Chapter 29

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RADIO AND THE IMAGINED COMMUNITY

LULLED BY THE NOTION THAT radio programming resulted from a simple and direct process of consumer choice, exercised primarily in the private sphere over trivial entertainment and leisure decisions, we lose sight of the fact that radio's public impact possessed the power to exceed by far both its makers' intentions and the momentary pleasures of the audience. Whether intentionally or not, radio really did create the voice heard round the nation; no matter what process led to the creation of its unique and oft-disparaged representations, they possessed the power to create a phenomenon greater than themselves. Perhaps the Pepsodent Company's sole intent was to sell a certain amount of toothpaste when it sponsored *Amos 'n' Andy* in 1929—and perhaps a nation tuned in solely to laugh a little and unwind after a long day—and perhaps WMAQ and NBC desired only to bring these two profitable phenomena together; nevertheless, the creation of this particular set of representations within the racial and ethnic context of the 1920s both built on and confirmed a certain set of cultural norms and values that had implications far beyond the isolated experience.

At the very least, listeners' tuning in by the tens of thousands to one specific program airing at a specific time created that shared simultaneity of experience crucial to Benedict Anderson's concept of the modern "imagined community" of nationhood. His description of the modern print-influenced citizen, the newspaper reader, even more accurately evokes the radio listener:

> [The newspaper reader] is well aware that the ceremony he performs is being replicated simultaneously by thousands (or millions) of others of whose existence he is confident, yet of whose identity he has not the slightest notion. Furthermore, this ceremony is incessantly repeated at daily or half-daily intervals throughout the calendar. What more vivid figure for the secular, historically clocked, imagined community can be envisioned? At the same time, the newspaper reader, observing exact replicas of his own paper being consumed by his subway, barbershop, or

> residential neighbours, is continually reassured that the imagined world is visibly rooted in everyday life.[1]

Yet despite the rise of chains, newspapers remained a primarily local medium in the United States. Radio, more than any other agency, possessed the power not only to assert actively the unifying power of simultaneous experience but to communicate meanings about the nature of that unifying experience. Radio not only responded to the dominant social tensions of its era but, by addressing its audience's situation directly in music, comedy, and narrative drama, made those tensions the subject of its constructed symbolic universe.

Events in the last decade of the twentieth century have given us pressing new reasons to think about notions of nation and identity, and the roles that race, ethnicity, and communication play in creating them. Anderson locates the beginning of the modern sense of nation and nationality in the profit-driven spread of the medium of print—"print-capitalism, which made it possible for rapidly growing numbers of people to think about themselves, and to relate themselves to others, in profoundly new ways."[2] The spread of print, driven by commercial motives, overthrew the dominance of restrictive official languages, allowed circulation of vernaculars to a wider audience, and eventually led to the overturning of traditional authority and to a whole new concept of the relation of citizen to state, of citizen to citizen, that characterizes the modern age. This "imagined" relationship resulted from the "half fortuitous, but explosive, interaction between a system of production and productive relations (capitalism), a technology of communications (print), and the fatality of human linguistic diversity."[3] And in such an imagined relationship, based on nothing so tangible as concrete geographic boundaries, common ethnic heritage, or linguistic homogenization, but instead on assumptions, images, feelings, consciousness, it is not only the technical means of communication, but the central narratives, representations, and "memories"—and strategic forgetfulness—that they circulate that tie the nation together. "All profound changes in consciousness, by their very nature, bring with them characteristic amnesias. Out of such oblivions, in specific historical circumstances, spring narratives."[4]

The processes Anderson identifies as key resonate significantly throughout the development of radio broadcasting: a system of productive relations driven by that hallmark of twentieth-century capitalism, advertising; a technology of communications significantly different from print, yet even more capable of negotiating not only the linguistic but the ethnic and cultural diversity brought about by the transformations of the modern age; and, like film, a machine for the circulation of narratives and representations that rehearse and justify the structures of order underlying national identity.[5] We can see an awareness of these possibilities in the popular rhetoric that greeted radio from its earliest appearances.

Foremost among prevailing expectations for this new medium of "radio broadcasting" was that of unity, of connection, of "communication" in its purest sense: "Repeatedly, the achievement of cultural unity and homogeneity was held up, implicitly and explicitly, as a goal of the highest importance."[6] Radio would unite a far-flung and disparate nation, doing "more than any other agency in spreading mutual understanding to all sections of the country, to unifying our thoughts, ideals, and

purposes, to making us a strong and well-knit people."[7] Echoing Anderson's description of the effects of print culture, several kinds of unity were envisioned as inherent in the spread of this new medium: physical, cultural, linguistic, and finally institutional. Radio technology, though adaptable to many uses that were not pursued, promised at the very least the same bridging of physical distance over time as other modern media of communication. This physical connection, now addressed not to individual recipients but to a vast, invisible audience at large, would most assuredly, it was felt, provide cultural unity as well. As the English language spread into every corner of the nation, "homogenization of the American mind" would follow. And even before 1926, the recognized necessity of setting up well-regulated institutional controls over this kind of power led to the formation of network broadcasting as we know it. As the nation found a voice through radio, the "imagined community" of the twentieth-century United States began to take shape.

Yet it would be a mistake to assume that it spoke univocally. The history of broadcasting is marked by struggles over appropriate use of the medium, from the amateurs and commercial interests in the early 1920s to the conflict between educational interests and networks throughout the 1930s, and this is not to mention the various internal conflicts and pressures within the institution of radio itself: between advertising agencies and networks, Chicago and New York, censors and performers, regulators and businessmen. These well-worn avenues of dispute are tied to broader areas of social controversy, and the choices made by early stations, networks, sponsors, and agencies as they invented themselves and the "business" of radio reflect the tensions of a diverse and divided society. Who would speak to whom, saying what, on whose behalf—and, conversely, who would not be allowed to speak, whose speech would be carefully limited and contained, and who would not be addressed at all—these were questions rarely asked and answered on purely economic grounds, despite broadcasting's basic commercialism. Rather, decisions on matters such as these reflected and reified structures of power and sites of resistance to the social order being created and reproduced over the invisible airwaves. We can see the first indications of these fundamental tensions in the Utopian predictions of radio's unifying power, held in tension with the dystopian possibilities that radio had to be kept from unleashing.

First of all, it seemed most obvious that the basic technical qualities of radio would unite the nation physically, across geographic space, connecting remote regions with centers of civilization and culture, tying the country together over the invisible waves of ether much as the telegraph and telephone lines had stitched America together, pole by pole, in the preceding century. Yet this new medium could also bring the public into remote private spaces, as to the housebound, the ill, and the infirm:

> The miner in his lonely mountain hut, the sailor at sea, the explorer in the frozen Arctic or Antarctic where he is completely isolated from civilization, the citizen in his home, all enjoy the best music, listen to addresses delivered by distinguished statesmen and captains of industry, reports of news events and sermons by the world's greatest preachers, no matter where they are delivered. The fact that all these forms of

> information or entertainment come to him through the air is so miraculous that he never ceases to marvel at the superhuman ability of those who wrested from Nature one of her greatest secrets.[8]

Here the diminishment of physical distance and penetration into private spaces is linked explicitly to the spread of culture—and cultural hierarchies. Radio promised simultaneity of experience without direct contact, exposure to the public in the privacy of one's home. It would be twenty years before this privatized experience would begin to seem itself something of a threat; for radio's early decades, isolation was the condition that broadcasting promised to alleviate, not create, and many a paean was composed (and preserved) to celebrate this anticipated aspect of the brave new radio world.

One of the most poignant descriptions of radio's miraculous physical qualities in the popular press of the early 1920s (and there are many) comes from an account written by a mining engineer stationed in the remote Temagami Forest Reserve in Canada and appearing in *Colliers* in April 1920:

> I am in a log shack in Canada's northland. . . . Three bosom friends are here in the shack with me—my ax, my dog, and my wireless receiving set. These are vital possessions. If I lose my ax, a frozen death awaits me when the wood fire dies. If I lose my dog—well, you who love your dogs in places where human friends abound just remember where I am. If I lose my wireless set, then I am again cut off from the great outside world which I have so recently regained. . . .
>
> I reach over and touch a switch and the music of an orchestra playing at Newark, N.J., fills the room. . . . A slight turn of the magic knob and I am at Pittsburgh, Pa., listening to a man telling stories to thousands of America's listening children. With that magic knob I can command the musical programs and press news sent out from a dozen radio broadcasting stations. At will I amuse myself or garner the details of a busy world where things are happening. . . .
>
> Only yesterday to be out here was to be out of the world. But no longer. The radiophone has changed all that. Remember where I am and then you can realize how "homy" [*sic*] it is to hear a motherly voice carefully describing in detail just how to make the pie crust more flaky. No, I may be at "the back of beyond," but the whole world has marched right up to the edge of the little copper switch at my elbow.[9]

Just a few years later, RCA and AT&T were able to mobilize these expectations of physical unity to justify and promote their wired network system—despite the fact that radio's most unique and celebrated property consisted precisely of its "wireless"-ness.

However, this rhetoric of physical connection had some formidable obstacles to overcome. The erasure of distance and separation held a threat as well as a promise. In a society built on structured segmentation and social division as much as on its rhetoric of democratic equality, connectedness posed a danger to the preservation

of those physical and geographic divisions supporting social distinctions, such as the separation of racial and ethnic neighborhoods, preferred leisure and cultural sites for different classes and social groups, the insulation of traditional rural society from "corrupting" city influences, and the home as private, feminine domain distinct from the masculinized public sphere.[10] Radio's "immateriality" allowed it to cross these boundaries: allowed "race" music to invade the white middle-class home, vaudeville to compete with opera in the living room, risqué city humor to raise rural eyebrows, salesmen and entertainers to find a place in the family circle. Bruce Bliven touches on this capacity and its dangers in his 1924 article, "The Legion Family and Radio":

> Ten-year-old Elizabeth is a more serious problem. Whenever she can, she gets control of the instrument, and she moves the dials until (it is usually not a difficult task) she finds a station where a jazz orchestra is playing. Then she sinks back to listen in complete contentment, nodding in rhythmic accord with the music. Her eyes seem far away, and a somewhat precocious flush comes gradually upon her cheeks. . . . Mother Legion abominates jazz.[11]

Radio's early period as a "local" medium, with stations owned and operated within a city or community, both preserved certain forms of social separation and threatened, by virtue of its diversity, pervasiveness, and escape from the usual physical mechanisms of control, many of those separations that maintained local social order. Little Elizabeth would never be allowed to go to a local jazz club, but the radio could bring the club into her living room. The creation of national networks superseded local or more random organization in a potentially invasive way, yet established a centralizing structure that could work to control the most immediately threatening aspects of local diversity and maintain local separations. Sanctioned national culture glossed over the rough edges of local or regional difference: how nice to know that Elizabeth's jazz might emanate from the respectable studios of NBC rather than that disreputable station from Chicago's South Side, playing God knows what.

Thus, radio's position in the home, while potentially importing exotic influences, could also reduce some dangers represented by exposure to the outside world. Bliven's "Legion family" acknowledged this usage too:

> Bill and Mary spend just about five times as many evenings at home as they used to; Mother Legion rejoices over this especially because of Bill, who was getting in with a rather fast crowd, which used automobiles, pocket-flasks, and road-house dance orchestras for its principal media of amusement. [Now] [t]he older children not only stay home, but they frequently bring in their friends for a radio dance.[12]

Thus, radio's space-transcending qualities, combined with its location in the family circle, held out both promise and threat. Clearly, the *what* of broadcasting would become the next pressing issue—what would come out of that miraculous set and into the living room: abominable jazz, transporting one's children away into exotic

and dangerous cultural spaces? Or the strengthening of family unity through shared and culturally sanctioned experiences?

Proceeding "logically," then, from radio's physical function was its power to unify the nation culturally—for better or worse. Usually this goal was elided with the physical—as something radio would "naturally" accomplish, by the inherent character of its technology—yet this naturalizing discourse often masked implicit assumptions about exactly which aspects of the "national culture" were inherently more worthy of universal acceptance than others. Established religion (largely Christian), accepted educational offerings, official "high" culture and art—symphonic music as opposed to low jazz, "legitimate" drama, poetry readings and lectures by "experts"—this was the stuff of radio as envisioned by accounts in the press, and indeed as promoted particularly by official organs of broadcasting: the "best," the "distinguished," the "greatest." NBC announced its arrival in November 1926 by promising "quality" in broadcasting, and its definitions of exactly what this quality would consist of followed closely the myriad articles and speeches that preceded it.[13] Radio's official social role would be one of uplift, of cultural improvement, very much echoing a similar rhetoric developing out of the British Broadcasting Company at the time—yet with very different results.

For never was there a time in the development of broadcasting in the United States when commercialism, and its avenue of access to the popular, did not form a central core of the listening experience. Despite Roland Marchand's characterization of radio as "the last genteel hope," describing the initial "opposition" of networks and advertising agencies to descend to the level of hucksterism on radio that would later characterize it, in fact this reluctance existed more on the level of rhetoric than of practice.[14] Many accounts testify to the pervasiveness of commercial announcements on the air from the very earliest days, whether as plugs for the music stores that provided the records broadcast or as readings of bedtime stories for children from the newspapers that published them, or outright ownership of stations by newspapers or department stores whose chief purpose was the promotion of the parent business. Even by 1922 this was obvious to observers:

> Driblets of advertising, most of it indirect so far, to be sure, but still unmistakable, are floating through the ether every day. Concerts are seasoned here and there with a dash of advertising paprika. You can't miss it: every little classic number has a slogan all its own, if it's only the mere mention of the name—*and* the address, *and* the phone number—of the music house which arranged the programme. More of this sort of thing may be expected. And once the avalanche gets a good start, nothing short of an Act of Congress or a repetition of Noah's excitement will suffice to stop it.[15]

These broadcasters, while often paying heed to "public service" responsibilities, nevertheless had good reason to follow those tastes and desires of their publics most conducive to attracting business—as found, often, in other forms of popular entertainment—and much less reason to be concerned with public image in the eyes of official bodies than the corporate giants.

Commercialism created a popular "pull" in early radio, as it had for the penny press, vaudeville, popular music, and movies, so that alongside radio's Utopian discourse of uplift and education there existed for those concerned with cultural control a continuous dystopian fear of the popular, of those diverse and suspect cultural traditions and social groups whose access to the airwaves had begun with the amateurs and extended across the nation. Radio's commercial base gave an automatic entrée to just such elements, it was feared, and therefore the establishment of centralized institutions of control and responsibility became paramount. Occupying a central position in this set of tensions was the vast audience of women—always forming the majority of the radio and television audience—whose identification with disturbing concepts of the "mass" and vulgar popularism threatened to undermine radio's high-culture image, yet whose purchasing power provided the sine qua non of broadcasting economics.[16] Of course, commercialism retained its own objectives and exclusions, and the following chapters will trace not only the tension between official/high culture and commercial/popular pull, but also those tensions within radio's commercial discourse itself that promoted some aspects of popular culture and excluded others in the interests of advertising.

As part and parcel of this physical and cultural unification, it went almost without saying that linguistic unity would be one of broadcasting's main effects. Not only English, but proper, uninflected English, would become the national standard and norm—not a goal to be taken lightly amid the ethnic and regional diversity of the 1920s. Across many parts of the country, even among second- and third-generation immigrants, languages of the native countries continued to be spoken, at home and in church if not in school. The sudden access of the English language into the kitchens and living rooms of several-generation native but only marginally acculturated U.S. citizens would achieve a homogenizing effect rarely discussed but readily apparent.

However, if standard "announcers'" English provided a national ideal, it also worked to cast into cultural disrepute the colorful variety not only of languages, but of accents and regional dialects whose possessors now found themselves to be "different"—and not only different, but not as good.[17] It could be argued that such a standard had always existed, in the universities, boardrooms, and country clubs of the nation's cultural elite, and that radio's homogenization of accent simply made de facto norms more readily "knowable" by the public at large—an exclusive knowledge becoming more widely available—yet with expanded access came expanded expectations. Soon even widely accepted accents, such as the elite southern, became unacceptable on national network broadcasts. Speaking not only grammatically "correct" but also "nonaccented" English became a ticket into the middle class for the sons and daughters (and even great-grandsons and great-granddaughters) of immigrants; radio reinforced what local classroom education could not.

Yet radio's unprecedented verbal flood did not leave the English language unscathed by the experience. A breezy, slang-filled style of speech soon became the preferred radio mode, and networks and other bastions of "correct English" fought a losing battle to preserve the finer points of diction and pronunciation.[18] Local announcers and hosts brought regional and personal variations to the mike; indeed, many listeners spoke out strongly against attempts to install "pussy willow English" as the official dialect:

> If a friend should talk to you in the stilted, unnatural sing-song of the broadcaster telling the folks where to go for somebody's soap you would end by throwing the nearest cake at him. There is a smug and utterly unsincere familiarity, a servile condescension to the listener, which must be maddening to an American public that will not endure such talking in the family or in the shop.[19]

NBC might have been presumed to have learned its lesson as early as 1925, when the popular showman "Roxy," told by WEAF management to modify his casual, vernacular delivery to a more "dignified," "formal" style consistent with station image, received a deluge of mail from fans objecting to his sudden stiffness and demanding their old friend back. Hundreds of newspapers across the country carried the story, even those much too distant to receive WEAF's signal. This clash between the high-culture aspirations of many of broadcasting's early outlets (even to the point of mandating that the unseen announcers wear formal dress) and the informal, popular tendency preferred by many in the audience would be repeated often as radio practices took shape. Not so stuffy as the highbrow written word, yet hewing to a standard well above and more unitary than the everyday, broadcast English helped to set a new popular norm across the country.

One broadcaster, later to become NBC's head of program production on the West Coast, addressing an audience of San Francisco police officers, explicitly linked radio's linguistic, cultural, and physical functions not only to Americanization but to restoration of social order:

> Curiously, little is said about the problems offered by the mixture of races included in the word "American." . . . In America no . . . homogeneity exists, or can be obtained, until the entire population has been taught to speak the same language, adopt the same customs, yield to the same laws, from childhood. Now, thanks to radio, the whole country is flooded with the English language spoken by master-elocutionists. American history, American laws, American social customs are the theme of countless radio broadcasters whose words are reaching millions of our people, shaping their lives toward common understanding of American principles, American standards of living. . . . Wholesale broadcasting coupled with restricted immigration can not fail eventually to unite the entire American people into closer communion than anything yet achieved in the history of our development.[20]

Another contemporary article predicted that "those groups which still cling to alien tongues will have English forced upon them, the more they listen to broadcasting; with the result that radio proves to be an important if unconscious Americanizing influence."[21]

Yet radio's efforts toward linguistic control masked a basic transgressive quality of the medium itself, one that posed a less obvious but even more dangerous threat to social hierarchy and order: its ability to transcend the visual. In a society based on visual cues, where appearance superseded almost every other social indicator,[22]

radio's ability to escape visual overdetermination had the potential to set off a virtual riot of social signifiers—indeed, this is one of radio's most fascinating attributes. Adults played the roles of children and animals, two-hundred-pound women played romantic ingenues, and ninety-pound men played superheroes; whites frequently impersonated blacks, though rarely vice versa; and one of America's most popular entertainers was a wooden dummy. Women could masquerade as men and, much more often, men as women—and further, men could enter the home to entertain the woman of the house seductively over her morning coffee; women had the potential to enter the public sphere and assume the voice of authority, evading the customary physical and social barriers. How could one be sure a person belonged to his or her purported racial or ethnic group over the radio? How could class distinction be maintained without its usual context of visual cues?

Radio responded by obsessively rehearsing these distinctions, endlessly circulating and performing structured representations of ethnicity, race, gender, and other concentrated sites of social and cultural norms—all through language, dialect, and carefully selected aural context. Early radio seemed absorbed with the portrayal of "difference," of the exotic, from the *Cliquot Club Eskimoes* and the *A&P Gypsies* to the narrative development of *Amos 'n' Andy* and *The Goldbergs.* This was frequently accomplished by the use of distinct and stereotypical dialects and accents, carried over from the realm of vaudeville and the minstrel show. The prevalence of minstrel routines, characters, and dialect on early radio is frequently overlooked, and their use points to central sites of tension within U.S. culture, as the culturally undesirable was projected onto an easily identifiable, culturally devalued minority group.

Variety programs developed elaborate frameworks for incorporating "other" characters into their regularly repeating nucleus of performers, perhaps brought to their fullest flower by Fred Allen in "Allen's Alley"—populated by the likes of Mrs. Nussbaum, Ajax Cassidy, Senator Beauregard Claghorn, and Titus Moody. The flip side of this otherness was the rehearsing of the "norm," the typical American family, in such precursors of the television domestic sitcom as *Vic and Sade, One Man's Family,* and *The Aldrich Family.* In place of traditional class attributes, radio created its own caste of celebrities, drawing as well on the visually familiar ranks of Hollywood stars. The problem of "anchoring" the slippery and potentially trangressive signification of radio's aural signifiers to the set of intended and authorized meanings of networks and producers became increasingly central to network functions, giving rise to "continuity acceptance" and later "standards and practices" departments that helped to legitimate the networks' existence and functions.[23]

Institutional unity, it soon became apparent, had to be established if radio's dystopian potential—physical, cultural, linguistic—were to be held in check so that its Utopian "nature" could be fulfilled. Until a comprehensive institutional structure could be developed, a state of experimentation and regional difference existed that allowed for competing definitions of radio's business and concerns, some of which were clearly perceived as transgressive. The importance of Chicago as a center of broadcast innovation points up the culturally homogenizing power of networks as structures stabilized in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Most of the program forms and many of the programs themselves soon to become the most popular on NBC and

CBS originated not with the official broadcasting outlets of the major radio companies, usually located in New York, but in the newspaper- and department store-owned stations of Chicago's hectic commercial environment. As these programs found national sponsorship and a national audience over the networks, they were adapted to fit "higher," more stringent network standards, and standard formats emerged on which imitations and early forms of "spin-offs" could build. However, continuing sources of organizational tension, such as the rapidly developing dominance of advertising agencies in program production—in particular over daytime serial production, throughout broadcasting's history—also resisted network control and containment.

The institution of NBC in 1926 and CBS two years later effectively provided the technical, economic, and cultural unification envisioned in Anderson's model of the imagined nation, on which future legislation would rest—and further consolidate. It could be argued that the decisive factor leading to the defeat of educational or public control of radio occurred not in 1934, after the great Communications Act debates, but in the years from 1922 to 1926, as wired interconnection of stations gradually undermined radio's local base and made advertising support nearly inevitable. Certainly by 1934, as one active participant admitted, the "rugged individualism" of commercial competition had set the structures of private dominance past the point of alteration: "What individualism really means in matters of this sort is the practice of proceeding helter-skelter without any plan until an impossible situation has developed, and all sorts of vested interests have been created, and then trying to impose a plan retrospectively in face of innumerable technical and legal obstacles."[24] This is certainly true of the "American system" of commercial network broadcasting by 1934: a de facto and never officially agreed-upon industrial and cultural standard appeared firmly in place, where it would work to centralize and unify American cultural experience and identity as no other medium had ever attempted.

Physically, culturally, in a common language and through national semipublic institutions, radio spoke to, and about, a nation. Like Gertrude Berg—and with uncanny echoes of Benedict Anderson—one 1924 writer clearly envisioned the "Social Destiny of Radio":

> Look at a map of the United States, of Canada, of any country, and try to conjure up a picture of what radio broadcasting will eventually mean to the hundreds of little towns that are set down in type so small that it can hardly be read. How unrelated they seem! Then picture the tens of thousands of homes in the cities, the valleys, along the rivers, homes not noted at all on the map. These little towns, these unmarked homes in vast countries seem disconnected. It is only an idea that holds them together,—the idea that they form part of a territory called "our country." One home in Chicago might as well be in Zanzibar so far as another in Massachusets is concerned, were it not for this binding sense of nationality. If these little towns and villages so remote from one another, so nationally related and yet physically so unrelated, could be made to acquire a sense of intimacy, if they could be brought into direct contact with each other! . . . This is exactly what radio is bringing about.[25]

Notes

1. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983), 35.
2. Ibid., 36.
3. Ibid., 42–43.
4. Ibid., 204.
5. For discussion of these issues in film, see Lester Friedman, ed., *Unspeakable Images: Ethnicity and the American Cinema* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991).
6. Susan Douglas, *The Invention of American Broadcasting 1899–1922* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1987), 306–7.
7. Stanley Frost, "Radio Dreams that Can Come True," *Colliers,* June 10, 1922, 16.
8. Frank Leroy Blanchard, "Experiences of a National Advertiser with Broadcasting," April 15, 1930, station files—KDKA, BPL.
9. M. J. Caveney, "New Voices in the Wilderness," *Colliers,* April 1920, 18.
10. Lynn Spigel discusses popular fears of the invasive qualities of TV in undermining paternal authority in the family in *Make Room for TV: Television and the Family Ideal in Postwar America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).
11. Bruce Bliven, "The Legion Family and the Radio: What We Hear when We Tune In," *Century Magazine,* October 1924, 813.
12. Ibid., 818.
13. For the cultural precedents of this phenomenon, see Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988).
14. Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity 1920–1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 88–94.
15. Joseph H. Jackson, "Should Radio Be Used for Advertising?" *Radio Broadcast,* November 1922, 76.
16. At the extreme of cultural deviance, even after the standardization caused by networks and frequency regulation following the 1927 Radio Act, a few broadcasters managed to escape the disciplinary reach of official regulation by moving across the Rio Grande into Mexico. See Gene Fowler and Bill Crawford, *Border Radio* (New York: Limelight, 1990).
17. Anderson refers to "languages of power": "Certain dialects inevitably were 'closer' to each print-language and dominated their final forms. Their disadvantaged cousins, still assimilable to the emerging print-language, lost caste, above all because they were unsuccessful (or only relatively successful) in insisting on their own print-form." *Imagined Communities,* 45.
18. Kitty Parsons, "Announcers' English," *Scholastic Magazine,* January 11, 1936, 13, 27; S. H. Hawkins, "Here's the IDEAL Announcer!" *Radio Age,* April 1925, 50, 52; "The High and Mighty Place of the Announcer," *Radio Broadcast,* December 1926, 180–81.
19. "Pussy Willow English," *Saturday Review of Literature,* June 16, 1934, 752. On Roxy, see James C. Young, "New Fashions in Radio Programs," *Radio Broadcast,* May 1925, 83–89.
20. Don E. Gilman, quoted in Arthur Garbette, "Interview with Don E. Gilman," *San Francisco Police and Peace Officers' Journal,* February 1929, 28–29.
21. Charles M. Adams, "Radio and Our Spoken Language: Local Differences Are Negligible, But Radio Shows Up Personalities," *Radio News,* September 1927, 208.
22. See Robert H. Wiebe, *The Segmented Society: An Introduction to the Meaning of America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 30–33; Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream,* 208–17; Stuart Ewen, *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of Consumer Culture* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1976).
23. See Matthew Murray, "Television Wipes Its Feet: The Commercial and Ethical Considerations behind the Adoption of the Television Code," *Journal of Popular Film and Television* 21 (Fall 1993): 128–38.

24. William A. Orton, *America in Search of a Culture* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1933), quoted in Levering Tyson, "Where Is American Radio Heading?" in Levering Tyson and Judith Waller, *The Future of Radio and Educational Broadcasting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), 18.
25. Waldemar Kaempffert, "The Social Destiny of Radio," *Forum* 71 (June 1924): 771.