RECREATIONAL VEHICLE REPAIR
Questionnaire

1. Company ________________________________
   Person responding ________________________
   Title ____________________________________

2. Do you feel that there is a need for a Recreational Vehicle Repair Program? __________

3. What is your estimate of possible job openings each year in the Greater Cleveland area? _____

4. Would you or an associate be willing to serve on the Technical Advisory Committee for this program? __________

5. Would you review the following basic outline and indicate whether or not the items listed are important or not important? Please add or delete as required.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program Outline</th>
<th>Important</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Frame</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New construction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repair</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Running Gear</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheels</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brakes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Air</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>Pressure</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cables</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>C. Hitches</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>D. Electrical System</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lights</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Running</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Parking</td>
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<td>Turn Signals</td>
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<tr>
<td>Interior</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alarms</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Water Systems</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Gas - Bottle Systems</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. Heating System</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. Air Conditioning</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Aluminum Siding</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Paneling</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. Mechanisms</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electrical</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hydraulic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mechanical</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. Locks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Glass</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>N. Canvas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O. Painting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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AN ETHNOGRAPHICAL/ETHNOMETHODOLOGICAL
STUDY OF SOAP OPERA WRITING

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of The Ohio State University

By
David Robert Sirota, A.B., M.S.

****
The Ohio State University
1976

Reading Committee:
Thomas A. McCain
Leonard Hawes
Victor Wall, Jr.

Approved by

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Department of Communication
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VITA</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. RATIONALE AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rationale: Network Perspective</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rationale: Audience Perspective</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnography</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnomethodology - Philosophical Underpinnings</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnomethodology as a Research Perspective</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Situational Ethnomethodologist</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnography/Ethnomethodology: A Proposed Synthesis</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. ETHNOGRAPHY OF METHOD</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ethnography of Method. .......................... 29

III. ETHNOGRAPHY OF SOAP OPERA WRITING. .......................... 54

The External Setting ............................................ 54
  Street Location and Surroundings ............................... 54
  The External Building ........................................... 55
The Internal Building ............................................. 57
  Surrounding Gordon's Office ..................................... 57
  The Office ...................................................... 59
  Gordon's Domain ................................................. 60
  Joan's Domain ................................................... 61
  Sam's Domain .................................................... 62
Social Organizing Activities Peripherally Related to The Actual Writing of Soap Operas. ............................... 63
  The Sunday N.Y. Times Crossword Puzzle: A Monday Morning Ritual. .................................................. 63
  Review of the AVTs: Sam's Chronologue of Weekend Activities ..................................................... 64
  The Scratch Sheet: A Constant Writing Companion .................................................. 66
  Joan's In and Out of Office Social Activities: An Occasional "In Office Soap" ........................................... 67
  From Social to Work .............................................. 71
  The Great Lunch Dilemma ......................................... 73
Social Organizing Activities Directly Related to the Actual Writing of Soap Operas .................................................. 77
IV. RULES GOVERNING OUTLINE-SCRIPT
TRANSFORMATIONS. ............................ 104

Introduction ................................... 104

Form Oriented Rules Associated
With a Script. ................................. 106

FORM RULE #1 - Each script and format
must consist of a prologue and
four acts. .................................... 106

Discussion .................................... 106

FORM RULE #2 - An "Opening Title" (One
Life to Live) and six commercial breaks
must be written into each show. .............. 108

Discussion .................................... 108

FORM RULE #3 - A writer must include no
more than 5 sets, i.e. given locations,
per show ..................................... 109

Discussion .................................... 109

CONTENT RULE #1 - The essence of effect
or mood statements presented in an
outline should be repeated in a
corresponding script. ......................... 110
CONTENT RULE #2 - The essence of dialogue statements presented in an outline should be repeated in a corresponding script.

CONTENT RULE #3 - A script writer should elaborate and refine outline references to visual and/or staging elements of a program.

CONTENT RULE #4 - A script writer should reiterate plot whenever possible.
Illustrations 1993 ........................................... 135
Illustrations 1995 ........................................... 136
Illustrations 1994 ........................................... 137
Illustrations 1996 ........................................... 139
Illustrations 1997 ........................................... 140
Illustrations 1998 ........................................... 140
Summary .................................................... 142

V. CONCLUSION ............................................ 144
Summary .................................................... 144
Discussion ............................................... 145
Evaluative Criteria and Discussion .................. 152
Observation Criteria .................................... 153
Data Constitution Criteria .............................. 158
Knowledge Claims Criteria ............................. 160
Implications ............................................. 164

APPENDIX A ................................................. 167
APPENDIX B ................................................. 221
APPENDIX C ................................................. 234
REFERENCES ............................................... 237
LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TABLE 1</td>
<td>Situational Greetings</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TABLE 2</td>
<td>Situational Greetings</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TABLE 3</td>
<td>Script Page Variations</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I
RATIONALE AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

This study is an ethnographical/ethnomethodological study of television soap opera writing. It sought to describe the social organization involved in the writing of a daytime serial. The following section is concerned with; 1) the offering of rationale in regard to the idea of studying soap opera writing and 2) explaining the relationship between ethnography and ethnomethodology.

A rationale for studying soap opera writing will be presented on two levels; 1) network perspective and 2) audience perspective. The network perspective is concerned with audience size and demographics, hence the pervasiveness of soap operas. Rationale from the audience perspective discusses why people watch soaps and why it is important to discover what we can about the people who create them.

Subsequent to the completion of the audience and industry based rationale there will be discussion concerning; 1) ethnography, 2) philosophical underpinnings of ethnomethodology, 3) ethnomethodology as a research perspective, and
4) ethnography/ethnomethodology as they relate to the social organization of writing a contemporary television soap opera -- a proposed synthesis.

**Rationale: Network Perspective**

It has been estimated that 40 million people a day watch the ever unfolding stories of everyday trials and tribulations commonly referred to as soap operas (Wakefield, 1976, chap. 1). These millions of television viewers watch at least one of the 17 network soap operas currently on the air, accounting for a large portion of the total weekday television audience (Nielson SIA National, Note 1).

The average audience rating for Monday - Friday daytime programming i.e. 11:30 - 4:30 is 7.3. (An audience rating refers to the percentage of households viewing a particular program. It is calculated with the total potential audience as a base.) In other words, 7.3% of all households that own or have access to television have sets turned to network programming. In actual numbers this 7.3% amounts to approximately 21,000,000 households. Soap opera viewers account for about 27% of this number or 5,638,000 households. In audience analysis terminology this 27% figure is referred to as "audience share." (A share is the percentage of households viewing a particular program. It is calculated with "total sets in use" as a base).
At one time it was possible to typify the individuals constituting this share of soap opera viewers as "Stay at home housewives." This depiction seems no longer accurate. According to Time ("Sex and Suffering in the Afternoon," 1976), represented in the ranks of soap opera addicts are the judiciary, the literary, the political and the academic.

Rationale: Audience Perspective

Agnes Nixon, the creator of "All My Children" and "One Life to Live," asked a group of college students why they watch the soaps. One replied: "It's the only constant in our lives" (Time, "Sex and Suffering in the Afternoon," 1976). In a society such as ours which claims an ever increasing rate of divorce, and friends moving away from friends in search of more fruitful employment or more leisurely leisure the continuity and air of permanence offered by the serial may indeed be an appealing quality. This of course is only one of a myriad of reasons why people watch the "soaps."

Two early works both done in the 1940's involve daytime radio serial listening. Herta Herzog (1942-43), and Warren and Henry (1948) established women used serials as models for their behavior in real life. The findings of an unpublished study of soap opera viewing among college students (Sirota, Note 2) have demonstrated that friendlessness, afternoon boredom and "something to talk to the other kids
about," are some other reasons why students follow the daytime serials. Interviews held in regard to the above mentioned study revealed that even those who do not watch at all were as vociferous about the soaps as those who admit to being avid viewers. It appears as though there is something about the soap opera which is inherently controversial. Whereas, Dr. Louis I. Berg, a New York City novelist and psychiatrist, claimed that soap operas "pander to perversity," Agnes Nixon has claimed the programs have always had a therapeutic value (Africano, 1975; Edmondson and Rounds, 1973).

Despite the potential of the soap opera as a therapeutic or counter therapeutic device, it is inextricably woven into the fabric of the television industry and more importantly, the everyday lives of many Americans. Yet those who create this all pervasive television phenomenon remain hidden -- unexplained. There exists an obvious necessity to understand those who are responsible for creating one mass media message after another. Daytime serials and those who participate in their creation may be seen as elements of what De Fleur (1975) refers to as the Social System of Mass Media. The creators of a mass media product such as the soap opera may be viewed within the context of mass media as a system. Hall and Fagen (1968) define "system" as "A set of objects together with relationships between the objects and between their attributes." (p. 81). Objects, according to Hall and
Fagen, are the parts or components of a system. Attributes are the properties of the component. De Fleur represents the mass media as being comprised of the following components:

1) Production - The attributes constituting the "Production" component are all activities which may be associated with the creation of mass media content, e.g. writing, directing, camerawork.

2) Legislative Bodies - The attributes constituting the "Legislative Bodies" component are all activities which may be associated with the passing of laws and determining of public policy related to the mass media.

3) Financial Backers - The attributes constituting the "Financial Backers" component are all activities which may be associated with the purchasing of space as sponsors of media messages for the purpose of influencing the decisions of the audience in regard to the sponsored product.

4) National and Regional Distributors - The attributes constituting the "National and Regional Distributor" component are all actors and activities which may be associated with the distributing media content to local outlets e.g. television networks, syndication companies.

5) Local Distributors - The attributes constituting the "Local Distributor" component are all actors and activities which may be associated with presenting the media content to the audience e.g. television stations.
6) Official Regulative Agencies - The attributes constituting the "Official Regulative Agencies" component are all actors and activities associated with enforcing the laws and public policy dictated by the Legislative Body Component e.g. Federal Communication Commission, Federal Drug Commission, Justice Department.

7) Audience - The attributes constituting the "Audience" component are all actors and activities associated with being the recipient of mass media content.

In the present structure, what De Fleur has termed "production subsystem" was, for the sake of clarity and expediency, viewed as a "whole social system." De Fleur's depiction of the mass media industry was delimited in this manner to focus attention upon the area of investigatory concern - "production" and its constituting "parts" and social occurrences.

Monge (1973) writes, "The whole may be more than the sum of its parts but the emphasis in systems research is on the organization between the parts (p. 23). In relation to this study, the whole was viewed as production aspects of the television industry. Soap opera writers were treated as one of the parts. De Fleur (1975, p. 160) argued it would be nearly impossible to understand a whole system without having insight into its constituent parts. So before an understanding of organizing activities which transpire between writers and producers may be gained, it
is necessary to have insight into activities which take place within writing.

Parts involved in production aspects of mass media e.g. writers, producers, directors, actors are what Wright (1975) calls mass communicators. In his book Wright has included a chapter entitled "Sociology of the Mass Communicator." He justifies his concern with the mass communicator by suggesting since there is a source to even the simplest of communication models, it is important to understand who the communicator is. Knowledge about the communicator helps create a foundation upon which research concerning television use and effects might be built. Wright's concern for the mass communicator is obvious and explicit.

Less obvious, yet seemingly present in De Fleur's social system approach to mass media, together with Monge's general systems perspective, is the need to understand the mass communicator and the activities in which they partake. The present study attempts to fulfill this need by investigating the part of television production called writing. Specifically at issue are activities and personalities associated with television soap opera writing.

Ethnography

The ethnographical approach offers a viable means by which soap opera writing and associated activities might be investigated. Traditionally the ethnographer has been associated with the observation of cultures which could
be readily referred to as "foreign or alien" (Havemeyer 1929; Murdock 1953; O'Leary 1963; Theal 1922). The majority of ethnographers focused upon the study of exotic and isolated people ("Anthropology Now Looks To The Cities For Field Trips," 1976).

Szwed argued there is a change under way in relation to the subject matter perceived as socially pertinent and challenging by what he calls the "new ethnographer." This study which deals with the writing of TV soap operas is in the spirit of a new kind of ethnography.

An important study in regard to the new ethnographical era is Sudnow's _Passing On: The Social Organizing of Dying_ (1967). It is in itself evidence of this change underway. Sudnow transcended the obvious by realizing that death and dying have implications reaching beyond the dying, dead, relatives and friends. Dying and death are social activities which precipitate organizational and cultural occurrences worth investigating.

Another example of new ethnography is Rubinstein's _City Police_ (1975). Rubinstein served as a policeman in order to accurately capture the organizational and cultural implications relative to police work. The social phenomenon known as policeman just as the social phenomenon known as death and dying are so obvious and pervasive they become
obscured to the investigator besotted with the idea of the unknown and exotic.¹

Remaining within the framework of new ethnography there exists literature dealing with obvious, yet deviant social occurrences. Ball (1967), Becker (1963), Cicourel (1968) and Erikson (1964) present ethnographies which represent investigations of social activity which would most likely be defined as socially deviant.

The purpose of an ethnography, whether characterized as a study of mundane or deviant social organizing process, is the same. This purpose is to describe the activities accomplished by the members of that social organization or culture under investigation.

Defining culture as "nearly everything that has been learned or produced by a group of people" (Spradley and McCurdy, 1972, p. 7) encourages ethnographical investigations relative to a myriad of social activity. The culture of the television soap opera writer and that culture's constitutive organizational activities were the focus of the present investigation.

The ethnographical aspect of this study will facilitate an understanding of the cultural and organizational elements of soap opera writing. An ethnomethodological approach to

¹ A collection of ethnographies concerned with the obvious and pervasive may be found in a book edited by Spradley and McCurdy (1972). Spradley (1970, 1975) is responsible for two extensive ethnographies of the obvious and common place.
the activities of those who write soap operas will facilitate an understanding of "how" the social activity known as soap opera writing gets accomplished.

**Ethnomethodology - Philosophical Underpinnings**

Whereas it may be said an ethnography of soap opera writing, or any ethnography, deals with the investigation of accomplished social meaning (Bruyn, 1966) ethnomethodology is concerned with the "doing" of an activity which when accomplished can be said to have social meaning. Harold Garfinkel, the coiner of the term ethnomethodology has said that what it pertains to is "an organizational study of a member's knowledge of his ordinary affairs, of his own organized enterprises" (Turner, 1974, p. 18). In short, Garfinkel's ethnomethodology is concerned with the common sense world of the everyday actor and how this world is accomplished.

The failure of Social Science to deal with man's organizing of his own everyday life was expounded upon by the philosopher/social scientist, Alfred Schutz. In the introduction to Schutz's *Collected Papers Volume I*, (1973) Natanson writes:

> The taken for granted everyday world of living and working is the nuclear presupposition of all other strata of man's reality, and it is this ground of social reality to which Dr. Schutz turned and which he took as a point of departure for analysis (p. XXVI).

Schutz believed that the taken for granted everyday world of the working and living eventuates intersubjectively.
In regard to organizing events associated with soap opera writing, the phenomenological concept of "intersubjectivity" speaks to the notion that members of a writing staff reason and act in regard to the selfunderstood assumption that other members are to a great extent persons like themselves. Tacitly apprehended is that co-workers are endowed with "consciousness and will, desires and emotions" (Schutz, 1973, p. 319).

Schutz's theory concerning "the homogenetic nature of consciousness and will, desires and emotions", should not be construed as implying that the knowledge of people who act and think within their world of everyday life is homogeneous. Schutz (1973) argues that "knowledge itself is incoherent, partial and inconsistent" (p. 75).

According to Schutz, knowledge is incoherent because individual interests which determine the relevance of the subjects selected for inquiry are themselves not organized into a coherent system i.e. plan of life. Subjects gain and lose relevance independent of long range goals.

Knowledge is partial because man in his daily life is only partially and only on occasion interested in the clarity of his knowledge. Man does not as a habit question the relations between the elements of his world and the principles and rules governing these relations.

Knowledge is inconsistent because man as a father, businessman, citizen or churchgoer may have the most different
attitude in regard to moral, political or economic matters. Schutz explains this by suggesting that thought is spread over subject matters located within different levels of relevance. The modifications involved with passing from one relevance level to another are made without notice.

Despite the incoherent, partial and inconsistent state of knowledge, soap opera writers succeed in making sense of their everyday activities. It is this process of making sense when sense itself is problematical which is the concern of ethnomethodology. Following Schutz's lead, the ethnomethodologist makes problematic the taken for granted organizing ability of everyday people in their everyday world. An ethnomethodologist would observe soap opera writers at their everyday work with the intention of answering "How do they do what they do?".

**Ethnomethodology as a Research Perspective**

In one sense, Garfinkel prefers to think of "methodology" in ethnomethodology as a subject matter rather than scientific apparatus (Garfinkel, 1967). Ethnomethodology, literally translated means the methods of the folk. The term has of late taken a new meaning. An ethnomethodologist is one who studies the methods of the people. Garfinkel (1967) has defined ethnomethodology as: "The investigation of the rational properties of indexical expressions and other practical actions as contingent, ongoing accomplishments of artful practices of everyday life" (p. 11).
According to Garfinkel, indexical expressions are:

expressions whose sense cannot be decided by an auditor without his necessarily knowing or assuming something about the biography and purposes of the user of the expression, the previous course of conversation, or the particular relationship of actual or potential interaction that exists between the expression and the auditor (Garfinkel, 1967, p. 4).

The examination of indexicality is fundamental to ethnomethodological investigation. Meehan and Wood (1975) describe indexical expressions within the context of meanings which are situationally determined. This points to the possibility that meaning itself develops within a sequence of practical actions. For example, the word outline as an expression used during the everyday work of soap opera writers has a particular meaning. Indexed in such an expression used in such a situation might be "Compulsory Prelude To Script Writing." The term outline used in a different context could well index a myriad of cogitations which would not be aroused in a person using the term within the context of soap opera writing.

Also fundamental to the doing and understanding of ethnomethodology is the concept of reflexivity. Reflexivity may be defined as the concurrent causal and consequential nature of social activity. Put another way, the reflexive phenomenon may be seen when the propriety and expectation of a given social activity emerge mutually and simultaneously.
A concrete example of reflexivity may be seen in relation to the doing of "walking together" (Ryane and Schenkein, 1974). Ryane and Schenkein write: "in walking together such activities as conversing, being available for conversation, touching, laughing, offering of offerables are made relevant and expectable by the fact that walking 'together' is taking place" (p. 272). These expectables become at once causal and consequential. Whether the conversation continues as a result of the walking together or the walking together continues as a result of the conversation becomes indeterminable.

Implicit in Ryane and Schenkein's interpretation of the concept reflexivity is that soap opera writers are constantly in the process of creating and structuring their own realities. Here, the ethnomethodological concern is involved with how people who write soaps do the creation of the reality and meaning which they create. An analogue which may help to elucidate the ethnomethodologists' interest in the "how one does" social activity may be seen in terms of an inquisitive child observing a magician at work. The inquisitive observer, though amazed at the dexterity and imagination of the magician remains less occupied with the seemingly supernatural occurrences than he/she is in understanding "how the magician did what he did". Fundamental to the concerns of this spectator is the desire to understand the "trick" nature of the occurrence. Of primary
import is the understanding of the "how to do" as opposed to just the results of the accomplished activity.

For the inquisitive observer it is necessary to make even the most obvious problematic. To understand the trick nature of the occurrence, the observer must make him/herself strange to the entire situation. To discover the trick nothing can be taken for granted. If the magician were to put a hand in his pocket the observer must be careful not to accept this activity without first asking how it is accomplished. For how it is accomplished might be the crucial element in unlocking the mystery of the trick.

The ethnomethodologist is concerned with the doing of social activity just as the child is concerned with the magician's doing of a trick. Garfinkel (1972) suggests that it is the ethnomethodologist who asks the question of how any accomplished common sense world is even possible. To the ethnomethodologist, the common sense world, the neatest of all tricks, is the subject matter.

The subject matter of the soap opera writer's everyday activity may be viewed in two distinct ways while staying within the context of ethnomethodological perspective. Jack Douglas (1970) discusses the different ethnomethodology strategies which he refers to as Linguistic Ethnomethodology and Situational Ethnomethodology. The linguistic ethnomethodologist places an emphasis on the analysis of recorded conversations. Although this reliance on recorded
conversación es común, diferentes enfoques se utilizan al analizar datos de discurso.

Un exponente primario de este tipo de investigación etnomетодológica es Harvey Sacks (1972, 1974). Sacks se preocupó principalmente de las "significaciones de las categorías lingüísticas para los miembros de la sociedad en la vida diaria, y, finalmente, con las implicaciones de esas significaciones para las acciones de los miembros" (1970, p. 33). Sacks denomina sus "categorías lingüísticas" Membership Category Devices (Sacks, 1972).

Sacks argumentó que es importante estudiar el método y la relevancia de "actividades de categorización de miembros". Sacks explicó:

By the term categorization device we mean that collection of membership categories, containing at least a category, that may be applied to some population, containing at least a member, so as to provide, by the use of some rules of application, for the pairing of at least a population member and a categorization device member. A device is then a collection plus rules of application. (p. 32)

Sacks (1972) da como ejemplos de Membership Category Device 1) Sexo y 2) Edad. Categorizados como miembros del dispositivo sexo son masculino y femenino. Categorizados como miembros del dispositivo edad son jóvenes y viejos (p. 3).

El concepto de Membership Category Device apunta a la aceptabilidad de describir la organización de la conversación de los escritores de soap opera como acción social. Elaine Litton-Hawes (1976) escribe: "Para coordinar el habla social, las personas deben producir frases significativas, en secuencias socialmente sensibles, y ordeñar las secuencias socialmente, i.e. dentro de un
system of turns" (p. 3). Rather than following Sacks' research model which relies heavily upon the explication of linguistic categories, Litton-Hawes (preceded by Schegloff, 1972) emphasized the turn taking phenomenon inherent in talk and its relationship to topic. It may be seen that Litton-Hawes and Sacks, though differing in specific areas of interest, would both be interested in the linguistic ethnomethodological question: "How do people who write soap operas talk with one another?"

Researchers who see as important the question: "How do people do talk?" such as Labov, 1969; Moreman, 1974; Nofsinger, 1975; Searle, 1965; and Turner, 1974 would argue that talk is a rule governed activity. Moreman (1968) writes in support of this assertion, "It is a plausible belief, which I share, that persons who talk or live together must acknowledge rules in common which permit them to do so" (p. 67).

In general, the type of rule which has been seen to govern communication may be referred to as regulative. According to Searle (1965), regulative rules have the form, Do X or if Y do X" (p. 139). In other words, regulative rules may take the form of imperatives. In a specific sense the use of rule varies. Cushman and Whiting (1972) emphasize that there are rules operating which are applicable to only a few individuals as well as rules which may be viewed as more standardized in usage. Pearce (1973)
refers to rules as social products. According to Toulman (1974) rules exist as tools, utilized by the scientist to aid in explaining various social activity. Pepinsky (Litton-Hawes, 1976) supports Toulman's assertion by suggesting that rules exist because scientists as well as everyday actors impute them to things.

There are specific differences which exist in relation to the concept of rule and its operationalization. However the acceptance of talk as rule governed is presupposed by the idea of talk as a topic for social science research. For if the notion of rule governed behavior is to be accepted in relation to discourse, the rules must be uncovered and explicaded. The rules must emerge from the talk. Talk becomes that which must be scrutinized. Hence, talk itself becomes a topic for research.

Hawes (1976) presented two assumptions which may be interpreted as rationale for the study of talking and writing as primary data. First, he claims that talking and writing can be treated as primary data i.e. there is nothing preventing talking and writing from being treated as primary data. Hawes explains that talk is traditionally treated as epiphenomenon -- as evidence of an underlying reality. As opposed to viewing talk as reflecting social reality, it may be viewed as constituting social reality.

Second, Hawes argues that members of a language community are experts at talking and writing. This assumption
implies that consociates such as those involved in soap opera writing are so well versed and competent at talking and writing they pay (and need pay) little heed to the underlying rules governing these activities. Writers themselves are often unaware of the rules which govern their own talking and writing activities. As a result the rules remain tacitly known, ineffable and in the final analysis, unexplained.

**Situational Ethnomethodologist**

Rules become most obvious when they are broken. This assertion includes so called rules of talk as well as rules associated with other social behavior which occur within the context of a particular social situation, e.g. etiquette. The situational ethnomethodologist argues that rules of behavior, in general, are situationally bound. This kind of ethnomethodologist is to a great extent concerned with social situations and social order. Whereas the linguistic ethnomethodologist's approach relies on recorded data oftentimes independent of the situation from which it emerges, the situational ethnomethodologist is most concerned with the situation.

To the situational ethnomethodologist writing and talking represent only one focus of concern. In other words, writing and talking associated with soap opera writing would "tend much more to be seen in their more general context of all the meaningful stuff that goes on in [their] everyday
life" (Douglas, 1970, pp. 34). The situational ethnomethodologist is fundamentally concerned with describing how social meaning is created within the context of the creators' situational actions. Speier (1973) labels what he considers to be an omnipresent list of situational actions, "invariant features of interactional events" (p. 116). Following is a list of these features which according to Speier could be treated for the construction of descriptive parameters of a social activity.

1. Main activities within which mutual involvements are built up into situations and occasions.
2. Local settings.
3. A cultural apparatus of membership category devices for making selections of identifications of social participants.
4. Temporal orientations.
5. Conversational structuring and sequencing rules.
7. Nonverbal communicative behaviors.

Closely associated with the work of a situational ethnomethodologist is the search for the invariant features of social activity. It must be kept in mind that in regard to soap opera writing, the location of these features should facilitate a detailed report of how writers' common sense descriptive parameters operate — how writers use these features. Speier's effort in relation to identifying invariant features of interactional events suggests an affirmation of Goffman's (1959) notion "that when an
individual appears before others his actions will influence the definition of the situation which they come to have" (p. 6). Implicit in this notion is that all which transpires fact to face is of invaluable import in determining what goes on in a given situation. As illustration, the following will represent the inextricable relationship between talk (specifically the doing of greeting) and situation. (See Table I).

The utterances from Set A in Table I are usually appropriate for "doing greeting" e.g. "Hey, how you doin?". However, within certain situations they might be considered inappropriate; Column II indicates conditions of acceptability, Column III indicates conditions of nonacceptability. The opposite may be said for the "greetings" presented in Table II. (See Table II). Since it has been demonstrated that there are exceptions to usually appropriate greetings, it is logical to assume that the reverse exists (i.e. conditions under which a normally nonacceptable greeting might be accepted.) The following number listing will correspond to these greetings or nongreetings of Set B.

These listings of acceptable and nonacceptable greetings point to one inescapable rule which may be associated with soap opera writing or any other social activity. Greetings, conversations and social activities in general are situationally defined as deviant or conventional.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Set A</strong></td>
<td>Condition of Acceptability</td>
<td>Condition of Non-Acceptability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. No problem</td>
<td>Respondant is in a rush</td>
<td>Respondant is bleeding profusely from his nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. O.K. - How's</td>
<td>If greeting initiator appears physically well</td>
<td>Since last time you saw the person he has had his left arm amputated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your body?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Pretty good!</td>
<td>Most situations</td>
<td>If it is a girl you were dating seven months ago and she appears about seven months pregnant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What's new?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Ah, Dr. McCain! (or whomever)</td>
<td>Most situations</td>
<td>If you are not sure of initiator's name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. No problem, what's</td>
<td>Most situations</td>
<td>Person is searching frantically through a briefcase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goin on?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Set B</td>
<td>Condition of Acceptability</td>
<td>Condition of Non-Acceptability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Eight times five equals forty</td>
<td>Calculator in hand, the respondent looks to the initiator with a mock inquisitive expression the initiator's greeting has been acknowledged</td>
<td>Most</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Drop Dead!</td>
<td>Respondant knows that the initiator has been sleeping with his girlfriend</td>
<td>Most</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Silence</td>
<td>The respondent (or non-respondant) is a communicologist playing communication games</td>
<td>Most</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Do you really care?</td>
<td>Respondant wishes to express disappointment with the initiator</td>
<td>Most</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Gerald Ford wears a football helmet to bed</td>
<td>Initiator was in Poli-Sci class with respondent and shared a great distaste for Gerald Ford</td>
<td>Most</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As a foremost situational ethnomethodologist, Garfinkel (1967) constantly put this rule to test by stretching beyond the limits of "socially-sanctioned-facts-of-life-that-any-bona-fide-member-of-society-knows" (p. 32). He would accomplish this stretch by instructing his student investigators to behave as strangers in the most familiar situations. Such is beyond the purview of this investigation.

**Ethnography/Ethnomethodology: A Proposed Synthesis**

The how question is characteristic of ethnomethodological studies. Implicit in the how is the assumption that human behavior is rule governed. It may be argued that in order to understand how behavior (i.e. conversation or any other social activity) is accomplished it is first necessary to have an understanding of exactly what that behavior is. The what question is characteristic of ethnographical (i.e. descriptive) research.

In studying the world of the television soap opera writer there is a need for operationalizing both the question of what and how. The ethnographical what will facilitate an overall description of the observed individuals as well as the behavior setting in which these individuals function.

A behavior setting may be defined as consisting of:

1) Non behavioral elements of milieu and time which include bounded space, objects, areas (subsettings), and time limits,
2) Standing behavior patterns and 3) The relationship between
the behavioral and non behavioral patterns i.e. status and role (Cowie and Roebuck, 1975).

The ethnography of writing a soap opera will hopefully reveal and describe a number of activities which should be viewed as central to the doing of soap opera writing. One of the central activities described in Chapter III is expanded upon from an ethnomethodological perspective. Rather than accepting the description of this particular activity as terminal in regard to this project, the question was asked as to how it was accomplished. In other words, the ethnographical approach presented in Chapter III describes in general the activities associated with the writing of soap operas. The more specific ethnomethodological approach of Chapter IV explored how the daily outlines were transformed into script. Chapter V discusses findings, methodological limitations and implication for future research.
CHAPTER II

ETHNOGRAPHY OF METHOD

Introduction

What will be presented in this chapter is an ethnography of method, i.e., a descriptive investigation of the social and cultural activities which constitute the doing of this researcher's methodology. The idea of ethnography of method is based upon the assumption that the doing of method is a diverse experience related to private, personal and professional aspects of a researcher's experiences.

Another assumption implicit in the notion of an ethnography of method, is the idea that methodology is accomplished much like any other social phenomenon. The doing of methodology involves a myriad of social activities and is contingent upon an assortment of describable social occurrences. This perspective is consistent with the fore-mentioned ethnological approach to the study of soap opera writing. The activities involved in doing methodology, like the activities involved in doing soap opera writing, is a multifaceted endeavor in need of careful explication and description.

Described in an ethnography of method is more than the activities which may be directly and immediately associated with the gathering and interpreting of data. It
may be suggested that a researcher's methodology transcends the direct and immediate events associated with a given study. This notion of transcendence might best be explic- cated in relation to the present research dealing with the writing of soap operas.

The type of methodology used to investigate the writing of soap operas is what Sudnow (1967) has referred to as nonparticipant observation. In regard to this study, the idea of nonparticipant observation appears to primarily refer to the week in which I was in close (temporal and proximic) association with the writers of a soap opera. That which is not revealed by the term nonparticipant obser- vation is there is more to the process of doing method- ology than just the actual observing, note-taking, inter- viewing and recording. It may be argued that the character of a methodology is that which is developed over time. The purpose of this ethnography of method is to describe the method as it occurred.

The validity of this type of approach to the discussion of methodology is based upon the notion that a methodology is not a static preordained facilitator of research. Instead, it may be argued that methodology exists only in name when it is considered independent of the unique and specific roles and characteristics of a particular researcher and the questions which are of concern.
Whereas my role in regard to the doing of soap opera writing was nonparticipant observer, my role in regard to doing methodology is as a full participant observer. The data collected in respect to developing an ethnography of soap opera writers will be gathered from the perspective of an outsider looking in. The data gathered concerning the ethnography of method was collected from the perspective of an insider looking in as well as out. I looked outward to professors, fellow students, subjects and technicians who assisted with the theoretics as well as the pragmatics related to the doing of a methodology. I looked inward to the personal triumphs, trepidations and misgivings which for me accompanied the doing of a methodology.

Framing the explication of a methodology within such a broad context as inward and outward invites the superfluous. There are difficulties, ambiguities and obscurities which come to light in regard to the multitudes of experiences encompassed in the terms inward and outward. It is difficult to determine how much of the outward and inward constitute what may be deemed a methodology. The point at which an ethnography of method may transform from an aid in understanding the way in which a given study was accomplished to a researcher's autobiography, is ambiguous. Obscured is the line drawn between scholarly activity and egoism.
To pursue the above in depth would entail discourse of dissertation proportions. Yet the issues suggest the need to limit, or more precisely, sift through the events associated with the doing of method in search of data which might best lend insight into the methodology. Sifting is a retrospective activity. That which is now, in retrospect, a meaningful point of departure for the ethnography of method is where it will begin.

**Ethnography of Method**

Rather than experiencing the usual tinge of pre-take-off anxiety, I sit preoccupied with the sequence of events which have led me to being on board this 5:00 P.M. flight from Columbus to La Guardia. Associating flying with business (doing research for a dissertation is indeed business), especially when La Guardia is the airport at which I often land when going home for a visit, is most disorienting. My past perception of business trips depicted them as reserved for those slightly greying, suited-and-tied gentlemen who for one reason or another are continuously searching through their brown leather attache cases. In such instances, an important looking document is removed from the case, reviewed briefly, returned to its proper station and replaced by another. There is one such man sitting to my left. He has not yet acknowledged my presence.
In past flights, considering the closeness of the seats, a prolonged silence would have been uncomfortable. This time the silence was refreshing. The quiet allowed me to indulge a desire to reflect upon the past and future of this trip. For this journey symbolizes a research methodology planned and a research methodology enacted; a metaphorical crossroads. My mind skips from the past to the future. It is as though there is no or little now. The plane in which I sit is merely a vehicle traveling back and forth from what has been to what will be. Though the plane has not yet left the ground, for me the journey has already begun.

It is the future which comes first to my mind. I think about the seeming impossibility of only one week's worth of observing and recording supplying me with enough data to be transformed into a doctoral dissertation. Having only once met the soap opera writers who are expected to be the focal point of my study, to me they constitute an unknown quantity. Doubts and insecurities begin to fog my perspective with regard to nonparticipant observation way of doing research. In research such as this, the only thing which may be counted upon is that I will be there witnessing unfamiliar activities, performed by unfamiliar individuals in an unfamiliar room or rooms.

Glancing to my right, the bag containing the tape recording equipment and cassette tapes seems not as valuable as it did upon my leaving home for the airport. Then it
represented a security symbolic of my preparedness. "At least," I thought, "everything will be on tape." Now the equipment and the bag in which it is contained seem pitifully inanimate. For the first time, I feel technology's dependency on man. The recording apparatus which I prided myself on mastering is useless if there is nothing to record. The situation is that which will give this bag and its contents some meaning, or render it ineffectual and senseless.

Uncertainty persists. What will I do if one of the writers was unexpectedly called out of town? What will I do if one of the writers falls ill and finds it impossible to make it to work? What if there is little communication between those who are involved in the writing? What if the tape recording equipment breaks down or becomes so nerve-wracking and distractive that the writers ask for its prompt removal? How willing will they be to speak with me? Will my presence in general be merely tolerated, completely ignored, or treated with understanding and respect? How will I initially be received tomorrow (Friday) afternoon when I enter their work environment, bag in hand, ready to bug the office in preparation for the following Monday?

The people with whom I intend to spend an entire week know nothing of my dissertation except that it concerns the writing of soap operas. That the study of which they (and their activities) are the subjects is intended as ethnographical
or ethnomethodological analysis would probably be of little matter to the head writer, Gordon Russull, his associate writer, Sam Hall, and Gordon's secretary, Joan Bradley.

Russell, Hall and Bradley lingered on my mind obliterating the steward's pre-take-off instructions. For a moment, it was impossible to remember a time when these names were meaningless. The lapse was fleeting but as a result I struggled to clearly remember the history surrounding the names, hence the evolution of the method, used to study soap opera writing.

The spawning and early development of this present methodology transpired within the context of a seminar concerning Rule Governed Behavior given during the Spring Quarter of 1975. The idea of rule governed behavior sidestepped social psychology's logical positivistic experimental approach (an approach traditionally adhered to in the study of communication) in favor of the qualitative methodologies adapted from Linguistics, Anthropology and, to some extent, Sociology. The subject matter was interdisciplinary in content; the students in attendance represented different disciplines within the College of Social and Behavioral Sciences at Ohio State University.

Students from Anthropology in attendance were already familiar with this idea of rule governed behavior. Two students from the Communication Department who had a course
entitled "Ethnomethodology" also had insight into the social scientific and philosophic concern for rules. Terms such as rule governed, ethnomethodology, discourse analysis, and ethnography were to me virtually foreign. A complete stranger to the for-mentioned qualitative research perspectives upon entering the seminar, I emerged 10 weeks later with a preliminary understanding and a desire to learn more about this new Communication paradigm. It was on the last day of class that the paradigmatic became the practical.

The plane has just left the ground. Takeoff was smooth and exhilarating. An effortless ascent. This marked the perfect moment for reflecting upon the all important last day of class the ease with which the organizing of my dissertation was begun.

Attendance at the last class meeting of the quarter was low. Many students in the seminar began their summer breaks early allowing room for the remainder to fit comfort­ably into the professor's office. This particular June afternoon was exceptionally warm so the overhead lighting was not turned on. A single lamp on the professor's desk in addition to the summer sun streaming through a large window supplied the necessary light. The professor sitting with legs outstretched on top of his desk, with students on chairs and others on the floor, held final tribute to an enlightening and worthwhile quarter.
Discussion was easy and informal. It flowed from person to person, each implicitly swearing allegiance to the qualitative, by expressing ethnographic or ethnomethodologic intentions for future study. Those who came to the final class meeting constituted a kind of cult -- a culture in the making, prepared to transgress the law of the quantitative.

My turn to speak came as a result of a short introduction offered by the professor. He referred to an interest I had expressed in doing a dissertation which could combine the ethnographic/ethnomethodologic perspective with mass communication. I shared two possibilities with the group. The first idea involved a study which would concern the doing of collaboration in television producing; the second, doing of collaboration in television writing. The latter notion prompted a class member from the anthropology department to make a suggestion which could count as the first major step en route to a completed methodology.

The student suggested I contact a professor from the Anthropology department who was responsible for bringing a renowned soap opera creator and writer, Agnes Nixon, to campus the prior quarter. According to the student, Nixon promised her assistance to academic pursuits involving the study of soap operas. The anthropology professor would ostensibly write a letter of introduction for me.
It seemed as though receiving the information relevant to locating and speaking with a connection to Agnes Nixon marked the session's end. An hour after class had begun on this hot Tuesday afternoon, it was over. All that remained for me to do before embarking on a long-planned cross-country trip was to contact an anthropology professor and obtain the above mentioned letter of introduction. Agnes Nixon, according to the anthropology student, had assured her cooperation — my confidence soared. Find the professor, get the letter, write Mrs. Nixon requesting an opportunity to observe her and those with whom she writes at work — the sequence emerged as in an outline.

Friday afternoon after the Tuesday class meeting was the scheduled time for beginning my sojourn first to the east coast (for a week's visit with my family), then California. It had been arranged via phone conversation with the professor's wife (at which time I explained the reasons surrounding my desire to contact Mrs. Nixon) that on the morning of the departure day, I was to drive to their home. She assured me her husband would be informed of the situation and I would be able to obtain the desired information at this time.

Nine o'clock Friday morning I arrived at the professor's home. A woman met me at the door introducing herself as the professor's wife. She explained that her husband was out of town and then handed me a sealed envelope upon which
purportedly was written the all important address. Within the envelope was the letter of introduction. To this moment, I have never met or spoken with the anthropology professor who was instrumental in speeding the growth of my methodology by aiding me in arranging correspondence and eventual phone conversations with Agnes Nixon; the man who sent me contentedly off to New Jersey on the first leg of my cross country journey.

Almost an hour has passed since the plane left the ground. I have engaged in no conversation. The man to my left has abandoned the recurrent process of "document read, document replaced", in favor of a nap. Sitting to my right unchanged, yet still strangely threatening, is the bag and its recording equipment contents. For the moment, however, the threat has shifted from the anxiety about the future use of the equipment to an anxiety more past related. I ask myself -- "What past events in regard to this study of soap opera writing should have been recorded or documented, but were not?"

The initial letter written to Agnes Nixon from my family's home in New Jersey during my pre-California visit is lost to this study. Lost also are the rough drafts in which I struggled to state my request clearly and succinctly. My concern was that Mrs. Nixon would have little time to read the letter and respond. This was no time for long drawn out theory or rationale.
Constructing the letter in an environment quite distinct from my usual haunts made the exclusion of academese seem appropriate. It was easy to imagine the home in which I worked similar in many respects to Agnes Nixon's home -- the letter's point of destination. My typewriter sat on a nicely polished bridge table, in a den equipped with color TV and the finest stereo components. The chairs and couch were newly reupholstered and spotless. All of this was in obvious and meaningful contrast to the somewhat shabby environs where I usually work. However, the contrast was most helpful. It facilitated a physical and psychological transition from the academic genre of mass media to the somewhat more posh and cushioned commercial world. Mrs. Nixon is an esteemed member of the commercial world and it is to her the letter must appeal.

The letter was begun by drawing Mrs. Nixon's attention to the enclosed envelope bearing the letter of introduction. It was my hope that she had not chosen to forget a promise of assistance (conveyed to me by the anthropology graduate student) made to her academic audience at The Ohio State University. I anticipated that the note of introduction would aid me in two primary ways. First, Mrs. Nixon would realize that the sender, though a stranger, shares with her past associations. Second, the note could act as a reminder that a promise to assist was a constituting element of the relationship shared between her and the OSU audience to and
with whom she spoke. My role in this case would be credibility tester. Mrs. Nixon's promise to assist had come due. It was imperative that the role of collector be approached in a pressureless manner. I would make an effort to expect nothing and be most grateful for whatever is offered.

It seemed reasonable to assume that my letter requesting assistance, though probably the first resulting from her talk at OSU, was, in general, one of many. Subsequent to explaining how Mrs. Nixon's willingness to aid in research was brought to my attention, the sell was begun. My idea was to discuss what I considered the unique aspect of the proposed study -- an interest in the what (what occurs) and how (how does that which occurs get accomplished) of soap opera writing. It seemed important that Mrs. Nixon be made aware that I did not wish to analyze or make inferences in regard to soap opera writing or the programming content of soap operas in relation to society. My object would be to simply observe and describe the activities associated with the collaborative writing of soap operas.

What I would intentionally omit from the letter was that my interest (at this point in time) concerned collaborative writing for television in general. That it made no difference whether the product of the writing activity was a soap opera, situation comedy or variety special, was purposely excluded. I suspected Mrs. Nixon would have
reason to question the sense of appealing directly to her when my interest was not solely and specifically related to soap operas.

In the concluding paragraph of the letter, Mrs. Nixon was informed of my travel plans. This was done to justify the inclusion of three return addresses (Columbus, Clifton, N. J., and Carmel, CA.) and the dates which I expected to be at each location. The letter which had taken from early evening to compose was finally mailed at 12:30 a.m. Soon after this correspondence was sent, even as I walked back from the mailbox, a feeling of helplessness set in. The situation was now literally and figuratively out of my hands. With the mailing of the letter, a potential I possessed for affecting the outcome of this crucial episode which involved soliciting aid from Mrs. Nixon, had been significantly diminished. The feeling of confidence which was characteristic of my behavior and attitude in regard to the development of the study had given way to feelings of uncertainty and doubt. I had done all that could be done—now to wait.

Waiting for the aircraft to complete its taxi was all that was left of the flight from Columbus to La Guardia. The time had passed quickly. Ignoring the steward's instructions to "remain seated until the plane comes to a complete stop at the terminal", passengers began to stand and rummage for their belongings. Prompted by the people searching for
their packages and bags, I, as if by instinct, reached my arm over the armrest in search for the bag which could have gone nowhere. My fingers brushing against the leather handles came as no surprise. However, a surprise did occur three days after presenting the postal service with a letter destined to Agnes Nixon -- she called.

The phone was answered by a family member. Mrs. Nixon was told that I had gone out but was expected to return in a matter of minutes. What must have been very shortly after my potential benefactor had been given notice of my absence and terminated the conversation, I shouldered my way through the front door, milk carton in one hand, loaf of bread and assorted food items in the other. The news of her call rang out as a greeting. Stomach dropped, throat lumped, I lamented, an opportunity lost. It was no consolation to hear that she promised to call back within the hour. For at this instant, it was impossible to remember a single time when anyone called back. Recollections of circumstances surrounding calls which were anticipated but never were to come engrossed my thoughts.

In an tone more easily associated with panic than inquiry, the questions poured. "Are you sure (family member) Mrs. Nixon said to expect a return call? Did Mrs. Nixon sound annoyed, as if she were wasting her time? Did you get the impression she would actually call back?"

Suddenly the pace of frantic questioning ceased giving way
to contemplative quiet. Those around me who witnessed the tirade sat quietly. At this moment I was confronted with the realization that I was being bound to a study which had hardly begun. A ringing sound from the kitchen interrupted this first tumultuous then peaceful manifestation of commitment.

It occurred to me after picking up the receiver and hearing a voice ask for David Sirota that Mrs. Nixon had again phoned. The second call came only 35 minutes after the first. Apologizing for not being available to accept the first call (unexpected as it was), I expressed appreciation for her courtesy in again calling.

Early in the conversation, it became apparent that assistance was not necessarily forthcoming. As expected, Mrs. Nixon had been overwhelmed with requests for research assistance ranging from Q sorts to questionnaires. Specifically referring to research tools catering to a "yes", "no", if no "why" format, she complained of the time necessarily consumed in order to properly comply with the directions. She explained, "each why could potentially go on for pages." Also disturbing to Mrs. Nixon was the effort on the part of some researchers to "understand creativity, analyze its workings". Intermittently, I indicated agreement by muttering, "yes, yes". Besides that, I said nothing. Rapidly it became clear Mrs. Nixon had interpreted my letter as a request to study " the creative
mind". I waited patiently for an opportunity to correct this misunderstanding. The soliloquy on scientific tom-foolery (particularly regarding the study of creativity) gave me reason to fear the worst. Strongly suggested was if the letter had not come from an OSU student working on a doctoral dissertation as opposed to a master's thesis, there most likely would have been no return correspondence and certainly no phone call.

A pause in Mrs. Nixon's lecture provided space in which to begin dispelling possible misconceptions concerning my research intentions. I explained the interest in the "what" and "how" as indicative of a descriptive orientation. The proposed study was not interested in the internal variables which may be pertinent to the question "What makes a creative person creative?" Neither was it within the scope of this research to be concerned with "How creative people are creative". Informing Mrs. Nixon that a writer's creativity in relation to this study is a given helped develop a dialogical dimension to the conversation.

My interest involving the description of collaborative activity in television soap opera writing was eventually understood. It became clear my purpose was to observe unobtrusively, not question or analyze. As if excitedly remembering a term learned in an anthropology seminar years before, Mrs. Nixon called out "Fly on the wall, you want to
act as a fly on the wall". Though nonparticipant observer is the equivalent and somewhat less crude terminology, her exclamation was most welcome.

What to me was the obvious, began to become clear to Mrs. Nixon. Her tone evidenced approval. My aims, which were either ambiguously written or grossly misread, were now lucid. Clear enough were my intentions so as to prompt Mrs. Nixon to (unknowingly) shatter a basic assumption upon which our communication was based. It had never occurred to me that Agnes Nixon worked alone. There was no collaborative dimension to her writing. She produced her work by speaking into a microphone attached to a cassette tape recorder; creating, speaking, recording and typing in absolute solitude.

My disappointment must have been apparent, for she commented "Let's not give up yet". Thinking aloud, Mrs. Nixon mentioned soap opera writers working on the east and west coasts. However, feuds, deaths, and temporary separation caused each name to be discarded directly after its mention. Names began to flow more slowly, an indication that not only the list, but the conversation as well was terminating.

Indeed it was. Mrs. Nixon promised to get back to me after giving the situation more thought. I believed her. She seemed not to be a frivolous kind of person who would speak on the telephone for one and one-half hours and
accomplish nothing. The next afternoon, she called again. It was during this conversation that I heard for the first time the names Gordon Russell and Sam Hall. They were writing a soap opera which was created by Agnes Nixon and then sold to ABC entitled "One Life to Live." Mrs. Nixon suggested that I call Mr. Gordon Russell, the headwriter, with whom she had just been speaking. He would be expecting to hear from me.

After Mrs. Nixon and I terminated our conversation, I dialed the main number at ABC Television in New York and asked for Mr. Russell's extension. The operator read four numbers and then connected me. The woman who answered asked the nature of my business with Mr. Russell. "Mrs. Nixon suggested I call," was my reply. In an instant, Mr. Russell was on the line. He was coolly receptive. When asked for an appointment at the end of the summer to discuss my research plans in detail (Mrs. Nixon had told him very little), he connected me with the woman who had originally answered the phone. We arranged to meet upon my return from California during the second week in August. No specific date, time, or place was mentioned.

It was a warm evening in late March in New York. The short walk from the plane to the airport terminal could comfortably be done without an overcoat. Upon entering the terminal, I stopped at a telephone and called the
family informing them of my arrival. We planned to meet in the airport lobby in one hour. An hour's time would go quickly, unlike the two long summer months which had to pass before encountering Mr. Russell.

Summer, 1975, lagged in expectation of the meeting. On returning to New Jersey, I was told that Mr. Russell's office had called to confirm an exact time and date of appointment. If for any reason the designated specifics of time, place and date were incompatible with my schedule, I was to contact Joan Bradley, in Mr. Russell's office. All was well, the conference had been set. On a Monday afternoon during the second week of August, I entered a building located at 70th Street and Broadway in Manhattan. (An in-depth description of the building in which the writers work may be found in Chapter III.)

While engaged in conversation with the door guard concerning the whereabouts of Mr. Russell's office, a finger tapped my shoulder. Joan Bradley had overheard the talk and guessed my identity. We walked together through a door and down a short corridor to the office. A first impression upon entering the room was 3:30 p.m. marked an hour close to quitting time. This impression was soon to be confirmed.

After Joan casually introduced me to Gordon and Sam, she slipped her bag over a shoulder and was off without a goodbye. Sam's exit immediately followed. Shaking my
hand, he said he knew something of my reason for being there and would learn the rest from Gordon. Then he was gone.

Gordon asked me to sit, but informed me he too would be leaving soon. He then began to speak of Mrs. Nixon as if she were a mutual friend. An impression was given that Gordon thought Mrs. Nixon and I were something more than telephone acquaintances. Nothing was said or done on my part to suggest otherwise, for it appeared that being perceived as close to Mrs. Nixon would aid me in acquiring Gordon's full cooperation. Gordon spoke adoringly of his teacher and colleague for the greater part of our half hour talk.

All Mrs. Nixon had told him of my study was that she had a friend who wished to watch writers at work. I confirmed this and then became more specific. Permission to observe office occurrences, tape record all talk and even bug the telephone was gained in the closing minutes of our meeting. We left the office together and walked two blocks.

Our walking conversation was more related to Gordon's working conditions than was the talk we had in his office. Before reaching the corner of Broadway and 68th Street, I had discovered his producer is a woman with whom and (emphatically) not for whom he works. Also revealed during the span of our short jaunt was that Joan's role
was more administrative than secretarial. (Both of these bits of information will be given considerable attention in the following chapter.) Before parting, it was agreed that late March of the following year would be a desirable time to proceed with the investigation. The next day I ate dinner in Columbus.

From August, 1975, to late February, 1976, Gordon and I had no communication. The tension associated with taking courses and all important general examinations, left little room for anxiety concerning the status of plans made six months previous. It was taken for granted (albeit naively) Gordon would remember our meeting and permit the observing of his office activities to commence in late March as tentatively scheduled. However, March was to begin in one week and the agreement had not yet been solidified with specifics. The time had come to mark a specific date when the equipment could be arranged in Gordon's office.

My idea was to fly to New York on a Thursday night, set up the equipment in the office Friday afternoon and begin tape recording and note-taking the following Monday. A call to Gordon's office would result in either facilitating or disposing of the plan -- Joan answered. She said they had been expecting to hear from me. After explaining my idea, I was asked to name the Friday you want. March 19th, was my reply. Joan called out the date to Gordon.
A faded voice from the background responded "that's o.k." All was settled.

Having survived this important hurdle, the next order of business was to acquire the taping equipment most appropriate for recording all that may occur in a small office. Since the tapes were to be eventually transcribed and transcribers work with cassettes, it was decided that this occasion demanded a cassette (as opposed to reel-to-reel) format.

A communication department technician supplied a two channel cassette recorder. It was altered for the attachment of two cartoid table microphones to one channel and telephone bugging device (a suction device containing a microphone which presses on to a phone receiver) on the other. In addition to this equipment, a pocket size cassette recorder was obtained for use during conversations which might ensue outside the office limits. Twenty-four two hour cassettes (one hour on each side) were purchased. Tapes of this length were chosen to minimize the number of flips. The flipping activity, it was reasoned, might disturb the subjects while at the same time interrupt my own flow of concentration in respect to note-taking.

Two note pads were prepared for use. The first pad was arranged to correspond with the labeled tapes. For example, that tape labeled "Tape 1, Side A" and a corresponding page in a pad marked "Tape Log." Tape 1, Side B
had a page as well. Each page called for the following information: Date, Time Tape Started, Tape Ended, People Involved, Place, General Description of Tape Content. The second pad was to be used primarily to record all the features, animate and inanimate, associated with Gordon Russell's office.

The labeling activity took place at home the evening before my flight was to leave from Columbus to La Guardia Airport. The same night the equipment was arranged in simulation of those conditions expected to exist in Gordon's office. When assured all equipment was in working order, the recorder, microphones and tapes were packed into a brown leather carrying bag in preparation of the next day's flight. Late on a Thursday afternoon, I boarded the plane which would travel from Columbus to New York City in one hour and twenty minutes. An additional hour's time would probably be spent waiting to be met by family and driven to New Jersey.

As anticipated, in an hour's time subsequent to landing (7:30 p.m.), the car in which I sat speeded toward New Jersey. At 12:30 p.m., the following afternoon, the 30 minute drive to Manhattan (in a family car) was begun. Removing the pocket size recorder from the carrying bag, I placed a cassette in it, pressed record,* and began to

* From this point through the "Ethnography of Soap Opera Writing," there will be reference made to transcription of tape recordings.
speak into the microphone clipped to my shirt pocket. That which first spewed forth was speculation concerning Joan's role in regard to this study.

Joan's role as something more than a secretary had been confirmed by Gordon during our meeting last summer. However, the specifics of her responsibilities were never made clear. I suspect she is crucial to the office operation and as such, a potentially valuable informant.

My impression of Joan from our brief encounter the previous summer was "thick skinned and aloof;" the least likely candidate for informant. There was a toughness which appeared impenetrable. Joan, I hypothesized, would not be thrilled with my presence, nor would she be totally unaccommodating. Questions would be answered, little would be offered. Joan's potential role as informant is less important to this study than are her contributions to the specific social organizing activity called soap opera writing. If while accomplishing her everyday activities Joan could supply me with occasional bits of obscured information -- all the better.

What are the everyday activities of an assistant/administrative assistant/secretary to a head writer of a network soap opera? I chanced an answer to this question somewhere just on the New York side of the Lincoln Tunnel: "It would not be surprising if occasionally she'd throw in an idea here and an idea there . . . ah, relative to the scripts and story line. However, despite Gordon's insistence that
she is more than a secretary, it can be expected that Joan will phone, type and run errands."

The relative dark of the tunnel gave way to a somewhat overcast but seasonally warm Manhattan afternoon. Adjusting my eyes to the New York City haze and my reflexes to the daring traffic (traffic into the city was exceedingly heavy due to a New Jersey bus strike) temporarily helped push aside the nervousness associated with expectations, speculation and anxiety.

It was as if the energy expended in thought concerning imminent events was rechanneled to assist in contending with the adjusting to that environment which was immediately upon me. Hordes of cars, horns blasting, swerving in and out of traffic like a mass of snakes making way across a desert sand, slithering right and left in a constant, unremitting quest for position.

Acclimation was quick. Speeding north on 10th Avenue, barely stopping at the countless number of lights, up to 71st Street for a turn east. The garage closest to Gordon's office was about a block and a half walk. Placing the small tape recorder in my pocket, I pulled the brown carrying bag out of the car, collected the pick-up ticket from the attendant and began walking to Gordon's office. Within minutes we were exchanging greetings. Like old friends, we spoke of the last time we had met and how quickly the time had passed. Gordon informed me
that Sam had not been in that day and for that reason it would be best for me to begin my research "in earnest" after the weekend. A Monday beginning, I explained, was in accordance with my original intentions. The purpose of this Friday visit was primarily to set up the recording equipment and become generally oriented with the surroundings. Having refreshed Gordon's memory (for I had mentioned these plans in the last phone conversation), he insisted "make yourself at home and bug to your heart's delight." In a short time the equipment was set.

With the recording equipment set, there was nothing distracting my attention from observing the setting of which I had become a part. Though the plan called for a Monday beginning, the research concerning the doing of soap opera writing had instantaneously begun, it simply could not be avoided.
CHAPTER III
ETHNOGRAPHY OF SOAP OPERA WRITING

The External Setting
Street Location and Surroundings

Lining Broadway in the area of 70th Street are small stores with separate entrances for the upstairs apartments. Independent groceries, haberdasheries, candy stores, restaurants, movie theaters and television-radio repair shops give an observer the impression that every imaginable service may be found within a three block distance. A neighborhood, though never overwhelmingly obvious, would more likely exist on the streets crossing Broadway than Broadway itself.

It is a section of Manhattan in which people walk their own dogs. Walkers controlling six or seven leashes, exercising a skill reminiscent of trained wagon drivers controlling a team of horses, is a sight reserved for the more affluent regions of New York. Though the distribution of dogs to walker might differ from the affluent to the middle class parts of The City, the droppings splattered about the curb and sidewalk are probably of equal proportion.

People walk their pets past tightly packed stores and apartments. During the late morning and afternoon hours the animals wait patiently as their guardians order up a hot dog
with sauerkraut and mustard from the vender standing behind an umbrellaed cart marked Sabrett. From wiener stands to restaurants bearing names of literally every ethnic persuasion, 70th Street and Broadway is representative of Manhattan. Manhattan in turn epitomizes or more precisely exists as a living definition of the term urban.

Built low to the ground, the buildings characteristic of this area of Manhattan are in obvious contrast to the new and sparkling edifices which adorn Broadway 20 blocks south. Here there is nothing pretentious and little suggestive of the "bigger and faster than life" reputation of New York City. People en route to work, breaking for lunch or shopping seem to move at a leisurely pace. If one could concentrate on the people who are walking, blocking out the noise and congestion of the automobile traffic, Manhattan would seem not unlike any other city. But it is the width of the street called Broadway (particularly near 71st Street), traffic signals pointing at all angles, and the panic which can be seen in the eyes of pedestrians when caught in the middle of the street as the light changes, that unmistakingly remind you this is indeed New York.

The External Building

I crossed Broadway from the corner of 71st Street (my car was parked in a garage on 71st, west of Broadway) each morning of my visit during the week of March 22. From this
spot the bold black letters ABC plastered on the grey building across the street and one block north could easily be seen. In relation to its environs, the building appears slightly out of place. It is an L-shaped factory-like structure which occupies space both on Broadway and 70th Street. There are no large fluorescent signs in the vicinity to distract from immediately noticing the concrete wall upon which a large yet simple ABC is printed.

A glamour which one might associate with the TV industry is not evidenced when gazing upon this rather sterile looking facade. Based upon the factory-like appearance combined with the letters ABC, the warehouse speculation with its accompanying notion of the inanimate and dull is untrue not only in regard to the present but the past occupants of the building as well.

When in the 1930's the famous woman nightclub owner Texas Guinan entered this building it was probably not through a basement door located on 70th Street. Since the time she greeted her clientele with the immortal words "Welcome suckers", the entrances on Broadway have been sealed off and overlaid with concrete. Texas Guinan's place is 40 years gone, making way for the creation of a new kind of entertainment catering to a new kind of sucker -- the soap opera viewer.
The Internal Building

Surrounding Gordon's Office

That creative activity associated with entertainment is accomplished within the confines of this building is not at all revealed upon entering. To the right there is an elevator which due to its battered, undignified appearance seems relegated to carrying freight -- not people. A small alcove directly facing the entrance-way serves as office for the building's security man. Unarmed and aging the guard sits semi-alert against a background of grey cracking walls. His uniform, equipped with cap and badge, allows him authority to do little more than press a button which releases the lock to a heavy iron door. This door separates him from those who are in all probability more fruitfully employed. Considering its size and weight, the door closes quietly, partitioning one makeshift work area from another. A temporary cop sitting in a piece-meal office on one side, a rapidly converted basement on the other.

Exposed pipes covered in a cracking white run along the walls. The peeled and fallen paint chips gather in the corners atop the already dingy grey linoleum with red speckles. From a distance a trace of white blends nicely with the grey and red. At closer view, the white can be perceived only in relation to the uncovered rust on the pipes above. Most of the wall space is plaster though there is a small surface of unfinished cinder block near Gordon's office and the iron door.
Directly outside Gordon's office are a sequence of promotionals exhibiting Howard K. Smith interviewing soldiers on what appears to be a Vietnam battlefield. The pictures are glass encased in a cabinet which has the appearance of having been somewhere else and originally brought to this space for storage. It is not clear as to whether the photographs are paying homage to ABC News, the man Howard K. Smith, or a war.

The cabinet is tall, almost touching fittings for the hovering fluorescent lights. Although each fitting is equipped with a tube-like object, about half function properly. Those which work cast only a shallow light throughout the room, a glow just bright enough to accentuate the filthy and corroded state of those which do not.

Sitting in a large square in the middle of the room, the cabinet leaves a right and left path to the cellar's back section. There are no stopping places on the "left route". The cabinet on one side and wall on the other form an alley leading to a column of three desks. A sign near the first desk reads: ABC News Network Film Services William F. Hurtz Film Distribution Center". Standing next to the desk, as if to confirm the sign, is a large table holding the weight of projection and editing apparatus. Beyond the table and a bit to the right is a men's room at which the right and left paths to the far end of the cellar merge.
On the cabinet's right side, almost as far back as the rest room, is an office marked "Film Distribution Director". Though five individuals work in this large room, only the director of film distribution speaks to Gordon and his co-workers.

It is apparent that Gordon and Co. are sitting in the midst of a place ABC has designated primarily for film distribution. The fancy plaque nailed to Gordon's office door and inscribed with the words: "Second Footman Co. Ltd." gives clue that activities transpiring within are not associated with film distribution. Behind this door are no technicians, projectionists or film editors. A classy gold sign prepares the incomer for something special -- lavish. Upon entering it is realized that sign may be misleading. The office's look blends superbly with the drab cellar environment. It is merely the sign which is out of step.

The Office

In some spots the green carpet covering the 12 by 17 foot floor is rubbed almost totally bare. Joan's desk is straight ahead from the entrance, past a metallic coat rack replete with three hooks and five dangling wooden hangers. A square table at which Sam writes is left of the door. Gordon's desk is placed in the far right corner of the office. On the back wall closest to Gordon's desk are file cabinets and shelving. Standard metal office furniture, green yet
offensively clashing with the floor covering, helps give the overall impression of being present at an army surplus sale.

While not army surplus, Gordon and his associates are involved in a kind of selling activity. If this writing team is to survive it is essential the media consumer buy the characters and story lines which they create. In relation to those who share this office, it is Gordon who makes the final decisions as to what the potential audience will be offered. In a very real way, he controls fates of imaginary people living in imaginary places.

Gordon's Domain

Gordon accomplishes most of his work while seated behind his desk. On occasion he rises from a swivel chair and reaches for an old black typing machine which sits on a low shelf along the wall opposite the door and left of him. Placing it gently down on the desk he begins typing at a speed quite rapid considering his two-finger technique. A telephone is within arm's reach of Gordon's usual position. File trays filled with scripts and outlines, an old New York Times crossword puzzle, a jar of Skippy peanut butter and a racing scratch sheet are those objects which together create an appearance of a desk cluttered.
Joan's Domain

Though the telephone is within arm's reach of Gordon's usual position, it is answered only once Joan has screened the call. Gordon disacknowledges the ring until Joan interviews then announces the caller. There is something incongruous about a formal screening process occurring in an office such as this. Screening goes with the fancy sign -- neither fits the room's character.

Screening calls in a situation where the employee and employer occupy different quarters gives legitimacy to the response, "One moment please, I'll see if he (she) is available". A small room suggestive of a soggy, refrigerated salad, shared by employee and employer who are no more than 8 feet apart, makes the idea of saying; "One moment please, I'll see if he (she) is available" seem ludicrous. Yet Joan carries it off as if she were secretary to the President of the United States.

From Joan's station it is only three steps to the coffee maker which shares the ledge with Gordon's typewriter. The percolator is placed equidistantly between Joan and her employer but is part of Joan's domain. File cabinets, which are in the back of the office near Gordon, are constituting elements of Joan's work area as well. Unlike the old black typewriter which usually lies inactive on the shelf, Joan's brand new Electric Olympia consumes the center portion of her desk. Though her work does not involve constant typing, the
machine is used often enough to necessitate easy access. The typewriter separates the telephone and arrangement book which lie at opposite ends of the desk. Paper trays containing scripts and outlines, cigarettes topped with lighter, and a small metal file account for the remaining items to be found on Joan's desk.

Sam's Domain

Sam does not work at a "desk." The table at which he works is simply a drawerless square slab of metal resting on four legs. It has no personal dimension. Gordon has his old typewriter nearby and Joan, a little stuffed puppy dog. An old white crumpled styrofoam cup, a paper punch and past outlines stacked neatly in one corner (for Joan's reference, not Sam's) give the table an all purpose appearance. The presence of one particular item suggests the table is not completely used for purposes outside the scope of Sam's everyday office activities -- "The Merck Manual, Twelfth Edition."

For those who need not be concerned with Preechampsia and Elampsis, Arteriola Nephosclerosis or Myocardinal Abnormalities, "The Merck Manual" would mean little. However, for those interested in literally every disease and ailment "in the book" -- this is the book. Its presence is obviously appropriate considering Sam is the individual responsible for afflicting the characters about whom he writes with
everything from halotosis to Hodgkins. (Note: each ailment and disease is subject to Gordon's approval based upon consultation with a physician.) Other books haphazardly strewn on a cabinet to Sam's right exude an aura of neglect. The Major English Poets and The Pocket Book of Verse -- Great English and American Poems lie dust-covered and useless. If these books are opened at all their reading would just as likely relate to completing a Sunday New York Times Crossword Puzzle than beefing up an outline or script.

Social Organizing Activities Peripherally Related to The Actual Writing of Soap Operas

The Sunday N.Y. Times Crossword Puzzle: A Monday Morning Ritual

I hesitated before entering the office that first morning at 9:00. From the outside Gordon looked intensely involved with whatever he was doing. With furrowed brow and glasses resting near the tip of his nose, he peered questioningly at the paper before him. Sensing my presence, the head writer looked up and beckoned me into the office.

His mood seemed serious, pensive, unlike the past Friday afternoon. Was my presence on this first morning of my visit already an inconvenience? Sitting on a chair near Joan's desk, slightly embarrassed and feeling guilty about intruding, I waited to be addressed. Gazing up from his work, the glasses still affixed at the end of his nose, Gordon spoke in an irritated mocking tone:
Gordon: I don't know if you do crossword puzzles.

David: No, but I've heard you get angry in a very short time. (I had not heard this but rather was attempting to be sensitive to Gordon's present mood.)

Gordon: Because they're wrong. The clue is "very possible," right? The answer is "no doubt." I don't agree with that.

David: Well, then you're sure it is "no doubt."

Gordon: It's all worked out . . . "No doubt" means "definitely," I think. Not "very possibly" -- "definitely!"

David: Then "very possibly" is "probably."

Gordon: Yea, I don't know what I'd be looking for but I wouldn't be looking for "no doubt." That means definitely. So any way, I've finished.

Implicit in Gordon's crossword puzzle frustration is a concern for words and their proper usage. He is sensitive to shades of differences in regard to the English language. Considering Gordon's profession, his analytic involvement with a word game is not surprising. Gordon's spoken English, for the most part unflawed with dangling prepositions or subject verb disagreement, gives testimony to his respect for and knowledge of the English language.

Review of the Arts: Sam's Chronology of Weekend Activities

At 10:00 Sam arrived. His entrance demanded attention. It is not that Sam is boisterous, in fact he is soft spoken. It is not that he demonstrably insists upon all eyes and ears his way, in fact he is rather unassuming. Sam's
disacknowledgment of talk which transpired before his entrance seems not to be purposeful or self serving. It occurs naturally, smoothly, like flipping from section to section in the Times -- Crossword Puzzle to Book Review. With Sam's presence Arts and Leisure takes precedent. The other sections will just have to wait. Placing his yellow legal pad and pen on the all purpose table, Sam pushes his chair just far enough away as to ensure his stretched legs a comfortable position atop the table. Leaning back in the chair, he begins his personal post-weekend review of the arts.

Sam: I went to a Chinese opera Saturday night called "The Flogging of the Blind Girl."

Gordon: What?

Sam: It was the most bizarre experience that I have ever had in my life.

Gordon: "The Flogging of the Blind Girl?"

Sam: Sixteenth century opera. Poor student falls in love with a girl because she gives him bean soup. (Laugh) And the father doesn't like him . . . and flogs him and the girl saves him and marries him and it goes on for hours . . . all done authentically in the Chinese tradition. Their people would be better off running restaurants. (Laugh) I saw "Inserts."

Gordon: Oh, was it good?

Sam: I saw it on Saturday and found it very interesting.

Gordon: Really?
Sam: Yes. One set and everybody wears one costume because it all takes place in real time. I mean like it opens at 9:00 in the morning and it's over at around noon or 1:00. And it's one of the most interesting mornings you've ever wanted to see in your life. Did you know "All The President's Men" has an R rating . . . because they're using truthfully the language in the tapes and they're trying to get it changed to a PG rating.

Gordon: Jesus!

After reverting back to a discussion concerning staging difficulties in "Inserts," Sam terminated his Arts Review by turning to me and asking; "How are things in Ohio? My son is applying to Kenyon College." Gordon turned to his scratch sheet while Sam and I (mostly Sam) discussed alternatives for his offspring's higher education. We spoke of the benefits and disadvantages of large city schools as opposed to small rural establishments, educational philosophy and tuition. My relative silence was calculated. I attempted not to facilitate chatter (though to some extent I did merely by my presence) which normally might not occur. However, Sam was relentless in avoiding the pen and pad which had been placed on the table an hour before.

The Scratch Sheet: A Constant Writing Companion

Sam seemed to have been avoiding work while Gordon sat quietly sharing his time equally between editing scripts and marking the scratch sheet -- his constant writing companion. Reading and writing in spurts, Gordon intermittently shifted
his attention to the racing form. He does not move the scratch sheet to a position directly in front of him but instead turned his head a fraction to the right in order to put the race form in clear view. Watching this activity, it would be easy to argue Gordon is reaping ideas from a paper covered with lots of numbers and silly names.

David: The sheet is right next to you and you take long looks at it. The transitions from race sheet back to editing occur quite often.

Gordon: It's restful. It's like taking a break. You're thinking about something that isn't important.

However unimportant, Gordon will leave the office at different times during the day, walk four blocks to OTB (Off Track Betting) and wager on an upcoming race. In addition at least three calls per diem are made to acquire information concerning race results. This resulted number is dialed whether or not a bet had been placed. Gordon calls to confirm his speculation.

Joan's In and Out of Office Social Activities: An Occasional "In Office Soap"

Joan's Monday morning entrance came at 10:25. Her timing was, by all theatrical standards, superb. She walked through the door just as Sam questioned Gordon concerning the whereabouts of "our most affluent secretary". Sam did not question the appropriateness of the label secretary in relation to Joan. For Gordon, who employs both Joan
and Sam, she is more than a secretary. To Sam the issue is not problematic, the term secretary needs no qualifiers. Sam neither employs or uses Joan as a secretary, i.e. typist, clerk, assistant, administrator. Hence to him the term is an indexical vacuum, simply a jovial nickname for a co-worker.

Joan held in her hand the Times turned to the crossword puzzle. Gordon, upon noticing the page to which the paper was turned, reintroduced the "no doubt, most probably" controversy. The obsession had not subsided, it had only been temporarily waylaid. Further discussion ensued relative to the puzzle. Joan had questions which needed answering. Gordon, having (supposedly) successfully completed this verbal and intellectual obstacle course, enacted the role of willing informant.

Joan exhibited no deference to Gordon's opinions regarding 26 across and 9 down. She argued as a peer, cleverly slicing into Gordon's answers leaving no hint of her secretarial subordinate status. As time passed, it became more and more obvious this equal among equals demeanor Joan exhibited in relation to the puzzle was generally representative of her in office behavior. Labeling Joan's position as secretary, assistant or administrator was futile. Her office activities transcended even a combination of all these words and those activities which they index.
Much of Joan's in-office conversations with Gordon and particularly Sam concern her out-of-office social activities. Joan's social life constitutes what may be deemed an in-office-soap.

For the sake of this continuing in-house soap, Gordon allows Joan telephone privileges which would embarrass the parents of a teenage girl. One morning she spent two hours speaking with friends in an attempt to arrange a dinner party. This behavior is not only acceptable but at times seems encouraged. Joan's telephone gallivanting gives fuel to the fire of office gossip.

Gordon and Sam scrutinize each of Joan's friends. Their motive in doing so results more from a desire to be humorously cutting than fatherly concerned. During the week of my visit the seemingly endless office soap based upon the life and times of Joan involved primarily the grandson of a famous general and a boyfriend from Philadelphia whom Gordon and Sam have facetiously dubbed "The Big Bowling Ball." Joan's office soap wove in and out of work directly related to the network soap. While Gordon has an ability to listen with one ear and concentrate on events directly related to "One Life to Live," Sam gives full attention to discovering all he can about his woman co-worker's leisure time operations.

Joan: I had a depressing weekend, 'cause I had Art and John Friday night and Larry and Joe on Saturday.
Gordon: (referring to Joe) He's back in town?

Joan: Yes. He flew in from California to have dinner with me.

Sam: It's hard to believe this girl's life. How is Joe?

Joan: He's fine.

Sam: Did he borrow money from you? Is he marrying the other woman?

Joan: No and no. Actually he came to pick up his tape recorder that I had borrowed.

Sam: Do you think Art has ever screwed a woman?

Joan: I have no idea Sam, why don't you ask him? He brought me some flowers, they were really kind of marvelous.

Sam: I think you're interested in him.

Joan: I am not! I've known him since I was a child.

Gordon: Oh, the one thing that she (the producer) brought up (in a previous phone call). The thing that concerned her the most was that she said "I thought you were going to get Cathy and Tony (two soap opera characters) together sooner than this ("this" refers to a distant future reconciliation implicit in a script which the producer was reviewing). She was concerned that they were staying apart so bloody long.

Sam: I thought we were going to get them back together, whatchamacallit, after Vicki lost the baby.

Joan: I thought they get back together when the club (Tony's Club) opens or right after that.

Gordon: In the long term they get back together as a result of Victor's severe illness. The fact that she didn't know what the hell the final was ("she" refers to the producer) . . . I wanted to talk to you about.
From Social to Work

Interchanges such as this illustrate the ease with which Joan's in house soap is put aside in lieu of matters more crucial to the program. Gordon's statement beginning with "Oh, the one thing that she brought up" appears as a non-interruption interruption. Gordon is not held responsible as if he has been rude or inconsiderate for disturbing a conversation which primarily involved Joan and Sam. It is part of the office routine to be adept at making transitions back and forth, from real life to fictional. As evidence below, Gordon is as expert at abandoning the live for the fictional as he is the fictional for live. The following is a continuation of the above discourse:

Sam: Fine.

Gordon: In other words, their getting back together is really imminent.

Sam: Next week because his (Victor's) stroke is in (script number) 2000.

Gordon: If they get back together in 2000 they can go on a space oddessy.

Joan: Is there a major change you would care to tell me about?

Gordon: No, I had a most interesting day on Saturday.

Joan: Why?

Gordon: I went and I played and went to the park with Anita (Gordon's woman friend). It was a gorgeous day. And I was invited to go to the track but I did not go . . .
On occasion, more related issues emerge from discussing social activities, i.e. peripheral to the actual writing of soap operas which transpire within the office. For the most part social conversation involves relationships and events which occur outside of work and independent of one another. However, there are times when reminiscing about in office social happenings acts as a catalyst to work related discourse. The dialogue below represents such a circumstance.

Joan: (speaking to David) I was going to buy a dog from a cousin in L.A. so that it could keep me company in the office. Gordon wrote me a long note saying he had contacted my cousin and arranged for the dog to be sent. (pointing to a stuffed puppy dog on her desk) And there is my dog and I can carry it with me. He was paper trained as soon as we got him and so we put newspaper on the floor.

Gordon: Sam wet the next day.

Joan: I really wanted a dog, you, Gordon, are a cold hearted son of a bitch.

Gordon: That's nice. You know what I'm going to do from now on?

Joan: What is it Gordon, tell me. Are you going to start taping them again?

Gordon: I'm going to start taping (my scripts) (forcing Joan to type from a cassette)

Joan: And you may be finding a new secretary, too.

Gordon: Maggie (whom he fired to hire Joan) used to do it. I'm assigning myself 1995 and you're going to type it.*

* Gordon, along with editing scripts written by members of his staff, writes his own scripts. Gordon assigns outlines to his staff and in the process chooses the ones he wishes to do.
This teasing sequence between Joan and Gordon reveals more than an instance in which rehashing past social in office activities leads to a present in office work related concern. Here, Joan's subordinate role is emphasized and the secretarial aspect of her position is jokingly yet definitively characterized as dominant. Joan insisted her employer would have to find himself a new secretary if she were forced to type scripts from dictation as opposed to the roughly typed version traditionally supplied by Gordon. Joan's empty threat to quit (as indicated by the words "find yourself a new secretary") is made within the context of her role as secretary. Nowhere in this mock test or simulated stand off was Joan's secretarial status questioned. Gordon who had in the past explained Joan's role as more than a secretary offered no objection to Joan's mention of quitting (however jokingly) as a secretary. As a result, it may be assumed although Joan may, (and according to Gordon does) partake in assistant or administrative activities, these activities seem to be categorized under the general heading of secretarial duties.

**The Great Lunch Dilemma**

Joan's duties will sometimes include a lunch time delivery service. Planning for afternoon eating usually begins between 11:45 and 12:30. This delivery service function is performed in compliance with a request from Gordon. When extremely busy Gordon will ask Joan to bring him back a sandwich. Joan
usually asks Sam if he would like to go or put in an order. If Sam chooses to go (which is most often not the case) he and Joan eat at an establishment which makes sandwiches compatible with Gordon's taste. If Sam does not accompany Joan she accepts his order. Along with Gordon's and Sam's culinary requests, Joan will return to the office with her preference. Sitting at their respective work areas, lunch is consumed.

In most instances, Gordon seems to set the lunch mood. When he chooses to eat in, it is because catchup time is needed. Offering no resistance, Sam and Joan seem to realize they too could do with catching up. Eating-in does not entail quite the amount of planning as does eating-out. Within 10 minutes subsequent to Gordon's lunch time decree and his decision to eat-in, Joan is on her way, returning no more than 20 minutes after departure. During the time of her absence Gordon and Sam continue their work. As compared to the time expended eating-out, eating-in is a simple, purely practical procedure. When the actual eating of lunch is finished, reading, writing and typing continue as if never interrupted.

Eating-in seems to be the exception. Going out is the more prevalent and seemingly preferred luncheon arrangement — and an arrangement it is! The New York Times analogue operationalized for Book Review and Arts and Leisure may easily be expanded to include a section "Dining and
Restaurants." A list of restaurants is recited, each participant taking a turn at evaluation based upon experience or hearsay. As opposed to the relatively quick (10 minutes) decision made when lunch is to be eaten in office, deciding upon where to indulge their collective appetites when going out to lunch is an ordeal of far greater magnitude.

Gordon announces lunch time has arrived and he wishes to go out. I'm getting hungry, where would you like to go? starts a circuitous and baffling decision-making process. It is never assumed no one else is hungry or for other reasons wishes not to go. Sam, who half seriously inquires about lunch almost from the moment he arrives in the morning ("Is it time for lunch yet?") is the first to inquire as to their point of destination. Now begins the review of dining establishments worth frequenting in the vicinity of Broadway and 70th Street.

Dazzles, Copper Hatch and Gleason's are hamburger joints. Despite their shared cuisine, i.e. hamburgers, french fries, steak sandwich, their distinctions relative to quality of service, size of portion and potential for indigestion aftermath are analytically discussed. Gleason's is usually the hamburger joint of choice though when possible they are all avoided.

Antio's Polar is a Mexican restaurant still mentioned as an alternative despite Gordon's promise never to return. Joan and Sam insist Gordon "caught it on a bad day," Gordon
insists "at Anito's Polar every day is a bad day." Discussed also as a possible dwelling in which to wile away some afternoon time is Casa Del Monte. Casa Del Monte is an Italian style restaurant featuring a superior fagioli. A fish entree is another consistently bantered about alternative. Aunt Fish and Captain Nemo are in bitter competition despite their inevitable rejection. McGlade's (American) and Ribkyue (Japanese) are strong choices which often gain consensus.

If one restaurant could be mentioned as the place most often frequented by Gordon and his staff, it would be Mr. Chipps. Chipps is a gathering place for ABC employees, including the celebrity Eye Witness News team. There, Gordon enjoys the food and the company. At lunchtime, members of Second Footman Co. Ltd. sit at one of six booths placed against the wall. Alcoholic beverage is not a crucial part of the afternoon meal. However, after work Gordon returns to stand at the bar with friends and drink a few beers. The writer's association with ABC, along with his close relationship to the well-known newsmen, entitle him to drinks "on the house."

Amount of time spent eating out varies according to type of restaurant and cuisine. Lunch at Chipps (sandwiches Italian style) may run anywhere from an hour and fifteen to an hour and forty-five minutes. Lunch at Olars, an expensive Spanish haunt, may linger on for more than two hours. Gordon's
staff saunters back to the office after a satisfying meal at whatever restaurant. Candy store stops, visits to off track betting and personal errands make the route somewhat less than direct. As if synchronized, each member reaches the office at nearly the same time. Activities directly related to the actual writing of the soap opera begin almost immediately upon entering the office. One such activity is the creation of outlines based upon two preceding larger and more general outlines.

Social Organizing Activities Directly Related to the Actual Writing of Soap Operas

Bible and Six Month Summary

The overviews are called the "bible" and "six month summary." Though bible is the expression traditionally referred to regarding the initial and formulative step in soap opera writing, Gordon suggests the book of Genesis offers a better analogue. For it is this book of the Old Testament which gives an account of creation. Gordon explained the bible or genesis as the expression referring to the original manuscript delineating relationships between characters, histories of these relationships and the community in which these imaginary people exist. A television network decision to accept or reject an idea for a continuing drama is contingent upon a positive or negative reaction towards this proposal. The evolution of the fantastical town and its citizenry sets an all important atmosphere; a specific feeling of community, long lived hostilities,
short lived love affairs, fortunes lost and gained. Without genesis there would be no beginning.

Gordon's predecessor and mentor, Agnes Nixon, created the bible for "One Life to Live." When Mrs. Nixon sold "Life" to ABC, Gordon was hired in her place. One of Gordon's first obligations to the network and the show was to create a six month summary. This summary, drawing from the bible, entails specific long range events scheduled to occur. The events are scheduled with approval of the producer and the network. Decisions are made in relation to the six month summary primarily by Gordon. However determinations are subject to alterations based upon ratings (viewer mail, which trickles in, seems to have little effect on the course of the show). Mrs. Nixon, though officially unassociated with the show (except for an obligation to consult with the writing personnel in times of rating decline) still has important and valued input regarding future events as reflected in the six month summary. A recent Agnes Nixon intervention resulted in changing an already completed six month summary.

Ratings were dropping drastically; in a two month period they had fallen from a share of 29 to 19. Mrs. Nixon called Gordon offering advice. "When Aggie speaks," Gordon explained, "you listen." Gordon's six years with "Life" and two years with another soap called "Dark Shadows" by no means equals Mrs. Nixon's 25 years of experience as a soap opera writer.
Aggie recommended the demise of Victor, a patriarchal figure who had been with the show since its inception. Nixon claimed the show was dragging, stuck in the past -- inundated with the old. Victor, a thoroughly ingrained part of the Llanview community would have to go. Heeding Aggie's advice, Gordon prepared for Victor's death by sharing the idea with his producer and then changing the six month summary.

A six month summary does not necessarily include circumstantial exactitudes. For example, Victor, dying as a result of a stroke, may or may not be a circumstance mentioned in the six month summary. That Victor will die and his death will facilitate organizational changes in the social and emotional lives of the remaining Llanviewites, would be included in the six month summary. Mention of events which could potentially cause character metamorphosis are made in the six month summary with the aid of qualifiers, e.g. possibly Victor will have to adjust his will leaving money to his estranged son instead of Dorian, the deceptive wife.

The Outline

Script outlines (see Appendix A) are more specific than the six month summary from which they are generated. An outline gives a script writer an impression of what will transpire in an episode he/she has been assigned to write. In terms of plot and character consistency, the three assistant or staff writers depend heavily upon Sam. Sam was
hired as an associate writer to be along with Gordon, responsible for the creation of outlines. Gordon, occasionally will write an outline but spends most of his time editing the work of his associate and assistant writers. Though Gordon realizes one writer might write comedy or love scenes better than another they have less sense of continuity than do Sam or Gordon, who are responsible for the continuous flow of outlines.

Each outline, referred to by an episode number (2000 means the 2000th episode) takes approximately four-five hours to create. Sam does his work both at home and in the office. During the week of my visit he was at home four of the six days (one of these days he was sick). When not coming in, Sam would call the office to inform Gordon and discuss any work-related issue. Sam asked if anything special needed to be done. Gordon answered with the question, "What are you doing now?" Gordon normally gave Sam the o.k. to continue with what he was doing, i.e. writing a particular outline. Since Sam's work was not edited a day at a time, it was only essential he be in the office enough to allow Gordon to see the outlines before they were sent off to the script writers.

Outlines are submitted to Gordon for editing and then forwarded to Joan for typing. Customarily, Sam writes five outlines in one week, submitting them to Gordon on Monday morning. There is an outline written for each weekday in a
year. A six outline week may come as a result of either attempting a stockpile to allow time for a holiday or accommodating an actor who cannot be written out at a given time, yet needs time off. A six outline week is indication there will be days ahead during which two shows will be taped instead of the standard one.

Editing the Outline

Gordon has no exact time or day set aside for editing Sam's outlines. The headwriter's goal is having the outlines edited, typed and in the scripter's hands in sufficient time to meet predetermined production demands. During the week of my visit, Gordon had in his possession outlines for scripts 1993 through 1998. Nineteen hundred and ninety three and 1994 were edited on Monday and Tuesday respectively. Nineteen hundred and ninety five was reviewed on Wednesday, 1996 and 1997 on Thursday and 1998 on Friday. With the exception of 1995, Gordon edited Sam's handwritten outlines without incident.

An occasional word or sentence is crossed out and written over. The outline editing process, when there are no hitches, takes about 20 to 30 minutes. It appears time spent on each outline and number of necessary edits constitute criteria by which Gordon judges Sam's work. This particular week it appears Sam's work was totally acceptable except for 1995.
Editing outline 1995 seemed to be a frustrating experience for Gordon. He did much crossing out and writing over. Much of what he saw he obviously did not like. After reading through one and one-half pages of Sam's longhand, written on yellow legal pad and making many corrections, Gordon decided upon another, less time consuming approach. The headwriter dictated the outline to Joan, patching and altering as he read. Edits on Sam's original attempt at 1995's prologue and beginning of Act I represented the kinds of changes made by Gordon as he dictated to Joan. These corrections reveal factors considered crucial to this soap opera head writer. Below is a reproduction of Sam's draft of 1995 up to the point where Gordon stopped editing with his pen and began to dictate.* (see Appendix B for original)

* This typed reproduction will reveal more clearly than the original that which has been edited. Edits which will be referred to in subsequent discussion will be numbered for reference purposes. Gordon's edits will be written above Sam's original.
Prologue:

This is the day following Episode #1994. It's eleven A.M. six-thirty-in-the-morning, and we open in Tony's Place. It's in the morning and the club is obviously not open for business. Tony sits at his piano. With one finger, he's and playing a tune, singing along with it. Wanda enters from the upstairs—but a different Wanda. She is now Wanda the bookkeeper no business should be without.

She is carrying a new ledger, and is very happy. The first night was a smash. He keeps on playing, listening but not anything she's saying. to her not seemingly registering the-situation—Finally—Wanda goes on talking about how she-can't-stand-it. She is so pleased with the receipts.

Finally he stops, turns to her and asks-a-very-important asks her why she is so happy. (and-non-put-down-question)—Why-is-she-happy? On Wanda's bewildered face, we go to black.

Act One:

This is a direct continuation in the-deserted-club—Tony is somehow putting her down Wanda gets defensive of course, thinking he's-a-put-down
(He is on his way to becoming a real character in her book)

(14) tells her he is (15) goes on to say that
But Tony-is-being sincere. He wants-to-know Everytime he
starts something and everything looks great, he begins to

(16) begins to get him again.
get itchy. The lure of the road seems-more-desirable-than
anything-he-has- So he made money last night. And he will

(17) then and tells her the Banner’s
tonight he's sure. (he points to the paper food editor

loved the place.
Edits made in 1995's prologue and beginning of Act 1 may be placed in 2 categories: (1) specificity related and (2) personal preference related.

Most of the changes Gordon made in Sam's outline may be termed specificity related. This kind of change is made to eliminate any possible ambiguity which might act to hinder a script writer's fluid comprehension of material presented in the outline. Each specificity related correction will be discussed in terms of its elimination of possible ambiguity.

Edit #4 - Sam's use of pronouns in a situation where only two people of opposite gender are present seems to the untrained eye referentially unambiguous. Gordon is an experienced soap opera scriptwriter. He considers the many characters with whom writers are involved (8 characters in script number 1995) and realizes the importance of being constantly reminded of the specific character the outliner has in mind at any given point.

Edit #7 - "Registering the situation" is replaced by "registering anything she is saying" to emphasize Tony's obliviousness to Wanda's words. As written by Sam, "registering the situation" could refer to all or any aspect of the entire situation e.g. Tony's estrangement with his father, ex-love affairs, well being of his club etc. Too much would be left to the imagination of the script writer.
Edit #8 - The "it" in "Finally she can't stand it", is unexplained and potentially ambiguous for the script writer. Gordon's emphasis is placed specifically on Wanda's talk. He is explicit in advising the script writer to write lines for Wanda concerning how pleased she is with the receipts. In this edit, Gordon also replaces a pronoun with its proper noun referent (See Edit #4).

Edit #9 - "Etc." allows the script writer latitude, while implicitly suggesting Wanda's talk should evolve around "receipts" and the club's general success.

Edit #10 - Potentially ambiguous pronoun correction (See Edit #4).

Edit #11 - Sam originally emphasized the importance of Tony's question concerning Wanda's happiness. However the reason why this question is so important remains ambiguous. Sam in no way encouraged the script writer to resolve this ambiguity. Gordon shifts the specific element of impact from Tony's question to Wanda's reaction to Tony's question. This is seemingly more reasonable for it is "on Wanda's bewildered face", the prologue ends.

Edit #12 - Sam's use of "deserted club" in place of Tony's Club was to Gordon an unnecessary vagueness. A script writer who had not written many scripts set in "Tony's Place" (it so happens Tony's place is a relatively new setting)
might need to refer back to its original mention in the first paragraph. This would be not only a time consuming activity but an interrupting activity as well.

Edit #13 - Sam uses the expression "he's a put down". Saying he "is" a put down removes the emphasis from the present interaction to an ever present flaw in Tony's character. Although Tony might have a habit of "putting down" people, Gordon's present tense interpretation i.e. "somehow putting her down" keeps the action specific to that particular Tony - Wanda interaction. Gordon also replaces the pronoun with its proper noun referent.

Edit #14 - Again as in #13 Sam's use of "is sincere" created a seeming feeling of a fait accompli, detracting from the dialogical potential inherent in the idea of Tony "telling" her he is sincere. Gordon's changing "is being sincere" to "tells her he is being sincere" makes the focus of concern the specific talk which allows the "sincerity" to be enacted.

Edit #15 - Sam was not specific in terms of what it is "he wants to know". These words would be meaningless until the script writer read the next sentence. Gordon corrected this by creating a sentence emphasizing the kind of talk he would like to see written i.e. "He goes on to say that.."
Edit #16 - This edit represents a case of over specificity. Sam's attempt at being specific as to why Tony is again being "lured by the road" (because "the road seems more desirable than anything he has") could force the conversation to concentrate upon the "things he has" compared with "the lure of the road". Gordon, by substituting "begins to get to him again" emphasises Tony's wandering nature as opposed to a discontentment with his physical possessions.

Edit #17 - Gordon's creating a sentence out of that which was parenthetical allowed for the pronoun "her" to be added (though Gordon could have used the pronoun's antecedent, Wanda.)

Personal preference related changes are those edits which do little towards reducing outline ambiguities. Following is a discussion of those edits:

Edit #1 - A script writer would have no difficulty comprehending the meaning of Episode One Thousand Nine Hundred Ninety-Five without the inclusion of "#".

Edit #2 - Gordon's Eleven A.M. consumes less space than Sam's "eleven O'Clock in the morning", yet the edit does not function to reduce ambiguity or increase specificity.

Edit #3 - This edit is not only "personal preference related but grammar related as well. A conjunction was necessary to join the clauses."
Edits #5 and 6 - These edits are simply personal preference. Neither "not seemingly registering anything she's saying" nor "but seemingly not registering anything she's saying" is grammatically incorrect.

The manner in which this first page and one half of outline was edited suggested nothing out of the ordinary. An outline seldom reaches Joan which has not been to some extent altered by the stroke of Gordon's black felt pen. On this particular occasion the number of edits, in the amount of space, prompted Gordon to proceed with the unusual. From Gordon's point of view, giving up the pen for dictating is an act of expedience. Though the switch from pen to dictation was done in frustration, the act was not intended to constitute a reprimand. Sam appeared to be more sensitive to the stigma associated with the fact Gordon was forced to dictate his work.

When the transition from written to dictated edits was made, Sam was out of the office. It was difficult to ascertain whether or not Gordon's timing was intentional or coincidental. The head writer may have waited for a moment when Sam was not present in order to (1) save Sam the embarrassment of hearing remarks made in preparation for dictation i.e. "Joan, let's dictate this thing, writing all these edits may take all afternoon and then you'll have to type it anyway"; or (2) avoid a potentially awkward situation
wherein Gordon might be subject to answer questions concerning the quality of Sam's work.

Outline Day and Week Endings

Although Sam is not necessarily present during the editing process, his presence is required to discuss day and week endings. Day and especially cliff hanging week endings are the backbone of soaps. It is here the audience is lost or hooked. So crucial are endings to the well being of "One Life to Live" Gordon and Sam consult as to their quality. This consultation takes place most often on Friday afternoons. Gordon calls such a meeting to order by saying, "Let's talk about endings". Sam either moves his chair next to Gordon's or sprawls out on the floor close to the headwriter's desk. Referring to a sheet of paper on which the endings are written Sam begins reading them to Gordon:

Sam: 2000 is, he has the stroke at the end of 2000 (2000 was last week's Friday ending)

Gordon: Yes

Sam: 2001 is Tony (Victor's Son) comes to the house, Dorian (Victor's yound and unscrupulous wife) accuses him of disrupting his father's life.

Gordon: O.K. Go ahead

Sam: 2002 is Vickie [Victor's daughter and Tony's sister] begins to try to find out what actually happened the night of the stroke, what did Victor's various messages mean. Now 2003 you're not going to be fatally enchanted with [laugh] but I think
Gordon: Uh huh
Sam: So Jenny surprises -- Oh (expletive deleted)
Gordon: What's the matter
Sam: Well all right, I can change 2004 and 2003. Cathy hearing of Tony's guilt and despair over the stroke comes to him and starts the reconciliation.
Gordon: This is 3 (2003)
Sam: Yeah [Pause] 2004 will be much to everyone's surprise Jenny arrives at the free clinic ready to work [Jenny is a nurse]
Gordon: That's your basic up day ending.
Sam: Somebody needs to be "up" in this [expletive deleted] thing! (Friday ending) 2005 shows Victor having signs of coming out of his stroke as Dorian stands hypodermic in hand [Dorian is a physician] . . . (facetiously) giving him countless enemas and terrible discomfort.

According to Joan, this meeting is fairly typical of the weekly day ending get togethers "right up to Sam's silly last liner". There seem to be two primary reasons for discussing endings. First, rehashing the endings with Sam gives Gordon an opportunity to be brought up to date with precisely where the story is going. This is particularly important if Gordon had not written any of that week's outlines. Second, Gordon is afforded the opportunity to have input into Sam's ideas for daily and weekly endings.
Subsequent to editing and discussion of endings Joan types the outlines in triplicate. One copy is received by the producer and another is sent to the writer assigned to create a script based upon that particular outline. A third copy is filed in Gordon's office for future reference.

The Chart as Primary Reference Material

Outlines are valuable yet seldom utilized reference material. More actively sought during times when plot or character histories are in doubt is the chart. The chart is an outline of an outline. It is typed on a thin cardboard and tacked to a bulletinboard hanging on the wall behind Joan's desk. Joan is solely responsible for the creation of these easily accessible, all important items of reference. Charts are most often written within 24 hours subsequent to the completion of the corresponding outline. Charts representing shows for an entire week are posted at one time.

Included in the chart, taken directly from the outline, is the list of characters appearing in that particular episode. Also included are the various settings in which the prologue and each of four acts take place. For reference purposes, script number, tape date and air date are placed in the upper right corner of this long rectangular shaped outline of an outline.

To more fully illustrate the relationship between an outline and charts, the prologue and first act of outline
number 1993, with chart counterparts are presented below:

Prologue (Outline)

We're going to a new day. We open on Carla in the cafeteria reading the Banner. It's 8:35 A.M. Carla sees the opening night ad for Tony Lord's Place. Cathy comes in with a cup of coffee. We'll establish that she's filling in for Anna on some volunteer work. Cathy sits with her coffee and sees the ad. Carla assumes she's going to the opening. (Ed and Carla are). Cathy has to admit she isn't. She and Tony still aren't seeing each other. Carla senses her ambivalence about it. She then suggests that Cathy should get a date and come with her and Ed. On Cathy's thoughtful reaction, we go to black.

Corresponding Prologue (Chart)

Carla alone. Cathy in, filling in for Anna. Carla asks if she's going to opening and says no. Carla says get a date and come.

Act I (Outline)

This is a direct continuation in the hospital cafeteria. Cathy tells Carla she's practically becoming a spinster -- she wouldn't even know where to start finding an escort at this point in her life. Peter suddenly appears, tray in hand. Carla makes some comment sotto voce (unclear) about him before he approaches and asks if he can join them.

Carla asks Peter to sit down. We'll establish that he has not seen Cathy since the funeral and, while he has talked with Jenny on the telephone, he's interested in finding out how she really is. Cathy tells him Jenny seems to be doing all right. Cathy understands the terrible sense of loss Jenny feels, etc. Peter, of course, says he would do anything he could to help Jenny, but he realizes there is nothing he can do now. Only time will help.

Carla leaves, after reminding Cathy to let her know about tonight. Left alone with Peter, Cathy begins asking about his life here (in the U.S.) -- is he enjoying himself, etc. Peter tells her it's not any easy time for him -- all work, no play. So many sad things have happened. Cathy nods and says they have been (sad) for her too. She then mentions the opening of the club tonight. Peter hasn't met Tony but has heard about the club from Dorian and/or Victor. Cathy asks him if he would like to go -- dutch, of course, with Ed and Carla.
Peter laughs and makes some comment to the effect that in San Carlos it would all be different -- the roles reversed, that is. But since he's in America, he had better begin living like an American. He'd love to go -- but he's not willing to go dutch at all. As they smile at each other, she tells him they'll argue about that later and we--

Cut to Tony's Place. It's now 10:00 A.M. and it could seem impossible that the place is going to open that night. The bartender is working behind the bar as Tony talks one-way to Wanda on the phone (she's at the wholesale market to get some last minute items). An U/5 (unidentified) person is tuning the piano -- in other words, there is a slight atmosphere of bedlam.

Tony has barely put the phone down when it rings again. Tony picks it up and, one-way learns from Chapin that Victor wants a reservation for four that night for dinner. Tony puts the phone down smiling. Will wonders never cease? With this--

We cut to the Lord Library. Victor is there as Dorian enters. No matter how it's written, we want the audience to feel there is no way she will go to Tony's tonight. She would start perhaps by saying that Senator and Mrs. Carlton are in town and she told Olivia they'd dine with them at the country club. On Victor's gentle reminder that he told her he wanted to go to his son's opening, we go in on her face as she turns from him so he cannot see the fury she feels. Fade out.

**Corresponding Act I (Chart)**

A) Cathy - Carla (Cont.) Cathy says she's become a spinster. Peter in. Carla asks him to sit. They talk of Jenny and Cathy understands her loss. Peter wants to help but only time can. Carla out and tells Cathy to let her know. Cathy asks about Peter's life and says it's all work. Cathy invites Peter to the opening of the club. Peter is delighted but will not accept the dutch idea.

B) Bartender - Tony Chaos. Tony talks to Wanda on telephone. Then Chapin calls and makes a reservation for 4.

C) Victor alone. Dorian in. She says she's made a date with Carltons for tonite and Victor reminds her they're going to Tony's opening.
Joan does not perceive herself a soap opera writer. She, along with Gordon and Sam conceive the activity of doing charts more secretarial in nature than anything else. Joan explained, doing charts is a responsibility which is mechanically performed. There is a system involved in doing charts only in so far as the superfluous is eliminated.

Upon reviewing the above prologue and act (both in outline and chart form) some tricks used to accentuate the essential elements needed for reference, become clear:

1. Listed and underscored in the chart are the names of the characters present in each sequence, e.g. (from chart prologue Carla alone. Cathy in.

2. Chart does not include specific mention of the setting in which a segment takes place.

3. Chart excludes an affective dimension present in the outline. For example, "Carla senses her ambivalence" is written in the outline's prologue referring to Carla's asking Cathy to get a date. Only the context in which the "affective" is mentioned in the chart i.e. "Carla says get a date and come".

4. Chart excludes implicit suggestions made to the scriptwriter concerning the course of dialogue presented in the outline. For example, "Peter
laughs and makes some comment to the effect that in San Carlos it would all be different", is written in the outline's first act. The chart's corresponding section states "Peter is delighted but will not accept the dutch idea."

(5) The chart abandons concern for proper grammatical structure. For example, a line in the chart's prologue reads, "Carla asks if she's going to opening and says no". Another example may be seen in the chart's Act I, "Cathy asks about Peter's life and says it's all work".

As opposed to grammatical fluidity or other literary considerations, the object of a chart is two-fold. First, to create an immediate source of reference; a means by which the current state of affairs in relation to plot and character evolution might be quickly revealed. The chart, when posted on the bulletin board, is serving this immediacy function. Second, to create a condensed history of "One Life to Live". Charts dating back 6 months are stacked on the top of a file cabinet against the back wall near Gordon's desk. Scattered atop other cabinets, in drawers and on the floor are piles of less recent charts. Each pile's charts are in sequence. There is only a search to find the correct pile. No chart gets discarded but rather is moved from the bulletin board position of supreme
prominence, to the cabinet near Gordon and eventually either lands in a pile or begins it's own.

Just as it is Joan's responsibility to care for writing, hanging and subsequent piling of charts, it is her duty to answer Gordon's and Sam's questions which entail chart referrals. For example, Gordon while editing an outline, notices Tony and Joe greeting each other as old friends. Gordon does not recall Tony and Joe ever meeting, certainly not being old friends. Not trusting his memory Gordon will ask Joan to check 1950-1980 for any sign Tony and Joe had been acquainted and have since become old friends. Within ten minutes Joan has the answer. The outlines themselves are almost never consulted in such instances when historical research is deemed necessary. Charts constitute "One Life to Live" archives. Joan is the resident librarian.

Gordon's three assistant writers do not have the benefit of instant access to history. They are welcomed into Gordon's office at any time to examine records, but seldom, if ever, find such a perusal necessary. Dan, Hank and Enid work at home and come to the office only if they happen to be in the neighborhood. Communication between Gordon and his staff occurs primarily via the mail.

An ABC mailboy knocks on the door and while standing in the hall asks Joan if there is "anything going"? If an outline has been prepared for mailing, it is handed to the
boy. Joan says "thank you" and the boy is gone. Since mailboys appear only two or three times daily, it is sometimes necessary to phone for their assistance. When sending an envelope becomes urgent enough to necessitate phoning for a messenger, Gordon will probably call for a blue slip. Blue-slipping expedites delivery. If it is imperative an outline reach a scriptwriter (or a completed script reach the producer) within a few hours blue-slipping must be enacted. Whether blueslipped or mailed with a regular pickup, it is not long before a completed script is returned -- at most 48 hours.

Script Editing

Scripts come back to Gordon typed as in a final draft. Edits which Gordon performs on a finished script are, as with the outlines, done in black ink. Barring a few minor changes Gordon expects most scripts to be acceptable as is. During the week of my visit the acceptable as is thesis was tested.

Gordon's leisurely pace back to the office after an extended lunch began to quicken. He recalled edited scripts must be in the producer's hands by that afternoon in preparation for an early morning production meeting.*

* There is usually one production meeting per week. Participants are producer, director, scenic designer, costume designer and floor manager. The focus of these meetings centers around one week's scripts. Gordon although the headwriter, is not invited. When questioned about this, Gordon suggested it was strange policy.
Having his own script yet to finish, Gordon simply would not have time to edit the others.

En route from lunch, halfway between Chipps and the office, Joan was given a script editing assignment. From Joan's reaction, the request appeared unprecedented. Upon his return to the office, Gordon immediately went to work removing his old black typewriter from the ledge to his left and began typing a script. Joan read quietly stopping only to ask an occasional question. By the time Gordon finished his script Joan had finished reading the others. She made no edits. The scripts appeared acceptable as is.

The acceptable as is hypothesis was rejected. One of Doris's (the producer) first remarks was an irritated, "Weren't these scripts edited?" This kind of forceful and to the point feedback is typical of Doris's relationship with Gordon.

**Headwriter-Producer Relationship**

Gordon was not hired by Doris Quinlan nor does he consider himself accountable to her. When Gordon accepted the offer from the ABC Vice President of Programming to headwrite "One Life to Live", it was unofficially stipulated that he would not be working for Doris Quinlan but rather with her. Since she has more direct access to information concerning occurrences which transpire relative to directing, costume designing, scenic designing, tape scheduling and ratings, Gordon is inclined to take his producer's
input quite seriously. However Gordon's interest in Doris's perceptions and observations should not suggest a subordinate relationship. To Gordon, Doris is an important liason, a feedback mechanism supplying him with information pertinent to the production, financial and aesthetic aspect of the show. Doris will criticize but will not chastise. She will recommend but will not insist.

Gordon's insistence that he and Doris are on an equal footing appears, within a hierarchial context, theoretically true. However, Quinlan holds an important advantage of vantage point. The producer's position allows her an overview crucial to the functioning of the show as a whole. She is the hub of a synchronization process dealing with, amongst other elements of the production machine -- writing.

Producer-headwriter conversations ensue at no scheduled intervals. On occasion Gordon will personally deliver edited scripts to Doris (the producer's office is located at the ABC studios about five blocks from Gordon's office) in order to keep a finger on what's going on by talking to Doris, the directors and actors. Gordon explained "when I take them myself, I know they'll get there". More often than conversing in person, Gordon and Doris speak via telephone. A portion of one such conversation which according to Gordon was fairly typical may be seen below:
Doris: She can't go because she hasn't got a man to take her is rather un-Cathy

Gordon: Oh

Doris: Isn't it? Well, I think...what to comment on it or not. You know.

Gordon: Oh, all right.

Doris: I don't know...it's trivial

Gordon: Yeah, Okay. I mean, I think she'd like to go with someone you know

Doris: Yes, of course. Now she's well, Paul has invited her and if she's the lady she says she is, it should not concern her that she does not have an escort.

Gordon: Yeah, all right, fine.

Doris: I don't understand page 4--why Cathy has a bottle of champagne to celebrate the occasion. Nor do I understand what that means when Pat proposes a toast to Tony's place on Cathy's reaction we go to black. What reaction?

Gordon: Ah

Doris: If Pat has brought a bottle of booze and all that...I don't quite understand why Cathy would be celebrating the opening of Tony's...we use it and she says: "I planned a celebration this way".

Gordon: That might be a good idea. Yeah.

Doris: That would be more likely

Gordon: Yeah, okay. We could make that note.

Although Doris' approach to this communication is more interrogatory and clarification oriented than declarative and edification oriented, she accomplishes change. Gordon's yeahs, o.k.'s and all rights sprinkled throughout
this portion of the conversation seem to be representative of the head writer's attitude toward his producer's observations in relation to his script. That which she brings up is often not worth arguing or acclaiming. On occasion Doris has an idea which Gordon deems valuable -- innovative. Such an idea was forthcoming in this particular phone conversation:

Doris: All right, I'm also gonna see if there's any way I can get us a guest star for the opening [of Tony's Club].

Gordon: Fine, I'd love it.

Also considered in headwriter-producer discussions are actors' schedules and availability. Because some performers are obligated to work only three or four shows a week script content and taping schedules must be accommodatingly arranged. Content and tape schedules may be altered due to actor illness or producer brainstorm. Whether rescheduling is necessitated by a performer's week long migraine or a guest star's need to work on a certain day, the maneuver is never accomplished without prior consultation between Doris and Gordon.

The moment Doris receives scripts from Gordon they become joint property. No longer is Gordon's say final. All is subject to discussion, reevaluation and alteration. Gordon as headwriter is ultimately responsible for scripts submitted to Doris. Though Doris is uninvolved in
social and/or work activity associated with the actual writing of "One Life to Live's" scripts and outlines, she participates in final judgment of them. The process by which scripts are created, the focus of Chapter IV, would be of little interest to Doris. Her primary concern is the final product.

The final product appears to be more than a result of work which could be considered directly related to soap opera writing. Doing crossword puzzles, reviewing the arts and discussing Joan's social life may be seen as more than peripheral to soap opera writing activity. The shift back and forth from work to play is so subtly performed as to suggest their inseparability. Writing and editing outlines, preparing for lunch, making charts and buying stuffed puppy dogs all intertwine to create a mood of purpose, a genre of soap opera writing. Outlines evolve within the context of this genre, scripts emerge from the outlines.
CHAPTER IV
RULES GOVERNING OUTLINE-SCRIPT
TRANSFORMATIONS

Introduction

The thrust of this chapter concerns the transformational relationship between daily outlines and their corresponding scripts. In other words, the question "How were outlines transformed into scripts?" was the issue. The basis for this analysis was six daily outlines (each produced by the same individual) and six scripts (produced by four script writers).

How scripters use and transform outlines into full length episodes will be described and explicated with the use of rules. Crucial to this notion of generating transformational rules is the existence of what may be deemed implicit consistencies. These consistencies may be viewed as subtle patterns which emerge as inherent and inescapable ingredients of each outline script transformation. Four content oriented transformational rules are presented in this chapter. Content oriented transformational rules are those implicit rules governing the adaption of story related events from outline to scripts.
Content rules may best be understood when presented within the context of form restraints. The notion of form restraint refers to limitations placed upon script writers. Scripts were created by different writers who in all probability possess individual differences in regard to their work. It was important to standardize some of these differences to facilitate easy interpretation for those who would eventually read their work. Regardless of the writer, upon receiving a script the headwriter, producer, and actors expect to find a certain format. If a writer should stray from the given format, the reader might be forced to reorientate him/herself -- a potentially time wasting procedure.

Format and time are related in another respect. A standardized format helps a writer stay within time limits placed on "One Life to Live" by the network. It is essential in relation to prior shows, subsequent shows and commercial time that a program run on schedule.

For these reasons it was important to precede transformational rules with form rules. It may be argued an outline-script transformation can only take place within the confines of a structured framework. Although the form which a script must take is to a great extent structured, there is usually room for some innovation. Rules associated with script form (as well as those rules associated with the
transforming content from outline to script) may be adhered to in varied ways. Below are three primary form-oriented rules which may be viewed as representative of structure constraints placed upon the script writers' adaptation of outline suggestions in regard to content.

Form Oriented Rules Associated With a Script

FORM RULE #1 - Each script and format must consist of a prologue and four acts.

Discussion:

Although restricted to a prologue and four acts, the precise number of pages in the prologue and acts may vary from script to script. The six scripts used as data in this study show the variations as illustrated in Table 3.

The page variance sometimes presents a time flexibility regarding the length of each portion. Most variation occurs in Acts II and IV. It is difficult to say precisely the amount of time each page runs, however on an average the time is approximately 30 seconds per page. What is steadfast and unalterable is the overall time allotted for the story -- 22 minutes and 30 seconds. Whereas this rule is somewhat flexible in nature, the next form rule, concerning the all-important commercial, must be strictly adhered to.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Script Number</th>
<th>Prologue</th>
<th>Act I</th>
<th>Act II</th>
<th>Act III</th>
<th>Act IV</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
FORM RULE #2 - An "Opening Title" (One Life to Live) and six commercial breaks must be written into each show.

Discussion:

Without exception each script has "Opening Title" scheduled directly subsequent to the prologue and directly prior to the first commercial. A second commercial is scheduled between Act I and II. Commercials 3 and 4 come "back to back" before Act III. Subsequent to Act III and directly prior to Act IV comes commercial 6.

It appears the script writer has no choice but to work around the commercial. So that the show does not lose audience during commercial breaks, it is essential the writer supply what may be termed mini climaxes, an event which transpires directly before a break which suggests a fourth-coming resolve. Mini-climaxes seem to be an omnipresent characteristic of "One Life to Live"'s scripts. However there seems to be no particular manner with which they are dealt. A resolution may or may not actually occur. This is dependent upon individual differences between writers and scripts. At times the show will resume, focusing on different people interacting in a different setting. In cases such as this, pre-commercial suspense is forced to linger or fade. Other times resolution occurs, as expected, directly subsequent to the break.
FORM RULE #3 - A writer must include no more than 5 sets, i.e. given locations, per show.

Discussion

Although there are 10 standard sets available in all, the number of sets available to a script writer for a given show is usually less than 5. An outline might allow for the use of only 3 or 4 sets. Because of predetermined set restriction, it is necessary for the script writer to force character interaction to occur within specific environs. Whereas the outliner has the luxury of having a story line and setting simultaneously evolve, the script writer must create dialogue with a pre-established setting.

Rules of sets, commercials and format seem to be consistent. Each of these form rules constitute restrictions to which a script writer should adhere when transforming an outline into a script. Hopefully, the above explanation of form rules which seem to govern the writing of scripts for "One Life to Live" will make the following content transformational rules more meaningful. Rules governing content transformation seem to be implicit -- hidden in outline-script combinations. In order to explicate these rules, it is necessary to do as Hawes (Chapter I) suggests: treat the writing which constitutes various outline-script content rules as primary data.
Each content transformational rule statement will be followed by discussion based upon illustrations extracted from outline-script combinations 1993-1998. Illustrations most appropriate to the rule and subsequently discussed are underscored. In order to maintain a semblance of context, at times more than just the bare essential word, phrase or sentence will be utilized. Also offered in the interest of context is a list of characters in "One Life to Live" and their relationships to one another. (See Appendix C)

The content-oreinted transformational rules which emerged from the data included reference to (1) outline-affective statements suggestive of mood; (2) outline-dialogue statements suggestive of talk; (3) outline-directorial statements suggestive of visual and/or staging elements of a program and (4) outline-reiteration statements suggestive of recalling past episodic events.

**CONTENT RULE #1 - The essence of effect or mood statements presented in an outline should be repeated in a corresponding script.**

Effect or mood statements are discussed here as those outline references which recommend to script writers, and hence actors, the acting-out of certain attitudes. These statements are concerned with feelings which would be presented to an audience through facial expression, intonation or movement as opposed to dialogue.
Script writers adhere quite religiously to mood and spirit associated with a particular character interaction as dictated by a corresponding outline. Evidenced in the following Rule #1 illustrations 1993, 1995, 1996, 1997 and 1998 were words (or derivatives of words) and/or phrases used in outlines to excentuate a particular feeling and repeated in the corresponding scripts. However, scriptwriters usually make minor changes in words, sentences or phrases associated with the "affective" as dictated by an outline. Illustrations 1993 and 1996, as representative of minor changes from outline to script, will be discussed first. Illustrations 1995, 1997 and 1998, as representative of very minor changes from outline to script, will be discussed in conjunction with one another. Finally, illustration 1994, as illustrative of a more major change from outline to script will be discussed.

Outline 1993 - Cathy sits with her coffee and sees the ad. Carla assumes she's going to the opening, Cathy has to admit she isn't. She and Tony still aren't seeing each other. Carla senses her ambivalence about it.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Outline 1993</th>
<th>SCRIPT 1993</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cathy: It should be a gala event.</td>
<td>Cathy: I'm afraid not. Tony and I are still . . . uh, unreconciled.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carla: You're coming aren't you?</td>
<td>Carla: Oh. That's too bad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carla senses her ambivalence about it.</td>
<td>Cathy: In a way yes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Carla: (Sensing Cathy's ambivalence) Why don't you come anyway? He'd like it if you were there, and you'd like to be there, wouldn't you?

Cathy: I don't know.

Carla: Sure you do. Get yourself a date and come with us. What do you say?

In outline-illustration 1993, "Carla sensing her ambivalence" is scripted into one of Carla's lines; it is not necessary to repeat Carla's name. In the script, emphasis is placed on responding to an individual responsible for a particular utterance or set of utterances. It is emphatically Cathy to whom Carla is responding. For this reason the pronoun her in the outline illustration is replaced by the name of the interact -- Cathy. In regard to this same illustration, the script drops "about it" because "it," i.e. going to the opening of Tony's Club and Tony in general, about which Cathy is "ambivalent," is thoroughly explicated in previous dialogue. The "it," referring back to that which had been already explicated, would be superfluous.

OUTLINE 1996
Jenny is, at this point, completely guileless about Peter. She's glad

SCRIPT 1996
Cathy: [to Jenny] Oh, hello. Peter just called. He wanted to talk to
annoyance" is merely placed within the context of specific dialogue. In illustration 1998, the script makes relatively insignificant word changes. For example, "embrace" was changed to "hold" to depict the platonic as opposed to romantic relationship between Larry and Jenny.

### OUTLINE 1994

Cathy sees him [Tony] watching them [she and Peter] and asks him to come over. He goes to her and Cathy praises everything about the place, including the goodlooking waitresses. (But Tony notices a certain bitchiness in her tone.)

### SCRIPT 1994

Tony: Glad you're enjoying yourself.

Cathy: Oh I am -- and I just think it's great, the way you've been able to create a contemporary sophisticated place like this -- (one of the scantily clad waitresses passing near catches her eye) -- even the waitresses are so lovely --

Tony: All right, I get the message.

Cathy: (Mocking, enjoying getting under his skin) No message, Tony. Can't you accept a straight compliment?

Outline-script combination 1994 demonstrates transformation of an affective phrase in a manner somewhat different and more elaborate than those exhibited in the other five illustrations. In this illustration the outline called for Tony to notice "a certain bitchiness in Cathy's tone."
OUTLINE 1997
Victor says he isn't surprised. For years this house was without a mistress -- and Victor more or less let Chapin [the butler] rule the roost. Now Dorian has taken charge and Chapin's nose is slightly out of joint. Victor then gets a little annoyed and says he won't have Chapin complaining to Vicki.

SCRIPT 1997
Vicki: It's about Chapin.
Victor: What about him?
Vicki: He's unhappy.
Victor: Oh, Vicki, Chapin is getting old and cranky. That's his trouble.
Vicki: Do you think it's just that?
Victor: Of course it is.
Vicki: He seems so . . . upset.
Victor: (The whole subject annoys him) . . .

OUTLINE 1998
Jenny breaks down, knowing he [Larry] is right. She is angry (about her husband's untimely death) because it isn't fair or right.

As Larry embraces her and comforts her . . .

Jenny: (looks at him, then folds into his arms as:) Yes Larry. I am angry. (He holds her gently, comforting her . . .)

Very minor alterations occurred in most affective statement transformations. In 1995, the outline asks that Dorian come to Victor "rather seductively." Script interpretation has Dorian being "quite seductive." Illustration 1997 depicts a simple and often-used script adaptation. "Victor's
that he and Cathy went out. Obviously there is no jealousy of any kind.

you. (In the ensuing conversation Jenny is totally ingenuous about Peter and feels no jealousy with respect to Cathy going out with Peter.)

Outline-script illustration 1996 depicts a minor change transformation situation where rather than dropping words present in the outline, words are added. Script illustration 1996 puts Jenny's lack of jealousy into a conversational context. It prepares the reader for that which has not yet been explicated through dialogue but will subsequently unfold. For this reason the somewhat more vague outline version "Obviously there is no jealousy of any kind" is changed to "no jealousy with respect to Cathy going out with Peter."

OUTLINE 1995

She comes to him [Victor] rather seductively and tells him she knows he's anxious to hear from Tony.

SCRIPT 1995

Dorian: (Coming over to him [Victor] as he is seated on the couch. She is being quite seductive.) I know you're anxious to hear from Tony, but may I remind you that you made the first conciliatory move by going to the club last night. Now it is Tony's turn to come to you.
Rather than directly repeating the outline's demand for bitchiness in Cathy's tone, the script describes those attributes which may constitute 'bitchiness.' "Mocking, enjoying getting under his skin" has been substituted for "bitchiness." This illustration may be seen to be representative of a 'major' substitution. However, major substitutions which alter moods or feelings as dictated by an outline, seldom occur.

In each of these illustrations only a slight change may be seen from outline to script. This change is primarily based upon a necessity to incorporate the mood word or phrase into a specific interaction. An outline writer does not have this responsibility. Outline statements suggesting mood and feeling are created independent of and prior to the writing of specific dialogue through which the mood is to be established.

A primary responsibility of the outline is to describe the moods which are to be set. These mood statements, which are usually placed parenthetically in the scripts, are intended as direction to actors regarding the interpretation of related dialogue. These directions are parenthesis-free in the outline.

In a script it is the dialogue which is the focus of concern -- that which must make sense. However, affective statements make an essential contribution to the sensibility of dialogue. It may be argued that affective statements
are as important as dialogue in relation to the existence of scripts and hence soap operas. In a soap opera, action exists through the affective combined with dialogue. Statements of mood and movement are conceived with the intention of enhancing the impact of dialogue, just as dialogue is conceived with the intention of enhancing the impact of a particular mood or feeling. Outlines and scripts mostly supply a dialogical and affective perspective. Dialogical and affective dimensions seem to be of equal import.

CONTENT RULE #2 - The essence of dialogue statements presented in an outline should be repeated in a corresponding script.

Dialogue statements are discussed here as those outline references which recommend to a script writer, hence the actors, enactment of certain dialogue. The script writer need not repeat an outline dialogue statement verbatim in script. Instead, outline dialogue statement should be rephrased and then incorporated into the script. Four kinds of dialogue statement transformations emerge from the data; (1) keyword; (2) compacting; (3) parallel and (4) partial. Each of these will be treated in order.

A keyword transformation as presented below in illustrations 1993 and 1997 takes place when a script writer defines
and refines one particular dialogue word offered in the corresponding outline.

Illustrations

OUTLINE 1993

Cathy tells Carla she's practically becoming a spinster -- she wouldn't even know where to start finding an escort at this point in her life.

SCRIPT 1993

Cathy: Get myself a date. That sounds funny, somehow.
Carla: Why?
Cathy: I haven't thought of myself as "dating" for so long it's like something from another era.
Carla: It's when a boy and girl go out together.
Cathy: Oh yes -- I remember. And they kiss good night at the door.
Carla: You do go back a long way.
Cathy: You know I have been out of circulation. I wouldn't know where to begin if I had to come up with a, what did you call it? -- a "date" for tonight.

OUTLINE 1997

We want to get into something we haven't really played since Dorian married -- the fact that she has a certain amount of

SCRIPT 1997

Peter: [Who, thanks to Dorian, has just received license to practice medicine in the U.S.] Now what can I do for you? I
discontentment with her life.

would think you have everything in this world anyone could ask for.

Dorian: Do you think anyone ever has everything they want?

Peter: No . . . perhaps not . . .

Dorian: For one thing I miss my work.

Peter: Oh yes. I can understand that.

Dorian: Victor needs me. He's not well . . .

Peter: I'm sorry. I didn't realize that.

Dorian: His heart isn't what it should be. I have to watch him and make sure he takes care of himself.

Peter: Of course.

Dorian: I'm not complaining. Victor is a wonderful husband and he's been extremely good to me.

The "keyword" upon which outline-script transformation 1993 was based on is "spinster." "Spinster" was replaced by dialogue which creates a spinster-like characterization without ever using the actual word. For Cathy, dating is "like something from another era," that which has passed and might at best be only remembered. Without mentioning "spinster," (a word which might be offensive to portions of
the program's viewers) the dialogue captures its essence. Though the mood is obviously frivolous, a sense of time passing Cathy by is accomplished. To a spinster, getting a date would "sound funny." A spinster would perceive dating as something she did in another era, at a time when boys and girls went out together and kissed goodnight at the door. Like Cathy, spinsters are by definition "out of circulation." "Spinster" is the key word which was excluded from the script and replaced by a subtle, implicit definition. Instead of using the word spinster in the dialogue, the script writer implicitly asks and answers the question "What does it mean to be a spinster?"

Another example of key word transformation may be seen in illustration 1997. "Discontentment" was not used in the script. It is a word which could be seen as too revealing. The audience must be led to notice Dorian's discontentment not by being told outright. Instead, the audience must work at understanding Dorian's discontentment; stay involved and make their own deductions. Asking the question "What does discontentment mean to Dorian?" and then answering through dialogue allows the writer to lead an audience to the obvious.

Dorian's "discontentment" becomes apparent with her response to Peter's "I would think you have everything you want." If she were content there would have been no reason to question Peter's statement. Dorian's line "Do you think anyone ever has everything they want?" questions
the whole notion of "contentment." Once the notion has been questioned in general, the specific or for instance follows naturally. Dorian starts to list those activities which are integrally associated with having everything she wants. "For one thing I miss my work" marks one specific area of discontentment. Victor's being "not well" and needy marks another. Just as "spinster" was characterized, almost defined in illustration 1993, discontentment is the key word associated with the illustration extracted from 1997's outline-script transformation.

A "compacting" transformation, as evidenced below in illustration 1994, incorporated outline data into a script by compacting. A compacting transformation occurs when an outline reference is shortened or summarized and then incorporated into a script.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OUTLINE 1994</th>
<th>SCRIPT 1994</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>She [Dorian] finally admits that she seems to be getting one of her headaches (the noise, etc.) but she's sure it will go away. Victor is not to worry.</td>
<td>Victor: (Turning to Dorian, seeing her frowning) Are you all right, my dear?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In their moment alone, Victor has to stress how right he was to come here [Tony's place]. Tony is being more friendly, more open than ever before. Victor really has hopes of making a break-through.</td>
<td>Dorian: (Putting on an unconvincing little smile) I'm fine, Victor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Victor: No, you're not -- what's the matter?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dorian: I seem to be getting one of my headaches -- I'm sure it'll be all right.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Victor: Would you rather go home?

Dorian: No --! I wouldn't want to spoil your evening --

Victor: It has been a success so far, hasn't it?

Dorian: Yes and I'm so happy for you.

That which is written in script-illustration 1994 is shortened, summarized version of the corresponding outline reference. In the script, Victor stressed "how right he was to come," how "Tony is being more friendly, more open than ever before," by simply saying "It has been a success so far hasn't it?" It is as though the line underscoring "has" is intended to index for the audience all which was suggested in the outline.

Outline-script transformations which are "parallel" in nature as illustrated below in 1995 and 1996 are those script adaptations which use words or phrases synonymous with corresponding outline words or phrases.

**OUTLINE 1995**

Wanda is still there with Tony who is looking rather disgruntled. It rather irks him that, having decided to mend his fences, the old man wasn't there (when he called). Wanda shrugs and says the only thing to do is keep trying -- or maybe even

**SCRIPT 1995**

Wanda: So why aren't you happy?

Tony: Okay, you wanna know? I'll tell you.

Wanta: I'm listening.

Tony: It just bugs me that having invited my
try another fence
[referring to making up with his old girlfriend Cathy].

father here, because I want to be . . . friends with him . . . because I really want to try to reconcile us, the old man turned his back on me. Okay?

Wanda: No.

Tony: What no?

Wanda: He didn't turn his back on you. He did come, which means he wants to make up with you.

Tony: What else do you want me to do? Lie down and kiss his feet?

Wanda: How about finding another way, that's all. Talk to him. Find out from his own mouth why he left [the club early opening night]. That's all.

OUTLINE 1996

Dorian tells Tony she doesn't understand why he's there. Tony replies that he's concerned about his father's health. Dorian tells him rather caustically that his concern is very new.

SCRIPT 1996

Tony: But if he is feeling under the weather I thought I'd stop in and see how he's doing.

Dorian: (With great surprise) You what? You know, if you were that interested in your father you'd have spent a little more time at our table last night.
Outline illustration 1995 shows Tony "irked" at the fact "the old man wasn't there." In the script counterpart, Tony is "bugged." "Mend fences" is the outline's metaphorical version of "make friends, reconcile." Metaphors such as "mend fences" are replaced by other metaphors or concrete statements.* Instances of "parallel transformation show scripts using words synonymous to those used in a corresponding outline. The choosing of a substitute word is based upon a script writer's personal preference.

In illustration 1996 another parallel transformation may be seen. The outline suggested "Tony replies that he's concerned about his father's health. Dorian's "caustic reply" referring to Tony's "new concern" as suggested by the outline, is accomplished by Dorian explaining Tony was not even concerned about his father the night before.

A partial transformation as evidenced in illustration 1998 occurs when words or phrases which seem important to the outline are left out of a corresponding script.

* In the outline it is suggested that Wanda make a statement concerning Tony "trying another fence" referring to a reconciliation with an old girlfriend. This was either misinterpreted by the script writer or intentionally excluded. For in the script Wanda asks Tony to "find another way," which could be viewed as parallel to the outline's "mend another fence." Whereas the fence metaphor refers to making up with an old girlfriend "find another way" refers to another means by which Tony may gain information concerning Victor's feelings about him.
OUTLINE 1998

Brian [having awakened from a horrifying nightmare about his dead father] begins to talk bitterly about him. He tells his mother [Pat] if Paul [his father] really loved him, he wouldn't have left them and gone underground. He would have stayed with them. Pat tries to convey to Brian that Paul loved him very much. But he had another commitment that had nothing to do with them.

SCRIPT 1998

Brian: Why'd he have to go, Mom? If he'd stayed with us everything would have been okay --

Pat: Sweetheart, he had to go -- it was something he believed in very much. You'll understand when you get older -- there are times when people do things because they believe in an idea --

Brian: Even if they get killed?

Pat: Your father didn't know that would happen, but -- Yes, sometimes even when they know that.

Brian: But that's dumb -- why?

A partial transformation, as illustrated in 1998, is relatively uncommon, for script writers generally are adept at including that which the outline specified as necessary. However, illustration 1998 depicts a transference situation where words and phrases which seemed important to the outline were omitted from the script. For example, the outline calls for Brian to tell his mother "if Paul really loved him, he wouldn't have left them and gone underground." Pat is supposed to convey to Brian Paul loved him very much. Although the idea of love is central to the theme of this
interaction, the word love or even the idea of Paul loving Brian was excluded from the script. Instead what is dwelt upon is "Paul did what he had to do." Rather than having Pat emphasize Paul's love for Brian, the script writer has Pat more or less defending Paul's actions.

The notion of partial transformation along with key word, compacting and parallel transformations seem to be implicit in the above illustrations. It is possible individual writers use each kind of transformation differently. A particular writer being prone to use one kind of transformation as opposed to the others is an area of investigation outside the scope of this study.

CONTENT RULE #3 - A script writer should elaborate and refine outline references to visual and/or staging elements of a program.

The process of elaboration and refinement may be seen as written direction. Visual elements as discussed here refer to camera angles or shots. Staging may be viewed in relation to props and scenery utilized in a given production. These elements as dictated by the writer are important to the overall program presentation.

Illustration 1993 represents written direction related to visual, scenic and staging elements. Illustration 1994 represents visual elaboration. Illustration 1996 represents
camera direction by script writer. Illustrations 1995, 1997 and 1998 are each exemplary of staging elaboration. These illustrations will be discussed in order.

Illustrations

OUTLINE 1993

We're going to a new day.
We open on Carla in the cafeteria reading the Banner. It is 8:35 AM.
Carla sees the opening night ad for Tony Lord's Place.

SCRIPT 1993

(A new day, 8:35 AM. in the hospital cafeteria.) Carla comes to a table with her tray of coffee and, sits and opens the Banner to read the morning news. She sees an ad announcing the opening of Tony Lord's Restaurant.
Cut to a close up of the ad.
Let's request the art department to give it some design, perhaps with an illustration rather than just type and, it says:

GRAND OPENING! TONIGHT

TONY LORD'S PLACE

A NEW RESTAURANT

WITH

GOOD FOOD

GOOD ENTERTAINMENT

Visually, the script writer has elaborated upon "seeing the open night ad for Tony's place." While the outline simply suggests that Carla should see Tony's ad, the corresponding script gives direction related to camera shot ("cut to a close up") and graphics ("give it some design"). Since
the outline dictates that Carla view the opening night ad for Tony Lord's place while alone, it is necessary for the audience to see the ad in order to understand the attention given to the newspaper. (If someone were present it would be possible for Carla to speak about that which she was reading). For the audience to make sense of the ad, it must be written. This responsibility falls to the script writer. It is his/her job to produce an ad in a manner which captures the audience's attention and hence serves the show's best interest.

Scenic elaboration may be discussed in relation to props and scenery which were scripted yet not mentioned in the outline. The outline shows Carla "reading the Banner." It makes no specific suggestion as to circumstances surrounding this activity. A hospital cafeteria is depicted at "the general setting," but the outline leaves it to the script writer as to precisely where in the hospital cafeteria the newspaper reading activity takes place. That Carla should arrive at a table carrying a tray bearing coffee, is the script writer's innovation. In this instance scenery and props are at the writer's disposal primarily because these particular artifacts come standard with the often used hospital cafeteria set.

Certain staging along with specific props and scenery comes standard with the hospital cafeteria set. Approaching
a cafeteria table and sitting at it, is often used staging to facilitate the meeting of characters and subsequent conversation. The movement is pat and acceptable. It is a ploy with which the director is familiar, a rather traditional and acceptable script writer direction.

OUTLINE 1994

We cut to Tony standing at the other end of the bar watching them. The Cathy/Peter conversation seems a bit too intimate. In other words he realizes he is jealous.

SCRIPT 1994

(Cut or pan to the other end of the bar, Tony standing there watching them. And from this perspective, their heads are close together, they seem to be enjoying each other's company more intimately than is actually the case. He is standing thus, watching them, frowning, when:)

The above illustration expresses an interest in presenting Tony as jealous within the context of his watching a conversation between Cathy and Peter. According to the outline, this presentation is to be accomplished by (1) a shot of Peter and Cathy talking to each other than; (2) a cut to Tony watching them. The script elaborates on this visual representation. First, the script gives a direction to either cut (a quick switch from camera to camera) or pan (moving a camera in a sweeping motion). Though the script writer did not insist on one or the other, a decision to include the possibility of a pan as opposed to a cut is of visual import. While the outline is primarily concerned
with the audience recognizing Tony's jealousy, a script writer is concerned with refining the method by which his jealousy is visually portrayed. As indicated by the script's reference to perspective, script writing must include a talent for direction relative to visualization and camera angle.

**OUTLINE 1996**

Dorian [attempting to get Victor upstairs for a nap] finally prevails by telling him that if Tony does come over she'll certainly let him know. With this we cut to the corridor as she takes him upstairs. They are no sooner up the stairs and out of sight when the doorbell rings.

**SCRIPT 1996**

Victor: I assume it's all right if I read a little.

Dorian: As long as it isn't a financial report. (They disappear into the hallway and up the stairs. Hold on the empty hallway for a moment or two. Then the door chimes ring).

Outline 1996 suggests a "cut to the corridor as she takes him upstairs." Its script counterpart directs the camera to "hold on the empty hallway for a moment or two" before allowing the doorbell to ring. While the script directs "a hold," then the doorbell, the outline called for no hold. According to the outline "doorbell rings" immediately upon Dorian and Victor's disappearance up the stairs.

The script writer's adaptation of suggestions made by its corresponding outline may or may not include explicit reference to camera movement. However the eventual visual
composition decided upon by the director is strongly affected by staging dictated by the script writer.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OUTLINE 1995</th>
<th>SCRIPT 1995</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tony becomes agitated when he hears who is calling and after Wanda goes to the coat room to check on the scarf [Cathy was calling about a scarf she thought was left at Tony's club last evening], he picks up the phone.</td>
<td>Wanda: Cathy thinks she might have left her scarf here last night ... I'll be right back ... (She exits out. Tony stares at the phone debating whether or not to pick it up. He succumbs.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Outline 1995 suggests Tony should "pick up the phone." If this were enacted as is, the suspense generated by cutting to the phone and back again to Tony would be precluded.

A single shot including Tony speaking on the phone would be called for. The script elaboration on outline staging allows for, even demands, the employment of provocative visualization techniques. In the script presentation, the phone (as an object), as opposed to the unseen caller is a temptress, a femme fatale. In the script he "succumbs." The outline has him "picking up the phone." "Succumbing" lends itself to visual interpretation far outreaching that of "picking up the phone."
Peter is positive that the elderly doctor who operates the clinic would be delighted [to have Dorian work there]. But end the scene so there's no doubt in the audience's mind that one of Dorian's big interests in working at the clinic is Peter himself —

Illustration 1997 shows a staging elaboration specifically called for by the outline. Dorian's interest in Peter is to be made clear in the script. The staging and scenery used to do so, again, as in 1995 will strangely influence eventual visual composition. Dorian picking up her glass for a toast while smiling sexily presents possibilities for visualization which were not suggested in the outline. By allowing the script writer to make certain "there's no doubt in the audience's mind that one of Dorian's big interests in working at the clinic is Peter," the outline is giving the script writer implicit permission to stage as desired. The script writer's decision in relation to a staging are directly related to production decisions concerning camera use and visualization.

As Pat hugs Brian to her we go in on her face. She has a very brief visual recall of the scene in which Tony [Brian's

Brian: What's the matter, mom?
Pat: (Shaking herself out of it). It's all
real father] talked of how different his life would have been if he had a child. The recall ends with Brian aware that she is thinking of something else. He asks her what it is and, looking down at him, Pat tells him she was just thinking of his father. She embraces him and as tears come to her eyes we go to black.

right sweetheart. I was just thinking — about your father. (Hugs him close to her again, then breaking the eye contact so that from her face, reflecting the intensity of her inner conflict:)

Script illustration 1998 refines the "hug" staging as suggested in the outline. In the outline, the scene ends with; "She embraces him and as tears come to her eyes . . .". This visualization could be accomplished with Pat as primary focus of attention. The script counterpart is more descriptive, thus lending itself to a more complex visual interpretation. "Breaking eye contact" suggests a visualization concerning both Pat and Brian. Although outline and script end the scene "on Pat," the script contains staging i.e. breaking eye contact which, at least temporarily has two characters as center of attraction. As a result, potential visual complexity is altered from outline to script. The script writer's staging conceptualizations will have a major influence upon visualization decisions made by the director at the production level.

Those who write scripts for "One Life to Live" seem to have an ability to stage and visualize. In transforming outlines into scripts a talent beyond an ability to create
dialogue is necessary. It appears each script writer recognizes an implicit potential within each outline. A potential show might only be taped once an outline's affective, dialogical and visual attributes are properly outlined.

**CONTENT RULE #4 - A script writer should reiterate plot whenever possible.**

Illustrations will be provided in relation to reiterating "recent past" and "long past" events.* Script reiteration of occurrences often result from explicit outline direction.

Script illustrations 1993 and 1995 represent dialogue in which both recent past and long past reiteration is accomplished. Illustrations 1994 and 1996 represent a transformation wherein a script needs an outline's direction to recap long past events. Illustrations 1997 and 1998 represent instances in which special audio and/or visual effects are utilized by a script writer to brief the audience on recent past events. With the exception of outline-script combinations 1997 and 1998 which will be presented in conjunction with one another, each of the mentioned illustrations will be presented followed by discussion.

*"Recent past" events refers to those events which transpired within a two week period (ten programs) prior to the illustration under consideration. "Long past" events are those which transpired more than two weeks prior.
Left alone with Peter, Cathy begins asking about his life here -- is he enjoying himself, etc. Peter tells her it's not an easy time for him -- all work no play. So many sad things have happened. Cathy nods and says they have been for her too.

Cathy: Well, how are you doing these days?

Peter: I would be taking great pleasure in everything if it weren't for what has happened.

Cathy: Yes

Peter: Timmy was a fine person. I admired him very much. And Jenny . . . We all die, but death can seem so unfair at times . . . for the living.

Cathy: Yes, it can be. (THINKING OF MEGAN. HE READS IT.)

Peter: I am so sorry. I forgot.

In the 1993, the outline by placing an inexactitude in a past tense context, induces the script writer into a kind of fill in the blank exercise. To be more specific, the sentence "So many sad things have happened" possesses the inexactitude "So many" in conjunction with the past tense oriented "has happened." Since it is the script writer's responsibility to incorporate outline statements into the dialogüé (See rule #2), the inexact and vague "So many" would be viewed (by the script writer) in relation to "have happened" and included in the script. A seemingly natural
way to expand upon "So many things have happened" is to discuss those things.

One sad occurrence is reiterated when Peter mentions Timmy's death. Since Cathy has also experienced a tragic loss, the script writer seizes the opportunity to remind the audience of another sad occurrence. Cathy's loss goes back a long way and would be remembered only by those who have followed the story for an extended period of time (six months). As events become more and more in the past and unrelated to future occurrences, references to these events seem to become commensurately subtle. For instance, Cathy's "Yes it can be," referring to the death of her daughter Megan, is to be silently understood by Peter, as opposed to mentioned aloud. The implication is there for those audience members who may remember.

### OUTLINE 1995

She [Jenny] would like to return to her work in the hospital, but she knows all of her recent memories of Tim would make that a difficult thing to do. Jim can ask her here if she's thinking -- or has thought -- of returning to the order.

### SCRIPT 1995

Jenny: Going back to Landview Hospital will be very difficult . . . It's so filled with memories of Tim.

Jim: Jenny? I want to ask you something.

Jenny: Yes?

Jim: Have you given any thought at all to returning to the order? Of becoming a nun again?
Outline 1995 is more explicit about its desire to have dialogue which reiterates both recent past and long past events. As opposed to outline 1993's unspecific reference to past events, 1995 is quite explicit. First, it is made clear "memories of Tim" would make returning to work difficult. The outline is explicit in that it mentions Tim as the "object of memories". Specific memories are not left to the script writer's discretion. It is Tim whom Jenny is remembering. This rememberance constitutes for the audience a reiteration of the circumstances of Tim's death or at least that Tim had indeed died.

Jenny and Jim's discussion involving "memories of Tim" suggests a recent past reiteration. The outline's specific mention of Jenny "returning to the order" refers to a long past occurrence. Here, as with "Tim's memory" the outline reference is specific.

By asking Jenny "if she's thinking -- or has thought -- of returning to the order", Jim has performed an important reiteration task. Through him, the script writer has succeeded in heeding the outline's call for reiteration. The old audience has been asked to remember Jenny was a nun. Newer viewers are informed possibly for the first time.

OUTLINE 1994

Tony is well aware that she [Dorian] has interrupted as he was about to

SCRIPT 1994

Victor: Good evening, Tony.

Tony: Good evening (then
greet Victor. He is rather sharp with her as he reminds her that she really has seen most of the changes before. as Tony hesitates Dorian leaps into the breach)

Dorian: Tony, I think it's just amazing what you've done with this place. If somebody had told me it was even remotely possible to make it over into a charming bar and restaurant --

Tony: You've seen it before Dorian -- What's the big deal?

Dorian: Well, not like this. I mean --

Tony: For awhile I thought she'd appointed herself foreman on the job -- She kept coming around every couple of days, as though she were checking up on things.

When long past plots and/or occurrences are resurrected, there is usually a future related motive. For example, illustration 1994 shows Tony (in Victor's presence) revealing that for a long while Dorian had been spying on him. Tony's insistence that Dorian had been "Coming around every couple of days" serves two primary purposes: (1) long past reiteration -- this interchange allows the audience to know Dorian had been "checking on things" for a long while and (2) future material -- Victor did not know his wife had been checking up on Tony. Dorian had told Victor she knew nothing of Tony's activities. Victor's reaction to
learning his wife was not telling the truth is material for future episodes.

OUTLINE 1996

Peter has come to take her [Jenny] to the free clinic. For once Jenny refuses to go. She has always been so open and willing before that Peter is shocked and upset. Peter is aware that her mental state is even worse than when he came back from San Carlos. He begs her to let him help her.

SCRIPT 1996

Peter: But if you work -- if you are occupied -- you will not have time to think of anything else.

Jenny: I am sorry.

Peter: It will be like San Carlos, where you were needed so much -- where you were able to help people who have no one else to help them. We will be working together again.

Like Script-outline 1994, 1996 depicts a transformation wherein the script writer is sensitive to an outline's reference to a long past event in the interest of future material. However here, the script writer took liberty to slightly change the precise nature of that which was to be reiterated. The outline suggested dialogue concerning Jenny's mental state when Peter returned from San Carlos. This may have led to a rehash of Peter's involvement in San Carlos (a well known and often reiterated bit of information) and/or Jenny's past mental conflicts (a dead end since Jenny was scheduled to soon stop mourning her recently demised husband). In the interest of future material the script version has Peter reiterating: "We will be working
together again". This reiteration, suggesting a past closeness between Peter and Jenny may very well act as prelude to a future closeness.

**OUTLINE 1997**

Dorian stands in the Lord's library tearing up Tony's note to Victor as Chapin sees her from the hallway.

[Contents of this note refer to a past event]

**SCRIPT 1997**

(Dorian reads Tony's note using Tony's voiceover) (V.O.)

I understand you left early last night because you weren't feeling well [...]

(Dorian stares at the note another minute and then methodically tears it up.)

**OUTLINE 1998**

[Begin Act II] It is now 11:30 PM. And Dorian is in the Lord Library. She is making herself a nightcap. We go in on her face as she remembers the last part of her scene with Peter in Act IV of 1997.

**SCRIPT 1998**

[Begin Act II] (Lord Library-later-by now almost 11:30 PM. As we push tight to her, super, then dissolve through to her recall* of the last scene in #1997, the Peter-Dorian scene which ended with Victor's entrance.

A recent past reiteration is called for and accomplished in outline - script illustration 1998. Outline 1998 specifically calls for a special effect to clearly depict a past event. Though a recent past reiteration in script illustration 1997 and that reiteration is accomplished

"Push tight i.e. moving the camera in close, super i.e. superimpose then dissolve i.e. fading from one picture into another are visual directions most often used by the script writer in relation to setting up flashbacks. See rule #3 for discussion of script writers and camera direction."
via special effect, it is done independent of any outline direction. This is an unusual occurrence in relation to both reiteration and the use of special effects.

Outline illustration 1997 says nothing about revealing the contents of a note Dorian is to "methodically" destroy. The revelation comes as a result of script writer initiative. This kind of initiative serves the interest of reiteration without dialogue. In this instance, scripting a voice over allowed a note to facilitate the reiteration of a recent event i.e. leaving Tony's club early. Generally, voice over is a technique which permits the recapping of events when a character is alone. At these times dialogue is extracted from a past episode thus informing the audience of a past occurrence which in some ways is relevant to a present situation.

The special effect utilized in illustration 1997 was a result of a script decision -- not so in the case of illustration 1998. Here, the outline's order is more explicit than the usual dialogue word or phrase elaborated upon by a script writer. In this instance the outline reads: "she remembers the last part of her scene with Peter in Act IV of 1997". Heeding the outline, the script repeats the direction incorporating an element of specificity. For example, script illustration 1998 includes the character involved in the scene which the outline had called for and the exact point at which the flashback
should end. It is left to the production staff to insert this desired portion of a past script into the present episode. Since the script will continue on from the point where the flashback leaves off, it is essential production staff and writer visualize precisely the same reiteration.

Summary

Based upon the six outline-script combinations investigated, reiteration appears to be an essential ingredient of the soap opera "One Life To Live." New viewers may often be interested in how a particular situation evolved. Sometimes viewers need to be kept up to date. Even the most fervent of fans occasionally miss a show. Reiteration of recent past and long past events helps keep each type of viewer informed and in a sense part of the viewing family.

Form rules help keep "One Life To Live's" production family running smoothly. Form rules expedite the continuing production process — outline to script to production to air. Writers are responsible for an important link in the soap opera production chain. A smooth transition from one stage to the next is necessary if pace is to be kept. Mentioned form rules suggest (1) Each script should consist of a prologue and 4 acts, (2) Commercial time must be written into each script, (3) There apparently is a limit to the number of sets which can be used in a given show. By adhering to these rules, writers strengthen the system associated with the creation of soap operas.
An important element in soap opera creation is outline-script transformation. It may be argued rules governing this activity are crucial to the existence of daytime serials. Rules explicated here were broad in scope. The existence of an effective, dialogical, visual/scenic and reiteration dimension in regard to soap operas would most likely surprise few. Hopefully intriguing however is the notion each of these dimensions are created as a result of organizing activity enacted by outline and script writers and evidenced in their writing.
Chapter V
CONCLUSION

Summary

If one word could describe the kind of study offered here it would be organizing. For this research was intended to explicate social and work oriented organizing activities associated with soap opera writing. In its own way, each chapter contributed to this goal.

Chapter I's function was two-fold. First, it provided the reader with a rationale for studying organizing activities of soap opera writers. This rationale was offered from a network and audience perspective. Second, it provided the reader with information concerning the level of organizing under investigation. Explained was that ethnographic aspects of this study would deal with general office organizing activities and ethnomethod aspects would concentrate on organizing activities specifically associated with creating scripts from outlines.

Chapter II presented the organizing of this researcher's methodology, which hopefully placed the study of soap opera writing in perspective. This chapter may be viewed as a lesson in how to break into a rather tight and secluded
organizing system — the soap opera writing organizing system. Breaking into the world of soap opera writing was far from an easy task. Chapter II described this process from the researcher's perspective.

Chapter III dealt with organizing activities which occurred in the office of "One Life to Live's" headwriter, Gordon Russell. Included in this chapter was a description of office activities directly related to the actual writing of outlines and charts (i.e., outlines of outlines). Also described were social activities which could be considered peripheral to the actual writing, but viewed as integral to the organization.

Chapter IV discussed various ways in which rules of outline-script transformations were adhered to. Also included in this chapter were form rules. Form rules are those governing the format of each script. Each content transformational rule was adhered to within the context of a set and standard script forms.

Discussion

Accomplishing outline-script transformation and everyday office activities (as illustrated in Chapters 4 and 3 respectively) may be seen as organizational phenomena. Organizing feats such as these may be easily taken for granted not only by a casual observer but by the social actors themselves. The trick of soap opera writing and its accompanying organizing activity may be somewhat unclear to even those who are the actors in the organizing process.
In the midst of arranging lunch, discussing Joan's social life, a new hit film or theatrical production, ideas continue flowing from Gordon and Sam to the script writers. Ideas presented to the three scriptwriters in outline form are interpreted in a style similar enough as to maintain a necessary character and plot consistency. In order that "One Life to Live" flourish as a continuing story based upon never ending evolution of fantastical people and places, there must be a standard associated with outline-script interpretation. In essence, it is necessary that different writers, working at different times and places, create one story; an accomplishment which on initial though appears at best confusing and at worst impossible.

Implicit in chapters 3 and 4 are organizing activities associated with writing soap operas. These activities may be viewed as problematic. The actual content of these chapters hopefully has made what might be deemed problematic, to a reasonable extent, understandable.

"An Ethnography of Soap Opera Writing," as presented in Chapter 3, was intended to describe social and work aspects of soap opera writing. That which seemed to be crucial to soap opera writing was given emphasis in Chapter 3. For the sake of clarity Chapter 3 separated social and work aspects of soap opera writing, whereas in everyday workings of the actors this distinction is muddled. Play and business are in an almost constant state of transition. At times
it becomes difficult to distinguish precisely where play stops and writing begins. What appears certain, however, is Gordon's major role in deciding when and under what kinds of circumstances the shift takes place.

Gordon is boss, though his autonomy is splendidly camouflaged in a haze of humor and charm. Gordon not only writes words he understands them. This understanding reaches far into the center of a word, transcending definition into a realm of meaning. More than users of words, Gordon and Sam are creators of contexts and situations in which certain, well chosen words flourish where synonyms might fail.

New situations and characters are periodically introduced into "One Life to Live." The same may be said for an ever changing, twisting, shifting in-house soap. Joan's new boyfriends, Sam's weekend activities and Gordon's two divorces and current romantic entanglement blur the distinction between contrived and real life episodes. Although there is no obvious similarity between the story line and characters of "One Life to Live" and the lives of its writers, the possibility of a connection should not be dismissed.

These writers must draw upon a certain kind of energy which permits them to create lines and circumstances with which a general audience might relate. It is nearly impossible to imagine the fictional people and places changing and evolving completely independent of Gordon's, Sam's and Joan's personal experiences.
Talk of Joan's boyfriends and Sam's cultural escapades may be interpreted as straddling the fence between gossip and relevance. Discussion of Gordon's crossword puzzle fixation and the ever present scratch sheet writing companion may, from a reader's perspective, mean little in regard to discovering about soap opera writing. On the other hand, writing soap operas is a job. Like any other job, all involved is not work. There are talk, laughter, lunch breaks, coffee breaks, flirting and of course an element of productivity.

Astounding however is the quality of talk, laughter, flirting breaks and productivity which Gordon and his staff achieve. There is an air of professionalism surrounding Second Footman Co. Ltd. as indefinable as it is pervasive. Gordon's and Sam's humor is skilled, exhibiting proper accents and timing. Gordon is a story teller while Sam's comedic strengths are spur of the moment. A sense of humor is a prerequisite for survival in an environment such as that in which Gordon and Sam work.

The ABC Television Network environment in which Gordon, Sam and Joan function may be seen as high pressured big business. ABC television appears to be an industry like most others. Entertainment is a product created for mass consumption. If a product (i.e., program) for one reason or another is unappealing to an audience, sponsors will not support it, hence the show fails. As a result potential industry revenue is lost. It seems reasonable those who
were directly responsible for creating a failing show would be to some extent responsible to the network for its failing.

De Fleur's social system of mass media (1975) indicated different parts of the mass media system function together. However in relation to conversations which transpire within the context of television writing, evidence of a connection between it and financial aspects of the TV industry could not be seen. Conspicuously missing in talk which transpired between Gordon and his associates was the notion of TV as big business and big money. Nothing occurred during my week's visit which was the least suggestive of high finance. There was no discussion of advertising, shares or ratings. It was as if neither the financial underpinnings of "One Life to Live" or the Network in general was of the least concern to Gordon and his staff. Since Gordon's job is contingent upon the success of "One Life to Live," as evidenced by numbers, i.e., rating points, one might suspect a preoccupation along these lines. Such a preoccupation was not apparent.

Second Footman Company Ltd. appeared to lack concern for other than just the financial aspects of the program they create. There was little mention of directors, cameramen, designers or even actors. If indeed writers are a part of an interrelated system comprising mass media, it is seldom evidenced in their everyday activities and talk. Gordon's staff of writers appear to be fairly independent. However, their independence seemingly is marked by a real concern for
the quality of the writing/aesthetic dimension of each program with which they are associated.

Writers' independence and concern with the writing/aesthetic dimension of a program may be demonstrated in regard to a producer's persistent need to up the ratings. According to Gordon, these interests may at times conflict with one another. Although writers and producers may be theoretically considered parts of the same production system each has separate and unique attributes. To form a system such as the production social system parts must necessarily interact. It may be argued studying organizing activities of the parts, i.e., writing, and producing, facilitates understanding of the workings of an entire production system.

It may also be argued a first step to understanding a system is realizing the diverse and situationally defined nature of each constituting part. The situation during March 19-26, 1976 at Second Footman Co. Ltd. evidenced soap opera writing organizing activities as related to racing scratch sheets, story telling and social life. These activities were all accomplished through talk.

The ethnomethods associated with outline-script transformation were done independent of talk. That talk may have been used to create an outline is of no matter to the script writer. For this reason Chapter 4's analysis of the transformational process which attempted to answer the question, "How are outlines transformed into scripts?", was
based solely on the written. Whereas Chapter 3 concentrated on giving an overall view (including analysis of some written work), Chapter 4 focused on a specific activity which could be most closely associated with the actual writing procedure. This activity is the process by which outlines are transformed into scripts.

Rules governing content transformation and form often possess a flexibility not unlike more commonly thought of rules and laws. For instance, one might adhere to a rule which reads, "No Smoking in This Room," by smoking in the hall, outside the building or in his/her automobile. There are many ways one might abide by a given rule.

The rules mentioned in Chapter 4 remain constant even though different script writers might obey the same rule in varied ways utilizing different techniques. It is also possible a particular script writer's method of adhering to a given rule may vary from script to script. For this study the intention was to generate broad enough rules so exceptions would not be so much a major concern as would be the different ways a particular rule is obeyed.

In other words, the focus of Chapter 4's contribution is not "what the rules of outline-script content transformation were" as much as "the manner to which these rules were adhered." Each rule dealing with transformation of content from outline to script was obeyed in varied ways.

Script statements referring to mood are accomplished by making both minor and major changes in the corresponding
Script writers transform outline dialogue statements by (1) elaborating on a particular word offered in an outline, (2) shortening an outline's statement concerning suggested dialogue, (3) creating dialogue parallel or synonymous to what the outline suggested, (4) only partially heeding an outline's suggestion for dialogue.

Transforming an outline reference to visual and/or staging elements of a program is accomplished by written direction. Soap opera writers appear to be more than creators of dialogue or mood through words. Outline reference to staging and visualization is incorporated into the script. Script writers accomplish this transformation by sometimes directing visual and staging elements of a particular scene. Other times, visual direction will occur independent of staging direction and vice versa.

The final rule of content transformation dealing with plot reiteration was adhered to by script writers making reference to long past and recent past occurrences. By mentioning circumstances which had evolved long ago or just the preceding day, script writers accomplished the important task of keeping viewers up to date.

Evaluative Criteria and Discussion

Presented in Chapter 4 is a specific, ethnomethodologic description and analysis related to how rules of outline-script transformation were obeyed. Chapter 3 consisted primarily of an overall ethnographic description of
organizing events which transpired during a week of soap opera writing. Findings shown in both of these chapters are primarily subjective in nature. For this reason evaluation becomes problematic.

To facilitate evaluation ten general criteria by which qualitative research might be evaluated are offered below. Each criterion and subsequent discussion will be placed in one of the following general areas of evaluative concern: (1) observation, (2) data constitution, (3) knowledge claims.

**Observation Criteria**

1. The focus of a participant observation study should be properly delimited. Number of subjects under observation and the physical area in which subjects function should be taken into consideration when determining the scope of a given study.

**Discussion**

Soap opera writing is a multidimensional activity enacted by different people in different ways at different times. To assume I could instinctively, without flaw, know which person to pay closest attention to at a particular time would be presumptive. While it is safe to assume most nuances were captured some were probably missed. Though the office in which I was observing is small, facilitating the potential for an overview it was a struggle to be everywhere at once. There was much information to be recorded in a short amount of time.
2. It is important for an observer to remain somewhat disassociated or strange to an observed situation. Seeking particular occurrences as data might be suggestive of an overfamiliarity.

Discussion

Seeking data did not occur in terms of questions asked of the subjects. Instead, centering in on occurrences resulted from a natural sense of familiarity. Certain events simply seemed important. Centering in on an activity which appeared crucial to me, as an observer, might well have made other activities, subtly important to the writing of soap operas, only peripherally visible. Some issues dealt with in Chapter 3 were occurrences which I considered to be important to soap opera writing and in a general sense office organization. I am confident most of these occurrences were indeed crucial. Debatable is whether the observed would perceive all of the activities mentioned in Chapter 3 as activities constituting integral elements of office organization and soap opera writing.

3. Amount of time spent observing activities under investigation seems to be an important consideration in evaluating the claims of a participant observation study. It is important the observer spends as much time as possible with the observed.
Discussion
The pressure of realizing all must be accomplished in essentially six days (the first Friday was designated for set up) trapped me into a situation wherein time was of the essence. A necessity to seek out information would probably have diminished in proportion to the amount of time available for observation. The longer I had to investigate activities associated with soap opera writing, the less need there would be for forcing an issue.

4. In any participant observation study obtrusiveness should by minimized.

Discussion
In collecting data, extra long tapes with an hour on each side were chosen to limit the number of potentially distracting flips. This reasoning proved sound in relation to my in-office data gathering activities. For if a tape was not immediately flipped upon termination Gordon would indicate his distraction by mumbling, "Is that thing still going?". If it were not for Gordon's occasional reminder much of what eventually was recorded may have been missed. It was probably correct to assume flipping and changing twelve tapes which ran an hour on each side would be less distracting than having to deal with 24 tapes with 30 minute sides. The logic behind two hour tapes crumbled in light of post observation period transcription.
Having had two sides of twelve tapes to transcribe for two and one half months, the secretarial service finally gave up. Charging an amount originally quoted for all twelve tapes the secretarial service transcribed six. The work was simply too time consuming. From the transcriber's point of view, voices were muffled and words indistinguishable. (To me, talk on the tapes was familiar and hence more comprehensible). It was a difficult job, a job to which the secretaries were committed until the tapes started breaking.

Two hour tapes were too thin, unable to withstand the necessary stopping, rewinding and starting. Of the six tapes which were eventually transcribed, two were returned on the brink of tearing. The tapes did tear as a result of replaying them in an attempt to make sense out of nonsensical transcriptions. Of the six untranscribed tapes, two were already ripped (obviously the straws that broke the secretaries' back). Four remained completely untouched. It was fortunate that included in the field notes were summaries of what had taken place during the playing time of each particular tape. As a result valuable data could be located on the tapes and transcribed as needed.

5. A participant observer should possess an ability to weave in and out of assimilation. In order to gain the respect and trust of the subjects, a degree of
assimilation is necessary. In order to maintain an element of objectivity times of dissasimilation are crucial.

Discussion
From the beginning, it was intended that talk which occurred in my presence outside the office would be recorded with the use of a pocket size portable cassette player. If the machine did not fail to function conversations and talk which transpired on walks to the studio (or Off Track Betting) could have been recorded.

The times when there was no field note pad or recorder on hand allowed the subjects a respite from a persistent surveillance. Without instruments of data gathering my role of observer became less pronounced. These times were conducive to temporary assimilation. A closeness was developed which carried over to our in-office relationship. A gap between observer and observed slowly began to close. The observer was no longer a stranger.

Activities under observation became more readily understandable. No longer was I a total cultural alien. Assimilating over lunch and disassimilating when it became necessary was difficult. Data gathering instruments such as field notepads and tape recording equipment acted as reminders of my observer status. Leaving them behind, even temporarily, contributed to the closing of a cultural gap.
In direct relation to the cultural gap closing phenomenon is a sense of increased familiarity; a familiarity which blurs and lessens the significance of taken for granted occurrences. From a stranger's perspective, that which is obvious to the social actors might well be problematic. To some extent my increased familiarity with the cultural scene must have facilitated a casual acceptance of events which otherwise might have called for careful explication. However, at the same time a friendly and congenial relationship developed between the observer and observed; a condition conducive to good qualitative research.

Data Constitution Criteria

6. A participant observer should make clear the kinds of occurrences and activities which could be considered as constituting data.

Discussion

In my interpretation of office activities, issues which emerged subtly and/or routinely were those considered constituting data. They were the described and analyzed phenomena. However, a difficulty arose in counting casual and common occurrences as data. In the process of reporting these activities they may become glorified out of proportion. Within context, occurrences such as lunch time dilemma, charts as history and crossword puzzle intrigue are important, but emerge without fanfare. My choosing these particular events gives them increased
importance. Aware of this possibility I attempted to keep important occurrences reported in relative proportion.

What constituted an act important to me? Transcripts of tape recordings were used as supportive data, referred to for elaboration and/or discussion of information found in field notes. Relegating transcripts from tape recordings to supportive rather than a primary data resulted from a flaw in data collection technique which will be discussed in relation to the next evaluative criterion.

7. Social occurrences seem to be reflexive in nature, i.e., simultaneously causal and consequential. A participant observation study should be sensitive to this reflexive process. Organizing activities should not be discussed as if they existed in a vacuum.

Discussion

Discussion of transformational rules fell short of dealing with the reflexive nature of the transformational procedure. Though the relationship between script and outline may be seen as simultaneously causal and consequential, analysis of each rule proceeded in only one direction. Outlines were shown as cause for scripts to be transformed in a certain fashion. The consequences of script transformation behavior on subsequent outlines was not considered for the analysis.
As a result knowledge claims concerned procedures utilized by script writers in adjusting to the outliner's dictates. These knowledge claims were made independent of considering how outliners adjust to script writers. The process of outline to script was stopped to facilitate analysis. It may be argued analysis resulting from a process arbitrarily stopped yields incomplete findings. However, it may also be argued procedures utilized by outline writers in order to adapt to script writer needs is a study in itself hence beyond the scope of this work.

Knowledge Claims Criteria

8. A participant observer should acquire a sufficient amount of appropriate data. The sample data acquires should be supportive of subsequent knowledge claims.

Discussion

The rules related to the how of outline-script transformations can be likened to the description of what occurs in an office housing soap opera writers (as offered in Chapter 3) in that they are both based on limited data. However outlines and scripts are created in what seems to be a rather standard weekly cycle. I had the opportunity to observe and gather data representative of one completed cycle. But it should be noted there is no guarantee the activities which took place during the week of March 22nd were not unique to that week. Nor is there
a guarantee six outline-script combinations is truly representative of all outline-script combinations.

9. To whatever possible extent a participant observation study should possess substantiated internal and external validity.

Discussion

Internal Validity

In regard to this study internal validity refers to the degree to which Gordon and staff found the researcher's knowledge claims related to their organizing activities valid. Many of my observations were confirmed during the data gathering period by asking questions which began "Am I correct in assuming?".

Unfortunately, some observations unquestioned during my visit remained unsubstantiated. For soon after my visit "One Life to Live" was given an additional 15 minutes per show, a time consuming reward. As a result the subjects had little time for answering questions not posed during my visit concerning the accuracy of some observations. Rules generated to explicate outline-script transformation, subsequent to the observation period, seemed to exist but could not be verified by the subjects. Confirmation of my interpretation of the ways rules were adhered to was also lacking.

This verification difficulty was at the same time insurmountable and understandable. Gaining access to soap
opera writers (or other mass communicators) and the environment in which they work is not an easy task. More complicated is the process of securing a return entry. For this reason it may have been wise to submit the original outline-script combinations along with the findings (as seen in Chapter 4) to a panel of judges for a credibility check and suggestions.

Gordon appeared not to be preoccupied with the credibility and validity of this study. During my visit with Gordon and company, Gordon explicitly suggested I mail transcripts of tape recordings and a copy of the final work to him. His concern for validity emerged only within the context of published results. Gordon asked to see the study prior to publication. Otherwise his interest in the findings appeared minimal.

**External Validity**

In regard to this study, external validity refers to the degree to which findings, as mentioned in Chapter 3 and 4, are generalizable in regard to: (1) the writing of other soap operas, (2) other times during the writing of this particular soap opera. I hesitate to recommend these findings as generalizable to other shows (though Gordon claimed the shows he had written for had been quite similar). However I do suggest findings offered in Chapters 3 and 4 are typical and generalizable occurrences in relation to writing "One Life to Live."
According to Joan the activities which took place during the course of my visit were typical. Gordon's betting, discussion of crossword puzzles, and Sam's absenteeism are ostensibly events nothing out of the ordinary. Neither was there anything extraordinary concerning primary data used in Chapter 4. Beyond the fact six outlines were produced during my week's visit instead of the usual five, nothing exceptional occurred.

10. Observer reliability is an essential ingredient of participant observation research. Reliability may be evidenced in two ways related to (1) perspicuity and (2) the offering of researcher's perspective.

Perspicuity
A participant observation study should report its findings in a rhetorically clear and understandable fashion. In this respect a qualitative study is not the least dissimilar from quantitative research.

Researcher's Perspective
A participant observation study should contain material helpful in giving the reader insight into the researcher. This aspect of the reliability criterion presents a concern not usually taken into consideration when evaluating quantitative work.

Important to understanding this participant observation study is the researcher's ability to elucidate his
perspectives and techniques in relation to his work. This hopefully was accomplished in Chapter 2 by explicating methods used to develop insights into the subjects and their activities.

To do less than allow for an explication of my involvement in studying soap opera writing might be falsely suggestive of a disassociation from the activities being observed. In studies such as this, the researcher and the social activities under investigation should to some extent evolve as one. Within the context of this mutual evolution a researcher, whether studying a mass media related organizing phenomenon or some other social organizing activity, should be capable of maintaining his/her own identity as an observer.

Implications

Writers, producers, directors, technicians and actors are all integral components of mass media's production system. Messages they create are received by millions. Whether the messages come in the form of a continuing story depicting life and times of fictional characters in fictional places, variety-interview, evening situation comedy or drama, they are an influence. These messages are seemingly important enough for people to adjust their everyday life routines into a pattern which accommodates their reception. Televised messages come at an incredible pace. Shifting
from time to time and place to place it is the content which is all consuming. There is little time to think about the makers of the message. This research has attempted to examine a mass media message at its source, exhibiting the human dimension behind electronically beamed images.

In a mass media communicative situation the source is protected, behind the scenes, anonymous. Implicit in this study is a need for humanizing electronic communication. To the greatest possible extent let the mass communicator be known. Receives of mass media messages, unlike receiveers of inter-personal messages, lack the opportunity to, in any way, understand the source. In every communication there exists a source. Though the technology of commercial TV has not yet given its viewers an opportunity for immediate feedback, there is nothing preventing researchers from gathering information concerning those anonymous individuals who effect our everyday lives. For in the final analysis it is the creator of the message (and of course the receivers) who reap benefits or suffer consequences.

Those elements which together create the message, i.e., writers, producers, directors, technicians, actors may be viewed as would a ventriloquist's dummy. If in the days of McCarthyism, Edgar Bergen's dummy, Charley, professed Communist doctrines the Committee on UnAmerican Activities would not have interviewed the puppet. Edgar Bergen would not have been out of reach of McCarthy and his colleagues. Neither (in a more benevolent sense) are creators of mass
media messages necessarily unavailable to those who wish to investigate their activity.

Pragmatically, better understanding of the mass communicator might act as a mitigating factor in relation to mass media messages and their potential to manipulate. Theoretically, a system comprised of interrelating components may best be understood once organizing activities associated with each individual component are explicated.

This study has hopefully taken a step in this direction. Those who read it will probably learn something new about mass communicators, specifically soap opera writers. There is of course much to be filled in -- a world of behind the scenes organizing activity. Here is a beginning.
APPENDIX A
ACT I

This is a direct continuation in the hospital cafeteria. Cathy tells Carla she's practically become a spinster — she wouldn't even know where to start finding an escort at this point in her life. Peter suddenly appears, tray in hand. Carla makes some comment under her breath about him before he approaches and asks if he can join them.

Carla asks Peter to sit down. We'll establish that he has not seen Cathy since the funeral and, while he has talked with Jenny on the
wants Viki to make a special effort
may be difficult enough for her, and
(The implication is that he intends to
with Tony if he can.)
and her context here should be rape with
1, greenish and looking smashing. She
took act in a nightclub scene. There are
actor and says she hopes the evening will
vive. As they embrace we go in close on

It's now 9 P.M., and the place is very busy.
evry table is full. There are waitresses
bust. Tony is moving from table to
tablely he looks up and sees a ravishing
native to Kathy Peter. On his reaction.

Tony's facial reaction should be
have a VO — who the hell is that guy?
no? Tony crosses to Cathy and Peter with
he greets Cathy casually and says he's
it he'll find a place for her and his —
f as id and Carla appear and greet him.
sure and he instructs a waiter to seat
bar and we see he is troubled as he orders

10. Cathy is being quite friendly with
around the place approvingly. A waiter
then Tony drops by to tell them that their
The table in the dining room will be ready soon. Cathy stops talking to Peter long enough to ask Tony if he's going to sing. Tony says he may later. Then Cathy's face changes as she looks beyond him toward the entrance. Tony turns, following her gaze. He sees Viki and Jon standing there with Pat. He moves to them, greets them cordially and kisses Pat. He tells them he's holding the best table he has. He's ready to ask about Victor and Dorian when they suddenly appear. Victor holds out his hand and says they wouldn't have missed this for the world. Tony and Victor's eyes meet as we cut to Dorian, watching them, frozen faced and we go to black.
ONE LIFE TO LIVE

EPISODE #1993

TAPE DATE: THURSDAY, APRIL 8, 1976
AIR DATE: WEDNESDAY, APRIL 21, 1976

PROLOGUE: NEW DAY
HOSPITAL CAFETERIA - 8:35 A.M.

OPENING TITLE
1st COMMERCIAL

ACT I: HOSPITAL CAFETERIA
TONY'S PLACE - 10:00 A.M.

2nd COMMERCIAL

ACT II: LORD LIBRARY
CATHY'S SUITE - 7:00 P.M.

3rd COMMERCIAL

ACT III: LORD LIBRARY - 8:15 P.M.

4th COMMERCIAL

ACT IV: TONY'S PLACE

5th COMMERCIAL

ACT V: NEW DAY - 8:35 A.M. till 9:00 P.M.

6th COMMERCIAL

TIME:

CAST: CREATED BY: AGNES NIXON

VICTOR PRODUCED BY: DORIS QUINLAN
DORIAN WRITTEN BY: GORDON RUSSELL
VIKI TED DAZAN
JOE SAM HALL
TONY DON WALLACE
PAT DAVID PRESSMAN
CATHY GORDON RIGSBY

DIRECTED BY: DAVED PRESSMAN
PETER GORDON RIGSBY
CARLA

WAITRESSES

ED

BARTENDER U/S
EXTRAS
PROLOGUE

(A NEW DAY. 8:35 AM IN THE HOSPITAL CAFETERIA. CARIA COMES TO A TABLE WITH HER TRAY OF COFFEE AND, SITS AND OPENS THE BANNER TO READ THE MORNING NEWS. SHE SEES AN AD, ANNOUNCING THE OPENING OF TONY LORD'S RESTAURANT. CUT TO A CLOSE UP OF THE AD. LET'S REQUEST THE ART DEPT. TO GIVE IT SOME DESIGN, PERHAPS WITH AN ILLUSTRATION, RATHER THAN JUST A TYPE AD. IT SAYS:

GRAND OPENING! TONIGHT!

TONY LORD'S PLACE

A New Restaurant-

with

Good Food

Good Entertainment

SHE IS PLEASED TO SEE THE AD, AND AS SHE IS SMILING CATHY COMES TO THE TABLE WITH A TRAY)
CATHY

Hi,

CARLA

(SURPRISED TO SEE HER) Hi.

CATHY

Mind if I join you?

CARLA

Not at all. What are you doing here?

CATHY

I'm filling in for Anna at the bookstore. You were smiling just now. Don't tell me there's some good news in the paper.

CARLA

There certainly is. An ad for Tony's new restaurant. Opening tonight. (SHE SHOWS IT TO CATHY)

CATHY

Nice ad.

CARLA

You knew he was getting ready to open didn't you?
CATHY
Yes, of course.

CARLA
Ed and I are going --
especially since Josh had
a hand in fixing up the place.

CATHY
It should be a gala event.

CARLA
You're coming, aren't you?

CATHY
I'm afraid not. Tony and
I are still ... uh, unrecon-
ciled.

CARLA
Oh. That's too bad.

CATHY
In a way, yes.

CARLA
(SENSEING CATHY'S AMBIVALENCE)
Why don't you come, anyway?
He'd like it if you were
there, and you'd like to be
there, wouldn't you?
CATHY

I don't know.

CARIA

Sure you do. Get yourself a date and come with us. What do you say? (AND ON CATHY, THINKING IT OVER, WE GO TO BLACK)

MUSIC: BRIDGE TO:

OPENING TITLE

1st COMMERCIAL
ACT I

(DIRECT CONTINUATION WITH CARLA AND CATHY IN THE HOSPITAL CAFETERIA)

CATHY

Get myself a date. That sounds funny, somehow.

CARLA

Why?

CATHY

I haven't thought of myself as "dating" for so long it's like something from another era.

CARLA

It's when a boy and girl go out together.

CATHY

Oh yes -- I remember. And they kiss good night at the door.

CARLA

You do go back a long way.

CATHY

You know, I have been out
CATHY (Cont'd)

of circulation. I wouldn't
know where to begin if I
had to come up with a,
what did you call it?
-- a "date" for tonight.

CARLA

There must be an eligible
young man somewhere in this
town.

CATHY

I wouldn't know him if there
is. (PETER ENTERS WITH A
TRAY AT THE OTHER END OF THE
CAFETERIA)

CARLA

(SOTTO TO CATHY) Well,
look at that.

CATHY

What?

CARLA

(WAVING TO PETER) Peter.

PETER

(COMES OVER) Hello Carla.

(MORE)
PETER (Cont'd)

Cathy. (HE HASN'T SEEN CATHY SINCE THE FUNERAL)

CARIA

Would you like to join us?

PETER

I would very much, thank you. (HE SITS) How are you, Cathy?

CATHY

Fine, thank you. How have you been?

PETER

Very well, thank you. Could you tell me how Jenny is?

CATHY

She's all right. As well as could be expected, anyway.

PETER

Yes. I spoke with her on the phone, and she sounded well, but you cannot always tell how someone is really feeling from speaking on the telephone.
CATHY

She'd probably love to see you, any time you wanted to come over.

PETER

I do want to come over, but this is such a difficult time for her, I thought it would perhaps be better if I didn't intrude myself too much.

CATHY

She would never consider a visit from you as an intrusion.

PETER

Thank you, but this is more of a time for family, I think.

CATHY

No, Peter -- I don't agree. She may even find it easier to talk about Timmy with you than anyone else.

PETER

Why do you say that?
CATHY

Just a feeling I get. And I think she would like to talk about Timmy. (FROM HER OWN INTUITION, AND HER OWN FEELINGS AFTER MEGAN DIED)

PETER

I will call her, then. And ask if I may come to see her.

CATHY

Good.

CARIA

Ooops, I've got to get to work. (GETTING UP TO GO.) Don't forget about tonight, Cathy. There's really no reason not to come. (HEAVY WITH MEANING) Nice seeing you, Peter.

PETER

Thank you. (CARIA GOES)

CATHY

Well, how are you doing these days?
PETER
I would be taking great pleasure
in everything if it weren't for
what has happened.

CATHY
Yes.

PETER
Timmy was a fine person.
I admired him very much.
And Jenny -- We all die, but
death can seem so unfair at
times -- for the living.

CATHY
Yes, it can be. (THINKING
OF MEGAN. HE READS IT)

PETER
I am so sorry. I forgot.

CATHY
That's all right. Did you
know what Carla meant when she
spoke about tonight?

PETER
No, I did not.

CATHY
Tony Lord is opening his new
...
PETER
Oh yes. I never met him, but I heard about his restaurant. It is close to the Llanfair estate, is it not?

CATHY
Very close. How would you like to go to the opening with me?

PETER
(TAKEN ABACK BY HER "BOLDNESS")
I beg your pardon.

CATHY
We'll go together. You'll be my escort, and I'll be yours.

PETER
(AT A LOSS AS TO HOW TO HANDLE THIS) I, uh, would consider it an honor.

CATHY
And so would I. We'll share the check, of course.
PETER

We will?

CATHY

Yes. I can pick you up at 7 o'clock, if it's all right with you.

PETER

This is very interesting.

CATHY

What is?

PETER

Your asking me to escort you, offering to pay half the check. And then offering to pick me up. I'm afraid I am having difficulty adjusting.

CATHY

It's no problem. Just consider us as equals.

PETER

But I do not consider us un-equal if I call for you, and pay for the entire check.
That's a debatable point --
but we won't go into it.
You may call for me, if you
like.

Thank you.
But we will still share
the check. (He begins to
object, but she stops
him) And argue about it
later. All right?

You are a formidable woman,
Miss Craig.

I'll accept that, if you
mean it as a compliment.

I think I am afraid to mean
it as anything else.

7 o'clock, then?
PETER

My pleasure.

CATHY

It's a date. (SHE LAUGHS AT THE SOUND OF THE WORD)

PETER

Yes? (NOT KNOWING WHY SHE LAUGHED)

CATHY

It's just that we were talking about dates, Carla and I -- and lo and behold I have one. (CUT TO TONY'S PLACE. IT IS NOW 10 AM, AND THERE IS GREAT HUBBUB. EVERYONE IS SCURRYING AROUND, GETTING THINGS READY. BUT IT LOOKS AS IF THEY'RE NEVER GOING TO OPEN ON TIME. A PIANO TUNER IS WORKING ON THE PIANO. THE BARTENDER IS SETTING UP THE GLASSES, WAITRESSES -- ALL PRETTY -- ARE SETTING THE TABLES, AND A SOUND MAN IS TESTING THE MIKE. ALL OF
THIS IS BACKGROUND TO THE
DIALOGUE, AND CAN BE USED TO
INTERRUPT IT AT ANY TIME, WHEN
A WORKMAN HAS A QUESTION TO ASK
TONY -- SUCH AS THE SOUND MAN
ASKING IF THE LEVEL IS TOO
HIGH. OR A WAITRESS TELLING
TONY SHE'S RUN OUT OF NAPKINS.
AND HE TELLS HER WHERE TO GET
SOME MORE. TONY IS ON THE
PHONE, ONE WAY TO WANDA)

TONY

... Go ahead, Wanda, but
talk a little louder, would
you? ... How much? ... What
are those lobsters made of,
gold? All right, get 40
pounds, instead of 50. What
happened at the meat market?

... (ANGRY) Great. They wait
till my opening day and then
raise their prices. It's
a conspiracy, you know that,
don't you? (HE DOESN'T MEAN
IT) All right, get the amount
TONY (Cont'd)

we agreed on and then check
with the produce people, and
make sure they're going to
deliver on time ... And listen,
you'd better get over to the
linen house and pick up a
dozens more table cloths, will
you? ... No, bring them
yourself, please. I don't
trust their delivery truck.
Thanks, Wanda ... How's it
coming here? Awful, awful,
we're not going to make it,
Wanda. We're not going to
make it. (HE DOESN'T MEAN THAT,
EITHER) See you later. (HE
HANGS UP JUST IN TIME TO
HEAR THE CRASH OF A BROKEN
GLASS, DROPPED BY THE BAR-
TENDER. HE WINCES, THEN
SMILES TOLERANTLY AT HIM)

One more, George, and the
next thing that gets broken
around here will be your neck.
(TONY STOPS A WAITRESS AND SHOWS HER THE WAY HE WANTS THE NAPKINS FOLDED. THEN HE GOES TO THE MIKE AND BLASTS OUT A FEW NOTES FROM "Faglacci" -- HE'S REALLY FEELING GREAT)

TONY (Cont'd)
Pretty good, huh? (AND GIVES THE SOUND MAN HIS APPROVAL.
THE PHONE RINGS. A WAITRESS REACHES FOR IT, BUT HE STOPS HER) Don't touch that phone! (HE PICKS IT UP GRANDLY, WITH A SMILE AT THE WAITRESS)
Tony Lord's Place. (AND HIS FACE SUDDENLY SOBERS UP)
Hello, Chapin ... Oh? Really?
Yes, we still have some tables open. How large a party?
... All right. Reservations for four -- for Mr. Victor Lord and his party. Thank you, Chapin. Goodbye. (HE HANGS UP AND REACTS SILENTLY.
THEN ANOTHER GLASS IS DROPPED
AND BREAKS)

TONY (Cont'd)

George! (WE CUT TO THE LORD
LIBRARY. VICTOR IS ALONE,
AS DORIAN ENTERS. SHE KNOWS
ABOUT THE OPENING, OF COURSE
AND WANTS TO KEEP VICTOR
FROM GOING)

DORIAN

Guess who I was just speaking
to on the upstairs phone.

Olivia Charlton. Did you
know she and the Senator were
in town?

VICTOR

No, I didn't.

DORIAN

Yes. And it's their anniversary.

VICTOR

Already? Time is flying
by too quickly for me these
days.

DORIAN

Wouldn't it be nice if we took
DORIAN (Cont'd)

them out to dinner tonight?
I know Olivia would like it.

VICTOR

We can't do that tonight.
We're going with Viki and
Joe to Tony's opening.

DORIAN

Victor, I didn't think you were
that committed to going.

VICTOR

Of course, I am. You knew
we'd made plans, Dorian.

DORIAN

Yes, but now that the Senator
is here, and it's their
anniversary, I thought you
might want to spend the evening
with them.

VICTOR

I would, ordinarily, but they
wouldn't like Tony's. We'll
just have to help them
celebrate another night.
DORIAN

That's too bad, I'm sure they'll both be disappointed.

VICTOR

Dorian, we're going to the opening of Tony's restaurant tonight and that's all there is to it. I wish you'd stop fighting me on it. (SHE TURNS AWAY, FURIOUS, BUT NOT WANTING TO LET HIM SEE HER REACTION. AND ON HER WE GO TO BLACK)

MUSIC: BRIDGE TO:

2nd COMMERCIAL
ACT II

(DIRECT CONTINUATION WITH DORIAN AND VICTOR IN THE LORD LIBRARY)

DORIAN

Darling, I'm not resisting you just to be obstinate. I told you how I feel about the possibility of what might happen between you and Tony.

VICTOR

Nothing is going to happen.

DORIAN

How do you know he won't try to provoke you in some way.

VICTOR

He'll be too busy to bother with any of that.

DORIAN

You underestimate him.

VICTOR

It doesn't matter. I'm going to have a good time, and if he does try to provoke me I'll just lean back and let him blow off steam.
DORIAN
You forget how he's gotten you angry in the past.

VICTOR
No, I haven't forgotten. But this is an important night for Tony. It just wouldn't make any sense for him to do something that might spoil it.

DORIAN
I'm thinking of your health, Victor, that's all. You should not place yourself in a position where you could suffer a sudden rise in blood pressure.

VICTOR
Dorian, why are you so adamant about not going?

DORIAN
I'm adamant about your not going.

VICTOR
VICTOR (Cont'd)

more than that.

DORIAN

Well, perhaps it is. I don't like what he's doing. In general, that's all. He bought my former home, and converted it into some kind of cabaret or so-called restaurant -- we're not sure what it is, yet -- and he chose it precisely because it was so close to our home here. If he was only intent on opening a restaurant he could have picked any of a dozen other locations -- but, no, he wants you to see his lights, and hear his music, just to remind you of his presence. Well, I don't want to grant him the privilege of my presence in his establishment. And I don't think that's very unreasonable.
VICTOR

Perhaps. But I think it's time I made some kind of gesture toward him. I was hurt when he didn't come to the party we had here -- and I reacted a little too angrily, I think. I want him to see I'm ready to change my attitude. Perhaps that will bring him around.

After all, Dorian, he is my son.

DORIAN

I know, darling.

VICTOR

You don't have to come, tonight, though -- not if you feel that strongly about it. But I am going.

DORIAN

(THE LAST THING SHE WANTS IS FOR HIM TO GO WITHOUT HER.

SHE EMBRACES HIM) Thank you for your understanding, Victor.
DORIAN (Cont'd)

I do love you for that. But if you go I want to go with you.

VICTOR

Good. I'm glad.

DORIAN

I love you so.

VICTOR

And I love you, Dorian.

(THEY KISS, THEN EMBRACE, AND WE TAKE DORIAN OVER HIS SHOULDER, ANGRY AND FRUSTRATED. DISSOLVE TO CATHY'S SUITE. IT IS NOW 7 PM. CATHY IS FINISHING GETTING READY WHEN THERE IS A KNOCK ON THE DOOR TO THE CRAIG LIVING ROOM. IT'S PAT, DRESSED FOR THE EVENING.)

CATHY

Hi.

PAT

Hello. I just dropped Brian off at Anna's. He'll spend the night there in case I'm
PAT (Cont'd)
out late. Thought I'd stop
in and say hello. You look
like you're going out tonight.

CATHY
Well, I am. To Tony's Place.

PAT
(assuming Tony called her)
Well, how about that? He
finally gave in and called
you.

CATHY
Not quite.

PAT
What happened? (Doorbell.
CATHY opens. It's Peter.
We take Pat's surprise)

CATHY
Hello, Peter.

PETER
Good evening, Cathy.

CATHY
I'd like you to meet a friend
of mine, Pat Kendall. Peter
PAT
How do you do.

PETER
I am pleased to meet you.

CATHY
Peter was with Jenny in South America. He's on the staff at Llanview Hospital now.

PETER
Not quite. Not until I receive my license to practice.

CATHY
Peter and I are going to the opening tonight, and I've chilled a bottle of champagne I'd been saving to celebrate the occasion.

PETER
Before we leave?

CATHY
Sure. Why not?

PETER
I thought I was familiar with most American customs.
CATHY

It's not a custom. Just an idea I had. (GETTING THE BOTTLE) Will you do the honors?

PETER

Yes, of course. (WE TAKE A SHOT OF PAT AS PETER OPENS THE BOTTLE, WONDERING HOW MUCH PETER MEANS TO CATHY)

PETER

(WHILE WORKING ON THE BOTTLE) I took your advice and called Jenny, but she was out.

CATHY

She wanted to visit a friend at a convent nearby tonight.

PETER

Yes, of course. (INDICATING HE UNDERSTANDS. FINISHES OPENING THE BOTTLE) Here we are. (CATHY HANDS OUT THE GLASSES ON A TRAY, AS PETER POURS)
CATHY

(PICKS UP HER GLASS AND OFFERS A TOAST) To Tony's Place.

May it be a huge success, and may all his dreams come true. (THEY DRINK, AND ON A SHOT OF CATHY AND PAT EXCHANGING LOOKS, WE GO TO BLACK)

MUSIC: BRIDGE TO:

3rd COMMERCIAL

4th COMMERCIAL
ACT III

(THE LORD LIBRARY. IT IS NOW
8:15 PM. JOE AND VIKI ARE
JUST COMING IN FROM THE OUT-
SIDE. VICTOR IS GREETING
THEM)

VICTOR

Victoria, you look lovely.

VIKI

Thank you, father.

JOE

I told her the same thing,
but she just said I always
say that.

VIKI

Well, you do.

JOE

Doesn't mean I don't mean it.

(VICTOR IS A LITTLE NERVOUS,
AND VIKI NOTICES IT EVENTUALLY)

VICTOR

Dorian isn't quite ready, but
she promised she'd be on time.
I told her I don't want to be
VIKI
We don’t have to be there at any specific time.

JOE
Unless Tony has some kind of surprise in store.

VICTOR
Please, don’t say that in front of Dorian. She’s apprehensive enough about this evening, as it is.

VIKI
Why?

VICTOR
Too much excitement for me, or something. I don’t know.

JOE
Well, a little excitement wouldn’t be too bad. I didn’t realize till we were driving here that we haven’t been out in a long time.

VIKI
There hasn’t been much reason to go out lately.
JOE
Yes. I was going to ask Jenny to come along, but I thought it would be too soon after ... So I let it pass.

VICTOR
Poor child. It's always painful to see the rest of the world go on about its business after you've lost someone close to you.

JOE
(A LOOK AT HIS WATCH) Would you excuse me? I have to call the paper about a story that was coming in from overseas. I'll only be a minute.

VICTOR
What story is that?

VIKI
Never mind. No business for you tonight.

JOE
I'll use the phone in the study. (HE GOES. WE STAY
WITH VIKI AND VICTOR

VIKI
You seem nervous, father.
What is it? Or can I guess?

VICTOR
You can guess.

VIKI
Seeing Tony?

VICTORIA
I hope I'm not just aggra­vating the situation between us.

VIKI
I don't see that you are.

VICTOR
Well, he's so touchy about anything I do -- I can't predict what his reaction will be to my coming tonight.

VIKI
Let's just wait and see what happens, shall we? I think we're all going to have a smashing good time.
VICTOR

One other thing, Victoria.
About Dorian. She would be very angry if I told you this. So please don't repeat it -- but I do want you to know she feels your hostility toward her very keenly.

VIKI

Hostility?

VICTOR

Whatever you want to call it. We've discussed it before. The fact is she feels you don't fully accept her yet, and it does distress her.

VIKI

I'm sorry about that, father, but if you're referring to the other night when she and I disagreed about whether or not you should go to the hospital for a check-up, I haven't changed my mind.
VICTOR

It goes beyond that.

VIKI

Yes, well, I'm sure she still resents her dismissal from the hospital staff. But some of the resentment she feels from me may simply be self-generated.

VICTOR

I hardly think so.

VIKI

She's a member of the hospital board herself now -- the same board that dismissed her. Don't you think that should make up for the past?

VICTOR

I am only talking about your personal relationship with her. It upsets me to see the two women who mean the most to me at odds with each other.
VIKI
I'll do my best. I promise.

VICTOR
Especially tonight, will you? I do want it to be a successful evening. (VIKI GOES TO EMBRACE HIM, WHEN THEY ARE INTERRUPTED BY DORIAN'S ENTRANCE. SHE IS DRESSED IN A MAGNIFICENT GOWN, AND ADORNED WITH JUST THE RIGHT AMOUNT OF JEWELRY, AND SHE LOOKS GREAT. VICTOR IS OBVIOUSLY TAKEN ABACK, AND VIKI COULD KILL HER.)

DORIAN
And you thought I was going to be late, didn't you?

VICTOR
Dorian, you look magnificent.

DORIAN
Thank you, darling. Hello Viki.

VIKI
Hello, Dorian. You look lovely.
DORIAN

As do you. Thank you. (TO VICTOR) I'm sorry if I kept you waiting.

VICTOR

It was worth every moment. I haven't seen that gown before, have I?

DORIAN

Not unless you sneaked off to New York and visited the designer who made it for me. (TO VIKI) Frederic D'mois.*

VIKI

Of course.

DORIAN

Well, are we ready to leave?

VICTOR

Joe is making a phone call -- (JOE RETURNS)

JOE

Okay, all taken care of. Hello, Dorian. (STOPPED AND IMPRESS BY THE WAY SHE LOOKS, )
A SHOT OF VIKI, READY TO KILL

HIM NEXT)

DORIAN

Hello, Joe.

JOE

You may steal the show
tonight, with the way you
look.

DORIAN

Well, thank you. Aren't
you sweet. Victor?

VICTOR

The car is right outside.

(SHE TAKES HIS ARM AND THEY
GO. JOE PUTS OUT HIS ARM.

VIKI TAKES IT AND THEY LEAVE.

WE CUT TO TONY'S PLACE. IT
IS NOW 9 PM, AND THE PLACE
IS BUZZING. TONY IS MOVING
ABOUT, GREETING PEOPLE, AND
ATTENDING TO DETAILS SUCH AS
PICKING UP A WRAP THAT HAS
FALLEN OFF A CHAIR AND GIVING
IT TO THE OWNER, ASKING IF
EVERYTHING IS ALL RIGHT AT A
TABLE, INDICATING TO A BUS
BOY TO CLEAR ANOTHER TABLE,
REFILLING THE WINE GLASSES
AT ANOTHER TABLE. PIANO
MUSIC IS IN THE BACKGROUND.
TONY IS NERVOUS BUT PLEASED
WITH THE WAY THINGS ARE GOING

TONY

(TO THE BARTENDER) Any
problems, George?

GEORGE

Running out of vermouth, that's
all.

TONY

That's no problem, that's
great. (TO A BUS BOY) Go
downstairs and bring up
some vermouth, please.

(THE BUS BOY GOES AND TONY
CONTINUES HIS ROAMING
SURVEILLANCE AS WE PAN TO
THE ENTRANCE AS CATHY ARRIVES.
WE CUT BACK TO TONY WHO LOOKS
UP, SEES HER, AND SMILES,
Pleased. She doesn't see
TONY YET. TONY IS OBVIOUSLY GLAD THAT SHE CAME, AND AS HE STARTS TO GO TOWARD HER PETER APPEARS, HAVING JUST CHECKED HIS COAT. CATHY TURNS TOWARD PETER, SMILING ANIMATEDLY, AND TONY STOPS IN HIS TRACKS. TO BLACK) MUSIC: BRIDGE TO:

5th COMMERCIAL
ACT IV

(TONY'S PLACE, A DIRECT CONTINUATION. CATHY TURNS AND FINALLY SEES TONY, WHO NOW COMES OVER TO HER AND PETER)

TONY

Hello.

CATHY

Hello, Tony.

TONY

I didn't expect you, so I don't have a table --

CATHY

As a matter of fact, we're here with Ed and Carla. They'll be in in just a minute. Oh, I'd like you to meet Dr. Peter Janssen. Mr. Tony Lord.

PETER

How do you do. It is a pleasure to meet you.

TONY

Thank you. Pleasure to meet
PETER

I want to wish you success.

TONY

Thank you.

CATHY

The place looks lovely, Tony.

TONY

Thanks. Just finished it three minutes before we opened the doors.

PETER

I understand you planned the entire renovation, yourself.

TONY

Most of it.

PETER

My compliments.

TONY

(HE'S ALREADY HAD ENOUGH OF PETER AND HIS GRACIOUS WAYS) Thank you. Why don't you both have a drink at the bar. When Ed and Carla come in --
CATHY

They just came in. (TONY
LOOKS AND SEES ED AND CARIA.
THERE ARE GREETINGS ALL
AROUND)

CARIA

I love the way it looks,
Tony.

TONY

You should have seen it three
hours ago.

ED

Shall we wait at the bar
till our table is ready?

TONY

No need to. Your table
is waiting for you and so is
that bottle of wine I promised
you.

ED

What did I tell you about
gifts to police officers?

TONY

Oh, come on, Ed.
Where's Wanda?

On the phone, taking care of last minute reservations.

(HE GUIDES ED, CARLA, PETER AND CATHY TO THEIR TABLE)

Thank you, Tony.

Would you like to join us for a drink?

No, thanks. (TO CATHY) Glad you could come.

Glad I did come. Best of luck, Tony.

I might just make it this time. My own place, my own town, the whole bit. I'll have everything. Almost everything anyway. (MEANING THAT
IT'S NOT COMPLETE WITHOUT
HER. SHE READS IT)

CATHY

(BEAT) I heard you may do
a little singing tonight.

TONY

Wanda been talking?

CATHY

She said she heard you trying
out the microphone.

TONY

That was with no one around.
We'll see. (TONY LOOKS UP AND
SEES PAT, JOE AND VIKI STANDING
IN THE DOORWAY) Excuse me.
(HE GOES TO GREET PAT, JOE
AND VIKI, AND WE TAKE CATHY
WATCHING TONY GIVE PAT A WARM
KISS. WE STAY WITH TONY,
JOE, VIKI AND PAT AS THEY TALK
ANIMATEDLY ABOUT HOW NICE
THE PLACE LOOKS, AND THEIR
WISHES FOR HIS SUCCESS, WITH
PERHAPS A WAVE BETWEEN THEM
AND THOSE AT ED'S TABLE. TONY
IS SLIGHTLY NERVOUS NOW,
ANTICIPATING VICTOR'S ARRIVAL.
FINALLY, HE LOOKS OFF TOWARD
THE ENTRANCE)

TONY (Cont'd)
Uh, anyone else in your
party?

VIKI
Yes, they're just checking
their -- (VICTOR AND DORIAN
APPEAR. WE CUT BETWEEN
VICTOR AND TONY AS THEIR
EYES MEET. A BEAT, THEN
VICTOR PUTS OUT HIS HAND)

VICTOR
Hello, Tony. (TO BLACK)

MUSIC: BRIDGE TO:

6th COMMERCIAL

CREDITS: CLOSE UP OF TONY.
APPENDIX B
Prologue:

1944. The first day of school was over. Tony, Wanda, and Jenny went to different schools, but they were still friends.

Tony asked Wanda if she was happy.

Wanda said, "Yes, I'm very happy. The first day was a SMASH. TONY keeps talking about how much better the new school is.

Tony asked, "Do you like it?"

Wanda replied, "Yes, I do. It's much better than the old one."

Tony then asked Wanda about the music teacher.

Wanda said, "He's really good. He teaches us to play the piano and the flute."

Tony was impressed.

Wanda continued, "But the best thing is that he lets us sing in the choir."

Tony asked, "Do you sing in the choir?"

Wanda said, "Yes, I do. It's really fun."

Tony asked Wanda again if she was happy.

Wanda said, "Yes, I am. It's a new beginning."

Tony asked Wanda if she was happy with the receptionists and the like.

Wanda said, "Yes, I am. They are very nice."

Tony asked Wanda again if she was happy.

Wanda said, "Yes, I am. It's a new beginning."
In any hand In Union To Pool
Vike + Joe. Vike watches Vike like
e'hawk. Tony sits them quietly
thinking, as we cut to the
end library
It's 1:30. Dennis V is writing
in Donen's autum. She tells him the club
in a madhouse. Tony was so
busy that he seemed to retreat. her
stopping her. Vike's major concern
is when Tony is coming. She
not to count on it.

Think last night
ugh, but she
my doesn't
we cut to
at Newburg
the bugger. As
black.
List of Characters

Victor Lord (recently deceased) - Community patriarch, owner of newspaper, "The Banner," husband of Dorian Kramer Lord, father of Victoria Lord Riley, Merideth Lord Wolek (deceased) and estranged son Tony Lord.

Dorian Kramer Lord - Unscrupulous wife of the deceased Victor Lord, ex-physician at Llanview Hospital (her license to practice medicine was revoked). 

Victoria Lord Riley - Married to Joe Riley, half sister to Tony Lord.

Joe Riley - Executive editor of "The Banner," brother to Eileen Riley Siegel.

Eileen Siegel - Mother of Timmy Siegel (deceased).

Tony Lord - Owner of "Tony's Place," husband of Cathy Craig Lord.

Jim Craig - Chief of Staff at Llanview Hospital, father of Cathy Craig, husband of Anna Wolek Craig.
Anna Wolek Craig - Sister of Dr. Larry Wolek and Vinnie Wolek, step mother of Cathy Craig Lord.

Dr. Larry Wolek - Doctor at Llanview Hospital, husband of Merideth Lord Wolek (deceased).

Vinnie Wolek - A policeman and husband of Wanda Wolek.

Wanda Wolek - Bookkeeper in "Tony's Place".

Jenny Wolek Siegel - Cousin of Anna, Larry and Vinnie Wolek, ex-nun, wife of Timmy Siegel.

Peter Janssen - Doctor at the Llanview Hospital, originally from San Carlos, knew Jenny Wolek Siegel when she was a nun working in San Carlos.

Mathew MacAllister - Works for The Banner, Dorian's confidant and co-conspirator.

Pat Kendall - Works for "The Banner." Mother of Brian.

Tony Lord is the unsuspecting father of Brian.

Carla Hall - Jim Craig's Secretary.
REFERENCES


REFERENCE NOTES
