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* ABSTRACT

Adults in 1,500 households in San Francisco's Western Addition were interviewed to gather information about black's use of and attitudes toward television. Findings indicate: (1) few persons expressed favoritism about existing shows that feature blacks; (2) the average reported viewing time per day was four hours; (3) viewing of news programs was reported to be high; (4) most respondents indicated having watched the Belva Davis show (a black oriented program originating in the Bay Area) but expressed no great affinity toward it; (5) less than 45% of respondents indicated having ever watched the two other local black oriented programs; (6) over 22% of respondents indicated the desire for cultural, news, and educational shows for the black community; (7) the average respondent reported reading a newspaper four days a week; (8) very little reliance on television for information about the black community, politics, and elections was reported; (9) most respondents were not impressed by alleged progress television has made recently in treating blacks fairly in local news and entertainment programming; (10) better educated blacks in San Francisco view television less, rely on television less for news of the black community, and think less of "Sanford and Son" than do less well educated blacks. (Author/MK)

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TECHNICAL REPORT

"AN INVESTIGATION OF THE SPECIAL IMPACT OF TELEVISION ON BLACKS"

NSF GRANT #APR75-01757

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DECEMBER 29, 1976

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Methodology
 Table of U.S. Census, 1970; Black areas
 in San Francisco: Education and incomes.....
 Map of area sampled for present study
Summary statistics: Demography of the sample
TV demographics
Amount of TV viewing
Favorite program preferences
The popularity of various television programs.....
News and public affairs viewing
Viewing "Black TV programing"
Viewing Black news/public affairs programing
General reasons for watching "Black shows" on TV ..
Attitudes towards TV's treatment of Blacks
Interest in Politics
Political alienation
Sources of Information about politics
Politics and the media
Interpersonal communication about politics
National political knowledge
Local political knowledge
Knowledge of non-local Black politicians
Political participation

Introduction to the Bivariate analysis section
Evaluations of the Black situation comedies
Main source of information about Blacks and
 the Black community
Reliance on TV for news of the Black community
Desire for more Black programing on TV .4.....
The Belva Davis Show
Who watches local, national news, and current
 events shows?

TABLE OF CONTENTS (cont.)

Trust in television

General interest in politics: summary of
correlational findings

The demographics of interest in politics

Primary sources of information about politics

KOED (public television) viewing

Appendices to the bivariate analysis section

Computer codes: variable names
Pearson correlational coefficients: tables
Crosstabulations: tables

Health

Tables:

Percent of population with preventive care
examinations within past two years.
Assessments of health status.

Radio

Magazine reading

Reading of daily metropolitan newspapers

Alienation from white newspapers

Black newspapers

Sports viewing

References and bibliography

METHODOLOGY

THE SETTING

San Francisco's "Western Addition" is one of two large Black communities within the city. The selection of this particular site for the 1976 research on television usage was based on several criteria. Perhaps the foremost one was that the approximately 35,000 Black people in the area represent as broad a spectrum as is possible on most of the social and demographic variables which were of interest to us. An additional factor, which distinguishes this centrally located community from, say, Oakland (which is much larger) and the San Francisco Hunter's Point area, is that it contains substantial numbers of persons from other ethnic minorities, e.g., the Japanese community. Further, all of the perimeter sections of the Western Addition are either residential or mixtures of small retail business and residential areas. Most of these surrounding neighborhoods are predominantly white.

The one other major selection reason was that the chosen area is, because of the other characteristics, quite obviously a community in the social-organizational sense of the word. Cablecommunications Resource Center solicited and was able to obtain the support of important persons in the community hierarchy for purposes of staffing the field operation, conducting mapping and "locator" phases within the sampling plan, and for stimulating the cooperation we ultimately found among the persons who fell into the sample.

The final point behind deciding to conduct the research in the Western Addition was that it composes part of California's

17th Assembly District; the incumbent during the research was Willie Brown, a Black attorney who first took office in the Assembly during 1965. (There are, of course, other districts in the Bay area which have Blacks as elected officials.) Our rationale for wanting to study people who lived in such an area was that in a national election year it presented an interesting complex of political allegiances and/or alienation symptoms. On top of the points cited above, this was sufficient to fix our focus firmly on the San Francisco central city area as a research site.

THE INTERVIEW

It is generally accepted as a fact of life in contemporary social science that interviewing Americans becomes more difficult as each year passes. All of the obstacles that we could conceive of eventually presented themselves during the course of this research. Overlying the general antipathy bred of Watergate, revelations about federal invasions of people's privacy, and the specific "welfare investigator" syndrome that pervades all urban areas, we encountered several problems unique to San Francisco. Perhaps the most bothersome one was the six-week, complete shut-down of the city's public transportation system. This strike started during the first week of our Wave 1 interviewing. In a compact, densely populated area like the Western Addition, parking one's private automobile on the street is problematical. Interviewers, however, were faced with either that or the less pleasant alternative... walking from interview to interview. Even though assignments were made by sub-areas, the issue of large numbers of non-contacts (over 1,500 attempts to contact were made in order to complete the 324 Wave 1 interviews) was a hardship we had to cope with.

Another coincidental situation added to the natural level of

reluctance that one expects to find in trying to conduct in-home interviews in urban areas. During the time we were in the field solicitors for Viacom Gable Corporation were circulating materials and were making personal contacts where possible in order to promote subscription to the newly available cable TV service offered by their company. Since our interviewers were using the names of both the Booker T. Washington Foundation and Cablecommunications Resource Center, more than a few respondents concluded that we were trying to sell CATV placements.

Ultimately we overcame these problems through perseverance and overspending our original interviewing budget substantially. A significant portion of the recalcitrant sample members were finally brought in by our colleagues at The Young Adults, a community youth organization. Not only were we able to establish a city office in their quarters, but they lent their support at both the location and contact phases.

SAMPLE SELECTION PROCEDURES

CENSUS TRACT SELECTION

Sixteen contiguous census tracts were selected as the primary area for this survey. (Tracts 152, 153, 154, 155, 157, 158, 159, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, and 171.) Each tract contained at least a 20% Black population according to 1970 census data. The area is surrounded by census tracts which average well under 10% Black population, none higher than 13%.

7 According to census data, the sixteen tracts contained a total of 77,785 people in 1970. Of these, 35,964 - 46.2% - were Black.

MODIFICATION OF CENSUS TRACTS

Within each census tract, specific blocks were eliminated if their population was less than 20% Black. This procedure

eliminated an area containing 19,284 people from the survey area; but only 1,153 of these people (6%) were Blacks.

The resulting modified census tract area contained a total of 58,537 people, of whom 34,821 (60%) were Black. This represented only 8.2% of the total population of San Francisco, but it represented 36.2% of the Black population of the entire city.

SAMPLE SIZE WITHIN EACH MODIFIED TRACT

RPS Co. of San Francisco had been asked to draw a sample that would result in the identification of 600 Black households within the survey area. The first step was to determine required sample sizes within each modified census tract. The following formula was used:

$$\text{Sample Size}_a = (B_a / B_{\text{total}} \times 600) / \%B_a$$

B_a is the number of Blacks in modified tract "a", B_{total} is the total number of Blacks in all the modified tracts, and $\%B_a$ is the proportion of Blacks among the entire population in modified tract a. Put into words, the sample size for tract "a" was determined by finding the ratio of Blacks in the tract to Blacks in the total sample area, multiplying that ratio by 600 to get the desired number of Black households in the modified tract, and dividing by the Black population percentage in the modified tract to determine the total number of households to be contacted in the tract in order to reach the desired number of Black households.

The result of this procedure was to create a sample that was stratified in direct proportion to the Black population represented within each modified census tract. Thus, if a given tract contained a tenth of all Blacks in the sample area, sixty Black homes would be desired ($1/10 \times 600$) for the sample. If the modified tract was 75% Black, then a sample of eighty households would be needed to obtain 60 Black households

(60/.75 = 80) in the modified tract. If the modified tract was 40% Black, then a sample of 150 households (60/.4 = 150) would be needed to obtain 60 Black households.

The procedure created a desired sample size within each modified tract that was expected to produce a desired sample size of Black households. Independent random samples were then drawn for each tract.

SAMPLING FRAME

Valid street numbers within each modified tract were determined through the use of a large scale map of the area. The ranges of numbers on valid streets were then photocopied from a reverse phone directory which lists households by street in order of address number. The copy of all valid addresses within the modified tract became the sampling frame for the tract.

RANDOM SAMPLING

Within each sampling frame, the specified sample size (see above) had been determined and was drawn by a random procedure. Numbers were taken from a table of random numbers; and for a given random number, N, the Nth address was taken from the sampling frame. The random procedure was repeated until the sample size desired for the tract had been drawn.

To insure that bias due to non-published phones and homes without phones was eliminated, the addresses drawn were not actually used for the sample. Rather, interviewers were to contact the next housing unit (home or apartment) immediately above the number drawn from the reverse directory.

FINAL SAMPLE SIZE

The result of the procedures was a sample of 1,346 addresses,

stratified by modified census tracts. By simple laws of probability, and assuming the population is similar to what it was in 1970, this should have produced 600 Black households distributed among tracts in the same way that the Black population was distributed among the tracts.

As it turned out, the locator phase of the sampling units revealed that many ineligible (i.e., non-Black) persons were living in addresses that fell into the sample. The ratio of such ineligibles led us to conclude that the composition of several of the tracts had changed markedly over the years since 1970's census. The simple solution to these problems was to increase the sample of addresses for location purposes to 1,500 from the original 1,346.

THE SUBJECTS

The original conception of this research plan included the idea that the heads of each sampled household both be interviewed - if, of course, there were two adults in the home. This intention was deemed dysfunctional in the light of a widely held community attitude that only social service fraud investigators could be really so interested in contacting both heads of a household. The final operational plan called for specifying a sex-of-respondent quota on the basis of address; odd number = male, even number = female. Where the desired person was absent permanently (or did not exist) a substitution was made. As the demographic data below indicate, the sex composition of the sample closely approximates the population norms.

Our sample size, on the first wave of the panel, ultimately reached 324. This number eventuated out of the 391 Black adults who were actually contacted by an interviewer. Some 19 persons did not formally refuse to be interviewed, but were indisposed

such that no complete interview was possible. The second wave of interviewing took place in late May 1976 and was conducted largely by telephone. Here we were able to interview 276 persons. Of the 48 non-interviews, only 6 were outright refusals. Since telephone contact was simply not feasible for some respondents, 40 of these second-wave interviews were again conducted face-to-face.

The third wave of interviewing commenced in mid-June, shortly after the final state primary elections were completed. This interview, as was the case in Wave 1, again required about one hour's time. A total of 268 persons were re-interviewed at this point.

As will be discussed in a subsequent section of this paper, it turned out that the attrition did not substantially alter the demographic composition of the original sample. On 16 independent variables used for analysis, only one showed any significant differences between the Wave 1 and Wave 3 samples.

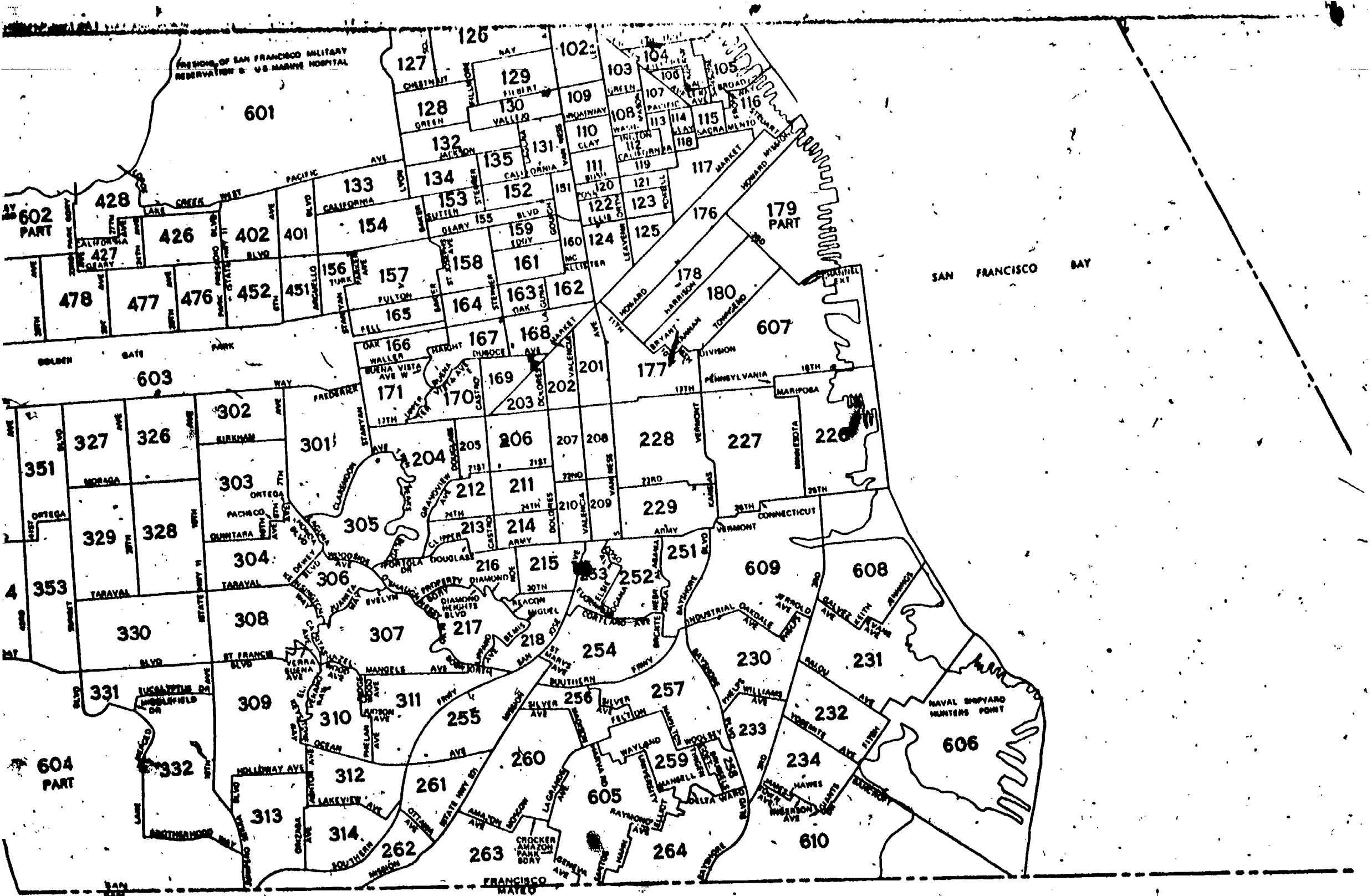
**SAN FRANCISCO SMSA, U.S. CENSUS, 1970:
TRACTS REPORTING OVER 20% BLACKS**

<u>TRACTS</u>	<u>ALL PERSONS</u>	<u>BLACKS</u>	<u>% BLACKS</u>	<u>MED. ED.</u>	<u>MED. FAMILY INC.</u>
*152	3,851	787	20.4	12.8	5,714
*153	2,533	1,418	56.0	12.0	4,311
*154	5,853	1,473	25.2	12.7	7,415
*155	2,770	1,322	47.7	12.4	4,695
*157	6,841	1,830	26.8	12.7	3,834
*158	7,464	5,993	80.3	12.1	4,765
*159	2,543	852	33.5	12.9	7,167
*161	2,526	1,828	72.4	10.1	2,760
*162	2,392	857	35.8	12.2	4,170
*163	4,652	3,419	73.5	11.5	4,003
*164	3,838	2,779	72.4	12.1	5,000
*165	5,108	2,005	39.3	12.5	5,698
*166	6,251	2,596	41.5	12.4	4,483
*167	5,576	3,291	59.0	12.3	5,356
*168	6,866	3,457	50.3	12.2	4,597
*171	8,721	2,057	23.6	12.8	5,494
178	3,590	755	21.0	10.5	2,422
180	1,706	693	40.6	11.6	2,541
226	531	305	57.4	11.0	3,447
227	9,414	2,774	29.5	12.1	6,500
230	8,823	4,875	55.3	11.2	8,474
231	9,152	8,196	89.6	10.6	5,082
232	3,967	3,159	79.6	10.8	7,616
233	780	389	49.9	11.8	9,237
234	3,664	2,991	81.6	10.2	4,915
258	1,268	323	25.5	11.3	8,871
264	12,083	2,937	24.3	11.5	9,207
312	6,066	3,251	53.6	12.0	7,913
313	7,640	4,635	60.7	12.2	9,239
314	4,201	3,285	78.2	12.0	8,973
605	3,398	1,580	46.5	11.3	3,821
608	192	160	83.3	9.1	5,400
609	315	271	86.0	9.7	2,618
610	1,575	423	29.0	11.7	10,717

TOTAL = 81,191 36,718 45.2%

CITYWIDE
TOTAL = 715,674 96,078 13.4%

*SAMPLE



PRESIDIO OF SAN FRANCISCO MILITARY RESERVATION & U.S. MARINE HOSPITAL

SAN FRANCISCO BAY

NAVAL SHIPYARD HUNTERS POINT

14

15



INSERT A - SAN FRANCISCO



SUMMARY STATISTICS: THE DEMOGRAPHY OF THE 1976 SAMPLE

120. PRESENT AGE OF RESPONDENT

MEDIAN AGE.....34.0 YEARS

121. NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN HOUSEHOLD

NONE.....47.4%	ONE.....19.7%
TWO.....14.5%	THREE.....9.7%
FOUR.....5.2%	FIVE OR MORE.....3.5%

128. SEX OF RESPONDENT

MALE.....48.5%	FEMALE.....51.5%
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124. RESPONDENT'S OCCUPATION

UNSKILLED FACTORY-WORKER, EQUIPMENT OPERATOR, HOUSEHOLD, SERVICE, POLICE, FIREMAN, LABORER, CONSTRUCTION.....	26.5%
CRAFTSMAN, FOREMAN, SKILLED, SEMI-SKILLED, FARMER.....	14.7%
CLERICAL AND SALES.....	10.1%
PROFESSIONAL, MANAGERIAL, EXECUTIVE, PROPRIETOR.....	16.3%

125. FAMILY INCOME

UNDER \$2,000.....14.0%	\$8,000 - \$9,999.....15.9%
\$2,000 - \$3,999.....14.0%	\$10,000 - \$14,999.....18.6%
\$4,000 - \$5,999.....13.6%	\$15,000 - \$19,999.....4.7%
\$6,000 - \$7,999.....14.0%	\$20,000 PLUS.....4.3%

126. HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD'S SCHOOLING

EIGHTH GRADE OR LESS.....10.0%	SOME COLLEGE.....27.2%
SOME HIGH SCHOOL.....18.8%	COLLEGE GRAD.....8.7%
HIGH SCHOOL GRAD.....31.3%	ADVANCED DEGREE.....3.7%

127. SOCIAL CLASS

LOWER.....17.6%	MIDDLE MIDDLE.....20.5%
WORKING.....28.7%	UPPER MIDDLE.....3.3%
LOWER MIDDLE.....25.4%	UPPER.....4.6%

96. STATE OF RESPONDENT'S BIRTH

WEST COAST.....26.7%	PLAINS STATES.....0.8%
SOUTH.....34.2%	MIDWEST.....6.4%
SOUTHWEST.....23.3%	NEW ENGLAND.....0.0%
SOUTHEAST.....2.3%	MID ATLANTIC.....6.4%
ROCKY MOUNTAIN.....0.0%	

97. STATE IN WHICH RESPONDENT RAISED

WEST COAST.....	41.7%	PLAINS STATES.....	1.1%
SOUTH.....	25.4%	MIDWEST.....	6.4%
SOUTHWEST.....	17.0%	NEW ENGLAND.....	0.0%
SOUTHEAST.....	1.5%	MID ATLANTIC.....	6.4%
ROCKY MOUNTAIN.....	0.4%		

98. TIME RESPONDENT HAS SPENT IN SAN FRANCISCO

0 - 1 YEAR.....	3.4%	11 - 15 YEARS.....	8.6%
1 - 5 YEARS.....	12.0%	16 - 19 YEARS.....	10.5%
6 - 10 YEARS.....	11.2%	20 YEARS AND OVER.....	54.3%

99. DOES THE RESPONDENT BELONG TO A RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION

YES.....	61.8%	NO.....	38.2%
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100. DENOMINATION TO WHICH RESPONDENT BELONGS

BAPTIST.....	55.6%	SEVENTH DAY ADVENTIST.....	0.0%
METHODIST.....	8.1%	JEHOVAH'S WITNESS.....	1.9%
MUSLIM.....	0.0%	CHURCH OF GOD AND	
CATHOLIC.....	11.2%	CHRIST OR PENTECOSTAL..	6.9%
		OTHER.....	16.2%

101. DENOMINATION TO WHICH RESPONDENT FEELS CLOSEST

BAPTIST.....	42.4%	SEVENTH DAY ADVENTIST.....	0.0%
METHODIST.....	7.3%	JEHOVAH'S WITNESS.....	2.8%
MUSLIM.....	1.1%	CHURCH OF GOD AND	
CATHOLIC.....	8.5%	CHRIST OR PENTECOSTAL..	5.1%
NONE.....	19.2%	OTHER.....	13.6%

102. MARITAL STATUS OF RESPONDENT

SINGLE.....	42.0%	DIVORCED.....	12.2%
SEPARATED.....	10.3%	WIDOWED.....	8.8%
MARRIED.....	26.7%		

TV DEMOGRAPHICS

Certain "objective," media-related information about our respondents' access to television is obviously basic to understanding how and why they use the medium. The data tabulated below were collected on the first wave of interviewing.

106. NUMBER OF TV'S

NONE.....	0.9%	TWO.....	27.0%
ONE.....	55.0%	THREE OR MORE.....	17.1%

The numbers of sets in the households where we interviewed were a bit lower than those national, general population figures available. Nevertheless, close to half the respondents had two or more sets in the home, and this clearly allows the program selection process to fit better whatever individual desires members of the household may have.

107. NUMBER OF COLOR TV'S

NONE.....	48.4%	TWO.....	8.0%
ONE.....	42.0%	THREE, OR MORE.....	1.6%

More than half the respondents reported that they had color sets; this is again just a bit below the national data presently available.

In the area where this research took place, there was then an intensive marketing effort being made by Viacom Corporation to add subscribers to their cable television network. About one in nine of our respondents said they had a cable connection at the time of the first interview in Spring 1976. Even without this reception enhancer, there was little perceived problem, perhaps because of the area's proximity to the new city transmitting facility. Some 46 percent of the respondents said they received all local channels satisfactorily.

109. NATURE OF RECEPTION

VERY GOOD.....60.9% NOT GOOD AT ALL.....2.5%
 JUST ALL RIGHT..36.6%

Three further questions about TV behavior in general deserve some mention here, although they are not, strictly speaking, in the same vein as the above set. We were interested in describing the social/psychological situation in which the respondents viewed television. The initial question had to do with selection dynamics.

105. WHO USUALLY HAS THE SAY ABOUT WHAT IS TO BE WATCHED ON TV IN THE EVENINGS AT YOUR HOME?

WE ALL DECIDE...14.7%	CHILDREN.....6.9%
PARENTS.....1.9%	NOBODY.....6.0%
SELF.....59.6%	OTHER.....3.1%
	SPOUSE.....7.8%

In about one of seven households, the decision on what to view is said to be made democratically; about half that number of families cede the choice to the children. Although we have no comparative data here, the interesting finding was that in fully two thirds of the households, the program selection is made, apparently without consultation, by one adult. It is obvious, however, that a substantial number of the latter are homes where there is only one adult, living alone.

Of all the possible predictors of viewing of particular television programs, habituation has often been found one of the most valuable. Along the lines of trying to describe how viewing patterns develop, we asked our respondents to designate whether they viewed in a routinized fashion or not. Perhaps because of the seasonal factors mentioned previously, or for other reasons relating to work or life styles, the numbers who did report "regular viewing schedules" were less than a majority.

5. ON MOST DAYS OF THE WEEK, DO YOU HAVE A REGULAR SCHEDULE FOR WATCHING TELEVISION?

YES.....45.5% NO.....54.5%

The social dimension of television viewing was something we

intended to do more with than we were ultimately able to do. The bare beginnings of the sociometry of television viewing are contained below.

6. HOW OFTEN WOULD YOU SAY YOU GET TOGETHER WITH YOUR FAMILY OR FRIENDS ESPECIALLY TO WATCH CERTAIN TV PROGRAMS?

VERY OFTEN.....	15.7%	RARELY.....	19.5%
OFTEN.....	19.9%	NEVER.....	10.9%
SOMETIMES.....	44.1%		

There were more or less equal and relatively small numbers of persons who said they participated in such group viewing "very often" and "never." A few more fell into the "often" and "rarely" categories, and the remaining third were occasional or "sometimes" group viewers. Again, the constraints of existing family structure impinge on these results. A more meaningful analysis of this group viewing factor will be presented in the section dealing with bivariate relationships.

AMOUNT OF TV VIEWING

The amount of time an individual spends viewing television is important in many of the explanatory analyses typically undertaken in studies like the present one. In order that we have a meaningful datum here, we took a multi-measurement approach. In fact, because of the desire to obtain an assessment of differential viewing by season, we took these multiple measures each of the two times when we conducted in-home interviews. These time periods were (Wave 1) March 15 - May 28 and (Wave 3) June 15 - August 1. At this time in television history, the term "season" no longer denotes a fixed time when first run programming is aired and another time when "re-runs" predominate as they did several years ago. Nevertheless, a major reason for our taking this two wave measurement approach was to describe how our respondents' possible life style seasonality affected use of television. Given the peculiarities of San Francisco weather (e.g., regular summer evening fog and cold), these trends should obviously not be expected to generalize to other areas. As has been found before, we came up with discrepancies between respondents' estimates of their "average day's viewing" and the amount that they viewed either "yesterday" or "the day before yesterday." "Average viewing" is greater among our sample. The data are illustrated below:

TABLE 1*

	<u>Wave 1</u>	<u>Wave 3</u>
"Average day" (weekday and evening)	Med = 4.01 \bar{x} = 4.32 s.d. = 2.43	Med = 4.04 \bar{x} = 4.30 s.d. = 2.38
"Yesterday"	Med = 2.91 \bar{x} = 3.36 s.d. = 2.60	Med = 2.89 \bar{x} = 3.10 s.d. = 2.43
"Day before yesterday"	Med = 2.76 \bar{x} = 3.19 s.d. = 2.59	Med = 2.74 \bar{x} = 3.09 s.d. = 2.53

*In order to assess how reliable the reported viewing times were on an individual level, we calculated Pearson correlational coefficients between the three separate measures made in the interviews from Wave 1. The results showed that "average weekday and evening viewing" correlated at $r = .68$ with "yesterday viewing" and at $r = .63$ with the "day before yesterday." The latter two were correlated at $r = .67$

Why should this "average" concept be consistently high? There were many extemporaneous mentions by respondents of the fact that there were "too many re-runs on," and this may have had an attenuating effect on amount of viewing, as measured by the specific "yesterday" and "day before yesterday" questions. There was also the possible factor of the distribution through the week of interviewing days. This point is easy to handle; the 324 interviews were indeed distributed evenly over the week such that the "yesterday viewing" figure and the "day before yesterday" figure are both averages of five weekdays and two weekend days. While summary calculations of each of these two might be helpful, we are not going to do

it in this analysis because of the relatively small numbers of weekend viewing data.

In subsequent analyses of viewing time overall, we shall use the "average viewing" figures shown in Table 1. While the medians of both the Wave 1 and 3 of the distributions of time-of-viewing fell at 4 hours, a couple of peculiarities of the viewing curves are worth noting. First, the extremes are interesting; almost no one designates himself as a non-viewer. This is especially interesting in the light of the very frequent comments by respondents to the initial questions of the survey...i.e., when pressed to choose favorite programs they offered comments like "well, I hardly watch TV at all..."

The fact that the modal responses to the viewing average questions fell at the upper limit of our range (i.e., 8 hours or more) is probably not as unique to this sample as one might imagine. A look at the age and sex breakdown of this segment of the sample shows that the housebound, especially aged, or ill women are often "watching all day"...probably just turning the set on and leaving it on... watching or not... as several told our interviewers.

In sum, one is cautioned to examine these distributions of TV viewing carefully, even if citing "averages" is often appropriate and necessary.

There are several conclusions that these data support, even if further analysis is clearly needed. First, the absolute figures for viewing television, are lower than expected by whatever the measurement method and at either of the two points in time. Those commercial audience measurements services we have seen found almost twice our obtained viewing times. These are admittedly not from West Coast urban areas,

but others of the data which they report do closely coincide with our own (e.g., viewing of prime time "Black comedies"). Resolutions of methodological differences that might be contributing to these discrepancies will be addressed later in this report.

The second major finding of interest here is that there is virtually no seasonal (i.e., Wave 1 vs. Wave 3) difference in any of the viewing-time indices. Bus strikes, droughts, Olympic specials notwithstanding, we expected that there would be time interval differences, and the fact that there were not calls for expanding this "time budget by season" work in future studies we plan to conduct.

TABLE

AMOUNTS OF VIEWING

(WAVE 1, SPRING 1976)

	<u>AVERAGE WEEKDAY & EVENING</u>	<u>YESTERDAY</u>	<u>DAY BEFORE YESTERDAY</u>
- :29.....	2.5%.....	16.8%.....	20.2%
:30 - 1:29.....	10.0%.....	10.9%.....	12.3%
1:30 - 2:29.....	16.9%.....	16.8%.....	14.5%
2:30 - 3:29.....	13.4%.....	13.7%.....	11.7%
3:30 - 4:29.....	14.1%.....	11.5%.....	9.8%
4:30 - 5:29.....	8.1%.....	5.9%.....	8.8%
5:30 - 6:29.....	12.2%.....	9.0%.....	9.5%
6:30 - 7:29.....	4.7%.....	3.1%.....	3.8%
7:30 +	18.1%.....	12.4%.....	9.5%

FAVORITE PROGRAM PREFERENCES

One of the important ways we used to investigate what television programs were doing for their viewers was simply to inquire what each respondent's "three favorite shows" were. This completely unaided question, coming at the very start of the first wave of interviewing should have produced responses pretty well free from any influence like a respondent's potential need to provide socially desirable information to the interviewer.

A total of 156 different program names were provided by our 324 respondents. Although this is a quite broad distribution, the frequencies of naming a few leading shows merits tabulating them below.

	<u>1st choice</u>	<u>2nd choice</u>	<u>3rd choice</u>
Good Times.....	50	43	21
Jeffersons.....	35	26	21
Sanford & Son.....	31	31	34
Sports.....	24	13	21
Soap Operas.....	23	18	21
News.....	18	16	11
Kojak.....	6	15	15
Starsky & Hutch.....	6	6	7
Baretta.....	6	5	14
FBI.....	9	3	1
All in the Family.....	4	6	17

The predominance of liking the three prime-time comedies featuring Blacks is clearly established. This is, in fact, consistent with the smaller sample data we collected in 1975 in Richmond, California. Sports and soap operas, for men and women respectively, are also very popular. The battery of the most generally popular detective/adventure shows do fairly well in our listing.

Perhaps the only somewhat unexpected finding is the relatively high popularity of the news programs. While there is not enough information in this question to generate a meaningful explanation of this, it seems clear that the desire for whatever news programs do offer our respondents is not unimportant to them, as measured by program preference at least.

When the programs mentioned were grouped by types, the following distributions were obtained.

1. THREE MOST FAVORITE PROGRAMS

	<u>1st</u>	<u>2nd</u>	<u>3rd</u>
SITUATION COMEDY.....	44.0%	43.2%	39.4%
VARIETY/COMEDY.....	1.3	5.4	3.9
CRIME/DETECTIVE.....	15.7	18.0	19.9
WESTERNS.....	1.3	0.6	1.3
SOAPS.....	10.4	8.5	8.1
ADVENTURE.....	2.8	2.5	2.6
GAME SHOWS.....	2.2	2.2	1.3
SPORTS.....	7.5	3.2	4.6
EDUCATION.....	0.0	0.0	0.0
NATURE.....	0.6	0.3	1.0
DRAMA.....	1.9	1.9	2.0
RELIGION.....	1.3	0.3	0.7
NEWS/PUBLIC AFFAIRS.....	8.5	6.9	7.2
OTHER.....	2.5	6.9	8.1

There is, of course, a great deal of similarity between this table and the previous reports on specific shows, but this may offer a clearer look at the types of shows that had the greatest appeal to our sample. As an aside we can report that of the "most favorite" shows counted, 42 percent of them were classifiable as "Black shows;" i.e., the comedies we discussed earlier.

Out of the 324 persons we interviewed in Wave 1, the numbers of "Black shows" grouped in this way:

36.6%	designated no "Black shows" among three favorites
33.4%	" one " " " "
18.6%	" two " " " "
11.4%	" three " " " "

Trying to codify the responses to the "why do you like _____?" questions was difficult in that so many persons were so uncertain or, at least, not specific about their reasons. The first distinction which we made involved coding each response as "internal" ("personal") or "external" (community-oriented or otherwise general). On this set of criteria, each of the three favorites was liked by between 14 and 19 percent of our sample for "personal" reasons (e.g., "J.J. is someone I can really dig..."). Most explanations were very general.

The more fruitful of the codes for qualifying the reasons our sample liked their self-designated "most favorite shows" was that which focused on objective content parameters. The distribution on the "first favorite" looked like this:

MAIN REFERENCE FOR LIKING FAVORITE

- I LIKE THE ACTORS, ACTING OR THE CHARACTERS IN PROGRAM.....24.9%
- I LIKE THE STORY LINES, PLOT, SITUATION IN WHICH PROGRAM TAKES PLACE..59.1
- I LIKE THE ISSUES THAT THE PROGRAM DEALS WITH (e.g., POVERTY, UNEMPLOYMENT.....15.9

More than twice the numbers of respondents cited plot or story line related reasons for their liking of their favorite show as mentioned the acting or the characters portrayed. About one person out of six noted that their affective focus was on the issues dealt with on the show. The implications that this finding holds for producing television shows to effect the kinds of social and other changes on which CRC is focused are obviously very valuable.

THE POPULARITY OF VARIOUS TELEVISION PROGRAMS

The first wave of interviewing included an extensive set of questions that presented the respondent a list of program names for each weekday's prime-time network offerings. If one identified a program as having been seen "during this past season," there were two additional questions posed; first, an evaluation (a five-space rating scale ranging from "very good" to "very bad") and, second, a four-space frequency-of-viewing scale (ranging from "very often" to "rarely").

A number of tables have been generated from this set of viewing data, but the most important single one seems to be that given below.

TABLE 2

OVERALL POPULARITY OF TYPES OF PRIME-TIME WEEKDAY SHOWS

	<u>NET AVG. AUDIENCE</u>	<u>AVG, RATING X FREQ. OF VIEWING</u>
BLACK SITUATION COMEDY.....	86%.....	13.86
OTHER SIT. COM.....	46%.....	5.53
COP/DETECTIVE.....	51%.....	6.38
OTHER ADVENTURE.....	52%.....	5.77
"HUMAN DRAMA".....	51%.....	6.37
VARIETY.....	48%.....	3.73
GAME SHOWS.....	47%.....	5.01

As expected, the two Black situation comedies which fell into the weekday prime-time listings were the most highly seen, rated, and most frequently watched.

The other types of programming we included are all, curiously enough, grouped at the same general level of audience size - about 50 percent. We did not inquire in this research about the motives behind viewing any but the three favorite shows.

It is therefore difficult to opine as to why shows of seemingly very different types (as far as producing gratifications are concerned) should produce such similar viewing patterns. In spite of whatever subsequent analyses find about the makeup of the audiences of these types of shows, the absolute audience size numbers clearly suggest that our sample had polymorphous program tastes... once it had proceeded beyond the initial filter level of watching programming that related directly to Black people.

TABLE B

AUDIENCE SIZE
AVERAGE RATINGS
FREQUENCY OF VIEWING SELECTED PROGRAMS

119.	MEAN RATING	MEAN HOW OFTEN	TUESDAY EVENING	MEAN RATING	MEAN HOW OFTEN	WEDNESDAY EVENING	MEAN RATING	MEAN HOW OFTEN
MONDAY EVENING								
STAR TREK (.64)	3.27	2.33	CHANNEL 2 MOVIE (.49)	3.01	2.06	25,000 PYRAMID (.48)	2.91	2.15
THE FBI (.66)	2.97	2.28	BOBBY VINTON (.39)	1.64	1.29	HOLLYWOOD SQUARES (.51)	2.73	1.89
TRUTH OR CONSEQUENCES (.54)	2.48	1.76	PRICE IS RIGHT (.54)	2.89	2.25	LITTLE HOUSE ON THE PRAIRIE (.40)	2.19	1.34
HIGH ROLLERS (.42)	2.26	1.75	LET'S MAKE A DEAL (.55)	3.28	2.35	TONY ORLANDO AND DAWN (.59)	2.94	2.11
CHANNEL 2 MOVIE (.56)	3.13	2.14	MOVIN' ON (.41)	2.34	1.76	THE BIONIC WOMAN (.61)	3.04	2.17
RHODA (.50)	2.73	1.90	HAPPY DAYS (.54)	3.01	2.26	BARETTA (.69)	3.87	2.83
ON THE ROCKS (.52)	2.97	2.15	GOOD TIMES (.85)	4.33	3.22	WORLD AT WAR (.40)	2.52	1.88
PHYLLIS (.46)	2.47	1.81	POPT (.35)	2.04	1.52	CANNON (.57)	3.14	2.26
CHANNEL 7 MOVIE (.58)	3.41	2.46	LAVERNE AND SHIRLEY (.40)	2.13	1.61	CHICO AND THE MAN (.58)	2.54	2.34
GOOD HAVENS (.34)	2.14	1.53	POLICE WOMAN (.58)	2.89	2.21	THE DUMPLINGS (.32)	1.66	1.41
JOE FORRESTER (.45)	2.73	2.01	M*A*S*H* (.53)	2.97	2.10	PETROCELLI (.44)	2.49	1.72
ALL IN THE FAMILY (.67)	3.76	2.65	THE ROOKIES (.63)	3.19	2.32	STARSKY AND HUTCH (.60)	3.48	2.60
RICH MAN/POOR MAN (.54)	3.44	2.56	ONE DAY AT A TIME (.35)	1.94	1.55	BLUE KNIGHT (.39)	2.35	1.77
MAUDE (.56)	3.27	2.44	CITY OF ANGELS (.43)	2.38	1.76			
JIGSAW JOHN (.37)	1.97	1.55	SWITCH (.43)	2.73	2.03			
MEDICAL CENTER (.57)	3.15	2.26						
OTHER SHOWS ()			OTHER SHOWS ()			OTHER SHOWS ()		
()			()			()		
()			()			()		



Table B, cont.

THURSDAY EVENING	MEAN RATING	MEAN HON. OFFER	FRIDAY EVENING	MEAN RATING	MEAN HON. OFFER
GANDID CAMERA (.50)	<u>2.87</u>	<u>1.95</u>	DON ADAMS SCREEN TEST (.39)	<u>2.06</u>	<u>1.60</u>
NEW TREASURE HUNT (.48)	<u>2.55</u>	<u>1.95</u>	NAME THAT TUNE (.45)	<u>2.44</u>	<u>1.86</u>
MATCH GAME PM (.38)	<u>2.09</u>	<u>1.56</u>	DUNBAR DEBATES (.32)	<u>1.87</u>	<u>1.36</u>
MAC DAVIS SHOW (.36)	<u>2.05</u>	<u>1.48</u>	SANFORD AND SON (.88)	<u>4.36</u>	<u>3.16</u>
THE WALTONS (.52)	<u>3.14</u>	<u>2.11</u>	DOHNY AND MARIE (.43)	<u>2.19</u>	<u>1.62</u>
WELCOME BACK KOTTER (.63)	<u>3.62</u>	<u>2.65</u>	ALL TOGETHER NOW (.64)	<u>3.67</u>	<u>2.37</u>
BARNEY MILLER (.55)	<u>3.12</u>	<u>2.35</u>	THE PRACTICE (.36)	<u>2.09</u>	<u>1.63</u>
HAWAII 5-0 (.55)	<u>2.93</u>	<u>2.11</u>	ROCKFORD FILES (.53)	<u>2.58</u>	<u>2.13</u>
STREETS OF SAN FRANCISCO (.78)	<u>3.54</u>	<u>2.54</u>	POLICE STORY (.59)	<u>3.10</u>	<u>2.27</u>
OTHER SHOWS ()			OTHER SHOWS ()		
()			()		
()			()		



TABLE C
TOP 30 WEEKDAY PROGRAMS
(NET AUDIENCE IN PERCENT OF TOTAL SAMPLE)

1. SANFORD & SON (.88)
2. GOOD TIMES (.85)
3. STREETS OF S.F. (.78)
4. BARETTA (.69)
5. ALL IN THE FAMILY (.67)
6. F.B.I. (.66)
7. STAR TREK (.64)
8. ALL TOGETHER NOW (.64)
9. THE ROOKIES (.63)
10. WELCOME BACK KOTTER (.63)
11. BIONIC WOMAN (.61)
12. STARKY & HUTCH (.60)
13. TONY ORLANDO (.59)
14. POLICE STORY (.59)
15. CHICO & THE MAN (.58)
16. CHANNEL 7 MOVIE (.58)
17. POLICE WOMAN (.58)
18. CANNON (.57)
19. MAUDE (.56)
20. CHANNEL 2 MOVIE (.56)
21. LET'S MAKE A DEAL (.55)
22. BARNEY MILLER (.55)
23. HAWAII 5-0 (.55)
24. TRUTH OR CONSEQUENCES (.54)
25. RICH MAN, POOR MAN (.54)
26. PRICE IS RIGHT (.54)
27. HAPPY DAYS (.54)
28. ROCKFORD FILES (.53)
29. M.A.S.H. (.53)
30. ON THE ROCKS (.52)
31. WALTONS (.52)

TABLE D

RATING X FREQ. OF VIEWING SCORES FOR THE WEEK (TOP 30)

119.		MONDAY EVENING		TUESDAY EVENING		WEDNESDAY EVENING	
STAR TREK	7)	7.62	CHANNEL 2 MOVIE			25,000 PYRAMID	
THE FBI	6)	6.77	()			HOLLYWOOD SQUARES	
TRUTH OF CONSEQUENCES	24)	4.36	BOBBY VINTON			LITTLE HOUSE ON THE PRAIRIE	
HIGH ROLLERS			PRICE IS RIGHT	26)	6.50	TONY ORLANDO AND DAWN	13) 6.20
CHANNEL 2 MOVIE	20)	6.70	LET'S MAKE A DEAL	21)	7.71	THE BIONIC WOMAN	11) 6.60
RHODA			MOVIN' ON			BARETTA	4) 10.95
ON THE ROCKS	30)	6.39	HAPPY DAYS	27)	6.80	WORLD AT WAR	
PHYLLIS			GOOD TIMES	2)	13.94	CANNON	18) 7.10
CHANNEL 7 MOVIE	16)	8.39	POPI			CHICO AND THE MAN	15) 5.94
GOOD HAVENS			LAVERNE AND SHIRLEY			THE DUMPLINGS	
JOE FORRESTER			POLICE WOMAN	17)	6.39	PETROCELLI	
ALL IN THE FAMILY	5)	9.96	M*A*S*H	29)	6.24	STARSKY AND HUTCH	12) 9.25
RICH MEN/POOR MAN	25)	8.81	THE ROOKIES	9)	7.40	BLUE KNIGHT	
MAUDE	19)	7.98	ONE DAY AT A TIME				
JIGSAW JOHN			CITY OF ANGELS				
MEDICAL CENTER			SWITCH				
OTHER SHOWS			OTHER SHOWS			OTHER SHOWS	
()			()			()	
()			()			()	
()			()			()	



THURSDAY EVENING

CANDID CAMERA		
NEW TREASURE HUNT		
MATCH GAME PH		
MAC DAVIS SHOW		
THE WALTONS	31)	<u>6.63</u>
WELCOME BACK KOTTER	10)	<u>9.59</u>
BATNEY MILLER	22)	<u>7.33</u>
HAWAII 5-0	23)	<u>6.18</u>
STREETS OF SAN FRANCISCO	3)	<u>8.99</u>

FRIDAY EVENING

DON ADAMS SCREEN TEST		
NAME THAT TUNE		
DUNBAR DEBATES		
SANFORD AND SON	1)	<u>13.78</u>
DONNY AND MARIE		
ALL TOGETHER NOW	8)	<u>8.70</u>
THE PRACTICE		
ROCKFORD FILES	28)	<u>5.50</u>
POLICE STORY	14)	<u>7.04</u>

OTHER SHOWS

(_____)

(_____)

(_____)

OTHER SHOWS

(_____)

(_____)

(_____)

RANK ORDER OF POPULARITY BY DAY (net audience size)

MONDAY EVENING		TUESDAY EVENING		WEDNESDAY EVENING	
RATING	BOX OFFICE	RATING	BOX OFFICE	RATING	BOX OFFICE
STAR TREK	3	CHANNEL 2 MOVIE ()	8	25,000 PYRAMID	8
THE FBI	2	BOBBY VINTON	15	HOLLYWOOD SQUARES	7
TRUTH OR CONSEQUENCES	9	PRICE IS RIGHT	6	LITTLE HOUSE ON THE PRAIRIE	11
HIGH ROLLERS	14	LET'S MAKE A DEAL	4	TONY ORLANDO AND DAVE	4
CHANNEL 2 MOVIE	7	MOVIN' ON	11	THE BIONIC WOMAN	2
RHODA	11	HAPPY DAYS	5	BARETTA	1
ON THE ROCKS	10	GOOD TIMES	1	WORLD AT WAR	10
PHYLLIS	12	POPI	13	CANNON	6
CHANNEL 7 MOVIE	4	LAVERNE AND SHIRLEY	12	CHICO AND THE MAN	5
GOOD HAVENS	16	POLICE WOMAN	3	THE DUMPLINGS	13
JOE FORRESTER	13	M*A*S*H*	7	PETROCELLI	9
ALL IN THE FAMILY	1	THE ROOKIES	2	STARSKY AND HUTCH	3
RICH MAN/POOR MAN	8	ONE DAY AT A TIME	14	BLUE KNIGHT	12
MAUDE	6	CITY OF ANGELS	10		
JICSAW JOHN	15	SWITCH	9		
MEDICAL CENTER	5				
OTHER SHOWS () () ()		OTHER SHOWS () () ()		OTHER SHOWS () () ()	



Table E, cont.

RANK ORDER BY DAY AND NET AUDIENCE SIZE (cont.)

THURSDAY EVENING	RATING	HOW OFTEN
DANIEL CAMERA	7	
NEW TREASURE HUNT	6	
WATCH GAME PM	8	
PAC DAVIS SHOW	9	
THE WALTONS	5	
WELCOME BACK KOTTER	2	
BARNEY MILLER	3	
HAWAII 5-0	4	
STREETS OF SAN FRANCISCO	1	

FRIDAY EVENING	RATING	HOW OFTEN
DON ADAMS SCREEN TEST	7	
NAME THAT TUNE	5	
DUNBAR DEBATES	9	
SANFORD AND SON	1	
DONNY AND MARIE	6	
ALL TOGETHER NOW	2	
THE PRACTICE	8	
ROCKFORD FILES	4	
POLICE STORY	3	

OTHER SHOWS
 ()
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OTHER SHOWS
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NEWS AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS VIEWING

It has been noted that about one person in seven of our sample cited "the news" as one of their three favorite television programs; this ranked among the top six program types in these terms. Another way we tried to assess how news and public affairs/documentary programming was being used by these respondents was simply to inquire as to the frequency of their viewing a variety of such shows. The results showed local news to lead the four types included.

10. NATIONAL NEWS BROADCAST

VERY OFTEN.....	25.4%	SOMETIMES.....	27.2%
OFTEN.....	24.1%	RARELY.....	14.2%
		NEVER.....	9.0%

11. CURRENT EVENTS SHOWS

VERY OFTEN.....	15.8%	SOMETIMES.....	36.3%
OFTEN.....	14.3%	RARELY.....	17.4%
		NEVER.....	16.1%

12. LOCAL NEWS BROADCASTS

VERY OFTEN.....	33.1%	SOMETIMES.....	23.5%
OFTEN.....	26.3%	RARELY.....	8.4%
		NEVER.....	8.7%

13. INTERVIEW SHOWS

VERY OFTEN.....	8.0%	SOMETIMES.....	29.6%
OFTEN.....	8.3%	RARELY.....	28.4%
		NEVER.....	25.6%

About 60 percent said they viewed local news "often" or "very often;" only 17 percent fell on the other, infrequent-usage end of the spectrum. A few less viewed national news with some frequency, according to what they reported. About half the sample fell into this high end, while about a quarter viewed either "rarely" or "never."

When the general label "current events" shows was used (along with the "Sixty Minutes" example); we found that less than one third said they watched "often" or "very often," while even a few more were infrequent viewers, and the remaining third were "sometimes" audience members.

The focus of the question on "interview shows" showed them to be the least frequently viewed in this group; three times as many viewed only infrequently or not at all, contrasted to the number which were frequent viewers.

Overall, these questions lead us to conclude that the large majority does tune in news (if not public affairs shows) at least once in a while, and that regular, frequent viewing is apparently the rule for substantial numbers - about 60 percent in the case of local news. The pattern here fits what we have surmised from other areas of this investigation. That is, the interest and participation in more local events and news coverage is greater than is the case for less immediately relevant matters.

The specifics on stations named in question 67 indicated that there may be something more than what immediately becomes apparent here as to a set of reasons for selecting news sources.

67. WHICH CHANNEL DO YOU WATCH MOST OFTEN FOR LOCAL EVENING NEWS?

NO SPECIAL ONE or ALL OF THEM.....	9.9%
KTVU Channel 2 (an Oakland independent)...	3.3
KRON Channel 4 (NBC).....	7.0
KPIX Channel 5 (CBS).....	37.6
KGO Channel 7 (ABC).....	35.4
KQED Channel 9 (PBS).....	2.5
OTHERS.....	2.5

When we asked about reasons for viewing local news, we got the responses tabulated below.

68. COULD YOU TELL US WHY YOU ESPECIALLY WATCH THE NEWS ON THAT CHANNEL?

A GENERAL RESPONSE OR "NO SPECIAL REASON".....	23.1%
COMMENTS ABOUT THE BREADTH OF COVERAGE (e.g., "THEY COVER <u>ALL</u> THE NEWS").....	11.8
COMMENTS ABOUT THE QUALITY OF COVERAGE.....	18.1
COMMENTS ABOUT NEWS TEAM PERSONNEL (BUT NOT BLACKS).....	8.6
COMMENTS ABOUT BLACKS ON THE NEWS TEAM.....	10.9
OTHER REASONS.....	27.6

Having anticipated the general phenomenon of our sample's preferring content and context which were familiar to them, the low incidence of selecting a race-related reason for news viewing preference was surprising. There is a further aspect of this point, however. That is, the rank order of the stations relates closely to the Black representation figures on the local news teams. KPIX has three Black reporters, KRON has two, and the other two commercial stations one each. There are, on the format and contextual levels, no apparent differences between these news programs. The times they are aired do differ, but only slightly. We have to infer that, even though it went unexpressed by most of our sample, the race of the news persons does play some part in the selection process.

VIEWING BLACK TV PROGRAMING

Our own pre-test data from 1975 substantiated most of the output of A.C. Neilsen's television audience survey unit in pointing out that such "Black" shows (that feature Blacks in leading roles, but are typically neither created nor produced by Blacks) as are on the air are quite popular among Black audiences. It was with this point in mind that we undertook, on the first wave of interviewing, to assess why our sample felt as we expected they would about these shows. We also expanded a bit beyond the prime-time comedy shows that seem to draw the largest numbers of viewers to ask about news and public affairs offerings as well. The questioning on this subject appeared at the beginning of the first wave of the survey for a specific reason: that was, we had found that open-ended questions about positive issues (as these were for most persons) tended to put respondents at ease.

"Sanford and Son" was the first show about which we asked specific questions. The respondents had almost all watched this program at some time (99.4%) and most of these offered, at least some positive evaluation of what they had seen (92.3% described "special good points" about the program). We had tried, in the 1975 pre-tests of scales and question formats to devise codes to apply to the expected positive affect that our eventual respondents would have towards these shows featuring Blacks. They boiled down to a two dimensional system. The first code relating to why respondents liked these shows was a dichotomous "internal vs. external" orientation. The comments were coded as to either being in reference to the respondent's personal relationship to the show, the plot, the actors, the characters,

etc., or were along the lines of seeing the program content as relating to the Black community at large. Examples of these include: "Fred (reminds me of my own father in his gruffness..." and "I feel that any show that deals with Blacks is good for the community as a whole..." On this variable we found "Sanford and Son" to be overwhelmingly "external" in the perception of our respondents (95.9%).

The second dimension on which we sought to code perceptions of the shows featuring Blacks was a trichotomy: either an expression of positive affect towards the actors or the characters, or towards the story line, plot, or situation in which the program takes place, or finally, towards the issues that the program deals with (e.g., poverty, unemployment).

Since pre-testing had revealed that these generally liked shows featuring Blacks were not, by any means, universally liked or unilaterally admired, we felt it would be instructional to try to assess what "bad points" our respondents perceived in these comedies. The code schema was the same as the one intended to measure positive aspects of the programs.

The results of the positive coding for the "Sanford and Son" show appear below:

15. WHAT WOULD YOU SAY ARE THE SPECIAL GOOD POINTS OF SANFORD AND SON?

APPEAL OF PROGRAM PERSONAL, INTERNAL AFFECT LEVEL.....	4.1%
APPEAL OF PROGRAM NON-PERSONAL, EXTERNAL (EMPHASIS ON BLACK COMMUNITY).....	95.9%
REFERENCE OF GOOD POINTS	
I LIKE THE ACTORS, ACTING OR THE CHARACTERS IN PROGRAM.....	42.1%
I LIKE THE STORY LINES, PLOT, SITUATION IN WHICH PROGRAM TAKES PLACE.....	47.4%
I LIKE THE ISSUES THAT THE PROGRAM DEALS WITH (e.g., POVERTY, UNEMPLOYMENT),..	10.5%

It is interesting to note that about equal numbers of our sample made reference to the characters or the cast when citing positive points about this program as made mention of the story line.

Only about one in ten persons referred to the issues dealt with in the program as being a primary positive focal point.

When the negative side of the statements about "Sanford and Son" are examined, we find:

16. ARE THERE BAD POINTS TO SANFORD AND SON?

YES.....	46.0%	NO.....	54.0%
INTERNAL.....	6.8%	EXTERNAL.....	93.2%

REFERENCE OF BAD POINTS

I DON'T LIKE THE ACTORS, ACTING OR THE CHARACTERS IN THE PROGRAM.....	27.1%
I DON'T LIKE THE STORYLINE, PLOT, SITUATION IN WHICH PROGRAM TAKES PLACE.....	56.5%
I DON'T LIKE THE ISSUES THAT THE PROGRAM DEALS WITH (e.g., POVERTY, UNEMPLOYMENT)...	16.5%

Comparing the positive and negative remarks made about this popular show, we are struck by these general conclusions: First, there are many more positive comments than negative. Second, the cast and/or the characters in the show are much better liked than they are disliked. The balance swings in the opposite direction when the story line is the focus; that is, more than half of the few who do have negative statements to make about this show frame these statements in the context of some shortcoming in the story line; even fewer of the positive comments referred to this aspect of the show. (A typical response on the negative side here was "If they are going to show a Black family, why does he have to be a junkman?") In that this program is apparently not perceived as being "issue oriented," only small differences showed up here between the proportions making negative and positive remarks.

"Good Times" was the second television program about which we made specific inquiry. Our pre-tests had indicated that this family dramatic comedy was likely to appeal to a broader audience on even a more positive set of attributes than the almost purely comical "Sanford and Son." The results shown below tend to support this expectation.

17. HOW ABOUT "GOOD TIMES," HAVE YOU EVER SEEN IT?

YES.....97.5% NO.....2.5%

18. WHAT DO YOU CONSIDER TO BE THE GOOD POINTS OF THIS SHOW?

GOOD POINTS REPORTED

YES.....94.3% NO.....5.7%

INTERNAL (PERSONAL).....6.7%

EXTERNAL (NONPERSONAL).....93.3%

REFERENCE OF GOOD POINTS

I LIKE THE ACTORS, ACTING OR THE CHARACTERS IN PROGRAM.....31.9%

I LIKE THE STORY LINES, PLOT, SITUATION IN WHICH PROGRAM TAKES PLACE.....45.9%

I LIKE THE ISSUES THAT THE PROGRAM DEALS WITH (e.g., POVERTY, UNEMPLOYMENT).....22.2%

19. WHAT DO YOU CONSIDER TO BE THE BAD POINTS OF "GOOD TIMES"?

BAD POINTS REPORTED

YES.....46.5% NO.....53.5%

INTERNAL (PERSONAL).....2.2%

EXTERNAL (NONPERSONAL).....97.8%

REFERENCE OF BAD POINTS

I DON'T LIKE THE ACTORS, ACTING OR THE CHARACTERS IN PROGRAM.....28.8%

I DON'T LIKE THE STORY LINES, PLOT, SITUATION IN WHICH PROGRAM TAKES PLACE.....56.8%

I DON'T LIKE THE ISSUES THAT THE PROGRAM DEALS WITH (e.g., POVERTY, UNEMPLOYMENT)...14.4%

Again, almost all our respondents had viewed this show; similarly, almost all offered positive comments and the great

majority of these were of the "external," community-related type.

The important differences between the responses to the two shows in question came in the coding of the reasons for liking them. While the numbers who cited their liking for the plot or story line were about the same here as on "Sanford and Son," there was a marked shift away from stating a liking for the characters or actors in "Good Times." Seemingly, these persons shifted towards a doubling for their liking of the issues taken up in the show. We can only guess the extent that this latter point represents a leaning towards more serious than comical treatment of the Black community's basic problems. The taped protocols did show this to be an important point of explanation. But there was also the frequently mentioned presence of the full family - parents and young children. The respondents not infrequently suggested that many of TV's Black families were too stereotypically fatherless to suit them.

On the rest of the parameters of liking and disliking, "Good Times" showed very similarly to "Sanford and Son."

As the two shows above have in common a basic working class milieu for the story line, the third show we examined, "The Jeffersons" deals with an upper-middle class Black family, residents of an otherwise almost all-white environment. The outstanding comic theme is the male protagonist's flaunting of his economic success and trying to force on any and all the concomitant social success he feels he deserves. It was expected that because this upper-middle class setting would be foreign to most of our respondents, they would react accordingly and with some negativism towards this program.

20. HAVE YOU EVER SEEN "THE JEFFERSONS"?

YES.....92.5%

NO.....7.5%

21. WHAT DO YOU THINK ARE THE MAIN GOOD POINTS?

GOOD POINTS REPORTED

YES.....92.3% NO.....17.7%
INTERNAL (PERSONAL).....8.7%
EXTERNAL (NONPERSONAL).....91.3%

REFERENCE OF GOOD POINTS

I LIKE THE ACTORS, ACTING OR THE CHARACTERS
IN PROGRAM.....27.1%
I LIKE THE STORY LINES, PLOT, SITUATION IN
WHICH PROGRAM TAKES PLACE.....52.5%
I LIKE THE ISSUES THAT THE PROGRAM DEALS
WITH (e.g., POVERTY, UNEMPLOYMENT).....20.4%

22. HOW ABOUT ITS MAIN BAD POINTS?

BAD POINTS REPORTED

YES.....51.4% NO.....48.6%
INTERNAL (PERSONAL).....8.3%
EXTERNAL (NONPERSONAL).....91.7%

REFERENCE OF BAD POINTS

I DON'T LIKE THE ACTORS, ACTING OR THE
CHARACTERS IN PROGRAM.....43.1%
I DON'T LIKE THE STORY LINES, PLOT, SITUATION
IN WHICH PROGRAM TAKES PLACE.....43.8%
I DON'T LIKE THE ISSUES THAT THE PROGRAM
DEALS WITH (e.g., POVERTY, UNEMPLOYMENT)...13.1%

A few less of our sample had viewed this show and a few less offered positive comments about it than for the other two shows. There was also a very slightly increased use of non-community related comments here. The smallest numbers on any of the three shows of respondents used the "I like the actors..." reason for their positive mention of "The Jeffersons." But even here the issues orientation was relatively high. It is not unlikely that the reference was to the constant Jeffersons' theme of individual and group racism, even applied to a family which has "made it" economically.

On only this show of the three was there a majority of respondents

who volunteered bad points about the program, but there was only a small plurality. Of those who did make negative comments, however, the reasoning was substantially different in this show than on the others. A large surge in "not liking the characters or the actors" was noted. Unfortunately, our system of coding did not discriminate between the two possibilities here, although we suspect that disliking the boorish "George Jefferson" would probably contaminate any ratings that we might have tried to make of the actor, Sherman Hemsley.

Aside from the differences we have noted between the three shows, there is a single overriding commonality to be seen. That is, pretty much regardless of the empathy the viewer has for the shows or the characters (they are all apparently perceived to deal equally well with what are the same basic issues), there is a "levelling" effect that works on all three. The respondents we talked to almost all shared the attitude that whatever the details involved, as long as the show dealt with some aspect of the Black experience, it was to be viewed, on balance, as being positive.

While we received not a few comments about the excessive stereotyping and/or insensitivity of these shows, the unequivocally negative comment was indeed rare. In another section of this paper, we will discuss the other side of this matter; that is, what kinds of programming these respondents would prefer to have on television if given their choice.

VIEWING BLACK NEWS/PUBLIC AFFAIRS: PREFACE

One of the primary thrusts of this entire research project was to ascertain how reliant Black people are on television for obtaining news that is especially relevant to their lives and their general cultural environment. Much of the literature that bears on this question is consistent with the premise that an oral tradition is at the heart of how the community works. It has been suggested that this is related to African life-style patterns that still survive in contemporary American Black culture.

Our own thinking leads us to intuit that the way television may be used by Black people today could be functionally defined as just a sometimes, somehow mediated, form of face to face oral communication. This is a highly speculative suggestion, but worth considering as the data from these interviews in San Francisco are examined.

One very broad swipe at answering the question is provided by looking at the results of three pertinent elements of the first wave interview.

45. WE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW HOW MUCH YOU RELY ON TELEVISION AS YOUR SOURCE OF INFORMATION ABOUT BLACKS AND THE BLACK COMMUNITY. WOULD YOU SAY YOU RELY...

VERY MUCH.....	13.0%	NOT TOO MUCH.....	32.9%
PRETTY MUCH.....	14.0%	NOT AT ALL.....	14.6%
SOMEWHAT.....	25.5%		

There is a clear negative skewness to the distribution of responses here. In one respect, that would seem to reflect poorly on not only what television is doing, but inferentially on what it could do for intra-community information transmission.

On the other hand, given the objective reality of how extremely limited television is for the Black San Franciscoan interested in his own community, it is surprising that as many respondents as did so, expressed some reliance on this medium.

If the data on reliance on newspapers for Black community news are examined alongside the TV results, we find the two to be very close. This is most unexpected since there are at least two major weekly newspapers widely circulated in the community (The Sun Reporter and Muhammad Speaks or The Bilalian News).

46. HOW ABOUT NEWSPAPERS? WOULD YOU SAY...

VERY MUCH.....	10.1%	NOT TOO MUCH.....	30.9%
PRETTY MUCH.....	11.0%	NOT AT ALL.....	17.4%
SOMEWHAT.....	30.6%		

Either one of two tentative statements about the above seem warranted. First, these two major mass media may be only minimally used to obtain information about the Black community. This would, of course, fit our expectations.

The second possibility is that the newspaper results here are artifactually lowered because the question may have been misinterpreted to mean "daily newspapers;" this makes logical sense, especially when the question follows one about another daily medium, i.e., television.

Even if this latter point has some credibility, the responses to the even broader open-ended question tabulated below underscore the apparently minor role that mass media play in this Black community's internal news transmission system.

47. WE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW WHAT IS YOUR MAIN SOURCE OF INFORMATION ABOUT BLACKS AND THE BLACK COMMUNITY?

TELEVISION.....	12.6%	FRIENDS.....	24.2%
RADIO.....	6.5%	RELATIVES.....	1.3%
NEWSPAPER.....	21.3%	OTHER.....	29.7%
MAGAZINES.....	4.5%		

Taken in combination, all the mass media are designated by only 45 percent of the sample as their main news/information source about the community. Of the remainder, a few more persons named interpersonal sources outside rather than inside their own immediate social environment.

None of these questions sought to address directly the ultimate point here: how could television, with all its oral, quasi-personal ubiquitousness, be made to perform better as a source of information for Black people in the community? This will be discussed at length later in this paper.

VIEWING BLACK NEWS/PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAMING.

In the San Francisco area in 1976 there were precious few television programs created by Blacks and aimed at Black audiences. There is, of course, the occasional, nationally originated special like the heralded "Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman" which may have great dramatic impact. Their infrequency, however, underscores the callous way the industry seems to ignore its minority audiences. To try to measure our sample's reactions to that programing which does appear regularly on local television, we asked several questions on each the first and third wave of interviewing. The major focus was on news and "public affairs" shows.

The CBS owned station in San Francisco has, during most of the past year, produced and aired a show called "All Together Now." It is nominally designed to cover the whole of the city's many cultural dimensions, but probably focuses more on the Black community than on others. The main mover and on-air person involved with this production is Belva Davis, a veteran news-person on the station. When we asked our respondents whether they viewed Davis' show, the results came out as below:

23. NOW, THERE ARE A FEW SHOWS ON TELEVISION WHICH DEAL WITH NEWS ABOUT WHAT'S HAPPENING IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY. "ALL TOGETHER NOW," HOSTED BY BELVA DAVIS ON CHANNEL 5 FRIDAY EVENINGS IS ONE OF THESE. WE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW WHETHER YOU HAVE EVER SEEN THIS SHOW.

YES.....78.6% NO.....21.4%

24. WOULD YOU SAY YOU WATCH THIS SHOW...

VERY OFTEN.....10.2% RARELY.....18.5%
OFTEN.....13.3% NEVER.....21.9%
SOMETIMES.....36.1%

25. HOW WOULD YOU RATE "ALL TOGETHER NOW," HOSTED BY BELVA DAVIS... WOULD YOU SAY IT IS...

VERY GOOD.....	38.0%	BAD.....	0.8%
GOOD.....	43.1%	VERY BAD.....	1.2%
JUST ALL RIGHT..	16.9%		

Some four out of five persons in the sample had viewed Belva Davis' show, and of this number about 80 percent rated the show generally as being "good" or "very good." While this is a creditable position, it is tempered significantly by the finding that out of those who had seen the show, more than twice as many said they view it only "sometimes" or "rarely" as said that they watch "often" or "very often."

The public television "Black Perspective on the News" was another show about which we asked the same series of questions.

26. HAVE YOU EVER SEEN THE SHOW CALLED "BLACK PERSPECTIVE ON THE NEWS" THAT COMES ON CHANNEL 9, LATE SUNDAY NIGHTS?

YES.....	43.8%	NO.....	56.2%
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27. HOW OFTEN DO YOU WATCH THIS SHOW?

VERY OFTEN.....	4.6%	RARELY.....	13.3%
OFTEN.....	5.6%	NEVER.....	56.2%
SOMETIMES.....	20.4%		

28. HOW WOULD YOU SAY THIS SHOW IS...

VERY GOOD.....	32.1%	BAD.....	0.7%
GOOD.....	46.4%	VERY BAD.....	0.0%
JUST ALL RIGHT..	20.7%		

In this case, only about 44 percent of the sample had ever viewed the program. Again, however, the ratings by those who had viewed were quite high; some 46 percent called it "good" and 32 percent "very good." Only a single person rated this show negatively. However, the same kind of caveat as applied above to these good marks comes into play here. That is, frequency of viewing "Black Perspectives" was low; more than three times as many respondents viewed "sometimes" or "rarely" as viewed "often" or "very often."

Another PTV offering, "Black Journal," was the third specific program presented to our respondents in the way described above. Here we found the lowest frequency of viewing of all three programs.

29. "BLACK JOURNAL" IS ANOTHER CHANNEL 9 SHOW. HAVE YOU EVER SEEN THIS PROGRAM?

YES.....32.7% NO.....67.3%

30. HOW OFTEN DO YOU GET TO WATCH "BLACK JOURNAL"? WOULD YOU SAY...

VERY OFTEN.....3.2% RARELY.....11.7%
OFTEN.....4.4% NEVER.....65.6%
SOMETIMES.....15.1%

31. HOW WOULD YOU RATE THIS SHOW? WOULD YOU SAY IT IS...

VERY GOOD.....31.5% BAD.....0.0%
GOOD.....35.5% VERY BAD.....9.7%
JUST ALL RIGHT..23.4%

Only about one third of the respondents said they had viewed "Black Journal." We again found the same pattern on the two evaluative questions about this program. While ratings of the program were high, the frequency of watching it was very low.

Even though they are only infrequently aired, KQED, the public station in the city, does offer other Black community-oriented programming from time to time. It was to cover these shows and to focus on the general level that we asked the non-specific question tabulated below:

32. ASIDE FROM THE SHOWS WE MENTIONED A MINUTE AGO, THERE ARE OTHER PROGRAMS THAT CHANNEL 9 PUTS ON THAT RELATE TO THE BLACK COMMUNITY. HOW OFTEN WOULD YOU SAY YOU SEE THESE OTHER PROGRAMS?

VERY OFTEN.....2.8% RARELY.....30.5%
OFTEN.....6.9% NEVER.....34.0%
SOMETIMES.....25.9%

Fewer than ten percent of the sample avows "often" watching these "other" KQED shows about Blacks; another quarter are

"sometimes" viewers, and the remaining majority virtually never tune in. (This latter finding is mitigated somewhat when the figures for general non-attendance to this station are examined. A share of the "never watch" contingent above may well be persons whose receivers do not get a good picture from this station's broadcasts.)

Even despite the low incidences of viewing Black fare on PTV or "All Together Now" by this sample, and their stated desire for more Black-related programing, we felt that a question about kinds of programing desired would be fruitful. The table below shows that desires are well distributed, but apparently center on what might be labelled "high information."

33. OVERALL, WHAT OTHER KINDS OF TV PROGRAMS DO YOU THINK SHOULD BE AIRED THAT WOULD APPEAL TO THE BLACK COMMUNITY HERE IN THE BAY AREA?

CULTURAL SHOWS.....	21.7%
NEWS AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS.....	24.7%
DRAMA.....	15.0%
EDUCATION (INCL. CHILDREN).....	22.1%
OTHER.....	16.5%

REALITY vs. FANTASY ORIENTATION

FICTION.....	24.4%	NON-FICTION.....	75.6%
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One interesting datum here is the low ranking that "drama" gets on the code scheme we developed from what were open-ended questions in the interview. The fact that just less than half the sample expressed the desire for news/public affairs or educational programs is what led us to conclude that "hard information" is what is being asked for by our respondents.

One additional view of the programing desired by our respondents was provided by our recoding the data from the previous table into a dichotomy we chose to call "reality vs. fantasy orientation," or "fiction vs. non-fiction." The results here showed how the "hard information"-seeking dominates what this



sample said it wants from television's offerings to the Black community.

On Wave 3 a more general question was asked about television programming desired; there was no reference made here to the Black community as a target audience. It is interesting to compare what came from this approach with the preceding.

GENERAL PROGRAMING DESIRED

BLACK SHOWS EXCLUSIVELY.....	26.0%
SHOW TYPES WITHOUT MENTION OF RACE.....	57.9%
COMBINATION OF THE ABOVE.....	16.2%

While there might seem to be contradictory implications to this predominance of mentioning shows which are not specifically Black-related, we feel that this is not actually the case. Subsequent analysis of the relationships between media behavior and attitudes and the complex of alienation variables we measured will bear on this. For the moment, though, just presenting the table below may be worthwhile.

95. THERE ARE SEVERAL BLACK PROGRAMS ON TELEVISION NOW. WOULD YOU LIKE TO SEE A LOT MORE BLACK PROGRAMS, A FEW MORE, OR ARE YOU SATISFIED THE WAY IT IS NOW?

A LOT.....	72.3%	SATISFIED.....	6.0%
A FEW MORE.....	21.7%		

Almost three quarters of the sample said they wanted "a lot more" Black programs on television than existed at the time of the research, and all but a few of the remainder said they wanted "a few more."

Beyond the observation that the context of these several questions probably affected somewhat the intensity of the response, we are led to this tentative generalization: Our sample of adults in San Francisco wants more Black programming, especially information about their own community and culture, and even more and better pure entertainment programming. There are few

in the sample who wanted anything approaching an exclusive diet of Black fare on television (just as there were few who expressed the desire to live in an exclusively Black neighborhood; see Wave 1, Q101).

GENERAL REASONS FOR WATCHING BLACK SHOWS ON TV

In keeping with the multi-measure strategy used throughout this research, we tried a general approach to assessing reasons for watching shows that featured Blacks. The reasons built into this closed ended question were derived from earlier work we had done in this area.

35. HERE ARE SOME GENERAL REASONS OTHER PEOPLE HAVE GIVEN FOR WATCHING BLACK-ORIENTED PROGRAMS. WE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW WHETHER EACH OF THESE STATEMENTS APPLIES TO YOU A LOT, A LITTLE, OR NOT AT ALL.

DO YOU WATCH THESE SHOWS...	<u>A LOT</u>	<u>A LITTLE</u>	<u>NOT AT ALL</u>
A. JUST TO RELAX.....	25.8%	37.3%	37.0%
B. TO GET A GOOD LAUGH....	34.9%	39.9%	25.2%
C. TO GET INFORMATION ABOUT WHAT'S HAPPENING.	47.5%	25.5%	27.0%
D. BECAUSE YOU CAN RELATE TO THE CHARACTERS IN THE SHOW.....	44.4%	33.9%	21.7%
E. TO SEE HOW SOME OTHER PEOPLE SOLVE THEIR EVERYDAY PROBLEMS.....	31.1%	29.2%	39.8%
F. BECAUSE THEY SHOW HOW THINGS ARE IN REAL LIFE.....	32.4%	38.9%	28.7%
G. JUST TO SEE FOLKS THAT LOOK LIKE YOURSELF.....	24.5%	21.1%	54.3%
H. BECAUSE SOMEONE ELSE IN THE FAMILY INSISTS ON WATCHING.....	11.2%	23.3%	65.5%
I. JUST TO PASS THE TIME..	17.1%	28.3%	54.7%

The major finding here is that we have another demonstration of the importance to our sample of the generic variable we have labelled "telling it like it is" or "realism." The highest loadings of agreement with these statements about reasons for watching Black shows in general include three such: i.e., "relating to the characters...", "showing things as they are in

real life," and "to get information about what's happening..." What appears to be pure and simple humor-seeking (albeit with race-related overtones) is also very strong among these viewing reasons.

The viewing reasons which our sample rejected as relating to their own Black show viewing rationales were all in what we could call the "passive" group. Neither "just passing the time..." acquiescing to another family member's desire to watch a particular program, nor "just relaxing..." were important to this set of respondents in this context.

The results of question G. ("to see folks that look like yourself") may indicate an expression of the negative social desirability of the question. On the other hand, we feel that a more thorough interpretation here is that while seeing Blacks on television is a necessary condition for being satisfied with the medium, it is not, in itself, a sufficient state of affairs. Over and over, the audio-taped protocols contained comments that amounted to "...well, watching Fred Sanford is better than not getting to watch any Black folks at all on TV... but they ought to have more good programs on about us..."

ATTITUDES TOWARDS
TELEVISION'S TREATMENT OF BLACKS

The question of our respondents' attitudes about the daily newspapers in San Francisco was answered fairly unequivocally. Given the time and attention that the sample paid to newspapers, we did not seek to ask their separate evaluations of the news and feature components of the papers. The distinction is often a difficult one to make, even for students of journalism. In television, however, it seemed to us that the time and space definitions were much clearer as to what is news and what is entertainment. The questions we devised (again derivations from Schumann and Hachett, 1974) to evaluate how our sample felt about television were thus separated into two groupings. The entertainment group focused especially on the growing numbers of entertainment programs which feature Black performers.

The initial cut at the question of trust in television was on the general evaluative level as tabulated below:

85. DO YOU FEEL THAT YOU CAN TRUST QUITE A BIT OF WHAT YOU SEE ON TELEVISION OR CAN YOU JUST TRUST A LITTLE BIT OF IT, OR NONE OF IT AT ALL?

QUITE A BIT.....	15.0%	NONE AT ALL.....	10.9%
A LITTLE BIT.....	74.1%		

About three-quarters of the sample expressed the thought that they could only trust "a little bit" of what they saw on TV. As contrasted to the parallel newspaper question, we find that a few more persons fall into the high trust category, but the ultimate differences between the two media on this non-specific trust question are inconsequential.

While the next question was not strictly speaking an evaluative one, we intended that it be closely related to this complex.

The focus of the question was the several Black-related situation comedies which have appeared on prime-time network TV for the last two seasons. As had been the case in the newspaper question, we built in a time comparison to this question; that is, the responses should represent not an absolute judgment about the present situation but rather a statement about the adequacy of the "recent" progress made by the television industry in this area.

86. A NUMBER OF EXPERTS ARE SAYING NOW THAT TELEVISION OVER THE PAST FEW YEARS IS DOING A MUCH BETTER JOB OF TREATING BLACKS FAIRLY IN ENTERTAINMENT PROGRAMS. OTHER PEOPLE SAY THAT THERE HAS NOT BEEN MUCH REAL CHANGE FOR THE BETTER. WHICH DO YOU THINK IS SO?

MUCH BETTER JOB...38.0% DON'T KNOW.....9.0%
NOT MUCH CHANGE...53.0%

Most persons still select the response category which amounts to a negative statement about this medium; i.e., "not much real change." But almost four in ten reported that there had been a positive change... that "television over the past few years is doing a much better job of treating Blacks fairly in entertainment programs..."

However, the positive implication of these results is modified somewhat when the data tabulated below are examined.

89. IN GENERAL, DO YOU THINK THAT THE TELEVISION ENTERTAINMENT PEOPLE WANT TO SEE BLACKS GET A BETTER BREAK OR DO YOU FEEL AS THOUGH THEY WOULD JUST AS SOON KEEP BLACKS DOWN, OR DON'T THEY CARE ONE WAY OR THE OTHER?

BETTER BREAK.....24.9% THEY DON'T CARE...48.3%
KEEP BLACKS DOWN..26.8%

Fully one quarter of the sample felt quite positively towards television people's motives here, but an equal number expressed negative feelings. The remaining half said that they felt that "television people didn't care one way or the other about it..."

We see this latter finding as indicating disfavor rather than

neutrality. If it is thus interpreted, it fits with the preceding (and following) data.

Local news programs in the San Francisco area have, within the past couple of years, expanded their minority staffing somewhat. Even if the use of Black newsmen seems predominantly to be on the weekend shows, the fact is that more Blacks are spending more time on camera on local news shows than was the case in the past. (It remains to be researched how coverage of the Black community has fared during the same time period.) Our question designed to assess the effects of this on the (potential) Black adult audience obtained these results.

87. HOW ABOUT TELEVISION'S PROGRESS IN TREATING BLACKS FAIRLY ON LOCAL NEWS PROGRAMS; DO YOU THINK THERE HAS BEEN A LOT OF PROGRESS IN NEWS COVERAGE OF BLACKS IN THE PAST FEW YEARS, NOT MUCH PROGRESS AT ALL, OR DON'T YOU KNOW?

A LOT OF PROGRESS..	33.0%	DON'T KNOW.....	11.2%
NOT MUCH PROGRESS..	55.8%		

Most still felt that there had "not been much progress," but a third of the sample classified the changes as "a lot of progress."

A close concomitant of this adequacy of coverage question was the one that inquired about trust in news of the Black community.

93. HOW ABOUT THE NEWS YOU WATCH ON TELEVISION ABOUT THE BLACK COMMUNITY... CAN YOU TRUST...

QUITE A BIT.....	16.7%	NONE AT ALL.....	7.9%
A LITTLE OF IT.....	74.5%		

It is apparent that a positive assessment of fair treatment of Blacks on local news does not necessarily result in crediting the medium with trustworthiness. The data here regress to the pattern seen previously. That is, three-quarters of the sample expressed "only a little trust" in TV news about the Black community. The margin among the remaining persons is tipped in the direction of trust rather than distrust, but this does not

really change the overall situation markedly; it is still negative, on balance.

Perhaps the poor trust ratings are just part of a generally low rating on the trust dimension as far as TV news is concerned.

94. DO YOU THINK THAT THE NEWS YOU SEE ON TELEVISION CAN BE TRUSTED QUITE A BIT, A LITTLE BIT, OR NOT AT ALL?

QUITE A BIT.....19.3% NOT AT ALL.....6.8%
A LITTLE BIT.....73.9%

The same large proportion of respondents rated their trust in general TV news as marginal, although almost one-fifth now express "quite a bit of trust" in general news on television, and very few are completely without trust.

The final news-oriented dimension of this sequence dealt with perceptions of television news people's attitudes towards Blacks.

90. HOW ABOUT THE TELEVISION NEWS PEOPLE... HOW DO YOU SUPPOSE THEY FEEL ABOUT GIVING BLACKS A BETTER BREAK, KEEPING THEM DOWN, OR DON'T THEY CARE EITHER WAY?

BETTER BREAK.....27.4% THEY DON'T CARE.....52.3%
KEEP BLACKS DOWN..20.2%

Somewhat more than one quarter see television people as being quite positive on this question of "giving Blacks a better break.;" a few less stated that they feel negatively about TV people's motives on this. It is most interesting here to note that the bulk of the responses were in the non-committal category: that is, imputing indifference to the "television news people..." Given the predominance of the "little bit" responses in almost all the preceding questions, it seems reasonable to read this in the same fashion.

Looking at the results of these trust and adequacy-of-coverage questions and at those assessing perceptions of television's basic motivations towards Blacks, the similarity with the results on entertainment programming is striking. To generalize,

it would seem that this sample of San Francisco Black adults feels this way about television news: (a) They do not feel that there is enough coverage of Black community news; (b) they distrust television news in general but especially distrust what news there is about their own people; (c) nevertheless, they feel that the situation has shown some progress over what it was several years ago.

The recurrent theme, whether applied to Fred Sanford or to local weekend anchorperson Andrew Hill is... "Perhaps there is some improvement in the way we're being treated, but we are nowhere near being satisfied if this is where the improvement stops." The parallel course that this draws to the statements made on the political questions in this research are interesting, albeit not unexpected.

There is, in San Francisco television, nothing approaching a truly Black television station. Our subsequent examination of the questions which deal with attitudes towards the Black press, should provide the cross-media analysis which can give added meaning to all these assessments of what are, after all, White mass media serving predominantly White audience.

INTEREST IN POLITICS

Interest in politics is a variable that could have important relationships both to outcomes like voting itself or in several ways to media behaviors as well. Since the term of the field work on this panel was designed to take into account the developing political story leading up to the November general election, we asked political interest questions and about related areas like participation in political activities, etc., on all three interviewing waves. The broadest form of the political interest question generated the results shown below (from Wave 1).

80. IN GENERAL, WOULD YOU SAY THAT YOU ARE VERY INTERESTED, INTERESTED, NEUTRAL IN POLITICS, UNINTERESTED, OR VERY UNINTERESTED IN POLITICS?

VERY INTERESTED..14.3%	UNINTERESTED.....10.3%
INTERESTED.....43.6%	VERY UNINTERESTED..5.0%
NEUTRAL.....26.8%	

Almost four times as many persons expressed a positive interest in politics as were negative about the area, and only one quarter were neutral on it. On the slightly different dimension of perceived importance of the subject of politics, presumably a question that tapped a more general cognitive dimension, even greater numbers of positive responses were counted.

77. HOW IMPORTANT AN ISSUE DO YOU THINK POLITICS IS? DO YOU THINK IT IS...

VERY IMPORTANT..40.6%	UNIMPORTANT.....4.4%
IMPORTANT.....31.9%	VERY UNIMPORTANT..1.9%
SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT.....21.2%	

If this is examined as a bipolar, symmetrical scale as it was intended to be perceived, then we have eleven times as many persons on the positive side as were on the "unimportant" or negative side. Almost three quarters of the sample saw

politics as an important issue.

In the abstract then, we find only minor evidence of a "don't care" feeling about general political matters in this sample of adults. This is a more definitive statement than it would seem. The Democratic Presidential candidate was, by the time this survey was fielded, so clearly perceived to be Mr. Carter that there was virtually no contest after the first primary in New Hampshire and the big victories in Pennsylvania and Illinois. Further, the polls showed at that time that neither Republican hopeful was going to have much of a chance in the November election if Carter was the Democratic nominee.

The analyses to follow will deal with the many ramifications of how the basic salience of politics for this sample manifests itself in specific attitudes and behaviors.

Interest in the 1976 presidential campaign is the first such specifically focused variable we shall examine. This question was first asked in the Wave 1 interviews during March - May. The time period commenced at the start of the primary campaign (coinciding with the start of reporting on the first large primary states) and ran through the last couple of weeks before the California primary on June 8.

While the field work was conducted over a longer time span than anticipated, it is still felt that the important interest and activity variables were not upset significantly. The figures for interest in the 1976 presidential campaign showed that some 58 percent were positively interested, about a quarter were neutral on it, and about one in seven persons expressed a definite lack of interest.

81. WOULD YOU SAY YOU ARE VERY INTERESTED IN THE 1976
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN, OR ARE YOU INTERESTED, NEUTRAL,
UNINTERESTED, OR VERY UNINTERESTED?

VERY INTERESTED.20.3%	UNINTERESTED.....10.9%
INTERESTED.....38.1%	VERY UNINTERESTED..3.7%
NEUTRAL.....26.9%	

These results are very close to the set aiming at a measure of general interest in politics. One would suspect, in fact, that at any given time in a Presidential election year, "general interest and presidential campaign interest are one and the same concept.

The first update on the general interest question was administered in the second wave interview; this was a telephone contact (except for some 40 persons who had no phones and were therefore interviewed in person) made between May 25 and June 7. The figures looked like this.

VERY INTERESTED.32.0%	UNINTERESTED.....15.6%
INTERESTED.....38.5%	VERY UNINTERESTED...5%
NEUTRAL.....10.4%	

As expected, with the election imminent, interest was apparently increasing... and this despite the later to-be-discussed fact that 41 percent of our sample was not even registered to vote.

The final update on this interest question came in the middle of the third wave interview. In this post-primary segment of the field work, we found these relatively unchanged results:

VERY INTERESTED.28.1%	UNINTERESTED.....8.7%
INTERESTED.....39.5%	VERY UNINTERESTED..5.7%
NEUTRAL.....17.9%	

In general, there has been a slight slump in the loadings on the extremes of the distribution of interest and the shift is towards the center position ("neutral"). We would have been surprised if this were not the case, given the locked-up nature of the Democratic Presidential race both before and after the Convention.

POLITICAL ALIENATION

Although there have been numbers of items and scales devised to measure how antipathetic an individual is towards politics in general or towards parts of "the system," our feeling was that none of them applied sufficiently well in the present case to warrant direct application. The premise was that traditional means of assessing political alienation could not make appropriate definitions of the very important component which Black people share to a greater or lesser degree: that is, "alienation from white society."

The descriptions elsewhere in this paper of the feelings our sample had for Blacks in political office have shown that it is not elective office per se or a democratic system of governance from which Blacks are alienated. Rather, it seems to be the system as it exists today that keeps Black people from more active participatory roles or even from political information-seeking via mass media, or from communicating with elected officials themselves.

Increases over recent years in several of the components of what overall might be labelled "political participation" may presage increases in more and more of the components of the process. In fact, it is interesting to speculate whether the statements of high interest levels which our research found are the first link in a chain. It could proceed from statements of interest (even if partly just a response to the perceived social desirability of being interested) to more intense interest-oriented behaviors (like attending to media coverage on the issues), to (close-to-home) personal information seeking

and exchange, and finally to direct interchange (both seeking information and demanding that information be accepted) with both Blacks and then non-Blacks within the political system itself.

Rather than present to our respondents either existing scales that purport to measure political alienation, or to synthesize from several scales a single presumably relevant scale for our special purpose here, we chose to offer just a few items bearing on political alienation as it is usually conceptualized. The whole of the picture of how our sample feels removed from the dominant culture, and, of course, from the part of it which politics represents, must be pieced together after examining the many components which we assert it has. The four questionnaire items which we finally used to address the question are tabulated below.

23. HERE ARE SOME STATEMENTS PEOPLE HAVE BEEN MAKING ABOUT POLITICS. WE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW WHETHER YOU STRONGLY AGREE, AGREE, NEUTRAL, DISAGREE OR STRONGLY DISAGREE...

A. THE POLITICAL DECISIONS POSSIBLE IN THIS COUNTRY ARE SHAKY COMPROMISES.

STRONGLY AGREE...31.3%	DISAGREE.....16.6%
AGREE.....32.1%	STRONGLY DISAGREE..4.2%
NEUTRAL.....15.8%	

B. MOST OF OUR LEADERS ARE DEVOTED TO THE SERVICE OF OUR COUNTRY.

STRONGLY AGREE....5.7%	DISAGREE.....39.6%
AGREE.....21.1%	STRONGLY DISAGREE..18.9%
NEUTRAL.....14.7%	

C. MEMBERS OF THE BLACK CONGRESSIONAL CAUCUS ARE WORKING IN THE INTEREST OF BLACK PEOPLE.

STRONGLY AGREE..25.3%	DISAGREE.....10.6%
AGREE.....36.6%	STRONGLY DISAGREE..4.9%
NEUTRAL.....22.6%	

24. SOME PEOPLE SAY THAT YOU SHOULD VOTE ONLY IF YOU WANT TO. OTHERS SAY THAT EVERYBODY HAS A DUTY TO VOTE. WHAT DO YOU THINK?

DUTY TO VOTE.....44.8%
ONLY IF YOU WANT TO.....53.2%
DON'T KNOW.....2.0%

If we can assume that the most positive response to 23.B would reflect the least general alienation by the individual, it would seem that the results point at a preponderance of politically alienated persons in the San Francisco Black community. Almost six out of ten respondents felt that most of the leaders of our country are NOT devoted to the service of the country, and only about one out of four felt that the leadership IS so inclined. (As an aside, it is interesting that so few persons were non-committal about this question.) In trying to interpret this finding of perceived "lack of devotion" we are struck with the question of which politicians the respondents were discussing when making the judgment. "Most" clearly implies "mostly white." We can only guess (on the basis of others of our findings) that if this question were to be apportionable by race, we would find that this sample felt that few white politicians were devoted to the service of the country (as a whole) but that most or all (of the few) Black politicians were so devoted. Lacking the specific evidence necessary to parse this datum, we are left with inferring only that most of our sample felt, when we asked them, that most American leaders were not devoted to the service of the country.

The second question in the series on alienation concerned political decision making. The trend here is consistent with the above findings. That is, a large majority of the respondents said that they agreed with the statement that "the only political decisions possible in the country are shaky compromises." And the degree of disagreement was more intense than the agreement with the "devotion" question had been.

The matter of whether voting is "a duty" or not came out close to evenly split; most persons, however, stated that the act of voting should be reserved for those who do so voluntarily,

and not out of a sense of duty. The fact that most of our respondents were non-voters in the 1976 Primary election may not be unrelated to the results on this question.

The fourth question in this series entered the specific realm of making assessments of the Black politician, although this time we were asking about motives rather than activities. Four times as many respondents stated that the membership of the Black Caucus in Congress is working in the interest of Black people as said that these politicians were not working in their interest. Almost one fourth of the sample was not disposed one way or the other on this question. We cannot say whether this latter point is related to the fact that only one member of the Caucus is from the general area of the research site (and even then, his constituency is socially and geographically removed by some distance). But, more important than the neutrals on this issue is the fact that close to two-thirds of the respondents agreed with this positive statement about Black Congresspersons.

The popular Black press appears to cover this group of 17 legislators rather comprehensively. In the midst of the interviewing on our Wave 3, a substantial national television appearance (at the Democratic convention) by Ms. Jordan of Texas may have contributed to some respondents' positive feelings on this matter. We would expect that even if respondents were sometimes not aware of what the Caucus membership is, it was sufficient to know that they were Black and thus obviously elected by Black people and thus obviously working in the interests of Blacks.

The overall thrust of these alienation questions is clearly in the same direction as other dimensions of those attitudes towards politics which have been discussed elsewhere in this paper. There appears to be a clear tendency towards distrusting

politicians in general, but, at the same time, an even stronger tendency to believe in the work of those politicians who are Black. Adding this to the knowledge of either local or non-local Black politicians - where knowledge of individuals was fair and knowledge of legislative activities was scanty - it is apparent that "political alienation" among our sample was a bifurcated thing. A closer examination of the details of this is in order. That is, we will later look at the question of how participation in political matters both Black and non-Black oriented is related to the two-sided issue of alienation from the political process.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT POLITICS

Once having established how important the subject of politics was for each respondent in the survey, we undertook to pin down channels by which they receive information about politics and elections. The first level of address to this question was the abstract "Where would you go to get most of your information about this issue?"

78. HOW, WHERE WOULD YOU GO TO GET MOST OF YOUR INFORMATION ABOUT THIS ISSUE?

NEWSPAPER.....	40.5%
RADIO.....	8.4%
TV.....	26.8%
MAGAZINE.....	3.1%
TALKING TO SOMEONE.....	11.5%
OTHER (SPECIFY).....	9.7%

The results are both surprising and a bit frustrating to try to interpret. We see that "newspaper" is the predominant medium here by a substantial margin. More persons volunteered "newspaper" than did the other three mass media combined. A small contingent cited the interpersonal communications and a few mentioned such sources as official state literature, outdoor displays, etc. To find the newspaper so important is not what one would expect; obviously we failed to anticipate this and thus did not use the natural follow-up question, "Which newspaper?" Thus, it must remain as speculation for now that the references here were to the Black-owned Sun Reporter which runs a great deal more of directly Black-related political news and commentary than the daily newspapers in San Francisco. It seems inconceivable that with the to-be-discussed low levels of trust in the San Francisco dailies our sample would express much reliance on them for political information.

Looking into the comparative political information questions

(print media vs. TV) we find that the above data are apparently supported.

76. SO FAR IN THE 1976 POLITICAL CAMPAIGN, WOULD YOU SAY YOU'VE READ A LOT OF NEWSPAPER AND MAGAZINE ARTICLES ABOUT THE ELECTION OR SOME OF WHAT'S BEEN WRITTEN OR HARDLY ANY AT ALL?

A LOT.....10.6% HARDLY ANY.....49.4%
SOME.....40.0%

74. NOW THAT THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN IS GETTING STARTED, THERE ARE A FEW TV PROGRAMS COMING ON ABOUT THAT. OF THOSE THAT HAVE BEEN ON SO FAR, DO YOU THINK YOU'VE SEEN A LOT OF THEM, SOME OF THEM, OR HARDLY ANY AT ALL?

A LOT.....7.5% HARDLY ANY.....53.9%
SOME.....38.6%

75. HOW ABOUT BETWEEN NOW AND THE ELECTION IN NOVEMBER. DO YOU THINK YOU'LL TRY TO WATCH A LOT OF POLITICAL PROGRAMS ON TV, OR SOME OF THEM, OR HARDLY ANY AT ALL?

A LOT.....23.7% HARDLY ANY.....32.1%
SOME.....44.2%

The degree by which there is a 1976-specific predominance of print-use over TV is, however, very small.

The prospective question about TV use for the balance of the time before the 1976 election indicated that the respondents planned to switch to a rather heavy use of TV for these political information-seeking purposes. Even though only about a quarter of the sample stated that they planned to watch "a lot" of political TV "between now and the election in November," the rise from what they reported as having done up to the time of the interview was substantial. The parallel question about prospective use of print media was not asked, but we would speculate a similar rise would obtain as general interest in the election increased over time.

The third wave interview contained a couple of additional questions that bore on use of the media for information pertaining

to the 1976 election campaign. A pair of these dealt with the amount of attention that the respondent said he/she paid to general "political issues." The responses on the newspaper oriented question were:

NO ATTENTION.....	13.9%
SOME ATTENTION.....	60.3%
CLOSE ATTENTION.....	25.8%

For the question on television, we found:

NO ATTENTION.....	11.3%
SOME ATTENTION.....	60.0%
CLOSE ATTENTION.....	28.7%

There is virtually no difference here between the media. It should be worth noting, however, that these statements of projected attention may deviate somewhat from actual behaviors because of two factors. There is a certain, indeterminate amount of social desirability to reading for information, and there is an observed tendency to avow less use and reliance on television per se than objective reports by individuals indicate. More important, there is simply a great deal more time spent with television by our respondents than is spent reading newspapers. And even if the attention that a television viewer pays to commercials, for example, is perhaps only incidental, there is exposure nevertheless, and that is a good part of what we are getting at here.

On this line, we asked a direct question about attention paid to advertisements for "various candidates" on TV. The results showed this:

NO ATTENTION.....	16.2%
SOME ATTENTION.....	56.9%
CLOSE ATTENTION.....	26.9%

There is apparently only a little lower value on information that is obviously presented as an outright persuasion attempt (i.e., a paid commercial) than that which is presumably

"objective" news information about candidates. We cannot say whether this reflects the respondents' treating all news about political candidates as persuasion oriented, or whether they impute some value to any and all information about candidates. It does clearly suggest that any future studies of the general sort we did should include an intensive investigation of Black people's use of advertising about politics.

One other related aspect we looked at was projected attention to Republican candidates' advertising. To a group whose orientation is so thoroughly towards the Democratic party, the matter of attention to Republican Presidential campaign advertising would seem unimportant. This was not the case.

82. HOW ABOUT A POLITICAL ADVERTISEMENT FOR A REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE? WOULD YOU PAY...

CLOSE ATTENTION.....	15.2%
SOME ATTENTION.....	49.2%
NO ATTENTION.....	35.6%

Almost two-thirds of the group avow at least some interest in attending to a commercial for the opposite party. Whether this was because of the hot contest (Ford vs. Reagan) in progress at the time of the interviews or because of natural curiosity or some other reason, it is still worth noting as a piece of the overall political interest complex.

The general statement that one might make here is that despite whatever shortcomings our sample might perceive in the media, they still say they rely on them for significant amounts of information in the political area.

POLITICS AND THE MEDIA

USES OF TV FOR POLITICAL INFORMATION PURPOSES

The first wave of interviews conducted in this panel research presented a series of questions intended to cover a wide spectrum of individuals' information-seeking about political decision-making. We had derived the questions in a Winter 1976 pre-test which addressed the issue through open-ended or informally structured means.

One approach at determining how salient the "reasons for usage" questions we derived turned out to be is to observe how many of them were off the mark altogether; or conversely, how many of them elicited a positive response of some sort. The mean over the eleven questions is just about two-thirds responding positively. That is, two-thirds of our reasons fit (at least part of) the real behavior pattern of the respondents.

Specifically, the mean percentage of respondents answering "alot" over the set of scales was 36.5; the mean of the "a little" responses was 27.6; the mean of the negative responses was 35.8 percent.

If one can rely on this distribution as a criterion of the validity of the set of questions about use of TV for these purposes, then we seem to have a reasonably good measure of what we were after.

Another way of looking at the aptness of these particular questions to the establishment of an overall measure of "use of TV for political information seeking" is to examine the

variation in negative response over the set of questions. As the table below shows, the only strongly deviant item was the first "do you watch these shows to determine how to vote?" Some 59 percent of the sample stated that they do not watch political programs on TV for this reason.

54. HERE IS A LIST OF STATEMENTS THAT DIFFERENT PEOPLE HAVE MADE WHEN ASKED WHY THEY WATCH SHOWS THAT FEATURE POLITICAL CANDIDATES. FOR EACH STATEMENT ON THE LIST, PLEASE TELL ME WHETHER IT APPLIES TO YOU A LOT, A LITTLE, OR NOT AT ALL.

DO YOU WATCH THESE SHOWS...	A LOT	A LITTLE	NOT AT ALL
A. TO DETERMINE HOW TO VOTE.....	13.4%	33.4%	59.1%
B. TO ENABLE YOU TO HAVE THE FACTS WHEN DISCUSSING POLIT. ISSUES...	28.4%	33.4%	38.1%
C. BECAUSE IT IS AN OBLIGATION TO YOURSELF TO BE POLITICALLY INFORMED.....	34.2%	24.8%	41.1%
D. TO FIND OUT WHAT THE MAJOR ISSUES ARE.....	42.8%	30.9%	26.2%
E. TO FIND OUT CANDIDATES' VIEWPOINTS ON THE ISSUES.....	48.6%	26.0%	25.4%
F. TO COMPARE CANDIDATES.....	36.4%	28.8%	34.8%
G. TO FIND OUT THE BACKGROUND OF POLITICIANS.....	30.8%	28.6%	40.6%
H. TO OBSERVE HOW THEY ACT ON TV...	28.9%	27.0%	44.0%
I. TO WATCH INDIVIDUALS OF YOUR OWN POLITICAL PARTY.....	34.9%	27.7%	37.4%
J. TO FIND OUT CANDIDATES' IDEAS ABOUT BLACKS AND THE COMMUNITY..	52.2%	24.7%	23.1%
K. TO SEE WHAT BLACK POLITICIANS ARE THINKING.....	51.4%	24.5%	24.1%

One caveat about these data comes out of the above. That is, it seems reasonable to think that all the other ten items ought to be direct inputs leading to the very behavior - a voting decision - that respondents largely do not associate with TV usage. Although we did not test this point, it may be that ceding even part of the responsibility for voting to an outside force like TV is simply too much for our respondents to admit.

Looking at what comes out as the most important dimensions of

our sample's TV usage in the political area, it is appropriate to collapse the table above into a series of dichotomous variables. The audiotape records of the interviews led to some doubt about whether the respondents were properly using all the scale spaces as intended. We chose not to rely on interviewers' interpretations of shadings of positivity for designation of a given answer of "yes" or "right" as either "alot" or "a little."

Clearly the two items that deal with political information explicitly labelled as related to Black people are above and apart from the rest in terms of positive response tendencies. The other two items close to the top are both objective and issue-oriented in nature.

To synthesize something out of responses to these four highest items: our sample asserts that they use the medium for purposes of defining the issues and the candidates' stands on the issues... especially those issues that relate most closely to the Black community.

The remaining seven of the derived uses we tested for applicability to the situation here were difficult to group on an ad hoc basis. The important point may be that all but the reason that was most often rejected ("to determine how to vote") were accepted by a majority of the respondents as being descriptive of their own way of relating to TV's political coverage.

The one of these that would seem to be subject to the highest degree of social desirability factor ("because it is an obligation to yourself to be politically informed") was rather high on the rejection list; 41 percent expressed no such felt obligation. One interpretation of this is that if so many were able to articulate such outspoken rejection of such an obviously stated "democratic participation" obligation, then the rest of

the scales may have a considerable validity component, being unaffected by social desirability directed responses.

NEWSPAPER USE FOR POLITICAL INFORMATION

After having been administered the section dealing with TV use and politics, the respondents were asked to address an "avoidance" section, i.e., designate their agreement or disagreement with a series of reasons for avoiding political programming on TV. The reports from the field supervisor and interviewers indicated that these questions were not effective and often miscomprehended. We have therefore deleted them from this analysis. They are worth noting, though, in that the questionnaire for the first wave interview was structured such that the TV and politics sections were followed by a parallel section on uses and avoidances relating to newspaper reading and political information. Even though the dimensions of usage were constructed almost identically for the two media in question, the juxtaposition probably confused possible comparisons somewhat.

Nevertheless, the table below indicates that at least on a superficial level, the overall response patterns to these questions for the two media were very similar.

56. HERE IS A LIST OF STATEMENTS THAT DIFFERENT PEOPLE HAVE MADE WHEN ASKED WHY THEY READ ARTICLES THAT FEATURE POLITICAL CANDIDATES. FOR EACH STATEMENT ON THE LIST, PLEASE TELL ME WHETHER IT APPLIES TO YOU A LOT, A LITTLE, OR NOT AT ALL.

	NOT		
DO YOU WATCH THESE SHOWS...	A LOT	A LITTLE	AT ALL
A. TO DETERMINE HOW TO VOTE.....	16.1%	26.8%	57.1%
B. TO ENABLE YOU TO HAVE THE FACTS WHEN DISCUSSING POLIT. ISSUES...	36.6%	31.2%	32.2%
C. BECAUSE IT IS AN OBLIGATION TO YOURSELF TO BE POLITICALLY INFORMED.....	36.8%	24.4%	38.7%
D. TO FIND OUT WHAT THE MAJOR ISSUES ARE.....	45.1%	29.7%	25.2%
E. TO FIND OUT THE CANDIDATES' VIEWPOINTS ON THE ISSUES.....	44.6%	30.1%	25.3%
F. TO COMPARE CANDIDATES.....	34.2%	31.3%	34.5%
G. TO FIND OUT THE BACKGROUND OF POLITICIANS.....	32.2%	28.7%	39.1%
H. TO READ WHAT THEY HAVE TO SAY IN THE NEWSPAPERS.....	32.3%	33.9%	33.9%
I. TO READ ABOUT INDIVIDUALS OF YOUR OWN POLITICAL PARTY.....	38.7%	22.9%	38.4%
J. TO FIND OUT CANDIDATES' IDEAS ABOUT BLACKS AND THE BLACK COMMUNITY.....	52.1%	23.0%	24.9%
K. TO READ WHAT BLACK POLITICIANS ARE THINKING.....	51.1%	21.8%	27.1%

The only dimension on this scale where there is more than a minor difference between the parallel items on the TV section is "H;" apparently reading about politicians in a newspaper is more appealing to some ten percent of our sample than is watching politicians on TV. It would have been useful to ask which newspapers were the respondents' reference points. The politically potent (and Black) Sun Reporter may be the source of what we have found. Later analysis will discuss this point, however.

One additional possibility is that newspaper reading per se is an activity which can be turned off as easily as turning the page. The reader is not compelled to spend whatever time on this communication that the communicator deems optimal.

Politicians' intrusions into the communication space of the TV viewer may be perceived as less desirable just because the choice factor is diminished by the physical nature of the medium itself.

INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION ABOUT POLITICS

Preceding the host of questions we asked about the mass media and their effects on political attitudes and behaviors, a brief series dealt with interpersonal communication on politics. About four in ten respondents (38.2%) reported "talking about politics with friends sometimes." About half again as many persons fell into the "very often" category as into the "never" category (21.4% vs. 14%), and the other two moderate categories were about equal (11.8% and 14.6%). On balance, then, there was a slight tendency in the direction of some interpersonal communication about politics.

For purposes of assessing the relative importance of the subject of politics to our sample, we presented them with two other issues which were expected to be of great salience, and asked about the frequency of interpersonal communication in these three areas. When economics was the subject, the responses were substantially more skewed towards frequent communication than were the politics data. We found that one quarter talked with friends about economics "very often," another quarter fell into the "often," and one third into the "sometimes" categories. Only a few designated either of the lower frequency responses as characterizing their economics communications.

The question of how frequently race is discussed among friends showed similar results to the economics question. Almost one quarter of the sample were in each the highest and next highest frequencies here, some 40 percent in the middle category ("sometimes") and a scanty 15 percent in the two lowest levels combined.

The comparative tables below indicate how the sample was arrayed on these three communication areas.

POLITICS

NEVER.....	13.9%	OFTEN.....	14.5%
RARELY.....	11.7%	VERY OFTEN.....	21.3%
SOMETIMES.....	38.0%		

ECONOMICS

NEVER.....	10.5%	OFTEN.....	24.4%
RARELY.....	4.9%	VERY OFTEN.....	27.5%
SOMETIMES.....	32.1%		

RACE

NEVER.....	6.8%	OFTEN.....	22.2%
RARELY.....	8.3%	VERY OFTEN.....	22.2%
SOMETIMES.....	40.1%		

One interpretation of these data hinges on the assumption that salience is related to frequency of interpersonal communication, among other things. But, we must also take account of the possibility that talk about politics is more predictably cyclical than either of the other subjects, and that the top of the frequency cycle was near when the field work was done in April and May 1976. Despite this the topic seems rather low on salience to our sample. Given the mass media exposure and the interest data reported elsewhere in this paper, we have to conclude that the question was not working as intended or that saliency simply does not manifest itself in "talking with friends" about politics. The abstractness of the question may also have worked to cover the intensity relationship we expected.

To add another wrinkle to the interpersonal communication situation, we inquired about the avowed disagreements that our respondents found coming up in their discussions of these three subjects with friends. The results in the three areas were similar. There was quite a bit more agreement than disagreement on each question and only a slight tendency for greater



disagreements in the economic question than either race or politics. The upshot of this finding seems to be that, as intuition would suggest, the "important" things people talk about are things they tend to agree on... at least in the limited spectrum in which we were asking questions here.

On still another dimension we chose to look at in the area of talking about substantive issues, we addressed the questions below towards the end of the first wave question schedule.

83. DO YOU EVER TALK ABOUT PUBLIC PROBLEMS WITH ANY OF THE FOLLOWING PEOPLE?

	<u>YES</u>	<u>NO</u>
YOUR FAMILY.....	73.7%	26.3%
PEOPLE WHERE YOU WORK.....	49.8%	50.2%
COMMUNITY LEADERS - SUCH AS ' CLUB OR CHURCH LEADERS.....	36.2%	63.8%
DEMOCRATIC OR REPUBLICAN LEADERS.....	22.4%	77.6%
FRIENDS.....	81.5%	18.5%
OTHER (SPECIFY) _____	7.7%	92.3%

The pattern which emerges here is not unexpected, by and large. There is only a small amount of discussion with public officials; fewer than one quarter of the sample talks with Democratic or Republican leaders. This may be a finding that could help explain why the responses to the local political knowledge questions were so predominantly incorrect. Another likely contributing factor was that the local Black politician (Assemblyman Brown) was, at the time of the survey, "waging" a non-contested primary campaign, and the Republicans were not running anyone at all for his office.

A few more respondents said that they discussed public problems with community leaders (the term refers to the Black community and is largely distinguished from the political organizational structure in San Francisco).

But still, only about one third of the sample talks about "public problems" with anyone other than a personal acquaintance. We find that about half the sample discusses these subjects with fellow workers (perhaps more would, but many were not employed outside their own homes). Some three out of four respondents mentioned that they talked with their own family members about these problems, and even more said they talked about them with friends.

Although we are not aware of any data to which these can reasonably be contrasted, it seems something of an anomaly that what we labelled "public problems" are more and more discussed as one gets farther from the public communication level.

It is tempting to impute at least part of this finding to the feeling that prevailed among our sample members that their access to the public level (i.e., elected and appointed officials) was not good. In the later discussions of such concepts as "alienation," etc., we will return to this theme.

NATIONAL POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE

Both the primary election held during our time in the field and the November General Election were heavily focused on the federal level. For analysis purposes, respondents' knowledge of national political issues was an important control variable. Our first wave interview contained eight such questions, plus one at the state level.

65. NOW, HERE ARE SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. FIRST, HOW MANY U.S. SENATORS ARE THERE?

A HUNDRED.....32.1%
ANY OTHER NUMBER OR DON'T KNOW.....67.9%

66. HOW LONG IS THE TERM FOR A U.S. SENATOR?

SIX YEARS.....30.9%
ANY OTHER NUMBER OR DON'T KNOW.....69.1%

67. WHAT IS THE TERM FOR A U.S. REPRESENTATIVE?

TWO YEARS.....34.3%
ANY OTHER NUMBER OR DON'T KNOW.....65.7%

68. CAN YOU NAME ONE OF THE U.S. SENATORS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA?

TUNNEY OR CRANSTON.....45.7%
ANY OTHER NAME OR DON'T KNOW.....54.3%

69. HOW MANY JUSTICES ARE ON THE U.S. SUPREME COURT?

NINE.....29.0%
ANY OTHER NUMBER OR DON'T KNOW.....71.0%

70. COULD YOU NAME TWO OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES FROM THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY?

CARTER, CHURCH, UDALL, HARRIS, WALLACE,
KENNEDY, BROWN, JACKSON, OR HUMPHREY.67.9%
OTHERS OR DON'T KNOW.....32.1%

71. WHAT IS THE TERM FOR U.S. PRESIDENT?

FOUR YEARS.....84.9%
ANY OTHER NUMBER OR DON'T KNOW.....15.1%

72. WHO IS THE GOVERNOR OF CALIFORNIA?

BROWN.....88.3%
ANY OTHER NAME OR DON'T KNOW.....11.7%

73. WHO IS THE BLACK MAN WHO IS PRESENTLY A MEMBER OF THE SUPREME COURT?

THURGOOD MARSHALL.....46.0%
ANY OTHER NAME OR DON'T KNOW.....54.0%

The mean correct response rate over these nine questions is 51 percent; this and the variation among items lend some credence to the validity of the series.

A couple of interesting patterns are evident in these questions of national scope. First, the identification of persons holding office proved fairly simple overall; interestingly, California's Governor Brown scored highest by some margin on this. A second result was that the "details" of elective office such as the length of term, size of the U.S. Senate, or Supreme Court, were scored correctly by relatively few persons. Our speculation on this, even if the sample of items is small, is that media publicized political knowledge (e.g., candidates' names) exists commonly while what one respondent labelled as "civics class" questions (e.g., "How many Justices on the Court?") are so non-salient that knowledge is at a low level. It surely makes sense to expect that knowing Senator Tunney by name is more vital than knowing that he has 99 fellow Senators on the hill.

In order to test how strong the race commonality is in identification of political figures, we should have asked questions about other Justices than Marshall. We did, on the third wave, ask a series of questions about Black non-local politicians, and these data appear in a subsequent section.

LOCAL POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE

During the first and third waves of the panel, respondents were given a number of items to test their awareness of local political issues, both candidate-related and more general. The initial series of questions related to Willie Brown, a member of the California Assembly and a representative of all the respondents in this survey. It was expected because of his being Black that knowledge of this young, active politician would be relatively high.

The third wave questionnaire also included a series of locally-oriented political questions that related to non-Blacks. Although the relative difficulty of the two sets of questions is hard to assess, the general response trends should have borne on the matter of the saliency of race in political knowledge/interest areas.

It turned out that the mean correct responses to the six questions about Willie Brown were at the 32.6% level, and even this low figure was affected upwards by the one easy question about Mr. Brown's party affiliation. The table below shows clearly what we found. The essence of the situation was this: Mr. Brown's campaign headquarters provided us with a list of the issues on which they had spent the most time, and which they assumed would be best known to his constituency in San Francisco. We selected items from what we expected to be a broad range of difficulty. The results indicate that we or Brown's office miscalculated on at least a couple of fronts.

58. SOME PEOPLE MANAGE TO KEEP UP WITH ISSUES AND THEIR OWN POLITICAL REPRESENTATIVES. OTHER PEOPLE SAY THAT IT'S DIFFICULT TO FOLLOW THESE ISSUES DUE TO LACK OF TIME, ETC. WE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW WHETHER YOU ARE FAMILIAR WITH THE FOLLOWING ISSUES. WHO INTRODUCED THE LAW CALLED "CONSENTING ADULTS" BILL?

WILLIE BROWN.....28.1%
 ANY OTHER NAME OR DON'T KNOW.....71.9%

59. THERE HAS BEEN MUCH TALK ABOUT THE "NUCLEAR INITIATIVE" (A PROPOSAL FOR THE USE OF NUCLEAR ENERGY TO PRODUCE ELECTRICITY). DO YOU KNOW WHETHER ASSEMBLYMAN WILLIE BROWN IS FOR, OR AGAINST THIS INITIATIVE?

FOR.....23.1%
 AGAINST OR DON'T KNOW.....76.9%

60. WHO IS THE REPUBLICAN PARTY RUNNING AGAINST ASSEMBLYMAN WILLIE BROWN?

NOBODY.....14.5%
 ANY NAME OR DON'T KNOW.....85.5%

61. IS WILLIE BROWN THE SPEAKER OF THE CALIFORNIA ASSEMBLY?

NO.....27.5%
 YES OR DON'T KNOW.....72.5%

62. IS WILLIE BROWN'S BILL WHICH REQUIRED A PRE-SCHOOL HEALTH SCREENING A LAW YET?

YES.....22.5%
 NO OR DON'T KNOW.....77.5%

63. WHAT POLITICAL PARTY DOES WILLIE BROWN BELONG TO?

DEMOCRATIC.....79.9%
 ANY OTHER RESPONSE.....20.1%

Just as an aside, we made a simple attempt at measuring our sample's attitudes towards Mr. Brown. While the point was to assess how the respondents felt towards the closest level to them of Black elected officials, it also gives an added dimension of meaning to the knowledge scores above. The fact that two-thirds of the sample felt positive towards the job Willie Brown is doing as Assemblyman is significant when coupled with what the respondents knew of the specifics of his work. The possible implication here is that Brown's race by itself is sufficient

to generate positive attitudes among the Black adults in our sample.

64. HOW GOOD A JOB IS WILLIE BROWN DOING AS ASSEMBLYMAN? WOULD YOU SAY...

VERY GOOD.....	28.4%	PRETTY BAD.....	1.4%
GOOD.....	40.0%	VERY BAD.....	3.9%
JUST ALL RIGHT.,	26.6%		

As noted, the questions about non-Black San Francisco politics were asked in the third wave of interviewing; this was some two months after the initial wave. Again, the general election primary on June 8, 1976 did not include any city ballot issues so that Brown's uncontested election campaign and the other local questions should have been more or less equally non-topical at the times they were asked. The results of the second series are shown below.

31. SOME PEOPLE MANAGE TO KEEP UP WITH POLITICAL ISSUES. OTHER PEOPLE SAY THAT IT'S DIFFICULT TO FOLLOW THESE ISSUES DUE TO LACK OF TIME, ETC. WE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW WHETHER YOU ARE FAMILIAR WITH THE FOLLOWING ISSUES:

WHAT POLITICAL PARTY DOES MAYOR GEORGE MOSCONE BELONG TO?

DEMOCRAT.....	76.9%	ANY OTHER RESPONSE...	23.1%
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32. WHO WAS THE MAYOR OF SAN FRANCISCO BEFORE GEORGE MOSCONE?

JOSEPH ALIOTO...	92.8%	ANY OTHER RESPONSE...	7.2%
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33. WHO IS THE MAN NOW SERVING AS HEAD OF THE SAN FRANCISCO BOARD OF SUPERVISORS?

KOPP.....	48.9%	ANYONE ELSE.....	51.1%
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34. WHAT POLITICAL PARTY DOES YOUR CONGRESSMAN, MR. BURTON, BELONG TO?

DEMOCRAT.....	69.9%	ANYTHING ELSE.....	30.1%
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35. HOW MANY BLACK PEOPLE ARE THERE NOW AS MEMBERS OF THE SAN FRANCISCO BOARD OF SUPERVISORS?

ONE (TERRY FRANCOIS).....	50.6%
ANY OTHER RESPONSE.....	49.4%

It seems that these were, in fact, much simpler questions than the several about Willie Brown's legislative activities.

When the grossest of overviews is taken, it does seem that simple identification of political individuals and party affiliations is managed by similar numbers of our respondents; and this, regardless of the race of the local individuals in the questions.

In the end, there are so many factors contributing to the response trends on these local political knowledge questions that we feel that no analyses across race of politician lines would be fruitful. It is sufficient to say here that knowledge of the persons in important local elected positions is fairly high. As far as we measured it (and as common sense dictates), knowledge of the legislative activities of these same individuals is quite low. It is not particularly surprising to find that complicated legal matters are less well known than media-dominating popular officials.

KNOWLEDGE OF NON-LOCAL BLACK POLITICIANS

A seven item series of questions on Wave 3 addressed the subject of knowledge of Black politicians from locations other than San Francisco. We again encountered the ubiquitous problem of selecting items of equal difficulty so as to be able to use the local and non-local scales in comparisons.

The obtained range of correct responses here was broad. About three-fourths of the sample was able to name Shirley Chisholm, but only one-fourth knew of Newark's Mayor Gibson or of Massachusetts's Senator Brooke's being the only Black Senator.

36. COULD YOU NAME 2 PEOPLE FROM THE CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS?

TWO CORRECT RESPONSES.....30.6%
LESS THAN TWO CORRECT.....69.4%

37. DO YOU REMEMBER THE NAME OF THE BLACK WOMAN WHO RAN FOR PRESIDENT IN 1972?

SHIRLEY CHISHOLM.....73.5%
ANY OTHER NAME, DON'T KNOW.....26.5%

38. HOW MANY BLACK U.S. SENATORS ARE THERE?

ONE (CORRECT).....28.9%
ANY OTHER NAME, DON'T KNOW.....71.1%

39. COULD YOU TELL ME THE NAME OF THE MAYOR OF LOS ANGELES?

THOMAS BRADLEY.....66.8%
ANY OTHER NAME, DON'T KNOW.....33.2%

40. COULD YOU TELL ME WHAT POLITICAL POSITION JULIAN BOND HOLDS?

GEORGIA STATE SENATOR.....40.0%
ANY OTHER OFFICE, DON'T KNOW.....60.0%

41. COULD YOU TELL ME WHO IS MAYOR OF NEWARK?

KENNETH GIBSON.....25.2%
ANY OTHER NAME, DON'T KNOW.....74.8%

42. AND COULD YOU TELL ME THE NAME OF THE MAYOR OF ATLANTA?

MAYNARD JACKSON.....43.2%
ANY OTHER NAME, DON'T KNOW.....56.8%

Even if it were possible to assume that the local and non-local Black politician questions were equally difficult, there would be some problem about comparing the efficacy of possible sources of information of these two groups. Since television broadcasts almost nothing about any of these non-local politicians, one must infer that knowledge of them comes either from reading or from talking to someone who has knowledge of them. San Francisco publications (both Black and non-Black) generally provide comprehensive coverage of local figures, while nationally distributed publications (like Ebony) frequently deal with non-locals like the several large city mayors in the group above.

In the end, the absolute levels of knowledge about non-local Black politicians seem generally rather high. Two reasons seem plausible: (1) because there are so few Black politicians that they necessarily make a big impact in the Black press; or (2), the Black people in the sample are specifically drawn to seeking information about Black politicians out of a feeling of kinship towards all Blacks. Whatever the case, there is knowledge there. The extent that it is related to individual political participation, as it could be, will be examined later.

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

As the data below indicate, our sample avowed only minimal active involvement in political campaigns.

79. MANY PEOPLE ARE GETTING INVOLVED IN VARIOUS POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS. OTHERS HAVE NOT DONE SO FOR VARIOUS REASONS. WE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW WHETHER YOU HAVE BEEN INVOLVED IN ANY OF THESE ACTIVITIES WITHIN THE LAST YEAR.

	<u>YES</u>	<u>NO</u>
A. HAVE YOU PASSED OUT LEAFLETS OR OTHER MATERIALS DESCRIBING ANY CAMPAIGN.....	12.8%	87.2%
B. WORE A CAMPAIGN BUTTON, OR DISPLAYED A SIGN OR BUMPER STICKER.....	20.8%	79.2%
C. TRIED TO CONVINCe SOMEONE TO VOTE AS YOU PLAN TO VOTE.....	20.6%	79.4%
D. ATTENDED A POLITICAL DINNER OR RALLY.....	17.1%	82.9%
E. CONTRIBUTED MONEY TO A PARTY OR CANDIDATE.....	10.6%	89.4%

Although twice as many persons said that they had worn a campaign button or tried to influence some other person's voting as had given money to a candidate or party, the absolute numbers are still small.

The third wave interview contained a second set of questions designed to tap involvement in local community government. The six questions are tabulated below.

45. NOW... JUST A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR INVOLVEMENT IN LOCAL COMMUNITY GOVERNMENT. PLEASE TELL ME HOW OFTEN YOU DO THE FOLLOWING THINGS.

A. VOTE IN CITY ELECTIONS	
VERY OFTEN.....	24.0%
OFTEN.....	21.7%
SOMETIMES.....	22.1%
RARELY.....	11.8%
NEVER.....	20.5%

B. STAY INFORMED ABOUT WHO THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS ARE?

VERY OFTEN.....	15.7%	RARELY.....	11.1%
OFTEN.....	33.7%	NEVER.....	12.3%
SOMETIMES.....	27.2%		

C. TALK TO FAMILY, FRIENDS, AND NEIGHBORS ABOUT LOCAL POLITICS?

VERY OFTEN.....	13.5%	RARELY.....	15.4%
OFTEN.....	15.4%	NEVER.....	14.3%
SOMETIMES.....	41.4%		

D. LET LOCAL GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS KNOW WHAT YOU WANT DONE ON ISSUES?

VERY OFTEN.....	7.2%	RARELY.....	23.5%
OFTEN.....	6.8%	NEVER.....	40.9%
SOMETIMES.....	21.6%		

E. LET LOCAL OFFICIALS KNOW WHEN YOU DON'T LIKE SOMETHING THEY HAVE DONE OR HAVE NOT DONE?

VERY OFTEN.....	6.8%	RARELY.....	23.0%
OFTEN.....	7.2%	NEVER.....	42.3%
SOMETIMES.....	20.8%		

F. WORK TO GET ISSUES YOU THINK ARE IMPORTANT ACCEPTED AS PRIORITIES BY LOCAL GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS?

VERY OFTEN.....	7.3%	RARELY.....	15.3%
OFTEN.....	7.3%	NEVER.....	43.0%
SOMETIMES.....	26.3%		

The first three items on the list indicate that fairly large numbers of respondents are engaging in these behaviors at least occasionally; upwards of 80 percent said they voted, kept informed about their government officials' identities, and discussed local politics with friends and family. The data show that these are more than less frequent involvements.

When we examine the bottom half of the table, however, we see that these three examples of involvement in local political affairs are unusual among our sample members. Upwards of 40 percent said that they never interact with local officials about issues, and of those who do interact, only a few do so more than occasionally.

In one general sense, it is not surprising to find that the apparently simpler, closer-to-home dimensions of local political involvement occur more frequently and for more persons. The low levels of reported substantive contact with local officials fit with what we anticipated. An obvious question that all these data elicit is "why the relatively high mass-mediated contact with elected officials, and yet the low personal contact with local government?"

We do not mean to suggest that this pattern is peculiar to the Black adults in San Francisco. But it is abundantly clear that this sample says it is not accessing itself to local government. Our concerns are ultimately to induce just that climate that would facilitate personal interaction between people and their elected officials.

The present research did not attempt to get into describing the reasons behind what we are discussing here. We can say, however, that the broadcast media in this area and most others are playing only a minor role in transmitting information about local governmental affairs to the man and woman in the Black community. If mediated interaction is, as we suspect, a necessary precursor to personal interaction, then the findings reported here may itself be of some use in stimulating change in the existing situation.

INTRODUCTION TO BIVARIATE ANALYSIS SECTION

In all, the three interviews in this panel contained over 700 variables for each of 267 individuals. There were, of course, fewer for those 57 persons who were not included in the Wave 3 sample. The analysis of the data on this sort of project could easily and fruitfully occupy several man-years. This was not possible in the present case, and the result of time constraints on the project was that the analysis had to be selective and restricted to simple correlational levels. With the last interviews conducted on July 28 and the coding, editing, and program writing taking some time, the computer output on even the column frequencies was not available until August 12. The correlational programs were run on October 21 and the crosstabulations on November 5. The point of mentioning these dates is simply that they underscore the rationalization for what we have done with the analysis of the data.

Out of what could have been used, we selected about 130 key variables and from these fashioned the core of the bivariate analyses we accomplished. In the correlational subprogram of the SPSS, we generated 1,314 Pearson correlational coefficients, using 73 of the variables that were appropriate for such an approach. In the crosstabulation programs we ran there were 1,690 tables generated. This crosstabulation was systematized so that each of 16 "key" variables was run against each of 105 other variables. The key variables included: primary source of political information, reported level of general interest in politics, reported frequency of viewing public television, political orientation, frequency of viewing soap operas, age, occupational status, family income, education

of the head of household, self-designation of social class status, sex of respondent, region in which the respondent was raised, religiousity, marital status, a scale of Black identity, and a participation index (completion of all waves of interviewing or just part of them). The other variables are included in the accompanying list of "computer codes;" this code list is designed to facilitate additional analysis which may be undertaken in the immediate future by researchers or other interested parties.

SOME BIVARIATE RELATIONSHIPS:

EVALUATIONS OF THE BLACK SITUATION COMEDIES

In order to assess different persons' general attitudes towards "Good Times" and "Sanford and Son," we examined how the sixteen key variables were crosstabulated against the individual ratings for each show. Only a few of the variables in the "Good Times" set were significantly associated according to the nonparametric Chi Square and/or Kendall's Tau b. Educational achievement as tabulated in 11/4/p374 shows a significant negative relationship ($\chi^2 = 39$, d.f. = 20, $p = < .005$). Even though the distributions of evaluations are strongly skewed towards the positive at all educational levels, the tendency is less marked for the persons with relatively high education.

Another variable which we found to be associated with the evaluation of "Good Times" was the respondent's self-designation of social class. The direction was towards the higher social classes making slightly less favorable evaluations of this program. A likely speculation is that the dissonance between the obviously low social-economic class of the characters on the program and the respondent's perception of his/her own class is responsible for this result. (See Table 11/4/p474.)

Affiliation with a religious group also seemed to be associated with one's rating of "Good Times," with χ^2 significant at the $p = < .03$ level. There was evidence of a slight tendency for religious persons to rate the show higher than non-religious persons (see Table 11/4/p703). Again, it seems plausible that the content of the show, especially the strong morality theme espoused by the female lead, is what makes for this relationship. This argument is supported when the association.

between religiosity and the "Sanford" rating is examined. This distinctly areligious show is rated more positively (although not significantly so) by the non-religious respondents.

The one additional nonparametric relationship which should be noted here is between the respondents' political orientation and their evaluation of "Good Times." Persons who identified themselves as "left" politically rated the program less positively than those on the other end of the scale. (See Table 11/4/p568.) Even though this association was statistically significant, it should be reiterated that the responses generally were skewed heavily in the direction of positive evaluations, regardless of political preference. One might posit that the few persons who actually appraised the show negatively were the "radicals" of the sample, but even of the ten percent who checked the left-most space on the political identification scale, most rated "Good Times" at least "pretty good." Again we have evidence of the overall inclination to perceive any Black-related content on TV as positive - even if not as good as it might be.

As might have been expected, the obtained relationship between the age of the respondent and the evaluation given to "Good Times" is significant and positive (Kendall's Tau b = .14, $p = < .004$; Table 11/4/p166). Older persons tended more often to give this show the most positive rating possible, while more younger respondents were more reserved with their superlatives.

The interval level variables against which we correlated evaluations of "Good Times" revealed several interesting relationships. The previously noted crosstabulation findings were supported by the Pearson treatment on age and social class designation. Further, persons who tended to rate "Good Times" more positively were also identified as lacking general trust in television's

treatment of Blacks, but at the same time, viewing news and public affairs programming relatively more often. They reported too a fairly extensive exposure to campaign news on TV and personal involvement in local community government affairs.

"Sanford and Son" is, of course, a very different television show than "Good Times" even though both enjoy large audiences (including mostly the same persons) within our own San Francisco sample and in other areas as well. Even if there may be basic commonalities of racial context, social class, tragic-comedic format, etc., there are distinct differences evident in the plot content and the life styles of the characters. The religion/morality issue mentioned above is one of these.

Perhaps because of these differences, our sample apparently was reacting to "Sanford and Son" in distinctive ways that are partly reflected in the analyses discussed below. The crosstabulations performed on the "Sanford and Son" rating yielded only a few statistically significant relationships. As with "Good Times," age was related positively to the ratings here; older persons again rated the show more positively than younger ones (Kendall's Tau b = .14, $p = < .003$). Occupational status was inversely related to the ratings with the persons at the lower end of the scale showing a significant tendency to rate the show more positively than those at the upper end (Kendall's Tau b = -.16, $p = < .001$). Family income, which is, of course, related to occupational status as we have defined it, was found to be related to the ratings for "Sanford and Son" in a significant negative direction ($X^2 = 44$, d.f. = 28, $p = < .02$; Kendall's Tau b = -.13, $p = < .005$). As also expected, and consistent with the above, educational achievement was inversely associated with the ratings at the relatively strong statistical levels of $X^2 = 61$, d.f. = 20, $p = < .001$; Kendall's Tau b = -.18, $p = < .001$. The final "status" variable was also inversely related to the

evaluations here with $\chi^2 = 55$, d.f. = 20, $p = < .001$ and Kendall's Tau b = $-.15$, $p = < .001$ on the self-designation of social class variable. The above relationships are tabulated in 11/4/p113, p168, p320, p375, and p425, respectively.

The correlational analyses which were performed on the ratings data from "Sanford and Son" corroborated the demographic associations which we have mentioned above; that is, age was related to positivity of evaluating the program, and education, family income, and social class were significantly related to ratings in an inverse direction. As was the case with "Good Times," we found statistically sound relationships between this rating and campaign viewing amounts and frequency of viewing news in general. There was also the negative relationship again between rating and a scale of trust in television's treatment of Blacks. It was a bit anomalous to find that despite the latter expression of non-trust in TV, the same persons were calculated to have positive correlations between their rating of "Sanford and Son" and the degree to which they reported relying on TV for news of the Black community. We have, of course, noted this previously, but the use of the medium in the face of an expression of low faith in its treatment of Blacks is hard to reconcile. Perhaps the existence of at least a few Black newsmen on TV as contrasted to no identifiably Black reporters on the large daily newspapers' staffs is what makes for this situation.

Several other significant Pearson r's round out the picture we have been drawing. There were positive relationships found between the "Sanford" rating and four other politically relevant indicators; they were involvement in local community government affairs; attention paid to political advertisements on TV, distrust of politicians in general, and expressing a right-leaning political position.

In sum, we see that liking each of these TV shows is more intense among the older, less advantaged persons in the sample. Since the content of neither show is directly political, the tendencies for high ratings to vary positively with political involvement and media use indicators may be just artifacts of some third variable relationships. It has been suggested that the relatively higher liking for these shows among those who so reported may be a function of a generational expectation or tolerance level as well as anything else. The older (less advantaged) Blacks have a frame of mass media reference which spans the "Amos 'n Andy" and "Buelah" eras. They may be able to see progress (albeit very gradual) personified in the appearance of Esther Rolle and Redd Foxx on the tube playing parts with reality and empathy integrally built into their characters. The upward-mobile, younger, better-off set sees only that what they are offered is not enough to suit the "progress now" ethic that the '60's introduced to the Black lexicon. It, of course, can only be an interesting speculation at this point whether today's youth will mellow in their media tastes as yesterday's youth apparently have.

MAIN SOURCE OF INFORMATION ABOUT BLACKS
AND THE BLACK COMMUNITY: BIVARIATE ANALYSIS

The question which generated the analyses in this section appeared about half way through the initial interview; it was preceded by sections that dealt with the Black-focused comedy shows on the TV networks, the news/public affairs shows both on public television and locally originated, and a long series about Black magazines and newspapers. The intention behind placing the pivotal media choice question at this location was to confront the respondent with a final problem he had already been considering for at least 20 minutes. The form of the question was open-ended. In a word, we simply wanted an unadulterated answer to a query that we felt had a great deal of potential for being affected by extraneous influences within the interview situation. It will be recalled that the mass media as a group were designated by fewer than half the sample as being their main source of information (see Wave 1, Question 47). The segments to follow will address the matter of what kinds of persons selected which media for finding about their people and their community.

As anticipated, the reliance/use patterns in the area of general political information-seeking were associated with the media chosen for the purpose under discussion here. These have been discussed at some length in the section on "Primary sources of information about politics." In sum, the Table 11/4/p29 showed that those persons who designated one mass medium or the other for political information-seeking purposes also tended to refer to the same medium as their primary input to news of the Black community.

When the age of the respondent was crosstabulated against the source-of-Black-community information, another significant nonparametric association was obtained. Table 11/4/pl38 shows that several interesting dynamics were taking place as age level increased. There was, for example, a marked increase in the percentages designating TV as their primary source of information after fifty. In fact, the two younger age brackets are also similarly higher than are the mid-range ages. We have already suggested that the aging process and its inevitably lowered mobility, as well as the observed inverse relationship between age and educational achievement are likely contributors to this situation. Almost the opposite phenomenon seems to be happening in the newspaper by age association; there is relatively less naming of this medium among the young and the older persons, and the mid-range seems to rely on it most emphatically. Although we cannot judge without making additional analysis, it seems likely that these two major media are probably functional substitutes for each other but not for other mass or interpersonal modes of communication. As age increased, relatively fewer persons reported that their primary source of information about the community was "friends." Unfortunately, the modal category among the communication media turned out to be non-analyzable; while many of the "other" references were recalled to be non-personal acquaintances, there is simply not sufficient precision to presume to explain how age is acting with this variable.

Family income showed an interesting association when cross-tabulated against the respondent's choice of a community information medium. Looking at the major media and at "friends," we can observe that the persons who chose television had a median income of about \$7,000; the few whose major information source was radio had \$5,000; the newspaper group reported about \$9,000; and the "friends" group had something less than \$4,000.

The large numbers in the unclassified "other" group also fell at the same low level as the "friends." Once again, it is distinctly possible that a generally consistent relationship between education, preferred intake-mode (Chi Square = 43, d.f. = 30, $p < .06$) and family income is what is being reflected in these data.

While the association between sex and the chosen mode of informing one's self about the Black Community fails to reach the levels of significance that we established, it came close ($\chi^2 = .12$, d.f. = 5, $p < .05$). Proportionately more women designated TV as their chosen medium here, and they also were more heavily represented than men on the "friends" category.

Religion too failed to meet the statistical levels we wanted, but at $p < .066$, it is worth noting that TV was disproportionately selected by those who were of some religious faith and, at the same time, "friends" were more frequently cited by the non-religious persons in our sample.

The final breakdown to report as significant here was marital status. Although the number of widowed persons was small, they represented a proportionately high percentage of those who named TV as their main source of information about the Black community. Age and loneliness no doubt contribute to this finding. Among those whose choice of a medium was newspapers, the single and separated groups were substantially underrepresented while the married and divorced groups were overrepresented. The 23 percent of the sample who chose "friends" as their main source of information contains a higher than expected proportion of divorced persons yet a lower than expected proportion of separated. Interpreting the differences between these latter two groups is difficult at best, and we shall not attempt it without further research.

RELIANCE ON TELEVISION FOR NEWS
OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY: BIVARIATE ANALYSIS

On the face of this question, it makes little sense even to ask how a Black sample from San Francisco could rely on television for news of the Black community. The absolute amount of news of Black people or of their neighborhoods is miniscule. One can only speculate about the reasons for this, but, by any casual examination, it is a fact. Nevertheless, it was desirable to attempt to assess how much our sample relied on what television coverage there was for what information they each sought about their own community. Several interesting findings came out of this series of analyses.

Not surprisingly, there was a statistically significant finding when reliance on TV was run against the list of primary sources designated for getting information about political issues. Table 11/4/p27 shows that the persons who reported using TV as their source of political information (some 27 percent of the total sample) were much higher on reliance on TV for news of their own community as well. This may lend some credence to the suggestion we have made elsewhere that certain persons in this sample tend towards using certain media for all their news/information-seeking.

Age was also systematically related to reliance on TV for news of the community. One could posit that the relative immobility that comes with increasing age would be responsible for the elders' greater reliance on TV as contrasted either to other less personal mass media or to direct personal contact. In San Francisco, however, the very popular Sun Reporter is, by nature of its controlled circulation status, probably available

to every one of our respondents; one would expect this intense coverage weekly to be the mass medium (as it was; see Question 47). Whatever the case, our Table 11/4/p137 shows that as age increases to the mid-range reliance on TV for Black community news decreases slightly, but then starts increasing again at the higher age brackets.

While neither income nor job status was found related to reliance on TV, we see in Table 11/4/p344 that educational achievement was significantly associated, by the nonparametric statistics that we used. The strong Kendall's Tau b of $-.23$ underlines the case that the more highly educated tended to rely less and less on television for news of their community. Some part of this pattern may be an artifact of the same kind of negative attitudes towards television that often come out in general sample surveys of the more educated. Alternatively, it may simply be that the more educated are simply able to discriminate better about the quality of this particular source of this particular kind of information because of their broader media exposure. Perhaps the element of reading facility, which is presumably a correlate of higher educational achievement, may be allowing the use of written information sources by this group while the older, less educated rely more heavily on the spoken communications that television features almost exclusively.

The final interesting crosstabulation in this series was that which ran reliance on TV against the state in which the respondents said they were raised. Table 11/4/p629 shows that the one-quarter of the sample from the deep South were very different in their reliance patterns than all the others. In general, they tended to be much more reliant than the others on television for news of their community. In fact, the marginally significant finding involving frequency of viewing Belva Davis' local show was probably attributable to disproportionately high

numbers of Southerners viewing the show frequently. One other likely contributor to this state-raised/reliance-on-TV finding is that education was substantially lower among the southern-raised persons in the sample, and this would, of course, support the hypothesis that they would use an information medium geared to talking rather than to reading.

In those cases where the levels of measurement contained in the questions were suitable, we submitted the data to a series of correlational analyses complementary to the ones described above. Some relationships were assessed both ways. For example, age was related to reliance on TV for news of the Black community at the level $r = .23$, $p = < .001$. Education was found to yield an r of $-.29$, $p = < .001$. Each of these adds to the credibility of the nonparametric tests noted above, and the pair are congruent with each other. Younger, better educated persons have the built-in distrust of all social institutions... the mass media among them. Beyond these confirmations, we also found that the scale of knowledge of national Black political figures was inversely related to reliance on TV ($r = -.30$, $p = < .001$). This implicitly suggests that TV was not the source from which the knowledge of national Black political figures derived.

A scale computed to measure trust in television was found to be correlated to the reliance-on-TV variable at the $r = -.21$ level ($p = < .001$). Since our sample had a basic dissatisfaction with the news on TV, then it makes sense to accept the explanation that as reliance on TV increased (and presumably usage increased with reliance) satisfaction and its natural concomitant, trust, would tend to diminish.

It is not so easy, though, to fit into this same picture the significant correlation ($r = .22$, $p = < .002$) between reliance

on TV and breadth of viewing general news and public affairs programming. A more facile explanation might be that as one relies more on TV for one kind of news, the tendency is to use it for seeking other kinds of news as well. This seems to be supportive of the three news exposure variables below as they related positively with the reliance-on-TV responses. We found reliance related to retrospective campaign viewing amounts ($r = .19$), prospective campaign viewing ($r = .18$), and local news viewing frequency ($r = .12$, $p = < .03$).

An interesting question is raised here about the Black community coverage offered by KQED, the public station in the City. This station also airs the other Black shows that come over the public TV service lines. It may be the combination of these several inputs that results in the finding that reliance on TV (in general) for news of the community was inversely related to reported frequency of viewing anything on KQED ($r = -.16$, $p = < .004$). The logic is circuitous here; we can speculate that the peculiarities of public TV viewers include heavier than normal reliance on reading (even though education was not related to frequency of viewing the public station for our sample).

The final significant correlational coefficient we generated on this reliance variable was with the evaluation given for the generally popular "Sanford and Son;" $r = .17$, $p = < .002$. We had earlier picked up data to indicate that one of the appeals of this show was its realistic "tells it like it is" quality. Even though "Sanford" clearly does not provide news of the San Francisco community, it does not seem out of place to impute to each of these types of Black-focused programs a common element of "relevance."

DESIRE FOR MORE BLACK PROGRAMING
ON TELEVISION: BIVARIATE ANALYSIS

Of the three-quarters of our sample which had said that they wanted to see a lot more Black shows on television and the other 20 percent who wanted at least a few more and even among the few who expressed satisfaction with the way television is in this regard, we found no significant differences on any of the bivariate analyses we undertook. The descriptive statistics make the general point as clearly as it is possible in this sort of research. Regardless of education, or family income, or political interest, or any of the other dimensions of which we took measurements, all segments of the community want more television directed at Black life styles.

THE BELVA DAVIS SHOW: BIVARIATE ANALYSIS

In many ways the uniqueness of each Black community is as important in assessing its television needs and wants as the commonalities that all Black communities across the nation share. Since one of the two Black-focused television programs originating in the Bay Area during our research had expressed interest in airing a segment on this project as a part of its community news section, we endeavored to find out something more than the bare numbers about what the audience was for this show.

It has been shown, in looking again at the descriptive section of this paper, that the cumulative ("tune-in-sometimes") audience for the show was large (about 80 percent); at the same time, far fewer persons reported that they watched regularly and frequently (less than one-quarter reported either "often" or "very often" viewing). The ratings of the show by our respondents were consistent and very high; these may, in retrospect, have been tapping more of a "projective" than a realistic dimension of response. That is, they may have been feeling a need to be positive about a show that was perceived as being directed at their own community.

With all of this, it seemed that it would be useful to conduct a series of analyses of what kinds of persons fell into the various frequency-of-viewing categories. For obvious reasons, the frequency question was chosen as a more uninflated measure of interest in the show than was the straight evaluative form.

The results of running this frequency variable against the basic list of fifteen others yielded not a single significant

relationship. Apparently, none of these variables has anything to do with how the audience for "All Together Now" is composed.

One might expect that relationships could be found among others of our variables, but this analysis will be deferred until later. In passing, it is perhaps worth noting that the Belya Davis show was cancelled for an indefinite period sometime shortly after our research was conducted. In Autumn 1976 it returned to the air on an irregular basis.

WHO WATCHES LOCAL, NATIONAL NEWS, AND CURRENT EVENTS SHOWS?

The most obvious use that the answers to these questions could serve for the present project would be to provide inputs that could ultimately help maximize the efficiency of the various forms of communicating information to the Black community.

We are here pointing beyond the issue of what kinds of persons use what different media for what kinds of information or entertainment purposes. This section is restricted to a basic analysis of how the several kinds of TV's "hard" information programming types draw different audiences from the broad spectrum of people that make up the community. The series of bivariate analyses discussed here is ordered such that each of the focal independent variables' relationships to the criterion variables is treated in turn.

The first relationship examined was between the news viewing frequency variables and the categorical variable, "primary source of information about politics." Neither of the national types of shows ("Cronkite's News" or "Sixty Minutes") was differentially viewed by groups who selected the various primary sources of political information. There was, however, a significant nonparametric association with the variable "frequency of viewing local news." But given that this research was conducted at a time when the national news picture was heavily laced with political materials, it seems peculiar that the TV oriented group did not deviate noticeably in any of the three cases from, say, the newspaper oriented group. In fact, these two major mass media were used very similarly, and it was the interpersonal category ("talking to someone...") that showed

up most discrepant from the others.

As we have said in other sections of this paper, there is some evidence that, as far as obtaining information about relevant things (e.g., politics or news of the Black community), mass media users seem more like each other, regardless of whether they choose broadcast or print media, than they appear like those who prefer to get their information from informal, personal sources.

When the second set of analyses, the news viewing frequencies vs. level of general interest in politics was examined, a sort of reversal of the preceding was observed. That is, there were relatively strong associations obtained with each of the nationally oriented news/current events programs, but the reported frequency of viewing local news was unrelated to interest in politics. In both tables 11/4/pl14 and 115, the strength of the positive associations between viewing frequency and interest in politics (Kendall's Tau of .18 and .19, both $p = .0001$) were the complete reversal of the local table which showed virtually no association whatever.

The simplest explanation, to reiterate what also appears elsewhere, is that sources of national and local political matters and levels of interest in the two concepts do not follow consistent patterns. An abiding reason for the failure of political interest to relate to viewing of local news is that the subject matter that would naturally feed a desire for information about politics in general simply does not appear on local news programming. In fact, the local news shows, which typically precede the national programs, assiduously avoid most of the redundancies that such coverage would contain.

Age of respondent is shown in tables 11/4/pl68, 9, 70 to be positively related to news viewing at fairly strong levels of association by the nonparametric statistics we used. When national news is considered, we found that the older respondents were grouped at the highest ends of the frequency-of-viewing scale; a lesser tendency towards viewing national news was found among the younger groups, although even here, upwards of 40 percent of the under-40 groups reported watching national news at least "often."

This same sort of old age/very-frequent-viewing pattern and youth/rarely-viewing concomitant again shows up in the data on "current events" shows (e.g., "Sixty Minutes"). The major distinction we found when looking at the figures for local news viewing was that at all age levels there was more reported viewing; the positive relationship is simply more marked at the upper age levels.

A number of attempts have been made at explaining the general phenomenon of age being positively related to reliance on or even general use of television. At this point, let it suffice to say that a most clear way to get information out to the older persons in this San Francisco sample would be to get it out as televised news - or at least in the time context of whatever other information is being broadcast on the kinds of shows we cited here. Putting together the relatively higher marks for attention that local news programming has won and the reality that locally oriented information (e.g., social service access advice) may be most effective when placed with other locally oriented materials, the potential value of the local news show is obviously great.

As interesting as the significant findings dealing with age are

the lack of significantly different news viewing frequencies found between sample members of different educational levels, family incomes, self-designated social class status, or sexes. Apparently the typical findings that classify general populations as to their "print" or "broadcast" orientations (which findings often include high correlations with education and its concomitants, income and social class) do not find application when this sample of San Francisco Black people is concerned. The degrees of their reported use of the general news that TV offers are seemingly common over all the usual demographic variables save age.

Contrary to what we have reported above, a number of statistically significant findings were obtained when the summed index representing the four news viewing frequency variables was run against other critical variables. (Note that here we have added back the previously omitted question on "interview shows like 'Meet the Press.'")

Among the likely antecedents to media exposure variables, for example, we found "breadth of news viewing" to be correlated to reliance on TV for news of the Black community at the $r = .22$ level (with $p < .001$). So, too were there significant relationships with both the political interest variables; general interest at the $r = .23$ level and local politics interest at $r = .16$ (both with $p < .01$). Consistent with the emphasis on local news viewing that appeared in the comparisons of the basic descriptive statistics on these four news viewing questions, we see a relationship here with the scale of degree of involvement in local community government issues ($r = .28$; $p < .001$).

Since, as we have said several times, much of the content of television at the time of this research was political in nature,

it is hardly a surprise to note that the viewing of news is related to several political campaign viewing variables. We calculated significant correlations here with both retrospective ($r = .29$) and prospective campaign news viewing ($r = .35$), as well as with retrospective reported reading about the campaign of 1976 ($r = .30$). Each of the questions designed to measure the step beyond simple exposure, i.e., degree of attention paid to political content on TV, showed up significantly related to the overall exposure variable; attention paid to political advertising ($r = .25$) and attention paid to other political contents on television (also $.25$).

A clearly significant ($p < .001$) but not exceedingly strong relationship ($r = .14$) was generated when KQED viewing frequency and the news breadth index were run together. We might impute this in part to the previously noted emphasis this local station gives to San Francisco centered issues, especially political ones.

Two additional correlations here are a bit of a puzzle. As frequency of viewing news increased, so did reported evaluations of the two "Black comedies" the national networks were running at the time of the field work in Spring 1976. Perhaps this is a function of both r 's between average weekly viewing time and news viewing index ($r = .18$) and the presumed (i.e., not tested) r between frequency of viewing any show and evaluation thereof. That is, if one watches a lot of television, some respectable portion of it is bound to be news programming. We feel that this is short of being an adequate analysis, but cannot offer a better one at this point.

As a final curious point, we have found a slightly positive correlation between news viewing amount and a tendency towards reporting one's own political position as being "moderate" or

even right of moderate; put another way (necessary because of the way the political position scale was presented to the respondents), the farther one placed himself from the "left" interval in a five space scale, the higher his score on the news viewing frequency index.

Interest in local politics is something which we gave rather slight emphasis throughout our survey. The major reason was that a November 1975 municipal election, while replete with intense contests and issues, was, after all, five months into history by the time we were in the field. The 1976 primary election ballot had virtually nothing of interest on the strictly local level. Making even implicit comparisons between interest in national and local politics with this inequity of immediacy built in would be unwise, and we thus chose to defer the local issue until some later work. Just for the record, though, the abstract question of local political interest obtained the following results in the May - June interviewing.

VERY INTERESTED. 20.2%	UNINTERESTED.....9.7%
INTERESTED.....43.8%	VERY UNINTERESTED..4.9%
NEUTRAL.....21.3%	

TRUST IN TELEVISION: BIVARIATE ANALYSIS

To the extent that the use of television may or may not be related to the potential the medium has for influencing one's attitudes or behaviors, we felt it necessary to examine how our sample felt about this dimension of what they saw on TV. The series of questions that dealt with this issue was presented about half-way through the initial interview. As had been the case in several other media use areas, we inquired here too about trust in newspapers; the point was to impose a sense of relativity and thus to mitigate the expected hypercritical nature of abstract comments about television. Again, the scale we have labelled "trust in television" was summed from three questions; the focus on these shifted from the general (TV per se) to a content type (TV news) to a race-specific type (TV news of the Black community).

The analysis of the relationship between trust in television and a variety of usage measures revealed several interesting findings. Of the couple of dozen relationships which tested as significant via either the Kendall's Tau b or Pearson's Correlation method, most were inverse relationships. Not surprisingly, choice of the medium for obtaining political information was significantly associated with trust in TV when submitted to the Chi Square test ($X^2 = 52$; d.f. = 30, $p = < .008$). But a look at table 11/5/p40 shows that the significance does not derive from the TV using group's evincing more trust in television than any of the other groups. In fact there are no real differences between the TV and newspaper using groups at all. There is some tendency, however, for both the radio using group and the persons who preferred to get their political information from friends to trust TV more than the sample as a whole. We

have commented elsewhere on this peculiar phenomenon of TV users trusting the medium less and less the more they see it.

The same sort of negative association was observed when general interest in politics was crosstabulated against the scale of trust in television. While the largest numbers of respondents were grouped at the middle points of each of these variables, there were also significant groups at the high-interest/low-TV-trust and the low-interest/high-TV-trust cells of Table 11/5/p85.

The association between age and trust in TV was also in the same mold as the preceding; the vast majority of the sample was on the midpoint of the trust distribution, but there were enough older persons who had low trust to establish an overall negative relationship (see Table 11/5/p130).

None of the other nominal variables except educational achievement of the head of the household was significantly related to trust in TV. For reasons that are a bit difficult to understand, education turned out to be positively related to trust; (Kendall's Tau $b = .15$, $p = < .001$). The overall association seems to come from the observed tendencies towards the less educated to cluster at the lower end of the trust continuum and the somewhat more educated to cluster towards the slightly higher end. As the Table (11/5/p400) shows, very few of the top end persons on the education variable deviated from the center of the trust distribution.

In turning to the set of correlational analyses we made on trust in TV, a more consistent, albeit no less problematical set of results obtained.

Confirming the associations tested by nonparametric methods, we found here that age correlated negatively with trust in TV

($r = -.20$) and education correlated positively ($r = .17$). Both are significant at $p = <.001$.

The scale of Black identity, reduced to three items from its original ten, was found to correlate with trust in TV at a weak but significant .09 ($p = <.05$). A parallel finding was the somewhat stronger relationship with the scale of knowledge of Black political officials; ($r = .13$, $p = <.03$). One might explain this latter result as being a function of the likelihood that television is the best source where news relating to this subject area is available (as opposed to the feature materials that Black magazines frequently print on these politicians).

Among the several measurements we made of our respondents' exposure to the mass media and to specific types of content, a set of six variables were all found to be inversely related to trust in television. The scale of frequency of viewing the three types of news programming (the so-called "breadth of news viewing" scale) correlated negatively at the $r = -.23$ level. So too did retrospective campaign viewing ($r = -.16$) and reading ($r = -.20$), attention to political advertising on TV ($r = -.18$), attention to other political issues on TV ($r = -.16$), and prospective campaign viewing estimates ($r = -.38$). The strength of the latter relationship may be based on the logic that the levels of distrust in past and present are likely to presage even greater levels of distrust in the future. This may be especially true if one knows that the amount of television's involvement in the campaign is only bound to increase from Spring through Autumn of a general election year.

Trust in TV was also revealed to correlate negatively with three non-media, politically relevant variables; these were general interest in politics ($r = -.20$), interest in local politics ($r = -.16$), and a scale of six items we summed and

labelled "involvement in local community government" ($r = -.23$).

The final points were a most interesting additional pair of obtained significant relationships. Both the evaluation of "Sanford and Son" and "Good Times" were negatively correlated with trust in TV; the former at $r = -.20$ and the latter at $r = -.18$. We can think of several ways these correlations could be interpreted. The most straightforward may be this: although evaluations of these two "Black comedies" are generally high, the programs are primarily performing purely "entertainment" functions. Our speculation is that the respondents, in evaluating these comedies positively while expressing little trust in television and TV news, were simply making different ratings of two (for them) different dimensions of the concept "trust." Another angle on this may be worth noting: that is, despite the good evaluations the Black comedies received, there was a great demand for "more Black programing" (73 percent of the sample so said).

There is implicit support for the above reasoning when one examines the $-.21$ correlational coefficient between trust in TV and reliance on TV for news of Blacks and the Black community. This last is a telling piece of evidence, we feel. Overall, the responses on this reliance question indicated that the medium is not perceived as a reliable news source for the community; other evidence leads us to conclude that the relatively low reliability stems from the lack of performance (i.e., too little coverage) rather than from errors of commission.

In the end and viewed quantitatively, the medium per se serves poorly the information needs of the people in the Black community. When it does provide them with programing that fits their needs, either for entertainment or for hard information, it is evaluated positively and (probably) with some hesitation.

GENERAL INTEREST IN POLITICS
SUMMARY OF CORRELATIONAL FINDINGS

How can a meaningful and broad interest in politics be developed among Black Americans in the mid-1970's? It is to this immensely important and complex question that the present research was ultimately addressed.

This analysis is one of a number that focus on approaches to the question of Blacks' political participation. Our concern, of course, is that "interest" is a natural precursor to taking part in the political system's dynamics.

The real focus of the political sections of our research project in San Francisco during 1976 was on how media behaviors fit into the picture of one's relationship with his political environment. Along this line we found that the reported frequencies of viewing TV news and information programming, both nationally and locally originated, were correlated with expressed levels of interest in politics. It is not, of course, a revelation that more interest is concomitant with greater exposure to televised treatment of this particular subject area.

No less expected was the parallel set of findings that specific exposure to campaign news both prior to the interview and projected afterwards were tied to higher levels of political interest. It was something of a puzzle to uncover a significant negative correlation between interest in politics and trust in television, but since trust in TV was also negatively related to a number of exposure variables, this one may have been merely an artifact of some other discordant association. Incidentally, the trust/interest correlation when applied to newspapers turned out

positive.

Whether or not the other focal set of obtained significant relationships (interest in politics with a scale of knowledge of Black politicians) is meaningful must wait for further analysis. The speculation at this point would have to be that part of this knowledge will be shown to derive from the fact that the individual Black politicians' race was as important an identifying characteristic as was their public position. This was partly supported by the finding that attention to Black affairs and news on TV varied positively with general political interest.

In brief, the expressed degree of interest our respondents avowed for politics in general, while not unimportant, doesn't seem to be capable of explaining more than a bit of the whole of what we are trying to understand about Black people, television, and political participation.

THE DEMOGRAPHICS OF INTEREST IN POLITICS: BIVARIATE ANALYSIS

In a word, interest in politics, as assessed in a general question asked during the first wave of interviewing, found most persons in the sample to be more interested than not. The sections which follow will look at some of the other variables that we conceived of as being logically related to this. They could, we think, act by generating an interest in politics or being a function of one's placement on this self-report variable. Again, the causality cannot, of course, be clearly established by correlational analysis.

The first set which have been traditionally thought of as effecting one degree or another of interest in politics is the demographics. It is most interesting to note, however, that neither age, occupational status, family income, education of the head-of-household, nor self-designated social class yielded statistically significant nonparametric relationships when examined along with the interest-in-politics question. Only on sex was there a reportable difference; males were higher in interest than females.

One other non-significant relationship that was generated is worth reporting here; that is, the self-designated measure of political position (from "right" to "left") was not related to the level of general interest in politics. As we have reported elsewhere, most persons in the sample considered themselves at the center of the political spectrum, but regardless of political orientation, their expressed general interest in politics was on the high side of neutral.

A number of the variables on which we collected data were in the form of interval level scales. Among these were age, number of children in the household, family income, and educational level achieved by the head of the household. It turned out that each of these was found to be related to the attitudinal variable under discussion here on a statistically significant level. When the age of the respondent was correlated with political interest it yielded a Pearson correlational coefficient of .10 ($p = < .03$). Family income was more closely related to political interest, with an r of .20 ($p = < .001$), and education yielded an $r = .11$ ($p = < .02$).

The other demographic datum which we found to be significantly related to the political interest variable was number of children in the home. As one might intuit, the obtained r here was $-.17$. In fact the number of children was negatively related to a host of other variables encompassing political participation, information seeking, etc. As has been asserted, the explanation is probably no more complicated than the fact that child care is exceedingly time consuming. It seems that the political variables we measured are just a few of the activities with lower priorities than homemaking.

Among the several inquiries along the way through the panel study was a series focusing on specific interest in the 1976 presidential election. The question posed to the sample in the post-primary election wave of interviewing found most persons near the top of the scale of interest. Quite naturally, the relationship tabulated in 11/5/p61 indicates that general interest in politics and this specific area of the political question are significantly related. Only among the persons whose general interest was highest was there also a maximal interest in the presidential race; the generally less interested groups showed somewhat less enthusiasm for the presidential

contest. Overall, however, the evidence is clear that these two questions were probably just tapping slightly different nuances of the same basic concept.

A person's general level of interest in politics should logically relate to, if not actually effect, participation in various activities and information seeking focused on one's local governmental environment. A series of six items on the second wave of personal interviewing addressed this complex and was eventually summed to form a scale we labelled "involvement in local community government" (Wave 3, Question 45). As anticipated, this scale was found to correlate positively with the pivotal political interest variable; $r = .35$, $p = < .001$.

Part and parcel of the above was the independently measured level of interest in local politics. General political interest and local political interest correlated at a level of $r = .33$; $p = < .001$.

Especially at the time this research was in the field, much of what was broadcast on television's national news programs consisted of information about the presidential campaign. We felt, therefore, that a strong positive relationship should exist between interest in politics and frequency of viewing national news. The nonparametric statistical test of the relationship shows on Table 11/4/pl14 yielded what was anticipated: a positive, linear covariation (Chi Square = 30, d.f. = 16; $p = < .02$).

Table 11/4/pl15 depicts the relationship between interest in politics and reported frequency of viewing "currents events shows" on television. The finding was very similar to the above.

Interestingly, first wave reports of viewing of local news programming do not appear to be related to interest in politics by the nonparametric tests. This is additionally curious in that there was again a significant Chi Square calculated between a Wave 3 measurement of local news viewing frequency and the same interest in politics question.

A plausible explanation for this might be that frequency of viewing local news increased, in absolute terms and especially among politically interested persons, between the first time it was measured and the second time - some two months later. With this increase in frequency of viewing (which we could assume is a function of increased interest) a positive relationship had now been developed with generalized interest in politics.

A three-item scale designed to measure overall trust in television was administered near the end of the first interview conducted in our respondents' homes. The items progressed from the most general trust level (TV per se) to a content specific (TV news in general) to the race specific (TV news of the Black community).

When this summated scale was run against general interest in politics, we obtained a Pearson r of $-.20$ ($p = <.001$). This relationship was one of several negatives involving exposure variables. Anomalous as it may seem, the more TV news one views (especially political news) the greater his distrust of what he is seeing. This same direction of relationship applied to the exposure variables on the "Black shows." Some explanation will be attempted later of why viewing does not diminish in the light of this widespread lack of trust. The essence is, however, that distrust notwithstanding, there are no viable alternatives among the local mass media.

It seems reasonable to assume that viewing of campaign-related programing should be seen as a subset of the exposure variable discussed immediately above. A question was asked (during the first wave of interviewing) about both retrospective and prospective (1976) campaign viewing. Again, we posited that general interest in politics should be strongly related to this specific set of behaviors. In fact, the retrospective viewing question correlated at the .36 level ($p = <.001$), while the prospective viewing responses correlated at .39 ($p = <.001$).

As an aside, a retrospective question focusing on newspaper and magazine reading of materials relating to the political campaigns up to the time of the first interview was also closely related to reported political interest ($r = .38$, $p = <.001$).

In proceeding one step farther than the level of exposure to campaign related materials, we asked about the degree of attention that the respondents generally paid to the two types of content into which campaign programing roughly breaks, i.e., advertisements and other "political issues" on television. The relationships of each of these with reported general interest in politics were statistically significant, but attention to advertising was the less closely correlated ($r = .24$, as opposed to .30; both at the level of $p = <.001$).

There were two series of questions (one on each of the two in-home interviewing waves) which dealt with knowledge of Black political figures and/or their activities. Since it was expected that one of the important preconditions of being knowledgeable about Black politics was a broad interest in politics per se; it was not surprising that we obtained statistically significant correlational coefficients between these variables.

The eight-item scale of national Black political knowledge

contained questions requiring identification of such figures as the mayors of L.A., Newark, and Atlanta, some members of the Congressional Black Caucus, Justice Thurgood Marshall, etc. The summated scale scores were found to correlate positively with the scores on the general political interest scale ($r = .17$, $p = < .005$).

A seven-item scale of knowledge of local Black political issues was primarily focused on the legislative activities of California Assemblyman Willie Brown. Even though the absolute levels of knowledge of Brown's activities were low (in fact, much lower than the identification scores on the national figures), we still found an r of $.25$ ($p = < .001$) between this scale and the interest scale for politics generally.

As an examination of the second personal interview schedule will show, the long series of questions, midway through the instrument, and dealing with identification of several nationally known Black political figures was followed immediately by a question asking "...how much attention do you pay to issues concerning Blacks that appear on television?..." We are assuming that the question's location implied that a connection was supposed to be made, and it is therefore not surprising to note that the data arrayed in Table 11/5/p62 show a significant, systematic relationship between the two variables. Specifically, as interest in politics increased, there was a steady and sharp rise in the relative numbers of persons who said they pay close attention to television programing on issues of concern to Black people.

Since interest in politics could be thought to relate to exposure to politically relevant information in the newspaper (especially where almost all persons avowed at least some reading of a daily paper), it seemed appropriate to investigate

how trust in newspapers figured into the equation. Table 11/4/p107 shows the expected trend of trust and political interest varying concomitantly. The increasing trust/interest line is not straight, however. The level of trust appears to peak at the "interested in politics" level (which was the mode of the interest distribution) and then to diminish sharply among those persons who reported that they were "very interested."

"Attention paid to political issues in newspapers" is an area where another positive relationship was anticipated; Table 11/5/p55 shows that there is a linear and positive relationship between the amount of attention paid to political issues in the newspaper and the expressed degree of interest in politics in general.

PRIMARY SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT POLITICS

We have reported that the newspaper was most often cited as important as a source of information on politics. TV, interpersonal communication, radio, and magazines followed in that order. The purpose of the next few sections of this report is to examine how this order of reliance on the various media relates to other variables bearing on the general TV use.

The first interesting relationship we found to be statistically significant was with interest in politics. Those whose choice of the medium for obtaining political information was newspapers were, overall, much more interested in politics in general than the TV group. Some 67 percent of the newspaper persons stated that they were either "very interested" or "interested" in politics in general, while only 49 percent of the TV persons fell into these two positive categories. As a reference to Table 11/4/p6 shows, the other media tended to fall between these two, but the absolute numbers were small and therefore of less import.

In light of the above, it seemed anomalous to find that the question on interest in local politics yielded almost no differences when the newspaper and television groups were compared. One explanation which comes to mind is that each of the questions was asked on a different wave of interviewing, and the time lag may have produced the changes. Alternatively, it may be that what we found accurately reflects a different media use pattern for local as opposed to national political information seeking. Several other variables which might have been expected to be found related to the choice of a primary source of political information also failed to show up as anticipated. Neither

attendance to political issues or advertising on TV nor interest in the "upcoming presidential election," among others, yielded a significant difference between newspaper and television using groups.

One could easily develop a rationale for expecting that the source relied on most for political information might be related meaningfully to a preference for different kinds of television shows that "ought to be aired for the Black community." Our Table 11/4/p24 shows that there were significant differences.

Comparing the newspaper and television citing groups (the other media were of minor importance according to our findings), we see that the persons who were newspaper choosers stated a preference for much more educational programming to be aired on TV than did the television using group. At the same time, the television choosers avowed wanting substantially more Black cultural and dramatic programming. Relatively the same proportions in each group cited a desire for more news/public affairs broadcasting for the Black community in San Francisco.

Although many more analyses need to be added before making conclusive statements about the use of these two major mass media, it is suggested that newspaper-oriented persons might be classifiable as "hard information" seekers, while television users tend towards seeking entertainment, albeit "cultural" in nature. We have only the farthest-out speculative evidence on how this actually applies to the use of television for formulating opinions on political matters, but what we do have fits the mold that has been used to describe the media in general. It is that TV is the "emotional" and newspapers the "rational" political information source.

It was to be expected that the relationship between selection of a most important medium for political information and one's own media behaviors would be more positive. Table 11/4/p26 indicates this to be so as far as newspaper reading was concerned. Those whose choice of an information source was the newspaper had a median of about five days per week when they reported reading a newspaper. The television using group only reported reading a newspaper about two days per week. Among the other groups (those who chose radio or "talking to someone" as their primary means of getting political information) the newspaper reading behavior was only a little above two days per week.

A set of inverse associations was anticipated when we examined the ways the various non-television groups ("Where do you get most of your information about politics?") stated their reliance on TV for general news of the Black community. Table 11/4/p7 offers evidence on this issue. The newspaper-oriented group generally showed a negligible amount of TV-reliance; more than half of them fell into the "none at all" or the "not too much" categories, and only 17 percent expressed a sense of moderate or strong reliance on TV for this type of news.

As expected, however, the group whose choice of media for political information was TV also tended to be heavily reliant on this same medium for news of their own Black community. The only other group to show up with interesting and meaningful results on this question were the persons whose main source of political information was "talking to someone." They stated a distinct lack of reliance on TV for Black community news. All of these findings seem consistent with each other and with the general proposition that, almost regardless of the type of information one studies, our sample seemed prone to using one medium or another but not different media for different types

of information.

This case is made quite neatly in the data presented in Table 11/4/p29 where each medium, in turn, is examined as designated for its use in seeking political information and also as to its use for getting information about the Black community. Every case is in the direction we noted above. Persons using newspapers for the one type of information tend most often to say they use them for the other type of information as well.

Another most interesting aspect of this wrap-up table is the second or third most prominent cite medium. Without fail, the "other" category comes up as the second most loaded and the "talking to friends" comes up a close third. If we recall that many of the "others" were references to acquaintances or professionals (e.g., ministers, shop keepers, neighbors, co-workers), then the importance of the combined interpersonal category is underlined. As we have written previously, this may be due in large part to the paucity of information the mass media offer to the person seeking news of San Francisco's Black community. It may also relate to the findings we have reported about the low trust our sample felt towards the daily newspapers and television in general (and even more negatively, television's news treatment of Blacks).

Whatever the case, we see that most persons in this study cited personal sources (outside their families) as being preferred to mass media sources when seeking information about their own community. Further, the broadcast media fared poorly as compared to the newspapers.

On the premise that the choice of a primary medium for obtaining political information should be related to general news use patterns of the media, we investigated the inputs to Table

11/4/p61. It is most interesting to note that there is no substantial discrepancy between the newspaper and television groups here. The implication may be that the newspaper using group seeks news as intensely on television as in the newspapers. This is reasonable if, for example, it is understood that most of the newspaper readers named the morning Chronicle as their paper, and most of the local news on television is broadcast in the evening or late at night.

Studies of areas where the afternoon newspapers predominate in circulation would probably clarify this dimension of the general question of people's choices of news media.

KQED VIEWING: BIVARIATE ANALYSIS

The public television station in San Francisco has, for some years, been one of the most successful in the country in terms of soliciting membership from the community it serves. In general, most persons probably agree that it has also demonstrated relatively serious concern for the minority ethnic groups within its reach. If pressed on the question of why they have not originated more programming for the Black population in San Francisco and Oakland, they would probably respond that they have at least two other large minorities to recognize and serve. The validity of this and the argument that production budgets are extremely limited remains to be settled.

What we tried to do in the survey in San Francisco in 1976 was to establish some baseline data on what uses our sample member were making of KQED and what they thought of the "Black programming." We also asked what may be the most fruitful type of question in the long run... "What kinds of other TV programs do you think should be aired that would appeal to the Black community here in the Bay Area?" Along with this was the corollary "Could you tell me what some of your reasons might be for not tuning in more often to KQED, Channel 9?"

All of this material is described in the opening sections of this report. At this point, we will restrict ourselves to examining how the single most usable indicator of a person's extent of viewing - reported frequency of watching - relates to the series of variables we have been discussing so far, i.e., our "classificatory" set.

The frequency variable was used in both a series of nonparametric

tests of association with nominal level measurements and in a series of correlational analyses with ordinal and interval level data. The first crosstabulation with statistically significant findings was found with KQED viewing frequency run by level of interest in politics. Table 11/4/p68 shows interest greater among those who report more frequent viewing of this station (Chi Square = 31, d.f. = 16, $p = .01$, Kendall's Tau b = .19, $p < .001$). A straightforward explanation is this: the station's extensive coverage of local politics is probably manifesting itself here.

Contrary to many of the studies on public television audiences, the nonparametric demographic runs indicated that there were no significant differences in viewing frequencies between persons of various ages, of different incomes, social classes, or educational levels. A few more women than men were non-viewers or relatively infrequent viewers.

In general, though, across all descriptive parameters we measured, most of the sample members were either "sometimes" or infrequent tuners-in to KQED. The significance in this non-significant finding is that the corporate and station protestations about public television serving a broad spectrum of people are, in fact, supported as far as the above data are concerned. The remaining problem, of course, is that it is a wide spectrum over a very small base.

Since we were interested in as intense a picture as we could get of the use of this public television station by our sample, we made a long series of crosstabulations using viewing frequency as an independent variable. The set of politically related behaviors and attitudes yielded some interesting findings; for example, one's own designation of personal political orientation was related slightly but significantly to viewing frequency;

that is, as viewing frequency increased, there was proportionately more representation of persons from the "right" end of the political spectrum. It should be emphasized that while these results are statistically significant, the preponderance of the sample members were middle-of-the-road politically and still only "sometimes" viewers of KQED.

Although there was no obtained relationship whatsoever with viewing of a local commercial station's Belva Davis show, there was a strong positive association between KQED viewing frequency and the frequency reported for viewing "Black Perspective on the News." Given the part-whole nature of this relationship, we will not pay it much attention. The same type of association, not surprisingly, was found when examining the "Black Journal" viewing frequency. Of the several commercial station news viewing indicators which we ran against the KQED viewing frequency, only national news viewing frequency was significantly associated in a slight but clearly positive direction.

A number of variables we crossed with KQED viewing frequency were amenable to correlational analysis by the Pearson Correlational subprogram of the SPSS computer package we were using. The "breadth of news viewing" scale which we had constructed from a complex of local and national news, "current events" and interview shows was found to correlate at the level of $r = .14$ ($p = < .001$).

We did not make a direct measure of how or whether our respondents attended to the nightly local news program KQED broadcasts, although this now seems like a good thing to have done. If we had, it is likely that correlations would have been found between general news viewing and the viewing of news and public affairs programming on public television.

Several correlational analyses that we did make support this speculation. First, we found an r of .20 ($p = < .001$) with interest in local politics. (There was also a .19 relationship with interest in politics generally.) The $r = .11$ ($p = < .04$) with frequency of viewing local news adds a little more to the strength of the complex. And the $r = .28$ with involvement with local community government matters suggests that KQED's news "City-centrism" may well be an important reason for our sample viewing the station's programming - at least to the limited extent that they do.

We have commented elsewhere about the anomalous piece to this puzzle; that is, the finding of an $r = -.16$ when KQED viewing frequency is run against reliance on TV for news of the Black community. The thoroughly tentative rationale there was that PTV viewers generally tend (we found $r = .20$, $p = < .001$) to be more educated and thus more likely to report reading as a preferred mode of political news intake. It seems to fit the present case as well. In fact, of the three variables which measured attention to campaign news (retrospective and prospective TV viewing and retrospective reading) only the latter was found to be significantly related to the KQED viewing frequency measurement.

Still another pair of supportive findings come up when we examine knowledge of local and national Black politicians. These are each significantly correlated with KQED viewing; $r = .21$ and $.36$, respectively. The final two relationships to note are reports of attention to political advertising on TV ($r = .19$) and attention to general political issues on TV ($r = .25$); both at the level of $p = < .001$.

The overall thrust of these bivariate relationships involving viewing of public television and the rest of our focal variables

might be summarized this way: It is clear that the politically relevant criterion variables are the ones with which KQED viewing is most closely tied. This was found not only in terms of expressed interest in the political process, but in terms of reported exposure to mass mediated political information and to an ultimate effect level - augmented knowledge of political matters. The positive directions of all these results, by their consistency, outweigh much of the problem caused by the relationships being only moderate in strength.

In the end, it can not, of course, be said that all these increased states were resultant from viewing KQED's programming. Surely, a more comprehensive analysis would yield evidence that there are many interactions inherent in the relationships we have discussed. When one is interested in complex behaviors like these; however, felicitous interactions are perhaps what one seeks before the fact.

Notwithstanding the equivocation that has to accompany any correlational analysis, the data here seem to use to show yet another of the areas wherein television in general could perform for all its audience the kind of positive social/informational function it is demonstrably doing for the few who do choose to concentrate on this one of its potential uses.

APPENDIX TO THE SECTION ON BIVARIATE ANALYSIS

COMPUTER CODES

- | | | |
|-----|----------|--|
| 1. | Identify | Respondent's identification number |
| 2. | AVWKE729 | Average TV viewing per wkday 24 hrs. |
| 3. | NWES1033 | Freq. viewing national news |
| 4. | NWEV1134 | Freq. viewing "60 Minutes" |
| 5. | NWLC1235 | Freq. viewing local news |
| 6. | BVFQ2459 | Freq. viewing Belva Davis |
| 7. | BPFQ2762 | Freq. viewing "Black Perspectives" |
| 8. | BJFQ3065 | Freq. viewing "Black Journal" |
| 9. | AIRP3368 | Programs that should be aired |
| 10. | NBKFV628 | Number of Black favorite shows |
| 11. | KQED3470 | Reason for not viewing KQED. |
| 12. | ESR | Reasons for viewing Black-oriented programs: |
| 13. | ESR35A71 | Just to relax |
| 14. | ESR35B72 | To get a good laugh |
| 15. | ESR35C73 | To get info. about what's happening |
| 16. | ESR35D74 | Because you can relate |
| 17. | ESR35E75 | To see how folks solve real problems |
| 18. | ESR35F76 | Show how things are in real life |
| 19. | ESR35G77 | To see folks that look like self |
| 20. | ESR35H78 | Because others insist on viewing |
| 21. | EST35179 | Just to pass the time |
| 22. | ARAD3721 | Average radio listening per day |
| 23. | NWRD4024 | How many days read newspaper |
| 24. | RYTVB459 | How much rely on TV for info. about Blacks |
| 25. | RYNE4610 | How much rely on NWSP for info. about Blacks |
| 26. | SBIN4711 | Main source of info. about Blacks |
| 27. | PTV | Reasons for viewing polit. cand. on TV |
| 28. | PTV54A18 | To determine how to vote |
| 29. | PTV54B19 | To enable you to have facts |
| 30. | PTV54C20 | Because it is an obligation |

31. PTV54D21 To find out major issues
32. PTV54E22 To find out candidates' viewpoints
33. PTV54F23 To compare candidates
34. PTV54G24 To find out candidates' backgrounds
35. PTV54H25 To observe how they act on TV
36. PTV54I26 To watch individuals
37. PTV54J27 To find out candidates' ideas on Blacks
38. PTV54K28 To see what Black politicians are thinking
39. PNW Reasons for reading NWSP about polit. cand.
40. PNW56A38 To determine how to vote
41. PNW56B39 To enable you to have facts
42. PNW56C40 Because it is an obligation
43. PNW56D41 To find out major issues
44. PNW56E42 To find out candidates' viewpoints
45. PNW56F43 To compare candidates
46. PNW56G44 To find out politicians' background
47. PNW56H45 To read what they say in newspapers
48. PNW56I46 To read about individuals of own party
49. PNW56J47 To find out candidates' ideas on Blacks
50. PNW56K48 To read what Black politicians are thinking
51. BPCA5858 Willie Brown (WB) Consenting Adult Bill
52. BPNI5959 WB Nuclear Initiative
53. BPRO6060 Republican opponent to WB
54. BPSH6161 Speaker of the House?
55. BPSH6262 WB Pre-school health screening bill
56. BPPA6363 Political affiliation of WB
57. BPJB6464 Job as assemblyman WB
58. NBTM7373 Black supreme court justice
59. PLIF7810 Source for polit. info.
60. IPOL8016 Interest in politics
61. NWTR8425 Trust in "Chronicle/Examiner"
62. TTVR8526 Trust in TV
63. TVFN8728 Fairness of TV local news
64. NWFR8829 Fairness of major newspaper

65.	TTVB9334	Trust in TV about Blacks
66.	TTVG9435	Trust in TV in general
67.	BKPG9536	Want to see more Black programs
68.	BLACKID5	Black Identity Scale
69.	BIAH1045	Help each other
70.	BIH10452	Affects me personally
71.	BIK10455	Works hard
72.	NTV10657	Number of TV's
73.	GTG11951	"Good Times" rating
74.	SSD11912	"Sanford and Son" rating
75.	DA120344	Age
76.	DNC12138	Number of children
77.	DJ124512	Occupation
78.	DFIC1253	Family income
79.	DED12654	Head of household education
80.	DSC12755	Social class
81.	DSX12856	Sex of respondent
82.	PLINF514	Media source for info. about Pres. cand.
83.	SCHE518	Regular schedule
84.	FAMVU619	Watch with family or friends
85.	C9KQD720	Watch programs on Channel 9
86.	ILPL1034	Interest in local politics
87.	NWPL1236	Att'n to polit. issues in newspaper
88.	PDV	Statements made about politics
89.	PDV23B47	Most of leaders devoted to service of country
90.	PBC23C48	Black Cong. Caucus working in Blacks' interests
91.	DYVT2449	Duty to vote
92.	PCTV2653	Att'n paid to polit. advertising on TV
93.	PITV2754	Att'n paid to polit. issues on TV
94.	EPSV3563	No. of Blacks on SF Board of Supervisors
95.	IPEL2855	Int. in upcoming Pres. election
96.	NBLC3664	Names of 2 Cong. Black Caucus members
97.	NBSC3765	Name (Shirley Chisholm) who ran for Pres., 1972
98.	NBEB3866	Number of Black Senators

99.	NBTB3967	Name (Bradley) of L.A. mayor
100.	NBJB4068	Political position of Julian Bond
101.	NBKG4169	Name of mayor of Newark
102.	NBMJ4270	Name of mayor of Atlanta
103.	TVIS4371	Att'n to issues about Blacks on TV
104.	POLW4472	Political position
105.	SOAP4714	Viewing of daytime stories
106.	SAFQ4815	Frequency of viewing daytime soaps
107.	SALK5017	Especially like about soaps
108.	SAWS	Reasons for watching soap operas
109.	SAW51A18	Relaxing way to pass time
110.	SAW51B19	I like the actors
111.	SAW51C20	I like the characters in the story
112.	SAW51E21	I like the Black people
113.	SAW51F22	Fun imagining being part of the story
114.	SAW51G23	Shares the emotions of the characters
115.	SAW51H24	Enjoys watching characters misbehave
116.	SAW51I25	Seeing the characters get caught
117.	SPFQ5327	Frequency of viewing sports programing
118.	SPFV5428	Sports like to see best on TV
119.	SPLK5529	Especially like about watching favorite sport
120.	NWLF6654	Freq. of viewing local news
121.	HEAL8310	Description of own health
122.	HMDQ8613	Quality of health care by private doctors
123.	HLCL8815	Quality of health care by clinics
124.	HQEC8916	Quality of emergency treatment
125.	HEQL9017	Racial discrimination in health treatment
126.	RSED9726	State in which raised
127.	TMSF9827	Time spent in San Francisco
128.	RELG9928	Belongs to religious denomination
129.	MAR10232	Marital status

COMPUTED SCALE VARIABLES

1. **BLKPOTL3=** The San Francisco political knowledge scale
 featuring Willie Brown
BLKPOTL3= BPCA5858+ (Consenting Adult)
 BPNI5959+ (Nuclear Initiative)
 BPRO6060+ (Republican)
 BPSH6161+ (Speaker of House)
 BPSH6262+ (Pre-school Health screening)
 BPPA6363+ (Democrat)
 BPSV3563 (Supervisor Francois)
2. **TRUSTTV4=** Trust in television scale
TRUSTTV4= TTVR8526+ (Trust in TV)
 TTVB9334+ (Trust in TV about Blacks)
 TTVG9435+ (Trust in TV in general)
3. **BLACKID5=** Black Identification Scale
BLACKID5+ BIAH1045+ (Help each other)
 BIHI0452+ (Personal affect)
 BIKI0455 (Works hard)
4. **NATBKPL6=** The national Black political knowledge scale
NATBKPL6+ NBLC3664+ (Cong. Black Caucus - 2)
 NBSC3765+ (Pres. Cand. Chisholm)
 NEEB3866+ (Sen. Brooke)
 NETB3967+ (L.A. mayor Bradley)
 NBJB4068+ (GA St. Sen. J. Bond)
 NBKG4169+ (Newark mayor K. Gibson)
 NBMJ4270+ (Atlanta mayor M. Jackson)
 NBTM7373 (Supreme Ct. Justice T. Marshall)

PEARSON CORRELATIONAL COEFFICIENTS
SIGNIFICANT RELATIONSHIPS ONLY

<u>Age by</u>	r	Level of significance
Number of children	-.17	.001
Occupational level	.15	.004
Family income	.10	.05
Education	-.35	.001
Black Identity scale	-.20	.001
Trust in TV	-.20	.001
News viewing breadth	.33	.001
Information about local community	.29	.002
Reliance on TV for news of local comm.	.23	.001
Retrospective campaign viewing	.23	.001
Prospective campaign viewing	.16	.002
Interest in politics	.10	.03
Evaluation of Good Times	.16	.003
Evaluation of Sanford & Son	.16	.002
Interest in local politics	.17	.003
General political alienation	.16	.004
Belief in Black Congressmen	.15	.006
Attention paid to political ads on TV	.13	.01
Att'n paid to political issues on TV	.15	.008
R's political position (high=right.)	.19	.001
Frequency of viewing local TV news	.29	.001
R's health status (high=excellent)	-.23	.001

Number of children by

National Black political knowledge	.14	.01
Information about local community	-.17	.003
Retrospective campaign viewing	-.19	.001
Prospective campaign viewing	-.14	.005
Retrospective campaign reading	-.11	.02
Interest in politics	-.17	.002
Interest in local politics	-.14	.01
Belief in Black Congressmen	-.12	.03
Attention paid to political ads on TV	-.14	.01
Att'n paid to political issues on TV	-.20	.001

Job status by

Retrospective campaign viewing	-.10	.03
Prospective campaign viewing	-.11	.03
R's health status (high=excellent)	.10	.05

	r	Level of significance
<u>Family income by</u>		
Education	.39	.001
Social class	.32	.001
Local Black political knowledge	.28	.001
National Black political knowledge	.28	.001
News viewing breadth	.11	.03
Information about local community	.23	.001
Prospective campaign viewing	.11	.03
Retrospective campaign reading	.23	.001
Interest in politics	.20	.001
Evaluation of Sanford & Son	-.12	.02
Interest in local politics	.19	.001
General political alienation	-.13	.02
Belief in Black Congressmen	-.10	.06
R's health status (high=excellent)	.14	.02

Education of head of household by

Social class	.17	.001
Local Black political knowledge	.30	.001
Black Identity scale	.14	.005
National Black political knowledge	.35	.001
Trust in TV	.17	.001
News viewing breadth	-.11	.003
Reliance on TV for news of local comm.	-.29	.001
Retrospective campaign reading	.11	.02
Interest in politics	.11	.02
Evaluation of Sanford & Son	-.19	.001
Frequency of viewing KQED	.20	.001
General political alienation	-.16	.006
Belief in Black Congressmen	-.18	.002
R's political position (high=right)	-.11	.05
Frequency of viewing local TV news	-.13	.02
R's health status (high=excellent)	.23	.001

Self designation of social class by

Evaluation of Good Times	-.13	.02
Evaluation of Sanford & Son	-.20	.001
R's health status (high=excellent)	.18	.001

Knowledge of local Black politicians by

Black Identity scale	.14	.01
National Black political knowledge	.49	.001
News viewing breadth	.22	.001
Involvement in local community	.28	.001
Retrospective campaign viewing	.18	.002
Prospective campaign viewing	.11	.04
Retrospective campaign reading	.34	.001
Interest in politics	.25	.001
Frequency of viewing KQED	.21	.001
Interest in local politics	.20	.001

Black Identity by

National Black political knowledge	.13	.02
Trust in TV	.09	.05
Retrospective campaign viewing	-.14	.007
Frequency of viewing local TV news	-.12	.03
R's health status (high=excellent)	.12	.03

National Black political knowledge by

Trust in TV	.13	.03
Involvement in local community	.37	.001
Reliance on TV for news of local comm.	-.30	.001
Retrospective campaign reading	.21	.001
Interest in politics	.17	.005
Evaluation of Sanford & Son	-.14	.02
Frequency of viewing KQED	.36	.001
Interest in local politics	.23	.001
Att'n to political candidates on TV	.18	.003
Att'n paid to political issues on TV	.20	.001

Scale of trust in TV by

News viewing breadth	-.23	.001
Involvement in local community	-.23	.001
Reliance on TV for news of local comm.	-.21	.001
Retrospective campaign viewing	-.16	.003
Prospective campaign viewing	-.38	.001
Retrospective campaign reading	-.20	.001
Interest in politics	-.20	.001
Evaluation of Good Times	-.18	.002
Evaluation of Sanford & Son	-.20	.001
Interest in local politics	-.16	.003
Attention paid to political ads on TV	-.18	.002
Att'n paid to political issues on TV	-.16	.006

r

Level of
significanceBreadth of TV news viewing by

Involvement in local community	.28	.001
Reliance on TV for news of local comm.	.22	.001
Retrospective campaign viewing	.29	.001
Prospective campaign viewing	.35	.001
Retrospective campaign reading	.30	.001
Interest in politics	.23	.001
Evaluation of Good Times	.15	.006
Evaluation of Sanford & Son	.17	.001
Frequency of viewing KQED	.14	.001
Interest in local politics	.16	.004
Political alienation	.16	.005
Att'n to political candidates on TV	.25	.001
Att'n paid to political issues on TV	.25	.001
R's political position (high=right)	.14	.01
Frequency of viewing local TV news	.25	.001

Involvement in local community government by

Retrospective campaign viewing	.23	.001
Prospective campaign viewing	.26	.001
Retrospective campaign reading	.27	.001
Interest in politics	.35	.001
Evaluation of Good Times	.15	.001
Evaluation of Sanford & Son	.09	.08
Frequency of viewing KQED	.28	.001
Interest in local politics	.53	.001
Political alienation	.23	.001?
Att'n to political candidates on TV	.44	.001
Att'n paid to political issues on TV	.44	.001
R's political position (high=right)	.15	.01
Frequency of viewing local TV news	.27	.001

Wave 1: Radio listening time for the average day by

Frequency of viewing local TV news	-.13	.01
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Reliance on TV for information about the local Black community by

Retrospective campaign viewing	.19	.001
Prospective campaign viewing	.18	.001
Evaluation of Sanford & Son	.17	.002
Frequency of viewing KQED	-.16	.004
Frequency of viewing local TV news	.12	.03

Retrospective viewing of campaign news on TV by-

Prospective campaign viewing	.45	.001
Retrospective campaign reading	.34	.001
Interest in politics	.36	.001
Evaluation of Good Times	.14	.009
Evaluation of Sanford & Son	.14	.001
Interest in local politics	.24	.001
Political alienation	.10	.05
Att'n to political candidates on TV	.21	.001
Att'n paid to political issues on TV	.21	.001
Frequency of viewing local TV news	.21	.001
R's health status (high=excellent)		

Prospective campaign viewing by

Retrospective campaign reading	.39	.001
Interest in politics	.39	.001
Evaluation of Good Times	.16	.003
Evaluation of Sanford & Son	.16	.003
Interest in local politics	.30	.001
Att'n to political candidates on TV	.29	.001
Att'n paid to political issues on TV	.19	.001
R's political position (high=right)	.15	.009
Frequency of viewing local TV news	.19	.002

Retrospective reading about campaign news by

Interest in politics	.38	.001
Evaluation of Sanford & Son	.11	.003
Frequency of viewing KQED	.26	.001
Interest in local politics	.20	.001
Att'n to political candidates on TV	.25	.001
Att'n paid to political issues on TV	.18	.001

Interest in politics by

Interest in local politics	.33	.001
Att'n to political candidates on TV	.24	.001
Att'n paid to political issues on TV	.30	.001
Frequency of viewing local TV news	.20	.001

r

Level of
significance

Evaluation of Good Times by

Evaluation of Sanford & Son	.50	.001
Att'n to political candidates on TV	.12	.04
Att'n paid to political issues on TV	.13	.02
R's political position (high=right)	.14	.02
Frequency of viewing local TV news	.13	.02

Evaluation of Sanford & Son by

Political alienation	.14	.01
Att'n to political candidates on TV	.14	.02
R's political position (high=right)	.13	.03

Frequency of viewing KQED by

Interest in local politics	.20	.001
Att'n to political candidates on TV	.19	.001
Att'n paid to political issues on TV	.25	.001
Frequency of viewing local TV news	.11	.04
Interest in politics	.19	.001

Interest in local politics by

Att'n to political candidates on TV	.38	.001
Att'n paid to political issues on TV	.43	.001
R's political position (high=right)	.21	.001
Frequency of viewing local TV news	.27	.001
Trust in Black publications	-.15	.006

General alienation from politics by

Att'n to political candidates on TV	.11	.03
R's political position	.10	.05

Belief in Black Congressional caucus by

R's political position (high=right)	.13	.02
R's health status (high=excellent)	-.16	.005

r

Level of
significanceAttention paid to political candidates on TV by

Att'n paid to political issues on TV	.71	.001
R's political position (high=right)	.30	.001
Frequency of viewing local TV news	.15	.001
Trust in Black publications	-.11	.04

Attention paid to political issues on TV by

R's political position (high=right)	.23	.001
Frequency of viewing local TV news	.19	.002
Trust in Black publications	-.12	.03

Political position of Respondent by

R's health status (high=excellent)	-.15	.01
------------------------------------	------	-----

Health status of Respondent by

Trust in Black publications	-.12	.02
-----------------------------	------	-----

HEALTH

The major reason for administering the section of Wave 3 that dealt with health matters was to gather data from which we could establish the conceptual domains within which this Black adult sample relates to the area. The ultimate use to which these and any subsequent health data will be put is to create television programming to match people's needs for information on health and medicine. We therefore made a special effort to try to assess tentatively what kinds of information TV today is providing to the kind of viewers we researched.

We started out knowing little about even the simplest level of utilization questions. For example, we guessed that the medically oriented content that appears frequently on such disparate types of television programs as "Feelin' Good," "Medical Center," and "The Johnny Carson Show" might be getting to the viewers, but not be spontaneously recallable as "health/medical information." At the same time, it seemed appropriate to keep from loading the odds by asking directly about information gain and by making specific reference to the types of shows in which we were interested. This was the reasoning behind the order of the questions on the health/medicine section of the questionnaire.

The data from the open-ended introductory question (#69) show that even if there is medical/health information transmitted on television today (and there is, whether intentional or as a completely incidental background to dramatic fare), it is not recalled as such by any but a small minority of the persons we interviewed. The fact that fully half the sample was unable to name a single TV program which had given them any such information

is surprising. Given the high incidence of viewing reported for several hospital-sited soap operas, for example, we would have expected substantial unaided recall here among other places. Nevertheless, as the data tabulated below indicate, most of the programs or program types we subsequently gave as aids elicited rather low frequency scores.

TABLE II-1

HEALTH INFORMATION BY TV PROGRAM TYPE (AIDED RECALL)

70. HOW ABOUT (1) THE DAYTIME STORIES, HAVE YOU PICKED UP ANY HEALTH OR MEDICAL INFORMATION FROM WATCHING ANY OF THEM?	YES.....22.6%	NO.....77.4%
72. HOW ABOUT (2) NIGHT TIME DRAMAS ABOUT DOCTORS OR HOSPITALS?	YES.....39.4%	NO.....60.6%
74. HOW ABOUT (3) ACTIONS SHOWS LIKE THE ONE ABOUT THE PARAMEDICS?	YES.....28.1%	NO.....71.9%
76. HOW ABOUT (4) NEWS SHOWS ABOUT MEDICAL DISCOVERIES OR CURES?	YES.....37.8%	NO.....68.2%
78. HOW ABOUT (5) INTERVIEW OR TALK SHOWS FEATURING DOCTORS OR SCIENTISTS?	YES.....33.5%	NO.....66.5%
80. HOW ABOUT (6) BIG SPECIALS LIKE THE JERRY LEWIS FUND RAISER FOR MUSCULAR DYSTROPHY OR THE VD BLUES?	YES.....43.5%	NO.....56.5%
82. AND HOW ABOUT (7) ADVERTISEMENTS LIKE THE ONES TELLING ABOUT THE 7 WARNING SIGNS OF CANCER?	YES.....70.5%	NO.....29.5%

Obviously not much health/medical information is getting through to our respondents. What is identifiable can be better recalled as the intent of the information is (objectively, at least)

more recognizably intentional. That is, as the medical context is more incidental to the program, the likelihood is less of its being identified as health information.

The special health promotional shows like the Jerry Lewis special or the widely shown commercial by the American Cancer Society do, in fact, get recalled by large numbers of persons when the aided recall mode of question is presented.

In coding the open-ended responses to the question, "What kind of health/medical information was it (that you got from _____ program)?" we tried to build a meaningful set of codes by listening to the tape recordings of a sample of the interviews. Since this health section was near the end of the interview and the interviewers were not trained in this subject, the large majority of the responses were either non-specific or purely objective descriptions of the obtained information (e.g., "...how the Swine flu vaccinations program is going...").

The only code we finally derived from these protocols on "type of information" was one that classified the response as either personally useful information or general, non-personally useful. Only about 8-10 percent for each program type said that they had received personally useful information from a TV show in that category. (To pass this "effect" off as insignificant is to overlook such cases as the respondent who saw Marcus Welby, M.D. diagnose and treat a malignant lymphoma; the respondent was able to self-diagnose a similar problem, saw an M.D., and was successfully treated via the same therapy mode Welby had used.)

Two points need noting here on the matter of the apparent "penetration" of the health/medical information into the viewing

audience. First, as suggested by the data, viewers may come away from a recognizably medical or health oriented program with what they consider to be information. The challenge is ultimately to get them to the information so that they can at least ingest it. It will be no less a challenge to design programing which will both stimulate viewing per se and simultaneously induce learning of the desired information.

In the end we did not feel that the context of the Wave 3 questionnaire was sufficient to explore all the motivations our people had for seeking health/medically oriented information. This should be, however, one of the highest priority items of any future TV study of the Black community. As an important control variable for analyses of attention to health/medical information, we asked the respondents to classify the state of their own health. Rather than presenting this as a close-ended evaluative scale, we purposely left it up to the respondent here to articulate the appropriate state of health in his/her own terms. The point was, of course, to build a code scheme for later work. Our synthesis of the responses led to the code tabulated below.

EXCELLENT.....	18.6%
GOOD.....	52.3%
FAIR.....	17.8%
NOT WELL.....	10.6%
VERY BAD.....	0.8%

Because the data are handy and timely, we present below the figures derived from a National Institutes of Health nationwide survey in 1975. (Health: United States 1975. DHEW publication HRA 76-1232, p. 243) These self-assessments of health status (for all non-whites) showed:

EXCELLENT.....	36.7%
GOOD.....	44.2%
FAIR.....	14.1%
POOR.....	4.2%

The San Francisco sample figures indicate that over two-thirds of the sample classify themselves as being in good or excellent health, but the national figures are even more highly skewed in a positive direction. If one can assume that the category "fair" is also taken by our respondents to represent a state of health that is not unsatisfactory on balance, then almost 90 percent of our own sample is in an overall "positive" category, and even more than that are positive in their self-assessment on the national level.

In these data from the national sample, we can only guess how the other "non-white" ethnic groups' ratings affected those that the Black sample members gave. We expect that the Blacks' ratings might be even higher than the others in the group, given the economic comparisons that could be made and the expected relationship between these two kinds of variables.

As a final comparison, and to highlight one of the crucial differences towards which this research is directed, the white national sample data are tabulated below.

HEALTH STATUS:

WHITE NATIONAL SAMPLE, 1975 (SELF-DESIGNATION)

EXCELLENT.....	50.4%
GOOD.....	37.6%
FAIR.....	8.8%
POOR.....	2.6%

The obvious point of how the two distributions are arrayed need not even be made. There is inequality.

One additional aspect of this discussion should, however, be noted. We have no way of knowing whether the category labels on what was a set of closed-ended response possibilities were taken to have the same meaning for all the participants in the survey by DHEW. In fact, we suspect that with "getting by" as

a pervasive philosophy (out of necessity) in Black communities and with a "getting ahead" motive much more common among whites than Blacks, the Black people surveyed might well have lower satisfaction levels than their white counterparts. We intend to look more deeply into this on later research.

Following the request for a self-assessment of health status, we asked our San Francisco sample a series of questions tapping their attitudes about the adequacy of the health care delivery systems in the city. Ideally, these would include a set of corollary questions about the system. We feel the presumption could be made that first hand recent experience with, say, a clinic or a general hospital would tend to affect attitudes towards the system. Such variables as the type of need served by a respondent's use of medical/health facilities and the success of the service provided would probably bear heavily on what he/she thought of the system. We did not, however, feel that such comprehensive and intimate questions as would be required to get into this area had a place on the present research instruments. Thus, the desirable control variables which should be an integral part of this health/information/attitude structure equation are missing here.

Certain inferences can, nevertheless, be made even from what we have. The question asked first had to do with availability of health care services in San Francisco.

84. WE HAVE A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT HEALTH CARE IN SAN FRANCISCO. INCIDENTALLY, WE'RE INTERESTED IN HEARING ABOUT YOUR FEELINGS TOWARD ALL KINDS OF HEALTH AND MEDICAL CARE...PRIVATE DOCTORS OR PARAMEDICS, OR CLINICS OR HOSPITALS, OR WHATEVER. FIRST OF ALL, DO YOU THINK YOU HAVE AVAILABLE TO YOU ALL THE HEALTH SERVICES YOU NEED HERE IN THE CITY?

YES.....81.7% NO.....18.3%

More than four out of five persons said they felt the necessary services were in fact available to them in the city. A large new expanded San Francisco General Hospital, located in an area adjacent to where our interviewing took place, had not opened at the time of our research, but the publicity attendant to its imminent opening may have affected these results somewhat.

On a question that should have found results closely related to the above, we asked about personal difficulties experienced in getting medical or health services. The real purpose here was to lead into a probe about the dimensions of whatever problems our respondents had encountered. The large majority asserted that they had had no problems whatsoever.

85. WITHIN THE LAST COUPLE OF YEARS, HAVE YOU PERSONALLY HAD ANY DIFFICULTY GETTING NECESSARY MEDICAL OR HEALTH SERVICES IN SAN FRANCISCO?

YES.....12.3% NO.....87.7%

It is apparent that when asked general questions about the health care situation available to and used by our central city respondents, there is a pervasive level of satisfaction. The series of questions which followed these general ones was designed to pose the same sort of inquiry, but to reference it to specific types of facilities and to specific types of personal health care needs.

We first asked whether private doctors in the community were doing an adequate job on routine care.

86. IN TERMS OF ROUTINE CARE, CHECK-UPS AND SO FORTH, HOW GOOD A JOB ARE THE PRIVATE DOCTORS HERE IN THE COMMUNITY DOING, AS FAR AS YOU KNOW?

VERY GOOD.....10.9% NOT VERY GOOD,
PRETTY GOOD.....51.6% PRETTY BAD....8.6%
ALL RIGHT.....27.6% VERY BAD.....1.4%

Some 90 percent stated that they felt the private doctors were doing at least a satisfactory job with routine care matters.

While there were relatively few who fell into the "very good job" category, the fact that six out of ten respondents said either "pretty good" or better, indicates how positive these responses were.

When we switched the focus from private doctors to the clinics and hospitals, however, ratings go down appreciably.

88. HOW ABOUT THE CLINICS AND HOSPITALS... HOW DO THEY DO AS FAR AS ROUTINE CARE, IN CONCERNED?

VERY GOOD.....	10.1%	NOT VERY GOOD,	
PRETTY GOOD.....	39.5%	PRETTY BAD....	13.2%
ALL RIGHT.....	35.1%	VERY BAD.....	2.2%

Close to the same numbers as above rate the clinics and hospitals as generally positive (i.e., "all right," or better), but the level of satisfaction is definitely trending down.

The diminishing rating trend is even more evident when we examine the data on emergency care facilities.

89. WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT THE EMERGENCY TREATMENT OR CARE FOR REALLY SERIOUS MEDICAL PROBLEMS HERE IN THE COMMUNITY?

VERY GOOD.....	10.2%	NOT VERY GOOD,	
PRETTY GOOD.....	30.7%	PRETTY BAD....	20.0%
ALL RIGHT.....	34.4%	VERY BAD.....	4.7%

Now about one quarter of the sample finds the services unsatisfactory

We do not have specific figures on San Francisco emergency care center utilization by minorities. The national reports by DHEW, however, indicate that inordinately higher numbers of Blacks use these kinds of medical care facilities than is true for the general population. (HRA pub., op. cit., p. 293) Twice the number of non-whites used emergency rooms in 1975 as did whites. These same data include a figure that places special meaning on the results we report in the section above dealing with clinic

care. Non-whites nationally had an incidence more than three times the reported figure for whites of visiting hospital outpatient clinics (16.4% vs. 5.6%). It is also interesting and telling that of all the visits to doctors during 1975, only 11.3% were by non-whites. This is, of course, substantially lower than the proportion of this group within the general population figure.

The final segment in this series of attitudinal statements about health care focused on what we expected to be the one most fruitful question. This, of course, is the matter of whether treatment and facilities available are equally good regardless of the race of the user. Staff persons in the Health Resources Administration have expressed high priority concern over the basic problem of whether all peoples have (or perceive that they have) adequate access to whatever health care delivery systems they may need or want. The focus of needs assessment task force groups during the mid 1970's has been said to be shifting away from that of questioning and measuring the "quality of care" and towards examining the obstacles to individuals' access to extant system components.

In a purely objective sense, the access situation in San Francisco's "Western Addition" where we conducted this 1976 research is physically/geographically good as far as the Black community is concerned. Except for the fact that during the first wave of our 1976 interviewing, the municipal transport system in San Francisco was inoperative because of a strike, the normal transportation service in our interviewing area is good and inexpensive. Overall, there seems little reason to have expected that any unusual temporal issues would be manifest in our "equal treatment" question. The results are thus more difficult to explain than simple.

90. HERE'S THE LAST QUESTION ON HEALTH CARE. ASIDE FROM WHAT YOU'VE ALREADY SAID, TELL ME WHETHER YOU THINK THAT BLACK PEOPLE IN SAN FRANCISCO GET AS GOOD MEDICAL TREATMENT WHEN THEY NEED IT AS OTHERS DO?

YES.....56.3% NO.....43.7%

While the majority of our Black adult respondents felt that the health care services available to them were as good as those anyone else could get in San Francisco, the split was only a bit over 50-50. Rather than discuss the several possible explanations our data might provide for this finding, we will defer the question until the section dealing with concomitants of various measures of social alienation we made.

As the final point in the tentative mosaic we constructed in the health area, we asked about whether our respondents had had a "check-up" during the past year.

87. HAVE YOU GOTTEN A CHECK-UP WITHIN THE LAST YEAR?

YES.....90.3% NO.....9.7%

At first glance, the finding that nine out of ten persons had had a check-up during the time period prescribed is surprising and most positive. On reflection, however, we are disposed to take these results as artifacts of a poorly conceived question. The concern is simply that without any definition by us of what was meant by the phrase "check-up," the respondents may have inferred the question to be asking about any visit to a medical practitioner. Thus we may be counting a large number of treatment-specific doctor (or non-M.D.) visits as contrasted to what we wanted to count, i.e., complete, routine diagnostic appointments (in other words, preventive care).

In fact, the DHEW figures from their 1975 national survey point up the problem in our question. While they do not report data on "general" check-ups, they do have listed several of the most

common types of examinations typically administered in preventive care situations. (The two year time frame of the DHEW data add still more doubt to what we found in San Francisco.)

SEE ATTACHED TABLE CD.I.44

If, out of the tests listed here, the two female cancer screenings are the most common among adults, the national figures are still well below what we found. Perhaps the bottom line in establishing the significance of the finding on medical consultation "within the past year" is this: Even if the focus of many of these examinations may have been specifically related to traumas or acute medical problems, almost all of our respondents were apparently examined by some medical person fairly recently. All other things disregarded for the moment, the potential problem of convincing people to seek medical assistance when they have a problem is not seemingly of overwhelming importance in our sample. On the other hand, the degree to which our sample members let their health problems develop before seeking aid is something that we neither measured nor can expect to find so fortuitous when we do try to measure it later on.

Table CD.1.44
Percent of population with preventive care examination within the past two years by selected demographic characteristics: United States, 1973

Demographic characteristic	Type of examination						
	Routine physical, under 17 years	Eye examination, 3 years and over	Chest x-ray, 17 years and over	Pap smear, females 17 years and over	Breast examination, females 17 years and over	Electrocardiogram, 40 years and over	Glaucoma test, 40 years and over
All persons ^{1/} -----	62.4	56.6	43.8	57.6	59.5	33.0	33.3
AGE							
3-16 years -----	57.7	71.3	...	...	...	...	...
17-24 years -----	...	55.9	39.1	58.1	59.9	...	...
25-44 years -----	...	46.2	44.7	74.7	73.7	...	...
45-64 years -----	...	54.5	47.2	52.0	54.8	32.7	34.8
65 years and over -----	...	48.4	41.5	30.1	36.9	37.3	34.0
SEX							
Male -----	64.6	56.3	44.5	...	...	36.3	31.1
Female -----	60.2	56.9	43.2	57.6	59.5	30.2	35.2
COLOR							
White -----	62.7	57.0	42.4	57.8	59.8	33.1	34.0
All other -----	61.1	53.8	54.8	56.0	57.4	31.4	27.2
GEOGRAPHIC REGION							
Northeast -----	72.6	62.0	42.2	52.7	57.5	34.2	35.2
North Central -----	62.3	57.1	43.5	57.9	58.0	31.1	31.5
South -----	56.4	52.6	44.6	57.7	59.7	32.4	31.8
West -----	60.5	55.7	45.3	63.9	64.5	35.3	36.2
RESIDENCE							
Metropolitan -----	66.7	58.0	46.4	59.4	62.0	35.4	35.8
Nonmetropolitan -----	53.3	53.2	38.0	53.4	53.8	27.7	28.1
FAMILY INCOME							
Under \$5,000 -----	55.4	50.2	42.4	42.9	46.6	31.9	27.6
\$5,000-\$9,999 -----	59.0	53.8	42.4	58.1	59.3	31.1	30.9
\$10,000-\$14,999 -----	63.7	58.0	43.5	64.9	65.6	31.0	33.6
\$15,000 and over -----	69.0	63.0	47.6	66.2	68.7	37.9	42.0

^{1/} Includes unknown income.

SOURCE: National Center for Health Statistics. Unpublished data from the Health Interview Survey.

Table CD.III.1
 Assessment of health status as reported in health interviews for persons ages
 17-44 years, according to selected demographic characteristics: United States
 1973

Demographic characteristic	Health status, ages 17-44 years				
	Total ^{1/}	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor
TOTAL ^{2/}	100.0	52.2	38.8	7.1	1.4
Percent distribution					
SEX					
Male-----	100.0	57.1	35.4	5.8	1.2
Female-----	100.0	47.6	41.9	8.3	1.7
COLOR					
White-----	100.0	54.2	37.8	6.2	1.2
All other-----	100.0	38.0	45.2	13.4	2.9
REGION					
Northeast-----	100.0	53.4	39.3	5.6	1.1
North Central-----	100.0	54.0	38.0	6.3	1.1
South-----	100.0	47.6	40.7	9.1	2.0
West-----	100.0	55.8	35.7	6.7	1.4
RESIDENCE					
Metropolitan-----	100.0	53.4	38.0	6.8	1.3
Nonmetropolitan-----	100.0	49.2	40.7	7.9	1.8
FAMILY INCOME					
Under \$5,000-----	100.0	40.3	42.3	13.0	3.8
\$5,000-\$9,999-----	100.0	47.6	42.1	8.5	1.5
\$10,000-\$14,999-----	100.0	54.2	38.5	5.8	1.0
\$15,000 and over-----	100.0	61.5	33.7	3.8	0.6

^{1/} Includes unknown health status.

^{2/} Includes unknown income.

SOURCE: National Center for Health Statistics: unpublished data from the Health Interview Survey.



Table CD.III.2
 Assessment of health status as reported in health interviews for persons ages
 45-64 years, according to selected demographic characteristics: United States,
 1973

Demographic characteristic	Health status, ages 45-64 years				
	Total	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor
TOTAL ¹	100.0	35.2	42.0	16.2	6.0
Percent distribution					
SEX					
Male-----	100.0	38.1	40.2	14.8	6.4
Female-----	100.0	32.5	43.7	17.5	5.7
COLOR					
White-----	100.0	36.4	42.3	15.2	5.6
All other-----	100.0	24.2	38.8	26.0	9.9
REGION					
Northeast-----	100.0	35.3	46.2	13.9	4.0
North Central-----	100.0	35.6	44.0	15.2	4.8
South-----	100.0	31.6	39.0	20.1	8.7
West-----	100.0	40.9	38.1	14.3	6.1
RESIDENCE					
Metropolitan-----	100.0	37.3	42.4	14.6	5.2
Nonmetropolitan-----	100.0	30.5	41.1	19.8	8.0
FAMILY INCOME					
Under \$5,000-----	100.0	18.4	35.3	28.1	17.7
\$5,000-\$9,999-----	100.0	29.0	43.7	20.3	6.2
\$10,000-\$14,999-----	100.0	36.8	44.8	14.1	3.9
\$15,000 and over-----	100.0	47.3	41.8	8.7	1.8

1/ Includes unknown income.

SOURCE: National Center for Health Statistics: unpublished data from the Health Interview Survey.

RADIO

Throughout this study we have evinced a broad interest in all the media behaviors that our respondents reported. If one is interested in the part that media play in the totality of information-seeking by the individual, it is appropriate to consider in the ultimate equation some reference to the amount of attention paid to the various sources of various kinds of information. Communication researchers have discussed for some time the important interpretive differences that are built into the simple descriptive statistics typically used in analyzing print and broadcast media. One critical point is that people can and do pay attention to the broadcast media at the same time as they are attending to other tasks or pastimes. In fact, some of these other tasks may themselves be informationally oriented: e.g., reading a magazine or the evening paper while listening to the radio or even while "watching" television.

The matter of what relationships there might be between amount of "exposure" to a medium and amount of information gained is one of the most elusive areas in media research. While we could not presume to address it directly in the present research, we intend to do so in the future. For the meantime, the retrospective reporting of amount of time spent with each medium "on the average day" will have to suffice in our trials at building the picture of media uses and gratifications. Despite the obvious unknowns which bear on a fully meaningful analysis of these data, especially when radio, the "background medium," is concerned, the two time-separated response patterns to the radio time-use questions appear below:

WAVE 1

37. HOW MANY HOURS WOULD YOU SAY YOU SPEND ON THE AVERAGE WEEKDAY AND EVENINGS LISTENING TO THE RADIO?

0 - :29.....	10.3%	4:30 - 5:29.....	11.3%
:30 - 1:29.....	10.7%	5:30 - 6:29.....	11.0%
1:30 - 2:29.....	11.6%	6:30 - 7:29.....	3.4%
2:30 - 3:29.....	11.9%	7:30 +.....	17.2%

MEDIAN = 3.56 hr.

WAVE 2

14. ON THE AVERAGE, HOW MANY HOURS A DAY DO YOU LISTEN TO RADIO?

0 - :29.....	5.6%	4:30 - 5:29.....	8.0%
:30 - 1:29.....	12.5%	5:30 - 6:29.....	6.8%
1:30 - 2:29.....	17.9%	6:30 - 7:29.....	2.0%
2:30 - 3:29.....	12.9%	7:30 +.....	19.0%
3:30 - 4:29.....	15.6%		

MEDIAN + 3.34 hr.

The first point of interest here is that with the onset of the summer, median viewing time decreased by 20 minutes or so. Even so, we have reports here of close to four hours per day spent listening to the radio.

Later analyses will deal with who among our respondents is listening how much. At this point, however, the large listening range and the great variation are worth noting. In fact, on each of the occasions when the question was asked, the modal response was the highest category possible: i.e., more persons reported 7:30 hours + of radio listening than reported any other amount of time.

The types of programing that appealed to our respondents were coded by the scheme indicated below.

15. WHAT KINDS OF RADIO PROGRAMS DO YOU MAINLY LISTEN TO?

MUSIC PROGRAMS.....	64.9%
PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAMS.....	7.7%
EDUCATIONAL (INSTRUCTIONAL).....	0.8%
DRAMA PROGRAMS.....	0.0%
SPORTS PROGRAMS.....	3.2%
TALK SHOWS.....	11.7%
OTHER.....	11.7%

Music programing predominated by quite a margin. Of the one third who did not designate music as their primary response to the question, "talk shows" and several other types evidenced some (limited) appeal. The "radio feedback" section to be appended to this report offers some suggestions as to how the race of the talk show hosts plays a part in the listening behavior of the audience.

A corollary question to the program type preferences asked about the stations most often attended. The results of our identifying the reported station as "soul" or "other" were:

PREFERRED "SOUL" STATION.....	64.8%
PREFERRED ANOTHER STATION.....	35.2%

When the reasons for stating the attended radio stations were examined for explicit race definition, we found that few persons spontaneously mentioned race as a reason for liking their radio stations.

MENTIONED RACE AS A REASON.....	14.6%
RACE NOT MENTIONED AS A REASON FOR LIKING STATION.....	85.2%

On the surface it is not easy to reconcile this finding with the preceding ones. Looking at the individual remarks, however, indicated that the responses were almost all of content types (music, news, etc.). In the context of the preceding question, it seems that race and the music played on the "soul" stations in this area were simply inferred to be parts of the same general response category; that is, a noting of a "music" station is a race-related reason for listening to the radio when the station is a KSOL or KDIA (i.e., a "soul station").

As a projective adjunct question to the one about program type preferences, we also presented the role-playing "If you could be in charge of a radio station..." question. The results were

quite different from what the listening preferences would have predicted.

21. IF YOU COULD BE IN CHARGE OF A RADIO STATION, WHAT KINDS OF PROGRAMS WOULD YOU PUT ON THE AIR?

MUSIC PROGRAMS.....	26.6%
PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAMS.....	11.7%
EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS.....	18.1%
DRAMA PROGRAMS.....	1.2%
SPORTS PROGRAMS.....	1.6%
TALK PROGRAMS.....	12.5%
OTHER.....	28.2%

ORIENTATION OF PROGRAMS TO BE AIRED:

EXPLICITLY MENTIONS SHOWS RELATED TO BLACKS.....	23.3%
DOES NOT EXPLICITLY MENTION SHOWS RELATED TO BLACKS.....	76.7%

Music programming in this hypothetical situation is cut more than half. Barely more than one quarter mentioned this as their first choice of format. Educational and public affairs programming were mentioned first by about 30 percent of the sample. The rest of the projected program preferences were more or less consistent with the preceding question on types.

As was the case previously, the racial orientation of the responses here was coded after the fact. There is only a little increase in the Black-relatedness evidenced here. It may again be that in some cases respondents were implying Black programming, e.g., when nominating the two more informational of the code categories, i.e., educational and public affairs programming.

The times when people attend to radio are traditionally tied to other, often more important, time-budget requirements. "Drive time," for example, is this medium's equivalent to television's "prime time" in terms of magnitude of audience. Asking our respondents when they listened to their radios then seems to be asking only a fraction of what one would need to interpret fully

the set of findings below.

18. WHAT TIME OF DAY DO YOU LISTEN TO RADIO?

MORNING.....	25.2%
AFTERNOON.....	5.0%
NIGHT.....	18.9%
MORNING AND AFTERNOON.....	4.2%
AFTERNOON AND NIGHT.....	5.0%
MORNING, AFTERNOON, AND NIGHT.....	21.8%
MORNING AND NIGHT.....	19.7%

Notwithstanding our too microscopic focus on this time-used variable, it does seem clear that afternoons are low on the usage spectrum. Morning seems a bit higher than any other time of day.

Overall, radio use was fairly close to television in as far as the raw amounts of reported exposure during the "average day." Together, the broadcast media far outdistance the other mass media in this time-use sense. Especially given the unparalleled near monopoly that radio presently has on Black culture programming, it is incumbent on us to include a much more comprehensive investigation of it in the next research project.

As a service to the National Public Radio unit of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, we included a single question about the respondents' knowledge of local public radio stations. About two thirds (64.8%) stated that they did not know of a public station in their area. The question remains how many of these simply did not realize that stations of which they did know were, in fact, part of NPR.

As a final radio question, we inquired about the choice the respondents might make between tuning in one or the other of the broadcast media at a given time.

19. DO YOU EVER CHOOSE TO LISTEN TO RADIO INSTEAD OF WATCHING TELEVISION?

YES.....	79.8%	NO.....	20.2%
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Four out of five respondents reported that they had chosen radio over television at some time. The reasons for this substitution behavior were so diverse as to defy meaningful coding. (Some 40 percent did refer to "programing" as a reason).

The overriding conclusion about radio's use by this sample of Black San Franciscans is that it is perhaps perceived as of more latent than it is manifest utility. It competes well with television as far as gross attendance numbers are concerned. Perhaps this is because a significant segment of what radio is relates directly to the Black experience - on a day to day basis as well as on an abstract, contemporary cultural basis. An alternative or complementary explanation for all of these results would point to the ubiquitousness of radio in the society we sampled. It may be used for no other reason than that it is there... and Black.

To the extent that the widest present use of radio derives from the music that it provides, we can see the legitimacy of designating this medium as high on the cultural communication function. Adding this to the projective data that stressed people's desires to have more "high information" content (education and public affairs), we can suggest that radio is, by no means, the unimportant medium of communication that others might conclude it is.

MAGAZINE READING

Data on newspaper reading and television viewing both indicate that our sample has an intense desire to have more and better Black community-related information and entertainment. The number of Black magazines available was thought to be a major source of this type of material. Like newspapers, this medium has the great built-in advantage (over broadcast media) of being fitted into the user's life-space as he/she sees fit. Magazine reading is a leisure time activity that the reader can control completely, once the cost of acquisition has been managed. The wide spectrum of subject areas which Black magazines deal with was expected to be another strong reason for this medium being especially important to people like those we researched. There is available no other source of extensive feature coverage of Black sports persons or politicians or entertainment persons, etc.

In order to assess how magazines were used by our sample, we presented two lists of publications, one consisted of Black periodicals and others were of general circulation. Beyond being able to compare overall the extent of exposure we included, for those magazines respondents reported reading, a question about the degree of trust he/she felt towards it.

44. DO YOU READ ANY ARTICLES OR STORIES IN THE FOLLOWING MAGAZINES?

	<u>YES</u>	<u>NO</u>	<u>QUITE A BIT</u>	<u>A LITTLE</u>	<u>NONE AT ALL</u>
A. JIVE.....	18.2%	81.8%	29.3%	56.9%	13.8%
B. BLACK STARS.....	34.9%	65.1%	32.7%	53.1%	14.2%
C. TAN.....	18.5%	81.5%	31.7%	51.7%	16.7%
D. EBONY.....	79.9%	20.1%	63.4%	29.6%	7.0%
E. ENCORE.....	20.8%	79.2%	48.5%	47.0%	4.5%
F. ESSENCE.....	48.6%	51.4%	49.4%	42.3%	8.3%

	<u>YES</u>	<u>NO</u>	<u>QUITE A BIT</u>	<u>A LITTLE</u>	<u>NONE AT ALL</u>
G. BLACK SCHOLAR.....	25.5%	74.5%	46.2%	46.2%	7.5%
H. BLACK WORLD.....	22.0%	78.0%	46.5%	40.8%	12.7%
I. JET.....	81.7%	18.3%	55.0%	34.7%	10.3%
J. SEPIA.....	19.1%	80.9%	32.8%	57.4%	9.8%
K. FREEDOMWAYS.....	8.5%	91.5%	44.4%	44.4%	11.1%
L. MUHAMMAD SPEAKS (BILALIAN NEWS).....	44.6%	55.4%	40.0%	46.2%	13.8%
M. THE SUN REPORTER....	66.2%	33.7%	58.5%	29.2%	12.3%
N. OTHER (SPECIFY).....	19.1%	80.9%	---	---	---

As anticipated, the sample's readership was highest on the general news and feature magazines in the Black group. Four-fifths of the respondents said they read Jet and Ebony. At the other end of the spectrum, the scholarly journals and the pulps were read by one fifth or less. Excluding the scholarly magazines, trust scores parallel readership at the two extremes of distribution.

In general, we found a relatively high degree of reading of these magazines, as illustrated by the table above. Even more impressive was the uniformly high level of trust expressed in the publications read. Even the less prestigious and least read on the list are held to be at least minimally trustworthy.

READING FREQUENCY: BLACK MAGAZINES

<u>NUMBER OF MAGAZINES READ</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE READ</u>
NONE.....	9.9%
ONE.....	8.0%
TWO.....	10.6%
THREE.....	13.7%
FOUR.....	12.5%
FIVE.....	13.7%
SIX.....	6.8%
SEVEN OR MORE.....	16.7%

READING OF DAILY METROPOLITAN NEWSPAPERS

While the primary focus of the 1976 research project in San Francisco was television usage, the rationale was clear for examining use of the other mass media at the same time. Most previous work has concentrated on the daily newspaper, the other media assuming positions of apparently lesser importance to the researchers. This descending order of significance may, in fact, be perfectly reasonable when one is dealing with general population samples. In the present research, we started out with strong intuitive and moderate empirical reason to think that the order would not hold in this sample of Black adults. As we have noted elsewhere, for example, radio was, in a time/attendance sense, more important than television to this group. There is also some evidence (Greenberg, 1970; Lyle, 1969; Nobles, ed., 1973) in both the communication research and the ethnological literature that oral communication is a much stronger force in contemporary Black America than the written forms.

The background of the newspaper situation in the area where this research was conducted breaks down briefly to this: there are two daily newspapers available in the city, the morning Chronicle and the afternoon Examiner. The former has traditionally been recognized as a locally-oriented "sensationalistic" paper; the latter is the original Hearst newspaper property and has, until very recently, maintained a conservative approach to journalism. We have no figures specifically applicable to the circulation of these two dailies within the San Francisco Black community. Since our interests lie in gauging the dimensions of utility of the various media on the individual level, however, the gross exposure data are relatively unimportant here.

In order to get at the usage area, we presented our respondents a series of seven questions dealing with the daily newspapers they read. A leading one in the initial wave of personal interviewing had to do with frequency of exposure, an important control variable. We found that a bit less than half the sample reported that they did read a newspaper daily.

38. DO YOU READ A NEWSPAPER EVERYDAY?

YES.....48.0% NO.....51.1%

Shortly afterwards came what was intended to be a variant of the same question: Now fewer than one third reported reading a newspaper every day.

40. ABOUT HOW MANY DAYS A WEEK DO YOU READ A NEWSPAPER?

ONE.....	15.5%	FIVE.....	5.7%
TWO.....	11.4%	SIX.....	5.1%
THREE.....	14.9%	SEVEN.....	29.7%
FOUR.....	6.6%		

Reconciling these disparate results is difficult. The likelihood, though, is that the general question, "Do you read a newspaper everyday," was taken more loosely by the respondents; that is, they perceived that their "intentions" towards reading newspapers every day were the object of the inquiry. If this is acceptable, the large group of persons who, when later asked for specifics reported less than daily reading, were apparently just exhibiting a strong social desirability vis a vis newspaper reading per se on the initial question. This is especially interesting in light of the widely held belief that reading is held in relatively low regard in the American Black community today.

The largest number in any category of respondents did, after all, report that they read a newspaper every day, but the median of the distribution above falls at between three and four days reading per week. The amount of time spent reading, regardless

of the number of days came out to a median of about 28 minutes per day.

41. ABOUT HOW MUCH TIME DO YOU USUALLY SPEND READING YOUR NEWSPAPER ON AN AVERAGE DAY?

LESS THAN 10 MIN.....	9.2%	30-44 MIN.....	15.2%
10-19 MIN.....	15.2%	45 MIN. OR MORE.....	40.6%
20-29 MIN.....	19.8%		

The results of the question on daily readership preference show that most of the persons in the sample were Chronicle readers (that is, of the 89.9% who read newspapers at all).

39. WHICH NEWSPAPER IS IT?

CHRONICLE.....	52.6%	EXAMINER.....	39.2%
SUN REPORTER.....	3.1%		

Getting more to the point of this research and its basic thrust, the question of types of news sought in the newspaper showed the results tabulated below.

42. WHAT KINDS OF NEWS DO YOU ESPECIALLY TRY TO READ IN THE NEWSPAPER?

INTERNATIONAL NEWS (AFRICA, ASIA, MIDEAST, ETC.)..	11.0%
NATIONAL (U.S.).....	12.7%
STATE, BAY AREA, OR CITY.....	9.2%
NEIGHBORHOOD-SPECIFIC (OR "NEWS OF BLACK COMMUNITY).....	5.5%
GENERAL, NON-SPECIFIC RESPONSE.....	61.0%

This first coding of the open-ended response here was not successful; most of the responses were not classifiable. Of those which were, international, national, and state news were all at about the same level. News specifically geared to the neighborhood or to the Black community showed up in very few respondents' answers. (It may be that this latter point is simply a reaction to the paucity of such localized news available in any of the daily newspapers in San Francisco.)

The locations from which news originates are obviously not independent of the types of news that are likely to occur there

(e.g., political news coming from Washington, D.C.). With this confounding element in mind, we still tried to classify the news types sought by our respondents along content lines.

POLITICAL, GOV'T, DIPLOMATIC NEWS.....	10.6%
ECONOMIC, LABOR NEWS.....	2.8%
CRIME, DISASTER NEWS.....	2.5%
NONHARD NEWS SECTION (e.g., SPORTS, FOOD, WOMEN'S).....	20.8%
HEAVY NONHARD NEWS (e.g., SOCIAL SERVICE SYS- TEMS NEWS: HOUSING, HEALTH CARE, ETC.).....	2.1%
ADVERTISING OF ANY KIND.....	5.3%
GENERAL, NON-SPECIFIC RESPONSE.....	55.8%

Of those content types which could be meaningfully classified, feature sections were the most frequently read.

For some unfathomable reason, the probe question on types of news sought in newspapers showed a significant increase in the selection of state, local, or regional news types.

43. IS THERE ANY OTHER KIND OF INFORMATION THAT YOU ESPECIALLY TRY TO GET FROM THE NEWSPAPER WHEN YOU READ IT?

INTERNATIONAL NEWS (AFRICA, ASIA, MIDEAST, ETC.).....	6.8%
NATIONAL (U.S.).....	7.8%
STATE, BAY AREA, OR CITY.....	21.4%
NEIGHBORHOOD-SPECIFIC (OR "NEWS OF BLACK COMMUNITY").....	5.7%
GENERAL, NON-SPECIFIC RESPONSE.....	58.3%

CONTENT GENRE CHOICE

POLITICAL, GOV'T, DIPLOMATIC NEWS.....	5.8%
ECONOMIC, LABOR NEWS.....	2.1%
CRIME, DISASTER NEWS.....	3.2%
NONHARD NEWS SECTION (e.g., SPORTS, FOOD, WOMEN'S).....	26.3%
HEAVY, NONHARD NEWS (e.g., SOCIAL SERVICE SYSTEMS NEWS; HEALTH CARE, ETC.).....	4.2%
ADVERTISING OF ANY KIND.....	24.7%
GENERAL, NON-SPECIFIC RESPONSE.....	33.7%

The only noteworthy change in the results for the content types on this probe was that advertising rose by almost a factor of five; one-quarter of the respondents now mentioned that they

sought out advertisements in the newspapers. There was also a slight increase in citing the feature sections in this probe question.

Although we have reported the data below in another section of this paper, they have relevance here too, and are worth repeating in this context.

46. WE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW HOW MUCH YOU RELY ON NEWSPAPERS AS YOUR SOURCE OF INFORMATION ABOUT BLACKS AND THE BLACK COMMUNITY. WOULD YOU SAY YOU RELY...

VERY MUCH.....	10.1%	NOT TOO MUCH.....	30.9%
PRETTY MUCH.....	11.0%	NOT AT ALL.....	17.4%
SOMEWHAT.....	30.6%		

Few of our sample expressed much reliance on the newspaper for news of their own community. We would expect to find that many of these were not even referring to the daily metropolitan newspapers but to the Sun Reporter, San Francisco's Black weekly. Given the disproportionately low coverage that the Black community gets in the two large dailies, it is not surprising to find that they rely relatively little on these sources for news of their neighborhoods.

In sum, the sample we researched in San Francisco read for only a relatively short time (less than half an hour) on those days (averaging every other day) when they did read a daily newspaper. They were largely unspecific about the types of content they sought in their newspapers, but showed a slight tendency, on balance, to be interested in news that originated in California. Despite this rather low level of reported actual use of the newspaper, there is an indication that the sample perceived enough value in regular newspaper reading to abstract about their own behavior when asked the most general question "Do you read a newspaper every day?" We interpret this to mean that they feel that they would like to and, in fact, "should" read a newspaper daily, but do not manage to do so. Future analysis

of these data will address the questions of how sub-groups of our sample, by age, political orientation, etc., specifically reacted to these questions about newspaper usage.

ALIENATION FROM WHITE NEWSPAPERS

There are several general reasons one could posit for the sample's low usage patterns for daily newspapers. Beyond those which relate to the content per se not being relevant to the Black adults we interviewed, there is the distinct possibility that these people's reading behaviors are symptomatic of their general aversiveness towards many of the institutions of white society. The direct answers to this question lie in the bivariate relationships which are examined elsewhere in this report. Preliminary to looking at those, however, it is appropriate to see how our respondents felt about the white-dominated media in general. Along these lines, we have derived (from Schumann and Hachett, University of Michigan Survey Research Center) a scale of "trust in majority media." The four items pertaining to newspapers appear below. (The seven TV items are analysed elsewhere.)

84. DO YOU FEEL THAT YOU CAN TRUST QUITE A BIT OF WHAT YOU READ IN THE CHRONICLE AND EXAMINER OR CAN YOU TRUST A LITTLE BIT OR NONE OF IT AT ALL?

✓ QUITE A BIT.....	11.8%	NONE AT ALL.....	12.1%
A LITTLE BIT.....	76.0%		

The direct question of trust in the two large dailies indicated that the overwhelming proportion expressed minimal faith. About one-eighth of the respondents reported "a lot of trust" in the content of newspapers, but an equal number avowed "no trust at all."

On another dimension, we inquired about opinions of the adequacy of these newspapers' coverage of news of the Black community. The time-relatedness of this question was intentional; we wanted more than an absolute judgment of coverage, but rather

a comparison of "now" with "the past."

88. WHAT ABOUT THE MAJOR SAN FRANCISCO NEWSPAPERS? DO YOU THINK THERE HAS BEEN AS MUCH PROGRESS AS THEY SAY IN COVERING BLACKS AND NEWS OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY, OR DO YOU THINK THERE HASN'T BEEN ANY PROGRESS IN THE NEWSPAPERS?

MUCH PROGRESS.....32.5% DON'T KNOW.....18.8%
NOT MUCH PROGRESS...68.7%

The results are very similar to the above. About two out of three persons said that they felt there had "not been much progress," and most of the rest did not express an opinion. Only one eighth viewed the situation as having "progressed alot."

The third question in the series on attitudes towards metropolitan newspapers was, inadvertently, a duplicate of the first one. The fact that it came as the 91st in a complicated series which had taken some 60 minutes by that time probably sufficed to mask the oversight as far as the respondents were concerned. There were only minor differences between the two sets of results.

91. DO YOU FEEL THAT YOU CAN TRUST QUITE A BIT OF THAT YOU READ IN THE CHRONICLE AND THE EXAMINER OR CAN YOU JUST TRUST A LITTLE OF IT OR NONE OF IT AT ALL?

QUITE A BIT.....10.5% NONE AT ALL.....10.5%
A LITTLE OF IT.....79.0%

Having dealt with attitudes about the extent of coverage of Black affairs and trust in general news published by the two dailies, we tried next to zero in on our respondents' trust in news of their own Black community as presented in the Chronicle and Examiner.

92. WHAT ABOUT THE NEWS YOU READ IN THESE PAPERS ABOUT THE BLACK COMMUNITY. HOW MUCH OF IT CAN YOU TRUST?

QUITE A BIT.....13.4% NONE AT ALL.....12.4%
A LITTLE OF IT.....74.2%

Not surprisingly, the results were similar to what we found in the other questions of this set. About three-quarters of the

sample stated they trusted "a little bit" of what these large newspapers print about the Black community; the remaining quarter were split evenly into the two extreme categories. In general, this sample's feelings about the two metropolitan daily newspapers is one of minimal trust of what they perceive to be minimal coverage of their community. The overall evaluation is that these newspapers cannot be trusted as far as general news is concerned either.

The only conditional element which we feel ought to be noted here about the very low marks that these newspapers received is this: while television, both news and entertainment included, is fairly homogeneous in its content and format in most cities across the country, newspapers are much less so. We must therefore exert some caution before inferring from these data that metropolitan newspapers in general are likely to be held in such low regard by Blacks elsewhere than in our sample area.

BLACK NEWSPAPERS

There are two generally available Black newspapers in San Francisco. The Sun Reporter is locally published weekly by a nationally esteemed Black leader, Dr. Carlton Goodlett. Its circulation in the area where this research was conducted is estimated at slightly less than 10,000. Some two-thirds of our sample reported being readers. The Bilalian News is published weekly in Chicago by the Nation of Islam. Circulation figures on this newspaper are not available, but 45 percent of our sample said they read the publication. It should be borne in mind that the localized nature of the Sun Reporter's news and features and the non-local nature of The Bilalian News might be reflected in very distinct usage patterns and appeals. While the data arrayed below do not distinguish just which publications the respondent intended to be describing, we are proceeding on the basis that the bulk of the respondents had the Sun Reporter in mind when answering.

22. AS YOU MAY REMEMBER, IN OUR EARLIER SURVEY WE ASKED ABOUT YOUR REASONS FOR WATCHING BLACK-ORIENTED PROGRAMS. NOW WE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW YOUR REASONS FOR READING BLACK-ORIENTED NEWSPAPERS. WE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW WHETHER EACH OF THESE STATEMENTS APPLY TO YOU A LOT, A LITTLE, OR NOT AT ALL.

	A LOT	A LITTLE	NOT AT ALL
A. JUST TO RELAX.....	10.5%	31.6%	57.9%
B. TO GET A GOOD LAUGH.....	4.9%	23.7%	71.4%
C. TO GET INFORMATION ABOUT WHAT'S HAPPENING.....	72.9%	19.5%	8.3%
D. BECAUSE YOU CAN RELATE TO THE WRITERS OF THE ARTICLES.....	27.4%	43.2%	29.3%
E. TO READ HOW SOME PEOPLE SOLVE THEIR EVERYDAY PROBLEMS.....	27.1%	34.2%	38.7%
F. BECAUSE THEY SHOW HOW THINGS ARE IN REAL LIFE.....	40.6%	36.5%	22.9%
G. JUST TO READ ABOUT FOLKS THAT LOOK LIKE YOU.....	15.8%	20.3%	63.9%
H. BECAUSE SOMEONE ELSE IN THE FAMILY INSISTS ON READING THEM.....	2.3%	8.3%	89.5%
J. JUST TO PASS THE TIME.....	4.9%	19.4%	75.7%

Five of the nine items have been answered such as to indicate that our sample does not use Black newspapers for what might be termed "passive" information-intake reasons. These items, A, B, G, H, and J were all rejected by most respondents. The accepted four items seem to share an active, information-seeking component.

As was the case with the data bearing on use of Black news and public affairs television, the clear direction in this sample is towards positively seeking locally oriented, Black-relevant information. The paucity of this type of information in the daily newspapers of the city probably shifts the burden for fulfilling this desire even more heavily onto the Black newspapers than would otherwise be the case. The same information load shifting is, no doubt, applicable to the TV situation as well. In the end, the balance of the responsibility for providing the print portion of local Black news seems to be squarely on the one mass information medium left, i.e., the Sun Reporter.

SPORTS VIEWING

Pre-test data gathered in 1975 in Richmond, California had indicated that sports programming on television was very popular among the Black adults questioned then. The racial composition of the professional and amateur teams in most sports might be enough, when considered in the light of our data on Blacks in politics and on television, to suggest that this sample would watch a lot of sports on TV. With this and other speculations in mind, the second personal interview in our series contained a section on sports viewing and motivations for such viewing.

The first question determined that some nine/tenths of the sample reported that they did watch sports on television.

52. DO YOU EVER WATCH SPORTS SHOWS ON TV?

YES.....88.1% NO.....11.9%

Even the broadness of the time frame in this filter question probably did not overcharacterize the extent of sports viewing; some 43.5 percent of the viewers chose the "every week" category when asked about the frequency of their sports watching; this was the highest category available on the scale we presented to them.

53. HOW OFTEN DO YOU WATCH SPORTS PROGRAMING?

EVERY WEEK.....43.5%
ALMOST EVERY WEEK.....22.6%
ONCE IN A WHILE.....26.2%
ALMOST NEVER.....7.7%

Collapsing the two most frequent responses, we can see that about two-thirds of the viewing sample here watch some sports programming or another at least almost every week. Given the fact that the interviewing on this wave was conducted during the late spring (most of it preceded the start of broadcasting of the 1976 Olympics) when the sports offerings on San Francisco television are very sparse, the results are even more impressive.

It would seem plausible that a seasonality factor might also have

influenced the results of the question on "favorite sports" somewhat.

54. SPORTS YOU LIKE TO SEE BEST ON TV

ALL SPORTS OR NO SPECIAL ONE.....	2.1%
BASEBALL.....	25.2%
BASKETBALL.....	29.3%
BOXING.....	5.8%
FOOTBALL.....	27.3%
TRACK AND FIELD.....	2.9%
HOCKEY.....	0.0%
ANY OTHER SPORT.....	7.4%

Basketball, baseball, and football each accounted for about one quarter of the sports viewing sample's preferences.

On another coding, constructed out of the "reason for liking your favorite sport" question, we found very little mention of the race of the participants playing a part in the selection.

55. WHAT DO YOU LIKE ABOUT WATCHING YOUR FAVORITE SPORT?

"I JUST LIKE IT" OR OTHER NON-SPECIFIC RESPONSE.....	28.4%
A RESPONSE THAT MENTIONS RACE.....	5.1%
A RESPONSE THAT MENTIONS ACTION.....	31.8%
A RESPONSE THAT MENTIONS RACE AND ACTION.....	2.5%
RESPONDENT PLAYED THIS SPORT HIMSELF/HERSELF.....	17.8%
OTHER.....	14.4%

Of those reasons which were meaningfully codifiable the predominant one, by far, was the action orientation. Six times as many persons designated this reason for liking their favorite as said that race was the primary consideration. A surprising number also made reference to their having played their favorite viewing sport themselves in the past, thus maintaining an interest in it through watching it on television. Race was noted by only one third the number that mentioned this personal experience rationale for viewing.

So that the order of sports viewing preference would be explicit to the respondent, we asked a second, separate, question about favorite sports for viewing on television. Here the predominance of basketball and football come out even more clearly. We are, of course, treating

the two preference tables as a set of independent pair choices in that no one person named the same sport twice.

56. WHAT IS THE NEXT BEST SPORT YOU LIKE TO SEE ON TELEVISION?

ALL SPORTS OR NO SPECIAL ONE	5.6%
BASEBALL	11.6%
BASKETBALL	28.0%
BOXING	8.2%
FOOTBALL	22.4%
TRACK AND FIELD	7.8%
HOCKEY	0.9%
ANY OTHER SPORT	15.5%

The corollary question here on motivation for viewing found reasons similar to those discussed above. Action, rapid pace, and movement are what seems to be bringing the great majority of sports viewers in our sample to the set for watching their favorite sports.

The major reason for including the question on sports disliked for television watching was to get at the race issue and the action motive from different directions. The expectation was that this would provide a less social-desirability-sensitive opportunity for the respondent to demonstrate the appeal of watching Black athletes on TV. Parallel to the interest that communication researchers have had recently in the effects of violent content on viewers' attitudes and behaviors, we felt that this question would also be an appropriate way to elicit whatever aversive reactions there might be to the more action-oriented (i.e. violent) sports on TV.

58. ANY SPORT YOU DISLIKE WATCHING ON TV?

ALL SPORTS OR NO SPECIAL ONE	20.9%
BASEBALL	13.4%
BASKETBALL	1.5%
BOXING	3.0%
FOOTBALL	7.0%
TRACK AND FIELD	1.0%
HOCKEY	16.9%
ANY OTHER SPORT	36.3%

A number of persons mentioned that hockey, which is both exclusive of Black athletes and also violence filled, as being the disliked sport; the reasoning was more loaded on the excessive violence category than on the not-enough-Blacks-playing category. The numbers of persons in

the tables below were not large enough to separate them into those who disliked one sport or another because it was too fast and violent and those who disliked a sport (predominantly baseball) because it lacked sufficient action.

59. COULD YOU TELL ME WHAT IT IS YOU DISLIKE ABOUT WATCHING (THE SPORT NAMED IN THE ABOVE QUESTION)?

"I JUST DISLIKE IT" OR OTHER NON-SPECIFIC RESPONSE.....	16.6%
A RESPONSE THAT MENTIONS RACE.....	6.4%
A RESPONSE THAT MENTIONS ACTION.....	43.9%
A RESPONSE THAT MENTIONS RACE AND ACTION.....	0.6%
OTHER.....	32.5%

On balance, the overriding reason this sample stated for watching or avoiding their favorite televised sports programming centered about the action inherent in the game. Explicit seeking out of programming that featured Black athletes did not appear to be very common as a primary reason; it cannot be discounted as integral to the viewing equation, nevertheless. The taped interviews revealed substantial secondary references to this issue.

The Summer 1976 Olympic Games were more heralded for the political/diplomatic than the athletic contests. Although we could not anticipate it when designing the questionnaire for our Wave 3 interviews, the race issue was destined to be a very important part of what happened in Montreal. We refer, of course, to the withdrawal from participation of almost all African national teams; this occurred less than a week before the games commenced, and during the latter phases of our final interviewing. The analysis of the data tabulated below is a bit more complicated than it would be if we had not been working with these unforeseeable events.

60. AS YOU MAY KNOW, THE OLYMPIC GAMES ARE BEING HELD IN MONTREAL, CANADA, THIS SUMMER, AND THEY'LL BE ON TV FOR ABOUT 2 FULL WEEKS. WE'D LIKE TO KNOW WHICH OF THESE SPORTS YOU THINK YOU WILL TRY TO TUNE IN.....

	<u>YES</u>	<u>NO</u>
(PLAN TO WATCH)	97.1%	2.9%
TRACK AND FIELD.....	85.0%.....	15.0%
WEIGHT LIFTING.....	49.8%.....	50.2%
GYMNASTICS.....	80.1%.....	19.9%
WRESTLING.....	48.1%.....	51.9%
SWIMMING.....	77.3%.....	22.7%
BASKETBALL.....	84.6%.....	15.4%

Out of the 97 percent of the sample who said they would (or had) watched some part of the Games, almost 7/8th said they would view the track and field competition. There could then hardly have been more viewing of this one segment where the absence of the many world-class Africans was most obvious. Knowing that many American track competitors were Black and thinking that this would attract our Black viewers does not, however, jibe with the anti-nationalistic expressions the sample made in the "Black identity" section of the questionnaire. The same sort of anomalous evidence appears in the findings on the swimming competition; only one of the hundreds of athletes was Black, yet the sample was very high in its watching of this sport.

It is rather simple to impute to the Romanian and Soviet women the high score obtained on the gymnastics viewing. We would have to infer that the specific characteristics of weight-lifting, especially its slow action, were behind the low scores there. Overall the materials discussed to this point indicate again, as was the finding on the assessment of TV sports favorites, that the race of the competitors is either not very important to these Black viewers or that they may have been reluctant to admit that it was. We think the former is more accurate.

A series of questions that dealt with viewing of the Winter Olympics yielded about what was anticipated, but we cannot now state that this meant what we originally expected it would mean. The exclusively

white domain of these winter events was not viewed very much by our sample for other reasons than the racial composition of the participants. Perhaps there is a connection between this finding and a strong reason noted earlier for watching one's favorite sports TV event; that is, familiarity with a sport being related to liking it. Certainly few Black Americans are active snow sports enthusiasts.

61. HERE'S ONE QUESTION ABOUT THE WINTER OLYMPICS THAT WERE ON IN FEBRUARY. HOW OFTEN DID YOU WATCH THE SKIING AND HOCKEY AND SO FORTH FOR THE 10 DAYS IT WAS ON CHANNEL 7?

EVERYDAY.....	7.8%
MOST DAYS.....	14.9%
A FEW DAYS.....	31.0%
HARDLY ANY.....	17.5%
NONE AT ALL.....	28.7%

Near the end of the sports series, we tried a final point of addressing the violence/action labelling problem as it relates to televised sports. This amounted to asking about preferences toward contact or non-contact sports and then a reason for the stated preference, if any.

62. IN GENERAL, WOULD YOU SAY YOU PREFER TO WATCH THE SPORTS WHERE THERE IS A LOT OF PHYSICAL CONTACT... LIKE FOOTBALL OR BASKETBALL OR DO YOU PREFER THE NON-CONTACT SPORTS LIKE GOLF, TENNIS OR TRACK?

CONTACT SPORTS.....	38.2%
NON-CONTACT SPORTS.....	13.4%
MAKES NO DIFFERENCE.....	48.5%

63. WHAT IS THE REASON FOR PREFERRING (ANSWER IN #62)?

A GENERAL, NON-SPECIFIC REASON.....	28.9%
A RESPONSE CITING ACTION, PHYSICALNESS, AGGRESSIVENESS, OR VIOLENCE.....	39.0%
ABSENCE OF ACTION, PHYSICALNESS, AGGRESSIVENESS, OR VIOLENCE.....	8.2%
OTHER.....	23.9%

About half the sample avowed having no preference between the two, but of those who did select one, contact sports predominated by a three-to-one margin. Most people's reasoning here was in the direction of being attracted by action or being averse to the slowness and lack of action they perceived in some sports.

The abstract level of questioning about our respondents' reasons for

watching sports on television came last in the series. This ordering was purposive; we wanted them to be able to reflect here on what they had said about the many specific sports we had mentioned. If this indeed worked, we have a summing up of general reasons for sports viewing.

64. HERE IS THE LAST SPORTS QUESTION. WHAT FOLLOWS ARE GENERAL REASONS PEOPLE HAVE GIVEN FOR WATCHING SPORTS ON TV. WE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW WHETHER EACH OF THESE STATEMENTS APPLIES TO YOU A LOT, A LITTLE, OR NOT AT ALL.

	A LOT	A LITTLE	NOT AT ALL
I WATCH THESE SHOWS BECAUSE			
a. THE COMPETITION IS EXCITING.....	72.8%	18.5%	8.7%
b. I WANT TO SEE BLACK ATHLETES DOING WELL.....	83.0%	6.8%	10.2%
c. I LIKE THE TEAM THAT REPRESENTS MY HOMETOWN.....	54.0%	20.4%	25.7%
d. I FOLLOW THE PLAY OF A FAVORITE STAR.....	54.3%	21.1%	24.5%
e. I TRY TO PREDICT HOW A GAME WILL END UP.....	52.8%	23.8%	23.4%
f. I WANT TO SEE IF THE UNDERDOG CAN WIN.....	49.6%	27.1%	23.3%
g. I WANT TO WATCH SKILLED PEOPLE AT WORK.....	74.5%	14.4%	11.0%
h. SPORTS ARE JUST LIKE LIFE, WINNING IS WHAT REALLY COUNTS.....	39.0%	22.3%	38.6%
i. I WANT TO SEE THE SUSPENSE OF A GAME.....	62.6%	23.0%	14.3%

The first observation obvious among these results is that all the statements were accepted by a majority of the sample, even though the degree of acceptance, of course, varied substantially.

The four most widely embraced reasons (a., b., g., and i.) both support and contradict our other output discussed earlier in reference to specific sports. It is to have been expected that excitement, suspense, and even the pure demonstration of athletic skill, per se, would have appealed as basic motives for this audience's watching sports on TV. But now, for the first time, there is a very strong statement that the race of the athlete is important to these viewers. We reject the slight possibility that the addition here of the concept "doing well" was what the respondents keyed on and that this question thus differed

from previous (open-ended) counts of reasons for viewing. In fact, it may be that the closed-ended nature of this form of the question produced our results; one rationale would be that now the social desirability component is unavoidable whereas on the open-ended questions it was not.

The second grouping, according to degree of acceptance of the statements (c., d., e., and f.), suggests that allegiances to teams or individual team members are relatively less important than the action or race issues. So too are the passive prediction role (e.) and the underdog effect (f.). A tentative explanation for this latter result is this: televised sports teams generally include such numbers of Black members - on both winning and losing sides - that the race-underdog empathy is effectively dissipated. That is, even the leading team can be perceived as a (successful) underdog.

The final closed-ended reason we presented to the respondents was rejected as a viable statement by about four out of ten persons.

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