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A phenomenological study of WFMY-TV's "Good Morning Show" and its relationship to the Greensboro, North Carolina, community, 1957-1987

Kinard, Lee William, Jr., Ed.D.

The University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 1988

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A PHENOMENOLOGICAL STUDY OF WEMY-TV'S "GOOD MORNING SHOW"
AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO THE GREENSBORO,
NORTH CAROLINA, COMMUNITY, 1957-1987

by

Lee William Kinard, Jr.

A Dissertation Submitted to
the Faculty of the Graduate School at
The University of North Carolina at Greensboro
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education

Greensboro
1988

Approved by


Dissertation Adviser

APPROVAL PAGE

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KINARD, LEE WILLIAM, JR., Ed.D. A Phenomenological Study of WFMY-TV's "Good Morning Show" and Its Relationship to the Greensboro, North Carolina, Community, 1957-1987. (1988) Directed by Dr. R. F. Mengert. 245 pp.

The purpose of this study is to describe the historical development of a local television program over a 30-year period, 1957-1987, and how the program interrelated with the community in which it was set. Additional material relates to (a) the program's meaning as it relates to its original creator-producer-host, (b) its relationship with events surrounding the desegregation of the Greensboro Public Schools, and (c) the introduction of females as co-hosts of the program.

The historical relationship of the program to the community and to its host producer was developed by using the autobiographical method as a way of inquiring into the nature of a man and his creative activity. The validity of the autobiographical method is supported by an accepted statistical analysis of the program, which demographically describes the program's viewership and its competitive relationship to other morning television programs.

The study indicates the possibilities for phenomenological studies of media people and TV programs as a scientific way of determining the value of local television as a consciousness-raising instrument, and of learning how decisions are made to select material for broadcasting as it relates to the cultural and educational background of the "gatekeeper."

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This study has made me realize just how fortunate I have been to have known a special group of educators who have challenged and inspired me to pursue a near desperate need to know as much about myself and the world as is humanly possible. This work owes its genesis to Dr. Fritz Mengert, whose confidence and guidance have opened more worlds than I will ever be able to study in one lifetime.

I thank Dr. Dale Brubaker for introducing me to "portraits," Dr. David Purpel for raising my consciousness to consider questions of justice and morality, and Dr. Elliott Pood for being my friend, confidant, and technical advisor.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my mother, Grace Winecoff Kinard, and to my wife, Anne Milton Kinard. They have given far more of their life to me than I really deserve, and I could have done nothing without their inspiration, support, and love.

There were some things I liked, of course there were:
I walked out in the morning with the air
All sweet and clean and promiseful and heard
A mourning dove---. . . No! I couldn't care.
You've got to understand how it was hard.

--Fred Chappell

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CHAPTER I

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF LEE KINARD

In 1957, commercial television was growing, but struggling to gain the acceptance that newspapers enjoyed as a news medium. In this environment, the odds against a fledgling, locally produced, early morning television show surviving were indeed long. Thirty years later, television is recognized as the primary source for news and information by the American public. And, "The Good Morning Show" is the preeminent locally televised early morning program in the country. (Bennett, 1988)

In 1988, "The Good Morning Show" is a two-hour local television program televised by WFMY-TV in Greensboro, North Carolina, Monday through Friday from 6 to 8 A.M. (hereafter referred to as GMS). On December 16, 1987, when the program celebrated its 30th anniversary, it was reaching approximately 93,000 adults daily in the Greensboro, High Point, Winston-Salem TV market (Bennett, 1988). Historically, the program premiered at the end of what is called "the live decade, or the golden era of television, 1948-1957, 'the only time in the history of the medium that program priorities superseded all others'" (Head & Sterling, 1987, p. 91).

In the 1950's, the extension of network television into hitherto unprogrammed early morning and late evening hours was considered extremely radical. "Morning television was available here and there . . . but watching it was a taboo . . . like sex and alcohol, television was deemed proper only after sundown." (Head & Sterling, 1987, p. 91)

As television continued to develop in the 50's and 60's, local stations paid scant attention to the early morning hours, preferring to follow the networks by concentrating on producing early and late evening newscasts. To finance this increased emphasis on local news, as much as 15% of an outlet's gross revenues might be budgeted to produce the evening news programs (Head & Sterling, 1987, p. 259). In contrast to this attention on the evening hours, most stations took a decidedly different approach to filling the 6 a.m. time period.

The programming strategies for 6 to 9 a.m. are very simple. The program director for the station commanding first place in local ratings will probably ignore the day part and stay with what the network provides. . . . The most expensive and risky gamble is to challenge the network's talk and news with a full blown local news/talk program, recommended only if the market is rich with talent, visitors and money to justify the expense. So far (1985), no local station has been successful in the 6 to 8 a.m. time period. (Eastman, 1985, p. 171)

Contrary to this misinformation, in 1982 when the GMS celebrated its 25th anniversary, the program was reaching 80,000 adults daily in 451,000 Greensboro, High Point, Winston-Salem TV market homes (Bennett, 1988). In 1987 when the GMS celebrated its 30th anniversary, WFMY-TV General Manager Michael J. Conly observed:

Throughout the country, people point out with pride the various reasons why they feel their community is special. But here in the Piedmont, we seem to have so many more reasons why this is one of the finest places in the country in which to live. Fortunately for us, many of those reasons are quite unique. The "Good Morning Show" and Lee Kinard fall into that category. For over 30 years, Lee and the "Good Morning Show" crew have sought to serve the best interests of the viewing

public through the Piedmont, providing up to the minute weather, news, information, consistently professional and all with a local touch. Simply, if one wants to know what's going on in the Piedmont, if one wishes to see a mirrored reflection of life in the Piedmont, the best place to turn is "The Good Morning Show." (Kinard, 1987)

Forty years after the "explosive growth" of commercial television began in the United States in 1948, and 30 years after the premiere of the GMS, the image of local television is as varied as the communities in which it originates (Head & Sterling, 1987, p. 84). Furthermore, as far as program priorities are concerned, local television production, the product the local station offers the public, has been generally confined almost exclusively to news programs.

Simple economics makes it infeasible for local broadcasters to produce entertainment programs that compare to syndicated or network shows. Nor are advertisers usually willing to support locally produced programs, which traditionally attract small audiences. (Head & Sterling, 1987, p. 259)

In the case of the GMS, the modern (1988) format combines the contemporary presentation of local TV news, weather, and sports with the spontaneity of a TV talk show. The appearance of local guests and personalities is enriched by the presentation of a continuing series of videotaped local, national, and international features.

As the creator-producer-host of the GMS, I will begin this phenomenological study of the GMS by describing the architecture of my personal life prior to the program's premiere in 1957. This journey back along my stream of

consciousness will map a scientifically introspective route as I seek to describe and chart, as specifically as possible, the inner realm of my mind. I will look intently at the structure and form of my thoughts in childhood and adolescence, and describe the recoverable "object domains" in their sensory, mental, and spiritual modes as a manner of demonstrating a relationship of "lived experience, expression and understanding" (Wilbur, 1983, pp. 38, 81).

Lee Kinard can't sit still. He admits he has no understanding of what leisure time is. "People waste a lot of time in this world figuring out how to do their jobs," he says. "I'm not inclined to do that" . . . then, there is the pressure of being a public person . . . "the public owns you and has a right to you," Kinard, the television personality says. (Roberts, 1987)

During these recent reflective years of my life (1982-88) when the forthcoming descriptions were beginning to arrange themselves in a definable texture, certain critical thinkers initiated a skeptical dialectic questioning the state of culture and literacy in America. Hirsh (1987) concerned himself with the need for "cultural literacy, a network of information that reinforces communication":

The complex undertakings of modern life depend on the cooperation of many people with different specialties in different places. When communications fail, so do the undertakings. (That is the story of the Tower of Babel.) The function of national literacy is to foster effective nationwide communications. (p. 2)

For Bloom (1987), culture is thematically unifying and morally restorative:

Culture is the unity of man's brutish nature and all the arts and sciences he acquired in his movement from the state of nature to evil society. Culture restores the lost wholeness of first man on a higher level, where his faculties can be fully developed without contradiction between the desires of nature and the moral imperatives of his social life. (p. 185)

Lorenz pleaded for the retention of "humaneness, for the inheritance and variability in culture," and its relationship to the rapid development of our technologically oriented culture. He noted the increasing distancing between succeeding generations and the escalating disregard for tradition (1987, pp. 46-70). For Peck (1987), "the salvation of the world lies in and through community" (p. 17).

Culture is at the root of this report and a sense of community intentionally represents what is most productive about my life. Local television is the device I use to inform my audience about my intentions. Like me it is a product of the technocratic society of the 20th century, but also like me, it owes much of its theory to the 19th century (Head & Sterling, 1987, p. 75). If there is a humaneness in the productivity I have created and disseminated as a human being and a socially oriented broadcaster, it is because the scaffolding of my cultural heritage was shaped and molded from a 19th-century blueprint. If there is any validity to the products of my professional and educational apprenticeship, it is because those who have mentored me have been people for all seasons.

In the major divisions of this report, I will (a) present my descriptive autobiography, (b) organize and interpret the settings, symbols and concepts relevant to the production of local television, (c) describe the phenomenology of a local TV program, and (d) show how local television can be committed to a sense of community and cultural literacy as a consciousness-raising instrument.

In my own case, I will show that cultural transformation is possible as an educational synthesis of experience, reflection, and interpretation. Specifically, this study emphasizes that apprenticeship, mentorship, communication, and public education can not only raise a human being's perception of himself but transform the positive values of his cultural heritage from fear and prejudice to respect and love. Inevitably, I seek to show how the development of a new consciousness--of a new mind--is transformationally possible and that hermeneutical interpretation can reorient the architecture of the mind by substantiating the attitude that, since "we are fully and completely of this world and not just in the world . . . we are charged with the full responsibility for it" (Lorenz, 1987, p. 237).

Before I begin retracing, reflecting, and interpreting certain events of my life, I need to describe the radical method exercised to chart this return voyage along my stream of consciousness. Beyond the controversy surrounding

phenomenology as a dimension of logic is the fact of its recognition "as a major style of philosophical inquiry" (Ihde, 1977, p. 16). I am committed to retrieving from Ihde's "essential obscurity," theories of evidence that will provide the texture for "a genuine science of experience" (Ihde, 1977, p. 21).

As the energetic experiencer of a lifetime of experiences, I intend to analyze the continuum of introspective and extrospective phenomena forming a structure identified as "intentionality," and to show how "it correlates all things experienced with the mode of experience to which the experience is referred" (Ihde, 1977, p. 23). Beginning with my birth (1931) and cognitive remembrance (1934), I will retrieve what I consider to be the major themes, thoughts, personalities and directions of my lifetime until the present (March 1988). Inevitably and intentionally, I submit this experimental report as a way of supporting "a style of philosophy that does not leave things the way they are, but seeks to make discoveries of its own" (Ihde, 1977, p. 26).

In The Seasons of a Man's Life, Levinson (1978) organized the male life cycle in a series of four developmental periods, occurring sequentially, and lasting about 25 years each (p. 18).

1. Childhood and early adolescence . . . 0 - 22
2. Early adulthood 17 - 45
3. Middle adulthood. 40 - 65
4. Late adulthood. 60 -

While Levinson's study provides this organizational structure for interpreting my life, its primary focus on the late teens to the early 40's directs me to Erikson (1985) and Black (1981) for the definition and descriptions necessary to reconstruct my portrait from birth to 17. As Lightfoot (1983) pointed out, "portraits capture essence, spirit, tempo, movement, history and family" (p. 5). Since she selected to paint her portraits from the "inside out," I will pursue an identical modeling strategy, interpreting and reflecting on the foundational phenomena impacting on my development as a child and as an adolescent broadcasting personality.

In the time it takes this autobiography to evolve, a chorus of human influencers and a thematically framed series of chronological events and actions will have intersected my passage through time and space. In the process of recovering and interpreting intuition, sensation, and experience, I will show how these intellectual and historical phenomena emerge to form a pattern of human development that altered "the world in me and me in the world" (Levinson, 1978, p. 46). Additionally, this examination will provide an epistemological contribution to educational research by demonstrating how certain intellectual, educational, and social phenomena created an intentionality of curiosity, success, and survival.

In the various scenes and shades of its experiential texture, this study brackets a definition of myself in

successive eras and environments. Its portraits include the essential historical profiles of the personalities who contributed thoughts and actions to my development and descriptions of the actions and events that altered the direction of certain intentions. As is the case with life, these autobiographical vignettes often overlap in the explication of themes and subjects. Ideally, these "mergers" will enrich the fabric of this report as a phenomenally intentional study of "meanings." In this examination I will show how, as a child, I organized the observations and interpretations of an energetic curiosity into an individual curriculum that became publicly acceptable as a broadcast career (Levinson, 1978, p. 33).

Initially, the important questions are these: (a) Did some event occur in what I know as the first moment of remembrance that predestined the remainder of my life? (b) What are the significant events in my childhood that tended to shape me into a producer and presenter of radio and television programs? (c) What situations arise when one attempts to pursue success within the moral and ethical framework of a private and public life? (d) What meanings can we derive from bracketing these phenomena?

By questioning cultural experiences and intentions, I will examine my anthropological acculturation as a white Southern Anglo-Saxon Protestant child in the traditional sense to determine if my maturity reflects a renaissance

quality. If I have been transformed, what set of meanings is responsible for the foundational reorganization of my attitude about my place in the world and my interpersonal relationships? If, in certain ways, I have retrieved and reformed the models, perceptions, and traditions that appear to structure my world, what have my decisions meant in terms of my television program and its relationship to a large community of viewers? Chronologically, this inquiry encompasses parts of six decades beginning with my birth in November, 1931, and concluding with the writing of this report in March, 1988.

Recovering My Heritage: Genealogy

I was born November 5, 1931, in Concord, Cabarrus County, North Carolina, in rooms rented by my parents in a private home. I was the first of four children born to Lee William Kinard and Grace Henrietta Winecoff Kinard. My father managed the F. W. Woolworth store in Concord where my future mother worked as a bookkeeper. She was 24½ when I was born. I was the first grandchild for my maternal grandparents, Henry Mathias and Martha Henrietta Hill Winecoff of 276 South Union Street in Concord. My grandfather was directly descended from a Michael Winecoff, who is thought to be the first person bearing the name Winecoff to emigrate to America from Germany in 1743 and one of the original property owners in Concord (Winecoff, 1933).

My maternal grandmother was the daughter of Confederate veteran James Robert Lawson Hill and descended from Scots-Irish stock. This association links my maternal descent with two of the largest groups of foreign settlers to migrate from Pennsylvania to North Carolina, the Germans and the Scots-Irish. Through this historical relationship my mother qualified for membership in both the Daughters of the American Revolution and the United Daughters of the Confederacy (1941).

I know far less about my paternal grandparents. My paternal grandfather died before I was born and I saw my paternal grandmother in Charleston, South Carolina, on perhaps no more than a dozen occasions between 1931 and 1941. Grandmother Kinard was a schoolteacher, and grandfather a traveling auctioneer specializing in livestock sales. I have two younger sisters and a younger brother: Martha Jane born in 1937, Judy Ann in 1943, and Glenn Earl in 1947. My parents were separated in 1948 when I was 17 and divorced the following year with mother retaining custody of the children.

Beginning the Search for My World

As I attempt to select images and thoughts from the earlier eras of my life, it is scientifically prudent to understand Levinson's (1978) definition of these periods as "a 'time of life' in the broadest sense." While the

"texture" of my eras includes excursions into the narrow frames of physiological, personality, and career development, the intent is to draw a larger, more complicated canvas, the universe of a man with interior and exterior dimensions. Thematically, life is as broad as it is deep. The subject incurs success and punishment, is both victor and victim, relishes learning and despises schooling, and generally seeks adult companionship beyond that of his mother and father. As Levinson suggested:

The sequence of eras constitutes the macro structure of the life cycle. It provides a framework within which developmental periods and concrete processes of everyday living take place. The eras are analogous to the acts of a play, the major divisions of a novel, or the gross segments into which a biographer divides the life of his subject. The developmental periods give a finer picture of the dramatic events and details of living; the eras give an overview of the life cycle as a whole. (pp. 18-19)

Since this initial section of my autobiography is a portrait of my life from birth to 22, I will look at it first, in terms of childhood and adolescence (Erikson, 1985), before describing the Early Adult transition that forms Levinson's pre-adult era. The transition from infancy to a perception of life as a "separate person" occurs at around 3 years of age. Middle childhood is preceded by a transition at 5 or 6, while puberty, at roughly 12 or 13, links middle childhood with adolescence (Levinson, 1978, p. 20).

Recovering My Infancy: 1931-34

Certain keys to the development of my personality are obviously secreted in these opaque years. Only my mother can unlock this part of the past, and she often seems reluctant to do so. Past 80, her frustration is still evident as she tells me, and anybody else who might be listening, that I was an unpleasant baby who cried a lot because I had colic and some problems taking my bottle. This was obviously a traumatic time for the new mother and her baby, and we understand from Erikson that psychoanalytically,

the oral stages . . . form in the infant the springs of the basis sense of trust and the basic sense of mistrust which remain the autogenic source of both primal hope and doom throughout life and probably represent the first nuclear conflict in the developing personality. (p. 81)

Presumably, my physical discomfort could have triggered the first test of our association and introduced the problems of regulation and restriction that influenced our relationship for the first 17 years of my life:

The first demonstration of social trust in the baby is the ease of his feeding, the depth of his sleep, the relaxation of his bowels. The experience of a mutual regulation of his increasing perceptive capacities with the maternal techniques of provision gradually helps him to balance the discomfort caused by the immaturity of the homeostasis with which he was born. . . . Forms of comfort, and people associated with them, become as familiar as the gnawing discomfort of the bowels. (Erikson, 1985, p. 247)

The unpleasant memories of my childhood are associated with the somewhat harsh punishment mother administered when

I disobeyed her. She laughs off my complaints, reminding me that my aunts and my grandmother were always around to take me into protective custody when I deserved a "spanking." Mother consistently defined the geographic limits of my life, "my standardized behavior," and most of the punishments I recall were administered when I wandered beyond her regulation. The cultural, social, and geographic limits of my life were strictly ordered by her until I was nearly 18 (Erikson, 1985, p. 295).

From the vantage point of middle adulthood (age 56), I am scientifically prepared to assume that any conflict between mother and me during infancy is directly relatable to the problems of developing a Southern cultural identity, as opposed to representing a psychosomatic displacement. Erikson suggests that mother is probably "a composite image of traits," attributable to her German-descended father. Rigid, decent, and kind, she was determined to shape my ego devoid of vanity. This rigidity is exemplified in her hard-line attitude about "spoiling" a child. She tends to judge whether or not a child is spoiled by the amount of attention or gifts presented to the child that might impact on its concept of independence.

The ambiguity of her judgment made it difficult for me to develop an ego identity because I could not relate to her expectations. She was always uniquely sensitive about

the "attention" I received. She considered "spoiling" a child a sinful act. "Spoiling" bracketed a child by presumably creating expectations which were not justifiable in the stoic code of Southern culture. Children should be raised not to expect or covet attention, or for that matter, to have any expectations. They should be conditioned to be strong, self-sustaining, and independent with an embedded pioneer psychology. In another sense, the parameters of my childhood and adolescence were determined by cliches whose boundaries were more subjective than objective.

Children should be seen and not heard.

Children should not speak unless spoken to.

Children should go to bed with the chickens.

The only reward system in my early childhood, beyond small change for good grades and extracted baby teeth, was the threat of a "whipping" if I did not conform, or behave like "a nice little boy." Mother's hard line on over-indulgence and conceit and her disregard of "protective maternalism" created a climate of confusion that I had difficulty interpreting (Erikson, 1985, p. 292). On occasions when I was ordered to be "seen," I would be called into the living room and asked to recite a poem for guests, while in the next instance I might be warned to be quiet. Sadly, we shared the consequences of this concept of independence when at 17 I abandoned her, because I was "in such a hurry to become independent" (Erikson, 1985, pp. 294-296).

Cognition: My First Performance

Because I am a performer, the recollection of my first performance is all the more phenomenal since it is the first incident in my life that I can recall. My stage debut must have occurred around my third birthday. Here, in the language that accompanies the picture, is the story of that event.

I didn't want to go, but mother made me. She drove me to an elementary school across town. I don't see any kids I know. I am going to be in some kind of play on the stage. A woman is talking to me as she paints my face and lips. She is making me look like a girl and I don't like that. I am wearing some kind of costume. Now, I am on the stage with the other kids and we are doing a kind of dance. I have to look at the children's feet to see which way to move. There are people watching, but I can't see them well. Another me seems to be behind the curtain watching the performance from the corner of the stage. The line is moving but there is no sound from the children.

I cannot retrieve either the sound or the reason for this performance and mother does not recall the event. However, there is a theatrical dimension to the recovery of an image of a performance during which I actually watch myself on stage from behind the curtain. In this initial moment of personal discovery, I am simultaneously performer and audience. Intellectuality comes to me as awareness of an artistic presentation and a simultaneous mental detachment that Goffman calls a ceremonial dimension of performing (1959, p. 76). Analytically, it is possible that, at that moment, phenomenally and experientially, I discovered the model for the meaning of my world, the universe of

performance, and began to define the kind of person I was eventually to become (Belth, 1977, pp. 28-29).

All our sense and motor organs are, when we are awake, acting and being acted upon by something in the environment . . . to children the whole world is new . . . curiosity is the basic factor in the enlargement of experience and therefore a prime ingredient in the germs that are to be developed into reflective thinking. (Dewey, 1933, p. 37)

I can remember the day I discovered the "world" beyond Concord. The picture of the event is as clear in my mind as if it happened just a short while ago. Friday, September 1, 1939, was a hot sultry day in Concord, and as I walked up Hillcrest Drive toward our duplex, a friend skidded his bike to a stop beside me and yelled that there was a war going on in Europe between Germany and Poland.

A day and an evening later, I sat at the long table in Grandmother Winecoff's kitchen looking at dust. I watched the particles jockey for position in the sun's rays as they streamed through the window and warmed the oilcloth table covering. It was sweaty hot and stuffy, what with country ham frying in a big cast-iron pan on the wood stove and a pot full of corn meal mush thumping next to it in a large, battered aluminum pot. Mom stirred and turned and pattered and hummed while I listened to the news on the radio. The announcer was describing a major aerial battle over Warsaw, Poland. From time to time sounds of shooting and screaming nearly drowned out his voice. It was just like in the movies.

When the announcer reported that the Poles claimed to have shot down 27 Nazi attackers, I could practically see the planes hounding each other high above the smoking city. I had seen movies with battle scenes and some newsreel pictures of the fighting in China, but this was the first time I had heard a battle described on the radio. For the next six years, we would hear a lot of news about the war on that big floor-model radio in Mom's kitchen. Its voices belonged to Edward R. Murrow, Charles Collingwood, Robert Trout, John Daly, and Eric Sevareid.

Santa Claus delivered my first radio on December 25, 1939. From its place on the nightstand by my bed, it introduced me to Grady Cole, the WBT, Charlotte, North Carolina, morning announcer whose influential style of delivery played a critical role in the foundational development of my interest in the broadcast media. Radio was an inspiring device because it forced me to create imaginative mental pictures to match its dramatic and entertaining presentations. Long before I had an opportunity to appear on a broadcast, I learned about being a broadcaster by listening to the radio. Because the radio was my company for hundreds of lonely hours, it created opportunities for processing extensive information and ideas as a kind of "sustained intellectual labor" (John-Steiner, 1987, p. 88).

Portraits from Childhood and Adolescence

Mother's oldest sister was an important childhood influence. Ola was a large woman with a loud voice that often grew shrill when she shouted at people. As Erikson would say, "her bark was worse than her bite." Like mother, she exhibited the "male ideal," as exemplified by her Germanic father, but she was far less "over-protective" where I was concerned (Erikson, 1985, p. 309). If mother saw Ola as my protector, I saw her as my escape. In the late 1930's and early 1940's, she took me on memorable trips to the mountains and the seashore. Her accessibility provided an opportunity for me to be a real person and enjoy a loving, stress-free, non-threatening, unregulated relationship with an adult.

Adult children of alcoholics often have difficulties identifying and expressing feelings. They become very rigid and controlling. Some find themselves overly dependent on others; they feel no sense of power or choice in the way they live. A pervasive sense of fear or guilt often exists in their lives. Many experience depression and do not have the ability to feel close or be intimate with another human being. These factors play a vital role in the professional and personal lives of the children of alcoholics. (Black, 1987, pp. xv-xvi)

Dad was tall and dark with thick black wavy hair that clung closely to his scalp. His eyes were strong, but one lid drooped lower than its mate like an almost sinister symbol. As a Woolworth manager, he dressed stylishly in the tradition of the company in dark, conservative suits and ties, white, stiffly starched shirts and sleek, black,

wing-toed Florsheims. He was lean and wiry because his job demanded that he manage "by walking around" long before that idea became a popular management fad (Peters, 1982, 1985).

My father was a compulsive drinker and gambler, and when he was drunk, he was often violent. In the early 1940's, he began blacking out during drinking bouts to the extent that, when he sobered up, he was virtually unaware of the pain and chaos he had created. Following these binges, he would be sober and contrite for several days before returning to his regular evening habit of drinking a pint of cheap liquor until he passed out.

He projected a personable public image of the perfect businessman, but at home he was a raging terror. In time, gambling and alcoholism would end a career with Woolworth that began when he was a teenager. During the 1920's, he traveled through Florida with Sumner Woolworth, F. W.'s brother, opening new stores for the "five and dime" chain. Promotion often sent Woolworth managers to the regional office in Atlanta, but I cannot recall what expectations Dad had regarding his career. His behavior so occupied my time and energy that I have no clear understanding of his personality, or his expectations for himself and his children.

He would come home from work, loosen his tie, walk into the kitchen, take a pint bottle of whiskey from the cabinet,

pour a glass half full of liquor and swallow it, washing it down with a glass of water from the tap. Then he would read either Collier's or the Saturday Evening Post. Later, if dinner did not please him, he would curse mother, take the plate to the back door and throw it, contents and all, to the dog. Mornings found him constantly sick, shaking and taking Alka-Seltzer, but he always went to work. I have seen him dead drunk on hundreds of occasions, but I never knew him to miss a day's work because of a hangover. Obviously, we did not engage in many father-son outings. He took me to the golf course a time or two and fishing twice, but that is all I remember. The only time he ever beat me badly, he said he did so because I did not fight back when an older and bigger boy attacked me.

By the time I was 12 (1943), my father's drinking had become a major problem. On at least three occasions he went stark raving mad, wrecking the furniture and furnishings in our home. During one of these escapades, he knocked mother down and caused her to suffer a miscarriage, but she kept it a secret from the rest of us for years. On another occasion when one of my uncles tried to calm him, Dad threw the larger man down the stairs after biting a huge chunk out of his arm. In the midst of that nightmare mother screamed at me to collect his guns and get out of the house.

I was 12 when Dad's final rampage ended with my grandfather beating him up in the front yard and the police

hauling him off to jail. On these occasions only the family provided support and hiding places for us. There was never any mention of Alcoholics Anonymous or any other support organization. We belonged to the First Presbyterian Church, but nobody in our family would have ever considered seeking help there. Dad was our problem, and it seemed that we were left to suffer with him until the court intervened. At his hearing, the judge offered him an opportunity to volunteer for the draft or serve time on the "chaingang." He chose the navy and left for active duty in the autumn of 1943, bringing an end to this siege of terror with its mental and physical domestic violence (Black, 1987, p. 148). At 36 he was a relatively old recruit assigned to a destroyer escort in the Pacific Theatre.

My maternal grandfather, Henry Winecoff, was a tall, large-boned, ruddy-faced giant of a man with thin, wavy snow-white hair and a mole in the middle of his forehead. He called me "Sonny," and I called him "Pop." He was always pleasant with me, because I never disobeyed him, but with other people, including members of his own family, he was aloof and harsh (Erikson, 1985, pp. 332-333). He called blacks "niggers" and indigent whites "poor white trash." He screamed and yelled at everybody except me, and being tough and profane and working from sunup to sundown was his way of life. He paid for a pew in the elegant sanctuary of the

First Presbyterian Church and sat in it every Sunday until the cancer in his lungs killed him.

Pop built houses for several of his black workers, advanced most of the "hands" cash until payday, bailed them out of jail on Sunday, and buried them when they killed each other or themselves. He employed blacks as workers and foremen, because he didn't want the "white trash" who would work for the wages he paid "hanging around the place." He was no saint, but then he was no real son-of-a-bitch either. He was a hard-working white Anglo-Saxon Protestant who had come off a dirt farm to make a living moving and hauling goods for other people.

As a young man he organized a drayage business using a pair of oxen to cart freighted commodities from the railway station in Concord to the downtown merchants. Day after day, his "hands" unloaded carloads of flour for the local bakery and tons of newsprint for the afternoon newspaper. In time he bought Ford's first trucks and used them to haul building materials, sand, rock, and brick to local contractors. In the 1930's his thriving transfer business was moving people across North Carolina and the nation. Decades before the idea became popular, he built a huge furniture storage warehouse and rented space to clients, and if they failed to pay their rent he promptly auctioned off their goods.

A strong sense of pride and purpose accompanied all of his tasks. His trucks had to be precisely loaded whether they were transporting furniture, sand, gravel, brick, or two tons of rolled newsprint. With an equal intensity, he watched every antique and every pitchfork of hay loaded. He operated a sizable fleet of trucks, but never learned to drive. His farming and trucking businesses were organized in his head and on a slate that hung under the telephone in the downstairs hallway at the homeplace. Sundays we walked up South Union Street, by the courthouse to Sunday School, me in my short pants and he in his handsome beige suit with the elegant tan brogans that were reserved for church. Sometimes we paused at the courthouse so he could bail one of the "hands" out of jail.

One afternoon when I stopped by the house, I found him sitting in his favorite rocker soaking his right foot in a pail of kerosene. One of the "hands" had driven the tread of a caterpillar tractor over it while he was supervising some plowing on the farm. The pain must have been unbearable, but he never saw a doctor or walked with a limp. He did not fire the black man who had been operating the tractor, and he did not fire the one who threw a pitchfork at him after he called him a "dumb nigger."

It is difficult to fully appreciate his relationship with the blacks but, in spite of the tension that often filled

the truck lot, not many of them quit working for "Old Man Winecoff." He was abusive, but he paid on time and if you worked for him, he took care of you. Paternalistically, we always spoke about Pop's "hands" as if the blacks were members of the family.

Nobody had to tell me Pop was dead. I was sitting in my Spanish class at Pfeiffer College in October, 1948, when this strange feeling about him came over me. I left the class and started thumbing home. It was sunny and warm when I hitch-hiked my way out of Stanly County, but the sun had set by the time I got to Concord. Walking down South Union Street, I saw the chairs from the funeral home stacked on the front porch where Pop always smoked his pipe before bedtime on summer nights.

At the grave site the blacks hung back from the crowd of relatives and friends. When the final prayer had been said and we turned away to go back to those dreadful black limousines, I saw "Sheep," Pop's black foreman, take a rose from the floral coffin cover. He was wiping his eyes when he turned away from another buried remnant of Southern paternalism. Because my Winecoff grandparents were born into a South socially and economically broken by Reconstruction, they would never have understood the theme of equality that epitomizes the model of the New South (Lefler & Newsome, 1973, p. 465).

In a few weeks I would be 17 and I had just experienced the first death in my family. Looking back across the years, I inherited Pop's need for hard work and the good gut feeling that comes from organizing a project. Stacking, packing, and plowing became earthy metaphors for creating a satisfactory life structure. When he sat with that crushed foot in a bloody bucket of kerosene, he taught me that brute strength is both mental and physical. He was the epitome of the Southern male stoic who endured pain not as a debilitating experience but as a challenge to his manhood and his survival.

I recognized image when I saw him dress in that beautiful beige Sunday suit and lace those handsome tan brogans. I watched him posture and perform before the family at the great suppers, during Sunday and holiday dinners, and at the summer threshers' feasts. He was always in charge and in control. He was a strangely compassionate individual, hiding one black from the Cabarrus County Sheriff for years, and nursing the town's white blacksmith back to health when a tornado crushed the smithy's flimsy shack.

He cared for his children and gave them, as he did some blacks, gifts of houses and property. Pop generally masked his sentimentality, but his greatest joke was guessing what his children were giving him for Christmas. As a child, I thought it interesting that these adults acted as if they were really upset with Pop for ruining their surprises.

He may have called his "hands" every vile and profane name imaginable, but his children and his grandchildren were taught to respect blacks and offer them the same courtesies we were expected to present in the presence of white people.

My Grandmother Winecoff, whom I called "Mom," was small and gray and darted about like a mother hen. She cooked three huge meals a day for Pop, and tended her oven while she answered the phone for the transfer business. She made perfect pound cakes in a woodstove and tested the layers with a straw from the broom she used to sweep the kitchen. She would put up with Pop's hollering and yelling until she could not stand it any longer. Then, she would grit her teeth and tell him off in no uncertain terms. After that he was always quiet like a little boy who has been smacked for misbehaving. Mom was eight years older than my grandfather, but I did not find that out until they had been dead for years.

Mom showed me how to milk cows and wring a chicken's neck. I watched her make fresh sausage from butchered hogs and cure their shoulders in layers of salt. Summers, when I picked her buckets of blackberries and plums on the farm, she made the richest, sweetest jelly. It was good even during the war when sugar was hard to come by and we had to stand in line for ration stamps at the elementary school. Sometimes when Mom cooked and baked, she talked about

herself and her family. That is when I learned that her father had been a corporal in the Confederate Army.

I spent bone-chilling nights with her in a feather bed, getting up before dawn, dressing in a convulsive shiver, and going down to the barn to milk the cow on a morning so cold the water was hard frozen in the mule's drinking trough. During one conversation, for apparently no reason, she told me "straightout," that if I worked hard, "everything in life would turn out all right." I do not remember how the subject happened to come up, or what we might have been talking about. I must have been less than 10 and perhaps it is a miracle that I remembered what she said. Mom spoiled me and praised me and treated me special all her life, but that "intention" is the only legacy she left me. When "push has come to shove," hard work has saved me when I was short on talent.

Grandmother Kinard lived in Charleston, South Carolina, and I probably saw her less than a dozen times before her death. However, her personality, talent, and the mystery that surrounds her birth and education have contributed a provocative dimension to my life. Another aspect of my attachment to Southern culture is linked through her to Charleston because of our visits there in the 30's and early 40's.

Grandmother Kinard acted as if she belonged to plantation aristocracy, resting in her bed most of the day and wearing a smock as she languished in her small room. I never remember seeing her really dressed up, or even outside

her home. We could not take her for a ride in our car because she suffered from motion sickness. She was slender, her hair fine and white and long, her skin nearly translucent with blue veins that looked like the webs in a spider's nest.

She was an author and an artist. With oils she decorated the baskets the Negroes wove and sold about the streets of Charleston. One hot night, she opened her closet to show me a huge pile of papers. "That's my book," she proudly said. "It's about some people I knew in Charleston." The great hulk of that manuscript was so impressive that shortly thereafter, I began to daydream about wanting to write a book of that magnificent size.

This portrait of Grandmother Kinard concludes the exhibit of adult snapshots from my childhood gallery. Introspectively, as opposed to the plantation mentality of the Kinards, mother's family represents an ideal identity of the white Anglo-Saxon Protestant South. It is exemplified by a rigid sense of independence, regulation, and harsh discipline. As Erikson (1985) points out, these "intentions" are coupled with a feminine determination to establish puritanical "moral standards and rigid tests of social ascendancy" (p. 294). While romantically representative of antebellum decay and a preoccupation with the Old South, Dad's family was more or less adrift in the numbing depression of the 30's when I knew them as a child. If the Hills and

the Winecoffs endowed me with old-fashioned energy and white Southern idealism, I attribute my inclination toward art and letters to the Kinards. However, there is no denying that a character-building tension defines the attitudinal differences between the families.

Thus the functioning American, as the heir of a history of extreme contrasts and abrupt changes, bases his final ego identity on some tentative combination of dynamic polarities such as migratory and sedentary, individualistic and standardized, competitive and cooperative, pious and free thinking, responsible and cynical, etc. (Erikson, p. 286)

If I owe the beginning of my identity and the early structure of my life to my mother and the impressive relatives who were a part of my infancy and childhood, I owe as much to the geographic region of my birth. For that reason, I will examine the panorama surrounding the portraits as a way of interpreting and describing the crucially lived experiences of my formative years.

Growing Up: 1931-1946

During the first five years of my life my parents lived in several locations in Concord, but after 1937 we called the south side of town home. In that year we moved to an apartment in Aunt Ola's new duplex on Hillcrest Drive between my grandparents' home on South Union Street and Pop's farm a few blocks southeast. In the 1930's Concord was a typical Southeastern textile town. The Cannons, who founded the great textile empire, lived on North Union Street in a

tree-shaded neighborhood that ended at the dingy entrance to Locke Mill. The business district separated the rich precinct of North Union Street from the middle-class neighborhoods south of the square.

The one-industry town had a depression post office with a depression mural and a depression armory where the National Guard practiced drilling. The Civilian Conservation Corps was barracked on a high hill above the negro district called "Shankletown," and members of the WPA (Works Progress Administration) laid water and sewer lines through the town with pick and shovel. The cotton mills and their villages were across town from where I lived, but the black district paralleled the south side of white Concord.

The kids in our neighborhood eventually polarized into two groups. The bully-boy Haywoods led one of the outfits, and I sometimes directed a competing coalition. We were always fighting each other and sometimes the battles carried over into the schoolyard. My best friend Quincy Collins lived next door on Hillcrest Drive, and we were like brothers until his father made enough money in the furniture business to move his family to North Union Street.

Prestigiously located between the mansions on North Union Street, the First Presbyterian Church was our status symbol. Its membership included working-class people, merchants, professionals, and the textile magnate Charles Cannon.

I despised Sunday School and hated church, but I had to go to Sunday School or spend the day in bed. I spent a lot of Sundays in bed. I attempted to sing in the children's choir and dabbled in scouting, but I never felt comfortable at the Scout meetings because I did not have a uniform. I did wear a scarf, but without a complete uniform I felt like an outsider, and earning merit badges was as tedious and boring as homework. When I realized that I was afraid of the water and would never qualify for the swimming merit badge, I dropped out of the troop. I felt bad about quitting because people made Eagle Scouts sound like the great American heroes, but the programs and the projects were time consuming and boring, and it was no fun being in the woods with adults.

Kinard Family Vacations

We visited Dad's family in Charleston, South Carolina, on several occasions, went to Daytona Beach, Florida, twice, and attended the New York World's Fair in 1939. For an impressionable Southern child in the late 1930's, Charleston was a huge outdoor museum where the ghosts of the antebellum South still roamed. Because Mother showed me the city, my relationship with her is strongest there in the early morning educational walks through its depression-streaked neighborhoods. In that time you could hear the rumble of the huckster's carts across the cobblestone lanes that criss-crossed

the peninsula and the chants of the hucksters as they hawked their vegetables through the still awakening city. The desperation of the depression was revealed in the paint-peeling shabbiness of the mansions near the Battery and in the faded, flaking facades of the antique shops where Charleston's fallen sold the best and the last of their rich furnishings.

At the commercial wharf, we watched sweating blacks unload banana boats from Central America. At the confluence of the Ashley and the Cooper, old destroyers occasionally labored up the channel toward the Navy base. After sunrise, when the first rush of semi-tropical heat began to wet our foreheads, Mother and I would turn back from the bay and head toward King Street and the cool confines of the Woolworth store with its pungent breakfast menu.

The War Between the States had been over 70 years, but the memories of that romantic period dominated the city with an unrelieved staleness. I looked at the old forts, while my imagination brimmed with contrived scenes of the battles for the city and its bastions. These exciting childhood walking tours inspired hundreds of personal reading projects and a four-year daily "Good Morning Show" series about the war from 1961 to 1965.

Inspired by Charleston and its history, I read every book about the Civil War I could find in the Concord Public Library. Like the radio, reading expanded my imagination

into a fantasy land of adventure and excitement. The past assumed a reality for me through the romance of the Old South, in the trials of a young man attempting to sail around the world, on African safaris and journeys to conquer the poles.

As a child, "thoughts" became a second language for me, and like others who eventually aspire to be creative, I learned about the world "by experiencing space" (John-Steiner, 1987, p. 21). That is why I resented the physical regulation of childhood, the "stay in your own yard" syndrome. I took what I could see about the past from movies, pictures, and books, and superimposed those images over the hills and gullies of my grandfather's farm. I could see adventure and travel in my mind and transport myself anywhere:

Many painters, film-makers, and poets are able to recollect some of their earliest, vivid images. They are conscious of this visual mode of remembering and knowing, which differs in important ways from kinesthetic and verbal thought . . . from the beginning of a child's life, even at the stage when infants learn primarily by touch, perception consists of active and exploratory approaches to one's surroundings. (John-Steiner, 1987, p. 21)

Our family trip to the 1939 New York World's Fair is important because it presented "the world of tomorrow." We stayed at the famous Roosevelt Hotel and visited the NBC studios at Rockefeller Center, where I saw my first live radio broadcast. I was only 8, but even then I felt comfortable in the "performance setting," inspired by the

sights and scenes of the show business world: "Poets and graphic artists are unusually conscious of their heightened awareness to sights, sounds, and to their own early memories" (John-Steiner, 1987, p. 24).

The trips to Florida are important for the visit to St. Augustine's ancient Indian burial ground and the city's old fort. In the late 1930's the skeletons of dozens of Native Americans lay exposed under a crude shelter and seeing their bones was like looking at their history. Climbing through the Spanish fort, I saw adventure and conquest and read myself nearly blind on Ponce de León and the other Spanish explorers. Antiquities have always generated the sound of an "inner voice, or an inner seeing" that enables me to connect to the past, so vicariously I can live in all places and in all times (John-Steiner, 1987, p.30).

World War II: 1939-1945

I was profoundly influenced by the war and its themes of conflict, victory and defeat, death and heroism. The magnitude of its events caused me to plaster the walls of my room with pictures from Life magazine. I charted the course of the war on battle maps and bought books with war themes including Guadalcanal Diary (Tregaskis, 1945), American Guerrilla in the Philippines (Wolfert, 1945), and Rendezvous by Submarine (Ingham, 1945). I saw the patriotic, propagandistic war movies including the story of our gallant

defense of Wake Island, the Doolittle Tokyo Raid, and the story about the fall of the Bataan peninsula.

During these exciting years, a poster of a huge war machine--a tank or a landing craft--often hung in the school's foyer. As school children, we saved diligently or begged money from our parents to buy the stamps and bonds that would pay for the equipment our soldiers needed to win the war. We were often uneasy because victory was no certainty in the years following Pearl Harbor. We also collected scrap metal to make sure our forces had the weapons and supplies to succeed. Inevitably, growing up on a steady diet of American war propaganda influenced my perception of the relationship of the United States to other countries in the world.

Concord's city fathers erected a billboard near the library to display the names of our community's servicemen. I would look at Dad's name and feel good about his contribution. I was very proud of him because he was the only member of our family to serve in the Armed Forces. However, at that time I did not know that he had selected to spend time serving his country as opposed to spending it in prison.

In 1943 I began delivering The Charlotte Observer on the south side of Concord. I used some of the money from the paper route to join the Book-of-the-Month Club and the rest supplemented the allotment mother received from the government while Dad was in the Navy. Before starting on my paper route, I generally read the war news and the

correspondents' reports. Ernie Pyle was my favorite columnist and I enjoyed Bill Mauldin's cartoons about "Willie and Joe." I hated Westbrook Pegler because he continually criticized my hero Franklin Roosevelt. Roosevelt had been president almost as long as I had been on this earth, and symbolized grandfatherhood, strength, protection, and continuity.

When he died on April 12, 1945, I felt as if I had lost a member of my family. I heard the death bulletin on the radio during one of my afternoon programs. I sat in my room and cried for a long time, mourning the loss of what Erikson (1985) calls "a symbol of American identity," the figure of American history that "synthesizes the native polarity of aristocracy and mobocracy that pervades American democracy more effectively than the advocates and the critics of the great American middle class seem to realize" (p. 287). Roosevelt certainly symbolized America for me and my family in Concord. I had no conception of transition until he died, no perception of mobility, transformation, or "endings" like death.

World War II taught me geography and international politics. It made me a national patriot and convinced me that our nation, united under God, could do no wrong. America was the home of the modern crusaders. Victory in World War II reinforced my romantic vision of the world and made it difficult, in the years to come, to criticize my

country. The war taught frugality and how it felt not to have nice presents and new bikes at Christmas. When the Nazis invaded Poland (1939), I was two months shy of my 8th birthday. When the Japanese surrendered unconditionally (1945), I was nearly 14.

As an impressionable child during World War II, I developed an interest in seeing those parts of the world that became battlegrounds and hero cities. Forty years later, I would begin videoing documentaries about the great European battlefields, material that I began presenting on my morning television show in 1978. Somehow these battlefields, like the Belgian Ardennes where the Battle of the Bulge took place, provide a kind of connectedness between my youth and the present. It seems important to see the places where people were suffering and dying while I was growing up and discovering the life they were losing. I do not know how to explain the unusual feelings that come over me when I stand on great historic spots. It is almost as if I have been some part of whatever has taken place there, in the most recent war, or one hundreds of years in the past.

Dad's Homecoming and Leaving Concord: 1945-46

The Navy sent my Dad home in the late autumn of 1945 and Woolworth quickly ordered him to Greensboro, North Carolina, for his management retraining. According to Levinson, at 14 I was "transitioning from middle childhood to

adolescence," a different person from the 11-year-old child he had said goodbye to in 1943 (p. 21).

Not only had I forgotten what it was like to have Dad around the house, but during his absence Mother had become an even stronger influence. With Dad back I was confused about my identity and the role I played in the family (Erikson, 1985, p. 261). My younger sisters were vying for his attention, and I was self-consciously at a loss about how to attract his interest in the few hours we could share while he was sober.

The adolescent mind is essentially a mind of the moratorium, a psychosocial stage between childhood and adulthood, and between the morality learned by the child and the ethics to be developed by the adult. It is an ideological outlook of a society that speaks most clearly to the adolescent who is eager to be affirmed by his peers, and is ready to be confirmed by rituals, creeds and programs which at the same time define what is evil, uncanny and inimical. (Erikson, 1985, p. 263)

At this critical period of puberty, when I was in the process of defining myself for the movement to adulthood, I was also trying to redefine myself for my father. In the process, I probably psychologically regressed several years, effecting the behavior of the child he had said goodbye to in 1943. While I was struggling with my identity crisis, Woolworth transferred Dad to Beckley, West Virginia, and introduced another historical era into the chronology of my childhood and adolescence. In late March 1946, mother took us by bus to our new home in the soft coal fields of southeastern West Virginia.

Beckley, West Virginia, 1946-1948

Leaving my hometown, my girl friend, my school, and my friends was like going to Hell, but Erikson (1985) sees this period as merely another initiation into the active life. When we arrived in Beckley, Dad met us at the bus station and took us to the Beckley Hotel where we spent our first night. In the morning Mother enrolled me in the ninth grade at Beckley Junior High. The kids were nice and the girls looked okay, but inside I was as dead as a door knob. That afternoon after school I saw my new home for the first time. I could not believe we were going to live in a dirty little five-room frame shack that stood at the intersection of two unpaved roads. I could see the slag piles at the Sprague coal mine from the front porch and in the afternoon the long black line of the miners as they trudged homeward from the tippie.

Our furniture had arrived and was in place. Mother's beautiful living room rug was too big for its new location and curled dejectedly, a foot up the wall on two sides of the pitifully small living room. She was down on her hands and knees washing the nasty black bathroom floor. "Look through the cracks," she cried, "you can see the ground." The tub sat on legs like the antique in the upstairs bathroom at Grandmother Winecoff's. The walls were dirty, the molding rotting, and some of the windows were cracked.

The move to Beckley in March, 1946, reunited our family and reignited the problems that had made life miserable before

Dad went away to service. As we shivered in that miner's shack and prayed for spring, I was 14, Jane was 8, and Judy, suddenly ill with scarlet fever, was almost 3. My parents were 39 when Dad resumed his nightly drinking and gambling at the Elk's Lodge. My brother, Glenn Earl, the last of the four children in our family, was born in July 1947, and that second summer in Beckley Dad rented a larger apartment in a duplex on Piney Avenue, near the business district. The West Virginia years can best be described by reflecting first on a description of some of our experiences in this strange new environment.

I celebrated my 16th birthday on November 5, 1947, just in time to be challenged by a series of conflicts, confrontations, and consequences that altered my life as a teenager and propelled me into adulthood. While my brother was still in his infancy, and my father was spending his evenings gambling and drinking, mother became seriously ill with pneumonia, and overnight, the house on Piney Avenue was invaded by huge rats. Suddenly, I found myself responsible for a sick mother, a 6-month-old infant and two sisters, ages 10 and 4. In the night the rats would come up into our part of the house through the plumbing traps. I often awakened to find them creeping along the bedcovers toward my face. From time to time mother would wake up screaming and I would have to knock the rats off her bed, then shake them from the baby's bedcovers.

The Sicilians who owned the house were good people of limited intelligence. They could not find a way to keep the rats out of the house, but with their warm and good nature they did everything they could to care for mother, Glenn, and the girls. So huge she could hardly pass through a regular-size door, our landlady Mrs. Chiatto loved to babysit Glenn, but she jostled him so much his belly-button popped out. We taped it back to his tummy with a silver dollar.

One afternoon some people from First Presbyterian Church came to visit. Later they returned with food. A doctor came to look at Mother and put her in the hospital. She was weak and bent over with the pain in her chest. When she managed to get out of bed, she could not stand up straight. In the hospital they treated her with major doses of penicillin and she broke out in huge scarlet hives. While she was incapacitated and suffering, my Father walked around like an uncaring, unfeeling zombie. I do not think he knew Mother was as sick as she was. Maybe he just did not care. The Sicilians brought us cakes and a turkey, but they put garlic in everything they cooked and we could not eat their gifts. At night I would carry the food up town and throw it in a garbage can.

I was in the 11th grade in the winter of 1948 when I missed my first day of public school. Stricken with appendicitis, I ended up in the hospital at the same time Mother was being treated for pneumonia. I begged her to keep the

doctors from operating on me. I did not want to be put to sleep or cut on. Eased by medication, the pain slowly disappeared and the hospital dismissed me.

The doctors saved mother's life, but the near devastating bout with pneumonia convinced her to leave Beckley and try to regain her strength in a more pleasant climate. She took my brother and sisters back to Concord to recuperate at my grandparents' house. I was doing so well in school that I stayed in Beckley to live with Dad during the Spring of 1948.

One night I woke up with a start. I did not know what time it was, or how long I had been asleep. It was not uncommon to wake up in the middle of the night when the rats started crawling up the bed toward my face, but when I turned the bedside light on I didn't see any. Then I heard the noise. Something was scratching at the front door. Goose bumps froze my shoulders, neck, and face. Dad had not been at home when I went to bed and it had been snowing for hours. I heard the sound again. Finally, I crept from my room to the foyer, and looked through the window in the door. Dad was sprawled across the stoop face down. When I opened the door, I realized that he had just been able to reach it with his right hand. The snow drifted out of the folds in his overcoat as I dragged him into the foyer and left him on the floor by the gas heater. I left him on the floor and went back to bed. At least he wouldn't freeze to death.

At dinner one evening he said, almost apologetically, that he was trying to stop drinking liquor and was planning on having no more than a few beers. That did not last long. One depressing afternoon when I was trying to find out where those damn rats were coming from, I threw forty empty pint whiskey bottles into the creek that ran by the side of the house.

Occasionally, we had a meal together, but most of the time I was on my own. Stupidly, he rented several of our rooms to some street women and sometimes they asked us to eat dinner with them, but I did not get involved. The crowning point of that spring occurred when Dad came to see me perform as the nephew in Arsenic and Old Lace.

Mother came back to Beckley late in the spring and immediately began to make plans to separate from Dad and move permanently to Concord. The last night I spent in Beckley, I went to graduation at the high school. It was a chance to congratulate my senior friends and to say goodbye to the members of my class, some of whom were marshals. I did not want to be at home on this particular night, but the evening provided a drama I was not expecting. About midway down Piney Avenue where the railroad crosses the street, I heard a voice crying for help. I walked off into the darkness until I found the man lying in the side ditch beside the line that ran from the depot in town to the coal tipple at Sprague.

He was filthy, stinking, and bleeding from an injury to his head. I asked a neighbor to call the police. When they arrived, I showed them where the old man was lying fetus-like in the weeds. They kicked him, cursed him, said to hell with him, and went back to their car and drove away. The next morning when we walked up Piney Avenue to the bus station, I did not even look down the tracks. He could have been anybody. A few years later, he could have been my father.

Three critical, historical, and intellectual experiences bracket the Spring of 1948: the separation of my parents, the return to Concord, and the conclusion of two productive years in high school. Psychologically, I was prepared to pursue new interests apart from Beckley and Concord, because as I will shortly show, I now had an identity and goals, and as Erikson (1985) wrote, "the strength acquired at any stage is tested by the necessity to transcend it in such a way that the individual can take chances in the next stage with what was most vulnerably precious in the previous one" (p. 263).

As I rode the bus down the Appalachians from Beckley for the last time, my most precious possession was my new-found identity as a performer. Since the foundation of that identity emerged as a result of two years at Woodrow Wilson High School in Beckley, a description of my schooling is

central to an understanding of how educational experiences affected my childhood and adolescence. For that reason I am going to present the early history of my schooling as a special section in this initial part of my study.

Schooling Lee Kinard, 1937-1949

In the late summer of 1937 when Mary Propst opened her kindergarten, I was one of her first pupils. She says she remembers only that "I was a neat, nice little boy." Since the state decreed that I was too young to begin the real first grade, I ended up in the sandbox in the Propst's side yard, but a year later (1938), I was a full-fledged second grader.

During my first day at Clara Harris School, Quincy Collins and I created a disturbance and were quickly assigned to different classrooms. The days of being neat and nice were over. In the third grade, I began to experience problems with arithmetic. In the fourth, I started school music classes by studying the coronet. In the fifth, I discovered that I liked history and in the sixth, I learned about classical painting and ancient Egypt.

Ms. Cline taught the sixth grade. She was the meanest and toughest teacher in the whole grade school. She sent me out of the classroom on innumerable occasions, but I always blamed somebody else for the disturbances. Cline left me one brutal legacy. She warned me, that if I didn't

start studying, I would be sorry for the rest of my life. That advice is as symbolic for me today as it was decades ago, proof that children do retain some of their teachers' emphatic admonitions.

School was my stage. I entertained myself and my friends when I could get away with it. The subjects that attracted my attention had pictorial value and dramatic content. History created visions of great performances by individual heroes and huge armies. Egypt conjured up scenes of the desert and the Nile, of adventure and exploration, while classical painting portrayed strange-looking people from other worlds. However, exploring Pop's farm and panning for gold in the Three-Mile Branch was more fun, and according to Erikson (1964), a natural inclination: "Play is to the child, what thinking, planning and blueprinting are to the adult" (p. 120).

Experiments with Erikson's (1964) "trial universe" continued when I entered Concord High School as a seventh grader. In 1943, intellectually, I was still an elementary schoolboy; emotionally, I was embarrassed to be seen in the short pants Mother made me wear to classes. I do not remember thinking about high school in terms of a career, but I do remember that it was more confining and restricting than elementary school. I had major discipline problems with my math teacher, who made me stay an hour after school for an entire week.

Mother's younger sister Aunt Buena became the only bright spot in my life that term, when she contracted to substitute for our regular seventh-grade English teacher. Buena introduced me to the English Romantic poets, Coleridge and Wordsworth, and to the American authors, Irving and Poe. She encouraged me to compose my own verses, but they were usually a poor copy of whatever we were reading at the time. In the eighth grade I was expelled from school for creating a disturbance in my American history class. Mother was furious. As soon as I walked in the front door of the house, she turned me around, and we "hot-footed it" back to the high school where she proceeded to give the principal a piece of her mind and demand my reinstatement. I was a poor student during these unsettled years and had to attend summer school in order to be promoted to the 8th, 9th, and 10th grades.

I was 14 in 1946 when I began the 10th grade at Woodrow Wilson High School in Beckley, West Virginia. The consolidated high school served Raleigh County and the student body reflected an ethnic mixture of the immigrants who worked in the world's largest soft-coal fields. Drugs, alcohol, and sexual promiscuity were virtually nonexistent in an institution with a proud scholastic, athletic, and musical tradition.

Because the school was overcrowded, we attended classes in shifts. Since my classes were over early in the

afternoon and I had relatively few friends, I concentrated on homework and school projects. This intentional focus was rewarded during the spring recognition assembly when I was named one of the tenth grade honor students. For many years I attributed my scholastic accomplishment during this era to loneliness, but according to Piaget (Maier, 1965), my social life was evidently beginning to intersect with new patterns of intellectual thought common to this developmental stage (pp. 136-137).

I became a "public" person during my junior year when I participated in a high school radio program, appeared in dramatic productions, and competed in a number of statewide oratorical contests. This era marks the beginning of the autobiography of the performing Lee Kinard and of the development of an "ego identity" (Erikson, 1985, p. 263). It includes a series of experiences that carried over into my freshman year at Pfeiffer College, and later into the beginning of my career in radio (Erikson, 1985, pp. 261-262). The period is personally significant for the quality of my intense growth and transformation into the type of student that might be considered an achiever.

During my junior year (1947-48), I developed intellectual relationships with two exceptional teachers. John Saunders and Ray Martin took a personal interest in steering me toward creative and instructive experiences. Saunders

is responsible for the intensity of my desire to succeed in speech and broadcasting. He resurrected me from my first embarrassing moments in his speech class and became my mentor and coach during a year in which I competed in oratorical contests throughout West Virginia.

Martin united my infatuation with the sound of my own voice with history and directed the development of a public presentation that captured the attention of the Beckley newspaper. This public approval was extremely important to a teenager who did not have the stamina, size, or ability to compete in athletics, but wanted to gain public recognition. According to Erikson (1985), at 16 I started forming a relationship with the personally rewarding "generativity, productivity and creativity" that would lead to my life's work (pp. 266-268).

What materialized as a productive year of achievement actually began on a disastrous note. My first 2-minute presentation in Saunders' public speaking class was harshly criticized in a student critique. Any self-confidence I might have enjoyed was destroyed. I was so thoroughly devastated that it took time to regain my self-confidence and grasp the techniques an effective public speaker needs to succeed. I struggled to become Saunders' star pupil while he supported me with advice and encouragement.

My integrity and my competitive, combative spirit as a broadcaster may have been born in these few depressing

weeks as I sought to recover a sense of equilibrium (Erikson, 1985, p. 268; Maier, 1965, p. 141). As a teacher, Saunders was a student's dream, creating projects and challenges in the world beyond the classroom. He talked one of the local radio stations into broadcasting a weekly "Youth Forum of the Air," where selected members of our class discussed the pros and cons of a major issue every Thursday night.

The half-hour program, sponsored by a local hardware company, included topics ranging from "The Taft-Hartley Law" to "Have the Morals of the American People Disintegrated?" In that last year (1948) before television screens began lighting up homes across America, our little radio program caused a stir in Raleigh County, West Virginia. When Woodrow Wilson High School held its Awards Assembly in May 1948, I was recognized as Vice President of the Literary Club, as a member of the cast of the Junior Class Play, and for winning two second-place and two first-place awards in speech competitions.

At some point in 1948, I began to realize that Mother and Dad were moving toward divorce. Believing that I had created a new progressive world for myself at Woodrow Wilson High School, I did not want to go back to Concord for the 12th grade. I coaxed Mother into purchasing a correspondence course from the American School in Chicago and began

studying those courses that would enable me to graduate from high school as soon as possible. Initially, I considered joining the Marine Corps, but my success in speech competitions and the need to act influenced me to consider collegiate alternatives including some of the major higher education speech departments in the country. As my junior year in high school (1948) drew to a close (age 16), I was as committed to leaving Woodrow Wilson as I was opposed to returning to Concord High School.

Childhood and adolescence together make up roughly one quarter of the expected life span. The pre-adult era is a time of extraordinary growth but it is only a prelude to adult living. Its result is an immature and still vulnerable individual making his entry into the adult world. (Levinson, 1978, p. 21)

The summer Mother took us back to Concord (1948), I worked in a lumber yard for a local building supply company and finished my high school correspondence course. With expensive Northwestern University and Ithaca College out of the educational picture, Mother and I visited Pfeiffer College to explore the possibility of my enrollment.

The school is located in Misenheimer, North Carolina, near the intersection of U.S. Highways 49 and 52. In 1948 it was a Methodist-affiliated junior college with a student population of less than 400. Tuition and room and board totaled about \$700.00 a year, and a student work program was available for those who needed financial assistance. After the dean approved my grades, I matriculated as a

16-year-old freshman in the autumn of 1948 while my former high school classmates in Concord and Beckley were just beginning their senior year in high school.

I registered for 21 hours the first semester and 17 the second. As was the case in high school, I made good grades until I became socially and politically involved. Once that happened, extracurricular activities and friends became the focal point of my life. I initially signed up to work 7 hours a week, but after I fell behind I worked 14, washing dishes and performing janitorial duties. Since Mother had little money to give me as an allowance, I began carrying The Charlotte Observer on the campus and in the countryside around Misenheimer.

In 1948 the male students at Pfeiffer were a mix of high school graduates and ex-servicemen attending college on the GI Bill. Irritated by the administration's juvenile restrictions and regulations, the older students were ready to revolt against overt discipline, and I was ready to join them. A few male students had cars, but they were not allowed to keep them on campus. You could only see your date during the week for about 20 minutes a night and that ended at 10:10 p.m. For trips off campus we had to sign out before thumbing north to Salisbury, or south to Albemarle, where there was little to do except go to the movies.

Panty raids were popular in that era and at Pfeiffer, the women always cooperated. After several tiffs with

authority, we hung a few administrators in effigy from the campus flagpole. At Halloween we stole an outhouse from a nearby farm and set it up in front of the administration building. Since I worked in the kitchen, I fixed it so we could liberate food for clandestine, middle-of-the-night picnics at nearby Morrow Mountain State Park. One Sunday afternoon, we stole the Sunday night supper and ate it in the dorm, then trooped back to the dining hall to see how the cooks would cope without a meal to serve. They dished out white bread and luncheon meat.

My reason for relating these stories is to demonstrate the unruliness of the Pfeiffer period when I was creating experiences for the experience of the sensations that accompanied these intentional acts. If I am correctly interpreting Erikson, he would see my behavior at Pfeiffer as a problem of "identity versus role confusion," as a part of the "ego identifying process of a 16-year-old male adolescent." In my case, having skipped the 12th grade, I was evidently attempting to identify with traditional students who were at least two years older, and veterans more than five years older. Presumably, as the child of an alcoholic, I did not have a grasp on the kind of behavior pattern I wanted to adopt, or a behavioral model to serve as a patterning structure. For Erikson, much of the searching and identifying during this period is related to psychological maturity and the selection of a career.

In puberty and adolescence all sameness and continuities relied on earlier are more or less questioned again, because of a rapidity of body growth which equals that of early childhood and because of the new addition of genital maturity. The growing and developing youths faced with this physiological revolution within them and with tangible adult tasks ahead of them are now primarily concerned with what they appear to be in the eyes of others as compared with what they feel they are and with the question of how to connect the roles and skills cultivated earlier with the occupational prototypes of the day. (Erikson, 1985, p. 261)

In the middle of the spring (1949) semester, I hitchhiked to Albemarle to apply for a job at the local radio station. This decision marks the beginning of an attempt to structure my productive life, and within the space of a few months, the first phase of my schooling began to mesh with the development of a professional broadcasting career.

The sense of ego identity . . . is the accrued confidence that the inner sameness and continuity prepared in the past are matched by the sameness and continuity of one's meaning for others, as evidenced in the tangible promise of a career. (Erikson, 1963, pp. 26-62)

The "promise" I was interested in at this time was money. I was sick and tired of not being able to buy a "burger and a Coke" any time I wanted a snack. I was fed up with carrying newspapers for \$2.50 a week and embarrassed that the need for money kept me tied to Mother's apron strings. I desperately needed to have an identity of my own, but one that I could pay for with my money and not with a child's allowance.

The Early Adult Transition extends from roughly age 17 to 22. It provides a bridge from adolescence to early adulthood, and is part of both. Like all cross-era transitions, it is a crucial turning point in the life cycle. During this period the growing male is a boy-man; he is terminating his pre-adult self to make the choices through which he establishes his initial membership in the adult world. (Levinson, 1978, p. 21)

According to Levinson, three perspectives provide a way of considering the life structure. The first involves the socio-cultural world of class, religion, ethnicity, family politics, occupation, economy, and war (p. 42). The second manner of looking at the individual life structure involves interpreting experience, as in the case of wishes, conflicts, and anxieties, and formulating methods of resolving and controlling them.

My goal was to create actions that would gain public recognition for my talents and abilities. By retrieving the most rewarding experience of my life to that time, which was the participation in the high school radio program in Beckley, I began to consider working at a radio station.

The external world provides a landscape, a cast of characters, a variety of resources and constraints out of which a man fashions his own life. A man selectively uses and is used by the world, through his revolving relationships and roles as a citizen, lover, worker, boss, friend, husband, father, member of diverse groups and enterprises. Participation involves transactions between self and world. The transactions take obvious forms, but subtle meanings and feelings play an important part in them. (Levinson, 1978, pp. 42-43)

I was a radio fan and had enjoyed participating in our high school radio program. I felt comfortable in radio

stations and found the settings exciting. Radio was the central medium in my life. Though I had once aspired to write in the style of Ernie Pyle (1943, 1945), that inclination had been overshadowed by the discovery that I could compete with my voice. I selected Albemarle for my job search because it was the closest town that had a radio station, but after I walked into the studios of WABZ, my life was never the same again.

I learned that the station had just been purchased by a new ownership group and that a new general manager was due to report within the hour. The receptionist said his name was Bill Page, adding "You can wait and talk with him, if you like." When Page arrived he greeted me pleasantly and asked Program Director Johnny Newman to arrange an audition. I was asked to read three items: a commercial, a public service announcement, and an obituary. I did not win an announcer's job, but I was hired to sweep up and file records for \$7.50 weekly. Most important, the job offered access to the station's control board and the opportunity to practice my radio announcing skills. About a month later Page allowed me to host a half-hour afternoon record request show for the students at Pfeiffer. Now, I was no longer "playing" at being a radio announcer; I was beginning to learn the craft and starting to develop a "creative identity" (John-Steiner, 1987, p. 37).

The development of that creative identity was not without considerable emotional pain. I wanted to work at the radio station in Albemarle during the summer of 1949 and live with several of the announcers who were renting a house in the town. Mother was adamantly opposed to the idea, even though her sister, my Aunt Buena, and her family lived in Albemarle. At the end of the semester when she drove to Pfeiffer to take me back to Concord, we had a confrontation and I refused to leave with her. By the time she had driven back home, I had moved my meager belongings to Albemarle and was finally on my own. A few weeks later, the administrators at Pfeiffer informed Mother that I was no longer welcome on their campus and suggested that I might be happier in Chapel Hill. By that time I had decided that school was a "thing of the past," and I vowed that I would never again set foot in an institution of higher education.

Beginning My Broadcast Career: Albemarle, North Carolina, 1949

Phase one of my education ended with my freshman year at Pfeiffer College (May 1949). Using my departure from that institution, the alienation from Mother, and the acquisition of a job at WABZ as markers, I began entering Levinson's Early Adulthood era at 17½. The merging of the concluding years of my childhood and adolescence with early adulthood was heightened by the emerging relationships with a man and a woman who would contribute immeasurably to my professional and personal growth.

Since Bill Page plays a major role in my life for at least seven years, I would like to present a brief portrait of my first broadcast general manager. On occasions he was like a father to me, and because my father had also been a "manager," Page was at times like a god. Like my father, Bill was an alcoholic, but I was not aware of that when I began working at the radio station. He was a talented performer, a competent vocalist and pianist, with a personality as charming as they make them in the South Carolina Low Country where he was born. Page was a relentless manager and a tough competitor who turned that pitiful radio station into a profitable operation within months.

Since he held the keys to my livelihood, I performed every task he assigned believing that I would be monetarily rewarded, but his persistent frugality--and parsimony where my salary was concerned--was always a point of contention between us. I did not mind working long and hard, but I wanted to be paid for the effort. Though I did not completely appreciate the situation at the time, Bill provided a special kind of compensation more valuable than money: gifts of opportunities to learn and practice the craft of announcing.

Bill's experience as Executive Director of the Albemarle Chamber of Commerce convinced him that commercial broadcast properties should act as cheerleaders for the

community. For a leader who had never managed a radio station, he formulated an exceptional strategy for civic involvement, and in the late 1940's, that made him a successful manager. According to Quaal and Brown (1976), "few managers of broadcast properties came to the field from positions other than broadcasting" (p. 70), so Page, like my first TV manager Gaines Kelley, was unique.

Page reinforced my perception of management and leadership as the position of the idolized hero. As I grew older, he became less heroic, and predictably, circumstances framing the end of his mentorship and my apprenticeship, challenged the depth of our relationship, but that experience belongs later in this report. Another portrait from this era is needed to frame the second major transitional influence that entered my life during the crucial summer of 1949.

The special woman is like the true mentor. Her special quality lies in her relationship to the young man's Dream. She helps to animate the part of the self that contains the Dream. She facilitates his entry into the adult world and his pursuit of the Dream. She does this partly through her own actual efforts as teacher, guide, host, critic and sponsor . . . the special woman helps him to shape and live out the Dream: she shares it, believes in him as its hero, gives it her blessing, joins him on the journey and creates a 'boundary space' within which his aspirations can be imagined and hopes nourished. (Levinson, 1978, p. 109)

Every man should have the companionship of an Anne. Through all the years since July 1949, she has been the most stable, constructive element in my life. We were introduced by mutual friends during the mid-portion of my first lonely

summer in Albemarle. A long friendship matured into our engagement in 1951 and marriage in 1952. She has always been supportive of my career and objectives, but never out of blind adulation. Anne has always tended to hold my feet practically to the ground when romantic delusions would have carried me away to projects of lesser meaning. For that reason, the tension and conflict that have strengthened our relationship relate more to surviving in a practical world than to deluding ourselves in some imaginative galaxy (Levinson, 1978, p. 237).

In addition to exerting a highly supportive influence on my life, Anne has served as an excellent scholarly role model. Her approach to life and its experiences is a continuing demonstration of warmth and openness for her family and people in general. She is a quietly caring person, a private person, raised with the qualities of a "Southern Lady" based on ideas and attitudes most prevalent in the 19th century. As experience would soon demonstrate, the beginning of a strong relationship helped sustain me when I was challenged to become more professional in my work.

Sometime during the autumn of 1949, Bill Page put me on probation. He said my announcing was so bad that if I did not improve 200% in two weeks, he was going to fire me. I was crushed and frightened. Having practically run away from home to take the job, and having dropped out of college, I did not want to have to crawl back to Concord as a failure.

In that pre-audio tape era, the station owned a wire recorder and for the next two weeks I practically lived with that device, recording and practicing until I was nearly exhausted.

I could not develop an ear for conversational inflection, or "calculated spontaneity" (Goffman, 1959, p. 32). I was always trying to sound like somebody else. I lacked the confidence to converse informally on the radio. My delivery was stilted, rigid, and monotonous. I had no conception of the announcer's delivery as an intensely personal energized extension of self, "as the pace of everyday talk" (Goffman, 1959, p. 32). Eventually, I developed the ability to "hear" myself and learned that presenting copy naturally is simply energizing a story-telling conversational tone. When the probationary two weeks ended, I still had my job. Page probably felt sorry for me, or maybe his wife just stopped complaining about my announcing.

Mother and I were reunited when I was again stricken with appendicitis and she took me home to Concord to recuperate following the operation. As my 18th birthday (November 1949) approached, life was remarkably pleasant. The relationship with Mother was more adult and Anne was present as a good friend and companion. As I began to accrue months of experience behind the microphone, the older announcers moved on to other stations leaving me to assume additional announcing and production duties. Six months or so after

I came to work at the station, I began writing commercials, and before long Page assigned me to host the popular afternoon record request show "Juke Box Revue."

Shortly after I assumed this assignment a caller asked if I would consider raising money for a baby who needed a special operation. "Blue babies" were born with a partial obstruction in the right ventricle or lower chamber of the heart and a hole between the right and left ventricles. I understood that a new surgical method had been developed to correct this situation at the Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore. The operation cost around \$800.00, much more than the family could afford to pay. My first successful "Blue Baby" fund drive led to several more, and before long I was renting a safety deposit box at the local savings and loan company to store several thousand dollars in contributions. I discovered that participating in public service projects compensated for some of the negative aspects of radio like poor pay and long hours.

At this early stage of my career, community involvement transformed me into a socially oriented broadcaster and initiated my inclination to use my broadcasts to "help" people. In 1952 Page asked me to join him and three other investors to purchase WABZ. At 20 years of age and still without a car, I hitchhiked to Concord, and with assistance from my family, was able to borrow the \$3,600 I needed for

a down payment on my 20% interest in the new corporation. Our group eventually purchased the station for \$54,000, with a down payment of \$18,000. When the Federal Communications Commission approved the sale, Mother had to sign for me because I was not yet 21.

Ownership raised my pay from \$60.00 a week to \$75.00 and provided a corporate officer's salary of \$125.00 a month. My elevated position projected me above older and better educated adults on our staff, and some of them resigned rather than work for a "kid." I was immensely proud of my new position and appreciative of Page's gift of ownership. However, the situation began to sour when Page and I discovered how little we agreed on programs, personalities, and commercial strategies. However, before our disagreements reached a serious stage, the U.S. Army intervened and summoned me for a 2-year tour of active duty.

While active duty took me away from Anne and the radio station, it provided a positive educational experience by introducing challenging assignments and additional experience in radio, television, and film. According to Levinson (1978), service probably delayed my maturity and prolonged my early adult transition to 24½ years, as compared with the estimated 22 suggested in his study (p. 21). As Levinson pointed out, "most of the men in his sample had experience in the Armed Forces . . . which had a formative effect on the

separation from pre-adulthood and the entry into early adulthood" (p. 75).

Working with radio-TV graduates from some of the nation's best universities, including Northwestern and Southern Illinois, provoked my competitive spirit. At the same time, their degrees intentionalized the first sensation of educational inferiority that was to intensify with the passage of the years. My first major military assignment (January, 1954) was as Chief, Radio-TV Section, "Operation Flashburn," the U.S. Army's first atomic weapons maneuver. During the exercise, I produced and narrated a daily 10-minute film report highlighting the program's strategic military activity. The film was presented each evening as part of the formal briefing by the exercise director. With 30 men with 16mm. cameras at my disposal, I dispatched crews across the expanse of the North Carolian sandhills to film action ranging from paratrooper drops to full-scale tank assaults. It was not only exhilarating experience for me--I had more cameramen at my disposal than Cecil B. DeMille--but the segments I filmed and edited contained artistic elements of all the war movies I had seen to that time.

At the conclusion of "Operation Flashburn," the Commanding General of the U.S. Third Army awarded me a "Certificate of Merit" and promoted me to Staff Sergeant. I did not realize it at the time, but that film work and production

experience would prepare me to produce programs and documentaries at WFMY-TV in the late 50's. Later, at Fort Gordon, Georgia, and San Juan, Puerto Rico, my work with some of the Army's public information units introduced me to the excitement of live television. The 23 months of active military duty provided a variety of personal and career opportunities. As a member of the staff of the Armed Forces Radio Service in San Juan, I covered my first hurricanes and began to take the weather seriously as a subject for broadcasting. I worked with educated broadcasters and managed a major production assignment involving hundreds of men and complicated logistical problems.

During my absence from WABZ, Anne attended the board meetings and updated me on the operation of the station and the decisions of its officers. I was distressed to hear that they had purchased a cabin on a nearby lake for entertaining themselves and the station's clients, while I was more interested in purchasing additional properties and building a new studio location. I was unhappy with Page's operation of the station and with some of his personnel decisions. I blamed him for creating the unfavorable climate that encouraged a competitor to build a second radio station in Albemarle. I felt his proposed changes in our advertising rates diminished our reputation as the town's premier radio outlet. Another point of tension and conflict involved my salary. I came back to WABZ after two years

in service for not much more per week than I had made when I left. As an owner, I felt that I was not fairly compensated during an era when I was experiencing Levinson's Early Adult Transition.

Mercifully, the years have dimmed a recollection of the six months during which I was terminating my mentoring relationship with Bill Page. In the final analysis, this experience in my Early Adult Transition was one of those traumas that scratches, scrapes and wounds, but does not last forever. As Levinson defined the period, it leaves a young man with two major tasks:

One task is to terminate the adolescent life structure and leave the pre-adult world. A young man has to question the nature of that world and his place in it. It is necessary to modify existing relationships with important persons and institutions, and to modify the self that formed in pre-adulthood. Numerous separations, losses and transformations are required. The second task is to make a preliminary step into the adult world: to explore its possibilities, to imagine oneself as a participant in it, to make and test some tentative choices before fully entering it. (Levinson, 1978, p. 73)

When I realized I could not survive the daily conflict with Page, I asked him to see if he could find me another job, preferably in the television industry. A few weeks later he said he had spoken with General Manager Gaines Kelley of WFMY-TV in Greensboro and that the station had an opening for a staff announcer. Late one Friday, WFMY-TV's Program Director Gomer Lesch called to say that he was in town and wanted to sit with me during my announcing shift

the following morning. Lesch was evidently pleased with my work because he soon invited me to come to Greensboro for an on-camera audition at the WFMY-TV studios. When I was offered a staff announcing position at much less than I was making in Albemarle, I was only too happy to accept it and confront the challenge of television.

From my beginning at WABZ as a janitor and "go-fer" in the spring of 1949 (age 16), to the spring of 1956 (age 25), I had advanced to program director and part owner. I had been introduced to supervision and management, writing and production. I had mastered the radio technology of the era and discovered film and television. I was a "jack of all the broadcasting trades." I could read and report weather, news and sports, introduce music and write commercials. I knew how to plan and produce programs. I looked forward to performing on television and developing new skills and techniques. Anne and I were excited about distancing ourselves from Albemarle and Concord and establishing new relationships and a new home in Greensboro where nobody knew us.

In this first section of my report, I have traced my stream of consciousness from my first remembrance (age 3, 1934) in Levinson's Early Childhood Transition, to my departure from WABZ through the Early Adult Transition (age 24, 1956) to Early Adulthood. Through the experiences of these

years, I began structuring the foundations of my triad of identities, the portraits of a regional, national and creative nature that, ideally, would formulate their characteristics into one distinctive voice (Erikson, 1985, pp. 285-325; John-Steiner, 1987, p. 37). With the campaign to raise money for children's operations, I discovered that public service could be intrinsically rewarding. With the purchase of WABZ and the success that gift signified, I found that "hard work does pay off," and that mentoring relationships are a valuable form of apprenticeship.

In the following chapter, I will describe, define, and interpret (a) the intentions of a local television broadcaster in terms of the program he presents, (b) the people who assist him in presenting that program, and (c) what the experience of a local television program might mean to the givers and the receivers of this product.

CHAPTER II

"THE GOOD MORNING SHOW":
DEFINITIONS, DESCRIPTIONS, AND MEANINGS

A friend once remarked that "I was born to have my own television show." I should have quickly asked, "what makes you say so," and his rationale might have provided an insight into some of the analytical questions about mind and meaning that I want to investigate in this section of my report. When broadcasters specifically, and people generally, discover that the Good Morning Show (GMS) is more than 30 years old, they usually exclaim, "That's phenomenal!" It is from that exclamatory response that I begin this chapter by posing a series of exploratory questions indicative of scientific intentionality. If this particular program is a phenomenon, (a) what are reasons for its phenomenality, (b) where are its foundational phenomena lodged, and (c) what is the structure of its phenomenology? It is also important to discover how many different series of intentions organically intersected to create what has been publicly described as a "familiar community institution" (Greensboro News and Record, December 18, 1987).

If I had only one subject to examine the task might be less difficult, but there are two phenomenologies operating in the history of the program, the program's and mine

as its founding creator-producer-host. I plan to examine not only what is seen and not seen, but also what is the relationship (a) between the community and the program, (b) between the televising station and the program, and (c) between the hosts and the program, and then, I plan to isolate the creative energy at the root of the program.

Objectively, I will seek to define, describe, and interpret the meaning of a specific local television program telecast on a commercially licensed television station in Greensboro, North Carolina. Operatively, this scientifically inquisitive strategy will engage the parallel professional broadcasting career of the host-producer of the program. Intentionally, the goal is to focus on the unique mental and historical relationship between one human being and one creative construct across a period of 30 years (1957-1987) in an extended community the television industry labels a "coverage area." Particular attention will be paid to the Greater Greensboro community where certain historical events impacted on the phenomenology of the GMS through my relationship with the program.

Because my life from December 16, 1957, to the present (March 1988) is so closely entwined with the creation and history of "The Good Morning Show," and my striving to personhood is so much a part of our mutual striving to maturity, any analysis of our life structure is phenomenologically

challenging, if not terrifying. Therefore, what I am about to attempt in this section of my report is comparable to splitting the human brain into two distinct parts, one titled Lee Kinard, the second, "The Good Morning Show."

My selection of the brain as a model for examination is significantly intentional. As Hart indicated, "there is no concept, no fact in education, more directly important than this: the brain is, by nature's design, an amazing subtle and sensitive pattern-detecting apparatus" (1983, p. 60). It has been my personal experience, that the mind as a pattern-detecting device can, if allowed time and space, solve problems, create programs, suggest innovations, alleviate interpersonal conflicts, and dispense attitudes of satisfaction and appreciation. When entrusted with the cognitive management of humanistic ideas as a creatively sensitive instrument, the brain, in recognizing organization, can focus on "opportunistic planning as a process that starts with high level goals and refines them into achievable actions" (Anderson, 1983, p. 130).

The process of description, definition, and interpretation begins, whenever possible, with the initial idea (model) or thought or, in the language of the phenomenologist, with an "intention." As Anderson (1983) pointed out, "human cognition at all levels involves choosing what to process," and I plan to process the evolutionary development of real

ideas expressed in a functional communications model of a local TV program (p. 126). As Lorenz (1987) suggested, "our subjective experiential processes possess the same degree of reality as everything that can be expressed in the terminologies of the exact natural sciences" (pp. 5-6). Therefore, as I present the following series of deconstructions, it is crucial to look as intently for what is missing, as it is imperative to reflect on what is presented.

As I begin to inquire into the meaning of the GMS, I do so, as Natanson suggested, prudently restricting myself to "a rigorous description of intentional presentations," but not at the risk of ignoring that which is not present in the surface appearance of the subject being described. My report will attempt to retrieve and "reveal the creative ambiguity which description conceals: philosophy as the redemption of method" (Ihde, 1985). Ideally, I would like to see an analysis of the descriptions of the subject program frame the basis for a theory of successful local television programs as purposeful consciousness-raising, humanistic instruments. At best, I will attempt to present "a portrait of human emergence" as it relates to my psychological maturity as the program's creator, host, and executive producer (Ihde, 1985, p. 3).

At the same time, I am committed to discovering whether the program as a creation has an existence beyond the life I give it. Bound in this proposed description as intensely

as I am, parameters are necessary to govern the foundation of my structure of examination and interpretation and the resulting construct of meaning. According to Ihde (1977), the field of phenomena includes introspective and extrospective data. He has also pointed out that "for phenomenology, the central feature of experience is a structure called 'intentionality,' which correlates all things experienced with the mode of experience to which the experience is referred" (p. 23).

For the purposes of this report I will define a television program as "a performance or production that occupies a predetermined length of time and is prepared for broadcast on a television station." It is an entity with opening and closing parameters usually bracketing a predetermined set of minutes called a time period. These minutes may be incrementally divided or expanded, named and filled to display bits and pieces of information or performances.

Some scholars and broadcasters who have observed the GMS and have knowledge of its history believe that it is worthy of examination because many of the qualities it exhibits are phenomenal when compared to other television projects. It is significant because (a) it has been locally produced for 30 years (1957-1987), (b) the host-producer and creator of the program is still active in that dual role (1988), (c) the program has achieved higher ratings than

its national network competition, and (d) it has been a financial success for its originating station.

Historically, the program's longevity parallels two important social and political eras in contemporary American life: (a) the struggle for civil rights in the southeastern United States and (b) the feminist movement as it relates to the introduction and performance of women in local television.

The GMS has been recognized by the public schools, professional teachers' organizations, and public and private colleges and universities for supporting the institution of education. Since thousands of its segments have been devoted to educational issues, the program's themes and segments are deemed comparable to what we would expect from a thoughtful, provocative curriculum when that curriculum is defined, in Brubaker's (1982) terms, as "what persons experience in a setting" (p. 2).

Premiering in August 1971 in conjunction with the massive desegregation of the Greensboro Public Schools, the "School Days" segment served to inform the public that, regardless of social change and controversy, schooling was continuing in the Greensboro system. Later, this educational series was expanded to include additional school systems in the program's coverage area. This attention to public education deserves investigation for the implications it

poses for the use of commercial TV as a consciousness-raising instrument. Besides "School Days," however, there is embedded in the longevity of the GMS an additional history of ideas of a social, psychological, and political nature.

Phenomenology of the GMS Creator-Host-Producer

What is absent from my picture on the television screen is my biography. This provokes a plethora of questions beginning with (a) who is this man, (b) why is he doing what he is doing, (c) who selected him, (d) what qualifications does he have that would allow him to communicate with millions of people, and (e) who made the decision to allow him to present a certain kind of program, and finally, (f) why is he more acceptable to the audience than any other person[ality].

In the previous autobiographical chapter, I presented the history of 24½ years of my life. When I arrived in Greensboro on April 16, 1956, to fill the position of staff announcer at WFMY-TV, my goal was to become a television personality. My prior live TV experience consisted of two appearances during military service in North Augusta, South Carolina (1954), and San Juan, Puerto Rico (1955). My intention to achieve public recognition was not accompanied by a firm plan of operation other than to present myself on TV. I was informed that I would begin working as an unseen "booth announcer," presenting station breaks and narrative material

over video, and that it would probably be six months before I appeared on live television.

I felt as if I were setting forth on a great adventure with absolutely no reservations about my eventual, intentional success, no apprehension of failure, and no perception of the dimensions or challenges of the new world I was entering. Historically, the opportunities for live performances developed more rapidly than expected, and I made my first on-camera appearance in the same month I reported to work. Within six months I had inherited the producing and hosting for a twice-weekly afternoon variety show called "TV Matinee."

While the opportunity to present a live television show was exciting, the assignment was not rewarded with a salary increase. The 50% reduction in salary I had accepted to break into TV was developing into a financial strain that was beginning to impact on my family's security. At that time, I intentionally positioned myself to survive by creating an overtime economy. I proceeded to upgrade my production skills by learning how to operate a studio camera and a boom microphone and placed myself on call for overtime production crew assignments. This personal strategy provided additional ways to supplement my income and new subjects to explore concerning the manner in which TV programs are produced.

As 1956 became 1957, the intention to become a local TV star was still a major objective, but in minutes I might move from performing before the camera to operating the camera for another presentation, serving as a boom operator, or acting as floor manager. At no time did I find the crew work boring or unproductive. It strengthened my understanding of television production, allowed me to establish a congenial relationship with technicians, and helped sustain an acceptable standard of living for my family.

To understand who I am as a performer it is necessary to begin with some descriptions of my style, technique, and attitude. There were many radio announcers in the late 40's and 50's who made the transition to television, but the change involved learning new techniques for on-camera presentations. The Lee Kinard seen most often on "TV Matinee" was the juvenile comedian from schooling's class clown days. Attempting to adapt my spontaneity to mimic Red Skelton, Jack Benny, Milton Berle, and Phil Silvers, I wrote countless unsuccessful monologues. I could write satire, but I could not successfully present it, because I lacked the timing and the self-conscious confidence of the comedian. As long as I attempted to mimic either my serious or my comedic role models, my performances were inadequate, unbelievable, and unnatural.

Program director Jack Markham provided the direction toward the eventual development of my TV identity by offering

this simple advice: "Lee, I think you can make it in this business, if you will just be yourself." I looked at him and asked, "Who am I?" Markham's idea of "who" I should be on television was "the guy I see in the hallways chatting and laughing with the staff, a nice friendly person." What I heard Jack saying was, that it was all right for me "to be me," and that I could possibly succeed as me. At that instant, being my natural self assumed phenomenality.

By affirming "me to myself," Markham reduced the pressure on performing and encouraged me to accept myself as a marketable commodity. I no longer needed to look and act like Red Buttons to be successful; I had only to be myself. When I recognized that I was uncomfortable with monologues, I began to express my creativity through conversational interviewing and spontaneous observations of ideas, actions, events, and people.

Spontaneity is the core quality of my presentational style. It is most effective when I have a foil to work with. In the case of the GMS, the co-hosts provide the tension that influences my attitudinal approach to any type of subject matter. As a class clown, I specialized in spontaneous commentaries drawn from observing teachers, classmates, and classroom material. Whatever I say about a given topic is apparently conditioned by an inclination to refute pretension and evaluate obscurities in communicable interactions between people I work with, those I observe, and the kinds

of information I am processing at any given time. A mischievous aspect of my psychology apparently delights in satirizing contrasts and comparisons between the imagination and reality as they relate to public presentations and public knowledge.

Extemporaneously, I tend to analyze what is seen but not described and what is said but not defined. My vision of the world is coded in an analysis of impressions resulting from an ability to immediately reflect on the natural interaction between myself, my environment, and my attitude of instantaneously interpreting from a variety of sources what is novel or provocative. While Goffman (1959) may have been concerned with people as "essentially performers whose main business is fabricating an identity," I see myself as a performer whose uniqueness lies in using my wit to point out some of the discrepancies in our daily lives (Snyder, 1987, p. 10). When I began to perform on camera as I acted off camera, I became less conscious of myself and more aware of the content I was presenting. At the same time my family, friends, co-workers, and viewers obviously became more comfortable with me as the content of my presentations improved.

An additional confidence factor impacting on my professional presentations during my first year in TV involved a philosophical decision by the WFMY-TV production department. In the late 50's, our stage-trained directors were

leaving the company, or being promoted to supervisory positions. Suddenly, the development of new technology, directing became more technical than creative. Directors were more involved with switching from camera to camera or video source to video source than guiding a performer through his presentation. Stage-trained directors were uniquely attuned to the performance and schooled to critique performers like me who were learning the nuances of the medium.

However, when management opted to hire inexperienced crew members and allow them to progress through on-the-job training to director, it effectively deemphasized "directing" in the presentational sense. Now, inexperienced television "announcers" like me were without trained coaches--men who understood the nature and quality of "content" and how best to present it on TV. The demise of the stage-trained director meant that the producer-performer had to assume additional responsibilities for the quality of his presentation while he was striving to create content.

Performers who produced and hosted their own programs protected them as parents would protect members of their family. Psychologically and spiritually, we devoted so much of ourselves to our programs, that when management attempted to criticize content, perceptions of territoriality and ownership provoked paranoia. For male performers, filing cabinets usually bore the battering of our frustration. After one challenge from management concerning a programming

decision, I went to a civic luncheon with a bloody handkerchief wrapped around the four knuckles I had split open indenting the top drawer of a metal filing cabinet. In time, battles and wars became metaphors for producing local television at WFMY-TV from the 50's into the late 70's.

By observing the descriptive language in the preceding paragraph, Goffman (1959) would find that we were obviously 'sincere' performers engaged in ritualistic presentations, but we also had a romantic opinion of ourselves. We believed that since these programs had been assigned to us, we owned them and we were extremely jealous of the content. We considered that for the most part we were working alone, alienated from the remainder of the staff and that we were a special breed of performers. According to Goffman,

perhaps because of the orientation upward found in major societies today, we tend to assume that the expressive stresses in a performance necessarily claim for the performer a higher class status than might otherwise be accorded him. (p. 37)

Reflectively, my associates and I were unconsciously pursuing what Peters (1985) later made a fortune selling: "the mythology of innovation, a skunkworks project."

As a local television performer, with only a few national credits, I have observed that local performers are often considered second-class professionals because they are not working in "the big time." What the "network" is doing is generally the most important topic among production and news

people in local television stations. Only an empathetic audience offers the local performer recognition and respect, for local performers are not often perceived in the same light as their network counterparts. This tendency appeared to be changing in the 80's as Hill (1988) found more and more local TV stations relying on the authority of their "warhorses" to sustain credibility and viewership.

Creating the "Morning Show": Autumn 1957

Having established a perception of the phenomenology of a 26-year-old local TV announcer-producer in 1957, I will review the historical intention of some executives at WFMY-TV to create an innovative new TV program. One morning when, by chance, I met Program Director Gomer Lesch, he asked me if I would like to do a Morning Show. I said "yes" and asked him for details. He said he did not have anything specific in mind, but for me to "think about the idea and see what I could come up with in the way of suggestions and a format" (outline). In 1982, Lesch recalled the circumstances surrounding the creation and development of the GMS.

I cannot bring into focus a very specific recall of the idea for the program. My feeling is that we decided the local live show would be both competitive and a good community service opportunity, as well as a potentially valuable commercial property. I think I could take credit for the idea, but would hasten to suggest that Gaines Kelly, the General Manager, and Jack Markham, Production Manager, were highly instrumental in giving support to the idea and getting the show put together.

In its embryonic stage the idea that evolved into the GMS was just a thought, a notion, an intention in the minds of several executives. As an idea it contained the immediate quality of nothing because it represented only time that needed to be filled with content. In a television interview on January 15, 1988, former WFMY-TV Production and Program Manager Jack Markham reviewed management's concern about the morning program: "We stood around and scratched our heads and said, 'now that we've got a half hour, what are we going to do with it' . . . that's a terribly long time to fill." One way to compensate for that problem was to delegate the space, and that is when I entered the picture as the personality in the right place at the right time.

Your selection was simply a matter of the most appropriate personality for the effort. You have a pleasing personality, a good appearance and the kind of ad-lib capability that is needed on this type of program. I am sure we felt you were the obvious choice given the staff we had at that time, and given also some of the responsibilities of the other people. I don't believe we ever thought of anybody else for the spot. (Lesch, 1982)

An additional assignment meant extra work, but I assumed that if I succeeded in developing this concept into a successful TV program, I would be compensated accordingly for hosting and producing the show. As I previously noted, my base pay at that time was only about \$85.00 a week and I was groping for any opportunity that presented the possibility of extra money. I also assumed that the morning show

I was developing would be my personal possession. This is not to imply that I expected to have financial ownership of the program, but decision-making control of the content. That type of organic ownership allows a performer to maintain and sustain his ego integrity and his cultural identity. In time that nearly passive form of ownership could incorporate my value to the company by serving as "my security blanket."

Descriptively, I created two distinct intentions before I even began to consider what kind of content to include in the program, or how that material should be organized: thoughts of ownership and personal reward. As Markham indicated, the station's executives were more concerned about content and how we were going to fill the time. Theoretically, a television program is a three-element variant construct of model, time, and content. What follows in this case from any program model is a definition of its meaning. The working title for the new program was simply, "The Morning Show."

What evolved as the program's title, "The Good Morning Show," is the simple greeting Americans tend to exchange when they meet prior to noon. "Good Morning" is warm, pleasant, positive, and relatable. Once we approved the title, it was necessary to begin finding a way to reinforce the model with content. In other words, we set out to make a pleasant, positive, relatable program. Strategically,

I did not introduce my intentional expectations of ownership and reward, because I was afraid management would cancel the project or find somebody else who would work for nothing. Those expectations were transferred to my hidden agenda.

By the late 50's commercial television had been spreading across the nation for almost a decade, but in our part of North Carolina we were still experimenting, still pioneering in the medium. We were hopeful that this local, live morning TV show would create excitement among prospective advertisers and generate additional revenue for WFMY-TV. During this era commercial advertisements on local television represented a major expenditure for the medium-sized businessman, but by creating the GMS our executives could offer reasonably priced commercial availabilities at a nominal cost. If the program had meaning for me in terms of ownership, reward, and security, and meaning for the station in terms of a profit center, what meaning would attract an audience, and what meaning did local broadcasting executives attach to the audience in 1957?

The Phenomenology of the GMS

The program I will historically describe in the following chapter is two hours long and is co-hosted by three performers. It presents weather, news, sports, community affairs interviews, travel features, telephone call-ins, newsmaking individuals, cooking segments, horticulture, and

a variety of additional material appealing to specific and general audiences, or whatever is of interest that comes to the attention of the program's producers.

It is as local as dirt, but its segments have contradictorily ranged from the TV station's backyard to Australia and New Zealand, from Thailand to Wales, from Finland to Hungary, and from Madrid to Moscow. The program does not have an official budget, and its hosts have additional assignments that keep them occupied long after the show has ended at 8:00 a.m.

The intention of the program is framed in the slogan "If it matters in the morning you'll see it on the Good Morning Show." The community-public service function of the program means that responsible viewers may gain access to the medium to promote their various civic and organizational functions. The GMS sells Girl Scout Cookies, Christmas bazaar items, barbecue for volunteer fire companies, and tickets to PTA carnivals.

As the producer of the GMS, I select exactly what I want the viewer to see, the presentational mode, and the order of presentation. What the viewer sees is often (a) what I would like to see, (b) what management wants to see, (c) what the producers believe the public needs to see, (d) what the people who call or write the program are successful in getting shown, (e) who is in our office to answer

the telephone when a person calls to inquire about community service time on the program, and (f) how much time is left to fill on any given day.

What the viewer does not see includes a similar selection of material: (a) suggestions I discard as uninteresting or unproductive, (b) requests by phone I do not answer, (c) material that is specifically distasteful to me, and (d) suggestions I do not care to reflect upon at a particular time. A major reason for my longevity with the program as its host and producer for more than 30 years is the fact that my ownership and operation have generally been autonomous. In more cases than not, the decision about what to present and what not to present has been mine alone.

From an evolutionary point of view, some material is presented on the program today (1988) that was not presented in an earlier era because national exposure and changes in attitudes have made the material acceptable. For example, in the late 70's I was contacted by members of a local colostomy organization for interview time to discuss this particular operation, its relationship to colon cancer, and the support groups that were available to assist people who had experienced colostomies. The program manager and I decided this topic was unsuitable for a breakfast TV show and we discarded the idea. However, before the decade was over, the program and the station were participating in a major

campaign to fight cancer of the colon by disseminating information about the disease including free colon cancer detection kits. This phenomenon occurred because the educational emphasis concerning the prevalence of colon cancer eventually reached the national media and became an acceptable, indeed an imperative topic of discussion.

If, and this is hindsight, I had been approached to present an educational program about colon cancer, as opposed to discussing the aftermath of the operation and its specific physical and emotional effect on the victims, I might possibly have cooperated and saved lives. However, when I first heard about colostomies, the operation sounded distasteful and did not appear to be a major health problem, or one that demanded discussion.

Therefore, it is possible to say that material may not appear on the GMS because of the ignorance of the producer or the manner in which the material is presented or not presented to the producer. There have been occasions when I did not present material because, intuitively, I did not feel comfortable with the topic, and decided that not presenting it would protect me from possible conflict and criticism. As a local TV personality, the host and producer of the GMS, I have no way of protecting myself from the irate public. I do not have an administrative assistant answering my phone. Unlike national television performers, I live in the community to which I broadcast "local-ness." I am

accessible in the "five and dime," the supermarket, the pharmacy, and while I am getting my teeth and my car fixed. Ironically, I am my own worst enemy when I intentionally decide not to do something on the program. Former WFMY-TV Program Director Jack Markham describes how I strategically ignored a major political situation.

One of the most traumatic events of my life was when we came up to November and we discovered that Lee had not done any political reporting for the entire fall, and as Program Manager it was my responsibility to know what was going on and be sensitive to this problem. I went over to Lee's office and we talked about the problem, and he says, "well, there's so much controversy and you've got equal time problems and the fairness doctrine and things like that, that I just decided to stay away from all of it. (Markham, 1988)

Decisions about what kind of segmental (feature) material to produce for the GMS are made well in advance of any particular show. Decisions about how to fill the gaps between the segments is spontaneous and extemporaneous. Network programs pay writers millions of dollars to create material for the gaps while I and my co-hosts create it spontaneously. Gaps represent the incremental periods between features, interviews, news, weather, and sports. In contemporary news jargon these gaps are filled with "happy talk." During the GMS we communicate with the audience during the gaps by addressing their needs and interests. We read their letters, give the time and temperature, and comment on personal experiences or events, actions, and personalities making the news. Jay Wilkinson is the

Production Manager at WFMY-TV and a former director of the GMS. In a memo written to members of the show's production staff, he discussed the importance of the gaps.

Use the gaps. I can't emphasize enough about those spaces between the content. They need to be preserved, protected, incubated and nurtured. They are under the control of Lee's influence. We (the directors) have more control over them than over the content. The content is what makes the show worthwhile. The gaps are what makes it watchable. (Wilkinson, 1987)

A successful television program is linked not so much to its parts, as its parts are linked to the viewer by a highly motivated and energized presenter. The presenter should focus the viewer's interest like the narrator of an historical novel and direct the viewer through the program like a companion and expert guide. The GMS is intended to direct a viewer to the beginning of a pleasant constructive day and to leave him with a set of intentions of a more positive nature than he may have had when he tuned into the program.

Energized with enthusiasm in the style of a circus ringmaster, the GMS host attempts to pique the viewer's interest and imagination as a way of enticing him to stay tuned for all of the following "acts" in the show. Ideally, the intensity of lack of it in the program's content swings and sorts the viewer's emotions and interest like the moon and sun influence the tides. The host's task is to encourage the viewers to make experiencing the program an intentional

act and then to substantiate their longevity in their written and spoken comments.

I intentionally attempt to create an experience for the viewer by enticing him to use his mind conceptually to consider the material I am presenting. I provoke the viewer through a pedagogic process by asking questions, attempting to establish a dialogue, by presenting provocative material that raises questions about its content by the nature and quality of its substance. For example, a feature that offers insights into the programs of an urban ministry might cause a perceptive viewer to question the morals of a society that reproduces poor people, or the attitude of a community that lacks an awareness of poverty, hunger, and illiteracy among its citizens. Intentionally, I attempt to influence viewers to contribute money or time to a project.

A properly designed feature dramatizing the economic decline of the Welsh coal industry might induce a North Carolina textile worker to compare that phenomenon with the decline of the textile industry in our part of the Southeast. By becoming conceptually aware of his condition of employment, the worker might convince himself to seek retraining and literacy in a local community college.

Comparatively, the presentation of a video essay on autumn in the Blue Ridge Mountains might provide a romantic, uplifting transport for another viewer, allowing him to

transcend the mundane nature of his routine by creating a space where he can reflect on his condition and consider new possibilities for his lifestyle. An upbeat music video might energize an otherwise lethargic viewer and intentionalize a new attitude for his entire day.

The point is that, as the producer of a television program, I am conscious of the viewer's consciousness in the same way that I am conscious of my consciousness. I live in the real world to which, and in which, I am broadcasting. I know what questions to ask people, because as a worker I am asking those same questions. Admittedly, I am aware of "systematic modesty" as a method of convincing my viewers that I am in the same boat they are, when that just might not be the case (Goffman, 1959, p. 38). But, when I exercise an intention to place myself on the viewer's level, I do so because I want the viewer to realize that I empathize with his condition. This is how I affirm my sense of morality and justice.

I like to believe that I am metaphysically aware of the viewer's consciousness before I begin to look at the program's ratings or research statistics. While I am making a program for other people to look at, I am also making a program that makes me comfortable. The content of the GMS is occasionally self-serving because of the subjectivity associated with material or information I have intentionally

researched to increase my personal knowledge and understanding of any topic. Like the potter, I tend to produce that with which I feel most comfortable after it has come from the kiln.

In 1988 the viewer who watches the GMS sees three specialized presenters delivering news, weather, sports, and additional forms of material during a two-hour program. In 1957 and for 20 years thereafter, the author hosted the program alone. While it was a jack-of-all-trades single presenter in 1957, the program's maturity in 1988 is exemplified by a team of performers.

A team . . . may be defined as a set of individuals whose intimate cooperation is required if a given projected definition of the situation is to be maintained. A team is a grouping not in relation to a social structure or social organization but rather in relation to an interaction or a series of interactions in which the relevant definition of the situation is maintained. (Goffman, 1959, p. 104)

In my estimation, the GMS is a social organization. Obviously, it is one department of a commercial television station, but its community mission is social. An interview with the members of the team would reveal that they are socially involved with the community's citizens and projects and that the program's content often includes information about these projects.

The executive producer of the GMS (the author) is the leader of the program. I oversee its content, performers, resources, and idea development. In the control room the

director initiates the technical presentation of the program and selects the camera "shots" that determine how the performers and the setting will be presented to the viewing audience. Each performer on the GMS is responsible for producing his own material and for the quality and content of its presentation.

Again, beyond the formality of the content, there are the gaps where the heart and soul of the program lives, where the performers have an opportunity to showcase their individuality. Within the gaps the program's hosts assert their vitality and interests and communicate one on one with the viewers. But the gaps also provide a challenge for the program's director.

The (GMS) shows that are memorable, the ones people write about and mention in conversation are made up most often, not by the content, as much as by the presentation. This is where Lee and the show really shine. I'm talking, not so much about the technical, whizbang presentation, but the attitude of the show. Lee's ability to really 'reach out and touch' the viewer is proven. He asks the questions the viewer wants to ask, he's human and his instincts are the best. We need to produce a show that helps him and supports him. Be ready to provide a stimulus or a catalyst for him if he needs it. One thing that Lee does better than anyone else is ad-lib, especially when he's in the mood for it. Sure, it's work for him, but when the environment is right and he has something to say the good natured banter flows more easily. A producer needs to provide that environment. (Wilkinson, 1987)

Wilkinson's remarks explain my instinctive spontaneity which is attuned to presenting a positive, productive humanistic approach to life through attitude, sensitivity, curiosity,

and the ability to converse extemporaneously on a variety of topics.

We know that Lee's spontaneous antics are very appealing. Even when he comes in moody, he will sometimes play off of it. He plays the show's resident ogre on these days. He'll pick on the other co-hosts or other personalities on the staff when he is in these moods and the result is often a theme of sorts. Some days he's playful or chauvinistic. Other days he is a straightforward, no-nonsense authority figure. [To the producer] It will be your job as producer to sense the kind of day it is going to be and provide Lee with the space to do what he does best. Be prepared to provide him with the props, tools, shots and encouragement he needs to play off of. (Wilkinson, 1987)

The structure of the GMS and the structure of my personality are creatively related and mutually supportive. I can no more separate the program from my mind than I can separate my body from my mind. Since I feel a certain "way" on the GMS set that I do not feel in other settings, I interpret this to mean that I can be considered a part of the program's setting, even though this may assign more importance to the role of personalities in settings than Saranson (1972) is willing to grant (p. 55).

Unless there is an emergency or tragedy in the news, the first picture GMS viewers see of me each morning at the beginning of the program is a 'head and shoulders' shot. I consistently smile and offer a cheerful greeting to the audience. While the viewers see a relatively happy man welcoming them to another morning, obviously because I am a human being, I do not always feel as good as I appear. Some mornings I am sick with sinus or sore throat. I have

broken out with German measles, and I have been sick to my stomach during the program. I have worked almost to sign-on some mornings, then, too ill to perform, have walked off the set and returned home. I am usually half awake because I am not a morning person. I may be apprehensive about an interview, concerned about my co-hosts, irritated over a production problem, or infuriated by a technical malfunction. I may be concerned about my family or even a viewer who is upset with me. To present a consistent "front" the audience can identify with, day in and day out, I have to suppress one part of my humanity and energize the performing dimension of my personality to compensate for living an ordinary life beyond the program. However, it would never do for me to be deliriously happy, because too much energy and enthusiasm might offend the slow starters among the audience.

It has always been my contention as a television performer, that to be successful it is important to make as many friends and as few enemies as possible. I tend to project myself as a neutral observer, unless I feel morally or humorously compelled to risk the audience's favor by altering its idealized perception of me by expressing my personal opinions (Sarason, 1972, p. 34).

Self-consciously, I shape the portrait of the Lee Kinard I want my audience to recognize and respect. That stylized Lee Kinard differs from me only because the ceremonial image

may affirm me as a better person, a more perfect human being, than Sarason would say is possible. As a self-conscious performer, I am aware of the moral implications of a stylized presentation, but I tend to see mine "incorporating and exemplifying the official value" of culture, as I recognize it, in the area that receives my program. Hopefully, my "presentation of self" (Goffman, 1959) is perceived as "an expressive rejuvenation and reaffirmation of the moral values of the community" (Sarason, 1972, p. 35).

Occasionally, when I am seriously concerned about an issue, I will launch into a commentary with little regard for the consequences. Under pressure, ideas burst forth from my mind in partially formed sentences and fragmented concepts. Anger, fear, and anxiety disturb my syntactical system and scatter my thoughts. Generally, I am conscious of the statements or comments that may irritate my audience, and I am at least partially prepared for some active response from viewers. When I deliver controversial commentaries, I feel a sensation similar to what I experienced as a child when I "behaved inappropriately" (Goffman, 1959, p. 41). Frankly, I like to behave as well for my audience as my mother taught me to behave when we had guests in the house or went visiting. As a rule I do not like to make anybody mad and I prefer to avoid confrontations, but sometimes I feel compelled to express my opinion. As Goffman (1959) pointed out, performers

continually "risk humiliation and sometimes permanent loss of reputation" (p. 59)

Program-Production Phenomenology

There are several levels of language at work in the presentation of the GMS. Depending on the intensity of his attention, the viewer is familiar with the program's picture and sound, its video and audio. However, in most cases he is not aware of the production language that produces and presents the visual and aural components of the product. This production language is another of television's structural devices. It links the technical crew to the presenter by an electronic device (IFB) molded to fit the ear. Through this "order wire," the control room personnel, directors and producers, can relay message to the performers while they are presenting. Like the language of the program, the language of the production is also subject to distortion caused by technical difficulties and human error. A television receiver is an imperfect instrument for presenting and receiving information. Small screens and large screens, and their different audio systems, provide neither a perfect picture nor consistent sound reception. From any television program we can derive three kinds of meaning: (a) what the program says, (b) what it does not say, and (c) what the viewer thinks he heard. Selectively, the viewer decides how intently he wishes to watch and listen, as is generally the case when

people are engaged in face-to-face conversation. The clarity of understanding is based on how intently the viewer decides to monitor the program and the quality of his physical and technical reception.

The effectiveness of most local TV stations is measured four times a year by Arbitron and Nielsen. The "set-use" data in the Piedmont Triad are collected by diaries in February, May, July, and November. The information provided by these diaries enables researchers to develop a demographic breakdown of the audience in terms of age and sex and rates programs against their competitors (Head & Sterling, 1987, pp. 373-403). As a television producer, I attempt to compensate for "audience measurement and testing" by presenting a higher quality production and presentation of the GMS during the four annual rating periods.

While it may or may not be apparent to the viewer, depending on his knowledge of the content of our program, the GMS is one kind of a program eight months of the year and a different program during the four rating or "sweeps" months. I intentionally produce special material for the sweeps because ratings are considered my program's "report card." I operate in this manner because, based on experience, observation and accepted practices, our share of the sets in use in the measured time period and the quality of the demographics represented in those shares determine how the GMS

compares with its competitors. The program's survival is directly related to its rating and audience share, and the subsequent dollar value of commercials based on the rating statistics.

Since there is an inclination to view the ratings as election results, stations spend thousands of dollars promoting their programs. It is a common practice at WFMY-TV to protect inventory, spaces for potential commercials, in order to promote our programs. In most cases more viewers are absent from the ratings than are present. Viewership is reduced for a variety of variables beyond a program's acceptability. A few of these factors include the program's time period, the seasons of the year, vacations, work schedules, holidays, numerous personal distractions, local, regional, national and international diversions and other media. These identical phenomena can also influence viewers to watch television programs. In order for the GMS to survive it must confront the rating periods and its competitors with creative programming. It is always our intention to be the number-one rated program even though our major competition comes from the national network programs, "Today" and "Good Morning America."

The historical rating strategy of the GMS will be discussed in detail in the following chapter, but what is important in this descriptive analysis of the program is the intentional development of inexpensive local programming

strategies. These "content ideas" are generated to counter the national networks' access to millions of dollars in budgets and talent. Since this program does not have a formal budget, the programming strategy for the GMS is not merely a matter of what we can buy, but what we can successfully produce for as little money as possible. Our competitive strategy is also a matter of cunning planning. While research and statistics inform me about the demographic breakdown of the audience and qualitative research tells me how the viewers react to my performance and that of my co-hosts, one of the major secrets of programming a successful local TV program rests on the producer's knowledge of the area.

My association with the audience exists as strongly off camera as it does on television. I accept, as do my co-hosts, hundreds of opportunities to make public appearances and become uniquely involved in the life of the ethnic, racial, and geographic communities we serve. When we appear in public, we are taking the program to the public. On and off television we support the community's clubs, organizations, and institutions. We are not a religious program in the pure sense of the word, but we serve congregations by helping them with their projects and programs of an ecumenical nature. The GMS supports the positive structure of the community by challenging its citizens to get involved.

By associating with viewers in the grocery stores, the malls, the drug stores, and talking with them on the

telephone, I stay in touch with the community. They tell me what they need in the way of information and resources, and I attempt to program the show to answer those needs with the information and contacts available to the television station. Content is first and foremost weather, news, and sports followed by medicine, money and economics, education, and lifestyle. Community information comprises the third category and includes fund-raisers, artistic performances, workshops, and seminars.

When we have satisfied our need to deliver information about the community, we have fun in the gaps. We produce travel features at home and abroad, compile human interest stories, showcase local talent, conduct telephone call-ins on a variety of topics, and take our cameras into the community for live broadcasts.

By consistently presenting a pattern of information as weather, news, and sports for the first three half-hour blocks of the two-hour program, we try not only to be at the center of the viewer's morning orientation, but actually have a part in structuring it with constant time and temperature updates. We know the time structuring works because viewers are continually telling us what tasks they begin to perform, or conclude, by keying themselves to a certain portion of our program. In other words, our clock is both a gap and content. True to the original conception of the show, many people do more listening than watching unless they are really interested in certain content.

Because producing TV material for a Monday-Friday two-hour show is a 24-hour-a-day job, the program does not allow my mind to rest. Any bit or piece of information I come in contact with is a possible subject for explication. But the two-hour daily grind is not a nerve-wracking production chore. In many instances the program produces itself through the suggestions of its viewers and the events and actions that occur in our daily living experiences. An idea for a feature, a series, or a single interview can originate in a simple conversation with a college professor, or a plumber, a housewife, or an elementary school student. How our audience responds to our content is a way of discovering how intensely they recognize the phenomenology of the GMS.

What is absent from my intellect has keyed more features and interviews on the GMS over the last 30 years than any other single phenomenon. A provocative five-part interview in 1971 for the Family Life Council of Greater Greensboro turned into a series with Greensboro Psychologist Dr. John Edwards, who is still a regular guest. One reason for the longevity of this relationship is the fact that I personally needed to hear some of the advice Edwards passed along to our viewers. I intentionally selected topics to help me solve my personal problems and restructure my life.

Sometimes ideas are quickly produced, others take years to develop. I have had projects in my mind for months waiting for the right moment to present them. The right moment

can occur for a variety of reasons, but often an action, an event or an experience will generate an idea or set an old one in motion. Since I am the program's executive producer, I am aware of the absence of material and the continuing need to produce and upgrade the product. On some occasions I will actually present ideas on television as they flow from my mind. These ideas are not always political in the sense of commentaries; often they are subtle or humorous stories or suggestions the audience could ponder during the course of the day or discuss in the office. From my point of view, it is important to challenge members of the audience with thoughts they can share with friends and associates.

I press ideas on the audience because I want to know if the people are paying attention to the decisions their government is or is not making. At times the passive nature of the audience is a void, a black hole. When viewers do not respond to media reports about major problems with letters or phone calls, then, as a conduit of information, or a "gatekeeper," I become concerned about the lack of response. A situation like this often leads to the presentation of a commentary just to see if anybody is watching the program, or thinking about the problem that is troubling me.

Many of the presentations I perform on TV are rehearsed in my mind before I introduce them. A formal rehearsal is not necessary in most instances, because I know my medium so intimately that I can mentally rehearse thoughts and block

intentions and actions. For lack of a more scientific term, I call this "deep-layered production." An idea or a "bit" in show business jargon is internally impacted by thoughts and reviewed by reflections until it is ready for presentation. If I am considering a complicated production, involving technical equipment and the presence of a television crew and guests, I rehearse the "blocking" mentally as a way of relieving confrontational anxiety on the setting. My ability to produce "on my feet and in my head" is a direct result of my volunteering to work on the production crew during my early years at WFMY-TV. Producing content is the creative dimension of television. But transforming an elusive idea into a television segment or a program is hard work. It involves molding ideas that are dialogically and cinematically stored in my consciousness.

The Phenomenology of the GMS Setting

In reality, the television program our viewers watch takes place on a large set occupying many square feet of studio space. It is also a dance floor, for here the ballet of the television program is choreographed and presented simultaneously as content and performance. Since there are nine places for guests and hosts to sit on the set, I am continually blocking the shots and ordering guests and hosts into various positions to enhance the presentation and the flow of the morning performance. Often the material to be presented

or discussed determines where the presenters and the guests will sit. Once the talent location is settled the cameramen dolly their cameras about the periphery of the set. They "set up" their "shots" at the request of the director who sees the program only through a collection of monitors in the control room.

Why do I, the host and producer of the program, manage the studio setting? Because I contend that spontaneity is a prime distinguishing element in the pacing of a morning TV show. I produce from the floor as I "feel" the pace of the program. I like to create this unique fabric and control the warping of its reality. During the course of the program I not only attend to what I am doing, but to what everybody else is also doing. I like the set. I feel comfortable on every square inch of it because it is like my home. However, the guests who come to the studio for interviews are often unsure of how to present themselves. They are about to appear in a setting they may be familiar with because they have "seen" it on television, but in the bright quartz lighting and in its own physical setting, it looks clinical and formal when compared to the warm and cozy quarters they are accustomed to watching as viewers.

Microwave and satellite technology makes it technologically possible to "set" the program far beyond the confines of the studio. We broadcast live from throughout our coverage area and from points across the United States. We can push

our cameras just outside the studio door to enjoy a spring morning. When it snows we often stage a stunt that shows us sitting on a barstool in the snow, telling a story or introducing a feature. These imagistic innovations make the GMS watchable because unpredictability is a part of the GMS mystique.

When crafting a television program, a producer must be aware that a certain kind of predictability means boredom. I want the GMS to be credibly predictable, but never in the sense of sameness. It is important for the viewer to know that I will give him weather, news, and sports at a certain time, but I need action and excitement to offset the expectations that are inherent in those segments. I give the viewers a steady diet of respect and variety.

My mind is continually talking to me, reminding me that I should at all times seek the audience's approval. It is important to consistently attend to narrowing the distance between myself and my audience. I say often, and in different ways with my eyes, my body, and my voice, "folks, I am one of you and we are in this situation together." I want the viewers to know that I appreciate the opportunity to share with them. That sharing may include enduring a national tragedy like the Challenger explosion, struggling through a major drought, or weathering a southeastern blizzard that caught us all with slick tires and no milk in the house. By the very nature of its existence, the GMS is a major source

of information during bad weather and processes thousands of emergency announcements during these periods.

The Phenomenology of the GMS Hosts (Anchor Team)

On the most exciting, or the dullest of days, I see the program in terms of the compatible relationship of its anchors, performers, presenters, or personalities. It was difficult, as you will learn in the following chapter, for me to accept the program's first co-host after 20 years of soloing. But I quickly came to realize that having co-hosts was a way of sharing responsibility and that the co-hosts could challenge me and make me a finer broadcaster. They could also extend the continuity of the program when I was away on assignment or on vacation. In time I came to realize that professionally effective co-hosts contributed to the overall production of a stronger product.

I want to have personalities on the GMS that are warm, personable, non-threatening to the audience, and highly motivated with exceptional journalistic abilities. They should be aware of themselves and their image as public figures and demonstrate this intellectual recognition consistently in private and before the public. It is my intention to appear with my co-hosts as a family portrait, and when I interview prospective candidates I do so with a feeling of family in mind. I recruit co-hosts who want to be a part of the larger community off television, who enjoy making public appearance and getting involved in community projects.

Additionally, I see the practical value of co-hosts who can add content productivity to the program through their creative efforts, so each co-host becomes a producer. They should exhibit a curiosity about the world and demonstrate evidence of a questing spirit and a questioning intellect. They should welcome the broad experience of performing tasks beyond the parameters of their specialty and share in the program's planning process. To reinforce this strategy, I make it a point to encourage each co-host to adopt the program, to accept ownership. I want them to solidify this ownership by producing features that will allow the audience to know them as real people.

I have to see the program in terms of cosmetics, age, sex, attractiveness, color of hair, complexion, posture, poise, taste in manners and clothing personality, presentation and quality of voice. If a candidate's appearance and manners are acceptable, we can improve techniques of his or her presentation. I do not apologize for considering attractive males and females because I have yet to meet viewers who would prefer to watch unattractive performers between 6:00 and 8:00 a.m.

I am responsible for supervising my co-hosts, for critiquing their performances, and reviewing them for their annual salary increases. Beyond this, I feel a responsibility for their personal and professional growth and for their general well-being. I attend to their professional needs

by allowing them ample time and space to experiment, produce and grow professionally into successful citizens while they are maturing as television personalities. In promoting this spirit of learning and growth, I inherently encourage experimentation and productive achievement. I like to see young television hopefuls stretch themselves to see what they can create and how they can function under pressure. For this reason I provide additional space and opportunities for them to develop management and leadership skills.

I encourage young talent to "watch me," to see how I perform in any situation. I learned my craft by watching and listening to other performers and mentally editing the best of their presentation to what I consider to be the best of my attitudes. This "modeling" can save a young performer years of developmental time and energy, but modeling is only successful when the performer is aware of himself as a human being. The young professional must also understand that "presentation" infers the possession of a unique style structured from his personal psychology. Modeling is not copying. Modeling is cutting and pasting, editing the best of one act to the best of another, creating a harmonious blend of essences and attitudes into a personable, identifiable style.

Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter I have defined a television program as a model of time and space that has to be filled with thematic

content. I have described the content that makes the GMS worthwhile and defined its essential obscurities as the gaps that make the program watchable. I have attempted to describe how my mind detects and organizes meanings and why some of these intentions appear on television and others do not.

At this point an explanation of the techniques of media research is necessary to provide an additional basis for interpreting the following chapter. According to Head and Sterling (1987), "thus far no universally recognized unifying theory of mass communication has emerged to give systematic coordination to investigations or to account for the impact media have on individuals and society" (p. 405). They list three models: (a) the effects model: "content delivers meaning which results in behavioral outcome" (p. 405); (b) the uses and gratification model: "purpose motivates audience to attend content for behavioral outcome" (p. 406); and (c) the accommodation model: "an individual's information system supplies raw information from which motives, explanations, and purposes can be developed and applied to accomplish behavioral outcomes" (p. 407).

Admittedly, much of the material I produce for the GMS can be personally claimed for the rite of intuition. But given the fact that I have compiled almost 40 years in broadcasting and have participated extensively in higher education,

it is reasonable to stipulate that my ideas come from as many complex sources as emanate from simple impressions. For this reason I would select the accommodation model as theoretically adaptable to the kind of research information I would use to produce for TV. According to Head and Sterling (1987), "experience and interpersonal contacts heavily color the way all of us learn from and make use of media" (p. 407).

Now it is time to move on to the history of the GMS from 1957 to 1988, an era marked by the struggle for civil rights and the introduction of women into local television. As the following chapter discloses, I have both ignored history and presented it. I have been both at the center of change and opposed to it. For 30 years I have produced a program that encompasses many different kinds of meanings, some of which are mysterious even to me. I hope that, in some way, this arrangement of definitions, descriptions, and meanings will reinforce an interpretation of the GMS.

CHAPTER III
HISTORY OF THE "GOOD MORNING SHOW"

Greensboro, North Carolina, February 1, 1980

Four middle-aged black men sat in a row on one side of the rectangular lunch counter joking with an elderly white waitress. They seemed to be in a good mood as they sipped their coffee and traded anecdotes. It was as if they were on a stage, in a world of their own making, distanced from the sea of bodies beyond the counter. Between the pins and needles and the panty-hose, their audience droned and rippled, the muted conversation chorded a subdued symphonic prelude to an anticipated virtuoso performance.

I stood close to the quartet, ready to reach each man with my microphone. Behind me, my cameramen waited in the midst of the journalistic crowd and the audience of black and white celebrants. CBS-TV News was there with reporters from the other networks. Sturdy cinematographers hoisted electronic cameras on thick shoulders and squinted into their viewfinders. Still cameras flashed and recoiled as the noisy SLR's reloaded for the next shot, but I was the only reporter broadcasting the event live. What a change from 20 years previously when the report of the first lunch counter sit-ins had seemed a relatively unimportant prank by college kids.

Few of us in Greensboro's white community would have been perceptive enough to realize on February 1, 1960, that four young black college students sitting at a "five and dime" lunch counter would trigger a new chapter in the struggle for civil rights in America. I allowed myself to enjoy this central position on the edge of history. It had taken a major part of my lifetime to understand the meaning of the sit-ins. For two decades my attitude about the relationship of blacks and whites in the South had been undergoing a transformation. The narrow perception of my childhood and adolescence had been bombarded by a series of dramatic political, social, and economic experiences. Reflection had transformed me from a rigid gatekeeper and prejudicial spectator to a participant in the civil rights history of my community. At that moment I was cued to begin my narration of the twentieth anniversary of the first American lunch counter sit-in.

I intend to accomplish three goals in this chapter: (a) to reflect on the historical development of the GMS by describing how its meaning as a local television community program parallels the rebirth of the civil rights struggle in the 1960's, (b) to reconstruct the introduction of female broadcasters into a local TV station's landmark community affairs program, and (c) to describe the essence of a personal intentionality of transformation which impacted on me during 30 years as the creator-producer-host of WFMY-TV's "Good Morning Show."

Fort Bragg, North Carolina, May 17, 1954

When the U.S. Supreme Court handed down its landmark desegregation decision in Brown v. Board of Education, I was a corporal on active duty with the U.S. Army. As Chief, Radio and Television Division, Public Information Office, "Operation Flashburn," I had just completed producing a series of films about the nation's first atomic weapons maneuver and was preparing to transfer to Headquarters Third Army, Ft. McPherson, Georgia. At home in Albemarle, Anne was pregnant with our first child, and at 22½ my vision of the world was intensely personal. The separation from Anne occupied most of my time and energy. While I may have been aware of the SCOTUS decision, it is unlikely that I attached any thought to its ramifications. The question of the relationship between whites and blacks in my part of the South, in my family and my mentality, had always been attitudinally paternalistic.

Greensboro, North Carolina, May 18, 1954

The night after the Supreme Court handed down its landmark ruling in the Brown v. Board of Education, members of the Greensboro School Board gathered for their regular monthly meeting. Immediately they proceeded to a new item of business, a resolution brought by Chairman D. Edward Hudgins committing Greensboro to implement the Supreme Court's desegregation edict. The decision, Hudgins said, was "one of the most momentous events" in the history of education and he urged his colleagues not to "fight or attempt to circumvent it." School Superintendent Benjamin Smith sounded the same theme. "It is unthinkable," he said, "that we will try to abrogate the laws of the United States of America."

Any effort to evade the decision, Smith declared, would be a disaster to the country and signify the end of democracy. Dr. David Jones, the only black member of the board, supported Hudgins and Smith. "Isn't there a possibility," he asked, "that we of Greensboro may furnish leadership in the way we approach this problem? Not only to the community, but to the state and to the south?" After a brief debate the board voted six to one to endorse Hudgins' resolution. (Chafe, 1981, p. 13)

In Chapter I, I described the events, actions, and meanings in my life from cognition to mid-April 1957. As I return to this reflective-interpretive account, I will focus on experiences encompassing parts of four decades from 1957 to 1988 when I was age 26 to 57, two eras of Early Adulthood (age 17-45) and Middle Adulthood (age 40-65), and the transitional periods which overlap the eras of the life cycle (Levinson, 1978, p. 20). I was 24½ when I reported to WFMY-TV on April 16, 1956, entering the Adult World in Levinson's First Adult Life Structure.

Its chief task is to fashion a provisional structure that provides a workable link between the valued self and the adult society. A young man must shift the center of gravity of his life; no longer a child in his family of origin, he must become a novice adult with a home base of his own. He makes and tests a variety of initial choices regarding occupation, love and peer relationships, values and lifestyle. (p. 57)

As we took up residence in the all-white Guilford Hills neighborhood that spring, and I began my duties as a staff announcer at WFMY-TV, Anne and I knew very little about our new hometown. We were unaware that the area had been a way station on the underground railroad, an escape route for slaves seeking freedom from their bondage (Hinshaw, 1984,

pp. 128-137). We were unfamiliar with Greensboro's historic black institutions including the North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College (N.C. A & T State University), Bennett College, and the Palmer Memorial Institute at Sedalia.

I was raised to consider blacks as the pitiful descendants of slaves and would have been surprised to learn that Greensboro possessed a rich and proud black heritage. I was unaware of any evidence that events in the coming decade would turn the city into a departing point for the major American civil rights struggle of the 20th century. I assumed that Greensboro's blacks lived in their own district as they did in Concord's Shankletown and Albemarle's Kingville. I would have had no good reason to examine or visit their neighborhoods. The only question I would have been interested in asking concerned the ratio of whites to blacks. The black population in any given area tended to indicate a subjective perception of what the quality of life might be like in certain towns, and a ratio of one black to four or five whites was acceptable.

1956: White and Black TV

At WFMY in the late 50's, white males produced and performed local TV shows for an audience of white males, while white females provided programs for their sex and race. On local television women and men played the same roles they did in society. WFMY-TV's middle-aged women performers

cooked, sewed, and talked about decorating and entertaining. "What's Cooking Today" was produced and presented by our Director of Home Economics Cordelia Kelly. Adjacent to her half-hour recipe program was "Second Breakfast," produced and hosted by Carol Stoker, with tips on sewing and decorating and information on women's events in the community. Two black female employees assisted Kelly and Stoker in their traditional roles of maids and cooks.

While Kelly and Stoker were the only female performers employed by WFMY-TV during the 50's, a number of white females worked off camera as secretaries, bookkeepers, clerks, writers, and receptionists. There were no women reporters in the news department until 1964, and what little news we reported was gathered by two or three white males. Entertainment was still far more important than news content; it cost struggling local stations far less to produce and present.

The Development of Local TV News

In the 50's and early 60's, WFMY-TV, Greensboro presented material closely related to the community in which the manager, the performers, and the employees lived. That community was white and middle class, but the station's struggling announcers did not always represent a financially determined middle class. In that unsophisticated era before performers began to specialize in news or programming, staff announcers, as TV performers were then called, drifted in

and out of the station attempting to capitalize on their radio background to launch a career in television. I do not recall that I either saw or heard about any black announcers who might have applied for positions in the all-white medium of that era.

Prior to the organization of a professional news department around 1965, announcers at WFMY-TV hosted programs, gathered and reported news, presented commercials, and researched, wrote, and produced documentaries. Announcers learned television production techniques on the job, either as they were assigned new and difficult tasks, or when new technology demanded change and additional skills.

A description of television programming during this era is critical to understanding why WFMY-TV presented certain pictures and programs, and why it did not present others. Historically, the development of television news in the Greensboro-High Point-Winston-Salem TV market parallels the civil rights struggle of the 60's. The protest that triggered a series of desegregation demonstrations throughout the decade began at a Woolworth lunch counter in downtown Greensboro, and within range of a visual medium that, directed by white people, was presenting a predominantly white middle-class image in its daily broadcasts.

Furthermore, the mirror-like medium was in its developing stage with its minimal resources tightly controlled by

a management seeking to operate a commercial investment profitably for its owners. The station's creative employees were experimenting with ideas and techniques and training on the job. By 1988 standards, TV news was in its Stone Age stage. It did not have the technical equipment or the personnel to gather and present the news live from events like the lunch counter sit-ins, nor would it have been expected to provide this type of coverage.

In the late 1940's when TV began to become a factor in American life, it was predominantly an entertainment medium. News on television filled the gaps between entertainment programs, or was slotted into quarter-hour segments between 6:00, 7:00, and 11:00 p.m. (EST). Much of the news I presented at WFMY-TV while substituting on the evening news during summer vacation periods (1956-60), or on the GMS (after 1957), was wire service copy prepared by the Associated Press and United Press International. I seldom rewrote this material. If it were poorly written, I scratched out a word here and there, added words, or just ad-libbed the story. It simply would have taken too much time and effort to rewrite newswire copy because news was not a major priority. Of the news material available, I read only what interested me, or what I thought would interest the people I knew. Furthermore, between 1956 and 1960, I was still developing a television presentation style for a variety of tasks including program hosting, weather reporting, and interviewing.

In the late 50's at WFMY the technology for covering the news would have consisted of a hand-held Bolex 16mm camera and a press photographer's camera for black and white still pictures. We had a film processor, but it took about 45 minutes to develop a 100-foot roll of black and white 16mm film. That film cost around \$7.50 and provided space for 2½ minutes of material. We were ordered to think economically when shooting film because it was a major budgetary expenditure. In addition to the film expense, the lack of videotape technology was another reason why so little action-event video supported the "talking heads" of early television news.

The history of the development of TV news is like some unusual game of leap frog in which one player is editorial content and technology the other. A new piece of equipment lets the editorial side try new approaches to covering the news or conveying information. When the limits of the new machinery are reached, the editors demand more, and the technicians respond with a new generation of equipment to keep the editors satisfied. It's an endless happy cycle that has been going on since the beginning of TV news. (Westin, 1982, p. 31)

WFMY-TV's first General Manager Gaines Kelley was a relentless, print-ad salesman who came to TV pioneership (1949) from the classified advertising department of the Greensboro News and Record. TV was hardly a lucrative business in the first decade of its history, and the development of local television in Greensboro was not accompanied by a major cash flow from either national or local advertisers. In a 1969 interview, Kelley said the station's gumball machine actually earned the operation's first profit.

As a way of setting the stage for the premiere of the GMS in December 1957, it is important to describe the conception of national television news and programming during that era. Central to an understanding of the relationship of social events and the presentation of the news as a product on the GMS is the history of the development of national commercial television news as a major source of information for the American public. In comparing TV news and American culture, the notion of "news" as a marketable product gives texture to any critical examination of news and documentary presentations. As newsman Av Westin stated:

Television news has changed the way America is governed. Television news has changed the way America votes. And television news has changed the way America thinks. (1982, p. 11)

As a broadcaster since 1949, I am constantly amazed at the demands the American public places on television and the unrealistic expectations demanded from a free commercial medium. When I began working at WABZ, I was primarily concerned with becoming an entertaining disc jockey and a strong commercial announcer. I naively believed that I had the talent to turn a childhood dream into a lucrative career and enjoy a certain public status.

When I began working in TV in 1956, it was still primarily an entertainment medium, not--in my estimation or that of those with whom I worked--an instrument for social change or an educational tool to help American school children spell

and pronounce correctly. Beyond this attitude, contentious segments of the American public have continuously questioned the educational possibilities of the commercial medium.

What should television be? An entertainment medium? A cultural medium? Should it educate? Amuse? Inform? That conflict of identity was with TV from its inception. There were those who saw it as little more than a salesman's tool. In fact, one of the first stations to be licensed belonged to a department store that expected to transmit living catalogues of its merchandise into viewers' homes.

On the other hand, there were those who believed that TV would have its greatest potential as the primary source of information and news. Edward R. Murrow sounded that note in 1958. "This instrument can teach," he said. "It can illuminate; yes, and it can even inspire. But it can do so only to the extent that humans are determined to use it to those ends. Otherwise it is merely lights and wires in a box." (Westin, 1982, p. 15)

As the early architect of TV news, Edward R. Murrow is an American folk hero, and an inspirational figure in my broadcasting career (Westin, 1982, p. 15). But in the late 50's Murrow's effort to legitimate the news function of the industry was meeting stiff competition at CBS. Production costs and competition would force the cancellation of "See It Now" in 1958, and the father of broadcast journalism was destined to leave the organization he had joined in 1935 (Sperber, 1986, p.494).

While 15 million viewers were watching quarter-hour national evening newscasts in the mid 50's, the networks would not expand into their half-hour formats until 1962. That year saw "Douglas Edwards with the News" replaced by the "CBS Evening News with Walter Cronkite." NBC viewers

watched the "Camel Caravan with John Cameron Swayze" from 1948 until 1956 when the "Huntley-Brinkley Report" premiered (Brown, 1977, p. 288).

Serious network attention focused on early morning TV in 1952 when NBC introduced "Today" as an electronic morning newspaper. This "prototypical TV talk show, which served up the news with music, comedy, and conversation" was imported from Chicago with its host Dave Garroway (Brown, 1977, pp. 303, 105, 436). For this reason, early morning national network TV programming owes its continental development to local roots. When the GMS premiered in 1957, neither CBS nor ABC had a morning news program, but the social and political climate in America was moving toward a point when events and technology would merge to create an audience for a vast amount of news and information. In Greensboro, the cultural climate was warming toward a major confrontation.

While some community leaders in Greensboro were apparently ready to proceed with the integration of the city's public schools immediately after the 1954 SCOTUS decision in Brown v. Brown, a tentative move toward the process did not begin until the 1957 school term. According to Chafe (1981), one black registered that autumn at Greensboro Senior High School (now Grimsley) and five enrolled at the Gillespie Elementary School (pp. 65-66).

Autumn, 1957: Developing the "Good Morning Show"

In the previous chapter, I discussed how I learned about the idea for a morning TV show, and program executives Lesch and Markham described the intention of the program and the reasons for my selection as host and producer. After Lesch suggested that I come up with some ideas for the project, I created a handmade brochure, typed, stapled, and illustrated with cartoons from a magazine. I presented this proposal to Lesch late in the autumn of 1957 along with a description of myself as host.

Now, here is a job that will offer a challenge. The Host of the "Morning Show" will have to be on the ball to keep the show moving and to keep the viewer, or the listener, as the case may be, interested in what's coming off. He should be wide awake, but not giddy, glib and soothing, at this time of the morning.

I think, however, that by loading his little mind down with United Press chatter (reference to newswire copy) and other tidbits, he will be able to keep the show moving at a steady pace without faltering too often. Here is one time in television when radio experience will pay off and I sincerely hope with pleasing results for all concerned.

Frankly, I like to get up in the morning. I enjoy the chill of the crisp air, the smell of the Cone Mills lake and the rubbish which litters the highway on my way to work. The taste of old cigarettes, the weird aroma of Studio One after the air conditioning blowers have been off all night and the burning, sickly sensation of the first cup of Nescafé in a melting paper cup from the kitchen. These are just a few of the reasons why I think Lee Kinard is the man for the "Morning Show."

As I reflect on the childish language of this proposal, I seem to remember that, regardless of what Lesch says, I am not certain I had the inside track as the program's host.

I believe there were other people being considered, but I do not know how seriously. Since I had been performing on TV for a mere 18 months, I reminded management that I had had 7 years of radio experience. This section of my proposal exudes what Goffman calls "systematic modesty," as I play down my intellectual qualities and satirically describe the "joy" of working early in the morning. The humor is an indication of my spontaneous inclination to objectify reality, what some observers (not in print) have referred to as a "dry wit."

I do not remember when I learned that I was going to host and produce the new "Morning Show," and I do not recall being concerned about filling the time. I lied about liking to "get up in the morning." I may have enjoyed early morning adventures during childhood, but military service cured me of a fascination with the pre-dawn hours. The pure, unaltered truth is that I wanted this program badly enough to say or do what was reasonable to win the assignment. In that era we did not often create speculative programs. When we put a show on the air, it was usually commercially sponsored, and the opportunity to develop an experimental nonsponsored (sustaining) program was a major career opportunity.

When I began to develop ideas for the GMS, I proposed the concept of a local, live early morning TV show that would sound like a radio program. Experientially, I was aware of how a morning radio show sounded since Greensboro's number one

broadcast personality was WBIG's Bob Poole. Poole was a native of the Piedmont (Stoneville, N.C.) with network and major market experience. He was a marvelously warm personality with a tremendous following. Competitively speaking, I was more concerned about challenging Poole than I was the "Today Show" with Dave Garroway. As the basic 1957 outline on the following page indicates, my project was localism, and network TV was not a significant factor as I contemplated the segmented content strategy for the GMS.

This original format proposed an hour show, but, as Markham earlier indicated, we settled on 30 minutes because management believed that the pressure of filling 30 minutes with news wire copy was a major challenge for inexperienced producers. Technically and journalistically, the news, weather, and sports presentations of the late 50's in no way resemble the sophisticated packaging of today's (1988) electronic news-gathering technology (Bittner, 1985; Head & Sterling, 1987; Hyde, 1987; Newsom & Wallert, 1985; Westin, 1982).

In an interview (1988), Markham commented on the presentational style of that era: "We started with you [the author] doing what we called, 'rip and read.' You'd go in [the studio] and read about 20 minutes of news." Of course that "news" also included weather and sports. The news material was not supported with video except on rare occasions because, as I stated earlier, 16mm film was expensive.

Basic 1957 Outline of the "Morning Show"

- I. 7:00 Theme.
- II. 7:01 Introduction and greeting from host: A few well-chosen words from MC and resumé of programs to be seen during the day on Channel 2.
- III. 7:03 Record: Suggested video is outline of events in coverage area.
- IV. 7:06 Weathercast.
- V. 7:10 Today's Almanac: Here's a tidbit that always has listener appeal. A United Press feature spiced with historic, chronologic information which should be available to the station.
- VI. 7:11 Suggested video: Club Calendar, Garden and Civic meetings.
- VII. 7:14 World news in brief from wire service reports.
- VIII. 7:20 Suggested video is public service announcements.
- IX. 7:23 State and local news.
- X. 7:29 End: Part I
- XI. 7:30 Begin: Part II
- XII. 7:31 Weather report update.
- XIII. 7:33 Film feature: "Looney Tunes" cartoon segment, film clip from "The Little Rascals," film clip from "Yesterday's Newsreel," with music from turntable.
- XIV. 7:39 Record: Public service video or outside morning camera shots.
- XV. 7:43 Sports news.
- XVI. 7:47 Market report and stock market information.
- XVII. 7:52 News and weather summary.
- XVIII. 7:55 Record: Video of activities in the area or promote the station's programs.
- XIX. 7:58 Sign off the program.

Beyond the weather, news, sports, and market reports, the suggested content for the fledgling GMS included club notes as an attraction for women. The only women I knew socially were my wife's friends and our neighbors, and I assumed they were interested in this material because I heard them discuss these events. Even the weather of that era was positioned as an inducement for women to watch the "Morning Show." Good weather was a necessity for frequent washdays, because we did not have a washer and dryer.

Stock market reports were included as a viewing inducement for middle-class white males who could afford to buy stock. I wanted to attract an affluent audience to the program. They were the kind of people I wanted to associate with and impress. The proposed format also included several popular music records which, according to Markham, posed an additional problem: "We thought we were being very innovative if we could figure out some video to show during a record . . . we would even show a (control room) turntable from time to time." Since we had neither the professional maturity nor the technical resources to produce features on location in the community, we televised selections from the station's film inventory while the records were playing.

Specifically, we did not just introduce a cartoon, we introduced a popular record or an "oldie-goldie" and showed a segment of the film material while the record played. The

proposed format mentions "Looney Tunes," the "Little Rascals," and "Yesterday's Newsreel." These theatrical products from the 30's and early 40's constituted some of the first motion picture material marketed to TV stations.

In addition to providing information and entertainment for our viewers, we were committed first and foremost to establishing the program as a profit center for the station. I included a sales pitch in the speculative proposal noting that "the format of the show is flexible enough to accommodate the discriminating sponsor and is ideal for participating sponsorship." A sponsor could buy the entire program, a segment of the show, or purchase a commercial within the program.

As anxious as I was to perform commercials to make extra money, I suggested that, in this pre-video-tape era, commercials could be presented live, and written radio style (more descriptively) for viewers who might not be watching the screen when the "pitches" were presented. The GMS premiered without commercials, because local TV spots were expensive and the program did not have a performance record. In addition to myself as host, I proposed an initial staff of a director and two cameramen. A sound engineer, a master control operator, a transmitter engineer, and a projectionist were provided by the engineering and film departments. Eight white males supplied the manpower for the first GMS shows, and for many more thereafter.

December 16, 1957: The "Good Morning Show" Premieres

Program Director Gomer Lesch scheduled the GMS at 7:30 a.m. between a public service program and the immensely popular CBS children's program, "Captain Kangaroo." The adjacency to the "Captain" influenced my decision to program "Looney Tunes" and "Little Rascals" for a children's audience. The latter had been one of my favorite movie shorts when I was growing up, but I never had an opportunity to see all the episodes; programming them on my new TV show would satisfy that curiosity. We did not begin the GMS with the intention of creating a program that would last for decades. According to the language of this TV note in the Greensboro Daily News on Sunday, December 15, 1957, we simply introduced a new project:

Lee Kinard known as the host of "TV Matinee" on Tuesdays and Thursdays will be conducting the newest Channel 2 program starting tomorrow--"Good Morning." WFMY-TV will be signing on at 7:30 with this informative half-hour show featuring music with breaks for weather, national, local, sports and civic news; the market and stock reports; film shorts and variety features. It'll be a GOOD MORNING [sic] Monday through Friday at 7:30 for Channel 2 viewers.

This publicity release underscores the value we placed on music in the early shows and represents the intentional patterning of a radio program. As programmers, we were not news oriented, and we did not believe it was wise to begin our audience's day by depressing them with a heavy measure of news. Consistent from the inception of the GMS has been

the idea of the program as a positive morning foundation. This philosophy prevailed until the 1980's and was modified then because of the maturity of the producer, the social, political, and economic tension of the era, and the electronic news-gathering capability of the industry and WFMY-TV.

The setting for the early shows was a lectern forefronting three stage flats. For many years prior to the introduction of a "talk show" format, when we did not schedule guests, I hosted the program standing up. Since we did not have computer-generated digital graphics, pertinent information including the forecast, temperature, and the date were usually posted on the flats so the audience could see the information regardless of what I was presenting on camera. Inevitably, the most important information we programmed was the time and the temperature. Even today, 1988, viewers complain vigorously when they cannot walk by the TV set and see the clock.

When the GMS premiered I was 26, four years into Levinson's First Adult Life Structure: Entering the Adult World:

Its chief task is to fashion a provisional structure that provides a workable link between the valued self and the adult society, a time for exploring possibilities and introducing stability into my life. (1978, p. 57)

On the GMS, I was comfortable presenting information and ideas important to me and my environment. I was not burdened with preconceived notions about the historic past, or similar

programs in a comparable setting. I made a program by linking intentions as they organically developed. Sarason (1972) would probably find that I was not only rearing a child, but creating it, organ by organ, with no perception of its final form (p. 67).

The early shows were chaotic on the one hand, and hilarious on the other. I became quite tense with director Tom Quenelle when he was consistently late to work. The first cameraman was a fellow with an active wit, who was always trying to break me up. One morning during the course of the weather he performed a particularly crude gesture that sent me into uncontrollable laughter. Watching at home, manager Gaines Kelley was infuriated. On the way to work, he reportedly hailed our operations manager at a stoplight in downtown Greensboro and told him he was going to fire me and the cameraman when he got to the station. I was able to talk Kelley out of his anger, taking full blame for the incident, but for many mornings thereafter, the operations manager could often be seen lurking above our setting in the studio viewing gallery watching for evidence of horse-play during the program.

Between 1957 and 1960, I was under pressure to prove to management and sales that the GMS had an audience, even though I was not aware of any formal ratings information. During this era, I introduced a simple contest to build an audience by first attracting children. "The Mystery Personality Contest" encouraged viewers to identify a faintly

disguised CBS-TV star on a postcard and send it to the program. I conducted a drawing once a week and awarded small electric appliances to three viewers whose cards correctly answered the question. When I began to get 3,000 to 5,000 cards a week we assumed the program had an audience.

Lee Kinard, 1957-60: A Critical Description

At this point, with the GMS launched and the experimentation process under way, I would like to depart from its chronology and discuss my political and social attitude at the beginning of the decade of the 60's. What makes this era crucially important to an understanding of the history of the GMS is the fact that I positioned the program as a positive community alternative to counter the negative (for our white viewers) intentions of the civil rights demonstrators to force the desegregation of businesses, public transportation, and public education. Clearly, a conscious attempt was formalized to position the GMS as a stabilizing structure for the white establishment during an era of massive social change. One way of maintaining the status quo was to present program content that ignored the social unrest in the Greater Greensboro community. By setting a "white agenda," I could attempt to indicate that the traditional way of life, as I knew and understood it, was not changing. As Levinson (1978) suggested:

A man's occupation places him within a particular socioeconomic level and work world. It exerts a powerful influence upon the options available to him, the choices he makes among them, and his possibilities for advancement and satisfaction. His work world also influences the choices he makes in other spheres of life.

Occupation has important sources within the self and important consequences for the self. It is often the primary medium in which a young man's dreams for the future are defined, and the vehicle he uses to pursue those dreams. At best, his occupation permits the fulfillment of basic values and life goals. (p. 45)

Politically, in 1957 I subscribed to the "Tarheel middle way," as the "course best designed to preserve civility and maintain progress" (Chafe, 1981, p. 67). Personally, I did not want to see my state embroiled with the Federal government in a major dispute over the issue of desegregation. Privately, I objected to the thought of having to change my way of life in order to accommodate blacks or the Federal government. I subscribed to the generally expressed opinion that blacks "had not earned the right" to enjoy white space and white institutions. I was morally comfortable with this attitude and believed justice would be served for blacks only when they actively and responsibly accepted the challenge to raise their standard of living. I assumed that they could do this within the framework of black churches, schools, and colleges. I did not see them as the "victims" of my white society.

As a white male, I saw black people performing menial chores, shuffling about, seemingly contented. It would not

have occurred to me that whites might have victimized and trapped them in a displaced environment, or that they were just "acting" subserviently.

The ignorant, shiftless, happy-go-lucky manner which Negroes in the Southern states sometimes felt obliged to affect during interaction with whites illustrates how a performance can play up ideal values which accord to the performer a lower position than he covertly accepts for himself. (Goffman, 1959, p. 38)

I believe that, sooner or later, Federal authorities would tire of our "stonewalling," or the North Carolina "middle way," and the threat of desegregation would disappear like a bad dream. By subscribing to the "politics of moderation," I would serve as a "gatekeeper" when it came to disseminating the news of the morning (Goldhaber, 1986, pp. 441-442; Timm, 1980, pp. 260-261). At this stage of my development I was unaware of the term "gatekeeper," but I was free to interpret, or select to report, what I considered presentable news based on my acculturated evaluation. I was concerned about the moral implications of my choices of what to report and what to censor, only as it affected the stability of my white culture.

As former WFMY-TV programming executive Jack Markham noted, I had always "ripped and read wire service material," consciously deciding at the time what was "worth" reporting, and discarding what I deemed unimportant or controversial. Convinced that I was making a series of decisions for the good of the program and the public, I broadcast what I

believed would least trouble my viewers as they prepared to confront the challenges of the day.

I did not often broadcast material related to the Ku Klux Klan because I considered its members crude, ignorant, irresponsible, and subversive. As a citizen of North Carolina, I have always considered the Klan an embarrassment to our state. Chafe (1981) correctly reported that whites who subscribed to the politics of moderation and comforted themselves with a paternalistic view of blacks used the redneck argument as one way of defining the North Carolina Middle Way as a choice between devastating opposites.

Throughout the 1950's, North Carolina's white political leaders claimed to represent a moderate alternative between bigoted poor whites on the one hand and black extremists on the other. Such a definition produced two pernicious consequences. First, it cast as villains North Carolina's black citizens, the only participants in the situation who unquestionably had the law on their side. And, second, it permitted North Carolina's white leaders to use the specter of the lower class white rebellion as a rationale for their own posture. By making "rednecks" the primary reference group on the political spectrum, those in power were able to divert attention from their own roles in perpetuating the caste system. Poor whites did not have the power to shape policy. Yet, their anti-black sentiments were used to justify continued inaction by those who did have power. (Chafe, 1981, p. 69)

I perceived that disadvantaged whites, the "poor white trash" of our state, hated blacks because both populations were competitively trapped in a depressed economic environment and lacked social mobility. My major fear in the 60's was that militant blacks might eventually resort to guerilla warfare if their demands for equality were not appeased.

At this stage in my life, my mother's political inclinations defined my politics as those of a registered Democrat, but as Southern Democrats we were conservative in our approach to desegregation. When the GMS premiered in 1957, and for years thereafter, the only contact I had with blacks was through our maintenance people, the friendly janitors and maids who worked at the TV station.

A central ingredient of the politics of moderation was the form of communication that existed between whites and blacks. White leaders, both in the state and in Greensboro, listened only to those blacks who conformed to their expectations. Inevitably, the maid in the house, the janitor in the office, or the president of the local black college would not contradict what the "white boss" wanted to hear. (Chafe, 1981, p. 68)

As 1959 drew to a close, I celebrated my 28th birthday and entered Levinson's "Age 30 Transition," another segment of Early Adulthood development:

This transition, which extends from roughly 28 to 33, provides an opportunity to work on the flaws and limitations of the first adult life structure, and to create the basis for a more satisfactory structure with which to complete the error of early adulthood. (1978, p. 58)

As the decade of the 60's began, I was totally immersed in my career, professionally progressing creatively and productively, and performing a variety of tasks. I was producing and hosting the GMS and the afternoon variety show "TV Matinee," presenting the "Duke Power Weather" on the Evening News, and writing and producing documentaries. As a result of the ethical crisis of the late 50's precipitated by the quiz show scandals of that era, commercial TV stations

were ordered to provide their communities additional public affairs programs and announcements (Head & Sterling, 1987, pp. 97-98). In 1959, I began writing and producing documentaries, a practice I would continue on a regular basis until the mid-60's.

In all the years I have produced and hosted the GMS, I have never confined my attention solely to the program. I have developed documentaries, created commercials, provided video programs for schools, made thousands of public appearances, and pursued an extensive higher education program. Whenever possible, I have tried to incorporate the most instructive elements of these interests into the show's format, particularly as they relate to documentary subjects and educational topics. In a television interview in January, 1988, former WFMY-TV Promotion Manager Bailey Hobgood recounted my activities during this era:

Twenty years ago (early 1960's), the network did not feed programs all day long . . . and we had more time to fill. At one time [Lee] was doing an hour "Good Morning Show," before it went to two hours. He was hosting a program called "TV Matinee" two afternoons a week, which featured a trio and music. They had a script, a comedy script was written for each program. They had a singer, Bob Waddell. They had guests. Can you imagine doing two half hours with scripts every week, plus the "Good Morning Show". Lee did a documentary practically every month. I remember the one he did on the ghosts of North Carolina and on the Civil War. Lee has so many interests. He did so many of those programs and it was exciting. (Markham & Hobgood, 1988)

1960 was one month old when an event occurred in Greensboro that would challenge the population of the city to

reflect on its quality of life and true climate of human relations. Little did we realize then, that a decision by four young men would etch Greensboro deeply into the history of the struggle for civil rights in America.

Greensboro, North Carolina, February 1, 1960

Four young men from the North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College set forth on an historic journey that would ignite a decade of civil rights protests. Walking into downtown Greensboro, they entered the local Woolworth's, purchased toothpaste and other small items, and then sat at the lunch counter and demanded equal service with white persons. "We do not serve Negroes," they were told. But instead of leaving the students remained. The next day they returned, their ranks reinforced this time by their fellow students. Their action sparked the student phase of the civil rights revolution. Within two months, the sit-ins had spread to fifty-four cities in nine states. (Chafe, 1981, p. 71)

I learned about the sit-ins when I arrived at the station at about 4:30 p.m. to prepare my weather report for the evening news. Since my father had worked for Woolworth, my first reaction was personal; I could only imagine the anxiety the local manager was confronting. Within hours, the sit-ins developed into a national story marking the first time network TV news had come to Greensboro since my arrival in 1956. Many citizens, including me, were embarrassed by the attention, but as history indicates, it was not the last time the national media would be hurriedly dispatched to this focal point of the civil rights revolution. I reported news follow-ups related to the sit-ins daily on the GMS, but I did not approach the protests as a discussion or feature

subject for the program. I was not presenting controversial material, and had not entered the "talk show" phase of the program. Again, conceptually, it was never our intention to present controversial material in our early morning format.

It became quickly apparent that the "sit-ins" demonstration against the segregation status quo had intersected with the politics of moderation and the progressive attitude of white Greensboro. People involved with the management of the TV station suggested using the GMS to promote the city's "positive mystique," and I approved the decision. What about the issues of fairness and justice in the face of this turmoil and social upheaval? Again, I believed we were being victimized by the Federal government, that the politics of moderation presented the middle road, and that the middle road was an honorable path.

The February sit-ins triggered recurring waves of protests that lasted into the middle of the summer. Chafe (1981) suggested that

in the long view of history, the Greensboro sit-ins will justifiably be seen as the catalyst that triggered a decade of revolt--one of the greatest movements in history toward self-determination and human dignity. (pp. 92-98)

It took the sit-ins to make me culturally aware of what was then the North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College. As a citizen and broadcaster, I had paid scant attention to North Carolina's black higher education system. I

assumed that whatever transpired in those member institutions was of interest only to blacks. From my earliest radio sports reporting, I consistently announced the major white college and university scores first, then lumped the Negro college scores together and read them last, if time allowed. One major point that I will continually reinforce in this study is that, for me, there were for many years two distinct worlds, one white and one black, and the black world was important only when it intersected with my white world.

In 1960 as the sit-ins spread across the South, I was concerned about the negative effects of the civil rights revolution on the forthcoming celebration of the Civil War Centennial. Childhood trips to historic Charleston, my great-grandfather's service in the Confederate army, and extensive reading about the era confirmed my cultural allegiance to the "Old South, while Gone with the Wind legitimated the romantic period.

As the Centennial drew near, I looked forward to celebrating a wealth of new books, films, and television programs dedicated to further explicating the controversial era. When feedback in the national press began to indicate that the civil rights revolution was going to put a damper on the centennial, I developed my own plan to commemorate the period. For the extent of the centennial, beginning with the anniversary of the firing on Fort Sumter, I produced the "Civil War Chronicle." This 3-5 minute GMS daily feature paralleled

the historic events from April 12, 1861, to the surrender of the last organized Confederate troops on May 25, 1865. The "Chronicle" did not ignore the historical debate over slavery, or the record of black participation in the war. For visual content I relied on The American Heritage History of the Civil War, reprints of Harper's Weekly, and slides produced from pictures taken by Matthew Brady, the famous war photographer. A spin-off from the "Chronicles" was a "Book Review" segment I programmed several times a week for at least ten years.

Instead of presenting a mirror-like reflection of civil rights demonstrations, and the struggle against institutional segregation in Greensboro during the early 60's, I programmed subjects of interest to the white middle class. These features included historical vignettes, book reviews, parapsychology, popular local music groups, and soloists and gospel quartets. I produced film segments highlighting restorations of period homes and documentaries about the Civil War battles at Manassas and Gettysburg. I interviewed movie and TV stars and performers from the Ringling Brothers, Barnum and Bailey Circus. I covered every subject imaginable, except the most obvious, the struggle for civil rights.

During this era my personal perspective on civil rights was uncompromisingly narrow. I did not want the battle in my territory, my program, schools, neighborhood, or city. I was struggling to produce a successful community TV show

to support me and my family. I was, however, aware that it was neither moral nor just to have separate facilities and institutions for white and black people. That conflict and debate belonged on the "news," and I was neither personally nor professionally inclined to become involved in the controversy.

I was ignorant of the implications and the extent of racial prejudice as a debilitating bondage. I had no agenda beyond survival as a broadcast personality on WFMY-TV. I had no experience in sociology or human relations. I was a young man with a wife and two children trying to eke out enough overtime to pay the bills. I was struggling to survive professionally, writing material and filming features for my programs on a day-to-day basis. As Levinson (1978) reported: "The Age Thirty Transition . . . is strongly colored by the imminence of Settling Down and the need to form a life structure through which one's youthful dreams and values can be realized" (p. 51).

1963: The Jesse Jackson Era

In the spring of my 32nd year our older daughter was in the third grade and our younger was beginning the first at segregated schools. Beyond the traditional black schools, only 19 blacks were enrolled at Gillespie School, the one desegregated facility in the Greensboro system (Chafe, 1981, p. 108). The GMS was 55 minutes long and sandwiched between

a 6:45 a.m. local farm show called "RFD Piedmont" and a 7:55 weather report.

Between May 11 and June 7, 1963, Greensboro was rocked by unprecedented demonstrations. For eighteen nights, black marchers, numbering more than 2000 assaulted the bastions of segregation in the city's central business district. At one point 1400 blacks, most of them college students and teenagers from area high schools, occupied Greensboro's jails. The demonstrations shattered white Greensboro's confident self image, shook the city's social and political institutions to their foundations and emphasized as never before the conflict between racial justice and North Carolina's progressive mystique. (Chafe, 1981, p. 119)

This era is significant for the introduction of Jesse Jackson as the leader of student protesters from A & T and Bennett College. Our news department consistently covered the demonstrations and arrests and I repeated their 11:00 p.m. stories on the GMS news segments. Since the protests never spilled into northwestern Greensboro's all-white neighborhoods, many affluent whites abhorred these demonstrations as just a series of publicly embarrassing nuisances. Solidly shielded from the downtown protests, a large and politically important segment of Greensboro's population ignored a situation which did not impact on their segregated neighborhoods. That nearly impenetrable real estate shield is one of the major reasons why many Greensboro citizens, to this very day (1988), are not concerned with the issue of civil rights. In the 1960's, their mentality was compatible with the "progressive mystique" of the city and of the GMS of that era.

Chafe (1981) characterized the A & T college student-athlete Jesse Jackson as "the hero who led the troops into battle and inspired the rank and file" (p. 125). Neither the protest leadership at A & T nor representatives of the NAACP nor any other black group contacted the GMS for time to televise their objections about the civil rights problem in Greensboro. If they had observed the GMS, which in 1963 had been on the air for about six years, black leaders would have realized that it did not focus on controversial issues. However, television was not ignoring the struggle for civil rights, either in the South or in the country as a whole. As Westin (1982) indicated, one of TV's major debates from 1960 to 1963 revolved around the coverage of disturbances, sit-ins, protests and marches:

As civil disturbances became a way of political life in the U.S. in the 60's, television was accused of heightening tense situations mainly by being present. Critics claimed that cameras, lights and microphones caused relatively passive bystanders to "put on a show." Dedicated and street trained demonstrators seized on minor occurrences to publicize their views before the cameras. (p. 239)

At WFMY-TV we were involved in this debate, and there were some employees, including me, who believed that the demonstrations might stop, if we ceased attending to its coverage in the streets and on the campuses. In that era we were constantly informed by telephone about desegregation meetings and demonstrations. Activists did not need the GMS for their protests when they could entice news departments

to their protest meetings, marches, and demonstrations. The desegregation movement began to accrue extended coverage when its leaders established the agenda for TV news reporting with insurgent "Black Power" (Chafe, 1981, pp. 176-202).

In 1963 older blacks joined the protest movement for the first time, and the massive arrests of this era marked the unification of the black community. From my viewpoint as the morning entertainer and weather reporter, I was just a social observer, but I remember that I was uncomfortable when hundreds of students in Greensboro were arrested and jailed. As Chafe (1981) recorded, it took the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to force Greensboro to the same level of desegregation other cities in North Carolina reached much earlier (pp. 118-152). During this period the GMS, beyond its brief newscasts, continued to present a portrait representing the "progressive mystique" of Greensboro.

1964: Beginning to Settle Down

My most important professional achievement in 1964 was "The Green Berets," an hour-long documentary about the U.S. Army's Special Forces. Filmed on location at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, it received the United Press International "Best Documentary of the Year Award" in North Carolina. It called attention to the Green Berets' mission in Vietnam and focused on the extensive training program that prepared the clandestine warriors for survival behind enemy lines.

Much of the material filmed for the documentary was programmed on the GMS. In November my 33rd birthday signaled another developmental transition in Levinson's anatomy of the life cycle as I came to the end of the Age Thirty Transition. Ahead was my "Settling Down" period, and the beginning of a change from a "novice to a full fledged adult."

In this period a man has two major tasks: (a) He tries to establish a niche in society: to anchor his life more firmly, develop competence in a chosen craft, become a valued member of a valued world. (b) He works at making it: striving to advance, to progress on a timetable. I use the term "making it" broadly to include all efforts to build a better life for oneself and to be affirmed by the tribe. (Levinson, 1978, p. 59)

In 1964 I moved my family from our five-room bungalow in Guilford Hills to a larger home in the county. In appraising my passage through Levinson's Age Thirty Transition to the Settling Down period, I find that I had satisfied at least three of his four suggested tasks by choosing an occupation, beginning a family, and formulating a dream to become a popular local TV personality.

What I lacked in this era was a mentor and, as the next ten years would prove, when I am without consistent advice, direction, or challenging goals, I tend to lose focus. According to John-Steiner (1987), mentoring relationships are "informal apprenticeships of the mind," but in my case, the most successful liaisons are formally structured (p. 76). When I form these associations as a way of reinforcing hope and direction, they alleviate the so-called "infantile fear"

Erikson (1985) finds accompanying man through life (p. 405). In every instance of childhood, adolescence, and adulthood, my most constructive mentorings have involved educators.

In the mid 60's, the Jeffries family of Greensboro sold WFMY-TV to Landmark Communications, Inc., of Norfolk, Virginia. Shortly thereafter WFMY-TV's second General Manager William Gietz asked me to present as much public service as possible daily on the GMS. I committed the program for a minimum of 25 minutes a day in addition to the regularly scheduled news, weather, and sports information we were reporting.

This public affairs commitment changed the GMS format in 1965 from a program of varied features to a public service studio talk show. I scheduled guests from human service agencies, medical organizations, disease foundations, public and private schools, higher education institutions, chambers of commerce, civic clubs, and church groups. For more than 12 years I expended my creative energy beyond the parameters of the morning program. As opposed to filming field features for the GMS, in 1966 I organized a Creative Services Department to develop and produce commercials for WFMY-TV's advertisers.

April 1968: The Assassination of
Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

While the GMS was presenting public service programming in the mid-60's, desegregation forces in Greensboro

concentrated on institutional racism, particularly as it concerned housing and schools. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 ordered school districts to submit a plan for desegregation, and according to Chafe (1981), a new generation of black activists was committed to attaining power (pp. 152-178).

On the evening of April 4, 1968, I had remained at the TV station following the 6:00 p.m. news to produce commercials. I was standing in the control room when CBS interrupted regular programming to bulletin the assassination of Dr. King. The racial violence I had long feared followed the news of his death. The intensity of the demonstrations forced Greensboro Mayor Carson Bain to call for the National Guard to establish and maintain a city-wide curfew (Chafe, 1981, pp. 178-182).

News 2 Reporter Ted Harrison covered the demonstrations in downtown Greensboro and reported live with film the following morning on the GMS. Harrison's appearance marked the first time the WFMY-TV News Department extensively covered a major story with a reporter on the GMS. While Harrison discussed what was happening locally, I reported the national reaction to Dr. King's death. Reading continuously from wire service reports, I apparently referred to the slain civil rights leader as simply "King." During a commercial break, the master control engineer told me that 16 callers had complained because I was not using Dr. King's full name and title. The engineer said these people were threatening my

life unless I changed the way I was addresssing the assassinated leader.

As strange as it may seem, this was the first positive feedback from the black community in the history of the GMS. It marks the beginning of my transformation from a purely white perception of the world to a tentative understanding of how black people feel about the "white" world, and from a conservative to a liberal attitude about civil rights. From that moment I began to have a greater sense of community as I consciously endeavored to attend more seriously to the needs of the blacks in the GMS audience.

True adults are those of us who have learned to continually develop and exercise their capacity for transformation. Because of this exercise, progress along the journey of growth often becomes faster and faster the further we proceed on it. For the more we grow, the greater becomes our capacity to be empty, to empty ourselves of the old so that the new may enter and we may thereby be transformed. (Peck, 1987, pp. 181-182)

Greensboro: May 1969

In 1969 the Federal government ruled that Greensboro's so-called freedom of choice desegregation plan was not in compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Fifteen years after the landmark Brown v. Brown decision, people in Greensboro were still ignoring the desegregation edict and the climate was primed for protest. My older daughter was completing the 9th grade and the younger was finishing the 6th, when a new wave of civil violence erupted at Dudley High

School. As Chafe (1981) noted, it was black power against white authority: "The issue that transformed Greensboro into an armed camp was both stark in its simplicity and devastating in its ability to crystallize racial tensions" (p. 185).

Chafe (1981) recalls that the major incident of this era began when a popular student member of the Greensboro Association of Poor People wanted to run for president of the student council at all-black Dudley High School. When a faculty-student election committee ruled against his eligibility and did not provide a reason for their action, 600 student voters wrote Claude Barnes' name on their ballots. While that was 400 more votes than the runner-up received, they were declared illegal by members of the school administration. From that moment the drama began to intensify as Barnes sought support from older members of the GAPP at A & T State University.

A week after the election, when the issue of Barnes' candidacy had still not been resolved to the satisfaction of all the parties, approximately 100 students walked out of their classes at Dudley High School (Chafe, 1981, p. 186). At this point Greensboro School Superintendent W. J. House sent Owen Lewis to oversee the situation. Lewis was Director of Public Information and Publications for the local school system. Two years later he would participate with the GMS in a plan to complement the peaceful desegregation of the

Greensboro Public Schools. But in May, 1969, Lewis had his hands full as the crisis of confrontation between student protesters and police escalated on the Dudley campus.

Chafe (1981) has portrayed Lewis as a controversial figure in the Dudley situation, but Lewis says he was sent to the campus to fulfill some of the duties of an assistant superintendent of schools, to assist the principal, and to tell the administration what was happening at the scene of the crisis. During this time the Greensboro Public Schools did not have an assistant superintendent and the assistant principal at Dudley was ill. In a private interview (1988) Lewis told me that Chafe never contacted him about an interview to discuss his side of the Dudley confrontations (Chafe, 1981, pp. 186-200).

Again, according to Chafe (1981), on May 21, 1969, protesters demanding that Lewis be dismissed from his position of authority at the high school were tear gassed by riot police at Dudley and took their demonstration to the A & T campus. A few hours later, Mayor Jack Elam asked the governor for the National Guard. Around 1:30 a.m. the following morning an A & T student named Willie Grimes was shot in the head and killed by an unidentified assailant. The response to another night of violence provoked a 6:00 a.m. National Guard sweep of the A & T campus just before the students awakened to begin leaving the campus for their homes (Chafe, 1981, pp. 187-191).

While National Guardsmen were turning the A & T campus into a battlefield, I was enduring a family tragedy that introduced the second major transformation in my life. My brother-in-law, Major Jimmy D. Sells, who was married to Anne's sister Emily, was killed in a tragic air accident in Vietnam. While Greensboro was struggling in the throes of another racial confrontation, I was in Norfolk with my family attending memorial services for Jim. After an emotional reunion with Emily, I drove back home to Greensboro and into the uneasy calm of another curfew.

Jim's death was a major personal tragedy. The Vietnam war had taken the life of the man I most admired. When I came home from Jim's memorial service in Norfolk, I felt empty, inadequate, unproductive, and incomplete as a human being. I had no tangible record of commitment to my family, my community, or my country. For the first time the Vietnam war became a problem for me, and I began to reconsider the depth of my staunch Rooseveltian patriotism. Some mornings on the GMS it was all I could do to read the news about Vietnam without screaming for an end to the conflict.

I had been the most patriotic of all Americans, but now I began to examine the essence of that patriotism to winnow its imperialistic, paternalistic, arrogant, and hackneyed residue. I turned my "Southernness" inside out to purge the myths of childhood and adolescence. I accepted the fact that

the U.S. was going to lose a war and that defeat did not matter as long as the killing stopped. I was 37 in May, 1969, when I entered the beginning of the most dismal period of my life. Levinson calls it "Settling Down," but for me, the next several years were drastically unsettling.

From about age 36 to 40, there is a distinctive phase that we call Becoming One's Own Man. The major developmental tasks of this period are to accomplish the goals of the Settling Down enterprise, to become a senior member in one's world, to speak more strongly with one's own voice and to have a greater measure of authority. This is a fateful time in a man's life. Attaining seniority and approaching the top rung of his ladder are signs to him that he is becoming a man (not just a person, but a male adult). Although his progress brings new rewards, it also carries the burden of greater responsibilities and pressures. It means that he must give up even more of the little boy within himself, an internal figure who is never completely outgrown, and certainly not in early adulthood. (Levinson, 1978, p. 60)

During this "fateful time," I questioned every aspect of my life structure in terms of marriage, family, and profession. There were dark occasions when I attempted to destroy these foundational institutions, but miraculously, they were stronger than I and prevailed. The best in my life was saved by the best in my life almost as if some thing had thrown a life preserver over me. When I celebrated my 40th birthday on November 5, 1971, I was entering Levinson's Mid-life Transition. On the go from Early to Middle adulthood, I asked the questions Levinson has suggested are a part of this bridge from an early to a later phase of adult development:

'What have I done with my life? What do I really get from and give to my wife, children, friends, work, community and self? What is it I truly want for myself and others.' A man yearns for a life in which his actual desires, values, talents and aspirations can be expressed. (1978, p. 60)

I emerged from this period with a greater sense of family and with some strong, well-defined goals which included cutting back on my work schedule and finishing my college education. I found out more about myself and began to feel more alive when I began to answer the questions my mind had been asking about my character. I learned that I could survive failure, and that when I admitted to imperfection, pressure disappeared. This understanding freed me for the greater challenges of continuing Middle Adulthood (age 40-46, 1971-76) (Levinson, p. 144), and another initiation into the "rites of maturity."

During this time he (a man) frequently vacillates between the extremes of depressive self-blame (when he feels absolutely inept, impotent and lacking inner resources) and paranoid rage (when he blames an evil or an uncaring world for suppressing and ignoring his enormous talents and virtues). When these internal conflicts and external stresses are at their height, it is difficult to maintain one's good judgement and initiative. (Levinson, p. 147)

The inventory of life experiences in 1971 is hardly a compilation of joyous experiences. The family dog was run over and killed, and our home was severely damaged by fire on the eve of my first three-week vacation. The day after the fire the IRS informed me that I was being audited. I had to sell our home to pay my bills and move my family into

rental property just in time for Christmas. Things could only get better. But a decisive action that year that would forever change the way of life and public education in Greensboro, introduced me to a new set of people and experiences.

On April 30, 1971, Judge Edwin Stanley rejected, once and for all, Greensboro's contention that 'freedom of choice' constituted a legal means of pursuing desegregation. . . . Stanley ordered the Greensboro school board to produce a plan providing for the complete desegregation by June 18, with implementation to occur the following school year. Everyone recognized that large scale busing and a universal ratio of black to white in each school would be necessary components of any acceptable plan. (Chafe, 1981, p. 222)

During the summer of 1971, I received a note from our general manager suggesting I meet with Owen Lewis, the public relations director for the Greensboro schools. Lewis was interested in developing a TV outlet for information about the system. He and I communicated well from our first meeting and agreed to produce a 5- to 10-minute daily GMS segment called "School Days." It premiered before the 1971 fall term and was designed to demonstrate to the viewing audience that the Greensboro Public Schools were successfully functioning, that the system was surviving massive integration and cross-town busing, and that, regardless of the distractions of historical social change, schooling was proceeding.

As a direct link to black and white students, teachers and administrators, the "School Days" segment marks the third stage of my transformation, introducing me to a variety of educators and to the institution of public education. My

liberal education was now under way with "School Days" providing a perspective on black life and culture my segregated upbringing had ignored. However, the civilities of my childhood and adolescence were never more practiced than in the cautious presentation of black people on my program. Personally and professionally, I decided it was important to enhance the appearance and performance of all my guests with style and decorum. From a lifetime of hearing white people disparage blacks, I knew the white segment of our audience would only be impressed if the blacks spoke and performed well, or as nearly like white people as possible. I always addressed my black guests formally even though I came to know many of them on a first-name basis. Once, when I slipped during an interview and called a black by her first name, while referring to an accompanying white guest formally, several viewers called to protest the informality of my address to the black guest.

As the producer-coordinator for the educational segment, Owen Lewis pre-interviewed hundreds of guests and prepared the outlines for each discussion. We scheduled the segment to appear at 6:50 each morning during the first and most popular hour of the GMS. The timing allowed students, teachers, and administrators to view the program before departing for school. To insure the quality of our presentations, the questions were prepared in advance from information provided by the participants. There was never any intention to

question the "School Days" guests in a journalistic style or force them on the defensive. We intended to produce a report that clearly detailed programs and problems in the public schools. Owen Lewis discussed the "School Days" segment in an audiotaped interview on February 12, 1988:

School systems are notorious about recognizing their people and doing for them what they ought to do. This program ("School Days") was a systematic way to recognize and award excellence in our school system. So when people were selected to appear on that program, they were very proud because they knew their peers were going to be up looking at it. Its intention was to draw positive attention to the school system and it definitely served that purpose. It identified a lot of [school] programs people weren't even aware of because they volunteered for the programs after they heard about them on TV. When I'd go to state, local and national meetings, this program was considered a real flagship operation. People couldn't believe that every day, this guy [Lewis] had five to ten minutes on commercial television. It was just incredible to people all over the country. It was an idea that people picked up in one respect or another at various places around the country. It was the pacesetter for the whole country in school public relations. We were identifying positive programs, but we weren't sweeping anything under the rug. We were up front about our shortcomings. The segment pointed out the weaknesses as well as the strengths in the school system. It was no "snow job"; it was an education project for our many publics.

As often as possible, we produced video for the segments with photographs, slides, film, and later videotape. The Greensboro Public Schools leadership in programs for Special Children was emphasized with segments devoted to the McIver School and the Gateway Education Center (formerly the Cerebral Palsy School). The segment was recognized for its contribution to public education with seven prestigious "School Bell Awards" from the North Carolina Association of Educators.

"School Days" and the association with educators, particularly Lewis, coincided with my intention to resume my college education. During the autumn of 1971, I wrote a letter to the admissions director at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro requesting permission to enter the Spring, 1972, semester. A reply arrived one dismal Saturday afternoon in November. I remember looking at the envelope a long time before I found the courage to rip it open to discover that I had been conditionally accepted. By attending classes full time in the autumn, spring, and summer, I received a Bachelor of Arts degree in English in 1974 and a Master of Arts degree in English in 1976.

In 1972, in addition to supporting the local school system with its own daily segment, I expanded the GMS to two hours to provide additional early morning weather reports for parents and school bus drivers. As a part of the desegregation process, crosstown busing was getting thousands of people up well before dawn. With hundreds of school buses moving across our part of North Carolina and Virginia, accurate, up-to-the-minute weather reports became vitally important to school systems and to parents. Before long the GMS had become the traditional source for "snow days" information and the last word on whether schools would open or close during icy and snowy weather.

The "School Days" segments continued on a daily basis for nearly 10 years, and were expanded to cover additional

educational districts in our coverage area. Teachers appeared to appreciate what they perceived we were doing for public education through the feature, and we consciously courted them as an informal part of our programming strategy.

1976: Feminism and "The Good Morning Show"

After 1971 the desegregation of the schools seemed to proceed smoothly into the heart of the decade. But this period of social and educational change was accompanied by an overlapping phenomenon that had its beginning in our news department in the early 60's when WFMY-TV employed its first female reporter (1964). In the 70's, more and more women began appearing on TV in nontraditional roles as news anchors and reporters. In the autumn of 1976, Sandra Hughes introduced a new era in the 19th year of the GMS program when she joined me for an expanded three-hour version of the program called "Good Morning Times Two" (hereafter GMTT). Earlier (1974) Hughes had made history when she became the first black woman to appear as host of a WFMY-TV program ("Sandra and Friends"). Being first is not always a pleasant experience.

After 2 years in News, when I started doing that talk show I really learned what it was like to be black on TV. I was interviewed by every little newspaper in the area that hit the street and asked, 'what is it like to be a black female doing a talk show on TV' . . . when I said, 'I don't feel like a black female doing a talk show, I feel like a female doing a talk show, I just happen to be black,' well, one black weekly newspaper printed, 'Sandra Hughes doesn't think she's black,' and that presented all kinds of problems. . . . I had a lot of threats, people would call the station threatening my life, my family's life, there were constant bomb scares. (Hughes interview, February 26, 1988)

GMTT premiered as the third hour of the GMS in mid-September, 1976. We did not receive any bomb threats after Sandra joined the program, but one white woman viewer visited me at my home to inform me that she did not believe this first-ever black-white anchor team in Greensboro would succeed with the GMS audience. Most white viewers saw Sandra's presence as demeaning to me, but I did not share that attitude.

When I had the opportunity to do GMTT with you (the author), then that gave me a chance to expand what I considered talents I might have, or do something that people didn't expect me to do . . . to sit with you on the morning show, with a person who obviously had already developed star potential, in my opinion elevated me.

Working with Hughes did not pose a problem for me as a person or as a performer, but I was apprehensive about how the audience would respond to a black woman on the morning show. To offset any possible criticism, we attempted ambitious projects to force the public to focus more on the content than on the program's presenters. We staged large-scale cooking competitions called "Bake-Offs," after the Pillsbury model. We filmed a number of features "on location" and presented a poetry roundtable with the area's foremost published poets and authors. Like me, Hughes has ambiguous feelings about the program.

I remember it being a confusing experience, number one because we had so many things that we had to do, I considered it secondary to the other things I was doing. . . . It did not take a high priority in my opinion with the kinds of responsibilities ("Sandra and Friends") that I had around here. I remember worrying about whether you were comfortable with me working with you. . . . I remember always liking you as a person and getting along with you . . . but I remember being there.

GMTT was hard work for everybody, and I do not believe the third hour was mourned when it was abruptly cancelled after the February, 1977, rating period. At the time, I was told that the ratings were not strong enough to continue, but years later I learned that the production manager wanted the third hour cancelled because the 6:00 to 9:00 a.m. grind was stressing his crew. Since I was stretching myself to produce ideas for the program that would make filling the time less painful, I was not at all disturbed by the cancellation. As a matter of medical fact, I suffered from hyperventilation throughout the GMTT experience. When I learned the hour had been dropped, the problem stopped, but Hughes reacted differently (March 1977):

I was disappointed when the show ended. Once we got going with the show, I had a feeling we were going to turn it into something despite my initial feelings. I was very disappointed when, after a few months, they took it off the air. I didn't feel the station had given it a chance to grow and become what it could. Another reason I think I felt that way is because I've always been the kind of person, that when you give me something, even though it's more than what I need or want, don't take it back from me . . . that is the way I felt about that show, I felt that something had been taken away from me.

In the midst of the GMTT experience, I celebrated my 45th birthday and the GMS its 19th anniversary. I completed the requirements for my M.A. in English at UNCG and concluded five solid years of mixing college course work with a professional TV career. According to Levinson (1978), it was time

to give up the tasks of my mid-life transition, "a period of great struggle within the self and with the external world":

The end of the Mid-Life Transition, like all shifts from one period to the next, is marked by a series of changes rather than one dramatic event. It may be evident only as a man looks back a few years later that he was in fact committing himself to the choices around which a new life structure took shape. (pp. 60-61)

The dawning of Middle Adulthood began on a declining note with the cancellation of GMTT in March and my removal as the Evening Weather Anchor in the early summer. After 20 years, I had been replaced by a younger man. That made me angry. I had presented the weather for years for a piddling three dollars a program, left my wife and children to come back to the studio at 5:00 in the afternoon for the broadcast, and stayed until 6:30. Even when the fee was increased, it was hardly worth the time and effort except at the end of the month when the talent check was passed out. After the ratings declined in November 1977, I was reassigned to the position.

December 16, 1977: 20th Anniversary of the GMS

When the GMS celebrated its 20th anniversary on December 16, 1977, I was completely surprised by the 60-minute celebration that followed the program and pre-empted "Captain Kangaroo." I was showered with plaques, prints, and far too many accolades. Some community leaders described me as "an

institution and a tradition in the community." I had never heard myself discussed in those terms, and subsequently the event, the gifts which poured in across Christmastime, and the praise in cards and letters, cast a near-religious connotation over the celebration. In television you take nothing for granted, and 1978 brought another series of Levinson's "oppressive and humiliating" personal and professional challenges. My supervisor informed me that I was getting a little old and needed a "good looking girl" beside me on the GMS set.

The female anchors on the GMS have, in a sense, typified the basic struggle of women in all areas of broadcasting. I only met one of my predecessors, but examples of their work and subsequent accounts of the anchor relationships on the program, indicate a definite progression in feminine achievements. (Kim Skeen, Jan. 1988)

Diana Moon: 1977-1979

Diana Moon was the "good looking" young woman destined to sit beside me as the first regular GMS female co-host. The Aberdeen, North Carolina, native and Phi Beta Kappa communications major came to the show straight from graduation at Wake Forest University. As a First Runner-up for the Miss North Carolina title, Moon was strikingly beautiful. When we began working together she was 22 and I was 46. The situation was not unusual for television, but it did establish an historical personal milestone. After 30 years in broadcasting, I was now performing with a woman the same age

as my older daughter, and after 21 years my solo hosting on the GMS came to an end.

Descriptively, the introduction of women into hosting roles on the GMS presented a series of sexist problems for male management. In the local TV situations I have observed, female air talent is subjectively selected for the speculative value of their cosmetic and sexual qualities. I have known management to (a) hire women who "look good to them" regardless of the extent of their talent and race, (b) demonstrate vague ideas about their professional objectives for these attractive women, (c) fail to share their intentions with supervisors, and (d) experiment with cosmetics as the first stage of star development.

The prevailing TV "anchor team" concept, dating back to Huntley and Brinkley, established the necessity of a rapport between anchors that viewers could identify as "compatibility" (Westin, 1982, p. 33). For Mike Wallace, anchors exhibit a combination of qualities that contribute to that special aura of integrity and credibility (p. 131). Working with Moon presented a different set of problems than Sandra Hughes and I had to cope with on GMTT in 1976. Moon was inexperienced in studio hosting, called anchoring, and field reporting and producing. When she reported to the show, I decided to train her first as a feature reporter, but management was committed to a different strategy.

Inevitably, the General Manager invited me to lunch to discuss Moon's place on the show. When I asked him point blank, what exactly he wanted to see Diana doing, the answer was, "Sitting beside you on the set at 7:00 a.m. each morning." We lunched on Friday and she was beside me Monday morning, but I took the situation a step further and decided that a real co-host should begin her duties when the program started, so I scheduled Diana to work the entire 6:00 to 8:00 a.m. show. I put an additional strain on this young woman, who was already working under more pressure than any of us realized, and made her miserable just to prove to the General Manager that I did not have an ego problem.

What made working with Diana difficult was training and supervising her while we were appearing on live TV. The constant critiquing and the consistent positive feedback cooled what little chemistry there was between us. The beautiful ingenue and the 47-year-old man were a generation apart, with me displaying more of a father image than that of a friend (Levinson, 1978, p. 28). It would have been helpful with Moon and with my second co-host Suzanne Moss, if I had been familiar with Erikson's concept of Generativity vs. Stagnation:

As a man passes 40, his task is to assume responsibility for new generations of adults . . . he must become paternal in new ways to younger adults. He cannot treat them as if they were children under his benign control. He must find new ways to combine authority and mutuality, accepting his own responsibility and

offering leadership, yet also taking them seriously as adults, inviting their participation and fostering their growth toward greater independence and authority. (Levinson, 1978, pp. 29-30)

While I was experiencing problems relating to Diana on the GMS, I was confronting similar issues at home with my older daughter. In this same era, in the only confrontation of our relationship, Beverly tearfully accused me of "treating her like a baby." Sadly, I made the same mistakes with my next co-host who had neither the talent nor the experience to survive more than a few months in the co-hosting position. Without knowledge of the experience, how was I to know that I needed to relate better to what Levinson calls "novices going through their initial formative period within the adult world" (p. 30).

Suzanne Moss: 1979

By the time Diana departed, I was convinced that I wanted and needed a female co-host. I was conceptually committed to the idea of modernizing the program with additional personalities and determined to achieve compatibility. After a brief local recruiting period, we promoted a young UNCG communications major from our creative department to the GMS. Since I had known Suzanne Moss for some time, I assumed that training her would be a relatively simple and enjoyable exercise. Ironically, she tightened up on camera to the extent that we could not begin to exchange simple, relaxed

conversation on any topic. I fired her, but to her everlasting credit she proceeded to find professional coaching and win anchor positions, first in Richmond and later in Dallas.

Karen Karns: 1980

Following the Moss experience, Operations Manager Jack Forehand and I began a nationwide search for a female co-host by placing an advertisement in a national broadcasting trade journal. We received more than 150 videotapes and resumé's, mostly from unattractive women who had little or no experience. If that sounds harsh, let me point out that in that era, late 70's and early 80's, early morning TV programs did not represent viable career possibilities for ambitious, attractive female anchor candidates. And if my language appears sexist, let me emphatically and realistically state that the public demands pretty women on television who are preferably blonde.

Theoretically, it may be difficult to substantiate a selective process based on hair coloring, but a literary convention exists in American Literature for a "weak blonde-strong brunette contrast." James Fenimore Cooper imported this convention from English Literature as a way of presenting Alice and Cora in The Last of the Mohicans (1958, p. ix). Based on my observations, TV viewers appear to prefer Alices before Coras. I would prefer to hire Coras as morning performers, because they are less threatening to women, when one speaks of women as a general audience.

Culturally the feminine woman is supposed to be 'delicate, dainty, passive, nurturant and emotional'; to be feminine is to be weak, and although women are not weak, feminine women are. Consequently . . . since femininity is the norm to which females are supposed to conform, they do their best. They are punished by rejection if they do not. Women, in brief, are rewarded for being weak, punished for being strong. (Frieze, 1978, p. 308)

It is important to have attractive women on TV to meet the expectations of the male and the female audience. If it is true that "one important reason for the importance of attractiveness for women may be that men expect them to be attractive," it seems logical to consider that women are going to make themselves attractive to influence males to pay attention to them (Frieze, 1978, pp. 228-229).

After our nationwide search for a co-host, Karen Karns was the only candidate for the GMS co-hosting position Forehand and I invited to WFMY-TV for an interview. The statuesque blonde was hosting a half-hour talk show in Columbus, Georgia, and her audition included a news feature videotaped in a bikini in a tanning booth. I admired her poise, the confidence she exuded in the report, and her pleasant, communicative manner. As Kim Skeen noted in comparing Karns with Moon and Moss, "Karen was a better combination of beauty and brains, and her enthusiasm provided warmth for the show" (Skeen, 1988).

The Auburn University graduate had charm, wit, and a sense of community. Before long, I discovered that she had

befriended families in the area and was babysitting their children. I knew Karen was not a strong news presenter when I hired her, but her personality compensated for the weakness in her news delivery. She was eventually recruited by a major station in Minneapolis and later became the first female co-anchor at a station in Salt Lake City, Utah. Karen was more experienced and mature than either Moon or Moss. By the time she joined the show, I had mellowed and adopted a more liberal attitude about female co-hosts. For that reason and my confidence in her, Karen was allowed more space to test herself without my inhibiting influence.

Vicki Babu: 1982-1985

It wasn't until Vicki Babu joined the GMS as the fourth co-host that the role of woman began to evolve. Vicki had more experience in news gathering and production in the field. She was also attractive and personable. She easily filled the 'traditional' expectations for the female anchor, sex appeal and energy, but she also added a journalistic dimension to the job. Vicki did a number of field reports and news-oriented interviews and after several years was moved into the news department as evening reporter-anchor. (Skeen, 1988)

Kim Skeen: 1985

We were fortunate to successfully recruit this University of Georgia Phi Beta Kappa graduate from a 6:00 and 11:00 p.m. anchor-producer position at a TV station in Augusta, Georgia. By the mid-80's an aggressive new management team decided the GMS needed a stronger news image to match the promotional effort of News Two. Kim Skeen was charged to produce and

present newscasts, of a local, national, and international quality, to compete with morning news reports on ABC, NBC, and CBS.

She must arrive at the studios by 4:00 a.m. to produce and write newscasts for 6:00 and 7:00 a.m. and present updates through the course of the program. In TV news, "the producer is the person in charge of the content of each news show" (Newsom & Wollert, 1985, pp. 173-174). The position calls for split-second decisions, coordination, and leadership and management skills. As the GMS news producer Skeen must also reflect what she describes as "the 'traditional' expectations for the female anchor, sex appeal and energy."

I must confess that my own fascination with television news has probably fueled the enlargement of the woman's role on the GMS. I have at times even neglected being pretty and likable at the expense of getting the story . . . women no longer adorn the set solely for decoration. We are pressured more than men to be physically attractive, but we may feel proud that our work is finally gaining the journalistic respect it deserves. (Skeen, 1988)

Skeen is one of the most exceptionally organized news professionals I have worked with during my career. When she says "she has neglected being pretty," she is saying that on certain heavy news mornings, producing the news is more important than "getting her face on right." If a broadcasting executive happened to be watching that particular morning with thoughts of hiring her, and she did not look her best, this journalistic arrogance could cost her a better job.

Cosmetics are extremely important in early morning TV where a performer tends always to "feel tired." I have only performed the chore for 30 years, but my mind and body keep trying to convince me that "there is something abnormal about getting up before dawn." Mike Wallace anchored the "CBS Morning News" for a time in the mid 60's and believed the early morning assignment seriously affected his health.

"I still can't believe it. . . . I would get out of bed at three in the morning, day after day. You're not on the lobster shift. You're not on the regular shift. You are no place. You go to bed at nine. You get five and a half or six hours of sleep. It's the first time in my life I began to take a sleeping pill."
(Westin, 1982, p. 131)

In reflection, as immature women and performers, Moon and Moss were at risk with an older male co-host, the parent of another novice female, and a struggling candidate for senior adulthood. In their cases, I wish I had been better educated, psychologically enlightened, and aware of my personal vulnerability "as a source of wisdom, empathy and compassion for others" (Levinson, 1978, p. 30). In 1976, the year Sandra Hughes and I launched "Good Morning Times Two," Barbara Walters joined ABC News as the first woman co-anchor on a network evening news broadcast, an indication that WFMY-TV, with its assignment of Sandra Hughes to GMTT, was in the mainstream of the feminist movement in national and local television (Westin, 1982, p. 133).

Perhaps, some phenomena are constant. Women news anchors are still considered unique and exotic, still expected to

fulfill Skeen's "traditional expectations" of sex and energy. As recently as 1987, when Dan Rather's "CBS Evening News" ratings slumped, there was talk of inserting Diane Sawyer as a co-anchor. But the ratings improved and the network was spared a decision to resort to "sex and energy" to continue their dominaton in the evening news slot.

Beginning with Diana Moon, I have attempted to shelter my female co-anchors, because as the father of two daughters I had certain feelings about how I wanted employers to treat my children. According to Kim Skeen:

Kinard was protective and somewhat cautious in his approach. His support was always tempered with stories of typically female responses from previous co-hosts, but Lee never let his past experiences with women dilute his confidence in my ability. His support has been unwavering and his encouragement overwhelming. (Letter, 1988)

The Nazi-Klan Shootout and Aftermath, 1979-80:
Greensboro, Saturday, November 3, 1979

Shortly after mid-morning I drove downtown to buy some fresh fish from a market located at Lee and South Elm Streets. When I came out of the shop, I heard what sounded like dozens of sirens. I was only a few blocks from police headquarters and the official vehicles appeared to be heading into Eastern Greensboro toward an encounter with participants in what Chafe has described as the Nazi-Klan Shootout.

The Communist Worker's Party (CWP), a small Maoist sect . . . had organized a "Death to the Klan" rally. The demonstration represented an effort to provide dramatic focus to an ongoing attempt to build a biracial, class based struggle against the textile magnates and

bankers whom CWP members saw as the primary enemies of social and economic justice. Frustrated by their failure to make rapid strides in mob workers, CWP members hoped that a highly publicized march against the Klan might provide a vehicle to attract new recruits. Consequently, they challenged Klan leaders to appear at the rally and "answer to the people's" judgement. Instead Klan and Nazi party members delivered their own judgement. Arriving with a virtual arsenal of weapons, KKK and Nazi party members, after a brief scuffle, opened fire on CWP followers. Eighty-eight seconds later five CWP demonstrators lay dead. (Chafe, 1981, p. 251)

As Chafe correctly observed, "Greensboro's white leaders insisted that the violence had nothing to do with the city itself" (p. 251). I concurred with this opinion and did not see why our city had to get another mark against its progress in race relations because of an incident that involved mostly out-of-town people. At WFMY-TV following the "shootout," there was a distinct coolness between the whites and the blacks. It appeared that blacks were using the incident to dredge up ancient problems and open old wounds, rekindling the question of the progress of human relations in the city. In 1988, I asked Sandra Hughes to recall her thoughts about the "Shootout":

This sounds awfully strange, but I remember feeling proud that I grew up in that neighborhood. I think that is the first time I said out loud that I grew up in Morningside Homes. It was almost with a smile on my face. Hey, look, I grew up there. Isn't it strange. I can't imagine where that feeling came from. It was a way of turning the spotlight on me and saying hey, guess what, did you know that is where I grew up. Look at what I am doing now. I'm on TV and I do all these things. Isn't it neat that I grew up in that neighborhood and I've come all this way and I'm doing something different now.

At the time of the Nazi-Klan shootout I was supervising Community Affairs at WFMY-TV, but the GMS schedule for November and December, 1979, does not include a single interview that could have focused on black concern about the shootouts. Again, as in the 60s, the daily follow-up on the incident was presented as a part of our four morning newscasts and updates. The remainder of the program continued to present those features that represented our consistent promotion of Greensboro's "progressive mystique."

At the heart of the concern in the black community was the presence of the KKK. I had my consciousness raised when black people I spoke with about the situation told me they "were afraid of the Klan." I found this interesting because I had never really taken the Klan for more than a collection of prejudiced, uneducated white-trash rabble. In 1979, I was more enlightened about the issues related to racial oppression, but I did not concur with many of my black friends that the decades since the 1960 sit-ins had failed to create a climate of mutual respect between the races. Blacks positioned the "shootout" to contend that hate and prejudice still existed, as evidence that black Greensboro was still vulnerable to racist oppression. This prompted me to attempt to react in some way to the black community that would indicate that I at least was personally transformed and conscious of their victimization. I was determined to show blacks and

the entire community that one white man was now paying attention to black problems and black history.

Mrs. Shirley Frye, wife of North Carolina Supreme Court Jurist Henry Frye, appeared on the GMS in mid-January 1980, as a representative of the February One Committee. This group had been organized to promote the 20th observance of the lunch counter sit-ins at the downtown Woolworth Store on February 1, 1980. Following Mrs. Frye's visit I contacted the committee for permission to televise the observance live on the morning of the commemoration.

Another chapter in my liberalizing transformation began when I began to listen to blacks describe what the Ku Klux Klan "meant" to them, and why the "shootout," in a housing development, was just another "slap in the face." These anguished descriptions were profoundly influential narratives reflecting personal embarrassment over the nature of their second-class citizenship. These conversational experiences began to raise new notions about prejudice and about the traditional paternalistic conception of the blacks of my childhood and adolescence as "the restrained, friendly, but always sad white man's negro" (Erikson, 1985, p. 242).

According to Levinson, the keys to any transformation in the Age Fifty Transition may be found by reviewing the tasks of the Age Thirty Transition: "A man can work further on the tasks of the Mid-Life transition and can modify the life structure formed in the mid-forties" (p. 62). As at

age 30, the key question for me near 50 becomes, "If I am to change my life, if there are things in it I want to modify or exclude, or things missing I want to add, I must now make a start, for soon it will be too late" (p. 58).

In January, 1980, I made a conscious decision to work for a stronger sense of community between blacks and whites on the GMS. If I accomplished nothing else, I wanted to make a point of demonstrating that some white people were sensitive to discrimination and segregation. I was embarrassed by the Klan and the killings, and I did not want the black people I knew, or my black audience, to find me unresponsive.

To demonstrate my good faith, first as a white man, and my maturity as a social-minded broadcaster, I asked the February One Committee for permission to televise the commemoration. This event provided a positive conciliatory opportunity for whites to endorse the struggle for civil rights. The event was historic and I wanted the GMS to be a volunteered part of that history. For once I wanted to act instead of reacting, as a way of offsetting the negative connotation associated with a march planned for the following day by a group calling itself the February 2nd Mobilization Committee (Wheaton, 1987, pp. 195-201, 203).

On the morning of February 1, 1980, it was business as usual for the first two hours of the GMS. Then, while the co-hosts anchored the last half hour of the regularly

scheduled program, I drove to the downtown Woolworth where I would host the commemoration in a special broadcast beginning at 8:00 a.m. The four original sit-ins would participate with whites and blacks who were a part of that 1960 awakening of the civil rights struggle and the confrontations that followed.

Woolworth was jammed with national and local press, including three national TV networks, but the GMS was the only program televising the event live. In the content of the program that followed, I was conscious of the awakening of a personal spirit of brotherhood and change. I had come full circle from the paternalistic attitude of my childhood and adolescence, through the experience of the 60s and the 70s, to a transforming reflection on the nature of man. As I interpreted a social catalog of observations, conversations, and intentions of a private nature, I knew I could never again look at blacks, or any other people in the world, from a single perspective. When I left Woolworth's that morning, my eyes and my mind were open as never before to divergent attitudes and ideas. For the first time I understood aspects of the black protest that I had misinterpreted for years.

Nine months later when the Nazi-Klan trial began, the GMS made a concerted effort to deal with the problem of racism in our community. Five segments, ten in September, and eight in October dealt with issues including prejudice,

the city council election, black professional women, NAACP voter registration, leadership development for women, and an interracial play to be performed at N.C. A & T State University. The GMS also hosted a number of black sports figures and educators, as we endeavored to call the community's attention to blacks and their contributions. One of the main reasons we developed this awareness campaign as a support mechanism for the community was our nervousness over the outcome of the Nazi-Klan trial.

Some broadcasters shared the premonition that the all-white jury hearing the case might find the "shootout" defendants innocent. With memories of the 60's in my mind, I could see an innocent verdict triggering another violent protest. This feeling was shared by other broadcasters including WFMY-TV's General Manager Mark Conrad. During the final weeks of the trial, radio and television broadcasters, black and white, from Greensboro, High Point, and Winston-Salem met without fanfare at the Greensboro City Club to discuss a broadcast media response to an innocent verdict.

We agreed to a simple but important process of handling the news release. The announcement would be presented calmly and matter-of-factly without editorial comment. If riots or confrontations did occur, the incidents would be thoroughly checked out prior to broadcast and reports would

be objectively delivered. We were instituting a policy of news control, but if any of the broadcasters in that meeting were opposed to the idea they did not speak up. A few weeks later, Greensboro's mayor, city manager, and law enforcement representatives were invited to attend a second meeting to brief us on their contingency planning. Almost predictably, the three-month trial before an all-white jury ended with a verdict of innocence, and the decision reached the broadcast media around 5:30 p.m. in the midst of a blinding rainstorm.

As the evening droned its wet, weary way into history, there were no incidents, no confrontations. Perhaps our community had come too far to revolt, perhaps we all expected the verdict and were not surprised. Perhaps that cold hard rain blanketed any possible outburst of passion. Perhaps Greensboro's blacks had given up on fairness and justice. Perhaps the black leadership which had been so strong during the 60's was a thing of the past. Perhaps economic mobility had inevitably separated blacks into the same social castes that separated Greensboro's whites.

WFMY-TV's management committee held several meetings with members of the black community following the first trial verdict. Blacks, who previously had been friendly, were now angry and defensive. They wanted to see more positive news about the black community. They wanted to

see more black role models on TV for the youngsters in their community to observe. They wanted more black anchor people on our station's newscasts. They demanded that we respond to every call for news coverage. The people at these meetings represented two, sometimes three generations. For once they appeared to be united which had not always been the case. From the tone of their voice and their control of the agenda, it was obvious that they did not really trust us. When they looked at Greensboro, they could see no clear, pure picture of racial harmony.

In the years since my enlightenment, the GMS has been more responsive than ever to the needs of blacks and other minorities. The standing rule that has prevailed since the program's inception still holds. Responsible blacks and black organizations are never denied access. Additionally, we have strengthened our outreach to detect areas of concern before they become major problems. The issues of race are clearer now, but divisiveness in our Southern society is still apparent and appalling.

I was 51 years old when the GMS celebrated its 25th anniversary, still at odds with myself over who I was, and what kind of person I eventually wanted to grow up and become. Levinson (1978) provided little help from here on out because his study does not go beyond the late 40's (p. 62). However, I hope that this chapter has somehow

met his call for more information about "the tasks of adult development and the problems of building and modifying a life" (p. 320). What is most gratifying at my age is to note from Solon that the age 42-56 is significant: "Seven times seven, and eight; the tongue and the mind for fourteen years together are now at their best" (Levinson, 1978, p. 326).

CHAPTER IV
MEANINGS AND MESSAGES

According to the Nobel Prize Winner Konrad Lorenz (1987), "Phenomenology can be pursued best by means of self observation, that is by describing one's own feelings and hoping they will be understood by others" (p. 106). For Ihde (1983), "Phenomenologically, it is from the world that I come to understand myself. Thus it is in interaction with the world that I come to any form of self understanding, contrarily, without world I would understand nothing" (p. 13).

In summarizing this study of a local, community-oriented TV program, and its correlative topics of racial desegregation and feminism in local television, I will (a) exhibit a brief series of key personal transformational experiences that occurred during the eras of my life cycle, (b) present eight life experiences during childhood and adolescence that have formed my existential model of consciousness, (c) outline the instructive, creative, and redemptive value of higher education to my professional product, (d) display a set of spiritual experiences that substantiate a personal pattern of cultural transformation and creative productivity, (e) argue for the validity of the autobiographical

method as a scientific way of interpreting phenomena, and
 (f) formulate a series of predictions about the future
 impact of [local]* television as a conscious [ness raising]
device in the quest for literacy.*

It is the nature of an experience to have implications which go far beyond what is at first consciously noted in it. Bringing these connections or implications to consciousness enhances the meaning of the experience. Any experience, however trivial in its first appearance, is capable of assuming an indefinite richness of significance by extending its range of perceived connections. Normal communication with others is the readiest way of effecting this development, for it links up the net results of the experience of the group and even the race with the immediate experience of an individual. By normal communication is meant that in which there is a joint interest, a common interest, so that one is eager to give and the other to take. (Dewey, 1916, p. 217)

Experience I

On the morning of February 1, 1980, as I left the downtown Greensboro Woolworth store following my broadcast of the 20th Anniversary Commemoration of the Lunchcounter Sit-Ins, a complex texture of meanings pursued me to the solitude of my car. While the naive little Southern white boy in me remembered growing up in the midst of "sad white man's Negroes" on my grandfather's truck lot in Concord,

*An explanation of my use of brackets is central to interpreting the content of this chapter. The descriptive method employs brackets [] as a way of indicating the possibility of multiple meanings. Meanings vary depending on the direction of my inquiry into experience as actions, events, and ideas. As I understand Ihde (1977), this process illustrates "how phenomenological analysis goes beyond what is usually taken for granted" (pp. 67-68).

as a 48-year-old broadcaster, I had experienced the heroics of a major protest by men who had come to own their color and their conscience.

I could see that Ezell Blair, Jr., Joseph McNeil, Franklin McCain, and David Richmond were heroes of a special class. When my broadcast of the event began, I was an impartial observer, but as these "original sit-ins" recounted their decision to protest, the implications of their commitment to social justice enlightened me as never before to the condition of black people as victims in my part of the South.

The Greensboro sit-ins constituted a watershed in the history of America. Although similar demonstrations had occurred before, never in the past had they prompted such a volcanic response. The Greensboro 'Coffee Party' of 1960, one observer noted, would rank in history with the Boston Tea Party as a harbinger of revolutionary shifts in the social order. (Chafe, 1981, p. 71)

Coming as it did, just three months after the Nazi-Klan Shootout (November 3, 1979), the February One Commemoration, exemplified by the reminiscences of the four original sit-ins, profoundly moved me to confront the prejudices and paternalism of my childhood and adolescence. As a white broadcaster I knew as well as anybody that racial hatred still founded the myth of white supremacy. In all probability, the broadcast I had just completed would generate phone calls and letters disparaging my attention to blacks and expressing bitter hatred for the race.

The February One 1980 Commemoration was personally significant because the original sit-in participants created a new level of understanding for me as they reflected on their commitment to create a new identity for themselves. When I heard these intense interpretations of personal pain and degradation, I began to see the civil rights protest from the inside out.

When the creation of a new culture is appropriate but impeded by interiorized cultural 'residue,' this residue, these myths, must be expelled by means of culture. Cultural action and cultural revolution, at different stages, constitutes the modes of this expulsion. (Freire, 1985, p. 54)

The experience of the sit-in commemoration enabled me to transcend cultural and career reservations about promoting the quest for civil and human rights on the GMS. In 1980 my fears of an actual "Black Power Revolution" against white oppression in the South had been alleviated by the obvious diminution of power and leadership in the predominantly black movement. However, meetings with disenchanted black groups in Greensboro convinced me that I needed to rethink my gatekeeping strategy as the producer of the GMS and make a more concerted attempt to present information that would strengthen the human relations climate in Greensboro by providing more attention to the black point of view.

According to Head and Sterling (1987), "some gatekeeping is inadvertent, the result of the accessibility of news

events and the availability of transportation or relay facilities, some is institutional and some ideological" (p. 413). In 1980, when I became aware that my intuitive selection of items and issues for presentation on the GMS raised moral and ethical questions, I reached a new plateau of social consciousness. As a gatekeeper, I decided to open the gate to a broader range of issues and position the GMS as an active, as opposed to a passive, force in the community. While the "door" to the GMS had always been open to blacks, my intention now was to actively seek black involvement in the program as opposed to passively devoting time to minorities only when they requested attention. That signified a major change in my personal and professional attitude and was extended to include women and other minorities.

Experience II

I remembered a telephone call in the 60's after I had presented a black performer on one of my TV shows. A voice I did not recognize charged, "Lee Kinard, your granddaddy would turn over in his grave if he knew you had put a 'nigger' on TV."

I believe that education is the fundamental method of social progress and reform. (Dewey, 1987)

Dewey wrote that "education is a regulation of the process of coming to share in the social consciousness" and that the "adjustment of individual activity on the basis

of the social consciousness is the only sure method of social reconstruction" (McDermott, 1973, p. 453). In the 1960's, I experienced a crisis in social understanding, that I was only culturally prepared to deal with from the standpoint of history. When the civil disruptions of that decade meshed with the personal, military, and political crisis of the Vietnam War, I had to seek a new structure for believing in being or perish psychologically and professionally. Beginning in 1972, the liberalizing education I pursued at UNCG combined with experience to reconstruct and heighten my social consciousness and provide a new direction for my life and my TV program.

Mundus vult decipi: the world wants to be deceived. The truth is too complex and frightening; the taste for truth is an acquired taste that few acquire. Not all deceptions are palatable. Untruths are too easy to come by, too quickly exploded, too cheap and ephemeral to give lasting comfort. Mundus vult decipi; but there is a hierarchy of deceptions. Near the bottom of the ladder is journalism: a steady stream of irresponsible distortions that most people find refreshing, although on the morning after, or at least within a week, it will be stale and flat. (Buber, 1970, pp. 9-10)

Even before I returned to the university to resume my higher education (1972), I was always suspicious of "journalism." An innate skepticism is at the root of my gatekeeping strategy because I have never enjoyed seeing journalism abused as a tool to cast speculations about people's intentions and character. I have always been wary of its possibility for creating attitudes about people, that once published or broadcast are non-redemptive. From a

phenomenological perspective, once journalism has framed a person or an idea as [experience] that individual or idea is permanently bracketed in the stream of consciousness. If additional evidence for or against the person is found that would alter the initial []. It cannot truly fill the space of [] because the second audience lacks the [] of the first audience.

If the integrity of my ego has overcome what Erikson (1985) calls the "patrimony of my soul" and built a barrier against the despair that is aroused by my public presentation of the "realistic portraits of society," then my education has been successful (p. 268). In childhood and adolescence I was strictly regulated and restricted in one cultural world to see a singular dimension of every situation, every birth, every death, every beauty, every ugliness, every achievement, every failure. The sense of failure that concerned me as I struggled to build a viable life structure was embedded in the scholastic lapses of my youth and my father's alcoholism.

The individual life structure is a pattern of self and world. However self and world are not two separate entities. They are not like billiard balls that, after colliding, affect each other's course, but not each other's nature. An essential feature of human life is the interpenetration of self and the world. Each is inside the other. Our thinking about one must take account of the other. (Levinson, 1978, p. 47)

When I learned from my brother in 1977 that after almost 30 years he had located our father in Charleston, South Carolina, I drove my family there for a surprise reunion. I had

no idea how he would react to me, even though I assumed that Glenn, who had visited and corresponded with him on a number of occasions, had reviewed my biography and those of our two sisters.

Experience III

It was a typically muggy, uncomfortable August morning when I parked the car near the Battery, left Anne and the children to amuse themselves in the shady park, and walked across the narrow street to 20 Battery Place. As one of the most attractive antebellum homes on the peninsula, the house had apparently been refurbished as a bed and breakfast inn. At the front door, the owner of the mansion suggested that I look for Dad in some apartments at the rear of the house.

I had knocked on several doors without response when I noticed a man walking across the lawn. I studied him intently to see if he resembled Dad, but he was too short and stocky. When I had last seen my father, he was about 42, lean and ramrod straight with dark curly hair that lay close to the scalp in thick waves combed straight back. I walked down the short flight of stairs and approached the stranger.

"Excuse me, I'm looking for Mr. Kinard."

His eyes narrowed. "Well, you've found him."

I stuck out my hand. "I'm Lee."

"Well, I'll be goddamned."

A few minutes later in the park, I introduced him to Anne and our children. Then we walked back to his small room at the rear of the mansion to talk for the first time in almost three decades. I told him everything about myself that I thought he would find remotely interesting. I wanted him to recognize me, to be proud of me. I wanted him to affirm me by telling me something about how he might have felt about me, but his reaction to my comments and his conversation in general were noncommittal, displaced, unemotional. He spoke about me always being at my grandparents', about mother not wanting me to play sports, and about his concern because I was playing "in the trees with a hatchet."

This man had been drunk just about every evening of our short life together. If I wanted to see him as a functioning human being, I had to see him at work as he paraded up and down the aisles of the Woolworth's he managed. There was no remorse in his conversation that afternoon, no indication that he felt any guilt about abandoning his wife and four children without child support. He said so little that I might as well have been talking with a stranger.

When I had exhausted my topics and myself, we said our goodbyes over a half-hearted overture about future meetings. Perfunctorily, he agreed that it would be nice to get together for a longer period, but we were both noncommittal about a time and place. Awash in sentimentality, I first believed

some new relationship might grow out of our meeting, but that was not the case. Within a few months he returned to Seattle where he had lived for a number of years during his wanderings and died.

On that humid day in Charleston as he gasped for air from the emphysema that was choking him to death, he had blurted out, "Hell, if I had known I was going to live this long, I would have taken better care of myself." When he died he took a part of my identity with him, but this [experience] is represented in my life by anxiety, work, and commitment, the attributes Black (1981) has assigned to the children of alcoholics (pp. 10-14). That afternoon as I drove home from Charleston, and for some years, I was as confused about my father at 45 as I had been at 17. Beyond our chaotic, sometimes violent relationship, he seemingly had no good meaning for me, no phenomenology of personal ethic for me to access.

According to Erikson, I was not cast totally adrift without a strong male role model during childhood and adolescence. "The Boy's male ideal is rarely attached to his father as lived with in daily life. It is usually an uncle or friend of the family, if not his grandfather as presented to him (often unconsciously) by his mother" (1985, p. 312). It is obvious from this study that my grandfather exerted a major influence on my life during my most impressionable years.

The development of this study has also directed me to uncover the model for the structure of my life in my mother's culturally focused nurturing and her intention to raise me to survive without expectations. Today, I cautiously observe her to see how I will conduct myself at her age. Mother was always the [mean]ing in my life in her regulation of my opportunities for experiences, for to deny me one [experience] was to create multiple spaces, hidden perhaps and more personal. By denying me the evening hours after 7:30 p.m., she forced me to my room, my radio, and my imagination. That restriction introduced media and the inclination to create a personal kind of freedom in a variety of new universes, worlds Dewey might recognize as near religious in nature.

The connection between imagination and the harmonizing of the self is closer than is usually thought. The idea of a whole, whether of the whole personal being or of the world, is an imaginative, not a literal, idea. The limited world of our universe becomes the Universe only through imaginative extension. It cannot be apprehended in knowledge or realized in reflection. (Ratner, 1939, p. 1016)

The radio dramas I listened to and imaginatively staged in my mind and the books I read about war heroes and explorers, set in motion a series of intentions to [see] the places where the actions and events I learned about "took place." These might be (a) battlefields, (b) castles, (c) historic homes, or (d) cities. As I review my perception of what Husserl (Ihde, 1983) might call "variational fantasies," battlefields predominate because of my preoccupation

with heroics and death, two topics that filled the media from the time I was 8 (1939) until I was 14 (1945).

A survey of my video production indicates that I have documented a number of battlefields from Cold Harbor and Manassas to Gettysburg and Richmond-Petersburg, from the Rhine at Arnhem (The Netherlands) to Bastogne (Belgium). As an intentionally creative adult, I appear to have replaced the fantasies of childhood and adolescence with real portraits and experiences as a producer of educational travel and historical documentaries.

Perhaps my desire to [see] the world and fill the imagination with reality evidences a [spiritual] connection between the imagination and faith, a promise made from one my [self] to a later my [self] to pursue [real]-ity. This connection may surpass substituting the "'mere imagination for other modes of activity,'" as in my tendency to rehearse TV shows in my imagination prior to their performance (Ihde, 1973, p. 85).

The self is always directed toward something beyond itself and so its own unification depends upon the idea of the integration of the shifting scenes of the world into that imaginative totality we call the universe. (Dewey, quoted in Ratner, 1939, p. 1016)

According to Dewey (Ratner), "the intimate connection of imagination with ideal elements in experience is generally recognized." Dewey also suggested that the same case is not made for an association of the imagination with faith (pp. 1016-17). I make a case for this proposition: In my

experience of living and working I have used my imagination to convince me that I could survive simply because my grandmother said to me as a child, "work hard, Sonny, and everything will turn out all right."

In the dreariest of situations, on the bleakest of days, I have returned to her steamy kitchen to hear those words and smell the layers of the pound cake she was baking that morning as they came from the oven of the ponderous wood stove. I could not have survived with the psychology I inhabit today had it not been for the spiritual association with my grandparents, which in some unfathomable way, is associated with the [knowing] experiences of loss that flooded my mind when they died.

Briefly in review, Levinson (1978) and Erikson (1985) have assisted my intention to retrieve the major images of my history from the stream of consciousness and interpret them with some essence of scientific analogy. Levinson's theory of adult development is complemented, in my case, by a preliminary focus on Erikson's "Eight Ages of Man" presented in his classical study of the social significance of childhood. For Levinson, Erikson provides "a historical and intellectual link between Freud and Jung: Although he is on the boundary between the humanities and the social sciences, Erikson is primarily a humanist, a student of life more than an academic scientist" (Levinson, 1978, p. 5).

While Levinson's study begins with the "novice phase of the Early Adult Transition" (age 17-22), I began this examination of my earliest self through Erikson, merging his models of ego identity and ego integrity with the concept of Levinson's eras of the life cycle. I had in mind an autobiographical goal of presenting a personal pattern of cultural transformation while experiencing the 30-year (1957-87) development of a local community TV program.

In supporting the autobiographical method, Holman (1981) has noted that this form of self-analysis distinguishes a number of exemplary works that stress introspection. His list includes St. Augustine's Confessions, Benvenuto Cellini's Autobiography, Franklin's Autobiography, and The Education of Henry Adams. In discussing his autobiography Timebends: A Life (1988), Arthur Miller has noted that he decided to write his own interpretation of his life rather than "filter it through somebody else," and that he "was also interested in experimenting with the autobiographical form, writing in a non-linear way about time":

We don't view the past as a hurdles race with each year a hurdle that's jumped over. We think in terms of images that coincide or collide or stick together. I wanted the book to reflect that as much as possible. I'm convinced that time has no existence in the mind at all. We can partition time out of necessity, so that if I say I will be somewhere at 1 o'clock, we agree on what 1 o'clock is. Civilization couldn't function otherwise. But our minds are a swirling mass of images and recollections that are connected, and it's the connections that count. Hence the title of the book: Timebends. Events are instantly mitigated and changed by the connections we make with them. (U.S. News & World Report, January 11, 1988)

In my childhood, before guilt was instilled in me by restriction and regulation, I was a model of a naive Southern boy. I liked to ride in my grandfather's truck and eat my grandmother's pies and cakes. I felt good when I could run and play and explore, and I felt bad when I got too wet or too muddy, or left the house without telling my Mother, because I knew I was going to be punished. However, I also found out that if I remained in the yard like a "nice little boy," I was never rewarded. In time I learned that my aunts and grandmothers treated me more pleasantly than my mother, and I thought this meant that they liked me more than she did. While they did not have rules and regulations, punishment forced itself inside me to develop a critically active conscience that delighted in teaching me how to punish myself.

At the same time, the apprehension of my father's alcoholism and associated behavior shaped me as an anxious child and encouraged a specific set of tensions to develop. According to my interpretation of Erikson, these anxieties fostered enough self-confusion about my identity to convince me that it was necessary to overcompensate for nearly indefinable fears by developing extra measures of faith, pride, uncertainty, and initiative. As an adult I have tended to reflect negatively on my childhood and adolescence, especially my lack of scholastic achievement. Analytically and realistically, in that era of family chaos, my ego may just have been struggling to survive and that is why my first 17 years seem like an unfulfilled eternity (Erikson, 1963, pp. 403-424).

Each successive stage and crisis has a special relation to one of the basic elements of society, and this for the simple reason that the human life cycle and man's institutions have evolved together . . . man brings to these institutions the remnants of his infantile mentality and his youthful fervor, and he receives from them, as long as they manage to maintain their actuality, a reinforcement of his infantile gains. (Erikson, p. 250)

Through the reflective, interpretive exercises associated with the development of this paper, I have identified eight experiences in my Pre-Adulthood era (0-20) that possibly contributed an equal number of concepts to my existential model of consciousness (Levinson, 1978, p. 20).

| <u>Experience</u> | <u>Concept</u> |
|-------------------|----------------|
| a. The stage | audience |
| b. War | the world |
| c. Charleston | the past |
| d. alcoholism | anxiety |
| e. People | conflict |
| f. Marriage | companionship |
| g. Career | performance |
| h. Education | self-respect |

I see myself driven to perform authentically by a moderate form of Heideggerian anxiety that is identifiable as "spontaneity" in my broadcasting style. As a form of self-expression, it hopefully reflects a uniqueness I wish to present to the public as my personal model of communication. "Existential anxiety is a highly painful form of illumination

that dissolves my beliefs, values, defenses and reveals me as I am, solitary, finite, free. It is the most powerful experience I can have; it is the source of creativity, the prerequisite of growth" (Kneller, 1984, pp. 32-37). Although for Erikson anxiety is associated with fear, for me it is the tension that generates creative enterprises (Erikson, 1985, pp. 403-424).

The creative 'enterprise,' then, is that which gives meaning to experience, and, however demanding such a task may be, it is this sense of purpose that confers dignity to the life of those struggling towards understanding. The contradictory pulls of joy and discouragement, of sudden bursts of insight and tiring efforts of execution, of process and product, are the necessary tensions that fuel creative thought. (John-Steiner, 1987, p. 79)

My major "creative enterprise" since 1957 has been a local TV program, and the central body of this report identifies its relationship to the Greensboro community and the Northern Piedmont region of North Carolina. Because this program has survived for more than 30 years in a generally consistent form, I have endeavored to discover what that structure is, and what kinds of essential features contribute to its viability.

While I have been examining the phenomenology of a local television program, the phenomenality of my association with it has been excessively intrusive since I am inexorably entwined with its creation and production. However, whatever "meaning" has been working in this program has not

reproduced the cultural mentality of my heritage, even though it may have reproduced the "progressive mystique" of Greensboro. I feel transformed and the evidence for the nature of my transformation lies in an unlikely literature for a white Southerner who has become the product of a radical process called conscientization: "The process by which human beings participate critically in a transforming act" (Freire, 1985, p. 106).

I came to be a subject of this process by experiencing the world and reflecting on experiences that were in some cases cataclysmic. I endured (a) my father's drunken rages, (b) his daily [coma]toseness and unreliability, (c) my mother's near death, (d) displacement and alienation from my family, and (e) the death of my brother-in-law. In and of themselves these incidents, or encounters, simply contradict the themes of a happy childhood, but under scientific inspection, reflection, and analytical interpretation, they represent crucial challenges to the process of psychologically surviving childhood and adolescence. I did not create these encounters; they intersected with me while I was endeavoring to identify myself in a new world--as Freire says, "a world dynamically 'in the making'" (1985, p. 106), and a world that in respect to oppression, deprivation, dis[ease] and economics is not totally unlike a Third World.

This dynamic country subjects its inhabitants to more extreme contrasts and abrupt changes during a lifetime or a generation than is normally the case with other great nations. Most of her inhabitants are faced, in

their own lives or within the orbit of their closest relatives with alternatives presented by such polarities as: open roads of immigration and jealous islands of tradition; outgoing internationalism and defiant isolationism; boisterous competition and self-effacing co-operation. (Erikson, 1963, p. 285)

In the first section of this report, I recounted some of the slogans of my youth which Erikson (1985) says are often radically changing "experiments in collective time-space to which individual ego defenses are coordinated" (p. 287). Beyond these contradictions, I discussed my admiration of Roosevelt and the roots of my national heritage. I discussed my Mother in terms of trust and distrust, about liking her and leaving her to seek my independence. I wrote of hating school and desperately needing the university to make me whole after too many experiences had left my ego integrity in shambles.

Thus the functioning American as the heir of a history of extreme contrasts and abrupt changes, bases his final ego identity on some tentative combination of dynamic polarities such as migratory and sedentary, individualistic and standardized, competitive and cooperative, pious and free thinking, responsible and cynical. (Erikson, 1985, p. 286)

I am identified in those contrasts as a flexible, natural American, consciously aware of extremes of conservatism and liberalism, a spokesperson for the "positive mystique" of my city, and I hope an identifier of its victims. But, at the center of my life is a TV program that I made apparently as a way of balancing my relationship to a chaotic world. I am in this program and it is in me as I am in the

world and the world is in me. But there came a time when there was too much undefined me[aning] of the world in me and too little know[ledge].

A major transformation in my consciousness occurred when I returned to college in 1972, registered for a course in contemporary American poetry, and was confronted by Wallace Stevens' "Anecdote of the Jar."

I placed a jar in Tennessee,
And round it was, upon a hill.
It made the slovenly wilderness
Surround that hill.

The wilderness rose up to it,
And sprawled around, no longer wild.
The jar was round upon the ground
And tall and of a port in air.

It took dominion everywhere.
The jar was gray and bare.
It did not give of bird or bush,
Like nothing else in Tennessee. (Riddell, 1967)

Modern poetry, literary criticism, and explicatory commentaries had no meaning for me because my knowledge of literature, like my conception of culture, belonged to the 19th century. In the 1940's when last I had studied verse, we read Coleridge and Wordsworth for rhyme, meter, and reality, and Poe's "The Raven" for its drama, but this "Anecdote" was an indecipherable puzzle. I was a 40-year-old man in a class with 30 college-age women, young enough to be my daughters, frustrated by the complexity of Stevens, Williams, Jarrell, and Pound.

For six weeks I did not believe I would survive the course, until I learned the correlation between reality and imagination. While an introduction to Wallace Stevens marks my initiation to 20th century poetry, my master's thesis would focus on the themes of James Fenimore Cooper's early novels as a way of determining the realistic and romantic aspects of the early American character.

Higher education introduced new masters, a new bibliography, a critical approach to reading, and the challenge of research. A class in art history has been transformed into literally hundreds of five-minute TV travel segments highlighting architecture from Red Square to St. David's Cathedral in Wales, from St. Peter's in Rome to Rouen, Chartres, Canterbury, and Salisbury. My work has included the literary landscapes of Dylan Thomas, James Joyce, Sir Walter Scott, and Hans Christian Anderson. If these topics seem contradictory subjects for a report on a local American TV program, they are no more so than the writings abroad by expatriate American authors from Irving to Pound to Hemingway. I have discovered that my extensive work abroad provides the positive tension, the reflexive attitude, to experience America more fully.

I was changed, transformed by experience, action, events, education, and association. When I came to know victims, I began to know the depth of their frustration and desperation; when I began to understand the language of protest,

I began to understand the nature of protest. When I aged in my profession and my program was complemented by the addition of attractive female co-hosts, I experienced the agony of humility and the ecstasy of survival.

What concerns me in this hour of my life is what has been called the "spiritual drifting of the American intellect," the ambiguity that disorganizes our life as it distinguishes our national image, the artifacts of our culture that represent us abroad as a "showbusiness culture," so that our nation could be called "Hollywood" and introduced as a movie or a TV series, as opposed to a vital landscape and a natural people.

Canadian communications theorist H. Marshall McLuhan (1911-1980), a cult figure in the 1960's, wrote a series of iconoclastic books about the impact of media on society. The most important statement of his thinking is in Understanding Media (1964). There he explained his view that the nature and proliferation of media said more about society than any content carried by those media. (Bittner, 1987; p. 392)

When Marshall McLuhan (1964) published "The Medium is the Message," I was 33 years old, a 15-year broadcasting veteran. I had been producing the GMS for seven years and TV documentaries since 1959. Much of what I was still attempting was romantic because the subjects were historical, scientific, or educational. In the South there was a mitigating decorum that guided what we said and did on TV. Upon reflection, "the message of my (Southern) medium" was conservative.

As I understand McLuhan, he takes many views of the role of the media, one of which is partially relevant to this particular study. As telecasters we may have changed the dinner hour because of the time periods in which we scheduled our evening programs, and we may have introduced TV furniture, tables, trays, and stands. However, I do not recall that the broadcasters I worked with were aware that commercial TV would make America permissive in the sense of gratification McLuhan alludes to as he writes: "For the 'message' of any medium or technology is the change of scale or pace or pattern that it introduces into human affairs" (p. 8).

McLuhan is concerned with the way television "shapes and controls the scale and form of human association and action," noting that "it is only too typical that the 'content' of any medium binds us to the character of the medium" (p. 9). As the producer of the GMS in 1964, I was a late vaudevillian, for that was the essence of TV when I came into the industry. When I became the host-producer of the GMS, by virtue of being "the right person at the right time," the ability to develop content meant that I could survive as a paid hourly employee. What I was doing had absolutely nothing to do with intellectualism because something [out there] called Public Television was supposed to be informing and gratifying educated or discriminating viewers at the taxpayers' expense.

For over 30 years I have been almost totally responsible for the content presented on a local TV show. During this era, not one person, TV executive or viewer, has seriously questioned the assignment of this extensive responsibility. Whether I am good or bad, intelligent or stupid, moral or immoral, just or unjust, has been left to the discrimination of the individual viewer. As I indicated earlier, I know when I take risks with my audience by altering my behavior; therefore, it is possible to suggest that some measure of the program's success and my longevity as its host-producer are due more to acceptable than controversial behavior. Setting aside moral and ethical questions as they concern "gatekeeping," more of what I have presented has been approved of than disapproved of by my management and the program's audience.

I am concerned about my audience's ability to cope with the information or disinformation [I] provide. How well can a viewer cope with the meaning of my subjects to assimilate that which is productive and discard that which is false or irrelevant? The second generation of Americans raised on, or conditioned by, a consistent diet of Saturday morning cartoons is now appearing. Do these viewers have the literacy to detach themselves from TV's values and assumptions as McLuhan suggests?

For any medium has the power of imposing its own assumption on the unwary. Prediction and control consist in avoiding this subliminal state of Narcissus trance.

But the greatest aid to this end is simply in knowing that the spell can occur immediately upon contact as in the first bars of a melody. (McLuhan, 1964, p. 15)

My son is 22 and my granddaughter is a year old. Lee III spent every Saturday morning of his childhood and adolescence watching Saturday cartoons. His mother and I saw nothing wrong with that because as children we had always been exposed to cartoons in the theatre. They were a part of the Saturday morning fare at the theatres in our little Southern towns. Now, Jessica will watch cartoons every Saturday morning in her home as her father did in the 60's and 70's.

But the distance between the product and the experience is being shortened by videotape technology, the phenomenon that may supersede TV stations as the major supplier of video to homes all over the world. More than merely a product of TV broadcasting, videotape will have thousands upon thousands of producers as it begins to share the bookshelf with whatever is most constructive [beyond dust]. Because of the prevalence of home video, content now poses a major moral and spiritual dilemma, as ungovernable and unregulated as the production of literature and pornography. How much prediction and control can we assume either Lee or my granddaughter will have when it comes to recognizing the "subliminal state of Narcissus trance"?

We are no more prepared to encounter radio and TV in our literate milieu than the native of Ghana is able to cope with the literacy that takes him out of his

collective tribal world and beaches him in individual isolation. We are as numb in our new electric world as the native involved in our literate and mechanical cultures. (McLuhan, 1964, p. 16)

In 1964 the delivery system to displace the Ghanian was still on the drawing board; in 1988 satellite technology is a reality. The message the medium is going to transmit may, because of commercial implications, instigate a transformation so virulent the tribal peoples of this world will be victimized to the extent that entire nations will pass nakedly and instantaneously through a time warp. They will be catapulted into the 21st century with the same displacement Neolithic man might have encountered were he to discover himself materializing Monday morning at 9:30 a.m. in the heart of Manhattan.

If the criminal appears as a nonconformist who is unable to meet the demand of technology that we behave in uniform and continuous patterns, literate man is quite inclined to see others who cannot conform as somewhat pathetic. Especially the child, the cripple, the woman and the colored person appear in a world of visual and typographic technology as victims of injustice. (McLuhan, 1964, p. 17)

Some TV producers I know tend to produce "people stories" because they "play well." This means that viewers may use stories about victims to (a) commit their energies to help victims, (b) to take advantage of victims, or (c) to raise their self-esteem because they do not see themselves as victims. In discussing his "hierarchy of deceptions," after journalism at the lowest level, Buber observed these situations:

On a higher level we find fictions that men eagerly believe, regardless of the evidence, because they gratify some wish. Near the top of the ladder we encounter curious mixtures of untruth and truth that exert a lasting fascination on the intellectual community. What cannot on the face of it, be wholly true, although it is plain that there is some truth in it, evokes more discussion and dispute, divergent exegeses and attempts at emendations than what has been stated very carefully, without exaggeration or onesideness. The Book of Proverbs is boring compared to the Sermon on the Mount. (Buber, 1970, p. 10)

As a TV producer of "people" stories, I know that viewers respond to help victims, but they do not necessarily respond to help alleviate the causes of victimization. In this country, too many people have a stake in the victimization process to order its change, so we attend to the chaff that is winnowed on a collective basis as dropouts, dope addicts, pregnant teens, the elderly and infirm, and the godforsaken illiterate.

The American stake in literacy as a technology or uniformity applied to every level of education, government, industry and social life is totally threatened by the electric technology. The threat of Stalin or Hitler was external. The electric technology is within the gates, and we are numb, deaf, blind and mute about its encounter with the Gutenberg technology on and through which the American way of life was formed. (McLuhan, 1964, pp. 17-18)

The question for the preservation of whatever there is great, good, decent, moral, and just about America is a question of content, who should decide the content, or should all content be "disclaimed." This is a serious problem for me as the producer of a local TV program. In the process of "live" interviews, statements are made relevant to moral

and just situations by so-called experts, or common, ordinary, everyday people (if such exist) that can change the psychology of thousands of viewers. Can we allow this to continue without disclaiming all material as "personal opinion"?

In 1988 media people and citizens are consciously aware of the power of television. This self-consciousness, in and of itself, is a tremendous power of manipulation which even the Soviets are taking advantage of by filling the news content of television with the image of First Secretary General Gorbachev and his wife Raisa during their 1987 visit to the United States. By conducting the business of our country on TV, it appears to me that in addition to informing the public, we are (a) creating questionable new TV heroes or anti-heroes, as in the case of the Iran-Contra hearings, (b) presenting an image of ourselves as the most naive and ungovernable of all people, and (c) in the case of TV evangelists blatantly allowing charlatans of the blackest cloth to bilk the oppressed and deprived of the coinage of their illiteracy.

Politically, the TV screen has replaced the "stump," but TV introduced the possibility of cosmetic and behavioral illusions which are not achievable behind the podium in front of a live audience. In writing about "What TV Teaches Children About Politics," Robert Coles (1988) naively has suggested that "A young person brought up in a strong and

attentive family with its own explicitly acknowledged social, moral and political values is by no means a setup for the world's growing number of television script writers and cameramen" (p. 4).

The danger lies in the existence of far more unenlightened homes than there are "knowledgeable" parents. In the same article Coles quoted a Catholic child in Belfast, Northern Ireland, who observed the inclination of British government TV to foment social and political anarchy: "The telly shows off the rich, and the poor are supposed to feel better for what we see" (Coles, 1988, pp. 2-4).

An identical raising of expectations is observable in American television. When I began producing the GMS, I was told not to concern myself with the poor and the black because they could not afford to buy TV sets, and subsequently, the products we were positioning ourselves to advertise. History has proven how wrong we were. One of the first credit purchases poor people obligated for was a TV set. For many of them it was the only way to escape oppression and deprivation on the one hand, and to gauge their displacement on the other. I wonder, do they feel as badly about that as the child in Belfast, and if so, what are the future implications of that compounding anger?

As a way of considering the "transforming power of media," McLuhan (1964) noted that "the effects of technology

do not occur at the level of opinions or concepts, but alter sense ratios or patterns of perception steadily and without any resistance." Only the informed and educated viewer can counter obvious or subliminal indoctrination. "The serious artist is the only person able to encounter technology with impunity, just because he is an expert aware of the changes in sense perception" (p. 18).

Much of my discourse has been directed at raising the reader's consciousness about commercial TV as an American phenomenon, conditioned by its capitalism to avoid, whenever possible, making just and moral decisions about content. McLuhan was aware of this in his identification of the media as a "staple and a natural resource," and his conclusion that dependency on "one or two major staples . . . is going to have some obvious social patterns or organization as a result" (p. 20).

Stress on a few major staples creates extreme instability in the economy but greater endurance in the population. The pathos and humor of the American South are embedded in such an economy of limited staples. For a society configured by reliance on a few commodities accepts them as a social bond quite as much as the metropolis does the press. Cotton and oil, like radio and TV, become "fixed charges" on the entire life of the community, and this pervasive fact creates the unique cultural flavor of any society. It pays through

the nose for all its other senses for each staple that shapes its life (McLuhan, 1964, p. 21).

In 1988, my part of the South is "paying" for its limited staples of tobacco and textiles, and increasingly, that cost is creating a larger multi-racial population of victims. The pre-eminent moral and just use of the commercial TV medium, as exemplified by community service programs like the GMS, is to present educational alternatives for the displaced by cooperating with the agencies of public and higher education. Only by providing access to both populations can we hope to match problems to solutions. In this way the medium resumes its objective invisibility and the message of transformation as implied in educational foundations of philosophy assumes its formative power to stabilize the "psychic life of the community."

The power of television news as the cult of the personality must be mediated. The alarming, national pre-publicized encounter between the CBS Newsman Dan Rather and the Vice President of the United States George Bush ("CBS Evening News," 25 January 1988), has been characterized as "live television's version of two scorpions in battle," as "having the fascination of looking at a train wreck," and as picturing Rather as again becoming "part of the story he was covering" (Broadcasting, February 1, 1988, pp. 35-38).

As a professional broadcaster since 1949, the one message I have for the TV public is this: as a nation we are

in serious trouble when any one media commentator becomes the content of the medium. In its extremity this condition could cost us the presidency and the nation in the course of the evening news. We cannot allow media as "an extension of the senses" to reorganize our sense-life by elaborating on the discontinuity of our culture, thereby threatening the sanctity of the Constitution which guarantees the continuation of our democratic chaos.

In television, as a way of apologizing for our product, we present our medium as a reflection of society, which is a way of saying: if you don't like the texture of the picture you are seeing, then change yourself. Our camera lenses are fixed; when we open them and show you they are neutral, any action must come from you. This is not true. Most newscasts are critically edited versions of reality packaged in exquisite technical portraits. News is an intentional product. "Good news" would bore viewers to change channels. Only by observing victims can certain segments of the population determine their value. Erikson suggests that Americans live by two truths:

A set of religious principles or religiously pronounced political principles of a highly puritan quality, and a set of shifting slogans, which indicate what, at a given time, one may get away with on the basis of not much more than a hunch, a mood, a notion. (1985, p. 286)

Ihde asks a speculative question:

Does the daily experience of media incline though not determine our experience of others increasingly toward a shaped world which reflects the essential

possibilities of media? In other words, does the near-distance which is essential to the experience of media; does the possibility of the disjunction in space time; does the very concept of "role" now analagous to dramatic play incline us toward a particular form of social life. (2983, p. 63)

In the late summer of 1987, I spent an evening and part of a morning in quaint Tregaron, a drover's town at the edge of the great Welsh Sahara, a huge moorland ruled by tall mountains and high winds. I asked one of the residents if Tregaron were likely to remain as simple as it seemed to me to be. "No," the female entrepreneur replied, "the media (television) has changed us, we will never be the same again." I thought, again drinking in the sun across the square of the artifact town, what a shame that was, then realized how narrowly and self-servingly I had used the village to gratify my sensual appetite for antiquity.

When Ihde questions where the media are taking us in terms of "a particular form of social life," he appears to echo McLuhan's concern about the possibility of another series of "intellectual mistakes," based on perceptions of what is taking place in our society from the viewpoint of those who are both in or out of power. For instance, if an American is a regular news viewer, he may easily conclude that the Soviet people are our greatest enemies. However, if I present objectively on my TV program a portrait of the Soviet citizen's daily life and a model demonsterating the expectations of his society, will not the American now have a second

perspective to inform his concept of the Soviet Union? Comparatively, is it not possible for an American presidential political contender to present a negative perception of the Soviet Union as a campaign platform and thereby manipulate the medium to demonstrate his anti-Soviet and pro-American position to the detriment of the best interests of everybody but himself?

I tend to believe, with the lady in Wales, that the problem of media is a problem of cultural identity. The loss of this identity is a consideration in many of the countries I have visited, but the loss is generally mourned by those who have a stake in the past--the nationalists, the elderly, the sentimental, the dispossessed and disadvantaged. Erikson (1985) suggested that "the study of identity . . . is as strategic in our time as the study of sexuality was in Freud's time" (p. 282).

For Erikson, the truly American problem is "ego integrity," compounded by the "contradictions and the shifting slogans" that help explain our cultural identity. In the future we may clearly observe alterations in our integrity and identity thanks to home video. A few decades ago, the innate infatuation with their children often influenced parents to buy still cameras to capture the youngster's growth. Then came the Polaroid revolution which cut the gratification time to a few minutes. Others opted for 35mm

slides and 8 and 16mm film cameras. These devices were expensive because they generated the need for constant reinvestments in film and developing costs.

In the home video era, electronic recording cameras have a high one-time-only fee, but resupply costs are lower. One can store an enormous amount of video on a cassette and billions of megabytes on a chip. Three generations from now, great-grandmother's personality, the sound of her voice, the incremental scenes of her aging will not be a mystery. Future generations will have encyclopedias of their forebears, and there will no longer be a need to argue over who the baby really looks like; everybody will adjourn to the VCR for proof. This could mean that people in affluent Western societies will develop an even stronger ego identity, will become paranoid about it, overly protective of it, more rigid in their approach to life and devastatingly schizophrenic.

It would appear that the risk of losing ego integrity is greater in the Third World than among the affluently acculturated. As I mentioned earlier, after the African tribesman watches TV, it is unlikely his natural state will ever be the same again. It will be interesting to see if his post-video intentions reflect anger, a capitalist anxiety for possessions, or a desperate need for gratification. It will also be interesting to see if the people who program television for the Third World will use it for progress,

subjugation, or de[construction] through the multiplicity of civil wars McLuhan (1964) is concerned about (p. 21). I do not go as far as to suggest that one 15-minute program could disorient a nation's cultural identity.

Summary

In concluding this paper, I will borrow the words of Erikson (1985) to indicate my concern about the "inner split between the morality that should warm daily existence, the ideologies of political life, and the neutral dictates of modern super-organization" (p. 324). These concerns were first expressed by Erikson before the great American self-examination of the 1960's; indeed, they may have anticipated the troublesome, debilitating anxieties of that turbulent era.

By intention and accident, the GMS has endeavored to address Erikson's concern about the contradictions in American life. As a community service, I have attempted to effect a "reconciliation" between the populations and the forces in the community as suggested by Peck (1987, pp. 257, 326). When I became aware, through a study of curriculum, that agendas were both formal and hidden, I attempted to explicate the foundations of problems as opposed to their results, by identifying the sources of inequities (Giroux & Purpel, 1983). To change people's ideas about each other and bring them together, bonded in love and purpose, is a monumental

undertaking and a basis for community: "It is beyond doubt that a great number of qualitative emotions, recognizable and unmistakable, are common to all mankind . . . anchored in the genes of humans" (Lorenz, 1987, p. 87).

As technology, local TV organizes my personal and professional life as the phenomenon that fascinated me with its implications for creativity and leadership. As a broadcasting veteran of almost four decades, I would hope that even the venerable John Dewey might find favor with the GMS for its attendance to the business and the philosophy of daily life. I would hope that its unique focus on education and schooling, during a period of massive social change in the southeastern United States, has provided increased public recognition for the teaching profession and sensitized its audience to the programs and needs of our public schools.

In the heart of the Great Depression, Dewey (1935) concerned himself with "the place of intelligence in a new social orientation." In the midst of one of the most unsettling periods in American history, he visualized a powerful educational role for the press, as a source for public information about changes in the pattern of social life in America. As created by science and technology, Dewey saw these changes producing "a new kind of social conflict" between America's so-called privileged and underprivileged people. In arguing for "intelligence" as a way of devising a method of implementing a social orientation in our schools, Dewey discussed

"indoctrination of the public" in terms of the "educational force of the press":

It is not surprising in an economic order based on business enterprise for profit, that the press should itself be a business enterprise conducted for profit, and hence carry on a vast and steady indoctrination in behalf of the order of which the press is a part. There is rather more cause for surprise that under these circumstances, there is as much intelligent reporting of actual conditions as exists. (1958, pp. 70-82)

Apprehensive about the power and position of the press and its relationship to public education, Dewey warned teachers to protect their self-respect by refusing to be cowed by "misrepresentations and efforts at intimidation." He also called upon schools to "develop immunity against the propaganda influence of the press and radio." It appears that his anxiety about the influence of the broadcast media in America may have had its foundation in his observation of the pre-World War II situation in Nazi Germany.

However, his call for vigilance is as important in this era as it was in that day and age. A viewer must be ever mindful that what he sees on TV has been selected by another human being or a group, and that there is little evidence, in any case, to substantiate a perception of morality or justice. Only by observing and cataloging an enormous amount of presented material can a viewer scientifically conclude certain probabilities about a broadcaster's political orientation.

The press and the radio are two of the most powerful means of inculcating mass prejudice. War propaganda and the situation in Hitlerized Germany have proved that unless the schools create a popular intelligence that is critically discriminating, there is no limit to the prejudices and inflamed emotion that will result. An intelligent understanding of social forces given by schools is our chief protection. (Dewey, 1958, pp. 70-82)

A year before Dewey warned his readers to carefully monitor the content of radio broadcasts, Congress passed the Communications Act of 1934 creating the Federal Communications Commission. As an independent agency of the government, the FCC oversees all radio, television, cable, satellite, and telephone communications in our country. One of the agency's chief responsibilities is to conduct an "evaluation of [the] stations' performance in meeting the requirement, that they operate in the public interest, convenience and necessity." However, it is also important to note that, in line with rights guaranteed by the First Amendment, the FCC has little control over the content of programs (Bittner, 1985, p. 340).

In describing, reflecting and attempting to interpret my experience as a local radio and television broadcaster, the first observable phenomenon is the fact that I was initially attracted to broadcasting by personalities who contributed content. For the local WBT Charlotte broadcaster Grady Cole, the material he presented and I, as a 10-year-old child, absorbed was of a social and political nature and thematically community oriented. The strength of Cole's argument for paved county roads in North Carolina and his

near-desperate plea to boost the economic and professional welfare of our teachers to prevent them from being threatened by the environment so impressed me as a youngster that I not only followed him into the industry, but attempted to document his contribution in this paper.

The historical fact that I subsequently expanded my personal interests to include education and schooling extends from the positive mentoring of impressionable teachers and an intentional curiosity about the world. This experience was heightened by my exposure to radio's pioneering, local and national news and feature broadcasters. The fact that I eventually developed a community program that spanned several important socially historical periods, including desegregation and the feministic movement, is phenomenally relatable to the experiences of my childhood and adolescence.

What is so astounding to me, as the subject of this paper, is the fact that in the early 40's, while Cole was instructing me, a child-listener, in the plight of the teachers in our county school systems, and demonstrating how a commercial medium called radio could function as an instrument for social change, he was also creating my foundational recognition of broadcasting as a transforming medium. Years later, in 1949, when Bill Page brought his concept of community to WABZ in Albemarle, as a young announcer I was waiting, unconsciously, to carry forth the idea of community service through local broadcasting.

I wonder if Dewey, who was so concerned about the negative effect of the American commercial broadcast media on education, would have been awed by WFMY-TV's contribution of 50 minutes a week for the Greensboro Public Schools public relations program between 1971 and 1978. One of the major reasons for my inclination and that of other broadcasters to support public education stems from a reason Dewey would understand, the fact that numbers of Americans employed in commercial radio and television are products of our public schools. As such, our sense of justice and morality inculcates the essence of Dewey's philosophical beliefs including (a) radical empiricism, (b) instrumentalism, (c) experimentalism, and (d) pragmatism.

Since the greater part of this paper is devoted to defending a case for the cultural transformation of a Southern broadcaster and the community service program he created in 1957, the technical implications of Dewey's philosophy deserve a contemporary review. As a self-conscious broadcaster, I am aware of the inclination to see man as a practical model of a machine, an attitude alien to humanity as a community.

The threat of nuclear disaster provokes us to inquire whether human beings have already become devices. According to Lorenz (1987), we may have been too deeply vulgarized by domestication, transformed by the industrial revolution and capitalism from what was once "wild, noble, beautiful and

undomesticated," into machines (p. 99). Pointing out that the comparison between human forms and machines extends at least to Descartes, Ihde asked: "Why do some humans understand themselves to be machines" (1983, p. 65)? For Ihde, three theses account for man's metaphor of himself as a machine. The Existential thesis argues that "humans are what they do and form a variant shape or a texture." The Otherness thesis suggests that "we interpret ourselves by means of some 'other.'" In other ages, human beings relationally interpreted themselves as animalistic, and the distance from that orientation to a machine-like comparison is not all that metaphorically distant. Ihde's Interpretative thesis is "referential," and reflects content only when it "refers" and this reference calls for some kind of otherness. Therefore, interpretation is interpretation of experience:

If interpretation is a clue to human transcendence, it is so by virtue of being so paradoxically. Its index is an indication of human openness to possibilities, but openness to possibilities may be fulfilled only by filling that openness specifically. The analogy or metaphor in this sense returns as a kind of necessity made necessary by the act of interpretation itself. (Ihde, 1983, p. 77)

If, as is the case, men have compared themselves to animals and machines, is it not also true that some have gone so far as to compare their likenesses to God? Ihde uses "otherness" as a key to interpretation of [_____], almost as if he is searching for a comparative metaphor to replace the accepted comparative devices of animals and

machines. The question I pose is this: why does man need a device, or an analogy, to determine how far he has progressed from staging as an "anthropoid ape," when that distance is clearly observable?

Interpretation for me, as it relates to the interpretation of my life, and the life of my program, is not simply an interpretation of a life, a program, a metaphor, a machine, or an animal. It is an interpretation of Energetic Experience, the capacity for vigorous activity, and the product of this force is Extemporaneous Spontaneity. There is a darkness about any inclination to visualize animals or machines as comparisons to a model of man. Machines, even computers which can accomplish some tasks faster than man, are inevitably tools of the trade, extensions of the Stone Age axe.

Animals, which man constantly demonstrates his dominion over, can only serve as one-dimensional comparatives for humanistic personality traits. This paper stipulates the personal acknowledgment of a higher accessible power for humanity. It suggests the validity of an indefinable energetic creativity that, like the beginning of the universe, as human beings have recorded it, is accessible only through intense individual interpretation of human acts and selfs.

If I understand Ihde (1983), the problem with self-interpretation is one of "reduction; to say everything (about a person) is to say nothing, but to say something is never

to say enough" (p. 77). He provides us with this empty equation as a model for self-interpretation: "Interpretation is interpretation of [_____]," when experience fills the space. The troublesome paradox rests with the selection of the "referential otherness."

When the scientist uses metaphor as a way of accessing the creative energy of human beings, he selects the most accessible route of language. Arbitrarily, he substitutes words from his own intelligence, in order to effect an interpretation of that human being. A way of doing this is to use figures of speech, or metaphors such as "mirrors and lamps," to explain the acts of human beings. Therefore, "to say everything is to say nothing, but to say something is never to say enough" is a problem of linguistics and language. While these capabilities set man apart from animals and machines, they are still only one aspect of his being.

Interpretation, as I understand it, is the interpretation of experience, and this impulse comes to my mind in the form of the language of intentionality and interpretation. While I may visualize pictures, portraits or images, what I am [seeing] is [thought] as the reflective language of experience and the perceiver of images. Creating images is the primary function of humanity to fill the gaps between intention and action. Only by interpreting our intentions can we discover our image, who we really are, and only by

reflecting on the moral and ethical dimensions of that "passage" can be describe where humanity should proceed.

I believe the image is the great instrument of instruction. What a child gets out of any subject presented to him is simply the images which he himself forms with regard to it. (Dewey, cited in Ratner, 1939, p. 1016)

During the writing of this paper, the "Good Morning Show" celebrated its 30th Anniversary (December 16, 1957-87). As a community service, which began as a radio program on television, it has endured conflict, conflagration, and national and local competition. As a phenomenon of modern communication between a world and an audience, its eras, like those of the human life cycle, have intersected with dramatic social, economic, and political changes.

These confrontations and the rapid development of communication technology in the last quarter of the 20th century continue to effect changes in the program as they effect changes in society. I have done my work and have no good reason to speculate about the future history of the program other than to say that it reflects the value of evolutionary change as it relates to my understanding of the world. Others could possibly have done it better, but it fell my lot to be in the right place at the right time.

We humans are only an ephemeral link in the chain of the live and the living; there are good reasons for the assumption that we are but a developmental phase on the way to becoming truly humane beings. We are still allowed a little time to hope that this may be so. (Lorenz, 1987, p. 238)

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APPENDIX A

LETTER FROM KIMBERLY R. SKEEN TO LEE KINARD, FEBRUARY 1988

The female anchors on the GMS have, in a sense, typified the basic struggle of women in all areas of broadcasting. I met only one of my predecessors, but examples of their work and subsequent accounts of the anchor relationships on the program indicate a definite progression in feminine achievements.

Diana Moon was the first to provide a woman's touch to the early morning hour. She was an extremely attractive young woman with a noteworthy on the air performance, but her journalistic judgement was not the best, and she soon tired of the pre-dawn wakeup call. Co-host number two was promoted into the job. Suzanne Moss had some experience writing commercials, but no background in anchoring a live program. Her presentation did not meet management's approval and she was replaced, after a few months, by Karen Karns, the third woman on the anchor desk.

Karen was a better combination of beauty and brains, and her enthusiasm provided warmth for the show. But it was not until Vicki Babu joined the GMS as the fourth co-host that the role of the "woman" began to evolve. Vicki had more experience in news gathering and production in the field. She was also attractive and personable. She easily filled the "traditional" expectations for the female anchor, sex appeal and energy, but she also added a journalistic dimension to the job. Vicki produced a number of field reports and

news oriented interviews and after a year was moved into the news department to fill an evening news anchor/reporter slot.

At that point, management began the search for a replacement by looking for a female who could bring a hard-hitting journalistic approach to the concept of co-host. I was hired for the job and told to make the GMS newscasts competitive with the network morning news and our own evening newscasts. I was asked to make our news product more professional than ever, with as much production and graphics as possible. I quickly discovered that being a GMS news producer meant some assignment duties. I was in charge of calling law enforcement personnel every morning, a task that had often been overlooked in the past, or ignored in the morning rush. I became responsible for getting news crews to the scene of any breaking news event, "more live shots," they said, "give us more live coverage." I was also told to do interviews with people making the news headlines. So, in effect, if news happened any time day or night, I had to have it covered for the GMS.

Working on these endeavors with the news personnel was not always easy. The two departments had always operated separately and were often at odds on how each should run. I found myself forced into the position of liaison and peacemaker as we crossed these uncharted territories together. I confess that my own fascination with TV news has probably

fueled the enlargement of the GMS woman's role since I joined the program. I have at times even neglected being pretty and likable at the expense of getting the story. However, I am confident that overall, management has been pleased with the development of the female co-host role under my direction. Women no longer adorn the set solely for decoration. We are pressured more than men to be physically attractive, but we may feel proud that our work is finally gaining the journalistic respect it deserves.

I would like to end my assessment of my experience on the GMS with some comments about my co-anchors. John Nesbit tried to shelter and nurture me in the beginning, he played the father figure, offering advice and encouragement. In the end (Nesbit resigned in 1987), we were adversaries. We are both to blame, but regardless of the reasons for the conflict, it seemed to increase as my role on the program changed.

Lee Kinard was also protective and somewhat cautious in his initial approach. His support was always tempered with stories of typically "female" responses from previous co-hosts, but Lee never let his past experiences with women dilute his confidence in my ability. His support has been unwavering and his encouragement overwhelming. Today, we are colleagues who respect each other as professionals.

APPENDIX B
SUMMARY OF "SCHOOL DAYS" SEGMENTS FOR MARCH 1972

Excluding two teacher workdays, Owen Lewis, Director of Public Relations and Publications for the Greensboro Public Schools, provided guests and topics for 21 ten-minute segments during this month.

The topics included home economics, art, media studies, social studies experiments, Laubach tutoring, school volunteers, leadership training, ACEI programs, human relations, Emergency School Assistance, school psychology, and special recognitions. Twin seniors from one high school were honored for their achievements and an elementary school teacher was recognized with a teaching excellence award. Four segments were devoted to sports including tennis, baseball, track and field, and swimming.

APPENDIX C

EXCERPT OF LETTER FROM FRANK BENNETT TO LEE KINARD, 1988

Bennett's letter, "'The Good Morning Show': A Marketing Perspective," presented a background of local TV beginning on December 16, 1957, the premiere of the GMS. Of particular note is the following paragraph, quoted earlier in the text.

In 1957, commercial television was growing, but struggling to gain the acceptance that newspapers enjoyed as a news medium. In this environment, the odds against a fledgling, locally produced early morning TV show surviving were indeed long. Thirty years later, television is recognized as the primary source for news and information by the American public, and the GMS is the preeminent locally televised early morning program in the country.

As WFMY-TV's General Sales Manager, Bennett has provided the following rating and marketing data to substantiate the popularity and profitability of the GMS.

Viewing Audience Growth
1967-1987

| | <u>Market T.V. Households</u> | <u>Good Morning Show Viewing Audience (Total Adults)</u> |
|------|-----------------------------------|--|
| 1967 | 277,500 | 18,200 |
| 1972 | 351,000 | 27,000 |
| 1977 | 375,000 | 38,000 |
| 1982 | 451,000 | 80,000 |
| 1987 | 504,000 | 93,000 |

Source: Arbitron

"The Good Morning Show's" audience continues to build year after year, and a closer look at this audience will reveal why the program represents the ideal advertising vehicle for any product or service category. The ultimate user of every product or service falls into a specific

demographic group. In analyzing the composition of "The Good Morning Show's" audience, all of these key groups are present and, on a comparative basis, are present in dominant numbers.

APPENDIX D
NEWSPAPER EDITORIAL

Greensboro News & Record

Friday, December 18, 1987

A16

Editorials

Lee Kinard's 30 years

A community's institutions come in many shapes and sizes. But few would disagree that one of this community's most familiar institutions is the friendly visage of "Good Morning Show" host Lee Kinard.

For 30 years this week, Kinard has hosted WFMY-TV's two-hour program that wakes up more area viewers than any other morning broadcast. That in itself is a rarity. These days, television personalities come and go with the regularity of the seasons.

But not Lee Kinard. He is one of us, and it shows. He knows the community because he has been a part of it for so long. He knows our names and faces, and for two hours every weekday morning he has told us everything from what the kids should wear to school to what the natives (or was it the reindeer?) wear in Lapland. For many of us, the sun simply doesn't come up until Lee Kinard says it will.

There is a comfortable, old-shoe feel to his program, which is why we (and

WFMY-TV) have worn it for so long. Lee Kinard has no airs to put on. Day in and day out, he simply introduces us to ourselves through tireless interviews with every charitable and community group around. If Kinard ever turned down a request from a reputable group or person to appear on the show, it hasn't been reported. Add to that good-naturedness a thorough knowledge of the region, the news and the weather, and Lee Kinard comes out on top every time.

In an interview for the 25th anniversary of his show, Kinard said he long ago passed up opportunities to move on to larger markets. We're glad he did. Kinard represents television the way it used to be, before the medium became "hot" and consultants were hired to play the rating game.

Thirty years is a long time in any business, but in television it is an eternity. So congratulations, Lee, and keep that coffee pot warm. We'll see you in the morning.

THE
Good Morning
 SHOW

wfmy.tv

Greensboro • High Point • Winston-Salem