do not have as large a viewing audience as the more established VHF stations and thus cannot charge the same rates. Again using Los Angeles for an example, while the costs for programming on the city's major VHF commercial stations run several thousand dollars per hour, the costs on the city's commercial UHF station run to several hundred dollars per hour.⁽⁴⁷⁾

Use of Noncommercial Stations.

Because commercial stations are not specifically designed for non-commercial operation, the Federal Communication Commission (FCC) in 1952 set aside television channel assignments for the exclusive use of non-commercial educational television. Noncommercial educational broadcast stations are licensed only to nonprofit educational organizations to present programs which serve primarily the educational needs of the community. Public and private educational organizations qualify for licenses, as do municipalities or other political subdivisions having no independently constituted educational organizations. Local community groups, both public and private, can apply for licenses, provided their programs are consistent with the intent of educational television service. An educational station may receive financial support from its supporting institutions, but it must not otherwise accept consideration for the broadcast of programs; e.g., no announcement promoting the sale of a product or service can be transmitted in connection with any program. Educational stations in general are subject to the same operating, technical, and other requirements as commercial stations, including the treatment of controversial issues and political broadcasts.⁽¹⁹⁾

At present there are 632 noncommercial educational stations designated by the FCC (116 VHF and 516 UHF), of which 164 are currently assigned (78 VHF and 86 UHF). The FCC plans to provide about one

noncommercial television station for almost every area of the country and two stations for many of the major metropolitan centers.*

The Carnegie report on public television⁽¹⁹⁾ suggests a plan whereby 337 stations would bring about 94 percent of the estimated U.S. population in 1980 "within a B contour of at least one educational station and 68 percent within an A contour." Grade B service means that satisfactory reception is provided at least 90 percent of the time at 50 percent or more of the receiving locations. Grade A service means that satisfactory reception is provided 90 percent of the time at 70 percent or more of the receiving locations. For the Carnegie estimate no account was taken of terrain and the grade A and B contours are assumed to be circles of appropriate radii.

It is estimated that an additional 43 stations in metropolitan areas for which the FCC has allocated two educational stations would bring two-station service to about one-third of the country.

The cost for establishing an educational broadcast station depends on many factors, i.e., the power and range of the station, the hours of operation, the type of studio facilities, etc. The biggest variable is not the cost for transmitting a television signal to the individual receiver but rather that for the studio facilities and equipment for producing programs. This latter expense depends on the type and purpose of the programs being produced. The Carnegie report⁽¹⁹⁾ estimates the capital cost of what is called a "basic" station as about \$1.3 million, with annual costs including operating costs plus capital costs of \$290,000. The basic station has a small studio capable of presenting about one to one-and-one-half hours of its own programming weekly. It can also broadcast color programs either "off the air" or from tapes which are supplied. The so-called "standard" station described in the Carnegie report costs about \$1.7 million, with annual costs including operating costs plus capital costs of about \$650,000. The standard station is able to produce about five hours of live local programming a week as well as to broadcast in color. The costs of larger stations capable of many hours per week of network quality programming are in

* So far, however, only 12 of the 20 largest cities have two non-commercial channel allocations.(48)

the range of \$3 million to \$6 million for capital costs and \$1.5 million to \$3.5 million for recurring costs.

The station costs are largely determined by the nature and scope of the station's programming facilities, in turn determined by the programming requirements. Costs for these requirements can be specified independently of those for the signal-transmission system. Thus, if programs of certain quality and sophistication are desired, the costs incurred for program production will largely be independent of whether the signal is broadcast or is transmitted via cable or some other means.* Typical costs for transmitting or broadcasting a television signal to the home might be similar to those shown for the repeater station** exemplified in the Carnegie report. The capital costs are \$427,000 for the VHF repeater facility and \$571,000 for the UHF repeater facility.*** The annual costs, including operating costs and capital costs, are \$93,000 for VHF and \$85,000 for UHF.

Additional Channels for Noncommercial Use.

In the present FCC television-channel assignment plan⁽⁴⁶⁾ there are some channels which have not yet been allocated, either for commercial or noncommercial use. The top 14 UHF channels (i.e., channels 70-83) have been held in reserve by the FCC for future use. It has been suggested that these channels be made available to low-power noncommercial stations, but this suggestion is being contested by mobile users who want to reserve this portion of the spectrum for their use.

These channels could be used to provide two or perhaps three additional channels to many of the larger metropolitan centers,[†] resulting

* The interactive systems discussed later in the report might affect programming production costs, since new and innovative techniques may be required. What the effect might be, however, has not been estimated.

** This is a facility having maximum allowable power for VHF and 1000 kw effective radiated power for UHF, both at 1000-ft antenna height.

*** Table 18, p. 183 of the Carnegie report.⁽¹⁹⁾

[†] Perhaps for about 30 - 40 of the 50 largest metropolitan areas.

in one educational television station for each of most areas of the nation, with many metropolitan centers having two stations and many of the large metropolitan areas having three to five stations. Variations of this plan are possible by providing fewer additional channels to the major urban areas and more to the smaller urban centers.

In the context of the general discussion presented here, it is not possible to say which type of allocation is best from the point of view of maximizing the number of people receiving ETV service. However, the use of many low-power stations, discussed below, probably provides more efficient use of the available channels than those mentioned above--at least for applications similar to those discussed in this report.

Low-Power Broadcast Stations

Low-power stations are those which use television broadcast transmitters of considerably less power than the maximum allowed by the FCC. This type of station might be useful for providing television coverage for a local community or school system.

Such a station is discussed in Ref. 29. A UHF transmitter with an effective radiated power of 10 kw with an antenna height of 200 ft is estimated to be capable of providing acceptable television coverage^{*} for a 5-mi radius. If we assume a transmitter with a protection ratio of 30 dB^{**} for co-channel interference,⁽⁴⁹⁾ a similar transmitter having the same channel assignment could operate at a minimum distance of about 31 mi from it. Each transmitter would provide coverage for a 5-mi radius. Using the same analysis, a facility with 1 kw effective radiated power and a 200-ft antenna height could provide coverage for a 2.8 mi radius and a similar transmitter could operate at a minimum distance of 18.3 mi. The area in between the two communities receiving coverage would not have acceptable service.

^{*}That is, a minimum field strength of 80 dbu (decibels above one microvolt per meter) at a distance of 5 mi from the transmitter. This estimate was based on the F(50,50) curves of Ref. 46.

^{**}Protection ratio in dB = $10 \log_{10} K$, where K is the ratio of wanted to unwanted signal.

Since one larger station could provide coverage for both communities and the areas in between, the low-power option is probably not the most efficient utilization of channel assignments from the point of view of maximizing the number of people serviced. The low-power option does, however, offer a chance for various communities and organizations to provide special-purpose broadcasting, which might otherwise not be available if the channels were assigned for more general audience use. It is possible to space low-power stations closer together, thus allowing many more individual channel assignments. The larger number of possible assignments increases the potential for more individual communities to meet special programming requirements. However, as a result there will be more areas where people will not get acceptable service. The low-power option is best when the benefits to be derived from special-purpose use of the channels are greater than those benefits derived from the use of these channels in more conventional ways (e.g., for use in establishing the proposed pilot project).

However, high-rise construction in cities of increasing population density will make the use of low-power stations of limited value. Reception in many cities--notably in New York--is already poor. A solution of only marginal value today will become even less viable in the not too distant future.

It is difficult to say without an extensive study just how many low-power stations might be made available throughout the country. For some of the metropolitan areas the presently unassigned UHF channels could be utilized to provide 4 to 6 low-power stations, i.e., each one covering a separate subcommunity within the metropolitan complex. This compares to about 2 or 3 larger stations in these same areas. The low-power stations would greatly reduce interference with nearby communities, which could then have their own low-power stations, while this would not be the case for the larger stations (i.e., a distance between transmitters of 10 to 30 mi versus 155 mi or more for conventional broadcasting). In a given section of the country, many more assignments could be made available for low-power stations than for the conventional higher-power stations.

For the example presented earlier⁽²⁹⁾ (i.e., 10-kw UHF transmitting facility and 200-ft tower) the capital costs are estimated to be \$190,000 and the annual costs including capital costs about \$60,000. Except for a station using a very tall tower (e.g., 1000 ft or more), the capital costs probably would be between \$160,000 and \$250,000 for stations providing coverage from 12 to 80 sq mi. The annual costs would range between \$53,000 and \$65,000.

UHF Television Receivers

All presently manufactured television sets must be capable of receiving UHF channels. However, this has only been a requirement since April 1964. Previous to this date, UHF capability was included only at the buyer's willingness to pay for this extra option. There are, therefore, many television receivers currently in operation which are not equipped for UHF reception. Estimates based on data for the number of sets scrapped and replaced⁽¹⁹⁾ and on other sources are that about 50 to 60 percent of the sets now in operation are equipped for UHF reception. Based on these data, it is probably safe to say that in 5 years nearly all sets will have UHF capability.

Some of the data obtained in the ghetto information study seem to indicate that there are considerably fewer UHF-equipped sets in the ghetto areas than in other areas. Data show that 88 percent of the ghetto households have television sets and about 37 percent of these sets are equipped with UHF. These data seem to agree with the data presented in Ref. 24 on the number of Negro households having television sets.

The cost for equipping an older television set to receive UHF is about \$60 for a single-family residence. This includes about \$40 for parts and labor on the set itself and about \$20 for installation of the cheapest UHF antenna. If many sets are converted at one time, the total cost could be reduced to perhaps \$30. The pilot-project discussion indicates that this cost coupled with the relatively low availability of UHF-equipped sets in the ghetto areas greatly increases the cost of even the simplest UHF broadcast options.

Instructional Television Fixed Service (ITFS)

On July 25, 1963, the FCC opened 31 channels in the frequency range of 2500 - 2686 MHz for use by educational institutions and organizations. The use of these channels is referred to as "Instructional Television Fixed Service" (ITFS). Section 74.901 of the FCC Rules and Regulations defines the service as follows:

A fixed station operated by an educational organization and used primarily for the transmission of visual and aural instructional, cultural, and other types of educational material to one or more fixed receiving locations.

Section 74.931 states that

Instructional television fixed stations are intended primarily for use by accredited public and private schools, colleges and universities.

Such stations may also be used for the additional purpose of transmitting visual and aural material to selected receiving locations for in-service training and instruction in special skills and safety programs, extension of professional training, informing persons and groups engaged in professional and technical activities of current developments in their particular fields, and other similar endeavors.

During periods when the assigned channels are not being used for transmission of instructional cultural material, they may be used for transmitting information related to administrative activities. They may also serve the following purpose.

Stations may be licensed in this service for operation as relay stations to interconnect instructional television fixed station systems in adjacent areas, to deliver instructional and cultural material to, and obtain such material from, commercial and noncommercial educational television broadcast stations for use on the instructional television fixed system, and to deliver instructional and cultural material to, and obtain such material from, nearby terminals or connection points of closed-circuit educational television systems employing wired distribution systems or radio facilities authorized under other parts of this chapter.

Licenses for ITFS stations are given only to institutional or governmental organizations engaged in formal education or to nonprofit organizations formed to provide instructional television material to such organizations.

The 31 channels are divided into seven groups of 4 channels each and one group of 3. Each license is limited to one of these designated groups of channels for use in a single area. Because of the nature of presently used equipment and adjacent-channel problems with conventional television sets, a maximum of 16 channels, or four groups, can be utilized in any one area. In some cases it might be possible to use up to 21 channels⁽⁵⁰⁾ by use of directional antennas and remotely placed transmitting sites, but this will depend on local conditions and is the exception rather than the rule.

The ITFS is a broadcast service. The transmitters operate on low power (transmitter actual peak power output of 10 w, effective radiated power of approximately 120 w) and provide area coverage for short distances (5 - 20 mi, depending on terrain). The cost of the special receiving antennas and converters make the system too expensive for home use; thus, the ITFS is in essence a private distribution system for the educational institutions involved.

A central transmitter and antenna generates and transmits the 2500 MHz signal to a parabolic receiving antenna installed on the roof at each receiving location, where a "down" converter converts the signal to channels receivable on a standard television. Only one broadband receiving antenna and converter is needed at each receiving location, but a separate transmitter is needed for each active channel. Once received and converted, the signals are usually distributed by closed-circuit cable to conventional television receivers in the appropriate classrooms. Costs for a single-channel transmitter with omnidirectional antenna run about \$15,000, while the receiving antenna, 4-channel converter, and power supply cost about \$1,500 per receiving location.⁽⁵¹⁾ In some cases where reception is difficult due to line-of-sight limitations, the transmitting antenna and tower system might cost an additional \$5,000 to \$15,000 (e.g., for a taller tower, etc.).

If reception of normal VHF or UHF broadcasting in addition to the ITFS broadcast is desired, two distribution systems at the receiving location are required. Combined costs for both systems are an average of \$80 per classroom outlet.⁽⁵¹⁾ A 23-in. black-and-white set and stand runs about \$150 and a 23-in. color set and stand about \$350. Maintenance and operation costs for the system run about 5 percent of the capital costs.

Studio equipment required for ITFS is basically the same as that for conventional television. Studio and program preparation costs are also approximately the same.

WIRED SYSTEMS

The growth of the nation's communications requirements has led to a steady reduction in the broadcasting frequency-band spectrum available for new uses. Thus, for the past several years new VHF channels have not been available and this is also becoming the case for UHF. This scarcity of available broadcasting spectrum, along with advances in cable transmission technology and a rapidly growing community antenna television (CATV) industry, is leading many communications planners to consider seriously the use of wired networks as an alternate to broadcasting.⁽⁵²⁾

In such a system the signal is transmitted to the viewer by a wire network rather than by broadcast. Since the signal is transmitted through cables, there is no interference with other signals being broadcast and new channels can be added without requiring use of the broadcast spectrum. Thus cable systems become interesting options when an increase in the number of channels (e.g., 5 to 50 or more) is desired beyond the capacity of the available broadcast spectrum.

Reference 29 describes a proposed cable system for use in the Los Angeles ghetto community. This system is typical of the type currently being operated by numerous CATV systems throughout the country: a coaxial-cable network leading from a television studio to each house in the area, with amplifiers spaced along the cables to compensate for weakening of the signal and with droplines running from the network to each individual house.

Typical cable costs for present CATV systems fall between \$3,000 and \$4,000 per mile.^(53,54) A modern 12-channel VHF cable system can be constructed for approximately \$4,000 per mile. At present, a system having 20 channels and delivering good color-quality signals might run about \$4,500 per mile for the trunk and feeder system. The type of system for which these costs are quoted usually has cables strung on poles rented from the local telephone and power companies. The house drop and the necessary hook-up equipment run not more than \$20 per house. Annual costs of such communication systems usually are about one-third of the capital costs.

An important parameter in a broadband cable system is the number of amplifiers that can be placed in cascade. This number will determine the maximum distance at which a satisfactory signal can be received from the point of transmission. For the types of systems discussed, the present state of the art seems to be about 20 to 30 amplifiers in cascade, with 30 probably pushing present capability.* This allows a single transmitter and network to provide coverage for an area of about 100 to 200 sq mi.** If additional areas must be covered, another transmitter and cable network would have to be established. The transmitters could be linked together by a high-quality distribution system (cable or microwave). The cost of the interconnection, however, would be small compared to that of the rest of the system.

The number of cable miles used in a given system will vary from one area to another. In general, urban areas will require about 10 to 20 cable miles per square mile of coverage.

The cost for a 20-channel wired system in the 1980s has been estimated at about \$6,500 per cable mile, with about 95 percent of the system placed underground.⁽⁵⁵⁾

Average underground costs, however, are highly variable. If street cutting is required to install the cable underground, costs may run as high as \$20,000 per mile for a 20-channel system. If work need not be

* Assuming the previously discussed cost figures.

** This assumes 22-dB spacing for amplifiers and 0.8-dB loss/100 ft; thus transmission-point to "top-of-the-tree" distances may be 10 to 15 mi.

halted to let traffic flow, the cost of a street-cutting underground installation might be reduced considerably. If the installation is being made in a new area before sidewalks and streets are in, an underground installation might cost no more than an overhead pole installation. It is important to note that current costs, including both labor and material, for underground cable installations can be well below the estimate for 1980 and that the difference between underground and overhead installations can be small. The cost differential between 12- and 20-channel systems is approximately \$300 per mile and is decreasing, whether the system is of minimum or of outstanding quality. This differential is so small, compared to total costs of \$4,000 to \$20,000, that it is probable that perhaps 80 to 90 percent of the new systems will use 20- rather than 12-channel equipment, even where there presently are no plans to fill the extra channels.

The Amplitude Modulated Link (AML)

There have been new developments in the use of high-frequency microwave links for broadband communication over short distances. An example of an amplitude modulated system is that developed by Hughes Aircraft Company. This AML should be considered in the context of wired systems. It is purported to be capable of transmitting 12 channels of television simultaneously to a receiving site, using a single microwave carrier. In its operation, AML would use many receivers with a given transmitter. With a fan beam it is expected to be able to cover a large city area with receivers located strategically within the beam. Receivers could then distribute the signal throughout this immediate area via cable. It is conceivable that the AML system would thus become an integral part of a CATV system, possibly replacing the expensive coaxial-cable trunks through and under city streets.

Weather can interfere with the quality of the signal, but tests run by the Hughes Aircraft Company both in Culver City, California, and New York City show the feasibility of transmitting 12 channels of television and 20 MHz of frequency-modulated signals for a major part of the year. Interruptions of "good" quality transmission are statistically estimated to be, for New York City, less than 6 hr per year at a range of 6 mi.

Assuming a successful test of the AML system and the resolution of its frequency status, an eventual cost reduction for cable transmissions can be foreseen. Pole rentals and underground installations could be circumvented through the use of the AML system. In large cities where such cable costs can be high, it is conceivable that a single AML transmitter could be used on the highest building in the neighborhood to retransmit programs to receivers on houses in target blocks or to receivers in multifamily high-rise dwellings. Retransmission over cable is relatively simple.

Cost reductions are also possible through the elimination of the line amplifier in the cables. There is little question that AML can have a considerable influence on the wired city.

Interactive Systems

With the development of cable networks it is possible to develop interactive or two-way systems. Using such a system, a person receiving a television program might be able to respond to what he has seen and in some way affect the presentation.

As an example, an interactive system has been developed to provide compensatory training of preschool ghetto children. It is particularly designed for children whose working mothers leave them at home during the day with the television set as babysitter--a practice apparently widespread in ghettos.⁽⁵⁶⁾

In addition to presenting appropriate television programs, the system installs special equipment for providing interaction and thus maintaining the child's interest. This equipment includes individual color-television monitors for each child in a residence, a set of earphones for each child to wear to avoid household distractions, and a set of controls for interaction with the programs. The special television monitor can be used to view only the educational programs, thus avoiding the problem of the child's changing the station as is possible with a conventional set.*

* Similar benefits might be obtained for conventional television presentations by use of a simple lock key on the controls of a conventional set, thereby discouraging channel changing by children.

The system is designed so that a central computer can keep track of some of the child's control-set responses, thereby providing some record of the child's participation and performance with respect to the program. The parents are periodically informed, either by mail or by personal visits to their homes, on the progress their children are making.

Because of the system's interactive features, a cable distribution system is used. The low data rates on the return signal allow signal-distribution costs for areas of high population density to be similar to those for the cable systems described previously.

This interactive television concept possesses the elements of future, more sophisticated computer-aided instruction systems. The requirements for such systems are a two-way communication link, sophisticated switching and data-processing systems, and special-purpose user equipment on the receiving end. In addition, this type of system will probably require new techniques in the preparation and presentation of program material. There is, of course, considerable effort being spent at present on this latter area.⁽⁵⁷⁾

The elements of a television interactive system are presented below:

User's terminal

Television receiver

Conventional television set

Special-purpose television monitors designed for the system

Sophisticated cathode-ray-tube (CRT) display devices and hard-copy plotters and printers

Reactive devices

Simple control set

Keyboard for alphanumeric input

Graphical input via light pen or Rand Tablet

Two-way transmission system

Cable network plus switching system

Microwave links plus switching system

Programming

Standard television and film techniques with some computer data processing.

Extensive computer processing of student interactions and programming material in addition to standard television and film techniques

The cost of a simple user's terminal (television and simple control set) is a few hundred dollars, while the cost of the sophisticated terminal (CRT display with keyboard and graphical input) can run \$50,000 to \$100,000.

A system having two-way-communication capability can range from one having very low data rates on the return signal to the costly two-way video grade system discussed by Complan.⁽⁵⁵⁾ The cost of the two-way video system above that for local telephone service might run from \$3,600 to \$5,400 per year per user terminal, provided such a system were available. The picture phone currently under development by the common carriers provides a monochrome two-way video system with a 5-1/2 x 5 in. picture. The transmission channel has a bandwidth of 1 MHz. Typical rates as projected by Complan range from \$660 to \$1,200 per year per user terminal above regular charges for local telephone service. If the picture-phone set is not used, then the 1 MHz communication link might cost about \$500 to \$1,000* per year per terminal above that for regular telephone service.

Programming for the simpler interactive systems might incorporate the use of standard television and film techniques along with the use of some data processing at the program origination center. These early systems might merely keep track of the viewer's responses for future reference. Also, some degree of branching might be achieved by allowing the viewer several channels from which to choose. Much emphasis will be placed on the use of video-tape recordings** and films. As the systems evolve, more and more interactive capability will be provided

* Cost of the picture-phone set subtracted from the Complan figures.

** Considerable cost reductions may be possible in future program storage techniques through the use of electronic video recording.⁽⁵⁶⁾

to the user. This provision will require extensive processing by computer systems in addition to the use of standard types of video and audio materials.

The future cost of the interactive system is difficult to estimate. It is clear that in the immediate future it will be quite high. The user is, of course, given services that he might otherwise not receive. The benefits of such service remain to be explored. If the user is a student, there will be a point where it might be cheaper to provide him with his own individual tutor rather than with the computer system. Even with proven benefits the strain on national resources for large-scale implementation would be great.

Since the interactive system allows the user to participate in the preparation of his own program, there is the possibility that some of the present cost for instructional-television program production might be reduced. Television and film production cost will be replaced in part by computer-programming and equipment cost. The significance of this remains to be seen.

Even if most of the costs of data processing could be incorporated into what are now considered studio and program-production costs, the high costs for the user's terminal and transmission network would still exist. That these costs hinder widespread application of interactive techniques is currently realized by the computer industry and considerable effort is being devoted to reducing the cost of terminals.

Some of the more promising systems provide for special intermediary equipment placed between the central processing station and the user's terminal. Thus, relatively simple terminal devices can be used and considerable data compression is possible in the communication net.

Such a system, for example, could eliminate the need for an expensive CRT display device at each user's terminal. Instead, a display similar to a conventional television set could be employed along with the appropriate intermediary equipment. This equipment would receive digital information from the computer center and superimpose it onto a standard video signal supplied to the terminal display. Only information

required to update the display is transmitted from the computer center to the intermediary equipment; thus, there could be a considerable reduction in transmission costs, i.e., only in cases where the entire display is updated at conventional television refresh rates would the standard 4 - 6 Mc bandwidth be required. In the next five years, systems of this type should be available. The intermediate equipment might cost from \$2,500 to \$5,000 per terminal and the terminal itself could be less than \$1,000, including the display and simple keyboard input. Also, there will be many applications where the transmission costs might be less than those for the picture phone.

REFERENCES

1. Cloward, Richard A., and Irwin Epstein, "Private Social Welfare's Disengagement from the Poor: The Case of Family Adjustment Agencies," *Poverty and Low Income Culture: Ten Views*, Arthur Pearl and Frank Riessman, eds., National Institute for Mental Health, Washington, D.C., 1964.
2. Rein, Martin, "The Strange Case of Dependency," *Transaction*, Vol. 2, No. 3, March-April 1965.
3. Clinard, Marshall B., *Perspectives on Urban Community Development and Community Organization*, The Social Welfare Forum, Columbia University Press, New York and London, 1962.
4. Miller, S. M., *The Public Responsibility of the Voluntary Association*, Youth Development Center, Syracuse University, May 6, 1964.
5. Wilensky, Harold L., and Charles N. LeBeaux, *Industrial Society and Social Welfare*, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1958.
6. Cohen, Jerome, "A Descriptive Study of the Availability and Usability of Social Services in the South Central Area of Los Angeles," *Los Angeles Riot Study*, MR-85, Institute of Government and Public Affairs, UCLA, June 1, 1967.
7. *South Central and East Los Angeles Transportation-Employment Project*, Project No. CAL-MTD-9, Vol. 4, Sacramento, California, July 1967.
8. "Lowest Jobless Group is Hardest to Reach," *Los Angeles Times*, January 23, 1968.
9. "Welfare Roll Rise Is Laid to Medicaid," *The New York Times*, January 30, 1968.
10. Lyle, Jack, *The News in Megalopolis*, Chandler Publishing Company, San Francisco, 1967.
11. Clarke, Donald R., *Data Dictionary #1 and Data Dictionary #2*, Youth Training Employment Program, East Los Angeles (n.d.).
12. *Study of the Meaning, Experience, and Effects of the Neighborhood Youth Corps on Negro Youth Who are Seeking Work*, Part II, New York University Graduate School of Social Work Center for the Study of Unemployed Youth, NY-CAP-669573 0-5433024, April 1967.
13. Hibbard, William F., *Transportation: Role in the Urban Problem*, Transportation-Employment Project, Sacramento, California, November 13, 1967.

14. Bogart, Leo, *The Changing Public; Its News Interests and Sources*, presented to the Associated Press Managing Editors, Chicago, Illinois, October 19, 1967.
15. Roper, Elmo, and Associates, *New Trends in the Public's Measure of Television and Other Media*, Television Information Office, New York City, 1965.
16. Dodson, Paul Daniel, *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, Bantam Books, New York, 1968.
17. Lyle, Jack, "Audience Impact of a Double Newspaper Merger," *Journalism Quarterly*, Vol. 39, 1962.
18. Sears, David O., "Political Attitudes of Los Angeles Negroes," *Los Angeles Riot Study*, MR-96, Institute of Government and Public Affairs, UCLA, June 1, 1967.
19. Carnegie Commission, *Public Television--A Program for Action*, The Report of the Carnegie Commission on Educational Television, Bantam Books, New York, January 1967.
20. Cooney, Joan Ganz, *Television for Preschool Children, A Proposal*, Carnegie Corp., New York, 1968.
21. Bell, Richard H., "The Status of Instructional Television--1967," *New Relationships in ITV*, The Educational Media Council, 1967.
22. Shanks, Robert E., "Can TV Help to Stretch the School Dollar?" *The Tax Digest*, First Quarter 1962.
23. Bretz, Rudy, "Closed Circuit ITV Logistics--Comparing Hagerstown, Anaheim and Santa Ana," *NAEB Journal*, July-August 1965.
24. *Pocket Data Book: USA 1967*, U.S. Bureau of the Census.
25. Laubach, Frank C., and Robert S. Laubach, *Toward World Literacy*, Syracuse University Press, 1960.
26. Peerson, Nell, *An Experiment with Evaluation in the Eradication of Adult Illiteracy by Use of Television Instruction Over a State Educational Television Network Supplemented by Supervised Group Viewing and by the Related Use of Project-Supplied Materials of Instruction*, Title VII, Project No. 417, Grant No. 701080, Office of Educational Opportunity, August 1961.
27. *Examiner's Manual for the Tests of General Educational Development--High School Level*, rev. ed., United States Armed Forces Institute, Veteran's Testing Service, American Council on Education, Washington, D.C., 1956.

28. Arndt, Johan, "A Test of the Two-Step Flow in Diffusion of a New Product," *Journalism Quarterly*, Vol. 45, No. 3, October 1968, pp. 457-465.
29. Chesler, L. G., and H. S. Dordick, *Communication Goals for Los Angeles--A Working Paper for the Los Angeles Goals Program*, The Rand Corporation, P-3769-1, June 1968.
30. *Educational Television in California: Existing Facilities, Future Needs and a Plan for Development*, Television Advisory Committee, State of California, Department of General Services, Sacramento, California, May 1, 1966.
31. Dordick, H. S., *Adult Education Goals for Los Angeles, A Working Paper for the Los Angeles Goals Program*, The Rand Corporation, P-3808, March 1968.
32. Lloyd, G., *Community Relations Council: Gert Town Project Memorandum*, New Orleans, October 1967.
33. *Central City Handbook*, Total Community Action Office, New Orleans, March 1968.
34. *Special Census Survey of the South and East Los Angeles Areas*, November 1965; Current Population Reports, Technical Studies, Series P-23, No. 17, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., March 23, 1966.
35. Case, Fred E., "Housing in the Los Angeles Riot Area," *Reports of Consultants*, Vols. XVII and XVIII, unpublished reports to the Governor's Commission on the Los Angeles Riots, Los Angeles, 1965.
36. "Cooperative Area Manpower Planning System, Los Angeles Metropolitan Area Plan FY 1968," Los Angeles Manpower Coordinating Committee (unpublished document).
37. Cohen, Nathan E., "The Context of the Curfew Area," *Los Angeles Riot Study*, Institute of Government and Public Affairs, MR-94, UCLA, June 1, 1967.
38. City of Detroit, "Mayor's Development Team Report to Mayor Jerome P. Cavanagh," October 1967.
39. Quarantelli, Professor Enrico L., Talk presented at Colombia University Seminar on Public Communications, March 15, 1968.
40. *County and City Data Book*, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1967.
41. Gunn, Hartford, "A Station Manager's View of the Problems of Programming," *Educational Television: The Next Ten Years*, Stanford University Press, 1962.

42. *The Financing of Educational Television Stations*, National Association of Educational Broadcasters, 1965.
43. *New Educational Media in Action: Case Studies for Planners - I*, UNESCO, 1967.
44. Testimony by Jack McBride before the Subcommittee on Communications of the Senate Committee on Commerce, *Public Television Act of 1967, Hearings*, p. 219.
45. Lasswell, Harold D., "The Future of Public Affairs Broadcasting," *Educational Television, the Next Ten Years*, Stanford University Press, 1962.
46. Los Angeles City Schools, Division of Instructional Planning and Services, Instructional Services Branch, *Radio Television Ways to Learning*, Vol. 18, No. 7, April 1968.
47. *Television Factbook: The Authoritative Reference for the Advertising, Television and Electronics Industries, Stations Volume*, Television Digest, Inc., No. 37, Washington, D.C. 1967.
48. Federal Communications Commission, *Rules and Regulations*, Vol. 3, Part 73, Subpart E, "Television Broadcast Stations," January 1964.
49. International Radio Consultative Committee (C.C.I.R.), *Documents of the XIth Plenary Assembly, Oslo, 1966*, Vol. V, Sound Broadcasting Television, International Telecommunications Union, Geneva, 1967.
50. *Report to the Board of Public Instruction, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on a Feasibility Study for a Multichannel 2500 Megacycle Service*, Jansky and Bailey, Broadcast, Television Department, August 7, 1967.
51. *Instructional Television Fixed Service: What It Is...How to Plan*, The Division of Educational Technology, National Education Association, prepared for the FCC Committee for the Full Development of the Instructional Television Fixed Service, 1967.
52. Barnett, H. J., and E. A. Greenberg, *A Proposal for Wired City Television*, The Rand Corporation, P-3668, August 1967.
53. Seiden, Martin, H., *An Economic Analysis of Community Antenna Television Systems and the Television Broadcasting Industry*, Report to the Federal Communications Commission, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., February 1965.
54. Chipp, Rodney, D., "Community Antenna Television Systems," *IEEE Spectrum*, July 1966.
55. *A Study of Distribution Methods*, Complan Associates, Inc., Suffern, New York, May 24, 1968.

56. Baran, Paul, *Interactive Television for Compensatory Training of Culturally Deprived Preschool Children*, The Rand Corporation (to be published).
57. Bushnell, D., and D. Allen, *The Computer in American Education*, commissioned by the Association for Educational Data Systems, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., New York, 1967.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bagdikian, B. H., *In the Midst of Plenty; The Poor in America*, Beacon Press, Boston, 1964.
- Carter, R. F., and B. S. Greenberg, "Newspaper or Television: Which Do You Believe?" *Journalism Quarterly*, Vol. 42, 1965.
- "Cities Outlook," *Business Week*, March 23, 1968.
- Cohen, Jerome, ed., "The Work of Berta Fantil," *Smith College Studies in Social Work*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 3, June 1964.
- Community Profile; Gert Town in New Orleans*, Drexel Institute of Community and Social Relations, Xavier University, 1967.
- "Dead End Ahead for Film, Tape?" *Broadcasting*, Vol. 73, No. 17, October 23, 1967.
- Deutschman, Paul J., and Donald Kiel, *A Factor Analytic Study of Attitudes Toward the Mass Media*, East Lansing School of Communications, Michigan State University, 1960.
- Fibush, Esther, "The White Worker and the Negro Client," *Social Casework*, Vol. XLVI, No. 5, May 1965.
- Harrington, Michael, *The Other America*, Penguin Books, Baltimore, 1962.
- High School Education Via Television in Los Angeles*, Manpower Education Institute, 1968.
- Hilliard, Robert L., "Are You Ten Feet Tall?" *New Relationships in ITV*, Educational Media Council, Washington, D.C., 1967.
- Honan, William H., "The New Sound of Radio," *The New York Times Magazine*, December 3, 1967.
- Liebow, Elliot, *Tally's Corner*, Little & Brown, Toronto, 1967.
- Los Angeles Negro Market Survey*, KGFJ, Radio 1230, Los Angeles, California, June 1967.
- Murphy, Judith, and Ronald Gross, *Learning by Television*, Fund for the Advancement of Education, New York, 1966.
- Progress Report to the President's Task Force on Communication Policy*, Spindletop Research, Lexington, Kentucky, May 1968.
- Reconnection for Learning: A Community School System for New York City*, Mayor's Advisory Panel on Decentralization of the New York City Schools, New York, 1967.

Seidenbaum, Art, "KLAC, Where the Talking Is Constant," *Los Angeles Times West Magazine*, March 24, 1968.

South Central and East Los Angeles Transportation-Employment Project, Project No. CAL-MTD-9, Vol. 5, October 1967.

Steiner, Gary, *The People Look At Television*, Knopf, New York, 1963.

The Negroes in the United States--Their Economic and Social Situation, Bulletin No. 1511, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington, D.C., June 1966.