





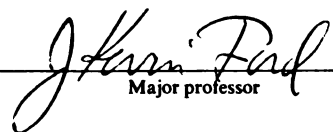
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Control System: A Cognitive Approach

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**ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE AS A THIRD ORDER
CONTROL SYSTEM: A COGNITIVE APPROACH**

by

Michael Paul Kirsch

Volume I

A DISSERTATION

**Submitted to
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ABSTRACT

ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE AS A THIRD ORDER CONTROL SYSTEM: A COGNITIVE APPROACH

By

Michael P. Kirsch

Researchers in the area of organizational culture have primarily focused on examining the usefulness of organizational culture as a general theoretical construct and have not conducted empirical studies examining issues discussed. Several different theoretical perspectives have been identified and applied to the study of organizational culture, including the cross-cultural, the corporate culture, the organizational symbolism, and the organizational cognition approaches (Smircich, 1983). The current study used an organizational cognition approach to organizational culture which views culture as being a set of knowledge, shared among members of an organization, which guides organizational member information processing. This view suggests that culture operates as a third order control system, controlling and directing member attention and action towards culturally relevant information (Perrow, 1979).

The current study was an exploratory effort aimed at examining the content, structure, and application of organizational cultural knowledge in a field setting. Operations of a national news organization were examined during a four-month observation period, with a specific focus on the decision-making processes of organizational

members. Data collected in this study included transcripts of staff and editorial meetings, interview responses, written materials of the organization, archive data of program records, and member responses to a cultural knowledge questionnaire. Analyses performed in the study focused on the development and validation of the cultural knowledge system in use in the organization and the examination of its effects on the behavior of organizational members.

Results of the study provide support for the perspective that a set of cultural schema or rules are used by organizational members to process information and make decisions. A 5-step decision model was developed which further explicates the interpretation process used by organizational members. The model was validated through both a predictive and a retrospective analysis of program decisions. Implications and future directions for research on organizational culture are discussed.

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Introduction

Overview

There has been a growing interest in recent years in the study of organizational culture as witnessed by the large increase in the number of researchers who have published articles and books on this topic. Many researchers in both the academic literature (cf. Smircich, 1983c; Schein, 1986) as well as the popular literature (cf. Deal & Kennedy, 1983; Peters & Waterman, 1982) have begun focusing on organizational culture as a way of gaining a better understanding of both organizational level processes and individual behavior occurring within organizations.

The research on organizational culture presents not only an alternative perspective for the study of organizations, but represents a fundamental shift in the paradigm used to study organizational behavior (Kuhn, 1970). Instead of relying on the traditional functionalist perspective which treats social phenomena as concrete, sterile, materialistic entities, the research on organizational culture employs an interpretivist perspective, suggesting that the world is socially constructed through the words, symbols, and behaviors of its members (Putnam, 1983). Researchers in this area are more interested in increasing understanding of the meaning attributed by individuals to their social worlds

than in testing theoretical models of concepts abstracted from reality.

Application of the interpretive perspective to the study of organizational culture emphasizes the importance of gaining an understanding of the knowledge systems people use to interpret their experience and generate behavior (Spradley, 1980). Organizational culture is thus conceived of as a system of meaning, a shared set of knowledge, and a common perspective for viewing the world. The aim of organizational culture researchers is to understand individual and group meaning systems and to gain a better understanding of the behavior resulting from such systems.

The interpretive paradigm involves the use of ethnographic methods in the generation of qualitative data. The focus is on the generation of meaning from the point of view of the participant (organizational member) rather than the point of view of the researcher. It calls for extensive interviewing, observation, and participation in organizational activities. The goal of the researcher is to grasp the native's point of view, his/her relation to life, and to realize his/her version of his/her world (Spradley, 1979). It is through the discovery of the knowledge that organizational members use to give meaning to their world that organizational culture can be discovered.

The focus on organizational culture as a set of meaning systems or knowledge base is related to the growing recogni-

tion of the importance of information processing activities on individual cognition and behavior. Research on such topics as performance appraisal (cf. Ilgen and Feldman, 1983), leadership (cf. Phillips, 1984), and decision-making processes (cf. Kirsch, 1985), have used a cognitive processing framework to understand how an individual's knowledge is structured and how these knowledge structures affect behavior. Research on social cognition processes focus on the development of scripts and schemata, which are the cognitively-based structures for the storage and retrieval of information. Similarly, cultural knowledge is stored in cognitive representations such as schema and scripts, and the use of such cultural knowledge is related to action (Gioia, 1986). Thus, a cognitively based approach to the understanding of organizational culture is useful to derive the knowledge structures associated with an individual or group of individuals' conception of organizational culture.

It has been postulated by Perrow (1979) that culture functions as a higher order control system, controlling organizational member behavior by controlling the cognitive premises for action. Whereas obtrusive control systems such as the use of rules and regulations, surveillance by supervisors, and bureaucratic controls such as specialization, standardization, and hierarchy play a role in controlling and directing individual behavior, organizational culture functions at a deeper level - it acts to restrict

the range of stimuli attended to and the range of alternatives considered (Perrow, 1979). In other words, organizational culture acts as a filter through which individuals perceive and structure the world and respond to the stimuli in it. Organizational culture is a more subtle, but yet potentially more potent control mechanism through which organizations can guide, control, and structure individual behavior.

The purpose of the present study is to explore the topic of organizational culture from an interpretivist perspective and develop an understanding of how organizational culture acts as a control system, controlling and directing individual behavior within organizations. A key focus of previous research on organizational behavior has been on the development of a greater understanding of the mechanisms or processes which influence the behavior of individuals within organizations. This study takes an organization cognition approach which views organizational culture as a set of knowledge about the organization that is stored by individuals and is used by them as an implicit set of rules or procedures which they can follow to ensure the performance of responses consistent with the goals of the organization. While utilizing theoretical approaches proposed by individuals such as Perrow (1979), Weick (1979), Wilkins (1983), and Spradley (1980), this study goes beyond the existing literature by articulating in a detailed manner

how organizational culture operates through the system of rules which make up the cultural knowledge systems of members of the organization and showing how social interaction among organizational members helps them to interpret information and events in the organization.

An Introduction to Organizational Culture

A major reason why researchers have had difficulty understanding the construct of organizational culture is that there has been no consistent definition of the term or consistent application of the methods used to investigate it. To make sense of the research, a conceptual framework is needed to increase the understanding of the different approaches that have been used to examine organizational culture. One such framework is that proposed by Smircich (1983c). She suggests that the research on organizational culture can be classified into four general themes, each based on either an implicit or explicit concept derived from researchers in cultural anthropology. These themes include the following: cross-cultural, corporate culture, organizational symbolism, and organizational cognition.

Cross-Cultural Perspective

The cross-cultural perspective views culture as an independent variable imported into the organization through its membership in society. The country or community culture in which the organization exists is the major influence on individual attitudes and motivation, as well as on the structure and functioning of the organization. Consequently, organizations in similar countries or communities should

share common properties. The research focus of this approach examines the variation of managerial and employee practices and attitudes across countries to determine if constructs applied to organizations in one national culture are related in some fashion to those in another culture, as well as to organizational effectiveness. The anthropological theme represented by this approach is based on Malinowski's functionalism, which suggests that culture is an instrument serving biological and psychological needs and that organizations are social instruments for task accomplishment (Smircich, 1983c).

An example of this approach is the work done examining Japanese management practices (cf. Yoshino, 1968; Ouchi, 1981) which has attempted to identify how Japanese culture has affected the design of organizations in Japan as well as explored the relationship between cultural practices and organizational effectiveness.

Corporate Culture Perspective

The corporate culture perspective holds that culture functions as an adaptive-regulatory mechanism, uniting individuals into a common social structure (based on Radcliffe-Brown's structural-functionalism). One definition of culture proposed by researchers using this approach is:

"Culture is the shared philosophies, ideologies, values, assumptions, beliefs, expectations, attitudes, and norms that knit a community together. It is manifest in behavioral norms, hidden assumptions, and human nature, each occurring at a different level of depth" (Kilman, Saxton, & Serpa, 1985, p.5).

Organizations, from a corporate culture perspective, are viewed as adaptive organisms existing by process of exchange with the environment. The main theme of this approach is that organizations are culture-producing phenomena; organizations produce cultural artifacts such as rituals, ceremonies, and stories which serve as communication devices to help build organizational commitment, convey a philosophy of management, rationalize and legitimate activity, motivate personnel, and facilitate socialization (Smircich, 1983c). This approach suggests that organizations which focus attention on the symbolic or cultural aspects of the organization are more successful than those which do not (Peters & Waterman, 1982; Deal & Kennedy, 1983).

Research in this area has focused on how cultural artifacts affect such organizational processes and outcomes as socialization (Kreps, 1981), commitment (Wilkins, 1978), and productivity (Denison, 1984). Other research efforts have focused on discovering how culture can be molded, shaped, or changed to suit organizational purposes (cf. Kilman, Saxton, & Serpa, 1985).

Organizational Symbolism Perspective

The organizational symbolism approach posits that culture is a system of shared symbols and meanings. These symbols need to be interpreted, read, or deciphered to be understood. Organizations are patterns of symbolic discourse which are maintained through symbolic modes such as language which facilitate shared meanings and shared realities (Smircich, 1983c). Clifford Geertz (1973), a cultural anthropologist, and the leading proponent of this perspective stated that:

"Man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun. I take culture to be these webs, and the analysis of it to be not an experimental science in search of law, but an interpretive one in search of meaning... Culture is a context, something within which it can be intelligibly, that is thickly described... Meanings are not in people's heads; symbols and meanings are shared by social actors - between, not in them; they are public, not private. Cultural systems are ideational, beyond or between its manifestations in individual minds or concrete performances" (p. 5, 14).

Research from this perspective seeks to analyze the symbols of organizations to reveal the unconscious feelings and images that are inherent in organizations. These symbols are thought to express the underlying character, ideology, or value system of an organization (Dandridge, Mitroff, and Joyce, 1980). Specific focus is on the analysis of the symbolic content of stories, myths, rituals,

and other artifacts, as well as on understanding how individuals and groups within organizations come to share common interpretations of these symbols.

Organization Cognition Perspective

A fourth approach, labeled organization cognition, views culture as being a system of shared cognitions, knowledge, and beliefs that arise by means of a finite number of rules or by means of an unconscious logic. The researcher's task is to discover what the rules are and find out how members of a culture see and describe their world. Organizations are conceived of as systems of knowledge, where "organizations" rest in the network of subjective meanings that organizational members share to varying degrees and which appear to function in a rule-like manner (Smircich, 1983c). This approach has stemmed from the anthropological work of Goodenough who postulated that:

"A society's culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members. Culture is not a material phenomenon; it does not consist of things, people, behavior, or emotions. It is rather an organization of these things. It is the form of things that people have in mind, their models for perceiving, relating, and otherwise interpreting them" (From Keesing, 1974, p. 77).

Thus, culture is viewed as a cognitive phenomenon, existing inside individuals, and consisting of the knowledge necessary to work in an organization. Cultural knowledge

gathered by individuals is retained and stored in the form of organizational schemata and scripts which are abstract representations of an individual's conception of the culture of the organization.

Organizational researchers such as Bougon (1983) and Weick (1979) postulate that cultural knowledge is also organized in the form of cognitive maps which are representations of the relationships and contingencies between the key variables within organizations. Individuals use these cognitive maps as blueprints to help guide their behavior.

The research emphasis of this approach is on the identification of the knowledge that organizational members have concerning culture, discovering how that knowledge is structured, and examining the effects this knowledge has on the behavior of members of the organization. A cognitive information processing perspective is used to focus attention on understanding the cognitive structures that individuals use in creating systems of meaning for themselves.

Summary

Each of the four themes of organizational culture represent separate bodies of research. Conceptual clarity is attained by the recognition that although researchers claim to be investigating "organizational culture" as a

global construct, each is really investigating one aspect of the more macro or meta-level construct of organizational culture; organizational culture encompasses each of the four approaches. The theme of organizational culture chosen as a theoretical base guides not only how organizational culture is defined, but also the topics chosen to investigate.

Thus, to argue the relative merits of one approach to the study of organizational culture over another is to engage in an unproductive enterprise. A more useful procedure is to examine the research that has been conducted in each area and obtain as much information and understanding from each approach as possible. Further research can then be conducted to help fill in the gaps and provide a better understanding of organizational culture as a general theoretical construct.

Research and Theoretical Work on Organizational Culture

The study of organizational culture as a distinct theoretical construct has been a recent phenomenon. Most of the work that has been completed has been theoretical, attempting to outline the basic research issues that should be studied, rather than presenting the results of empirical work that have been conducted. A review of the research, however, is useful to identify the basic issues and to understand the general theoretical approaches that researchers have taken when discussing organizational culture. This review uses Smircich's (1983c) framework to classify and review the literature, although in some cases there is overlap as to which category is the most appropriate. Research on the cross-cultural perspective is beyond the scope of this paper and will not be reviewed.

Corporate Culture

The corporate culture perspective focuses attention on how culture functions to unite individuals into a common social structure through the dissemination of cultural artifacts and rituals. Culture is the underlying social glue that binds individuals in organizations together and helps them to function in an effective manner.

An influential researcher using this approach to study organizational culture is Schein (1983, 1985). Schein (1985) takes a functional approach in which culture is described as being a mechanism which helps solve a groups' basic problem of how to integrate its internal processes to ensure its capacity to survive and adapt to the external environment. Schein (1985) defines culture as:

"A pattern of basic assumptions - invented, discovered, or developed by a given group as it learns to cope with its problems of external adaptation and internal integration that has worked well enough to be considered valid and therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems" (1985, p.9).

Schein (1985) states that the internal requirements of an organization are to: 1) develop a common language and conceptual categories, 2) identify group boundaries and criteria for inclusion/exclusion, 3) specify the power and status hierarchies, 4) deal with issues of intimacy, friendship, and love, 5) develop a system for the distribution of rewards and punishments, and 6) develop an ideology and religion to help manage the unmanageable or unexplainable. The problems of external adaptation and survival include the development of: 1) an organizational mission and strategy, 2) organizational goals, 3) means to achieve those goals, 4) a system for the measurement of organizational effectiveness, and 5) a correction mechanism.

Schein (1985) believes that there are three levels of culture. The first level consists of artifacts and creations such as technology, art, written and spoken language, and overt behavior. This level is visible, but often not decipherable. The second level consists of values, which have a lower level of awareness, and contain beliefs about "what ought to be". The third level consists of basic assumptions that people hold, such as assumptions concerning humanity's relationship to nature, the nature of reality and truth, and the nature of human relationships. These basic assumptions are taken for granted, invisible, and preconscious.

Schein (1985) suggests that the culture of an organization pervades everything within the organization and that culture is deeply embedded in people's thoughts, perceptions, and feelings. The most powerful primary mechanisms for cultural embedding and reinforcement are 1) what leaders pay attention to, measure, and control, 2) leader reactions to critical incidents and organizational crises, 3) deliberate role modeling, teaching, and coaching by leaders, 4) criteria for allocation of rewards and status, 5) criteria for recruitment, selection, promotion, retirement, and ex-communication, 6) stories, legends, and myths, 7) organizational structure and design, and 8) organizational systems and procedures.

Louis (1985a, 1985b) also takes a functional approach to the study of culture. She assumes that culture is associated with critical outcomes, that characteristics of culture account for significant variance in critical outcomes, and that these outcomes can be altered by changing the characteristics associated with culture (Louis, 1985b). Louis (1985b) defines culture as:

"A set of understandings or meanings shared by a group of people. The meanings are largely tacit among members, are clearly relevant to the particular group, and are distinctive to the group... There are three components of organizational culture: 1) its content - the totality of socially transmitted behavior patterns, a style of social and artistic expression, and a set of common understandings; 2) a group - a community or population, a society or class, or a unit; and 3) that there is a relationship between the content and the group, content characteristic of the group, content peculiar to the group, or content differing from that of other groups" (1985b, p. 74).

Louis's (1985a, 1985b) focus is on sourcing organizational culture, which is the identification of the extent, reach, or penetration of shared understandings. Organizations are "culture-bearing milieus" in which one or more cultures arise depending on the extent to which meanings are shared by some groups and not by others. Louis (1985b) suggests that separate cultures develop whenever: 1) there are regularly convening settings, 2) these settings impose structural interdependencies among people performing tasks,

3) they provide opportunities for affiliation, and 4) they constitute constellations of interests or purposes. Distinctive shared understandings can develop among members at one level of the organization (executives), among members of a vertical slice (division), or among members of a horizontal slice (occupation or department). Shared understandings can also result from sources external to the organization, such as the national culture of the society, ethnic cultures of the workers, the local geographic community, a professional or occupational group, or the type of industry (Louis, 1985a). Louis (1985b) suggests that researchers must focus on the penetration of shared understandings, its pervasiveness (how far and wide culture reaches), the homogeneity or the consistency of understandings, the stability of the culture across time, and the direction and target of any set of shared understandings.

Van Maanen and Barley (1985) hold a similar view of organizational culture:

"Culture can be understood as a set of solutions devised by a group of people to meet specific problems posed by the situation they face in common... Cultural manifestations therefore evolve over time as members of a group confront similar problems and, in attempting to cope with these problems, devise and employ strategies that are remembered and passed on to new members" (p. 33).

They suggest that four interconnected domains of analysis are involved in accounting for the genesis, maintenance, and transmission of culture: 1) the ecological context (physical, time, and social), 2) differential interaction (when intragroup ties are greater than extragroup ties), 3) collective understandings of symbols and signs, and 4) the reproductive and adaptive capacity of the culture (transmission of shared understandings across generations).

Van Maanen and Barley (1985) suggest that a unitary organizational culture evolves when all members of an organization face roughly the same problems, when everyone communicates with almost everyone else, and when each member adopts a common set of understandings for enacting proper and consensually approved behavior. However, technological innovation, importation of new cultures, and segmentation of workers, as well as ideological differences create structural shifts within organizations which alter the interactional opportunities of organizational members, which in turn, spawns contrasting interpretive systems. The creation of differing interpretive systems leads to the creation of organizational sub-cultures which can act to divide organizations. Although Van Maanen and Barley (1985) do not deny that normative unity within an organization is possible, they suggest that cultures are just as likely to act as "centripetal forces that encourage the disintegration of

that very unity for which commentators occasionally pine" (p. 48).

A few researchers adopting the corporate culture perspective have conducted empirical work in this area. The research focus has been on the use of organizational culture as an independent variable, attempting to assess the effects of culture on such dependent variables as commitment and productivity. For example, Clark (1972) was interested in the commitment process of individuals towards their organization. Clark (1972) suggested that the development of organizational sagas help provide a unifying force through which individuals become bound to organizations. A saga is a story or historical narrative which facilitates collective understanding of unique accomplishment in a formally established group. It refers to a unified set of publicly expressed beliefs about the formal group that is rooted in history and is held with sentiment by the group. Sagas create a feeling of uniqueness of purpose of the organizations' mission, and in so doing ties organizational members closer to the organization. A strong component in this process is the actions and vision of a single man or woman, usually the founder of the organization or an individual who becomes the leader in time of crisis who can articulate the organization's mission and put that mission into action. Clark (1972) examined the sagas created concerning the development of three small colleges (Reed, Antioch, and

Swarthmore) and suggested that the sagas told by organizational members helped create a strong sense of trust and loyalty towards the colleges by faculty, students, and alumni.

Martin (1982) is concerned with the effect of stories on the commitment of individuals to organizations and organizational policies. She suggests that informal, implicit communication through stories, rites of passage, jargon, and metaphors helps facilitate a managers' ability to share information concerning the culture of the organization, beliefs about why a particular process is the most appropriate means of accomplishing a given task, management philosophy, and the rationale for policies that are difficult to justify in financial terms. She conducted a series of experimental studies to investigate the hypothesis that stories have a stronger impact on attitudes, such as commitment, than more explicit forms of communication, such as abstract statements or statistics. She presented a series of profiles of organizations which contained information about the companies in the form of stories, abstract data, or both. Results indicated that commitment to the hypothetical company and its policies was much higher in the story form than in any other. Martin (1982) concluded that organizational stories function as scripts which help provide a blueprint or a guide to direct future member

behavior and as a result have more effect on commitment and behavior than abstract data.

Wilkins (1978) also investigated the relationship between organizational story-telling and commitment. Through both open-ended interviews and a series of close-ended surveys in two organizations, which were similar in size and profit level, but differed in the level of employee morale, Wilkins found an association between the number and type of stories told in the interviews and levels of employee commitment. A larger number of stories and more stories favorable to the organization were told by employees of the highly committed organization than were told by employees of the less highly committed organization.

Kreps (1983) examined the role of socialization practices in the communication of cultural information to new employees. Kreps (1983) postulates that organizational folklore (enduring legends, stories, rituals, and myths that members hold and keep alive through organizational communication) taught to newcomers in organizations during the socialization process function as a means of explaining the background of important themes, values, and expectations of the organization. Folklore provides structure and predictability to the new members' perceptions of the organization and helps in making decisions about the appropriate responses to make in various situations. Kreps (1983) asserts that it is only through the effective socialization of

organizational members that these individuals can understand and utilize organizational intelligence in performing their jobs.

Kreps (1983) utilized this approach in the development of socialization materials for workers in the RCA VideoDisc Operations center. An understanding of the culture and-folklore of RCA was first gained through multiple interviews with organizational members and analysis of organizational documents and artifacts. This knowledge was then utilized to create a videotape on the culture of RCA which was later used as part of the socialization process of all newcomers into the organization. No experimental procedures, however, were utilized to analyze the effect of the tape on newcomer perceptions or behavior.

Martin and Siehl (1983) used secondary sources to investigate the development of a subculture within the dominant culture of a large organization. These researchers looked at how John DeLorean, when he was with General Motors, deliberately attempted to go against the existing General Motors culture and create an alternative contradictory culture within his division. DeLorean helped to enact a new set of values and beliefs through his behavior, the reward system he developed, and through the dissemination of a set of stories and rituals which ran counter to that of the dominant culture. For example, within General Motors there were many rituals which supported the core value of

deference owed authority. One such ritual was that subordinates were expected to meet their superiors from out of town at the airport. DeLorean objected to this ritual and decided that he would disregard it and refuse to pick up his own boss at the airport. The boss responded with anger, as DeLorean had deliberately acted contrary to cultural rules. By enacting his beliefs, DeLorean instilled a new value among the members of his group which was transmitted through the telling of the story of the incident. Martin and Siehl (1983) present other examples which show how one individual, such as DeLorean, can create and foster the development of subcultures within organizations.

Organizational Symbolism

The organizational symbolism perspective focuses attention on the meaning and interpretation of symbols within organizations. Symbols underlie member interpretation of organizational activities and function as sense-making mechanisms which individuals utilize to create their reality.

One proponent of this view is Smircich (1983b, 1985). She asserts that organizational life is a pattern or stream of evolving relationships between symbolic forms. She suggests that when individuals come together they develop a shared symbolic system which helps them communicate through

a world of symbolic relationships. As a result, a sense of commonality develops so that interaction can take place without continual negotiation of interpretations. Smircich (1985) also argues that human beings should be seen as makers of meaning, creating their social worlds through symbols. To her, the study of culture means to study social significance - how things, events, and interactions come to be meaningful. She views organizations as being symbolically constructed worlds which can be known and understood only through acts of critical reading and interpretation.

Dandridge, Mitroff, and Joyce (1980) hold a similar view of organizational symbolism. They assert that:

"(Organizational symbolism) is those aspects of an organization that its members use to reveal or make comprehensible the unconscious feelings, images, and values that are inherent in an organization. It expresses the underlying character, ideology, or value system of an organization" (p. 77).

Dandridge, et al. (1980) posit that there are several functions of symbols: 1) energy controlling - increasing tension, facilitating the re-experience of a previous state, and decreasing tension; 2) system maintenance - giving reason, and providing coherence, order, and stability; and 3) differentiating/integrating - providing or guiding acceptable patterns for change.

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Dandridge (1983) carries these notions one step further and suggests that symbols comprise one category of a larger set of signs. He suggests that while signs act to take the place of the thing they stand for and enable individuals to understand the objective world, symbols go beyond this by eliciting a set of meanings and feelings which make it possible to comprehend and enact a subjective reality. Symbols go beneath the surface of organizational life and into the underlying value systems and feelings of organizational members and help guide and direct member feelings and attitudes about objects in the organization and environment.

Pettigrew (1979) suggests that culture is the system of publicly and collectively accepted meaning operating for a given group at a given time. Culture, in the form of a meaning system composed of symbols, acts to help interpret a people's situation to themselves. Symbols direct attention toward the mobilization of consciousness and purpose and help codify the meaning of action within organizations.

One commonly discussed symbol system is that of language. Pettigrew (1979) asserts that it is through the learning of the language of a group that an individual can acquire the structured ways of the group, the value implications of those ways, and the categorization schemes necessary for meaning creation. Evered (1983) posits that each organization creates its own language which is used by

organizational members to help view the organizational world and define and create social reality. He states that:

"Language is any structured system of codifiable symbols by means of which a particular group of people communicate meaning and regulate their activities... The organization has no objective reality, but rather is created daily by the linguistic enactments of its members in the course of their everyday communications between each other; that is by the way in which its members talk, hold discourse, and share meanings. The particular language of an organization has embedded within it a categorization and structuring of the world which externalizes itself by being used" (p. 126, 127).

Evered (1983) examined the United States Navy using this perspective, showing how the highly developed language of ratings, ranks, uniforms, and insignia functioned to communicate and define the reality for navy personnel as well as foster social cohesion among its members.

A second type of symbol commonly discussed is that of myths. Pondy (1983) discusses the use of myths and metaphors and suggests that:

"A metaphor is the assertion that 'A is B' where A and B belong manifestly to two different categories... Myths can be seen to be a type of extended metaphor, with the implicit assertion that the story told in the myth stands in a metaphoric relationship to real events" (p.159).

Pondy (1983) believes that one function of metaphors and myths is that they place explanation beyond doubt and

argumentation. A second function is that of bridging from the familiar to the strange. The use of metaphors and myths are seen to simultaneously facilitate change and reinforce tradition.

Pettigrew (1979) follows a similar line of thought when he states that:

"Myths contain a narrative of events often with a sacred quality which explores in dramatic form issues of origin and transformation...They anchor the present in the past, offer explanations, and therefore, legitimacy for social practices and contain levels of meaning that deal simultaneously with the socially and psychologically significant in any culture" (p. 576).

Pettigrew (1979) suggests that myths serve value imparting, justifying, and reconciling functions within organizations.

A third type of symbolic process within organizations is rituals and ceremonials. Trice and Beyer (1984) suggest that rituals and ceremonials are key to focus on because they involve: 1) relatively elaborate and planned sets of activities, 2) are carried out through social interactions, 3) are usually for the benefit of an audience, and 4) have multiple social consequences. Trice and Beyer (1984) argue that studying such processes can be useful in understanding organizational culture because they make use of and consolidate many forms of culture and have predetermined beginnings and ends. Trice and Beyer (1984) suggest that it is only by making evident the relationship of organizational

culture to other variables and to membership in various groups that researchers are likely to be able to assess how important culture is to organizational life and organizational effectiveness.

Organization Cognition

The organization cognition perspective holds that organizational culture is the acquired cognitive knowledge which individuals use to help interpret experience and generate social behavior (Spradley, 1979). This perspective views culture as something contained within individuals, not as something contained within organizations.

Anthropologists such as Spradley (1979), Frake (1967), and Keesing (1974) have taken a cognitive approach in their study of culture. They define culture in the following manner:

"(It is most useful) to think of culture as a cognitive map. In the recurrent activities that make up everyday life, we refer to this map. It serves as a guide for acting and for interpreting our experience, however, it does not compel us to follow a particular course" (Spradley, 1979, p. 7).

"Culture is best thought of as a set of principles for creating dramas, for writing scripts, and, of course for recruiting players and audiences. Culture is not simply a cognitive map that people acquire, in whole or in part, more or less accurately, and then learn to read. People are not just map-readers, they are map makers...

Culture does not provide a cognitive map, but rather a set of principles for map making and navigation" (Frake, 1967, p.7).

"Culture, conceived as a system of competence, shared in its broad design and deeper principles, and varying between individuals in its specificities, is then not all of what an individual knows and thinks and feels about his world. It is his theory of what his fellows know, believe, and mean, his theory of the code being followed, the game being played, in the society he was born. It is this theory to which a native actor refers in interpreting the unfamiliar or the ambiguous, in interacting with strangers... Culture is not simply a collection of symbols fitted together by the analyst, but a system of knowledge, shaped and constrained by the way the human brain acquires, organizes, and processes information and creates internal models of reality (Keesing, 1974, p. 89).

The general theme contained in these researcher's definitions is the notion that culture is best understood as a system of knowledge and principles which individuals use to process information and create reality. Culture is more than a set of symbols, it is the organization of those symbols into a collective system of meaning. Individuals are active in this process through their construction and utilization of cultural knowledge.

The organization cognition perspective is perhaps best represented by the work of Weick and his colleague, Bougon. These researchers begin with the assumption that organizations exist within the minds of individuals and are created and constructed through the cognitive processing of information. It is the process through which the mind

acquires knowledge about its surroundings that "organizations" are created; members enact their own system of knowledge that then becomes the "organization" (Weick, 1979). Weick and Bougon (1985) suggest that "organizations" and organizational culture exist within individuals in the form of cognitive maps. They assert that:

"A cognitive map approach to organizations begins with the recognition that participants edit their own organizational experience into patterns of personal knowledge. A representation map consists of the concepts and the relations a participant uses to understand organizational situations. When we consider all possible types of relations among concepts, such as contiguity, proximity, continuity, resemblance, and implication, then an exhaustive mapping of these relations can be called a cognitive map... A map is an aggregate of interrelated information. Maps help people perceive large-scale environments beyond the range of immediate perception... Maps are intimately tied to action. When people build cognitive maps, they start with outcomes, small experiments, and consequences that are produced either by one's own action or by that of someone else" (p. 105, 106).

Weick and Bougon suggest that individuals develop these cognitive maps to help interpret and guide their experience in organizations. Cognitive maps are a guide or blueprint which individuals use to think and act. They suggest that cognitive maps are stored in the form of schemata, which are shortened, generalized organizations of experience which are used as an initial frame of reference for actions and perception (Weick, 1979). The key research focus for these researchers is the development of models which represent

organizational members' cognitive maps. Bougon (1983) writes:

"By mapping a person's schema, we map his or her enacted environment, which is an intense abstraction from his or her experience... We map what (that environment) is and his or her experience of what that (environment) means to him or her. By uncovering cognitive maps, we reveal the meaning of social territories in a (consistent) manner" (Bougon, 1983, p. 178).

Bougon, Weick, and Binkhorst (1977) used this approach to analyze the cognitive maps shared by members of a jazz orchestra. Through the use of structured interviews and questionnaires, they developed a cognitive map illustrating the relationships between the key variables in the band members' enacted organization (e.g. quality of band's performance, time spent rehearsing, quality of arrangement) through eliciting the causal relations perceived by band members to link the variables into an ordered system. The result of this work was a greater understanding of the system of variables that were used by organizational members to make sense of their experience.

Gioia (1986) focuses on the relationship between symbols and scripts. Similar to the views of Keesing (1974), Gioia asserts that the importance of symbols lies not only in the symbols themselves, but in their relationship to the development of a cognitively-based system for the storage of cultural knowledge. Gioia (1986) suggests

that the construction of meaning is accomplished mainly through the use of symbols which are stored or retained in a structured or schematic form via scripts. These scripts then serve as the basis for meaning construction and sense-making processes. He defines a schema as:

"A cognitive structure composed of a network of expectations learned from experience and stored in memory. It is a built-up repertoire of tacit knowledge that is used to impose structure upon, and impart meaning to, otherwise ambiguous social and situational information to facilitate understanding. A schema thus provides a basis for the interpretation of information, events, and actions" (p. 56).

Gioia (1986) suggests that meaning construction and understanding involves the association of experience with existing knowledge, alteration of existing schemas by incorporating new knowledge, and occasionally a dramatic restructuring of knowledge by intuition or revelation. Symbols are the primary vehicles for understanding, and scripts are the cognitive structures which contain the symbolic knowledge of events, actions, and concepts. Gioia (1986) asserts that people create meaning from the interpretive schemes (cognitive schema and scripts) that they have rather than by responding to the world that is objectively there.

Eoyang (1983) takes an information processing perspective in his analysis of symbolic processes. He suggests that symbols are the fundamental elements by which information is conveyed between people, between places, and across

time. According to Eoyang (1983), symbols serve 5 functions: they 1) are a concise way of presenting information, 2) are easily manipulated, 3) make possible the storage and retrieval of information, 4) can be reproduced, making communication reliable, and 5) enable the articulation of abstract ideas. He argues that symbols are representations of information chunks, or sets of cognitions all related by a single or several overlapping functional associations which are stimulated by a given sign. He suggests the following relationship:

$$S = R (X_i, F_j)$$

where a sign (S) evokes a set (R), the symbol, of several cognitions (X_i) which are linked together by one or more functional relationships (F_j).

Eoyang (1983) states that symbols are incorporated into our cognitive structure when they become connected with the ideas, cognitions, and beliefs that are already there. Symbolic meaning is an attribute of the interaction of the symbol with our previous body of knowledge and the value of a symbol is determined by the importance attached to the cognitions and associations of the symbol by the individual evaluating the symbol.

In addition to the Bougon, et al. (1977) study, there have been several other investigations of organization

cognition concepts in empirical studies. Gregory (1983) was interested in how technical professionals in Silicon Valley computer companies manage their careers within and between companies, and reciprocally, how companies staffed design projects. The major emphasis of the study was on the learning of native or organizational member concepts and definitions for the social categories of different types of computer companies (e.g. start-up, software house, large manufacturer, etc.) and the different types of technical professional positions (e.g. software engineer, computer scientist, hardware engineer, etc.) Based on multiple interviews with individuals working in Silicon Valley computer firms, Gregory developed "native-view" taxonomies and categorization schemes which illustrated how the individuals in her study classified the types of companies and positions. Gregory (1983) concluded that the use of research paradigms designed to elicit such "native-view" cognitive schema are important when assessing the cultural knowledge of individuals within organizations.

Bartunek (1984) examined the changes in the structuring of a religious order through the analysis of the changes in the members' interpretive schemes. Bartunek (1984) suggests that interpretive schemes describe the cognitive schemata that map experience of the world, identifying both its relevant aspects and how we are to understand them. Such schemes are shared fundamental assumptions and represent the

values and interests of the group members. Bartunek (1984) found that the relationship between interpretive scheme change and structure change was mediated by organizational members' actions and emotional reactions to those changes. She suggests that a dialectical process occurs by which the original interpretive schemes merge with opposing schemes and result in a new interpretive scheme which is a synthesis of both approaches.

Research Perspective of the Current Study and Critique of the Organization Cognition Research

The review of the literature on organizational culture suggests that there are multiple ways of viewing organizational culture and that the perspective chosen has an impact on both the definition of culture and the topics chosen for investigation. No one definition of culture is best-alternate perspectives serve different purposes in the investigation of culture. Researchers investigating organizational culture must clearly specify the approach taken in their research and define the key aspects of culture that they are focusing on for there to be clarity to the researchers' work.

The present study utilizes the organization cognition perspective in the analysis of organizational culture as an informal control system. The organization cognition perspective views culture as a system of organizational knowledge existing within individuals and stored in the form of cognitive structures such as schema, scripts, and cognitive maps. Although culture is thought to be an "individual" phenomenon, there is some degree of sharedness or overlap of cognitive structures between members in the same organization.

Organizational culture, from a organization cognition perspective, is conceptualized as the knowledge that people have and use to interpret information and events occurring

in the organization. Through experience in the organization, individuals generate knowledge concerning how the organization works as well as the organizationally correct responses to the stimuli occurring within the organization. Over time, individuals develop cognitive structures containing this information on the "culture" of the organization and rely upon them to provide a blueprint or a guide for future behavior. In this sense, organizational culture acts as a control system by focusing attention on important stimuli, providing frameworks for interpretation, and directing individual behavior towards the enactment of organizational goals. The research focus from this perspective is on the extraction of the actual systems of knowledge in use by organizational members, the examination of how cultural knowledge is structured, the discovery of the specific cognitive processes involved in the interpretation process, and the linking of the outcomes of interpretation with the behavior of members of the organization.

The organization cognition approach to organizational culture is similar to the functional approach suggested by such researchers as Schein (1985) and Louis (1985a, 1985b) who posit that organizational culture functions within organizations to influence the perceptions, thoughts, and feelings of organizational members. Both of these researchers argue that culture acts to help organizational members solve problems and make decisions within the organization by

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providing them with general values which impact on their activities. The problem with the work of these researchers, however, is that both Schein (1985) and Louis (1985a, 1985b) remain at a general level of analysis, suggesting broad themes, symbols, or values as being the cultural factors which influence individual behavior. These variables are important; however, they often do not provide much help in understanding the processes by which these variables are translated into specific behaviors performed by members of organizations.

Similar to Schein and Louis, researchers such as Wilkens (1983) and Peters and Waterman (1978) have suggested that story telling and the creation of broad organizational themes, such as "The system is the solution" (from AT&T) or "Search for unshakable facts" (from ITT), impact on organizational behavior. They also do not provide evidence on how these broad generalizations become translated into specific rules or frameworks which govern individual behavior. Perhaps if they probed deeper into the culture of an organization, they would find numerous specific rules/schema which operate to put the slogan or motto of the company into practical use. For example, one implicit rule developed from the culture of ITT might be that "When faced with the development of a new product, conduct market tests with clients in a variety of situations to ensure product acceptability." Analyzing culture at a deeper, more

behavioral level provides very specific information on how cultural rules operate to affect behavior and is very different from the type of analysis of organizational culture conducted in previous research efforts.

The work of Bougon, et al (1977) is a first step towards analyzing at a specific level the key variables contained in cultural knowledge systems (or cognitive maps). Their analysis, however, is lacking because they focus solely on member interpretations of the relationships between variables in the organizational system without specifying how these variables are actually linked with behavior. Knowing that the difficulty of a musical piece has a direct positive relationship with the amount of time spent rehearsing is interesting and useful, but it does not say very much about the cultural rules in the organization regarding the behaviors members perform resulting from knowing that this relationship exists (i.e. rules such as "If given a difficult piece to play this week, spend extra hours on own time rehearsing piece" or "If given a difficult piece to play this week, get a recording of the piece and listen to and study it so you will be prepared for practice). Translation of relationships between variables in the cognitive maps of organizational members into detailed, explicit schema can help to more clearly articulate the impact of culture on behavior.

In addition, there should be increased recognition of the inherent complexities of organizational cultural knowledge systems. Such systems are not composed of a small number of finite variables which can be related together (see Bougon, et al, 1977), but contain hundreds of schema linked together in very complicated systems. Research efforts should be aimed at identifying and untangling the many varied and sometimes conflicting web of schema people use to help them make sense of their organizations.

Gregory (1983) takes a step closer to the creation of an understanding of organizational cultural knowledge by developing the system of categories of the different job and organization types used by members of the computer industry. However, she stops short of specifying how these categories are used by organizational members in decision-making and other behaviors. In order to provide a more in-depth treatment of these issues, the linkage of the use of the categories to behavior is important.

Another topic that has not been adequately addressed in the organization cognition literature on culture is examination of the specific cognitive tasks that organizational members perform when utilizing their cultural knowledge in interpreting information. Previous research has stayed at a very general, organizational level when discussing the individual-level process of cognitive information processing. Research in the area of performance appraisal (c.f.

Kirsch, 1985) and other areas has shown that individuals perform complex cognitive tasks when evaluating information. The previous research on organizational culture does not provide models or detailed analyses of the specific cognitive steps individuals go through when using their cultural knowledge systems to interpret information and make decisions. Future research needs to address this issue.

Although cognitive processing is an individual-level phenomenon, researchers have also not focused on the social nature of organizational culture. The focus of organizational culture, by definition, is on understanding how groups of individuals in an organizational setting interact with one another to create a common or shared interpretation of events and actions occurring within the organization and its environment. Previous research in this area has neglected the mutual influence of organizational members on the interpretation process and the exploration of how individuals may negotiate between themselves as to the proper perspective or definition of a situation which would be the most appropriate for future action. Serious effort must be placed on understanding how social interaction among organizational members in enacting information influences the interpretation process.

Each of the issues discussed above need to be addressed in future research on organizational culture. The current study will address these issues through examining organiza-

tional culture as a third order control system. The next section of this paper is devoted to the development of the theoretical rationale for and the model of organizational culture as a knowledge and control system. First, an outline of the interpretive research paradigm, which is the approach utilized in the present study, is presented and contrasted with the traditional functionalist approach. Second, the research stemming from the functionalist perspective on control systems is reviewed. Third, the research on organizational control generated from the interpretive paradigm is presented. Fourth, a model of organizational culture as a control system is developed. Fifth, because the sample organization examined in this study is a news organization, previous research conducted on the operations of news organizations is examined. Finally, the specific research focus of the present study is discussed.

The Interpretive Paradigm

To adequately study the concept of organizational culture, a fundamentally different approach to conducting scientific inquiry than is normally undertaken in organizational behavior research is suggested. It requires a paradigm shift, which implies the development of an alternative method for the conduct of research. Morgan (1980) asserts that there are three broad definitions of paradigms and their function in social science research: paradigms can be thought of as 1) implicit or explicit views of reality, 2) related to the social organization of science in terms of schools of thought connected with particular kinds of scientific achievement, and 3) related to the concrete use of specific kinds of tools and texts for the process of scientific puzzle solving. Using Morgan's (1980) notions concerning paradigms, the study of organizational culture adopted here involves: 1) the assumption that reality is socially constructed, 2) the employment of the symbolic interactionist position and 3) the use of ethnographic tools and qualitative techniques.

The paradigm or perspective adopted in the current study is termed the interpretive perspective. The assumptions and beliefs associated with this perspective are based on a school of thought called symbolic interactionism (cf. Mead, 1934; Blumer, 1969). There are three basic premises

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underlying symbolic interactionism: 1) that human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them, 2) that the meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellows, and 3) that meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretive process used by the person dealing with the things he/she encounters (Blumer, 1969, from Spradley, 1979, p. 6). This approach suggests that interaction with other individuals leads to the development of "perspectives" which are a set of rules or a guide which the individual internalizes and which becomes the basis for self-control, self-direction, and self-judgment. These "perspectives" are points of view or conceptual frameworks which guide what is seen, sensitize actors to certain parts of physical reality, and are used to help interpret situations that arise. It is these "perspectives" which form the basis for social or symbolic interaction and the interpretation of other individuals behavior and events surrounding the individual (Charon, 1979).

The development of shared perspectives among individuals in a common social group enables social interactions to take place. Shibutani (1955) suggests that this process involves the following steps: first, individuals begin to identify with a number of reference groups; second, they learn through communication the perspectives of these social worlds; and third, they use these perspectives to define or

interpret situations that are encountered. Interaction with others involves the application of these perspectives to interpret or ascertain the meaning of the actions or remarks of the other person. Through this process, the participants can fit their own acts to the ongoing acts of others (Blumer, 1966). Society is the sum of this symbolic interaction in which individuals take each other into account, communicate as they act, and engage in cooperative action (Charon, 1979). Patterns of social interaction and group life exist and persist only through the continued use of the same schemes of interpretation; such schemes of interpretation are maintained only through their continued confirmation by the defining acts of others (Blumer, 1966).

Application of symbolic interactionist theory to the study of organizations has led to the interpretivist paradigm. This paradigm stands opposed to the more traditional approach of the functionalist paradigm, which is the paradigm currently in use by most organizational researchers. In order to fully understand the differences of the two approaches, it is necessary to outline the different perspectives in terms of their view of organizations and organizational behavior, the role and purpose of the organizational researcher, and the type of research methodology employed by researchers in the two paradigms.

The interpretivist paradigm focuses on the notion that people enact their own reality either individually or in

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concert with others (Smircich, 1983a). Organizations do not exist in some concrete fashion, but are socially constructed through the words, symbols, and behaviors of its members. Organizations are symbolic processes that evolve through streams of ongoing behavior instead of through static social facts (Putnam, 1983). Individuals are not passive respondents, but are active participants in the creation process. They are actively involved in the creation of meaning and the development of interpretation systems based on these meanings. An individual's behavior is not the result of such things as environmental pressures, stimuli, motives, attitudes, and ideas, but arises instead from how the individual interprets and handles these things in the action which he/she is constructing (Blumer, 1962). It is the individual or group of individuals' meaning systems, systems of interpretation, or common/shared "perspectives" which are the important determinants of individual behavior.

The researcher's role in the interpretive paradigm is to develop an understanding of how organizational members view the world (Putnam, 1983). The goal is to conceptualize the world in the same way that participants do. As a result, phenomena are understood not in reference to some abstract theory developed by scientists, but instead through the words and ideas of those being examined. The emphasis of this approach is on using qualitative and ethnographic techniques to grasp the language and terms of the partici-

pants. Hypothesis testing is replaced by exploration by the researchers, where the "scholar shifts from one to another line of inquiry, adopts new points of observation as his/her study progresses, moves in new directions previously unthought of, and changes his recognition of what are relevant data as he acquires more information and better understanding" (Blumer, 1969, p. 40). In order to truly understand the participant's point of view, the researcher must be actively involved in the research process - either through extended direct observation or through actual participation in the organization under study.

The result of such an approach to conducting research is the development of an ethnographic account of the organization or group under study. Ethnography is the study of what the world is like to people who have learned to see, hear, speak, and act in ways that are different. Rather than studying people, ethnography means learning from people (Spradley, 1980). An ethnographic approach involves a period of intimate study and residence in a well-defined community employing a wide range of observational techniques including prolonged face to face contact with members of local groups, direct participation in some of the group's activities, and a greater emphasis on intensive work with informants than on the use of documentary or survey data (Van Maanen, 1983). This approach focuses on three fundamental aspects of human experience: what people do, what

people know, and the things people make and use. When each of these are learned and shared they become cultural behavior, cultural knowledge, and cultural artifacts (Spradley, 1980). The essence of an ethnography is "thick description" - an analysis of culture, not as experimental science in search of law, but as an interpretive one in search of meaning (Geertz, 1973). The end result of an ethnographic research project is not the testing of hypotheses, but the interpretation and understanding of the meaning systems of those individuals under study.

The functionalist paradigm sharply contrasts with the interpretivist approach to studying organizations. Advocates of the functionalist approach do not believe that reality is socially constructed, but rather asserts that organizations have a concrete, real existence, and a systemic character oriented to produce an ordered and regulated state of affairs (Morgan, 1980). Organizational phenomenon are fixed, constant, and objective. Individuals respond to clearly defined stimuli and the resultant behavior is a direct function of the clearly specified rules, procedures, hierarchies, structures, and technologies of the organization (Putnam, 1983). Individuals respond in similar ways to the same stimuli and these responses can be easily measured and understood.

Advocates of the functionalist paradigm believe in the possibility of an objective and value-free social science in

which the scientist is distanced from the scene which he/she is analyzing (Morgan, 1980). The researcher's role is to develop the categories and hypotheses which guide the investigation. It is the researcher who elaborates the scientific laws of the phenomena under study and develops the models which are postulated to govern the cause-effect relations between the variables of interest (Putnam, 1983). The researcher distances him/herself from daily organizational life, removing him/herself from active involvement in the organization or phenomenon under investigation. It is a rational approach, which emphasizes the observable, measurable social facts and formal structure of the organization (Martin, 1982).

Traditional research methods are used in the functionalist paradigm, relying on the four customary means: adhering to scientific protocol, engaging in replication, testing hypotheses, and using operational procedures to analyze the phenomena of interest (Blumer, 1969). Statistical tests of significance abound, carrying the burden of verification of experimental hypotheses and models. The use of such statistics implies an ordered, controlled, and static view of the world. As Morgan and Smircich (1980) note,

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"The quantitative methods used in the social sciences are appropriate for capturing a view of the social world as a concrete structure. In manipulating data through sophisticated quantitative approaches, social scientists are attempting to freeze the social world into structured immobility and reduce the role of human beings to elements subject to a deterministic set of forces" (p.498).

The differences between the research goals of the two approaches are also great. The functionalist researcher usually has a specific goal - to test hypotheses. Investigators using this approach are not interested in discovering the "knowledge" of the subjects, but instead seek to confirm or disconfirm a specific hypothesis by studying the subject's responses. Work with subjects begins with ideas preconceived by researchers and little or no attempt is made to let the informants participate actively in the research process (Spradley, 1979). The interpretivist researcher, on the other hand, does not have a specific goal in conducting the research, but only the general goal of discovering the knowledge that participants are using to organize their behavior and interpret their experience (Spradley, 1980). Attempts are made to use the language of the informants, and the informants direct the investigator toward the important aspects of the informants' world. Research questions develop over time, after exposure to various aspects of the participant's culture.

Spradley (1980) has developed models of the different research sequences that are followed in the functionalist

and the interpretivist paradigms. Figure 1 illustrates the linear sequence typically employed by functionalist researchers. The process involved in the interpretivist research sequence is more a cyclical process than a linear one. The model of the ethnographic research cycle is presented in Figure 2.

The research sequences implied by the functionalist and interpretivist perspectives suggest fundamentally different approaches to doing research. Whereas the functionalist approach is linear and focused, the interpretivist begins with broad, general notions and it is only through the collection and analysis and further collection of ethnographic data that the research questions emerge from the data collected.

Examination of the research processes also suggest different general research strategies that are used to guide scientific inquiry. Spradley (1979) has developed a useful comparison of the types of research questions used to structure research projects:

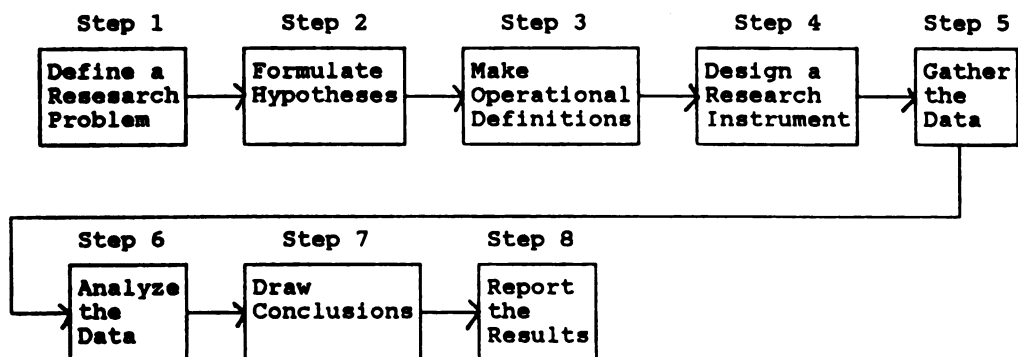


Figure 1. Model of the Functionalist Research Sequence

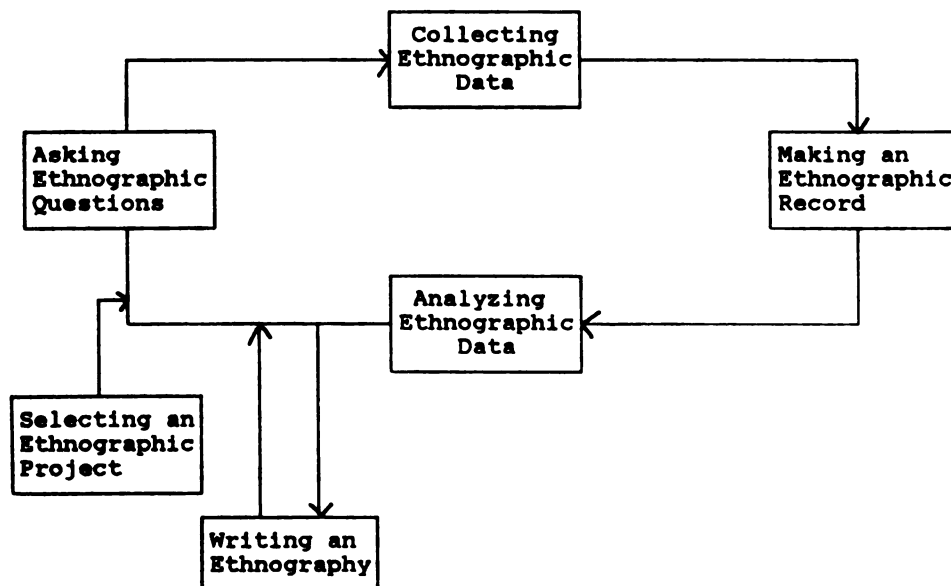


Figure 2. Model of the Ethnographic Research Cycle

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Functionalist Paradigm

1. What do I know about a problem that will allow me to formulate and test a hypothesis?
2. What concepts can I use to test this hypothesis?
3. How can I operationally define these concepts?
4. What scientific theory can explain the data?
5. How can I interpret the results and report them in the language of my colleagues?

Interpretivist Paradigm

1. What do my informants know about their culture that I can discover?
2. What concepts do my informants use to classify their experience?
3. How do my informants define these concepts?
4. What folk theory do my informants use to explain their experience?
5. How can I translate the cultural knowledge of my informants into a cultural description my colleagues will understand?

(Spradley, 1979, p. 30)

To summarize, the differences between the interpretivist paradigm and the functionalist paradigm correspond to differences in assumptions, approaches to the understanding of organizational behavior, the research questions scientists are interested in, the methodology used to answer those questions, and the resultant analysis of the data obtained.

It is not the purpose of this paper to argue in favor of one approach or the other as a general strategy to use in the conduct of all organizational behavior research, but rather to suggest that for the study of organizational culture the interpretivist approach is more useful. The interpretivist perspective focuses on the shared knowledge

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structures that develop among individuals within society in general, and within an organization in particular. It seeks to understand that knowledge which can be considered cultural - implicit, often unconscious assumptions, beliefs, values, and attitudes which underlie individual thought and behavior. When investigating a topic such as organizational culture, a research strategy which involves bringing to the surface tacit information and knowledge is necessary. It is not enough for a researcher to conduct a simple questionnaire study and claim he/she are researching culture, the researcher must become actively involved in the group or organization under study and spend time in that group or organization (Schein, 1985).

It is rather ethnocentric of functionalist researchers to assume that they can define the key concepts of an organization's culture without having spent time in trying to elicit the organizational members' perspective. It is their culture that the researcher is seeking to identify, so it makes logical sense that the researcher use informants in the organization both to help define and generate the research hypotheses as well as provide the ethnographic data useful for understanding.

Functionalist View of Organizational Control Systems

There have been numerous research efforts within Organizational Psychology which have focused attention on organizational control systems. This research has stemmed from the functionalist tradition and has focused on 1) factors which affect control systems, 2) the match between control systems and organizational requirements, and 3) the effects of control systems on individual attitudes and behavior. This approach is based on the assumptions that man is a rational, logical actor and that environmental stimuli act to control or direct individuals.

Control systems, from a functionalist perspective, are the key mechanisms through which organizations guide individual behavior in the direction of organizational requirements. Control systems are integrative forces which coordinate individual and group behavior within organizations. Because organizations require concerted action among individuals working in different functions and at different levels in the organization, some system designed to control or direct individual and group behavior is required. Control systems fulfill this function.

Control systems are conceptualized as the process of monitoring behavior, comparing it with some standard for performance, and then providing selective rewards and

adjustments (Ouchi, 1977). As Lawler and Rhode (1976) state:

"(Control systems) try to influence behavior by specifying what kind of behavior is appropriate and by providing some means of gathering information about the adequacy of the behavior that takes place. Management uses this information to coordinate the activities of different parts of the organization, as a basis for taking corrective action when problems exist, and to reward and punish the behavior of members of the organization" (p. 6).

Characteristics of control systems are classified as being one of two types: direct, fully obtrusive ones such as giving orders, direct surveillance, and rules and regulations; and bureaucratic ones such as specialization, standardization and hierarchy, which are fairly unobtrusive (Perrow, 1979). Through both of these types of control processes, organizations collect, store, and transmit information about individual behavior and the condition of the organization and are thus able to take corrective action to improve the level of organizational functioning (Lawler and Rhode, 1976).

Perhaps the most influential researcher in this area is Tanenbaum (1962). Tanenbaum (1962) defines control as "any process in which a person or group of persons or organization of persons determines, i.e. intentionally affects, what another person or group or organization will do" (p. 522). He suggests that organizations need control systems to help keep behavior conformant with the rational plan of the

organization. Control systems serve both a standardization and integrating function, enabling individuals to behave in a manner consistent with organizational requirements which, in turn, fosters the achievement of the goals of the organization. Tanenbaum (1962) asserts that control systems work on two levels: first, a pragmatic level, in which control systems imply something about individual behavior, what individuals can and cannot do and the areas of choice or freedom which they have; and second, a psychological level, in which control may imply superiority, inferiority, dominance, submission, guidance, help, criticism, and reprimand. Tanenbaum's (1962) major thesis is that control patterns within organizations have strong effects on both the actual behaviors individuals perform in the organization (and thus the level of organizational performance) as well as the psychological reactions of organizational members.

Tanenbaum (1962), as a member of the human relations school, focuses attention on the distribution of control across organizations, asserting that for organizational members to have positive affect towards the organization and work towards organizational goals, the distribution of control needs to be equalized across levels of the organization. Tanenbaum (1962) suggests that the "control pie" can be expanded to include individuals holding non-management positions enabling those individuals to have more personal freedom and feel less controlled by the organization.

Tanenbaum's (1962) research and the work conducted by researchers studying structure and technology using the contingency approach to the study of organizations (cf. Woodward, 1965; Thompson, 1967) led to the examination of the fit between certain types of control systems and organizational requirements. This research sought to identify those characteristics of organizations and control systems which would be best matched. The outcome of this matching process is thought to be more positive individual attitudes and higher levels of performance (behavior directed towards the accomplishment of the goals of the organization).

For example, Turcotte (1974) hypothesized that an organization with an influence distribution consistent with the required organizational task would have employees with higher levels of need fulfillment and satisfaction and higher performance aspirations than would an organization which did not. Turcotte (1974) studied two state-owned liquor store systems and compared the two systems in terms of their goals, sales, profits, amount of authority of executive directors, budgets, and type of control systems (amount of reporting, type of inventory systems, and standards for performance). The results indicated that there was a cluster of control system characteristics best matched for the task and that these characteristics were

associated with more positive employee attitudes and performance.

McMahon and Ivancevich (1976) focused on the relationship between managerial perceptions of control and corresponding line and staff employee perceptions of satisfaction and performance. They used a control graph to measure the total amount of control that exists in the organization and the manner in which control is distributed throughout the managerial hierarchy. A key variable is concordance, or the degree of agreement among members of hierarchical levels on the amount and distribution of control within the managerial system. They suggest that the degree of concordance is related to system solidarity, predictability, and coordination. Using a sample of 2123 managerial personnel and 2742 non-supervisory personnel in a multi-national manufacturing firm, they examined the effects of total control, distribution of control, and concordance on employee satisfaction and performance. The results were mixed as low total control (low interaction, low mutual influence, and low participation) predicted higher performance, satisfaction, and ratings of top management (a finding contrary to that predicted), while higher concordance led to higher levels of organizational effectiveness (as predicted). McMahon and Ivancevich (1976) speculated that technology might have moderated the relationship between total control and performance and attitudes.

Lawler and Rhode (1976) focus attention on the effects of the design of control systems and the resulting information processing requirements on individual motivation. A "thermostat" model of control is used which suggests that the key characteristics of control systems are: 1) the characteristics of the measures - how completely or inclusively the system measures behavior, the objectivity of the measures, and the degree to which the measures can be controlled and influenced; 2) the nature of the standards - who sets the standards and their difficulty level; 3) the source of discrimination - who acts as the discriminator; 4) the pattern of communication - who receives information about deviations from the standard; 5) the speed and frequency of communication - how quickly and how often the information is reported; 6) the form of the communication; 7) the type of activity - important or unimportant; and 8) the motivation for activity - intrinsic or extrinsic motivation.

Lawler and Rhode (1976) suggest that control systems designed with certain clusters of these characteristics should be more effective in increasing both the intrinsic and extrinsic motivation of organization members than control systems which do not contain these characteristics. They posit that if control systems are poorly designed (i.e. do not contain the critical features specified in their model), then dysfunctional behaviors such as bureaucratic

behavior, strategic behavior, production of invalid data, and resistance can occur which reduce the level of effectiveness of the organization.

Ouchi and Maguire (1975) and Ouchi (1977) were concerned with the explicit link between technology and structure and the type of control system employed by an organization. They assert that both technology and structure affect the type of control system used by an organization through the determination of the type of measurement system it is possible to use. Ouchi (1977) posits that there are two types of phenomena within organizations which can be observed, monitored, and counted: behavior and the outputs which result from behavior. Which type of measurement system is used is dependent on the knowledge of the transformation process (technology) and the availability of output measures. Figure 3 illustrates the classification system Ouchi (1977) hypothesizes will predict the type of control mechanisms which will be used by an organization.

To apply behavior control, the organization must possess at least agreement, if not true knowledge about means-ends relationships. For managers to monitor behavior, some notions about what behaviors need to be performed must be known. On the other hand, to apply output control, there must exist a system for the reliable and valid measurement of the desired outputs. This requires agreement as to what these outputs are as well as a technique or procedure to

measure them. In the case of low knowledge of transformation processes and low availability of output measures, Ouchi (1977) suggests that attempts at control are supported by ritual and not by rational analysis. Ouchi states that this categorization scheme is intended to be normative, suggesting that organizations, if rational, will adopt the specified form of control.

Ouchi and Maguire (1975) and Ouchi (1977) tested these propositions in a series of empirical studies. Ouchi and Maguire (1975) tested three propositions: 1) managers rely relatively more on behavior control as their understanding of means-ends relationships increase, 2) managers rely more on output control as their need to provide legitimate evidence of performance increases, and 3) that output and behavior control are independent of each other. A group of 329 managers from 5 different department stores was sampled and measures of behavior and output control, task complexity, knowledge of means-ends relationships, and organizational measures concerning the hierarchy structure and job titles were collected. The results provided support for the three hypotheses. Ouchi and Maguire (1975) conclude that control systems in organizations do not serve a single purpose; output control systems serve the needs of the organization as a whole, by satisfying the demand for simple, quantifiable measures, while behavior control

Knowledge of Transformation Process

Availability of Output Measures	High	Behavior or Output Control	Output Control
	Low	Behavior Control	Ritual

Figure 3. Control Type and its Antecedent Conditions

systems serve the needs of the individual manager which are to guide and direct subordinates.

Ouchi (1977) provided a more direct test of his framework. Based on questionnaire responses obtained in 78 non-discount, retail department stores, Ouchi analyzed the effects of structure and technology on the type of control systems used by these organizations. Support was found for the general notions that both structure and technology affect the type of control systems employed in organizations. However, Ouchi found that simple behavior and output measures were not comprehensive enough to describe the workings of the control systems in place in the organizations in his sample. Other "non-organizational" factors also played a role in controlling behavior. These factors included a common language, a common scale through which evaluations can be made, and a code of professionalism among the workers.

In summary, the functionalist approach to the study of control systems in organizations has focused on such control system components as organizational rules, procedures, structures, and the monitoring of behavior by supervisors as being the mechanisms through which individual behavior is guided and directed toward the accomplishment of organizational goals. Individuals are viewed as being passive respondents to the control systems within the organization; they are controlled and directed by forces and stimuli

within the organization and behave in the direction in which the control system leads them. Although Lawler and Rhode (1976) do attribute an action component to individuals (i.e. dysfunctional behavior in response to poorly designed control systems), the majority of the research efforts using the functionalist approach disregard the notion that individuals are active processors of information and that they are not simply elements that can be controlled or directed by organizational forces.

Interpretivist View of Organizational Control Systems

The interpretivist view of control systems focuses on the more subtle, somewhat unconscious control of individual behavior in organizations through the control over cognitive information processing. The interpretivists consider the system of cultural knowledge developed by individuals as being the mechanism through which behavior is shaped, controlled, and guided. The outcome of this process is the same as that proposed by the functionalists, that of coordination of organizational members and achievement of organizational goals, but the processes suggested as leading to those ends are different.

One of the more prominent researchers who has discussed this approach to control systems is Perrow (1979). Perrow (1979) states that although there exists formal, structured control systems within organizations such as giving orders, direct surveillance, and rules and regulations (first order controls), and specialization, standardization, and hierarchy (second order controls) to guide behavior, the vast proportion of the activity in organizations goes on without personal directives and supervision and even without written rules. The problem with humans in organizations (or the need for organizations to develop control systems) is not just that people may go their own selfish way, but that there are real limits to human rationality, in terms of

limits on the amount of information that can be processed by individuals. As a result, the premises of decisions and the flow of information upon which decisions are based needs to be controlled. Perrow (1979) states there exists a set of third order controls which act to control an individuals' cognitive premises underlying action. It is these controls that help to guide and structure those aspects of behavior for which the other more formalized control systems are not applicable, for example in situations where work is non-routine and unprogrammed. Although third order control systems may be more difficult to achieve, they may be even more effective than the other types of control systems. With third order controls, individuals voluntarily restrict the range of stimuli that are attended to and the range of alternatives that are considered. Thus, third order controls act as a filter to help structure and limit the flow of information processed by individuals within the organization.

The use of the organization cognition perspective to study organizational culture is seen as synonymous with the notion of third order controls. The organization cognition perspective conceptualizes culture as being a system of knowledge structures containing cultural information. This view suggests that cultural knowledge structures act as a mechanism through which information can be processed and behavior can be guided and directed toward the accomplish-

ment of organizational goals. Culture is thought to help filter and structure information concerning the organization and enable individuals to make decisions and take actions consistent with the organizational culture.

Wilkins (1983) has used these notions in an analysis of organizational stories. Wilkins suggests that organizational stories become scripts which provide the same kind of cognitive "satisficing" device that a standard operating procedure does. The decision maker has only to place an incoming problem into the framework of a well-known story about how such a problem was handled to decide what should be done. For example, Wilkins notes the story of a personnel manager working for a multi-national company in the Far East:

"He and the plant manager were confronted one day with an emergency decision and had been unable to contact headquarters in the U.S. for instructions. They sat down together and asked themselves, 'Well, what would the company president do?' What occurred to them was a shared perspective which the personnel manager derived from a story the president had once told him. This rather implicit perspective made the decision clear to these men and they later found that top management agreed completely with their conclusions" (p. 85).

Wilkins (1983) asserts that this kind of control works by restricting what decision makers consider as relevant, the form of logical reasoning that is deemed appropriate, and the kinds of solutions that are seen as acceptable.

Wilkins (1983) argues that stories play a significant role as third-order controls because: 1) they facilitate recall (memory) of values, principles, as well as specific information, 2) they tend to generate belief, and 3) they seem to encourage attitudinal commitment by appealing to legitimate values. He adds that stories communicate a perspective, an approach to problem solving, implied causal relationships, and deep-seated values. Although Wilkins feels that stories are a very convenient way of establishing or maintaining third order control, other rituals or symbol systems can also act in a similar fashion.

Gioia (1986) discusses the use of third order control systems when he describes how symbols can be manipulated by managers to impose systems of meaning on employees within organizations. Gioia (1986) suggests that with third order control, the control of members resides within the interpretation system of the employee and is dependent upon his or her social constructions. He argues that once the leaders of organizations decide on the "correct" symbols, third order control is instituted through the development of individual interpretation schemes consistent with this symbolic framework. Symbolic management thus serves as an effective mechanism for instilling self-management among members of the organization.

Both Pfeffer (1981) and Peters and Waterman (1982) have also applied similar concepts in their view of the role of

managers in organizations. These researchers argue that the most significant effect of managerial action on the behavior of individuals in organizations is the development of a shared system of symbols and knowledge base concerning the way the organization conducts business. The manipulation of these symbols creates a shared organizational vision and a shared reality that controls or guides individuals towards desired organizational outcomes. Peters and Waterman (1982) postulate that it is the ability of organizations to successfully manipulate symbols that distinguishes successful or excellent companies from unsuccessful ones.

An Integration of Organizational Control System Processes Literature

The preceeding discussion suggests that to fully understand control systems, both formal organizational controls such as rules and procedures as well as informal controls generated through organizational culture need to be considered. Both types of controls serve to guide, focus, and structure individual behavior towards the pursuit and accomplishment of organizational goals. It is through such control systems that the behavior of individuals within organizations is coordinated and "organized". The final section of this paper presents a hypothesized model of the organizational control process and discusses the implications of this model for the present research study.

Conceptual Model of Organizational Culture as a Control System

A conceptual model of organizational culture as a control system is illustrated in Figure 4. This model suggests that organizational culture acts as a control system by controlling or influencing individual cognitive information processing. The major assumption underlying this model is that organizational culture is a system of knowledge, individually developed and maintained, and stored in the form of cognitive maps, scripts, and schema. This system of knowledge is used by

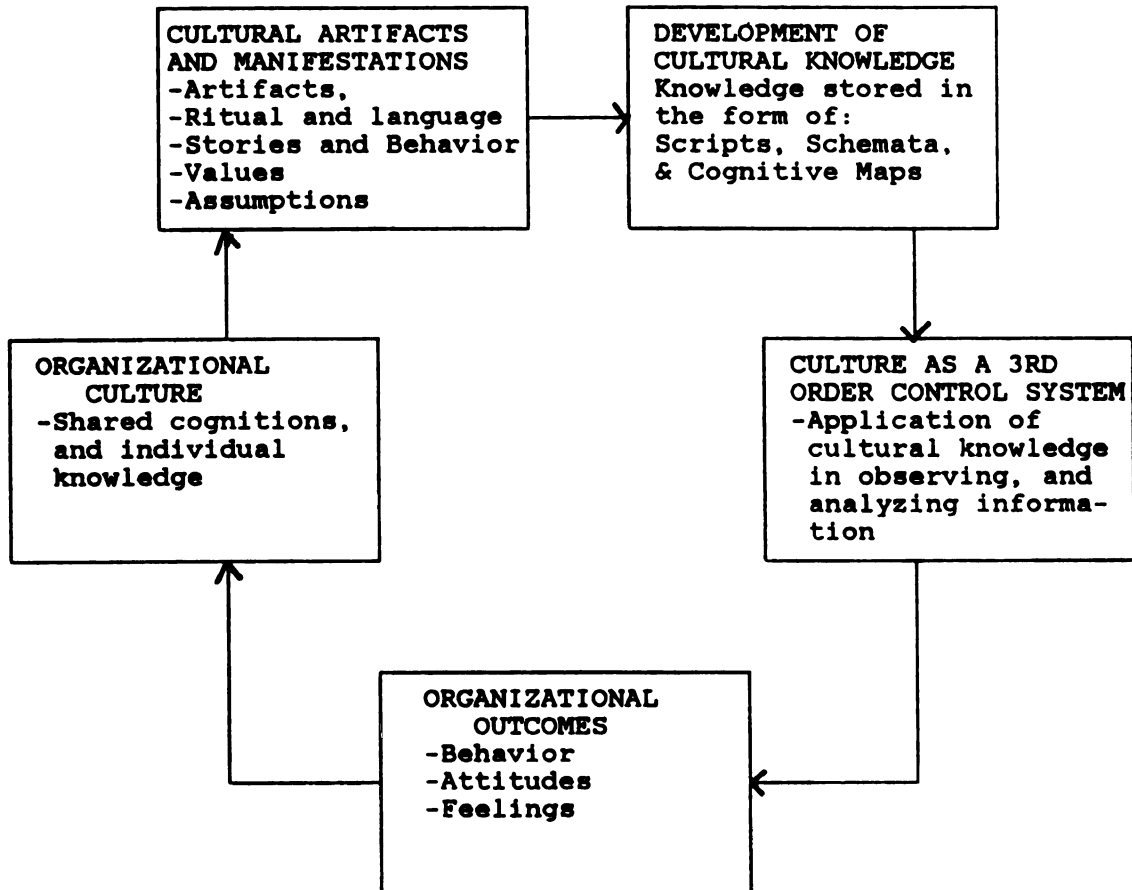


Figure 4. Conceptual Model of Organizational Culture as a Control System

individuals to create their world and enact their system of meaning. It represents their perspective, their view of the relations between systems in the organization, their framework for understanding and creating reality.

The model suggests that the way in which cultural knowledge is learned is through the transmission of cultural information to individuals through cultural artifacts, values, and deeper level assumptions. Cultural artifacts and manifestations used to transmit knowledge concerning organizational culture include organizational rituals (e.g. socialization practices, meetings, hiring/removal practices), symbols (e.g. organizational logos, slogans, physical design of the organization), language (e.g. the specialized language systems that develop within organizations), stories/myths (e.g. concerning the founding of the company, examples of situations in which organizational members performed according to the organization's cultural values), and through observation of others' behavior. Deeper aspects of the organizations' culture such as the key values and assumptions of the culture are transmitted to members of the organization through the embedding of these concepts in the both cultural artifacts and other individuals' behavior.

Individuals within organizations use the knowledge concerning the culture of the organization to develop a conceptual framework or set of cognitive knowledge struc-

tures which they use to make sense of the organization and its activities. Cognitive knowledge concerning the culture of the organization is stored in such knowledge structures as schemas, which are categorization schemes that people use to organize information efficiently; cognitive maps, which are diagrams of the relationships between the key variables within the organization; and scripts, which are behavioral or action plans which are recalled and applied to facilitate or direct future behavior. It is suggested that these knowledge structures are culture - they represent the knowledge an individual needs to know to be able to work in his/her organization. When individuals are confronted with information that needs to be processed, individuals utilize their knowledge system and set of cognitive structures containing information on the culture of the organization as a guide or filter through which they can interpret, analyze, and understand this information and develop reactions to it. Organizational culture knowledge thus acts as a "third order control system", helping to guide or direct organizational members' attention and responses in the direction appropriate for the organization's culture (Perrow, 1979). The result is a form of self-control or self-management by individuals through their intuitively knowing the "organizationally" correct approach to problem solving, decision-making, and/or the appropriate behaviors to perform in response to situations that arise.

Application of organizational culture knowledge in the development of responses to organizational contingencies leads to the performance of behavior by organizational members that is "culturally" correct. This may or may not be the most "organizationally effective" response, but will be in line with the cultural demands of the organization. Continued responding using cultural information as a guide or framework for behavior facilitates the continuation of the organizational culture over time. As the organization continues in operation, the culture becomes increasingly embedded in the "organization" and its activities.

Parallel Processes of Formal and Informal Control Systems

While organizational culture plays a strong role in the control of individual behavior within organizations, the formal control systems in the organization also assert influence over individuals through the programming of behavior using first and second order controls. The formal and informal control systems function through parallel processes to guide behavior. Figure 5 presents a model comparing the processes involved in the formal (first and second order controls) and the informal (third order) control systems.

Formal control systems operate to control behavior by providing programs or routines that individuals in the or-

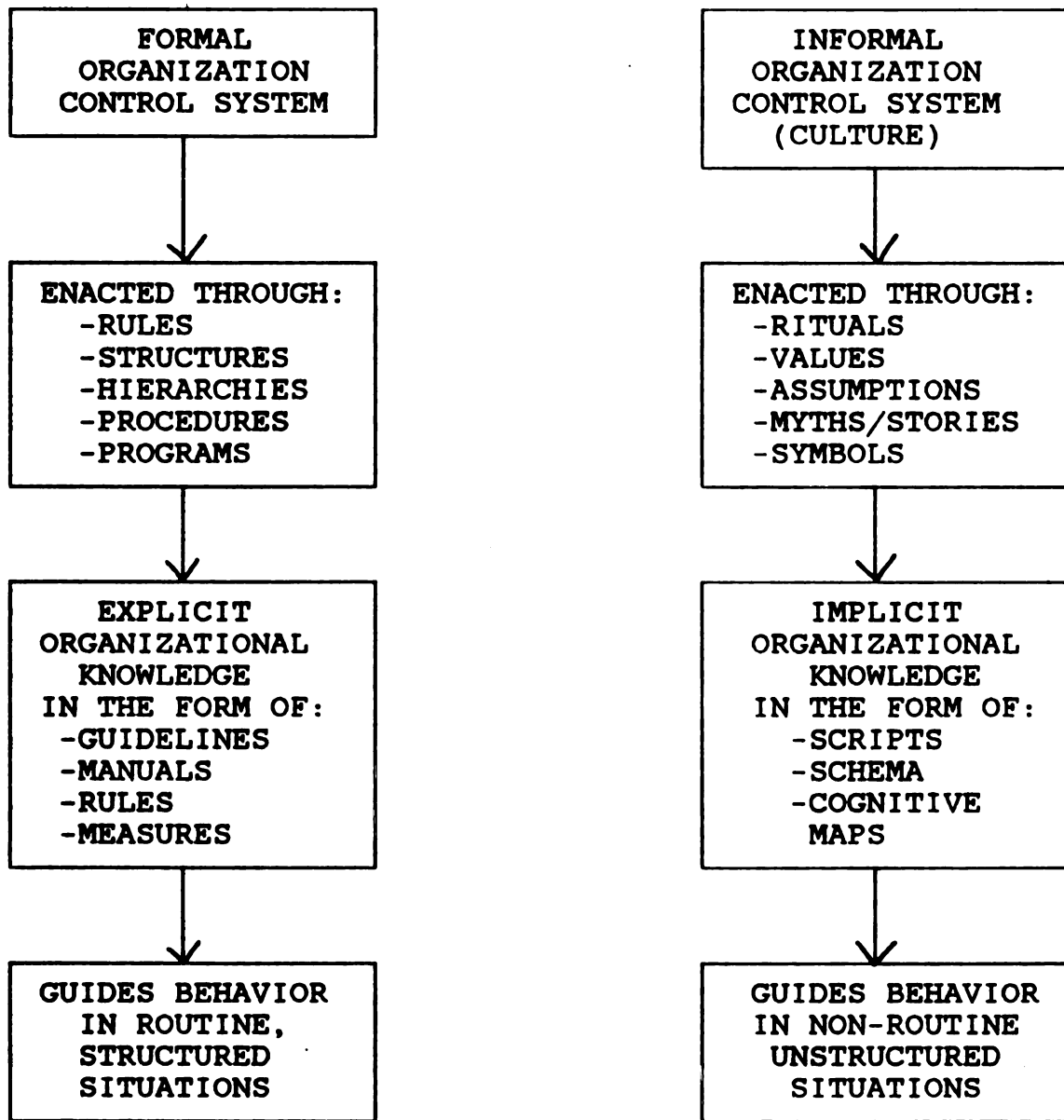


Figure 5. Parallel Processes of Formal and Informal Control Systems

ganization use to guide or direct their behavior. The formal control system is enacted through the rules, structures, hierarchies, procedures, supervision strategies, and programs built into the design of the organization and its measurement systems. The result of formal control systems is a body of "explicit" knowledge concerning the set of proper behavioral routines to enact in specified situations. This knowledge takes the form of formal written documents such as manuals, rule-books, guidelines, measures of organizational performance, or through direct orders from a supervisor. These types of controls clearly specify the behaviors one should perform in response to organizational demands.

The informal control system works in a parallel fashion to the formal system in guiding behavior. Through exposure to the organization's cultural artifacts, values, and assumptions, individuals develop a body of "implicit" organizational knowledge which can be applied to interpret and analyze situations to generate appropriate responses. This set of knowledge is individually-based, and takes the form of cognitive schema, maps, and scripts. Through the development of this knowledge base, individuals can learn to respond in the culturally appropriate fashion to organizational contingencies. The two processes are similar in the general manner in which behavior is controlled; both sets of control systems provide a set of knowledge which individuals

use to guide their behavior. However, the major difference between the two control systems is that the organizational knowledge in formal control systems is explicit, formalized, is often written down in manuals or guidelines, while the organizational knowledge in the informal system is implicit, internalized, and is composed of often preconscious or unconscious values and assumptions which govern on-going behavior in a variety of situations.

Another key area in which the two types of control systems differ is the situations in which information and knowledge obtained from the systems will be applied to guide behavior. Ouchi (1977) and Perrow (1979) suggest that when task requirements are routine, well-structured, and the knowledge of the transformation processes needed for completion of the task are well-known, formal control mechanisms are the predominate influence over individual behavior. When task requirements are non-routine, not well-structured, and the work processes of the task are unknown or uncertain, informal control mechanisms are relied on to guide behavior.

In situations which are routine or are well-known, behavior can be highly programmed. Because individuals possess certainty as to the requirements of the task and have a clear idea of what behaviors are necessary for completion of the task, explicit guidelines or rules can be developed and formalized by the organization to ensure that

behavior is carried out according to these plans. Organizational structures and hierarchies are built into the system to process the information associated with these tasks in an efficient manner (Galbraith, 1977) and measurement systems designed to monitor the performance of these routine behaviors are developed to assess deviations from expected results (Lawler and Rhode, 1977).

When situations are less certain, and the behaviors necessary to perform a given task are less well known, individuals need a second system of knowledge to help guide their behavior. Organizational culture knowledge provides individuals with a set of implicit information that they can draw upon to help analyze situations and develop appropriate responses to them. The implicit beliefs, values, and assumptions which form the culture of the organization act to give individuals a framework with which they can understand and create the reality of the situation (e.g. see example from Wilkins, 1983, presented above). Thus, in unstructured situations individuals rely on their cultural knowledge to determine what is and what is not the "culturally" correct way to behave in the situation.

While the distinction between formal and informal control systems is amplified here to make a point, the two systems are not completely distinct from one other. For example, as Schein (1985) notes, the culture of an organization evolves due to its ability to help groups solve their

problems. Sets of behavioral routines that have been consistently generated in response to reoccurring problems that develop may, over time, become formalized and part of the formal control system. Similarly, cultural patterns may develop in response to formal organization controls. For example, it is well known that through experience individuals learn which rules and regulations should be paid attention to and which can be ignored. They learn "organizational shortcuts" they can use to wade through the formal control system, which then becomes part of their cultural knowledge. In essence, although the formal and informal control systems can be theoretically distinguished from one another, the distinction in operation between them is not always clear.

Literature Review of Research on News Organizations

The organization being examined in this study is a news organization. In order to obtain a greater understanding of the operations of news organizations, research in the areas of journalism, communication, and sociology were examined to help understand the process of how news organizations operate. Several research studies conducted have focused on understanding the sets of rules or criteria which are used for determining story selection and story treatment. In general, researchers on these topics have argued that news organizations need to develop a set of policies or procedures that newswriters can employ to help reduce the vast amount of possible news stories to a manageable number. Although the framework of organizational culture/cultural knowledge is not employed in their analyses, it can be clearly seen that the phenomena these researchers describe are very similar to the framework proposed in this research project. The following section provides a brief summary of the research conducted in this area.

Romano (1986) discussed the topic of what is news and examined the systems of rules individuals use to determine the content of their news programs. He argued that the principles that govern decision-making of stories, while rational, are not scientific or logically compelling and that no sufficient conditions exist that guarantee the

running of a particular news story on any given day. He suggested that,

"Rational principles that govern coverage decisions are not 'scientific'. Unlike scientific laws, rational principles can not be assumed to apply uniformly or to permit accurate predictions of future cases. Far from having the same force for all decision-making members of the press, they operate as rules of thumb whose persuasive force varies among various editors" (Romano, 1986, p. 61).

Romano (1986) posited that there are 9 major topics which the press usually covers: 1) symbolic events - events that carry symbolic importance or an ordinary event that is transformed into one, such as a factory opening attended by the President; 2) the formerly famous - the doings of once prominent news figures if they are out of the ordinary or clash with the figure's public image; 3) anniversaries; 4) the possible - what reporters can get to; 5) the easy-stories arising from press releases and public relations materials; 6) tasteful matters - stories having family values; 7) covers its ass for lawyers - trying to avoid libel suits; 8) stories that can win prizes; and 9) political friends in a favorable way and enemies in an unfavorable way (Romano, 1986).

Sigal (1986) examined the effect of sources on the news. He posited that news is not what happens, but what someone says has happened or will happen (Sigal, 1986). He

suggested that news is not what journalists think, but what their sources say, and that it is mediated by news organizations, journalistic routines, and conventions which screen out many of the personal predilections of individual journalists. He discussed one study which found that nearly one-half of the sources for national and foreign stories in the Washington Post and the New York Times were officials of government, and argued that who the sources of a story are bear a close relationship to who and what is news.

Tuchman (1978) took a socially constructed view of the reality of news organizations. She believed that news organizations' development of ideas for news stories can be likened to the casting out of a news net which consists of reporters in the field gathering information and the cultivation of sources for news and the pulling of it in like a fisherman and analyzing its contents. She stated that:

"The news net produces more stories than can be processed. Each one of these is a potential drain upon the news organization's temporal and staff resources. For each occurrence can claim to be idiosyncratic, or a particular conjunction of social, economic, political, and psychological forces that framed an occurrence into 'this particular occurrence' and not any other existing or having existed in the everyday world.

Accepting this claim for all occurrences is an organizational impossibility. Like any other complex organization, a news medium cannot process idiosyncratic phenomena. It must reduce all phenomena to known classifications, much as hospitals reduce each patient to sets of symptoms or diseases" (Tuchman, 1978, p. 45).

Tuchman (1978) suggested that in order to control the work process and narrow down the infinite number of possible news stories, newswriters develop classification systems to help organize the information. She argued that newswriters use these systems to transform the idiosyncratic occurrences of the everyday world into a form that can be subjected to routine processing and dissemination. These category systems are hypothesized to impose order upon the raw material of news and as a result reduce the variability of the incoming information. They also act to channel newswriter perception of the everyday world by imposing a frame upon strips of daily life. These frames are principles of organization which govern events and our subjective involvement in them. Tuchman believes that news frames organize everyday reality and member perception of it (Tuchman, 1978).

Based on her research on several news organizations including both print and broadcasting media, Tuchman (1978) identified five major categories of news: 1) hard news, which concerns occurrences potentially available to analysis or interpretation and consist of factual presentations of occurrences deemed newsworthy, 2) soft news, which are features and human interest stories, 3) spot news, which are conflicts with nature, technology, and unforeseen events, 4) developing news, which concern emergent situations or learning of unexpected events, and 5) continuing news, which

are a series of stories on the same subject based upon events occurring over a period of time.

In perhaps the most comprehensive study of newsworker decisions of what is and what is not news, Gans (1979) studied both the content of news programs and the processes used to generate them. He performed a content analysis on the daily news programs of the national television networks and found some interesting results. He found that 75% of the stories broadcast were about known individuals, while 20% were about unknown persons, and 5% about animals, objects, and abstractions. The knowns were defined as political, economic, social, and cultural figures, or holders of official position, such as the president, cabinet members and congress members. The unknowns were defined as individuals not in public positions, such as protesters, strikers, victims, or participants in unusual activities. He also found that the most frequent activities reported in the news included: crimes, scandals, and investigations (28%), government conflicts and disagreements (15%), disasters, actual and averted (14%), government decisions, proposals, and ceremonies (12%), protests (10%), innovation and tradition (8%), government personnel changes (6%), and national ceremonies (4%) (percentages are the percentage of stories on each topic aired on the evening news over a four month period).

Gans (1978) also discussed sets of classification/decision rules that newswriters use to determine whether or not pieces should be produced on particular topics. He argued that stories become important when they satisfy one or more of the following criteria: 1) by the rank in government and other hierarchies of the actors in the event, with the higher the rank, the more important the story, 2) by the impact of the story and the national interest, 3) the impact of the story topic on large numbers of people, and 4) the significance of the event for the past and the future.

Gans (1978) also suggested that there are several key format and medium considerations which impact on news decisions. The first is novelty. In order for a story to have a better chance of being accepted it should be novel, unique, or unexpected. The second factor is the news peg, which is a recent event or a statement which is used as a handle on which to hang news stories, particularly feature stories that can be used at any time. Any actor or activity can be a peg, and examples of using a peg include educational features being pegged with the beginning of the school year or science stories being pegged with scientific conferences. Very often, stories will not be aired unless there is a news peg on which the story can be "hung". Another factor is the repetition taboo, which is a rule that stories can not be done if stories on similar topics have been done on them within the previous 12-24 months. Finally,

a last factor is the freshness vs. staleness of a story. Here the concern is whether people have heard similar stories to the one considered. New trends are always acceptable to report on, but if the trend is already old or has been reported on by other media organizations, then stories should not be done on them.

Epstein (1973) examined the news division of NBC television and focused on their story selection process. The major conclusion of his study was that the news that was shown on the nightly news program was largely, though not entirely shaped by organizational considerations. He argued that news executives and producers formulate procedures, systems, and policies which are intended to reduce the uncertainties of news to manageable proportions. He asserted that although some of the decisions made are based on personal preferences or opinions, there is a class of decisions made by newswriters as they routinely narrow down the list of possible stories which invoke these implicit sets of rules or policies. The defining test of such decisions is that they can be delegated from the producer of the show to any of his/her assistants with the expectation that a similar choice will be made (Epstein, 1973).

Epstein (1973) suggests several general rules invoked by organizational members in making story selection decisions at NBC. These include: 1) newsworthiness - what is the content of the story and who is involved, 2) predic-

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tability - events that materialize on schedule and are more predictable are more likely to be covered, 3) film value-priority is given to stories that promise to yield the most dramatic or visual film footage, 4) geographic balance-attempts are made to distribute stories between different regions of the country and the world, 5) time considerations - stories that take place early in the day are more likely to be covered than events that take place later, and 6) correspondent preferences - stories that can be covered by star correspondents are more likely to be accepted.

Several additional more specific rules for story acceptance were found by Epstein (1973) to be used by NBC personnel in making decisions about what stories to air on their program. First, film stories which originated from outside agencies or from local news affiliates are routinely rejected for both production values and for budget reasons. Second, stories commissioned or specifically ordered by a program's producers were automatically advanced on the list of possible stories to air. Third, preferences for correspondents were important, as stories were rejected or accepted simply on the basis of which correspondent reported them. Fourth, stories are passed over if they have been done previously on the program. Fifth, stories must have a nationwide interest if they are to be aired. And sixth, if a story conflicts with a previous decision or policy of the organization, then it is not aired.

In summary, these researchers believe that a fundamental task of news organizations is to somehow reduce the infinite number of possible stories that could be done to a more manageable figure. These researchers suggest that organizations and the people within them develop a system of rules, policies, and procedures to help perform this critical task. Some researchers posit categorization systems as the mechanism by which this is accomplished, while others hypothesize it is through a system of informal rules or policies. In essence, they are all arguing for a process similar to the organizational cognition/knowledge position used in the current study to describe how organizational members process information on their jobs.

Focus of the Current Study

The current research study is an investigation of organizational culture as a third order control system. The major focus of the study is on the exploration of how organizational cultural knowledge is stored and organized by individuals in their cognitive information systems, and on the identification of how individuals utilize that cultural knowledge to develop behavior plans in response to organizational contingencies. The present study employs both qualitative and quantitative techniques to discover and develop the systems of cultural knowledge that individuals within organizations use to create, structure, and interpret their experience.

The model of organizational as a control system presented above suggests that a key area to focus on in examining the organizational control system process is situations in which there exists uncertainty or a lack of formal knowledge concerning the appropriate behaviors to perform in response to that situation. When individuals are faced with situations in which there exists no programs or procedures previously developed that they can apply to develop behavioral plans, individuals need another type of knowledge system with which to guide their behavior. It is suggested that the knowledge that is utilized by individuals

in uncertain situations is drawn from the systems of cultural knowledge developed by those individuals.

Most previous research efforts aimed at exploring issues of organizational control have focused solely on the control of behavior in highly programmed situations in which the processes of work and the measurement of outputs from the work process could be clearly defined and measured. This research, however, has neglected situations which are less certain and involve the application of implicit knowledge extrapolated from the culture of the organization, rather than the explicit knowledge derived from the rules, regulations, hierarchy, and structure of the organization. As Perrow (1979) has noted, a large part of organizational behavior takes place under conditions in which there are no formal controls to guide behavior and uncertainty exists as to the appropriate response to the situation.

Viewing organizational culture as a third order control system will extend previous work in the area by emphasizing the process by which organizational culture affects perceptions, thoughts, and behavior within organizations. While previous research has suggested various theoretical models aimed at understanding what culture is as well as postulating very general models of the interpretation process, the current research study will focus on how culture affects behavior by examining at a very specific level the use of

cultural knowledge systems in the interpretation process and the control of individual behavior.

The research on news organizations presented above and knowledge of the nature of operations in the news business (short time-frames, rapidly changing information, and few formal rules guiding decisions on what is news) suggest that studying this type of organization will provide an enhanced opportunity to examine issues of organizational culture in a field setting. Previous research conducted by sociologists and journalists, although useful, has been more concerned with understanding news organizations in particular than organizations in general. This research does suggest, however, that many of the concepts proposed in the current study are applicable to the processes occurring within news organizations.

The current study will focus on the examination of several key issues that have been neglected in previous research on organizational culture and will advance knowledge on organizational culture by: 1) recognizing the inherent complexity of organizational cultural knowledge systems, 2) clearly articulating the schema/rules in use by organizational members at a very specific behavioral level, 3) generating an understanding of the cognitive processes or steps organizational members go through when applying their cultural knowledge systems to the interpretation of information and events, 4) focusing on the social nature of

organization cognition, in terms of how interaction with other organizational members affects the application of cultural knowledge, and 5) directly linking the use of cultural knowledge system rules and schema to behavior, by clearly specifying how interpretations generated from the cultural knowledge system get translated into action.

Method

Overview

The interpretive paradigm was used in the current study to examine issues of organizational culture. Research conducted using the interpretive paradigm takes an ethnographic approach to conducting research which implies a fundamentally different set of assumptions and techniques than are normally employed by organizational behavior researchers. The choice made concerning the research strategy, however, was not a capricious one, but was directly linked to the theoretical perspective taken in this study and the set of assumptions which guided the research.

As Morgan and Smircich (1980) note:

"... The case for any research method, whether qualitative or quantitative cannot be considered or presented in the abstract, because the choice and adequacy of a method embodies a variety of assumptions regarding the nature of knowledge and the methods through which that knowledge can be obtained, as well as a root set of assumptions about the nature of the phenomena to be investigated... Qualitative research stands for an approach rather than a particular set of techniques, and its appropriateness is contingent on the nature of the phenomenon being studied" (Morgan and Smircich, 1980, p. 491, 499).

Because the primary emphasis in this study was on understanding systems of cultural knowledge and the utilization of that knowledge in decision-making and other behav-

iors, a research strategy which enabled the researcher to develop an in-depth understanding of the phenomena was most appropriate. To this end, qualitative research techniques were employed to examine the systems of cultural knowledge and their utilization in the sample organization.

This study involved the observation of organizational members at National Public Radio over a period of 4 months. Behavior was observed in a variety of contexts and settings and across different time periods. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with organizational personnel and written documents produced by the organization were examined and content analyzed. The specific focus of this study was on the development of an understanding of the system of cultural knowledge that individuals utilized in making story selection decisions and decisions concerning how stories would be reported. A number of different analytical techniques were employed to help develop an overall assessment of these phenomena.

Subjects

Subjects for this study were members of National Public Radio (NPR), which is a public broadcasting network, headquartered in Washington, D.C. NPR, as opposed to commercial networks, is a non-profit organization, funded through governmental grants, corporate and private donations, and fees paid by member stations for NPR programming. The

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network is independent of any governmental agency, but is, however, overseen by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, which plays an administrative role for all public broadcasting in the United States. There are 333 member stations in the system, located in 48 states, Puerto Rico, and the District of Columbia. As of the end of 1986, more than 10.25 million people a week tuned in to one of the National Public Radio produced programs.

The programming produced at the headquarters of NPR in Washington is fed out to member stations via a national satellite network. Individual member stations are responsible for the programming of their own stations and may elect, for a fee, to air any of the programs produced and distributed by NPR in Washington. Each member station pays a basic membership fee and then pays an additional amount for those programs it selects to air.

Although NPR as a whole produces and distributes both cultural/entertainment and news and information programming, the focus of this research project is on the News and Information department only, which is responsible for the production of the daily news programs and special events coverage. The fiscal year 1987 operating budget for the News and Information Department was 8.5 million dollars, of which 64% went for salaries, wages, and benefits; 15% went for acquisitions (station and freelance reports, commentaries, BBC contracts and wire services); 5% went for

satellite distribution; 5% for telephones, long distance, and special circuits; 4% for office space and maintenance; 3% for travel (reporting, production, conferences, station visits); and 4% went for subscriptions, postage, office supplies, and miscellaneous items. Of department activities, the newsmagazines are by far the major effort. The five news programs produced in Washington include:

- Morning Edition (ME): ME is a morning news and information program aired daily, Monday through Friday, and is two hours long. The program debuted in 1979 and its contents include: in-depth news reports, newscasts, features on the arts, sports, science, and business, newsmaker interviews and profiles, human interest features, and social, political, and musical commentary. The host is Bob Edwards.

- All Things Considered (ATC): ATC is an afternoon news program which is broadcast daily, Monday through Friday, and is one and one half hours long. The program debuted in 1971 and its content includes news reports, newscasts, business reports, newsmaker interviews, science reports, arts features, and social and political commentary. The hosts of the program are Robert Siegal and Renee Montagne.

- Weekend Edition Saturday (WESAT): WESAT is broadcast each Saturday morning for two hours. The program debuted in 1985. The show's content is similar to that of ME. The host of WESAT is Scott Simon.

- Weekend Edition Sunday (WESUN): WESUN is broadcast each Sunday morning for two hours. The program debuted in 1987 and contains news, arts, entertainment, human interest features, health and consumer reports, audio puzzles, a weekly chain novel, live music, and listener participation. The host is Susan Stamberg.

- Weekend All Things Considered (WATC): WATC is broadcast on Saturday and Sunday afternoons for one hour each day. The program debuted in 1977 and its content is similar to that of weekday ATC. The hosts of WATC are Lynn Neary and Alex Chadwick.

The News and Information department is run by the News Director, and is one of several separate programming divisions which are overseen by the vice-president for programming. The vice president for programming, in turn, is directly responsible to the president of NPR, who is monitored by the Board of Directors. The total number of employees in the news department as of January 1987 was 124, which included 114 full-time and 10 part-time persons. The news department is composed of several different groups including the following:

- News and Information Administration Department (7 persons): This group oversees the news department operations in both an editorial and administrative capacity, being involved in hiring and editorial assignments, planning budgets, producing special events coverage, and dealing with other areas of the company and system. The personnel in this group include the news director, the director of administration and planning, the librarian, and the special events producer.

- News Desks: The news desks are responsible for reporting on current events issues and include the Washington Bureau (14 persons) for reporting on the White House, the House and politics, the Senate and politics, legal affairs including the Supreme Court, defense issues, national security, and regulatory agencies; the Foreign Desk (8 persons) for reporting on news originating in foreign countries; the National Desk (19 persons) for reporting on news events happening throughout the U.S.; and the Science Unit, which produces and solicits science, health, environment, and technology pieces. The personnel at each desk include editors, producers, and reporters (who are spread throughout the country and overseas). There are also small bureau offices in London, New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles.

- Program Staffs: Each news staff is responsible for the production of their own show. The staffs include the ME staff (26 persons), the ATC staff (20 persons), and the weekend news programming staff (19 persons - for WESAT, WESUN, and WATC). Each of the program staffs have an executive producer, senior editor, and producer who have primary responsibility for the show staffs. In addition to these persons, each show staff includes editorial assistants who are responsible for booking guests and helping to prepare interview questions, production assistants who help produce and edit the pieces on the show, and newscasters who broadcast the headline stories during each program. In addition, within the Morning Edition staff there are two small speciality units, the Arts Unit and the Sports unit who solicit and produce arts and sports pieces respectively for the Morning Edition program.

Data Collection Procedures

The primary data collection procedures of the project included observation of work activities, individual interviews, and analysis and review of written materials. Each were conducted on an on-going basis by the researcher throughout the data-collection phase of the project. The length of the observation period of the research project was 4 months, during which time the researcher spent approximately 3-4 days per week at the organization, being on-site about 5-6 hours per day. Attempts were made to vary the times of observation, so that observations were made at different times of the day and of different shifts of people. The researcher spent the majority of his time observing the activities of the two daily shows, All Things Considered and Morning Edition, as their work schedules corresponded to the normal work week.

The physical layout of the News and Information Department offices and the type of activities involved in the production of the news programs facilitated the observation of behavior occurring within the department. The workplace design is that of open offices, and with the exception of a few management staff persons with their own offices, the work is conducted in open areas, amenable to observation. Each news program has its own work area, with the activity and personnel of the program staffs situated in cubicles around the main work area in the center. The researcher, in order to view the operations of the news programs, sat in the center of the staff areas and observed the behavior of organizational members. These observations took place during the normal work day and notes were taken on the behavior of the members of the organization during these periods.

Another primary observation opportunity was the daily staff meetings which took place among the executive producers and the staffs for their shows. Each morning the staffs for each of the daily programs (ATC and ME) meet separately for 45 minutes to discuss issues related to their staff and program and to generate programming ideas for future shows. Following the meetings of the individual show staffs, the managers from each of the programs and the senior editors on the news desks meet to discuss general editorial issues and assignment of reporters to specific

stories. The researcher was allowed full access to both the program staff meetings and the editorial meetings.

A second data collection procedure was that of individual interviews. During the observation period, interviews were conducted with individual staff members on both the program staffs as well as the news desks. Issues that were discussed in these interviews included descriptions of job duties and functions, the values of NPR, and decision-making criteria that were employed by individual members in the performance of their jobs.

A third data gathering technique employed was the collection of written materials produced by NPR staff. These written materials included annual reports for the previous two years, public relations/press kits for the NPR programs, statements of editorial policy and rules for freelance reporters, an information sheet for prospective job applicants, magazine articles written about NPR and collected by NPR staff, and the daily logs for the ATC and ME programs which listed the contents of each program that aired during the observation period.

Data Analyses

Analysis of the data collected took the form of three separate analyses: 1) analysis of transcripts of the morning meetings, 2) analysis of the program logs for the All Things Considered and Morning Edition programs, and 3)

the development of maps of the work flow of the organization. In addition to these analyses, a set of predictive validity studies were done to assess the validity of the cultural framework developed. These included the development and analysis of a predictive validity questionnaire and the development of predictions of story characteristics based on stories drawn from additional archive data.

Analysis 1: Analysis of Transcripts of the Morning Meetings

Summary: The purpose of the first analysis was the development of a representation of the categorization/knowledge systems of the individuals at NPR. This analysis focused on examining the use of these systems in action by performing a content analysis on notes of verbal transcripts of interactions among organizational members to extract the key schema which are activated by organizational members when trying to process information relative to story ideas. The output from this analysis was the creation of a system of rules (schema) which individuals evoke when evaluating potential story topics.

Step 1: Throughout the period of observation, the researcher attended the morning staff meetings for the Morning Edition and All Things Considered programs and the general Editorial meeting (which involved the editors on the news desks - Foreign, National, Science, etc., as well as

the executive producers and editors for each of the shows). As a part of this process, a written record was made of participant discussions of story topics/ideas/treatments which took place during these meetings. Although more meetings were attended than were recorded in notes, the data collection effort resulted written transcripts for 30 days worth of meetings.

These meetings are a daily part of the work process at NPR, and focus on the development of story ideas and coverage of events for that particular day, as well as some planning for future shows. These meetings involve discussions between the staff members who attempt to categorize or interpret the day's news events to come up with a strategy for turning a story idea into a finished product. This setting provided an excellent opportunity to view the interpretation process of organizational members in vivo, seeing them use their "cultural knowledge" systems in the development of a common interpretative framework which then guided them in decision-making and development of behavioral responses.

Because organizational members were not readily able to provide direct information regarding their cultural knowledge systems, it was determined that viewing the use of such systems in action, through the observation of the morning meetings and recording of responses, would be another way of getting at the key research issues. As staff

members participated in the discussion of story ideas, implicit systems of rules and knowledge of NPR policy and procedures came out in individuals' arguments for or against interpretations of particular story ideas. It was also discovered that the way story ideas were categorized directly influenced the behaviors which were necessary for translation of these story ideas into a finished piece. Thus, a central analysis that was conducted was to take the written records of the morning meeting discussions and content analyze them, whereby the implicit systems of cultural knowledge could be extracted.

Step 2: From the written record of 30 days worth of notes, the written transcripts were analyzed meeting by meeting to develop a list of all the separate "verbal incidents" which occurred during each meeting. The criteria for categorization of a story topic as a verbal incident was 1) discussion of a specific story idea/topic, 2) a clear beginning and end point to the discussion on the specific topic, 3) a meaningful exchange between participants on the issue, and 4) some sort of judgment on the next step in the process (accept/kill story idea, search for more information, etc.). Using these selection criteria, 335 separate incidents were coded and considered the data points for the next step in the analysis. These incidents varied in length from 1 or 2 statements, to page-long discussions (some

stories were discussed very briefly, others were discussed up to 10, 15 minutes or more). The approximate average length of discussions on a particular story idea was two to five minutes.

Step 3: The next phase of the analysis was concerned with the extraction of the underlying rules/categorization schemes (schema). These "schema" drive the discussions which take place in the meetings and, as has been discussed previously, represent the set of "cultural knowledge" which is used by individuals to make decisions about the selection process of stories and the determination of how they are to be done.

The analysis involved going through each of the data points and extracting the "underlying principles" or "schema-in-use of organizational participants. This process involved doing a content analysis of the interactions and extracting the underlying rules being used by participants. The end result of this process was the extraction of approximately 500 (some overlapping) general rules or principles which participants used. These principles took the form of IF - THEN statements or descriptions of what to do or what not to do concerning particular story types, issues, or categorization of story content.

An individual who has worked at NPR for the past several years was used as a coder to provide estimates of

both the validity of the rules developed as well as the inter-rater reliability for the extraction of the schema. These analyses were conducted in two steps. First, the entire set of schema extracted was reviewed by the coder to determine if the schema extracted were accurate representations of the rules in existence at NPR. Schema which were not representative of those in-use at NPR were discarded or modified. A total of approximately 10 schema (less than 2% of the total number generated) were discarded during this phase. The coder also suggested several additional schema which were then added to the list. The next step involved assessment of the reliability of the extraction of the schema from the verbal incidents. Initial efforts to have the coder independently extract the schema were not successful, as different terminology was used by the coder in the schema extracted, which made comparison between the schema generated by the coder and those developed by the researcher difficult. As a result, a method of consensual validation was used in which the schema developed by the researcher and the verbal incidents they were drawn from were given to the coder who then examined them to determine if the schema extracted were consistent with her interpretation of the incidents. Approximately 50 verbal incidents were analyzed in this fashion and the results of the process indicated that there was a high level of agreement between the coder and the researcher on the schema extracted.

Step 4: The next step in the analysis was to categorize the 500 rules/principles generated into a general organization of themes concerning the major areas of cultural knowledge of organizational members. This involved grouping the individual rules into clusters or categories to be able to more clearly articulate the different systems of rules which are used by organizational members. This analysis was a conceptual one, as it was designed to reduce the complexity of the schema extracted by creating a set of dimensions which grouped rules concerning similar issues.

This analysis involved transferring each of the 500 underlying rules onto notecards and then sorting these cards into piles based on the similarity in content of the rules. The resulting groupings yielded general categories of the rule systems which are used by organizational members.

Step 5: The next step in this analysis was the use of a series of selected verbal incidents to qualitatively show how individuals actually used the schema and scripts (rules and decision principles discussed above) in on-going situations. This step in the analysis was designed to show how individuals interact in a social setting to collectively develop an interpretive framework which is evoked in that situation. Individuals in the organization possess an "individualized" version of the systems of knowledge concerning the areas discussed above; how they use that

system is affected by the given situation (type of story, etc.) as well as the interaction with other individuals in the social setting. Through the analysis of selected examples of the "story incidents" (see step 2), the ways in which the schema are evoked and negotiated between individuals was elucidated.

The analytical process used in this step involved the selection of approximately 20 examples of the verbal incidents that were not used in the original analysis (were held out) and analyzing them line by line to show how organizational members, through their statements, evoked a particular schema or script (action plan) in the discussion of story ideas/treatments. The schema used to help interpret the incidents were drawn directly from the knowledge system framework developed above.

Analysis 2: Maps of the Work Processes

Summary: This analysis focused on an outcome of the application of the knowledge systems. It is suggested that once a story has been categorized that the result would be a script or pathway that individuals follow to ensure that a story gets produced in the appropriate way. This analysis highlights some of the alternative pathways of the story production process.

Step 1: As a part of the data collection efforts, the work process/work flow at NPR was examined. Information on how the work is carried out at NPR was obtained through the observation of work behavior by the researcher and through interviews conducted with individual organizational members about the tasks/procedures they perform on their jobs.

Step 2: The analysis of the work flow process involved the development of a number of decision tree/flow diagrams representing alternative ways in which stories get produced. Different diagrams were produced for each of the different pathways. The individual working at NPR was asked to assess the reasonableness of the pathways developed. The informant worked with the researcher to correct (add to or delete) the pathways generated.

Analysis 3: Analysis of the Run-Down Logs for the All Things Considered and Morning Edition Programs

Summary: This analysis was designed to assess the "outputs" of behavior of the individuals involved in the All Things Considered and Morning Edition programs, with a focus on the examination of what stories were actually put on the air, assessment of how the stories were done, and various characteristics of these stories. The output of this analysis is a description of the programs aired on the network in terms

of their content, as well as the application of the systems of cultural knowledge used by organizational members.

Step 1: The first step in this process was the collection of the run-down logs for the ATC and Morning Edition programs. These logs are compiled by NPR personnel and consist of a listing for each program of the stories that were done on a given program on a given day. The information on the logs include: 1) the order and placement of stories within a program, 2) the topics of the stories, 3) the way the stories were done (reporter piece vs. host, etc.), 4) who the reporter was (if there was one), 5) who the interviewees were (if any), and 5) the length of time for the piece. These logs were obtained from NPR and xerox copies were made of the listings for the ME and ATC programs which aired from May 22 to September 18, 1987.

Step 2: The second step in this analysis was to code the key variables for each story that aired on each show during this period. For ATC, there were 1,220 stories which aired on the program during this time, while for Morning Edition there were 1,444 stories. The variables that were coded for each story included:

- 1) Date of the show
- 2) Which show it was (ATC or ME)
- 3) Story number - an identification number
- 4) Story Content Category: A classification system was

developed, using NPR members terminology, of different categories for story content. Each story was then coded as belonging to one or another category. (For example, one category was Washington stories, which included sub-categories of Congress, White House, Pentagon, Supreme Court, State Department, Iran-Contra Scandal, and other Washington - including FBI, CIA, etc.)

- 5) Story Reporter: Who did the story - a host of the program, an NPR reporter, a freelance reporter, a member station reporter, or a commentator.
- 6) Interviewee: Who the interviewee was - a primary source (newsmaker), an analyst, an NPR reporter, a reporter from another news organization, or a public figure.
- 7) Type of Piece: What type of story it was - hard news, in-depth investigation, commentary, news analysis, a feature story, etc. Again, these categories were developed based on those in use by individuals at NPR.
- 8) Story placement: Which part of the show was the story aired on - each of the programs have their own form of segments, (ATC is divided into thirds, ME is divided into 2 one-hour segments with 5 sections) and these classification of story placement were used to code which segments the stories were aired in and in what order.
- 9) Length of Piece: How long the piece was that aired, in minutes and seconds.
- 10) Day of the Week: What day of the week the piece was aired on.

Two independent coders were used to provide reliability estimates of the coding of the data on these variables, one an individual who currently works at NPR, and the second an independent rater. Inter-rater reliability was assessed by comparing the results of the coding of 1 weeks worth of stories (approximately 50 stories) of the researcher with those of the two independent coders. Paired comparisons were made between the researcher and each individual coder. Across the 50 stories and the 10 variables coded, over 80%

agreement was reached between the coders and the researcher. In addition, the NPR rater was asked to assess the accuracy of the coding scheme to verify that it represented how NPR members would categorize the stories.

Step 3: The set of data developed in step 2 was then keypunched and entered into a computer and frequency and crosstab programs were run to obtain general descriptive information about the programs and their content and structure. Since the information coded was for general descriptive purposes, no statistical tests were performed on these data; however, relationships between variables were examined and general trends exposed.

Step 4: Of primary interest in this analysis was a comparison of the results obtained through the coding of story information with the results obtained through the analysis of the morning meeting notes. Specifically, it was examined with the "run-down" data trends concerning: 1) who gets assigned to do what stories, 2) what stories get done and in what proportion, 3) how much time is given to certain story types, 4) what interviewees are selected to talk to and what types of stories they are used with, and 5) the scheduling/ordering of the content of shows.

Analysis 4: Validation of the Cultural Knowledge Framework

In order to validate the cultural knowledge framework, several additional data collection and analysis procedures were undertaken. These include the development and administration of a predictive validity questionnaire and the development of a set of predictions concerning the characteristics of previously aired stories drawn from a set of archive data.

Predictive Validity Questionnaire

The first step in the validation of the cultural knowledge framework undertaken was the development of a questionnaire to assess the predictive accuracy of the cultural knowledge framework. Eleven hypothetical story ideas were developed and subjects were required to answer a series of questions about how they would respond to the story ideas in a decision context. The story ideas were developed to be as realistic as possible.

The questions asked of subjects included the following: 1) whether or not the story should be done as a piece, 2) the form the piece would likely take, 3) the type of story most likely done on the topic, 4) the content category of the story, 5) when this story would most likely be aired, 6) the placement of the story within a program, 7) whether a follow-up story should be done on this topic, and 8) what

type of piece should be done as a follow-up story (if needed). A copy of the questionnaire can be found in Appendix C.

The questionnaire was administered to two groups of individuals. The first group consisted of 17 NPR members, including both show production staff and editors on the various news desks. The second group consisted of a base-line group of 30 naive students at a local university. In order to be able to clearly determine the effects of the cultural knowledge system on responses to the questionnaire, the responses of the base-line group were compared with those of organizational members. It was hypothesized that the naive group would respond to the questionnaire based on common sense knowledge, while NPR members would respond to the questionnaire based on their cultural knowledge. A comparison of their responses should indicate the extent to which organizational members used their cultural knowledge systems to help formulate their responses, rather than simply using common sense knowledge.

The researcher, before viewing the responses of the subjects to the questions, developed a set of predictions of how NPR member would be likely to respond to the story topics, based on the cultural knowledge system previously developed. This set of predictions was compared with the actual responses of both the NPR members and the naive subjects to determine the accuracy of the predictions. This

was determined by the percent agreement of the responses of the subjects with the researcher's predictions. In addition, the set of predictions was compared with the naive subjects' responses, to determine if they responded in the predicted fashion. If the naive subjects' responses did not match the predicted responses, while the NPR member responses did, then it can be assumed that the cultural knowledge framework had predictive validity.

Predictive Analysis Using the Archive Data

The second way the cultural knowledge system framework was validated was through a set of predictions made on a new set of archive data. The purpose of this analysis was to determine if the cultural knowledge system could be applied to a new set of story topics to predict how those stories would be done on one of the programs.

A set of 50 story topics were drawn by an independent individual from the run-down logs of the All Things Considered program from April, 1987. From the run-down descriptions, the story topic was extracted in brief form and given to the researcher. The researcher's task was then to make a set of predictions on how the story was to be done on the program, the content category of the piece, the type of piece aired, and the placement of the piece on the program. For each story topic and each question predicted, the researcher documented the specific rule from the

cultural knowledge framework that was used to make the prediction.

The analysis of these predictions was conducted by going back to the full story description and developing a "hit-rate" for the predictions made by the researcher. The characteristics of the actual pieces done were coded by a second independent coder, who works at NPR, and compared with the responses of the researcher. The percent agreement between the predictions made from the cultural knowledge system framework and the "true scores" was tabulated. The higher the percent agreement, the higher the predictive validity of the framework.

Results

The results section is divided into three parts. First, an overall description of the organization examined in this study (NPR) will be presented to provide background on the organization and to ensure understanding of the operations of the organization and the work processes of organizational members. Second, the cultural knowledge system used by organizational members is presented and the process by which it is used by organization members is demonstrated. And third, the relationship between the cultural knowledge system and behavior will be analyzed.

Section I. Description of NPR

In this section, an overall description of NPR is presented which includes the following topics: 1) a brief history of NPR, 2) a discussion of the work process of the News and Information Department, 3) a description of how the news is gathered, 4) an assessment of the work atmosphere and personnel practices of the organization, 5) a discussion of NPR's values, beliefs, and goals, 6) descriptions of typical workdays on the All Things Considered and Morning Edition programs, and 7) a description of the content of the programs aired on NPR.

History of NPR

Prior to the development of National Public Radio in 1971, most public radio stations were small, understaffed, and unprofessional operations, and were designed to serve the small academic communities of the university towns in which they were located. Most of the programming consisted of instructional, educational, and children's programming, with very little cultural or news and information programming.

In 1967, the Johnson administration passed the Public Broadcasting Act which established the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB), a non-profit private corporation designed to foster the development of a national public radio system and to act as a buffer between the political financing source of the government and the non-political programming entities. This act led to the formation of National Public Radio, the first nation-wide network for public radio.

Following passage of this act, individuals from the CPB and from currently existing public radio stations around the country formed a board which began discussion of plans for the development of a nationwide system of public radio. A major priority of the board was to develop a mission for the network. They called upon one of its members, William Siemmering, to work on a statement of purpose and a set of

priorities for the new organization. In early 1970, William Siemmering developed the following National Public Radio Purpose and set of priorities for NPR:

"National Public Radio will serve the individual: it will promote personal growth; it will regard the individual differences among men with respect and joy, rather than derision and hate; it will celebrate the human experience as infinitely varied rather than vacuous and banal; it will encourage a sense of active constructive participation, rather than apathetic helplessness.

National Public Radio, through live interconnections and other distribution services, will be the primary national, non-commercial program service. Public radio stations will be a source for programming input as well as program dissemination. The potential of live interconnections will be exploited, the art and enjoyment of the sound medium will be advanced.

In its cultural mode, NPR will preserve and transmit the cultural past, will encourage and broadcast the work of contemporary artists and provide listeners with an aural aesthetic experience which enriches and gives meaning to the human spirit.

In its journalistic mode, NPR will actively explore, investigate, and interpret issues of national and international import. The programs will enable the individual to better understand himself, his government, his institutions, and his natural and social environment so he can intelligently participate in reflecting the process of change.

The total service should be trustworthy, enhance intellectual development, expand knowledge, deepen aural aesthetic enjoyment, increase the pleasure of living in a pluralistic society and result in a service to listeners which makes them more responsive, informed human beings and intelligent, responsible citizens of the world.

(From Kirkish, 1980)

A separate document also outlined the major priorities of NPR:

The priorities of NPR will be to:

1. Provide an identifiable daily product which is consistent and reflects the highest standards of broadcast journalism.
2. Provide extended coverage of public events, issues, and ideas, and acquire and produce special public affairs programs.
3. Acquire and produce cultural programs which can be scheduled individually by stations.
4. Provide access to the intellectual and cultural resources of cities, universities, and rural districts through a system of cooperative program development with member public radio stations.
5. Develop and distribute programs to specific groups which meet needs of individual regions or groups.
6. Establish a liaison with foreign broadcasters for a program exchange service.
7. Produce materials specifically interested in the development of the art and technical potential of radio.

(From Garry, 1982)

In 1971, NPR began its operations and Donald Quayle was hired as the first president of NPR. He set up the structure for the organization and hired staff members for it. According to Kirkish (1980), Quayle gave the selection of his staff priority over the formation of an administrative structure; in what seemed a reversal of standard procedure, he often selected a personality he wanted and then created a

position for him. Quayle set the tone for the organization, wanting to eliminate the usual bureaucratic structure of news organizations, and it was his intention to not fix the structure in stone or restrict interaction and horizontal flow between staff members.

At this time it was also decided that NPR would develop and produce an afternoon news program, All Things Considered, which would air daily, Monday through Friday. Jack Mitchell and William Siemmering were two of the most influential persons involved in the development of this program. These individuals helped to create and articulate the values that were to drive the content and structure of the new program. According to Kirkish (1980), Siemmering had a strong belief that the news should come from primary sources and that the news program developed by NPR should be in direct contrast to the "reporting by the plastic, faceless men who recycle like a cartridge tape." He sought a program that would "bring the people to the people" in a format flexible enough to permit the development of each item without regard to length or traditional style, and with a minimum amount of reading the news.

Mitchell also had a vision for how the new program should sound. He felt that:

"A part of the broader goal is give various editions of the program an individuality, a focus, or theme. Our objective is to take a subject and look at it from various aspects throughout the program, integrating music related to it. I certainly think we should try to do "theme" programs at least a couple of times a week. That does not mean all or most of the material in the program would become an extended documentary, but that the subject would be approached from 2 or 3 angles....

No longer [should the news] be an event by event presentation, but the setting of a situation in perspective, telling the overall story behind the story with the kind of fascinating sidelight that illuminates the main theme in a light kind of controversial interview, informal, but informative, relaxed, but not rambling.

(From Kirkish, 1980)

Siemmering began to build the staff for the show, hiring young persons filled with the liberal optimism of the times. These individuals were in stark contrast to the older, more conservative personnel in the administrative departments. The staff selected were chosen more for their personalities than their expertise, and were trained on the job. There was a tremendous amount of sharing of roles among individuals, as persons who were reporters one day might be producers the next day and editors the following day. These practices would become the norm and even at the present time, these policies still hold.

On May 3, 1971 the first live ATC program was aired and NPR was officially begun. There were however, many difficulties at NPR during the first several years. The manage-

ment was criticized as not being organized, as they posited little structure for the organization and developed few organizational personnel and administrative policies. ATC also faced many problems with its program as listener and member station reaction to the show was mixed at best. As a result, leadership of the programs changed hands several times. In 1973, Donald Quayle was ousted from his role as president of NPR and Lee Frischknecht was hired to replace him, with the primary goal of increasing the bureaucratization of the organization and institutionalizing systems of management policies and procedures (Emerson, 1985).

Lee Frischknecht was successful in his goals, standardizing organizational policies and increasing the membership of the network to 200 stations by 1977 as well as offer a wider range of programming than in earlier years. Despite these successes, or perhaps because of them, Frischknecht was criticized as being overly controlling and conservative, and was terminated in 1977 (Emerson, 1985).

The next period in NPR's history brought major changes to the organization. In early 1977, Frank Mankiewicz was hired as the new president and came on with enthusiastic expectations of expanding operations and increasing public recognition of NPR. He became part of a plan to create a satellite system for the distribution of programming, which would rapidly speed transmission of information and have a much higher level of sound quality than had previously been

the case. He also was heavily involved in public relations campaigns aimed at increasing public awareness of NPR programming. By 1979, when the satellite system became operational, the station membership was up to 230, the staff size had increased to 300 persons, and a new program, Morning Edition, began airing weekday mornings. In 1980, the Reagan Administration came into power, and as part of their policy to reduce federal spending, began inducing budget cuts in the funding of NPR. Governmental funding remained at its current levels in 1981 and 1982, but there was a 35% cut in funding scheduled for 1983 and future years (Emerson, 1985). Mankiewicz decided that to survive, NPR needed to create alternative sources of funding, through the development of business ventures which could provide NPR with an independent income. To foster these aims, he formed partnerships with several private sector organizations to develop a number of new business ventures.

Despite the optimism of these plans, over the next few years none of these business investments paid off. In addition, it was revealed that there had been few financial controls over spending at NPR and that the organization was severely over-budget. In early 1983, it was announced that there was a 5.8 million dollar capital deficit. In response to this announcement, the new Sunday Show was cancelled, 30 staff members were fired, and a 2.8 million dollar budget cut was put into effect. In April, Mankiewicz resigned

amidst much blame for NPR's problems. Ron Bornstein of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting became the temporary head of NPR and immediately instituted additional budget cuts. 84 more persons were fired, bringing the total to 144 persons, and the staff was forced to take an across the board cut in salary of 10% to continue operations.

An independent accounting firm was then called in to examine the financial records of NPR and found that the deficit was higher than initially thought, being 9.1 million dollars rather than 5.8 million dollars. By the end of July 1983, NPR could not meet its payroll and had 5 million dollars of immediate debt which had to be paid in order to continue operations. On July 28 it was fully expected that operations would cease on the following day. Morale at NPR was very low and people began searching for new jobs. However, at the last moment possible, the CPB and NPR came to an agreement on the terms for a loan which would enable operations to continue.

A new president, Doug Bennett was hired in late 1983, and was charged with bringing some order back into the chaos that had reigned at NPR over the previous 9 months. He began instituting rigid budgetary and financial controls over NPR's operations and developing new sources of funding. From 1983 until 1987, some stability was restored to the organization, and it began slowly repaying its loan and expanding services slightly. Weekend Edition Saturday was

begun in 1985, and a new Sunday program was added in early 1987. In the meantime, public recognition and support of NPR continued to increase as audience figures rose at the rate of about 20-25% annually.

At the present time, there is another period of optimism at NPR, with the loan to the CPB finally paid off, and services again being expanded at a cautious rate. However, in recent years, the quality of the programming at NPR has been criticized for being too predictable, too ordinary, and especially too much like the news that is being aired on the national television programs or written about in the major newspapers (Zuckerman, 1987). It seems that the increased control and bureaucratization of the organization caused by past budgetary problems has influenced the programming of the news shows, making them more conservative and less willing to take chances, just as the organization has become more fiscally conservative. There are strong efforts on the part of the show staffs to remain within budget, and resources at times are often very limited so that organization members are unable to achieve the level of quality and innovation in the programming that was possible in the past. However, as of the end of the data collection period, a new News Director was hired, who has begun making some major changes in organizational policies and the content of the programs. It remains to be seen

whether or not he will be more effective in this process than his predecessors.

The Work Process at NPR

The basic work groups in the News and Information Department are the news desks and the show staffs. There are 5 independent show staffs, one for each program, (Morning Edition, All Things Considered, Weekend Edition, Weekend All Things Considered, and Weekend Sunday) and 4 news desks (Washington, National, Foreign, and Science). The program staffs are responsible for the development of their own programs and the gathering of enough stories to fill those programs. The news desks are responsible for providing stories to each of the shows; they act as the supplier to the shows for the shows' needs.

The basic structure of the department gives rise to the functional duties of the different work groups. Each of the news desks (bureaus) is responsible for coverage of stories in their area of concern. The Washington Desk is responsible for stories originating in Washington or that deal with individuals associated with the Federal government such as stories on the Supreme Court, Congress, the White House and the President, the CIA, and the military (Pentagon), among others. The National Desk is responsible for coverage of stories which occur throughout the United States and deal with issues other than the Federal government, for example, coverage of plane crashes in the U.S. or trials which are taking place. The Foreign Desk is responsible for reporting

on stories which originate in a foreign country, such as in South Africa or Nicaragua. The science desk covers issues of health and medicine, the environment, technology, and general scientific issues.

Each of the news desks runs its own separate operation, with each having their own budget. The main focus of the work of the individuals on the news desks is the assignment of stories to reporters and the editing of these stories when the reporters have completed their work. Each news desk has a staff of reporters who are given assignments by the news editors on a daily or weekly basis. Some assignments are short-term, others are more lengthy. There are a cadre of reporters located in the Washington office, as well as reporters spread throughout the country and overseas. In addition to the NPR staff reporters, the news desk editors maintain close relationships with a number of freelance reporters who prepare reports on stories in areas in which NPR has no reporters. The news desks also frequently use reporters from member stations throughout the country for reporting on specific stories in their local areas.

NPR staff reporters are typically assigned to report on a particular story topic by an NPR editor. They also often suggest their own story ideas and, if the editor gives approval, are allowed to prepare these pieces on their own. Freelance reporters are also assigned certain pieces to do,

but in addition, they send pieces or ideas for pieces to NPR and try to sell them on a speculative basis.

The news desks both generate their own story ideas as well as carry out story requests from show personnel. The story ideas developed by the news desks must be "sold" to the show staffs in order to get on the air. This involves the presentation of story ideas to the show decision-makers (the executive producer, senior producer, and editor of the news programs) and convincing them to take the story. This takes place either in personal meetings with these individuals or in the editorial meetings. In most cases, it does not take much to sell a story - the program staff members accept the majority of stories produced by the news desks, even if they have to hold them a few days until they can run them. The news desks also receive daily requests from the show staffs to do stories that are of particular interest to them. The news desks are free to decline such requests if they feel that the ideas are not important or interesting enough to be made into pieces or if they do not have the resources available to be able to do the piece.

The editorial meeting is where much of the negotiation between show staff members and the editors of the news desks takes place. In this meeting, which takes place each weekday morning, the senior staff of each of the news programs and the senior editors of each of the news desks meet under the guidance of the News Director. During the

meeting, each of the different editors present a list of stories that are being worked on by the reporters assigned to their desks. This process is facilitated by the "Meeting Edition Assignment Sheet", which is a listing of all the stories that are in progress, the program that requested them (if any), and the reporter who is covering the story (see Appendix A for an example). Typically, the meeting progresses through the discussion of the stories available from each of the news desks, Washington, Foreign, National, and Science, with the editor in charge of the desk going through the list story by story giving updates on the progress of stories and informing staff members on expected times of completion.

One key issue that is discussed in the Editorial meeting is the assignment of stories to particular shows. If a particular show has requested the production of a piece on a particular topic, then that piece is automatically given to that show. However, stories are often developed without having been assigned to a particular show. As pieces that have not been given to a particular show are discussed, show staff members express their interest in them. Usually the first show that expresses an interest in the piece will get it. If there is a conflict, the final arbitrator is the News Director. In some meetings it is like a game show, with the program staff people "buzzing in" as fast as they can to try and claim pieces. Despite the

competitiveness of this process, it seems to work fairly well.

A second aspect of these meetings is the discussion of story ideas that have been generated by show staff members. If show staff members have not already made a formal request to the appropriate news desk editor in writing or verbally that they want a particular piece produced, they will use the Editorial meeting as a forum for making such requests. Usually there is a discussion on the story requests for a few minutes and ideas on the content of these stories become more clearly articulated in these meetings. Once a story has been requested by a show staff member, then that story is given to the show for airing when completed.

As previously mentioned, story ideas generated by show staff personnel can be given directly to the appropriate editor in the form of a formal, written request that a particular story be done. Often, the staff will use this procedure to ensure that their claim on a story will be the first, before the other shows make it. Obviously, many times the different shows will come up with similar ideas for news stories. With the first show to claim a piece getting it, shows are encouraged to make their specific requests in writing as quickly as possible. Other times, however, more informal discussion of story ideas take place between show staff members and the news desks, as show staff members ask editors to check with reporters to get more

information on a topic to be able to decide whether or not to do a particular story or simply discuss story ideas with the editor and ask them whether they think they should, can, or want to do the story.

The Arts Unit and the Sports Unit operate in a slightly different manner than the other news desks. These units have no full-time reporters, relying instead on a regular core of free-lance reporters for their stories. These units develop their own story ideas as well as fulfill requests from the various programs. These units also have to "sell" their stories to the programs, negotiating with program staffs to accept their stories. Both of these units are considered part of the Morning Edition program staff, although they do contribute stories to the other programs. The Arts editor and the Sports Editor attend the Morning Edition morning, and discuss their story ideas with the staff of the program at that time. They have a high degree of control over the stories they produce, and almost without exception the stories they produce are accepted by the show staff for airing on the program.

News Sources

The main purpose of the NPR News and Information Department is to gather news and effectively report on it on one of their 5 news programs. News comes from a variety of sources and it is the task of news staff to decide whether or not an event or situation necessitates doing a piece on it. There are several main ways that news is gathered or generated: 1) through the reading of books, newspapers, magazines, and other news media, 2) through public relations materials sent to NPR staff members, 3) through reporters pursuing news stories, 4) through the monitoring of the news wires, 5) through free-lance reporters calling and trying to pitch ideas, 6) through the specialized funding of corporate grants and monies, and 7) through the idea generation process of individual organizational members on their own and in the morning meetings.

The first source of story ideas is magazines, newspapers, and television. A large part of every department member's job is to listen to NPR and other news organization's programs, and read newspapers, magazines, and books in order to keep up with current events. It is expected that at a minimum individuals will read at least the Washington Post and New York Times newspapers every day and listen to the NPR programs.

A second key source for story ideas are materials that are sent by public relations people to NPR staff members. Press agents for a variety of individuals send materials to the office in the hopes that NPR will do a piece covering their topic/issue. Primarily these materials are related to new books, movies, and music, but sometimes they may concern events and activities sponsored by groups as well. NPR staff members must sort through the materials sent to them and decide which ones are worth doing a piece on and which ones are not.

A third source for story ideas are the reporters. The reporters are generally assigned to specific specialty areas in which they work consistently on stories on the same general topic (beats). By focusing their efforts on working on stories on the same general topic (such as Science, the military, or Capitol Hill stories), reporters develop their own sources for information which they can tap into to find the information that they need. They are in constant contact with the newsmakers in these areas and so frequently come up with new ideas for stories that could be done.

Probably the most used source of information on stories is the news wires. NPR has contracts with the UPI, AP, and Reuters news services. The wire services provide "copy" on major events happening all over the U.S. and the world. The services run 24 hours a day and consist of machines which print out both headlines and full articles on stories that

have occurred around the world. These machines are monitored constantly by NPR personnel and are a major source of late-breaking stories. In addition, the news services also print out a "day book", which is a listing of the major events that will be occurring throughout the day all over the country (such as key congressional hearings, speeches by presidential candidates, trials, etc.). NPR news editors often rely on this information to assign reporters to stories happening that day or in the future.

Another source of information for stories is free-lance reporters. On a regular basis, freelance reporters (reporters who are not affiliated with any news organization) will call the news editors at NPR and try to pitch story ideas (sell stories) to them. These individuals will come up with story ideas themselves and suggest them to NPR by describing what the stories are about and how they plan to do them. If a story idea is accepted, they will then work closely with an NPR editor to make sure that the piece conforms to the norms prescribed by NPR.

A sixth source of stories stem from the funding of NPR reporters by corporate grants. A small number of NPR reporters and staff are funded through specialized grants by large corporations and private foundations for the reporting on specific issues, such as science and the humanities. These grants require that a certain number of stories be aired on topics of particular interest to these organiza-

tions. Reporters are funded from these sources and, as a result, are responsible for developing story ideas on the subjects which the grant providers specify. These stories air on all the different programs.

Another source of story ideas are the individual members of NPR. At NPR, individuals are given great freedom to pursue ideas which are of interest to them and almost everyone at NPR can and does develop ideas for stories on their own. People are given the time and resources and are encouraged to pursue stories on their own, getting reporters to do the stories for them or actually reporting the story themselves.

Finally, the morning meetings of the staff members provide a major forum for the development of new ideas. Usually, individuals will come into the meetings with general topics for story ideas, based on articles they have read or discussions with others. These meetings are a creative process, as general story ideas are hammered out and changed around to create new angles on stories. This process will be discussed in greater detail below.

Work Atmosphere and Personnel Practices

The work atmosphere of the News and Information Department at NPR is very informal, matching the work processes of the department. Because of the small number of formal systems of rules and procedures, the work atmosphere and personnel practices also rely on informal systems to function. This can be seen clearly in the systems of communication in the department, the blurring of roles in the department, the system of hiring and personnel practices, and the nature of the staff itself.

Perhaps the primary area which illustrates the informal nature of the News and Information Department most clearly is that of communication processes. Much of the work done in the department requires rapid communication between individuals, across both managerial and non-managerial lines, and work groups. One of the primary tasks of members of the department is to communicate and transmit story information and requests to other units, which requires constant interaction with individuals in different work areas.

The result of this strong need for the transmission of information across units in a timely manner is that the department is very oral communications oriented. Very little written material is generated for transmission to other departmental members. If an individual needs to give

information to or get information from another organizational member, rather than writing a memo, one simply calls the other person, or as is more frequently the case, walks over to the other person's desk and speaks with him/her directly. One reason for this behavior is the time-frame of the work--because the news changes so rapidly, almost everything needs to be turned around very quickly, as most stories have a very short time frame for completion. Staff members do not have the time to write a memo, send it, and wait for a response. They need the information immediately in order to make quick decisions about on-going events. To facilitate this process, most of the communication in the department is oral, rather than written.

Because of the need for rapid transmission of information to other department members, there are few restrictions on the persons people can talk to. There are regular channels for obtaining information, but any member of the department can talk to any other member of the department without an appointment. There are no barriers or rules restricting interactions with other department members and no distinctions made in terms of the level of employees that one can speak to (i.e. management/non-management). This helps foster a team atmosphere in the department, one in which there is a common purpose and constant sharing and communication of information across work groups.

Another factor which helps create the informal atmosphere is the degree of freedom in performing their jobs that is afforded to individuals in the department. Although management does maintain control over final decision-making, there is a considerable latitude in the ways that individuals do their work, and there is little supervision or direct control. On the news desks, because the work processes require individuals to work on large number of pieces at the same time, it is impossible for the managers to maintain strict control over the work process. Individuals must be responsible for their own segment of the work, keeping in touch with the necessary people to get the work accomplished. The managers' role on the news desks is more one of being a sounding board for information and suggestions, than a monitor of how the work is done. On the program staffs, while the work process is not monitored, the end product/final product is. The show's producers will carefully listen to all pieces that are cut, to make sure that each piece is acceptable for airing.

Another factor influencing the atmosphere of the department is the blurring of roles among members of the department due to the large amount of job switching in the organization. Individuals, on any given day, may perform jobs different from their assigned positions, filling in for others who are absent. On the shows, an individual may be an editor one day, a producer the next, and a production

assistant the next day, depending on who is available on a particular day to work. Because the shows must produce their programs each day, even if many persons are absent, much job switching takes place to ensure that programs are effectively produced.

The hiring practices of NPR also contribute to the work atmosphere of the department. Because of the long hiring process of the personnel department, and the need to hire individuals who can fit in quickly once hired, most individuals are hired on as temporaries and given a try-out on the job before they are officially hired. Very rarely is anyone hired without a try-out period, during which time their performance is closely monitored and carefully evaluated before a final hiring decision is made. This policy includes both entry level as well as management positions in the organization. In addition, many individuals in the organization are regular fill-in temporary persons, substituting for show members when ill, or filling in on the shows while a hiring decision is being made. Some of these persons are working just to have work, while others are hoping to catch on to one of the programs and become full-time staff members.

Another factor which influences the work atmosphere at NPR is the nature of the personnel in the News and Information Department. Most of the individuals in the department are young, as almost all of the staff is under 45, with the

average age of department members being close to 30 years old. The political orientation of the staff members is decidedly liberal, with most members expressing a strong interest and concern for the major political issues of the times. There is a large degree of similarity among members in their outlook towards these issues and this affects the collective perception of issues in the news.

The work pace of the department, with individuals having to work under severe time pressures, creates an atmosphere of high energy and action, especially as show times approach. There is a great deal of activity in the organization, with people constantly running around the department to ensure that the work is performed on time. This creates an atmosphere of high stress for organizational members and by the end of the work day, most of the people are worn out. The pressures of creating a new show daily are enormous and many burn out from the rigorous routine of the shows. Despite the high-pressured work conditions, the turnover rate is only moderate at NPR.

NPR's Beliefs, Values, and Goals

Most of the values originally espoused in the mission statement written at the time of the formation of the organization are still present in the organization today. NPR has maintained its tradition of high-quality work and service to the listener by providing unbiased reporting, and in-depth, informative programming. As a result, NPR members believe that NPR maintains the most rigorous standard of editing, for both content and style, of any broadcast news network.

Interviews with NPR News and Information Department staff members echo these themes. One member expressed the feeling that NPR has a commitment to important issues, that they focus on getting at the untold stories of the news and that they will go after anything or anyone to tell the news in a way that the other networks will not. Another staff member posited the belief that the strong power of NPR is its commitment to the strong integrity of the product it produces. He feels that the quality of the programming of NPR is unsurpassed and that the opportunity to work in such a milieu is very rewarding.

Others have suggested that the link with the listening audience is a strong value of NPR. One individual values giving people information to help people make decisions, introducing them to new ideas, exposing them to cultural

events and activities, and helping them figure out what is the truth about the news events of the world. Another individual also echoed this theme of providing society with information that enables them to understand that intricate issues are manageable. He felt that commercial broadcasting "hypes" issues and makes them hard for people to understand. He posited that the key values of NPR include completeness, objectivity, the development of ideas, and the ability to go beyond conventional assumptions and superficial labels to be able to give the listeners their fair share.

In general, members of the News and Information Department feel a sense of uniqueness or specialness working at NPR, believing that they provide a valuable service to the community through their work. They stress the value of the high quality of programming NPR provides as being very important to them, as well as the notion that NPR covers issues and stories that others will not and that they do so in a much more in-depth, sophisticated manner. The freedom and independence of the work environment and the opportunity to pursue ideas based on individual initiative is important to department members, and often forms the basis for their attachment to the organization. The members feel a strong sense of purpose and common goals working for NPR, and this unites them and inspires them to produce the best products possible. This also leads them to have a strong team

atmosphere, with cooperation between units, rather than competition being prevalent.

Description of a Typical ATC Workday

The All Things Considered Show is produced daily, Monday through Friday and is taped live at 5:00 p.m. each day in the studio at NPR. The show attempts to provide an in-depth examination of the day's news events, as well as give treatment to issues of longer-term concern. The show is divided into 3 half-hour segments, with newscasts at the top of each half hour presenting the headlines for the day.

The day begins for ATC staff members at 9:15 - 9:30 a.m., when staff members arrive at the office and begin their work day by examining the morning's newspapers (usually the Washington Post and New York Times) for story ideas and new information which might have appeared overnight that was not contained in the previous evening's broadcast. In addition, the news wires are examined for early breaking news of the day.

At 9:45 each morning, the staff meets in the conference room to begin planning the show that will be aired that evening. The meetings are run by the show's executive producer, or in his/her absence, the senior producer of the show. The meetings center around the generation of new story ideas, the status of pieces in progress, assignment of individuals to projects, and administrative issues. During these discussions, story ideas are presented and staff members discuss whether or not the story merits doing a

piece on it, what the best angle to take on the story is, how the piece should be done (reporter piece, host interview, etc.), and who to assign to do the story. The discussion generally proceeds by going through the "the list", which is a listing of all story ideas in progress by subject area (see Appendix A for an example), which is updated daily.

In these meetings, individual staff members raise story ideas by presenting a few sentence "pitch" for the story, covering the main issues of the story and why the story is important. This is followed by a general discussion among staff members of the story and the issues surrounding it. At the end of the discussion of a particular story idea, a decision is usually made concerning the story, and if it has been accepted, it is written down on the list. At the end of the meeting, staff members are assigned particular pieces to work on that day and the meeting ends. The show's senior staff (executive producer and editor) then attend the editorial meeting.

When the editorial meeting is over, the ATC staff has a fairly good idea of what pieces they can expect to have on the show that night, which include pieces produced by the staff (host interviews and commentaries), pieces produced by the news desks (the "hard news" stories for the day), as well as the "futures" pieces that will be ready to air that day. However, this list is not totally complete, for as the

day continues, new news stories will break out and coverage of them will be assigned, so that a show's content is not fixed up until the time the show airs, and actually still often changes while the show is being aired.

Following the editorial meeting, the staff members continue to work on their assigned pieces, the hosts conduct interviews with guests, and the executive staff continue planning the show. At around 2:30, the producer for the show begins marking up the board (the "roadmap") which lists the stories that will air on that evening's program and the ordering of those pieces on the program.

As the afternoon progresses, the producer and executive producer sit in the middle of the ATC area, filling in the board, answering phone calls, talking to the editors on the news desks to ascertain the status of the pieces (focusing especially on their length), and listening to pieces already edited to make sure that they have been properly produced. The center area around the board is the nerve center for the show, with staff members coming in and out of the area with finished pieces, writing the intro's (scripts for the hosts to read introducing the pieces to be aired) on the computer terminals, and sitting at the edit machines scattered around the area while editing pieces. The hosts shuttle quickly between the studio where they tape interviews and their offices where they write their copy for the show and prepare themselves for the day's program. Each host is usually

assigned to write introductions and conduct interviews for three to four interviews daily.

From 3:00 p.m. until 4:30 p.m., the pace of the work quickens. Most of the pieces begin arriving and need to be edited quickly, the producer must monitor the board to ensure that each show segment is the appropriate length of time, missing pieces need to be tracked down, finished pieces must be listened to before airing, and the copy for the show must be written and checked to make sure it is acceptable. The atmosphere is one of frenzy, with people yelling out instructions to each other, people running in and out of the work area, phones ringing, and the producer, who is ultimately responsible for the show, trying to organize everything that is going on. The roadmap continuously changes, as the producer moves pieces around and adds up the times in each half hour, making sure they fit into the time allotted, sometimes telling people to re-edit their pieces to achieve the appropriate length for the show.

At 4:30, many of the pieces are still not in or fully edited (1/2 hour before air time), especially on a day with a lot of late-breaking news. The editor of the show now moves into the center area and begins the final editing of the pieces and the copy that is to be read on the show. At 4:45, the hosts go into the studio with the director and engineers of the show and begin pre-taping the show's opening and closing segments.

At 5:00 p.m., the show is aired. While the show is going on, staff members come into the studio to bring in just completed pieces and new copy for the hosts to read. If production of a piece is running late, then the producer often selects a new piece to air from the list of pieces on the rundown board that have not been scheduled to run, but could be run at any time, and substitutes it for the missing piece. Meanwhile, the show staff are still working hard on the pieces that haven't been completed, trying to get them finished in time to air at the appropriate moment.

By the beginning of the third segment (6:00), most of the work has been completed and staff members sit at their desks listening to the program while relaxing and catching their breaths from the frenetic pace of the work which took place from 2:00 until 6:00. At 6:30 p.m., the show is over and people begin to clean up their desks and leave for the day. By 7:00 p.m., almost everyone has gone home, except for one staff member who is responsible for changes and updates that are made in the show for later feeds. Each show is taped at 5:00 p.m., but might air at different times depending on the member station that carries the show and their time zone (i.e. stations on the west coast might air ATC at 8:00 p.m. EST). Often times new stories will have broken between the time the program is taped and when it is aired and thus the program needs to be updated.

Description of a Typical Morning Edition Workday

The Morning Edition Program operates on a 24 hour a day schedule with three shifts of people coming in throughout the day. The show is taped from 6:00 - 8:00 a.m. each day Monday through Friday. A new cycle of the show starts each morning at 9:00 with the morning meeting, which is a time when all the staff members are present (except for the swing shift). The morning meeting is concerned with planning the next morning's show, in a process similar to that of the ATC staff described above. At 9:45, the meeting is completed, with a tentative agenda for the next morning's show.

After the morning meeting, the overnight personnel perform a pass-off to the day shift, informing them of things going on in the news they should know about, or contacts they should follow up on. Then the overnight people leave and the day-time staff takes over. The day-time staff consists of a small group of people, perhaps 5 or 6 persons who are mainly responsible for scheduling guests (interviewees for the show), helping to produce the host interviews with the guests, or working on longer-term "future" pieces. The day-time staff includes the Executive Producer and the Senior Producer, who are responsible for planning the show's content, making hiring decisions, scheduling staff members' hours, and other administrative tasks.

ME staff members spend most of the day spent discussing story ideas with the editors on the news desks, conducting interviews, cutting and editing pieces, and developing the rundown board for the show. Around 4:00 p.m., the swing shift consisting of 2 individuals - a swing shift producer and a production assistant, comes in and begins catching up on what has been going on during the day. At around 4:30 p.m., the executive producer and the senior producer begin to work on the tentative schedule for the next morning's show. Like the ATC program, a rundown board is used by the producers to write down the tentative list of pieces that will be aired on the program and their order for the next morning's show. When they have finished with this process, at approximately 4:45 - 5:00 p.m., the pass-off between the day shift and the swing shift takes place.

During the pass-off, the producer and editor give instructions to the swing shift concerning the following issues: 1) what pieces need work and what needs to be done on them, 2) what reporters will be filing pieces later in the evening, when they will be filing, and the content of the pieces, 3) instructions on the format of the show, i.e. which pieces should or have to run, which pieces can wait or be dropped out if necessary, and which pieces can be moved around, and 4) any other things to look out for or special instructions for the overnight staff. The process of the pass-off is a piece by piece listing of what should be done

with each piece, with the producer talking and the swing shift personnel following along taking notes and asking questions to clarify information.

Around 6:00 p.m., the day-time staff leaves, and the swing shift takes over. Their role is basically a care-taking one, making sure that everything is running smoothly during the transition between the day shift and the overnight shift. The tasks performed by the swing shift include fielding phone calls from reporters about stories, contacting other reporters or staff members about pieces, getting pieces ready so that the overnight shift can edit them, performing some editing and mixing of pieces, monitoring the news wires for late-breaking stories, and editing reporters who are filing late. If a new story breaks during this period, the swing shift producer is responsible for setting up coverage of the story, which involves contacting the executive producer of the program, the editor on the appropriate news desk, and the reporters for the story.

Around 12:00-12:30 a.m., the overnight producer comes in and a pass-off between the swing-shift producer and the overnight producer occurs, covering the same issues as discussed in the afternoon pass-off, plus any new information that has occurred during the shift. The overnight producer then begins to re-figure the show on the rundown board, adjusting the schedule to the pieces that have come in earlier or are expected to come in later in the shift.

Often, events occur in foreign countries whose daytime hours overlap those of the night shift and thus need to be produced and edited by the overnight staff when they come in early in the morning.

Around 1:00 a.m., the show production staff arrives. On the rundown board is the list of pieces needing to be cut, and the names of the production staff members who are assigned to each piece. As the staff members come in, they look at the board, pick up the tape they are to be working on, and go into one of the edit booths which are scattered throughout the floor to begin their work for the evening.

As the morning progresses, more and more of the pieces have cleared the editing process, and the times of the pieces are put up on the rundown board. The director of the show, meanwhile, works in her office on the pacing and timing of the show, planning the musical interludes between pieces and making sure that everything on the show will flow smoothly. At around 5:30 a.m., the host goes into the studio for pre-taping of the beginning and ending segments of each half hour of the program and begins going through the script for the show itself.

At 6:00 a.m. the taping of the show itself begins, with production staff coming into the studio with just-finished pieces and a hectic pace of the staff members outside the studio trying to get the pieces completed on time. At 8:00 a.m. the show ends, and the staff takes a break, relaxing

and reading the morning papers until it is time for the morning meeting and the start of the next cycle in the program.

Content of NPR Programs

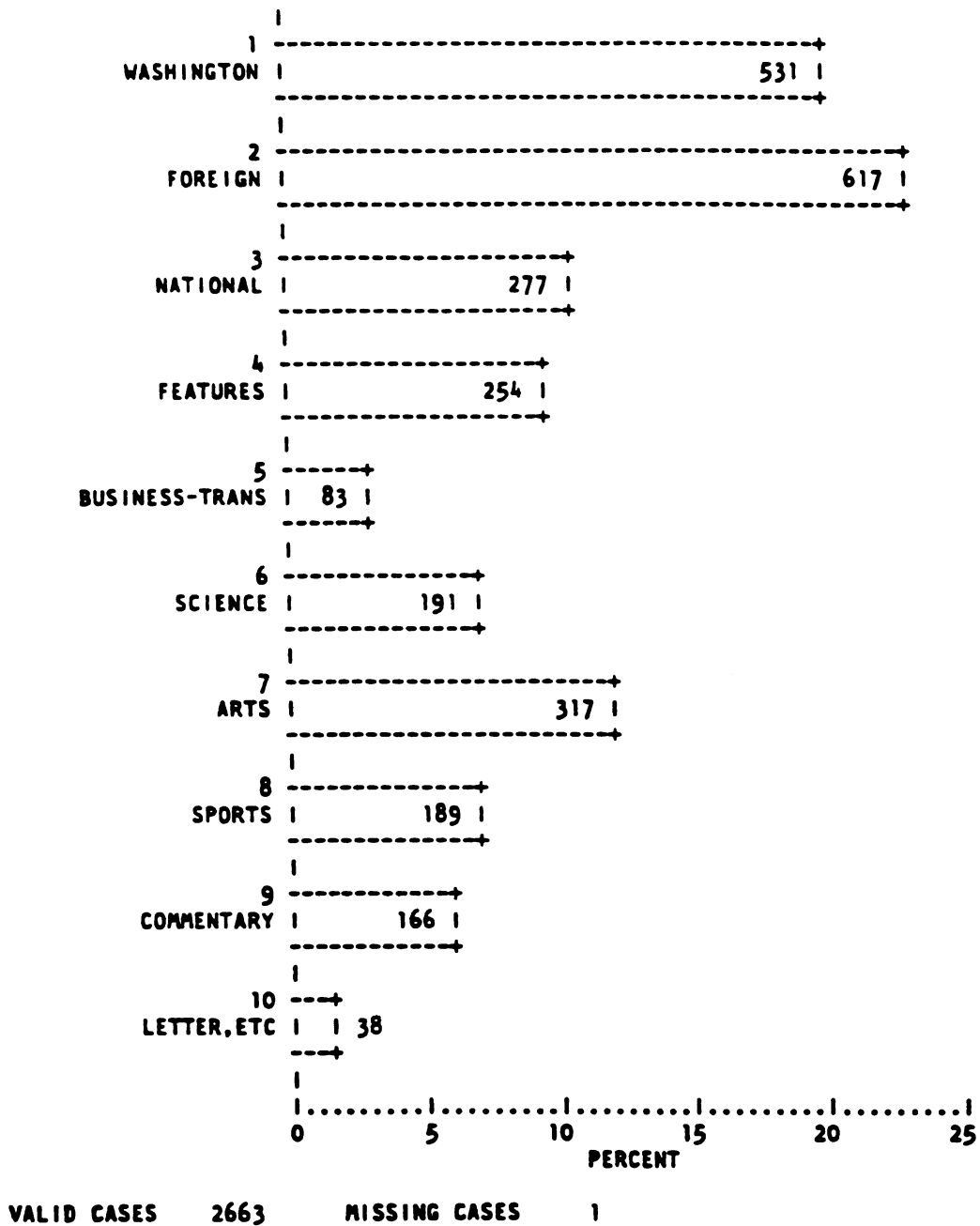
The major output of the News and Information Department is the news programs produced by staff members. These programs are the end result of the work of department members. Through analyzing program content, a greater understanding of the characteristics of the shows can be obtained. To facilitate this analysis, the run-down list, which provides a listing of the contents of each program aired at NPR, was analyzed. For the purpose of this analysis, only the Morning Edition and All Things Considered programs were used. The run-down lists for these 2 programs were coded for various characteristics and analyzed as to their content. Coding categories were developed based on the observation experience of the researcher in the organization and through modifications suggested by an informant from NPR. The resulting categories and codes were designed to be as similar as possible to those used by NPR members in their daily work.

Each story that aired during the selected time period was coded separately and examined for both general descriptive characteristics as well as more specific information on a story's content. For each story, the date the story aired, the show it aired on, the placement of the story within the show, the length (in minutes) of the piece, and the day of the week it aired were coded. In addition, the

story was coded for the content category, the reporter who reported the story, the type of news story it was, and who the interviewee was (if any).

Tables 1 through 5 show the frequencies across all cases for the variables of content category, reporter, interviewee, type, and time. Table 1 shows the frequencies for the content category variable. The most frequent stories appearing on the programs were foreign stories (23%), followed by Washington stories (20%), arts stories (12%), National stories (10%), and feature stories (10%); with science stories (7%), sports stories (7%), commentary (6%), business stories (3%), and miscellaneous stories including listener letters (1%) appearing to a lesser degree. The news department sets as a major goal of the programs to provide a service similar to that of a newspaper - giving up-to-date information and news from around the U.S. and the world, but also to provide softer, more human-interest type reports as well. The mix of stories aired on the programs represent this goal of being well-rounded in the coverage of news events and trends. There is however, a tendency of the programs to focus more heavily on Washington stories than on national stories (20% to 10%). This reflects the fact that NPR's resources are designed to be better able to cover stories happening in Washington than in the rest of the country (i.e. NPR has more reporters assigned to beats in Washington than in the rest of the

Table 1. Frequency Distribution of the Content Category of the Story



country combined). This reflects an underlying organizational decision to deploy their resources in this way.

The frequencies for who the reporter was on the story are shown in Table 2. Here it is noted that the most used reporters are NPR reporters (33%), hosts (25%), and freelance reporters (22%), with fewer stories being done by critic/commentators (11%), member station reporters (6%), and BBC/UPI reporters (4%). Because of the payment process, the News and Information department encourages use of NPR reporters to cover a story when possible. NPR reporters are paid a regular salary; freelance reporters and others are paid by the piece. Part of the unwritten informal policy is to reduce costs and maintain the high integrity of the work when possible by using NPR reporters, who can be relied on to produce quality work. If an NPR reporter is unavailable to do the piece, then the second choice is to have one of the hosts conduct an interview with the participants in the story. Regular free-lance reporters are used when the first two options are unavailable, but will have been edited very closely by department staff, and will have had to have been given approval by the staff before airing. It is interesting to note that member station reporters are used infrequently (only 6% of the stories). Here again the bias against using mistrusted reporters for stories is evidenced, as it is commonly felt that stories produced by member stations are of inferior quality.

Table 2. Frequency Distribution of the Reporter of the Story

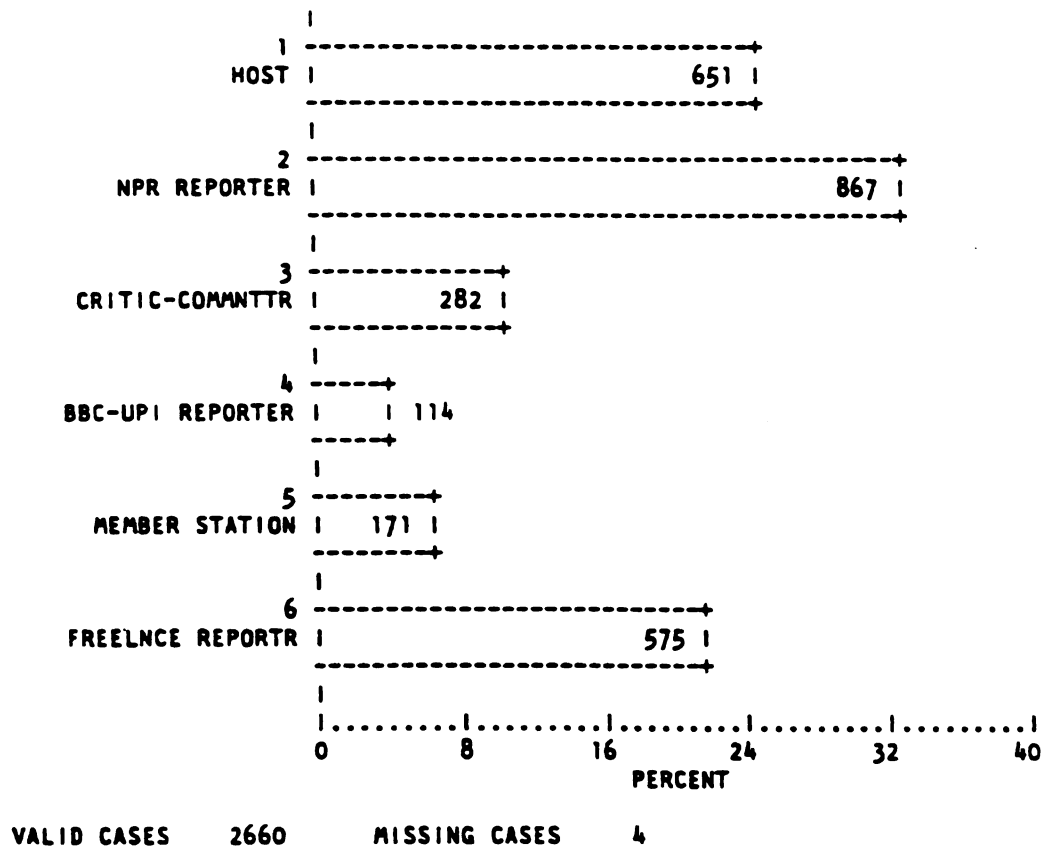


Table 3 contains the frequencies for interviewee. Primary sources (45%) were interviewed most often, with analysts (20%), NPR reporters (16%), other news organization's reporters (15%), and public figures (4%) being used much less often. It is NPR's policy to present the news by talking to the newsmakers involved. Here it is evidenced by the strong attempt to talk to the primary sources for the news events when possible. There is also a heavy use of analysts and NPR reporters as well, to comment and help illuminate the underlying issues of a particular story. NPR likes to explore issues from multiple perspectives and air many opinions on the issues; one way of doing this is using analysts and NPR reporters as sounding boards for new insight into current situations.

Table 4 presents the analysis of the stories aired in terms of the type of news stories that were presented. The largest category represented was hard news stories (35%), followed by reporter features (13%), hard news/sidebar stories done by a host (13%), analysis/sidebar/news features done by a reporter (12%), commentaries (9%), host features (8%), in-depth investigations (6%), host copy (3%), and satire (1%). Again, NPR's policy of presenting the important news of the day is shown, as hard news stories made up the largest percentage of stories aired. NPR also has a commitment to providing analysis and in-depth coverage of important events as is evidenced by the large number of

Table 3. Frequency Distribution of the Interviewee of the Story

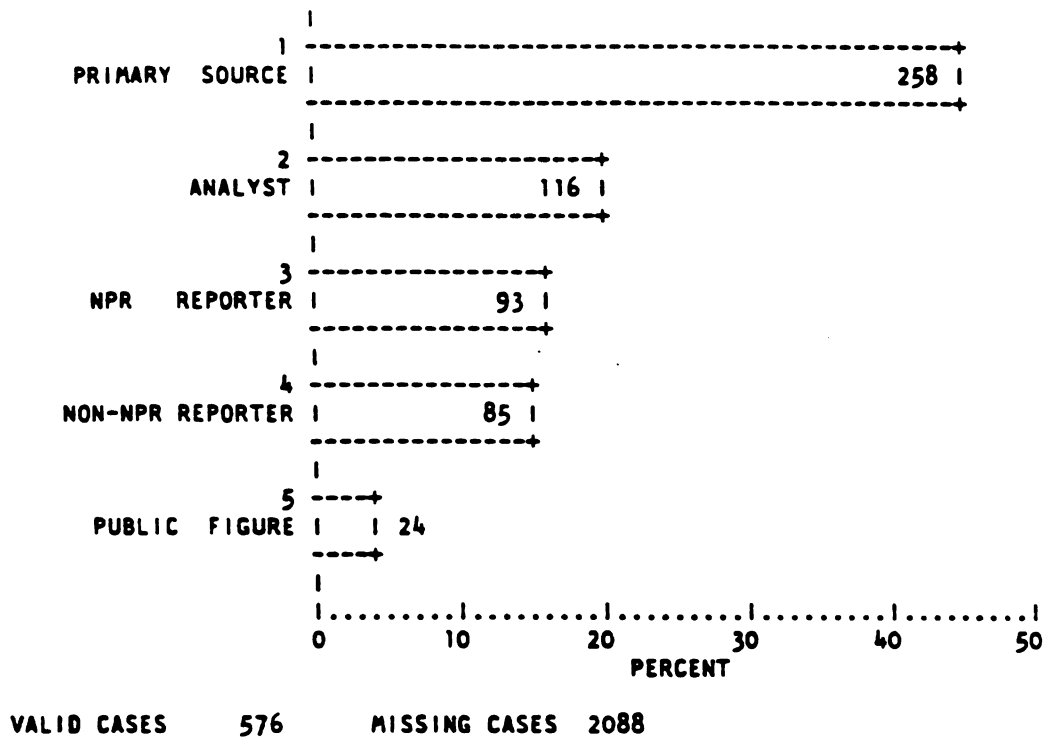
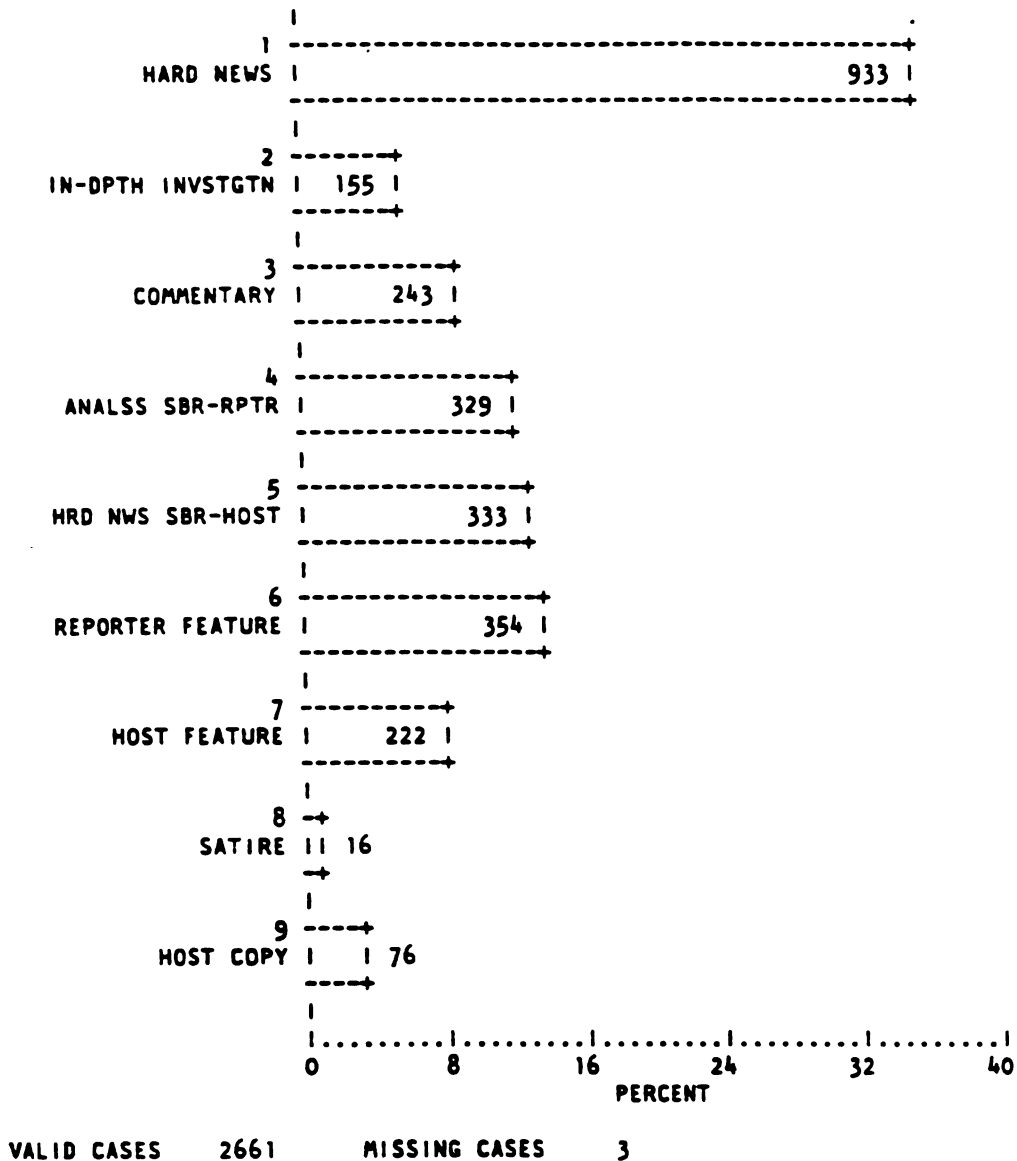


Table 4. Frequency Distribution of the Type of News of the Story



analysis and news-sidebar pieces aired. Features and lighter fare also made up a large amount of the stories on the programs, as attempts are made to ensure that human-interest stories and arts stories receive adequate coverage as well.

Table 5 shows the frequency distribution for length of the pieces. It can be seen that most of the pieces were under 5 minutes, with 13% of the pieces being 2 minutes or less, 22% of the pieces being 2-3 minutes in length, 25% of the pieces being 3-4 minutes long, and 17% of the pieces being 4-5 minutes. 10% of the pieces were 5-6 minutes long, while 14% were over 6 minutes. Although most of the pieces were short, there were a considerable number of them which were 5 minutes or over (24%). NPR, as opposed to other news organizations, often devotes a considerable amount of time to providing in-depth coverage of issues and events, with Morning Edition often devoting whole segments to a single story, while All Things Considered often uses its middle third to air longer documentary pieces.

Crosstab analyses were also performed to assess relationships between the key variables of interest. These analyses focused on the relationship between the content category of a story and the reporter on the story, the interviewee (if any), the type of story, and the length of the story.

Table 5. Frequency Distribution of the Length of the Story

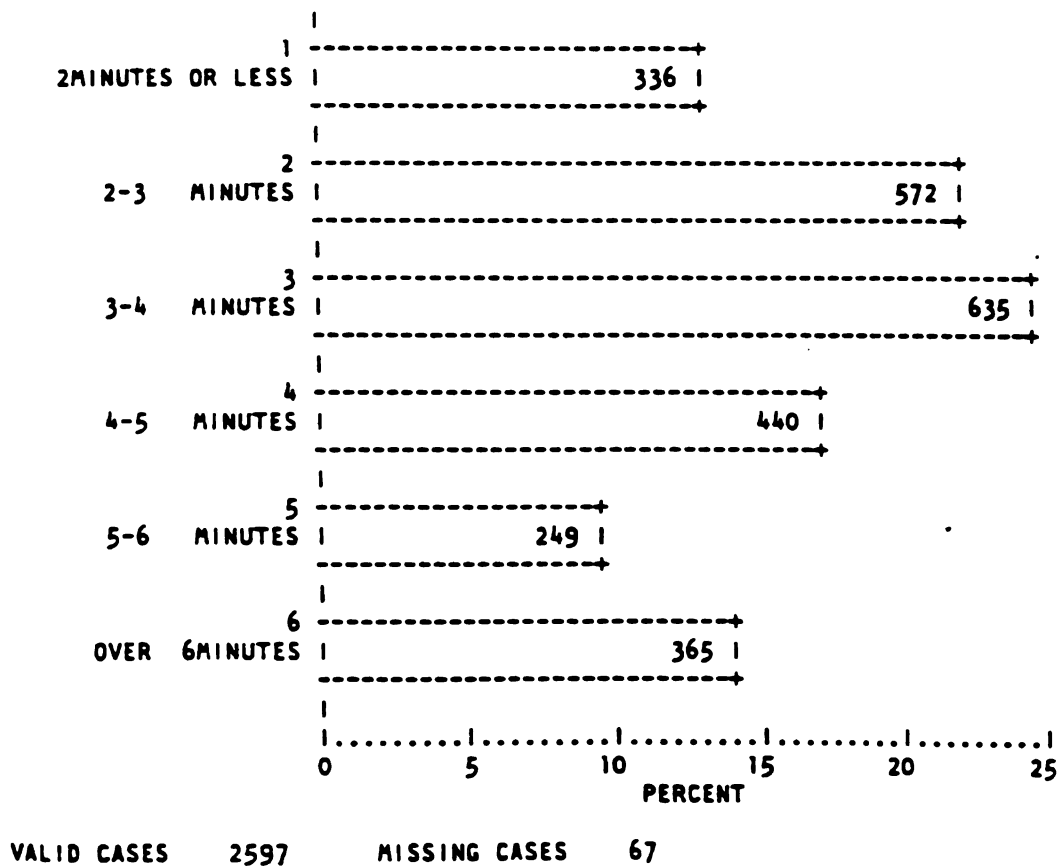


Table 6 presents the results of crosstabs between content category and reporter. There are several interesting results found in this analysis. First, it was found that 91% of Washington stories are reported by either NPR reporters or by a host on one of the programs. Washington stories represent NPR's best area of coverage; with its offices located in Washington, NPR can provide most of the coverage of news stories on these topics. However, on foreign stories, coverage by NPR personnel is far less, as NPR members only supply 50% of the pieces, with freelance reporters and BBC/UPI reporters accounting for the other 50%. Also to be noted is the fact that 61% of the features are reported by hosts, showing that NPR's policy is to use hosts to report on lighter, human-interest stories when possible. 60% of the science stories are reported by NPR science reporters, as was expected since several of these reporters are funded by outside corporations for reporting specifically on science issues. Arts (43%) and sports (37%) stories are primarily reported by freelance reporters, as there are no regular full-time reporters for these units. Finally, it should be noted that 97% of the commentaries aired were done by commentator/critics, with the hosts of the program doing less than 1% of the commentaries. This is the result of a deliberate policy to maintain the objectivity of the hosts and to not allow them to share their own opinions concerning the news events on the programs.

Table 6. Crosstabulation of Content Category by Reporter

CATEGORY	COUNT ROW PCT	REPORTER						ROW TOTAL
		HOST	NPR REPO	CRITIC-C	BBC-UPI	MEMBER S	FREELNCE	
		11	21	31	41	51	61	
WASHINGTON	1	117	364	1	8	4	36	530
		22.1	68.7	.2	1.5	.8	6.8	19.9
FOREIGN	2	131	178		104		202	615
		21.3	28.9		16.9		32.8	23.1
NATIONAL	3	47	108			64	58	277
		17.0	39.0			23.1	20.9	10.4
FEATURES	4	155	40	13	1	12	33	254
		61.0	15.7	5.1	.4	4.7	13.0	9.6
BUSINESS-TRANS	5	12	45			21	5	83
		14.5	54.2			25.3	6.0	3.1
SCIENCE	6	29	115	1	1	16	29	191
		15.2	60.2	.5	.5	8.4	15.2	7.2
ARTS	7	78	11	64		27	137	317
		24.6	3.5	20.2		8.5	43.2	11.9
SPORTS	8	44	6	42		27	70	189
		23.3	3.2	22.2		14.3	37.0	7.1
COMMENTARY	9	1		161			4	166
		.6		97.0			2.4	6.2
LETTER.ETC	10	37						37
		100.0						1.4
COLUMN TOTAL		651	867	282	114	171	574	2659
		24.5	32.6	10.6	4.3	6.4	21.6	100.0

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 5

The crosstabs of content category and interviewee found in Table 7 also yielded some interesting findings. For example, 45% of interviewees on foreign stories are non-NPR reporters (reporters working for some other news organization). Only on foreign stories are non-NPR reporters relied on, as they account for 16% or less of the interviewees on other types of stories. Because of the lack of NPR reporters in foreign countries, it is often necessary to speak to non-NPR reporters in other countries to obtain objective, up-to-date information. Even though it is a general policy to avoid using such persons when possible, it is allowed when no other sources are available. Another interesting finding is that the programs relied heavily on primary sources for interviews on feature stories (80%), science stories (65%), and arts stories (94%), while on other topics, analysts and NPR reporters were used more frequently, for example 63% of Washington and 75% of business interviewees were analysts or NPR reporters, which are stories in which primary sources are more difficult to obtain.

The crosstab analysis shown in Table 8 examines the relationship between content category and type of news. Here the important finding was that particular story treatments were associated with particular story topics. For example, 52% of Washington stories and 63% of foreign stories were hard news stories, while for other topics, the type of story done was more varied, such as national

Table 7. Crosstabulation of Content Category by Interviewee

		INTERV						
COUNT		1						
ROW	PCT	PRIMARY	ANALYST	NPR	NON-NPR	PUBLIC		ROW
		SOURCE		REPORTER	REPORTER	FIGURE		TOTAL
CATEGORY		11	21	31	41	51		
WASHINGTON	1	14	27	43	7	21		112
		12.5	24.1	38.4	6.3	18.8		19.4
FOREIGN	2	18	33	15	56	3		125
		14.4	26.4	12.0	44.8	2.4		21.7
NATIONAL	3	13	17	7	7			44
		29.5	38.6	15.9	15.9			7.6
FEATURES	4	110	22	2	4			138
		79.7	15.9	1.4	2.9			24.0
BUSINESS-TRANS	5	2	6	3	1			12
		16.7	50.0	25.0	8.3			2.1
SCIENCE	6	17	3	4	2			26
		65.4	11.5	15.4	7.7			4.5
ARTS	7	72	4		1			77
		93.5	5.2		1.3			13.4
SPORTS	8	12	4	19	7			42
		28.6	9.5	45.2	16.7			7.3
COLUMN TOTAL		258	116	93	85	24		576
		44.8	20.1	16.1	14.8	4.2		100.0

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 2088

Table 8. Crosstabulation of Content Category by Type of News Story

COUNT ROW PCT	CATEGORY	TYPE										ROW TOTAL
		HARD NEWS	IN-DEPTH INVESTIG	COMMENT- ARY	ANALYSIS SRR-RPTR	HARDNEWS SBR-HOST	REPORTER FEATURE	HOST FEATURE	SATIRE	COPY		
1	WASHINGTON	275	13	3	128	104	1	1	1	6	531	
1		51.8	2.4	.6	24.1	19.6	.2	.2	.2	1.1	20.0	
2	FOREIGN	389	25		67	120	8	1	1	8	617	
1		63.0	4.1		10.9	19.4	1.3			1.3	23.2	
3	NATIONAL	119	45		51	42	17	1	1	2	277	
1		43.0	16.2		18.4	15.2	6.1	.4		.7	10.4	
4	FEATURES	1	27	3	6	27	49	120	15	6	254	
1		.4	10.6	1.2	2.4	10.6	19.3	47.2	5.9	2.4	9.5	
5	BUSINESS/TRANS	37	9		21	11	4	1	1	1	83	
1		44.6	10.8		25.3	13.3	4.8			1.2	3.1	
6	SCIENCE	72	34		50	18	7	7	1	3	191	
1		37.7	17.8		26.2	9.4	3.7	3.7		1.6	7.2	
7	ARTS	5	2	34		6	189	61	1	10	317	
1		1.6	.6	10.7		1.9	62.8	19.2		3.2	11.9	
8	SPORTS	35	1	38	6	5	68	33	1	4	189	
1		18.5		20.1	3.2	2.6	36.0	17.5		2.1	7.1	
9	COUNTRY	1	1	165			1	1	1	1	166	
1				99.4			.6				6.2	
10	LETTERS.ETC	1	1						1	36	36	
1										100.0	1.4	
COLUMN TOTAL		933	199	243	328	333	354	222	16	76	2661	
		38.1	8.6	9.1	12.4	12.5	13.3	8.3	.6	2.8	100.0	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS • 3

stories, business stories, and science stories which could be either hard news, in-depth investigations, analysis pieces, etc. and are not restricted to one type of treatment as the others were.

These descriptive results of the characteristics of the news programs produced at NPR provide a brief summary of the nature of the news programs aired at NPR. A fundamental premise of this paper is the notion that the characteristics of stories that are aired are dependent on the way they are categorized by organizational members using their cultural knowledge systems. The next section describes the nature of the cultural knowledge system in use at NPR and the process by which it is used by organizational members in interpreting story topics.

Section II. The Cultural Knowledge System and its Application

Overview of Organizational Culture as a Control System

The model of organizational culture as a control system presented in the introduction serves as the framework for the analysis of the data collected in the current study. This model suggests that organizational culture acts as a control system over individual behavior by guiding or influencing individuals' processing of information in a manner consistent with the culture of the organization. The result of such effects is the coordination of the activities of members of the organization. This process works by first controlling selection and attention of that information, second, it imposes a categorization system on that information so that the information can be interpreted, third, it suggests scripts or action plans upon which behavior can be based, and fourth, it leads directly to behavioral responses based on the end result of the processing of information.

Formal systems of control within organizations also act upon organizational members to control their behavior. Such formal mechanisms as the monitoring of behavior by supervisors, formal rules and regulations, the evaluation of performance in appraisal sessions, and the development of a hierarchy and formal structure of the organization are all used to ensure coordination among organizational members. Despite the relative effectiveness of these systems, much of

what organizational members do within organization is not under the control of these formal mechanisms.

The model developed in this study suggests that while formal control systems may be effective in controlling behavior in relatively certain, routine situations, organizational cultural knowledge systems acting as "third order" control systems will affect information processing activities as well as behavior in those situations which are not amenable to the use of formal control mechanisms, such as non-routine situations or situations in which no formal mechanisms apply. To summarize, it is suggested that organizational culture based control systems will have a strong effect in work situations in which behavior cannot be routinized and formal rule systems cannot be developed.

In the current study, one set of key organizational behaviors was selected to examine in detail and propositions developed from the model of organizational culture as a third order control system were applied to these behaviors to generate a greater understanding of the processes involved. The set of behaviors focused on were the decisions made by organizational members concerning: 1) story idea generation and story selection, 2) the assignment of the stories to staff members to be produced, and 3) the determination of when these stories should be aired. These sets of decisions are inter-related and represent a continuous process on the part of organizational members.

The set of work behaviors examined in this study represent one aspect of the work performed in the organization. These behaviors are not subject to formal control mechanisms, as there is no formal written policy governing story selection and production decisions; the criteria or rules which govern these actions are implicit or informal and are part of the system of organizational cultural knowledge. Because the news changes so quickly and the news stories which arise are so uncertain, there needs to be an "organizational shorthand" that individuals can use to help sort through the vast array of possible stories that could be aired. This system of rules is the organizational cultural knowledge system.

Several analyses were performed to develop an understanding of the content and structure of the cultural knowledge system in use in the organization and the process by which it is used by organizational members. The major analysis undertaken to generate the set of rules and categorization systems used by organizational members was the analysis of written transcripts of story selection and productions decisions occurring in the morning meetings. These notes were content analyzed to extract the underlying system of rules used by organizational members when engaging in the interpretation process of the meetings. The second analysis undertaken was the use of 20 selected story examples to illustrate how the rules and schema operate to

control or guide decision making processes in a real-life context.

Model of the Cultural Knowledge System

In the organization examined, it was found that individuals possess a complex set of organizational cultural knowledge which is used by individuals in the performance of their jobs. This set of informal rules, policies, and procedures help individuals to process information relevant to the decisions concerning the story ideas to be presented on the news programs. Figure 6 illustrates the overall information processing/categorization process used by organizational members when developing interpretations of news events and stories. The model suggests that there are 5 major steps staff members go through when developing an understanding of a particular story. The first step involves the selection and development of a story idea. Individuals consult a number of sources on a daily basis for news ideas and attempt to develop new story ideas based upon information from them. Selection of new stories involves the use of a system of rules which determine the content and type of stories which match the cultural rules of the organization. The second step involves the determination of whether the story is to be done to air that day or whether it could be done for some time in the future. The third

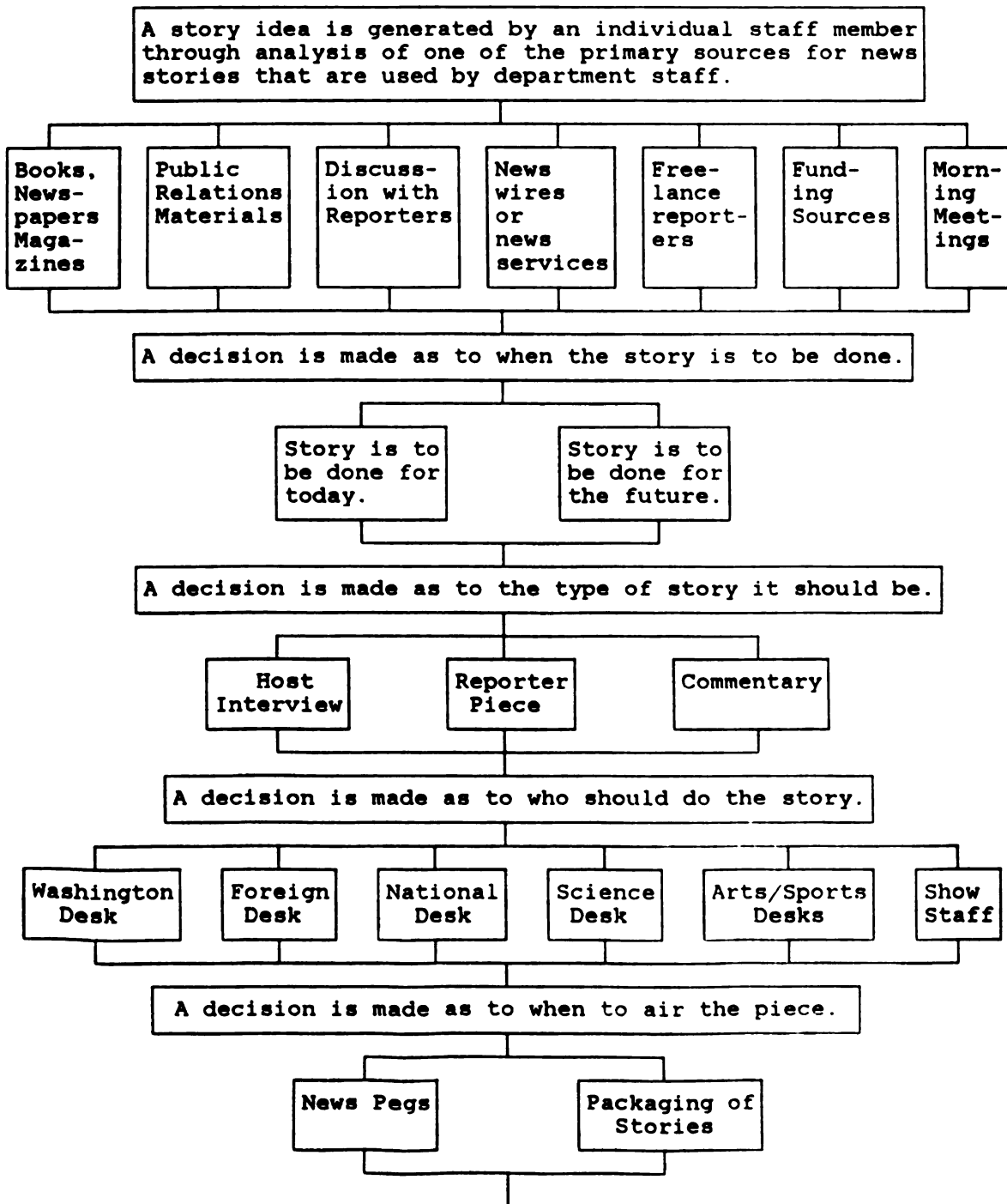


Figure 6: Overall Model of the Cultural Knowledge System

step involves the determination of how the story should be done - in an interview, reporter piece, or in a commentary. The fourth step involves the determination of who should have the responsibility for the preparation of the piece, i.e. which news desk (or show staff) is the most appropriate one for doing the piece. Fifth, a decision is made concerning when the piece should air, using news pegs and the creation of packages as aids in making these decisions. Each of these steps in the interpretation process are important in determining the overall character and type of pieces that are eventually produced by the news department. These steps will now be discussed in turn.

Story Selection

The first step in the use of the cultural knowledge system to make story decisions is the search for story ideas and information. As previously discussed, there are a number of sources for story ideas which are regularly consulted to help organizational members find new stories to air on the programs. This search for new information continues on a daily and often hourly basis and is designed to generate information that is as thorough and up-to-date with current events as possible. Because there is an infinitely large number of stories possible to do on any given day, individuals need to rely on a set of rules to guide them in the selection process, to help them determine

what is and what is not an appropriate story to pursue. There are few formal rules that guide which stories should be done; it is an informal process, one in which individuals use their pre-developed systems of knowledge based on their experience in the organization.

The content analysis of the morning meeting notes indicates that there are a set of rules which are shared by organizational members and help them to make story selection decisions. Below are listed the results of the analysis for story selection. They consist of a set of schema or rules which govern the selection process of story ideas. The sub-areas of this set of rules include rules on: 1) general story selection principles, 2) story selection rules for not doing a story, 3) Washington/Federal government stories, 4) foreign stories, 5) National/Business/Science stories, 6) minority/activist/social policy stories, 7) social trends/-phenomenon, 8) tragedy/human reaction stories, 9) anniversary stories, 10) news sidebar/historical stories, 11) feature ideas, 12) rival media stories, and 13) specific story content.

Story Selection RulesA. General Story Selection Principles

- 1) If a story does not have a major effect on people, kill the story.
- 2) If a story is not new or different, kill the story.
- 3) If a story covers the same angle on an issue as a previous story done on the topic, do not do another piece.
- 4) If a story affects many people's lives or multiple groups, then do the story.
- 5) If a cause of a series of deaths is not new, or is a continuing problem, do not do anything on them.
- 6) If a story involves a highly visual element, it is probably not a radio story, kill story idea.
- 7) If a feature story is on a subject similar to a feature story already ordered, kill story idea.
- 8) If there is no central place for a story's action, kill story.
- 9) If a story's critical details have not been discussed before on the air, do the story if interesting.
- 10) If you cannot advance story or push it forward through the presentation of new information, do not do the story.
- 11) If an on-going situation has not changed, do not do a story on the topic.
- 12) If you have done a story on a similar topic on your own show or it has appeared on another show, then kill the story idea.
- 13) If a story has the possibility of getting good sound in it, do the story.
- 14) Do not do a funny piece on peoples' reaction to deaths that have occurred.
- 15) If you have already looked at a social issue before, do not do another piece on the topic, unless you can take a completely different angle or categorize the story in a different way.
- 16) If a story has an effect on economics or behavior, it is okay to do the story.
- 17) Run updates periodically on on-going stories, especially when something new happens on the situation.
- 18) If you can add new information to an old piece, do an update piece.
- 19) If other national media are picking up on a story, then a story becomes acceptable to do (if previously questioned).
- 20) If you have run a lot of general stories on a topic related to a scheduled event, look to do pieces on specific issues.

B. Story Selection - Rules for not doing a story

- 1) You do not have to cover a conference or meeting of a political group if nothing new is supposed to come out of the meetings.
- 2) If there is an on-going disagreement between subfactions of a group, do not do the story unless something specific happens between the sub-factions.
- 3) If protest groups do not do or say anything new on their issue, do not do a story on them.
- 4) If a book has been out for awhile, do not do a story on it.
- 5) If a feature story is contradictory to the values of the show staff, do not do a piece on it unless can slant it.
- 6) Do not run technology and the poor stories.
- 7) If a natural disaster is coming to an end, do not order long term futures on the story (pieces that will not be completed for a number of weeks).

C. Washington/Federal Government Stories

- 1) If the story concerns problems, corruption or scandal in the Federal government, do the story.
- 2) If a presidential candidate announces candidacy for office, cover their announcement.
- 3) If there is a new appointee to a major government position, do a profile story on the appointee.
- 4) If there is a conflict between the scientific community and the government, do a piece on the topic (especially if it can be pegged to a news event).
- 5) If the story is on the military having problems or performing inefficiently, do the story.
- 6) If an international story affects U.S. foreign policy, you need to get the White House reaction.
- 7) If you have already covered a legislative bill while it was being passed, do not cover the story again when the bill goes into affect.
- 8) If there is a direct conflict between the President and a congressman over a political issue, do a piece on it.
- 9) If a political protester is injured by the government during a protest, do a story on it.
- 10) If you have a story on the government manipulating the media, do the story.
- 11) Cover major rulings by the Supreme Court if they affect many people or make a change in social policy.
- 12) If stories concern the current White House administration or its policy, cover them.
- 13) If a story concerns foreign policy/arms negotiations, cover story if new information is presented.

- 14) If a story concerns a problem in U.S. foreign relations with another country, cover the story.
- 15) If a story concerns White House policy and relations with Congress, do the story.
- 16) If a proposed legislative bill affects many people or addresses a major societal problem, do a story on it.
- 17) If the story deals with a new White House policy, do the story.
- 18) If the story deals with U.S. relations with the Soviets, do the story.

D. Foreign Stories

- 1) If a story is on U.S. - Soviet relations, Soviet political life, effects of Glastnost, or other human rights stories, do the story.
- 2) If there is a change in attitude or a major protest in a foreign country, do the story.
- 3) If there is a revolution or massive social change in a foreign country, do many stories on the subject.
- 4) If a natural disaster happens in a non-white, non-western country, it must be major or has been going on a long time to do a story on it.
- 5) If there is a major political trial in a foreign country, do a story on it.
- 6) If there are violent protests or deaths related to political protests in a foreign country, do the story.
- 7) If you now have access to a country where you previously did not have access, do stories on that country.
- 8) If you have an unusual or rare natural problem occurring in a foreign country, do the story.
- 9) If two non-white, non-western countries begin or continue a war or are fighting each other, do not do the story unless: there is a big issue the countries are fighting over, there is a major change in the action (one side has a victory/defeat), their actions are different than what they have done in the past, or the land they are fighting over is of strategic interest to the U.S.
- 10) If you have a story on a foreign country of strategic interest to the U.S. which has severe domestic problems, run a sidebar piece on how it is affecting the U.S.
- 11) If a story is about a foreign country where there is no reporter, and the story is not hard news, then kill the story or else try to get a BBC report from that country.
- 12) If a story concerns foreign activists, you need to have a change in the situation to do the story.

- 13) If there is no major change resulting from a political election in a non-western country, do not give elaborate coverage to the story.
- 14) If a foreign government commits abuses or violence against internal opposition groups, do the story.
- 15) If the story is about on-going diplomatic relations or internal conflict in a foreign country, try to talk to the leader of the country and then pair it with a U.S. spokesman's response.
- 16) If you have a story on a foreign country of economic or strategic interest to the U.S. undergoing a policy change or is having domestic problems, cover the story.
- 17) If the story concerns the activities of the Pope visiting a foreign country, do the story.

E. National/Science/Business Stories

- 1) If there is a controversial technological development, do a piece on it.
- 2) If a story concerns changes or new activities on the part of a public figure of national interest, cover the story.
- 3) If a story concerns the outcome of a trial/judgment of national interest, cover the story.
- 4) If the story concerns issues or problems with the environment/wildlife, cover the story.
- 5) If the story concerns the activities of or changes in a major U.S. corporation, cover the story.
- 6) If you have a story in the U.S. of a major violent attack by someone on innocent people, do the story.
- 7) If a plane crashes in the U.S. and many are dead or injured, cover the story.

F. Minority/Activist/Social Policy/Fighting the System Stories

- 1) If a story deals with the poor being helped in a new government program, do the story.
- 2) If a story deals with an issue of strong concern for minority members, do the story.
- 3) If you have a story of a little guy fighting the system, do the story.
- 4) If you have a story where minorities (blacks/women) make good, do the story.
- 5) If you have a story about people helping to create a change in social policy, do the story.
- 6) If a story concerns minority persons fighting the majority, do the story.
- 7) If a liberal political group says something that is unexpected, or surprising, do a piece on it.

- 8) If you have an ironic, anti-big business, anti-modern times story, do it.
- 9) If you have a story of a major business law suit involving a "little guy" vs. a big corporation, do the story.
- 10) If you have a racially sensitive issue, talk to minority reporters or commentators for information.
- 11) If you have a large social reaction to a national problem, investigate the minority perspective.
- 12) If have a story of potential shady dealings involving major corporations, do the story.
- 13) If you have a minority group waging a fight against a foreign government, try to do a personalized story on one individual group member.
- 14) Do not give free publicity to activist causes.
- 15) Do not cover the issues of activist causes or groups in the news, cover what happened.
- 16) Carefully consider the story before running an anti-government story.

G. Social Trends/Phenomenon

- 1) If a story concerns a topic that is a national trend, phenomenon, issue, or personality, or involves a lot of people, do the story.
- 2) If you have a story which is specific, try to generalize the story and make it national in scope.
- 3) If you have an interesting local story, generalize it and turn it into a national story.
- 4) If you cannot get a human interest feature story for the same day, make the specific story general and look at larger trends in a "future" piece.
- 5) If you have a newsy personality update, broaden the scope of the story and look at larger issues.
- 6) If you have a story on a new trend, there must be: 1) some real % change in the number of incidents or people involved in the trend or situation, and 2) numbers, polls, or statistical evidence that the trend really exists.
- 7) If a story or situation is happening all over the country, do it, but if it is only happening locally, kill the story idea.
- 8) If a story is happening in Washington, D.C. or New York, you must check to see if it is happening across the country also to be able to do a social trend piece on the story.
- 9) You need to check national polls to obtain statistics on the number of persons involved in a trend, in order to discuss public opinion.

- 10) In general, polls are considered more objective information, and vox pop more subjective. Try to use polls more than vox pop.

H. Tragedy/Deaths, Human Reaction/Vox Pop Stories

- 1) If a long running social institution is ending service, do the story by getting people's reaction to it.
- 2) If there is a series of deaths/killings, get the human reaction to the situation by talking to people there who were witnesses.
- 3) If have a major tragedy or natural disaster, need get the human/emotional reaction on events by going to the scene and getting good sound.
- 4) If there is an important national trial, get people's reaction to the verdict, and cover the story while it is happening.
- 5) If a major political hearing is beginning or ending, get people's reaction to events.
- 6) If economic sanctions on a foreign country are lifted by the U.S., get American business reaction.
- 7) If have a foreign coup attempt, need to do a follow-up by talking to people there.

I. Anniversary Stories

- 1) Do anniversary stories only if they are whole number anniversaries (1, 5, 10, 20, 50, 75, 100 years), except WESUN which will do an anniversary story at any interval.
- 2) If there is an anniversary of someone's death, do not overdo the story.
- 3) If an event happening in honor of an anniversary, do the story by talking to someone involved in the original event or get historical ambience (sound) from a record or tape.
- 4) If a feature event happens every year, do not do a piece on it unless there is a special anniversary going on.
- 5) If you have an anniversary of a historical event, air the piece on the date of the anniversary.

J. Sidebar Stories/Historical Background Stories

- 1) If a major story involving the President occurs, get sidebar or feature stories to peg with it.
- 2) When doing a sidebar story, do not cover issues that are too "far" away from main story.

- 3) If there is a major anniversary or event, develop sidebar stories to the event.
- 4) If a major presidential event is scheduled in advance, prepare a sidebar story to run with it.
- 5) If a specific phenomenon a sub-part of a national trend, do a sidebar on the story.
- 6) If a major political event ending, develop sidebar stories on similar topics to follow-up on story.
- 7) If there is an on-going political or military story, do a general background story on the history of the events taking place.
- 8) If a political figure is in the news and is not well-known, do a profile on that person.
- 9) If you have an abstract or analytical issue on a foreign policy question, do a piece which puts the issue in its historical context.
- 10) If a major event is scheduled, develop sidebar pieces and peg them to the event.
- 11) If you have an interesting person to interview, do not do the interview unless they are in the news or the piece can be pegged to an event.
- 12) If you have a major scheduled event occurring, develop related stories to air during the occurrence of the event.

K. Feature Ideas

- 1) If a piece has the potential for interesting stories within the piece, then do the story.
- 2) If you have a funny story about someone with a strange experience or a strange job, do the story.
- 3) If you have an ironic, funny, or a slice-of-life human interest story where something unique happens to someone, do the story.
- 4) If you have an event happening around the country involving offbeat people, do the story.
- 5) If you have a story that combines 2 areas (such as politics and music), link them and do a feature story.
- 6) If you have an arts performer, who is making it big, do a profile on that person.
- 7) If you have followed an on-going feature story, you need to follow the story through to its conclusion.
- 8) If a feature story has been made into a media event covered by all the networks, NPR does not have to also cover it.
- 9) If you have a funny story on the ill effects of technology, do it.
- 10) If you have a chance to do a funny story on another country's pop culture, do it.
- 11) If the story concerns a new movie, tv program, book, or album by a major public figure or cult figure, do a

feature story on it.

L. Rival Media Stories

- 1) Do not give free publicity to rival TV or Radio networks.
- 2) Try to limit stories on other broadcasting/print organizations, because it is seen as being too inside, not of interest to the general public.
- 3) If the story is about another news organization, unless it is a major story, do not do it.

M. Specific Story Content

- 1) If you have a story on an important health hazard (e.g. AIDS), do it.
- 2) If there are controversial health developments, cover if they have ramifications for a lot of people.
- 3) If you have a story on a new disease that is affecting many people, do a story on it.
- 4) If there are major labor negotiations and contract talks beginning or ending, do a piece on it.
- 5) If there is a story of a potential environmental threat, do a piece on the practical effects of the problem.
- 6) If there is a story about the "heartland" involving farmers, etc. and changes to them, do the story.
- 7) If there is a story about problems with the U.S. educational system, do it.
- 8) If there is a legal controversy as a sidebar to a national trend, do the story.
- 9) If there is a change in the social policy towards immigration or the way foreigners are treated in the U.S., do the story.
- 10) If a famous person is about to die, prepare an obituary on that person to run when he/she dies.

Decision-Making in the Morning Meetings

In addition to the more general story selection rules presented above, there are a number of rules which are utilized in the specific context of the morning meeting. As mentioned earlier, the morning meetings provide an opportunity for staff members to discuss story ideas and develop

them further. The executive producer of the program (or in his/her absence, the producer of the program) chair the meetings and have ultimate control over story selection outcomes. The rules presented below reflect the decision-making power of the executive producer of the programs, as well as other more general rules.

Decision-Making on Individual Stories

- 1) The executive producer of a show has final decision power on whether or not to do a story.
- 2) If the person suggesting a story is not credible or well-liked, or is an out-group member, ignore or deflect the story ideas.
- 3) If the executive producer does not like a story idea, he/she can kill the idea by asking to examine the article privately and then make his/her own decision, ask for more information on the story, say that no reporter is available, change the subject, or reject the story outright.
- 4) If the producer is undecided about a story idea, have the suggester pursue the story idea on his/her own.
- 5) If the host wants a story done, it is done. If the host does not like the story idea, it usually will not appear.
- 6) If a story is on a subject which the producer is unsure about, have the suggester get more information and try to resell the piece.

Determination of the Timeliness of a Piece

The second major decision that needs to be made concerns whether the piece is to be aired the day it is suggested (called "todays") or whether it can wait a few days until it can be completed (called "futures"). In general, hard news stories or stories that will be outdated or no longer of public interest after the present day are

usually produced to air on the day the story is suggested. Other stories, such as in-depth investigations, commentaries, or interviews with book authors can be held until a news peg (see below for detail). If a story is to be done to air on the program on the day it was suggested, it will usually be a 2-way interview with the host (since those can be produced quickly) or a reporter piece with a reporter who can be relied upon to produce the piece in a timely manner.

Type of Story

A third key decision that needs to be made concerning a story idea is how to best report the piece. There are three primary ways of reporting a piece. The first way is to do the piece by interviewing someone involved in the story or someone who has knowledge about the elements of the story that can be shared with the audience through an interview. At NPR, there is a policy of having the host(s) of the program conduct almost all the one-on-one interviews (called 2-ways). All host interviews are produced by the staff of the program the host is on. The second major way of doing a story is by assigning the piece to a reporter to conduct an investigation and gather information to report the story. Reporters will prepare pieces on his/her own and their work will be edited by an editor on the appropriate news desk. The third primary way of doing a story is through a commentary. Commentaries express personal observations or

opinions, and are done by one of the regular commentators employed by NPR. Hosts are rarely allowed to do commentary on the program. The host's role is to be an objective source for information and as such are not allowed do commentaries.

- Host Interviews Figure 7 illustrates the basic issues concerning the conduct of host interviews. There are three general types, a feature story interview which is lighter in substance; a hard news interview, which gets at new information on a story; and a hard news sidebar or analysis piece, in which already reported issues are explored in greater depth. Once the purpose of the interview has been determined, then the selection of an interviewee occurs. This decision focuses on the determination of which individual would be best able to provide the information needed for a piece. The major types of interviewees used on the program include: 1) primary sources or public figures - those individuals actually involved in the events being described in the story, 2) analysts - knowledgeable experts in the subject area being examined in the story (e.g. a political science professor used to analyze presidential actions), 3) NPR reporters - reporters being used as a source for information on a story, both presenting new facts as well as providing analysis on the news stories, 4) non-NPR reporters - reporters who are affiliated with other news organizations

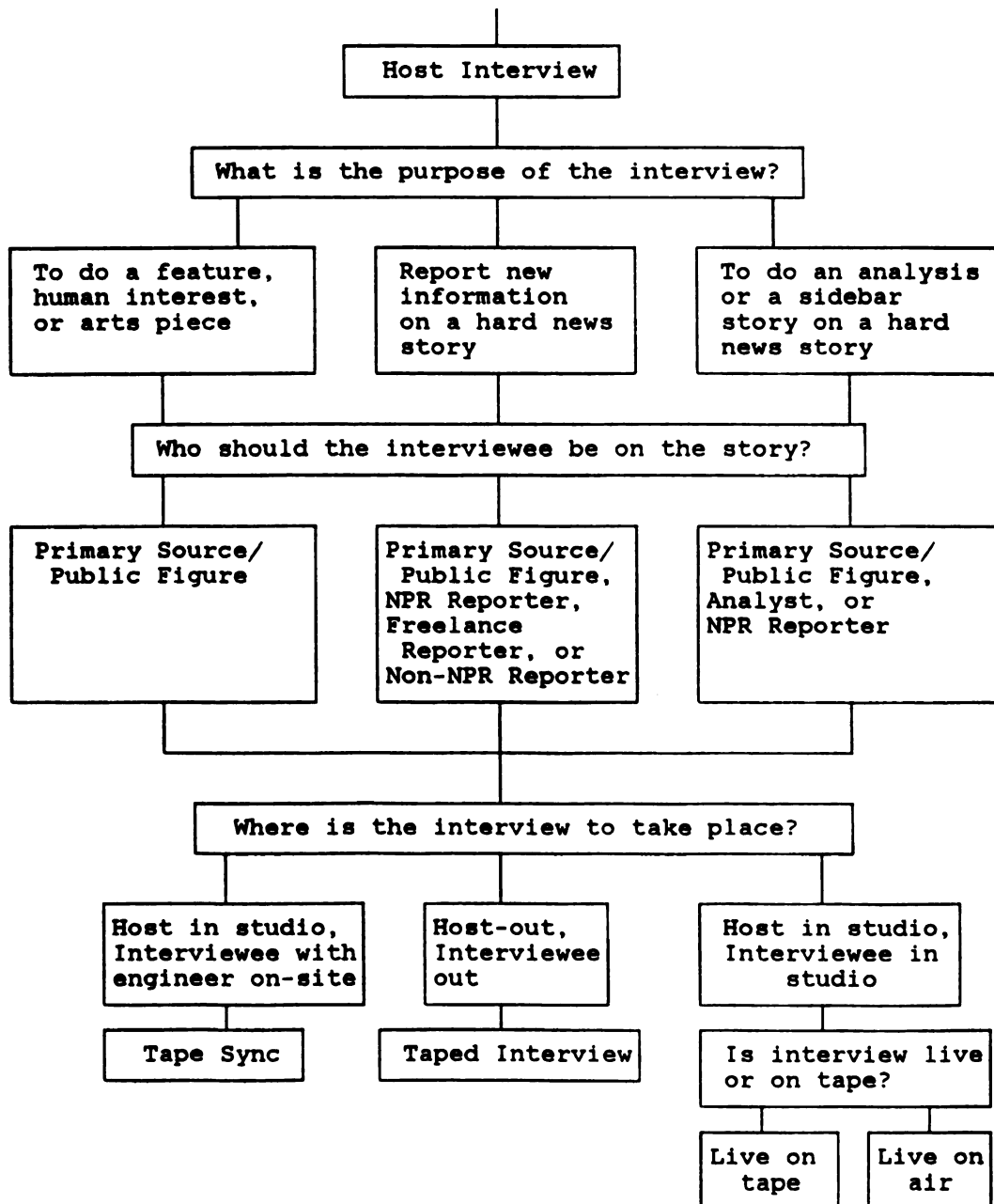


Figure 7. Host Interviews

organizations, who have specific knowledge on subjects that cannot be obtained in any other way except through talking to these individuals, and 5) free-lance reporters - reporters not affiliated with any news organization. The different purposes of the interview imply which interviewees should be used in the interview. Because there are no specific formal rules that govern this selection process, the assignments are made according to the cultural rules of the organization. Feature stories are most likely done through the interviewing of the primary sources/public figures involved in the story; hard news-gathering interviews are done using any one of the different types of interviewees, while hard news sidebar or analysis pieces usually are done through interviewing an NPR reporter or an analyst. Finally, the logistics of conducting the interview need to be worked out, with the decisions made on where the guest is to be interviewed. Below are presented the set of informal rules individuals use when making their decisions about how best to do host interviews.

Host Interviews

A. General Two-Ways (Hard News) - Done by Hosts

- 1) If you want to capture human reaction to a trend quickly, talk to people in a series of 2-ways with a host.
- 2) If a story is interesting and there is no reporter available, do the story as a host 2-way.
- 3) If a story is simple and timely, do as a 2-way with the host.
- 4) If you need a foreign story the same day an event has happened or the idea on the story proposed, do a host phone interview with a reporter on-site.
- 5) If there is a new leader for a social/political group announced, do a host two-way with that individual.
- 6) If a story is about another news media organization, try to 2-way the editor of the magazine or program.

B. Host Features

- 1) If there is no reporter available for a feature piece, do the story through a host interview.
- 2) If the story is a personality profile of a newsmaker, do as a host interview with that individual.
- 3) If a story is taking place close by and is 'featury', do as a host feature.
- 4) If you have a sports story, but you want to focus on the participants rather than the outcome of the game, do as a host feature.
- 5) If the story is a cute/funny human interest story, then do as a host feature.
- 6) If the host is coming back from vacation soon, do not schedule 2-ways for the temporary host, because they have to run when the temporary host is on the show, unless it is an "evergreen" piece for a usual fill-in host (a piece that can air at any time).

C. Analyst - Two Way Roles

- 1) If you have general foreign policy question, interview an analyst on the question.
- 2) If you have a foreign affairs dispute and you want an objective view of the situation, interview an analyst.
- 3) If you have a business story on an economic trend, interview an analyst.
- 4) If you have a confusing distinction or question on one issue or a historical background question, interview an analyst for clarification of the issue.

- 5) If a Pentagon source will not talk about an issue, use a military analyst.
- 6) If there is an announcement of a policy change in a social institution, interview a knowledgeable analyst.
- 7) If you have a story about an important legislative bill, interview a Congressman in an analyst's role.
- 8) If you have a political debate or controversy that is on-going and newsy, interview an analyst or expert on the subject.
- 9) If you have a story on the military and it is not linked to a particular event, interview an analyst on the topic.
- 10) If you have a story in which you want to compare current events with past history, interview an analyst on the topic.
- 11) Do not use interested parties as analysts on the programs.
- 12) Do not use the same independent analyst on an NPR program too close in time to a previous appearance, unless he/she is addressing a different topic.
- 13) If you can avoid using an analyst in a piece (especially in business pieces) do so.
- 14) If an analyst cannot be located, a commentator can be substituted.

D. Two-Way Interviewees

- 1) If you have news coming out of a foreign country, you need to talk to someone there or someone who has been there very recently.
- 2) If a public figure is a known fan of the show, use him/her as an analyst on the subject they are an expert in.
- 3) If a story relies on knowledge of a foreign country where there are no NPR reporters, it is okay to interview a reporter who has been to that country.
- 4) If a story originates from a non-mainstream magazine, you can talk to the author who wrote the article on which the story is based.

E. Debates/3-Ways

- 1) If there are several alternative opinions on a topic, do the piece as a debate (if can be done locally by the host).
- 2) If a story deals with a complex political issue, do as a debate with multiple voices.
- 3) If a story concerns a publicly debated issue and you want to air the different sides' perspectives, do as a debate.

- 4) If there is no central place the story is taking place or a central angle, use a debate format to cover the issues.

-Reporter Pieces If a piece is developed and created by a reporter, it is considered a reporter piece. Figure 8 below illustrates the general process involved in the determination of how to do a reporter piece. The first decision involves which desk has responsibility for the coverage of the story (this will be discussed in detail below). The second decision involves what the focus of the piece should be on. The focus of the piece usually takes one or the other of the following directions: 1) a feature piece- this is a light, human interest piece, which focuses on some aspect of the human condition in detail; 2) a sound piece- this type of piece emphasizes the use of sound and involves going to a place and getting as much quality sound as possible to bring the listener to the place (e.g. going to a carnival and capturing the voices of the people, the music going on, and the rides); 3) a set-up or wrap-up piece - a set-up piece involves announcing some event that is scheduled to occur that day or in coming days and presenting the issues surrounding that event (e.g. setting up a presidential candidate's announcement of his candidacy by discussing the background of the candidate), while a wrap-up piece involves summarizing the issues surrounding the ending of an event or activity (e.g. after the closing arguments in a

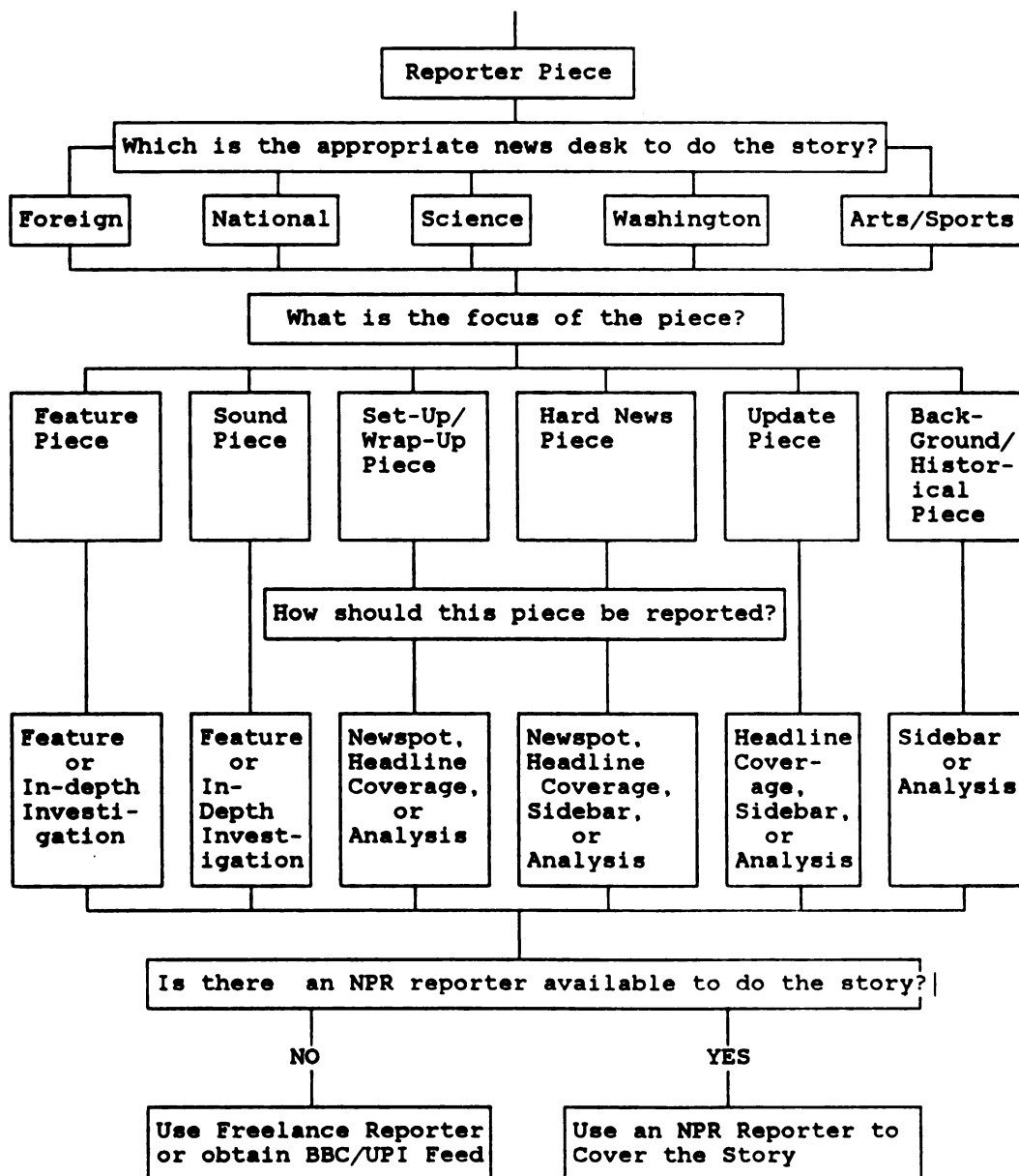


Figure 8. Reporter Pieces

trial); 4) a hard news piece - this presents the latest factual information on a currently breaking news story, 5) an update piece - presenting new information on an on-going story, and 6) a background/historical piece - putting the issues of a newsstory in its historical context or providing background information on an event, situation, or person.

The next decision to make is the form the reporter piece should take. There are 6 major forms a reporter piece can take including: 1) a feature piece - a moderately long profile of the individuals involved in the action of the piece, typically an arts piece focusing on the artist involved, or coverage of an event such as a parade or contest; 2) an in-depth investigation - a long, extended piece covering one or more issues on a topic of general interest usually involving talking to a number of different people and covering the issues in-depth like a documentary; 3) a newspot - a quick presentation of a news event (usually under a minute in length), which appears in the newscast portion of the program and involves simply covering the basic facts of the story; 4) headline coverage - the presentation of the latest, most up-to-date news of the day in a moderate length piece involving discussion of the facts of the piece only; 5) an analysis - examining in more detail the critical issues and facts of a news event, focusing on creating a greater understanding of the underlying meaning of the event; and 6) a hard news sidebar - a spin-off from

the main story, discussing in detail one of the smaller issues relevant to the main story. The focus of the piece suggests the form the piece should take, with feature and sound pieces typically being done as feature or in-depth investigation pieces; set-up/wrap-up pieces being done as newspots, headline coverage, or analysis stories; updates being done as headline coverage, analysis or sidebar stories; hard news being done as newspots, headline coverage, analysis, or sidebar stories; and background/historical pieces being done as analysis or news sidebar pieces.

Once the focus of the piece and the form of the piece have been determined, then the task becomes more practical, involving the determination of who the actual reporter on the piece should be. If there is an NPR reporter available to do the story, then that person is contacted and asked to do it. However, if an NPR reporter is not available, then either a freelance reporter is asked to do the piece or a reporter from the BBC or UPI news services (NPR has a regular contract with these agencies to use their "feeds", which are regular 2-3 minute reports produced by those services. These are typically foreign stories originating in areas in which NPR does not have a reporter.)

Below are presented the informal rules found to be used by organizational members to help decide whether or not a piece should be done as a reporter piece and how it should be done.

Reporter Pieces

- 1) If you have a lot of elements in the story - multiple sides to the story, multiple issues/perspectives, multiple constituencies, do as a reporter piece.
- 2) If the piece involves looking at historical perspectives and doing a lot of background research, do as a reporter piece.
- 3) If the story takes place in a foreign country, is complicated, and you need to talk to people or an analyst from that country or need to discuss events happening there, do as a reporter piece.
- 4) If you want or need to get sound in a piece, do as a reporter piece.
- 5) If you want to have multiple voices in a piece, do as a reporter piece.
- 6) If you want to cover a broad spectrum of general issues, do as a reporter piece.
- 7) If you need to do an investigation of an event/issue and need to take a lot of time to do the piece, do as a reporter piece.
- 8) If you have to visit a different city (other than Washington, D.C.), do as a reporter piece.
- 9) If the story does not have time/speed requirements for completion, do as a reporter piece.
- 10) If the source of information for a story needs description, do as a reporter piece.
- 11) If you have an on-going situation/story, do as a reporter piece.
- 12) If you want to tell what has happened in an event, place, or discussion, report the facts in a reporter piece.
- 13) If the story needs to be done today to report hard news, do as a reporter piece.
- 14) If you want to get at deeper issues (e.g. the effects or reasons for a policy), do as a reporter piece.
- 15) If you are doing a vox pop in a foreign country, get a reporter to do it.

- Commentary Commentaries are expressions of opinion on the part of a commentator. NPR has a regular set of commentators who are asked to do pieces by the program staffs. The executive producers on the news programs are responsible for the ordering of the commentaries (except for the arts

and sports commentary, which are handled by the arts and sports units respectively).

Figure 9 shows the different issues surrounding the production of commentaries. A commentary can take one of three forms. The first form a commentary can take is a commentary on current news events and politics. This involves the solicitation of one of the regular commentators and asking them to comment on one of the on-going news stories of the day. The second type of commentary is an arts or a sports commentary, with NPR having a regular set of arts commentators who review new books, movies, theatre productions, and music and sports commentators who discuss sports-related issues. The third type of commentary is general social commentary which involves the commentator making observations about life, telling stories, or describing feelings in general about subjects that concern them. Below are presented the rules concerning commentaries used by organizational members.

Use of Commentators on News-Related Issues

- 1) If the story deals with analysis of news media coverage or public attention to an event or issue, do as a commentator piece.
- 2) If a commentator is available easily for an analysis of a government policy change, do as a commentary.
- 3) If piece involves comparing social phenomenon and discussion of how we can learn from history, do as a commentary.
- 4) If a piece is philosophical, involves criticism, or is a step-back analysis of a news event, do as a commentary.
- 5) If you want to discuss broad, general level questions

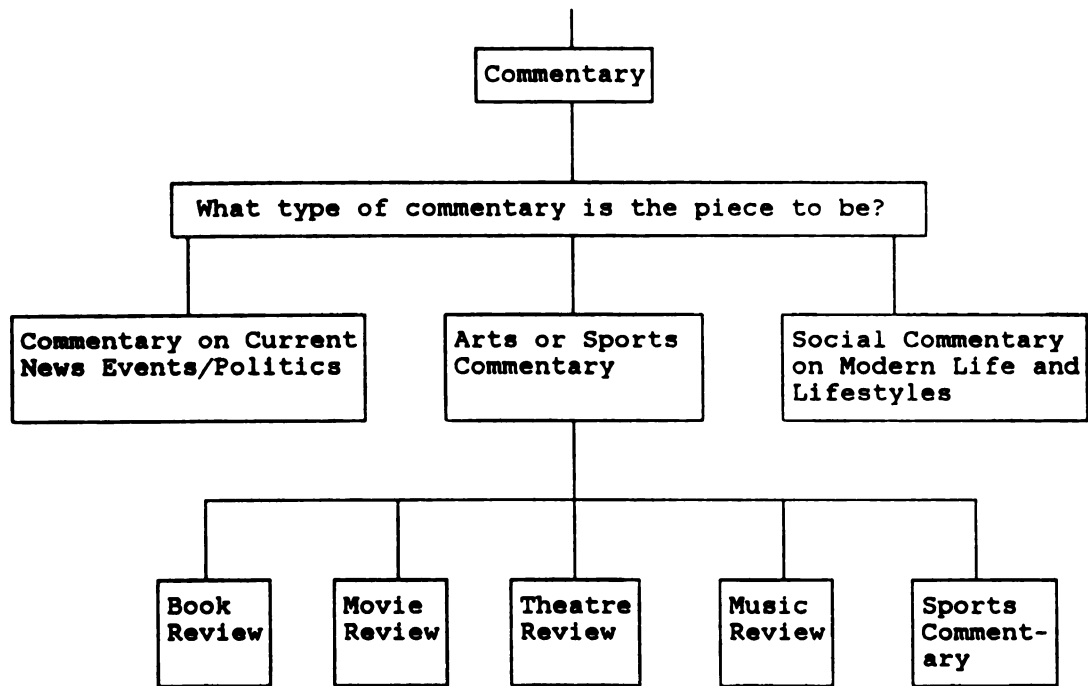


Figure 9. Commentaries

- of a government policy/political controversy, do as a commentary.
- 6) If story concerns general business trends that are changing, do as a commentary.
 - 7) If a commentary has appeared elsewhere in a similar form, do not air it unless it significantly different.
 - 8) If a commentator cannot be found, an analyst can be substituted.

Additional Rules for Story Production

In addition to the more specific rules for host interviews, reporter pieces, and commentaries, there exist more general rules which can be applied to all pieces. These include rules concerning general suggestions on how to do pieces, limitations on location of stories, and some organizational policy concerns. Below are presented these additional sets of general rules which organizational members use in making decisions.

Additional Rules for Story Production

A. General Story How-To's

- 1) If a specific event happens all the time and is not new, generalize the story and do it as a reporter piece looking at broader issues.
- 2) Take a general story and make it specific through talking with people.
- 3) If similar specific stories are happening all over the country, combine the stories together and do a "round-up" piece which is a survey of all the events.
- 4) If the story is not too interesting or you cannot get enough information to fill an entire piece, put the material in another piece.
- 5) If a major event has happened, cover it first with a hard news story, followed by a 2-way or analysis piece which examines the issues/events of the story in a more detailed, in-depth fashion.
- 6) When possible, do a tape sync rather than a phone

quality interview, in order to increase the sound quality of the 2-way (a tape sync involves recording an interview simultaneously at two sites and then editing them together).

- 7) If you want the presidential candidates on the air, do in an interview format, so they do not ramble on.

B. Limitations on Location of Stories

- 1) Avoid doing stories based in Washington, D.C., New York City, or Los Angeles (except for arts stories).
- 2) A story must have national appeal to do it - i.e. it could take place anywhere and people would be interested.
- 3) Avoid doing stories with local Washington people.

C. Fairness Principles

- 1) If the story is on a controversial issue, need to cover both sides of the issue (give airtime to both sides in the conflict).
- 2) If an interviewee in a piece is biased, you must have someone else with an opposing view in the piece.

D. Miscellaneous Policy Items

- 1) Be careful of language usage, extent of coverage of particular events because you do not want to create media figures or events that are not there.
- 2) Do not run election stories on candidates on the night of an election.
- 3) Do not run a funny story on a topic or place where there has been a tragedy recently.
- 4) Do not overdo coverage of strange, weird human interest stories.
- 5) It is acceptable to cancel/kill a piece that is boring after attempts have been made to make it work that have not been successful.
- 6) If a piece has been commissioned by one of the shows or news desk editors, try to use it if possible.

Rules Concerning Sources for Information on Stories

Decisions concerning where information used in a story is going to come from also play a large role in how an event is interpreted. A story can be viewed in a number of different ways depending on who the source of information for the story is. Extreme care is paid by organizational members to carefully examine the sources of information for stories and evaluate the credibility of that information before pursuing a story idea. Not all the information on news events that passes through NPR's news net is accurate or up-to-date, so that members must critically evaluate the source for a story before making a final determination of what to do with the story. A set of informal rules exist for making these decisions, as well as evaluations of the use of particular types of sources, which may or may not be appropriate to use. These rules are presented below.

Sources for Story Ideas/ExecutionA. Use of Non-NPR Reporters and their Sources

- 1) If possible, avoid interviewing reporters from other news organizations. Use NPR reporters if possible.
- 2) Interview other news organizations' reporters only if you can get new information that you cannot get elsewhere.
- 3) If you are using a paid source for information, make sure they have new information before making payment.
- 4) If you cannot get separate information than what can be obtained from a newspaper account, then do not do the story.
- 5) Do not do a story which steals directly from an author's book without using your own sources.
- 6) It is okay to use the same source for information as

another news organization.

B. Checking Source Credibility

- 1) If a story breaks and you do not have access to a known reporter there, you need to check the credibility of the sources you do get very carefully to make sure that they are not biased.
- 2) If you have controversial new information, you need to check the credentials of the source of information carefully before airing.
- 3) If you have a story about domestic trouble in a foreign country where you do not have good access, you need hard evidence for the story.

C. Use of Stories from Rival News Sources

- 1) It is okay to do stories lifted from the New York Times, Newsweek, Time magazine, and the Washington Post. Stories from the USA Today are discouraged.

D. Miscellaneous Source Rules

- 1) If you do not have any official statements from the government in reaction to a major news event, try to obtain sources on your own.
- 2) If a news event happens where you do not have a reporter stationed, you need to get an eyewitness to the event.

Categorization of Story Topics

The next decision step concerns which news desk is responsible for the production of the news story. The categorization of news stories correspond with the news desks responsible for coverage of news events. These news desks include the Washington desk, the Foreign desk, the National desk, the Science desk, the Arts/Sports desks, or the show staffs. As stated previously, each desk is

responsible for stories concerning topics in their area. When a determination of which desk is the most appropriate for the story is made, that story is given to one of the editors on the desk and a request is made for them to do the story (for program staff generated ideas). Each desk also formulates their own story ideas which are checked with the other news desks to make sure that there is no duplication of coverage across desks. Below are presented a set of rules used to determine which desk should be assigned to do a particular story.

Categorization of Story Topics

A. Science Stories

- 1) If a story concerns pollution, the environment, diseases, new chemicals/food development, scientific developments, health issues, energy, animal rights, technology, space exploration, the weather, the story is a science story.

B. Washington Stories

- 1) If the story deals with the White House/Presidential activities or policies, the State Department, the Military/Pentagon, Congress or congressional activities, or activities of other Washington agencies (e.g. the FBI, CIA, etc.), it is a Washington story.
- 2) If the story is about the President of the U.S., it is a White House story, even if he is in a foreign country.
- 3) If the story is about the White House fighting over a political appointee, it is a White House story.
- 4) If the story is about the Supreme Court, the legal correspondent is assigned to do the story.
- 5) If government leaders have a meeting with ministers or representatives from foreign countries, the story could be either a State Department story or a White House story.

- 6) If the story concerns military policy, but you want to get the reaction from Congress, then it is a Hill story.
- 7) If the story is strictly a military story, the Pentagon reporter gets the story.
- 8) If the story deals with a scandal in one of the government agencies, then it is a Washington story.

C. National Stories

- 1) If the story involves issues and events in the U.S., including presidential campaigns, trials, plane crashes, violent crimes, geographical or local stories, experiences of U.S. persons in their daily lives, national trends, education stories, local and state government activities, then the story is a National story.

D. Business/Transportation Stories

- 1) If the story concerns economic activities of the government, major corporations, the stock market, the economy, national and international trade, economic trends, new products, or consumer trends, it is a business story.
- 2) If the story involves new developments in business technology, then it is a business story.
- 3) If the story concerns the stock market, then it is a business story.
- 4) If story is a funny sidebar to a business event, it is a business story.
- 5) If story deals with the airline industry or transportation issues, it is a business story.

E. Foreign Stories

- 1) If the story is about politics, activities, personalities, issues, or events in a foreign country, it is a foreign story.
- 2) If a story is about business in a foreign country, it is a foreign story.
- 3) If a story concerns domestic problems in a foreign country, it is a foreign story.
- 4) If a story concerns fighting or wars in a foreign country, it is a foreign story.
- 5) If a story concerns relations with the U.S. from the foreign country's perspective, it is a foreign story.

F. Sports Stories

- 1) If a story concerns coverage of the outcomes of sporting events, sports personalities, or sports issues, it is a sports story.

G. Feature Stories

- 1) Feature stories are human interest stories, stories about individuals with interesting jobs, hobbies, or have had unique things happen to them, or stories about newsmakers.

H. Arts Stories

- 1) Arts stories are stories about music, theatre, books, fine arts, performance, show business personalities, dance, television, and movies.

News Pegs/Scheduling of Stories

Once a piece has been completed, it is scheduled to be aired on one of the programs. It was discovered that there are rules for the creation of the programs which fit the NPR style and are used to create a coherent flow among the pieces on a program. Two of the most frequently used ways of creating a program that is internally consistent are the news peg and packaging. News pegs refer to a story, event, or date which provide an anchor around which other stories can be placed. For example, a meeting between Soviet and American leaders provides a news peg for stories concerning the Soviet Union. In other words, stories become paired with other stories or events. A news peg can also be a date which provides a cue for when a story should be done, for example an anniversary story should run on the date of the

anniversary. News pegs assist in both the scheduling of pieces to air, as well as provide opportunities to run pieces on various topics. Given a certain news peg, other stories will be generated to air during that peg (i.e. religious stories airing during the Pope's visit to the U.S.).

A news package is the grouping together of stories on a similar topic on an individual show. There is an informal rule that pieces placed next to each other in the program schedule should be somewhat similar in content. For example, if there are three pieces to run on a set of congressional hearings in a single program, these pieces will be packaged together and will air consecutively on the program. This creates a grouping of similar stories. A second issue of concern is when the piece should air. Often stories will be done over a long period of time and can air at any time. Other stories will need to be aired on a more timely basis. Below are presented some of the rules organizational members use in developing news pegs, creating packages, and determining when pieces should air.

News Pegs/Scheduling and Placement of Stories

A. Pegging to a Major Event/Happening

- 1) Try to pair a 'topical' book/movie interview with a story pegged to an event happening on the topic.
- 2) If the story is a specific one and is not associated with a major event, you need to peg it to an event or date to run the story.

- 3) If something newsy occurs, it is good to peg a feature piece on a similar topic to that event.
- 4) If you have a commentator speaking on a topic similar to a news event covered, peg the two stories together.
- 5) If a report is scheduled to be released on a certain day, peg other stories on similar topics to that day.

B. Scheduled Events/Key Dates Pegs

- 1) Use certain key dates which demarcate the beginning or ending of seasonal periods to help generate new story ideas (e.g. year-end summary stories at the end of the year, summer vacation stories in mid-June, etc.).
- 2) If you have a major scheduled event occurring, develop related stories to air during the event (eg. develop religion stories during the Pope's visit to the U.S.).
- 3) If a regular holiday occurs, look to do stories on the topic of the holiday (e.g. Christmas stories on Christmas).

C. Packaging/Pegging Stories Together

- 1) Do not run feature stories on the same topic too close together in time, unless it is a series or related to a major news event.
- 2) If you have 2 stories on similar topics, run them next to each other on the same program.
- 3) If you have 2 short feature pieces on a similar topic, run them together.
- 4) If have 2 features/sidebar news stories on topics that are not regularly covered such as: Africa, protest groups or activists, or survivor stories, do not run them on the same show.

D. Holding Coverage of Stories

- 1) If an event is scheduled for some point in the future, cover the story when the event happens and not before.
- 2) If an announced event is scheduled and known about in advance, do not cover the event until something happens in the story (on a minor story).
- 3) If you have already announced that a planned future event is going to occur (on a minor story), do not cover the event when it happens.
- 4) For major events, it is okay to do set-up pieces a week or so in advance, but not for smaller events (set-up pieces are often used to refresh the facts).
- 5) If an event is scheduled to occur in advance, hold sidebar stories until the event happens and then peg

- the story to the event.
- 6) If you have a sidebar to an on-going major story, hold the story and peg it to when something happens in the major story.
 - 7) If a specific story comes in more than a few days past when the story has occurred, hold the story until another event or similar topic occurs.

E. Timing of a Piece

- 1) If an event happens, you must run a sidebar story to the lead story soon after the event or it is too late to run it (it gets "moldy").
- 2) If a disaster or other human tragedy story has happened more than one or two days previously, it is too late to do additional human reaction stories to that event.
- 3) If ME has not done a set-up piece on the day of a political announcement, it is too late for them to do one the next day.
- 4) Do not do a piece on a foreign country if the story is going to change by air time because of the time differences, unless you are prepared to do an update for later feeds of the program through changes in host copy or re-taping of the piece.

Ordering and Placement of Pieces within a Program

Each day, the news programs' executive producer or senior producer determines the placement of pieces within a program. This process is designed to create a coherent flow of stories within each segment. The producers on Morning Edition have a specific format to follow to aid in this process, while those on All Things Considered do not.

The Morning Edition program is formatted into 2 one-hour long segments, each composed of 5 different subsegments. These sub-segments, labeled "A" through "E", appear daily and are a specified length of time and have a similar content in them each day. As part of the scheduling process, pieces are slotted into one or another of these

segments. For ME staff members, this categorization plays a strong role in guiding their thinking about the pieces to be aired on the program and their placement within the show. Members routinely refer to a piece by the segment it is designed to appear in and use this determination as a guide to how the piece should be edited, the appropriate length for the piece, and the major focus for the piece. These rules are not written down, but have evolved over time as part of the cultural knowledge system of staff members. Below are listed the rules that are used to determine the appropriate segment for a piece.

A. Categorization of Stories on Morning Edition

- 1) An "A" segment contains the most important lead stories of the day, late-breaking stories, and is mostly hard news stories or analysis of the key events that have happened that day or the previous day.
- 2) A "B" segment consists of feature stories, spin-offs from the lead stories, and arts features.
- 3) A "C" segment consists of sports stories - coverage of sporting events, sports issues, or sports personalities.
- 4) A "D" segment consists of stories of secondary importance, longer reporter feature stories, in-depth investigation of issues or events, or foreign stories.
- 5) An "E" segment consists of foreign stories followed by pieces on the arts, culture, or entertainment; profiles of newsmakers in the arts world; or events taking place in the cultural community.

In contrast to ME, ATC is free-formatted, having three one-half hour segments, with no specified content required in each of the segments. The show, however, does follow a regular pattern, which is based on an implicit understanding

of how the show "should sound". Typically, each segment opens with a hard news story, followed by a sidebar about the story (which are spin-offs from the main story, and contain more details about the story, or people's reaction to it), then secondary leads are aired, and finally, the segment usually ends with an arts or human interest light feature story. In general, the segments start with the hardest news at the beginning and get progressively lighter in tone until the end of the segment. Each segment is considered independent of the others and is treated as if it is a separate program. Below are listed some of the rules which are used to help staff members determine the appropriate slotting for a piece. Note that this system of rules is used by both ATC staff and ME staff members.

A. Placement of a Piece Within a Program

- 1) If a story is a hard news piece, has to air today, deals with the U.S., involves many deaths, involves political upheaval (protests/anti-government activities - domestic or foreign), major health issues (such as AIDS), political scandal or controversy in the Federal government, dealing with the President or major Washington issues, affects many people, involves the Soviet Union or U.S. - Soviet relations, or presents new information, then air the piece as the lead story or in the beginning of a segment.
- 2) If a story is an analysis piece, does not necessarily have to air today, is a U.S. or foreign story, is a secondary lead, involves investigation, is an on-going story, does not affect many people, or presents little new information, then air the piece in the middle of a segment.
- 3) If a story is a feature piece, a commentary, does not necessarily have to air today, is not hard news, or is light in tone and content, then air the piece at the end of a segment.

Work Processes of Organizational Members

Based on the categorization of the news events from the cultural knowledge system, individuals develop behavioral responses which initiate the actual production of a piece. These responses follow general routines or scripts which lead to the performance of the steps necessary for completion of the task. There are several different pathways a story could take, depending on who the story suggester is and who is given responsibility for the production of the piece. Appendix E contains illustrations of the major pathways story production sequences follow. These pathways show the route a story takes from inception to completion and can be considered "scripts" or action sequences which are followed by organizational members when translating a story interpretation into a finished piece.

Similar to the rules systems found to exist for categorization of news stories, there are a set of rules which are used as standard operating procedures for different aspects of the production task. The rules discussed below predominantly refer to behaviors carried out by the senior staff members of the programs, the Executive and Senior producers and the Editor of the programs. Among the rules utilized include those dealing with: 1) searching for additional information on a story, 2) the direct relationship between show staff personnel and reporters, 3) general assignment procedures for stories, and 4) competition

between shows as to which program a story is to air on. The set of rules associated with these topics are presented below.

Standard Operating Procedures

A. Information Search Behavior

- 1) If you need more information to decide on whether or not to do a particular story, talk with a reporter who has expertise in the area and then make a decision.
- 2) If you are contemplating doing a follow-up to a previously aired story, check with the reporter who did the first story to see if it is worth doing a follow-up.
- 3) If a story is on a possible trend, have a reporter check into the situation first to see if there is a story there.

B. Direct Relationship between Shows and Reporters

- 1) If a story idea is on a particular topic which is in a reporter's area of expertise/interest/skills, give the story directly to that reporter or hold it until he/she is available.
- 2) If a particular reporter has been requested to do several pieces already, do not request more until he/she has finished the stories they are already working on.
- 3) If a reporter is already doing a similar piece to one you have or are about to request, kill own story and have reporter include your angle in his/her piece.
- 4) If you have ordered a piece and have not gotten it yet, check with the reporter assigned to the piece on its status.
- 5) If a reporter requests a story airing date/time/slot, the official policy is to not grant the request, while the informal policy is to grant the request.

C. General Assignment Procedures

- 1) When the show staff has a story idea, fill out a formal request form for the story to be done by one of the news desks.
- 2) If a story is a reporter piece, give to the appropriate

- editor to assign to a reporter.
- 3) If a story is confusing or not intuitively obvious, give the story to the appropriate editor to investigate.
 - 4) If you know of no reporter with special expertise on a topic of interest, give to an editor to find a reporter to do the story.
 - 5) If you have a foreign story and you do not have a specific contact you want to talk to, give the story idea to the foreign desk.
 - 6) If you want a story quickly, go through a freelancer rather than through a news desk.
 - 7) If you have a story in an area with no NPR reporter: 1) if it is in the U.S., try to get a member station reporter to do the story, 2) If it is overseas, try to get a BBC/UPI reporter to do the story, 3) get a freelance reporter to do the story, or 4) check the wires for information.
 - 8) If possible, do stories using NPR reporters.
 - 9) Unless it is a huge story, if you do not have a reporter in a particular country, do not send a reporter there because it costs too much money. You can, however, try to get a grant to underwrite or subsidize the special assignment.
 - 10) If the reporter on a key story is bad, but is the only reporter available, still use that reporter, but investigate other sources.

D. Competition Between Shows

- 1) Write down story ideas on the show list or as a request quickly to ensure that another show does not steal the idea first.
- 2) The first show to request a story idea gets the story.
- 3) If another show has claimed a story idea, do not pursue the story idea.
- 4) If an NPR reporter is already doing a story, do not do additional stories on the topic without checking with the reporter first.
- 5) If a show has a piece requested that turns up as an Up-for-Grabs piece, the first show to request the piece gets it.
- 6) If a show has a hole that needs filling, that show gets first option on requested pieces.
- 7) If a major news story occurs in the middle of the day, ATC gets it.
- 8) If a story is being done by one of the news desks, is not commissioned and is timely, the first show up gets the piece.

Summary

The model of the organizational cultural knowledge system presented in this section represents the body of knowledge that individual members of the organization have concerning the selection of story ideas and the production of finished pieces. It is this system of knowledge which individuals evoke to develop interpretations of new story ideas and make decisions on how to react to them. The next section involves a detailed examination of the interpretation process, as examples of the application of the schema to real decision problems will be presented and analyzed to show how members make use of their systems of knowledge in making decisions.

Application of Schema in the Interpretation Process

The cultural knowledge system developed in the previous analysis guides the interpretation process of organizational members by providing rules and category systems for the processing of story ideas and the making sense of incoming data on news events to which organizational members must respond. The process is essentially a social one, as members interact with one another to come up with common interpretations that are accepted by organizational members.

As described in the previous section, the contents of the cultural knowledge system are a set of schema which form a framework that organizational members rely on when interpreting story topics. As can be seen from an examination of this set of rules, many of the rules which make up the cultural knowledge system are quite general and represent abstract notions concerning the interpretation of story topics. Quite often, contradictory sets of rules can be applied to the same story. The implication of this finding is the notion that this lack of clarity or preciseness of the cultural knowledge system can create situations in which there is a potential for conflict among individuals over which schema are the most appropriate for understanding a given story.

Each organizational member shares with other members, to a greater or lesser degree, the same basic set of rules

in his/her cultural knowledge system. However, which rule or schema that are initially evoked in response to a particular story topic are dependent on the individual's initial interpretation. These individual interpretations must be reconciled to develop a common interpretation which is accepted by all members of the group. The process of coming to a consensus involves the negotiation among members on the appropriate interpretation and consists of the evocation of various schema until ones are found on which members can agree.

Several settings are predominantly used by organizational members as a forum for the interpretation process. These include the morning staff and editorial meetings, the meetings between staff members and the news desk editors, and the meetings among the editorial staffs themselves. These situations enable the group (or individuals) involved the opportunity to interact with one another to come up with a common interpretation of a story topic. These discussions involve the translation of the raw news event into an interpretation of the event that aids in members' understanding of that event and the development of behavioral responses to it.

In these meetings, the interpretation process involves the following sequence of steps. First, a staff member presents the basic outline of a story idea in a few sentences, describing the key points and issues that need to be

considered. Next, there is discussion among staff members as to how the story can be best interpreted. At this point, the schema of the cultural knowledge system are evoked as support for a particular interpretation or perspective on the story. There is a give and take among members, as different individuals present their arguments for their interpretation over those of another. These discussions represent a search for the schema which can best characterize the story topic or event. Eventually, one set of schema are accepted as being the most appropriate and members then begin to develop action plans for the production of the piece.

The executive producer of the program plays a strong role in the interpretation process which takes place in the morning staff meetings, as he/she acts to guide the discussion of story topics. As previously mentioned, this individual has final decision-making power over the interpretation of stories. However, he/she usually is open to alternative perspectives on the story topic being discussed, and directs the discussion to discover as many different possibilities as necessary to capture the essence or essential meaning of the story topic. The transcripts of the morning meeting notes are used below to demonstrate how the schema from the cultural knowledge system are used in the interpretation process. Twenty discussions which took place among staff members of the news programs concerning

interpretation of story topics are presented with a line-by-line analysis of the schema individuals invoked during their discussions. The schema used to help interpret the discussions are drawn directly from the knowledge system framework developed in the previous section. The purpose of this analysis is to illustrate more clearly how the cultural knowledge system is utilized by organizational members in making story selection and production decisions and how this process is affected by social or group interactions.

1) Incident # 314: Bias/Tribble Court Case 6/3/87 ME Meeting

"Do we want to do more on the Len Bias case?" (Schema: Run updates on on-going stories, when something new happens in situation.) (The story discussed in this incident was coverage of the trial of Brian Tribble, the man accused of supplying cocaine to Len Bias who was a former University of Maryland basketball player who died from an overdose of cocaine.)

"I think we should wait for a verdict on the Tribble case." (Schema: If an event is scheduled for some time in the future, cover story when event happens, not before.)

"I think I want to maybe do more. At first, it came out that he was a first time user and then it sort of came out he was more involved." (Schema: If can add new information to an old piece, do an update on the story.)

"I think that Tribble is a local story, that Bias is a national story." (Schema: Avoid doing stories originating in Washington, D.C. - seen as being too local, not of national interest)

"What his use was is interesting, being a middle man."

"It's worth at least a news spot, maybe 1 1/2 - 2 minutes for the verdict." (Schema: If a piece does not have enough information to be a whole piece, do in a newspot during newscast or as a small piece.)

"The interesting story is the cocaine story, not Len Bias." (Schema: If the specific story a sub-part of a national trend, do a sidebar on story.)

"What about the baseball drug policy, wasn't something done there?" (Schema: Search for new angle on story, one that hasn't been done before.)

(Sports editor then gives brief explanation of the drug policy for baseball and basketball.)

"How about how drug programs being designed for young black people with a lot of money?"

"I think questions about usage..."

"How about a big picture story, tying it to AIDS, change in lifestyles..." (Schema: If have a specific story, try to generalize it and make it national in scope.)

"What about crack, was it media overkill?"

"We need to get scientific polls, like from the University of Michigan, but the polling takes so long to do..." (Schema: 1) If have story discussing national trends, there must be statistical evidence that the trend really exists and some documented change in the number/people involved in the trend in order to do story; 2) If an event is scheduled to happen, must run sidebar to story at same time or soon after.)

"We need to do a reporter piece on it, talking to a lot of people." (Schema: If want to have multiple voices, cover broad spectrum of issues, do as a reporter piece.)

"We need to get the numbers, can't do it anecdotally... Why don't we just wait till the verdict." (Schema: Reasserts schema above regarding use of statistics - Decision made to simply wait for verdict and cover in a hard news piece and not try to do the sidebar piece.)

Summary: The decision was made to simply cover the verdict of the trial and not try and do a sidebar piece on cocaine usage. The predominant schema used was that statistical evidence is needed to discuss a national trend, and that such evidence could not be obtained quick enough to be able to peg it to the Tribble story.

2) Incident # 004: Indian Kid6/8 ME Meeting

"I saw a story about an Indian kid who is trying to be adopted by foster parents. He's been taken away from his family. There is going to be a tribal court meeting about him." (Schema: If story is an issue of concern for minorities, do story.)

"I don't know how we'd get it. Where is it?" (Schema: Unless it is a huge story, if you don't have a reporter in a particular place, don't send a reporter there, because it costs too much money.)

"Somewhere in Arizona - we could get [member station reporter's name] to look into it. He's closest by." (Schema: If have a story in an area with no NPR reporter, try to get a member station reporter to do the story.)

"The interesting thing is, I know there is a lot of kids in this situation. Kids are often taken out of their homes because they have alcoholic parents, kids put in foster homes. When I lived on a reservation, I saw this happening... The specific situation is not novel, but we could look at the broader issue. I'll put it down on the list." (Schema: If a specific event happens all the time and is not new, generalize story and make into a reporter piece looking at the big picture.)

Summary: The decision was made to not cover this particular story, that it was not unique enough to do a whole piece on it. Instead, staff members decided to generalize from the story and make it into a big picture type of story, covering the general issues without focusing solely on this one story.

3) Incident # 027: Puppet Conference

6/10 ME Meeting

"Any other ideas?"

"I'm not sure this is a great radio piece, but there is a national puppeteer conference coming up in Cincinnati." (Schema: If the story has a high visual element it is not a radio piece, don't do the story.)

"What kind of stuff is going on?" (Schema: If you can't make a decision, search for information to find an angle.)

"Workshops, exhibits, etc."

"The problem is, can we get a reporter in Cincinnati?" (Schema: Unless story is a major one, don't send reporter there to cover it because it costs too much money.)

"Does this conference happen every year or what?" (Schema: If a feature event happens every year, don't do the piece unless it is special.)

"Yes, but this is the 50th anniversary of..." (Schema: If an anniversary is a whole number anniversary (5, 10, 25, 50 years), it is okay to do piece on the subject).

"All right, an anniversary!"

"Let's call Fred Barnes!" [Reference to an author of an article which criticized NPR for doing too many anniversary stories on their shows].

"Is puppetry on the rise or decline?" (Schema: If a story is on a trend, there must be some real change in the number of people involved to do a story on it.)

"We did a story on 3 generations of puppeteers a little while ago." (Schema: If NPR has done a story on a similar topic recently, then kill story idea.)

"Is there innovation in puppetry?"

"The innovation is high tech, like Jim Henson."

"We talked about that in the Little Shop of Horrors Piece." (Schema: If NPR has done a story on a similar topic recently, then kill story idea.)

"Something in there sounds like a story, why don't you pull the old tape and listen to it and get more information and bring it in and I'll look at it." (Schema: 1) It is

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okay to do story on similar topic as one done lately, if you take a different angle; 2) If undecided about story idea, have suggester provide more information on the story and try to resell idea.)

Summary: Although the interest in the story is not great, there is a feeling that something could be done on the story. Not having enough information to really develop a story idea, it was decided to obtain more background information on the topic. This is one way of killing the story idea (as often people do not take the time to do the research) or it can act to force the story suggester to become more focused about his/her idea. If the suggester gets more information, they can then try to re-sell their ideas to the group once the idea is thought out more clearly.

4) Incident # 327: Korean History Meeting

6/24 ME

"We've been trying to get someone on this Korea story."
(Schema: If there is a revolution or massive social change in a foreign country, look to do many stories about that country.)

"Another thing we could do is do an interview back here. [Name] has been working with a lawyer's group who have been looking at the Korean issue. We could bring this guy in and find out the position of the group on what has been going on." (Schema: If you have a general foreign policy question, 2-way an analyst.)

"What about interviewing an ex-patriot. Have we gone anywhere with that?"

"No, but we should look into it. Also, I feel a little shaky about the history of the Korea business. We could get someone in to talk about it. Korea had really a strange beginning, Japan relinquished control... We saved Korea from communism, and they've really only had something like one democratic election since 1945. We should do a history piece. Let's look into it." (Schema: If have a number of political protests in a foreign country which is not usually covered in the news, do a piece putting issues in their historical context.)

"The NY Times has a piece on that today." (Schema: It is okay to do stories lifted from the NY Times - legitimizes story.)

"I don't know if the lawyer can provide the history or we could get an academic..."

"What form?"

"I think we can do it in a 2-way [interview] - our log shows empty on 2-ways, we need to start filling it up..."
(Schema: If have a general foreign policy question, 2-way an analyst. Decides to use original schema to find someone to 2-way on the historical issue.)

Summary: The decision was made that the best way of covering the issues in the story would be to interview an analyst on the topic, to be able to cover current issues as well as provide some historical background on the topic. One of NPR's key values is to provide background information stories that help give listeners information that they may not have so that they can better understand the issues.

5) Incident # 54: Egypt Tanks II
Meeting

6/29 Editorial

"I have a request that [the defense reporter] follow the Arab M-1 tank story. [Story in the Washington Post that day that the Reagan administration plans to sell tanks to Egypt.] [Another reporter] suggested doing a 2-way with the Washington Post writer who did the story. We didn't want to do that..." (Schema: 1) If the story concerns a surprising action by the administration, do story on it; 2) If possible, avoid interviewing reporters from other news organizations.)

"Isn't that a Hill story? For their reaction?" (Schema: If the story deals with congressional reaction to a news event, then it is a Hill story.)

"Isn't this real bad? Selling tanks to Egypt?"

"We have a lack of sources - till Pentagon talks, there's no story." (Schema: If story deals with military/-weapons, then it is a Pentagon/military story.)

"I really see it as a Hill story." (Schema: Reasserts that the angle to take on the story should be the congressional reaction.)

"Well we could link it with the story of selling jet fighters to Japan." (Schema: If don't have enough information for a piece, combine it with similar topics and put them together in one piece.)

"Well, let's look into it."

Summary: The story concerned the un-announced plans of the Reagan administration to sell tanks to Egypt. This could be either a military story, discussing the weapons systems themselves and the reasons for the sale, or it could be a congressional story, getting the reaction from the congress on the proposed sale. Neither one of the views seemed to be very persuasive, given the practical constraints of lack of sources to talk to. Therefore, the story idea was tabled until the reporters could find someone to talk to or official announcements are made.

6) Incident # 60: Cattle Auction 6/30 ATC Meeting

"Have you heard about the video cattle auction?"
(Schema: If have a funny story about a strange/unique phenomenon, do story.)

(Staff interrupts with jokes about this idea.)

"This is a serious story, it's a big thing in the southwest."

"Sure, it looks good."

"I think you could go to this place and get good sound." (Schema: If you can get good sound in a piece, do the piece.)

"But it's on video satellite."

"We all know what video does."

"We could go to one of the downlinks and get the reaction of the people there." (Schema: When doing a feature/human interest story, try to talk with the people involved.)

"Well, it seems less funny and interesting after talking about it, but it seems like a perfect [Reporter's name] piece..." (Schema: If the story idea is on a particular topic which is in a reporter's area of expertise/interest/skills, give story directly to that reporter.)

Summary: The story is a small, human interest feature story, one that attracts the sense of humor of the staff of the show. There is some discussion on how best to do the story, with the decision made that the story idea will be given to a reporter who is noted for making such story topics work. This reporter will be given a special request to do the piece.

7) Incident # 194: Bi-Lingual Shortage 8/11 ME Meeting

"There's a story about the shortage of teachers for bi-lingual education... It's a problem in court cases being dismissed because no one could speak the languages. It's a problem getting even French and Spanish teachers for schools." (Schema: If story deals with issues of strong concern about minorities or national trends do the story.)

"We've looked at that, the problem of finding diplomats who could speak Russian." (Schema: If NPR has done a piece on a similar topic to the one being suggested, kill story idea.)

"The court case would be a good angle, it's interesting." (Schema: It is okay to do story on similar topic as one done before, if can take a different angle.)

"It would be interesting if any serious cases were dropped."

"I was just down in Virginia getting a driver's license and there were people there... No one spoke Spanish."

"We could have [NPR commentator], she's now president for USA English." (Schema: If story deals with broad, general level questions of government policy/controversy, do as a commentary.)

"Let's take the story and give it to a reporter and try to see if we could push it further." (Schema: 1) If can't push story forward, bring out new information, don't do story; 2) If story needs to have research done on it, do as a reporter piece.)

Summary: An interesting topic was brought up to the group, one which seemed to be a perfect NPR type story - concern for minority groups and problems with the education system. It could be categorized as a commentary piece or a reporter piece, but it was decided that research needed to be done on the topic to find out more information, so it was given to a reporter.

8) Incident # 202: Military Secrets
Meeting

8/11 ATC

"How about the news blackout on ships leaving over the weekend in the Gulf, the Pentagon keeping information from the public, saying it is for the advantage of the military." (Schema: If story is on military problems, controversy, do story.)

"It sounds like a commentary." (Schema: If story is a criticism, analysis, or an opinion concerning government policy, do as a commentary.)

"But there are certain weapons in the fleet, we want to keep them secret. I don't know if we can say we're not hiding anything from the Iranians, etc."

"But it follows the policy of Reagan - with Grenada, the Iran/Contra..."

"We can't do it as a commentary. We need to raise questions about why it's happening, what are the advantages, etc. Ask the Pentagon questions. Ask what surveillance do the Iranians have and what does it do to withhold information." (Schema: 1) If piece involves talking to people and obtaining information, do as a reporter piece or host interview; 2) If piece concerns the military, do as a Washington story, with a military correspondent.)

"That's a better framing of the question, what good does it do."

"Don't they always do this? Keep things quiet during a military operation?" (Schema: If story is not new or different, kill story idea.)

"The question is - can you hide anything in Hormuz?"

"If we got a good military guy to talk to, that would be fine." (Schema: If you have a specific question on a particular issue that needs clarifying, 2-way an analyst/expert.)

Summary: The piece concerns the military maintaining secrecy on the movements of their ships in the Persian Gulf. At first, the story suggester wanted to do a piece criticizing the administration, which would call for a commentary (to express an opinion). But after discussion, the issue was framed differently, focusing on trying to understand the reasons for why the policy exists rather than criticizing the government. The way to get at those reasons is through talking with an expert in the area who could help illuminate the issues, so a 2-way was suggested.

9) Incident #207: Animal Rights

8/12 ATC Meeting

"Yesterday I went to the Big Apple Circus and when I came out there was a leaflet from an animal abuse group about the animals in the circus." (Schema: If there is a controversial issue that is interesting, do a piece on it.)

"I don't know." (Schema: Don't give free publicity to activist causes.)

"I don't think abuse is going on there - a guy I talked to said that the animals were happy... They are real interesting people there."

"I think it gives more credibility to the animal abuse people if it is not really happening - setting up a straw man." (Schema: 1) If an on-going situation hasn't changed, don't do a piece on topic; 2) reasserts hesitancy about giving airtime to activist group.)

"There's a lot of animal rights groups in the area-there's a laboratory in Rockville that always gets in trouble." (Schema: Make a general story specific through isolating one situation and talking to people there.)

"Seems like a reporter piece - what are the group's goals, etc." (Schema: If want to investigate phenomenon, talk to a number of people, then do piece as a reporter piece.)

"If we want to talk about a broad spectrum, survey, then it's a reporter piece." (Schema: If want to do piece as general overview, survey of situation, do as a reporter piece.)

Summary: Here the concern is with both the topic of the story as well as how it should be done. The topic of animal rights is greeted with initial skepticism, as the issue was seen as being a little too activist for the program. The issue of how to do the story focused on what should be covered in the piece. The concern is with not giving one activist group too much free publicity, so a way to avoid that is to generalize the story and cover an overview of the issues in a reporter piece, rather than just the one the group initially suggested.

10) Incident # 221: Blacks and Vacations 8/18 ME
Meeting

"This is a step back from the Black America series. [Reporter] was on Capital Edition [local TV program] talking about blacks taking vacations." (Schema: If a story deals with issues of concern with minorities, then do story.)

"Does this mean white people can't have them?"

"She was talking about the whole network of places people could stop while driving north back during segregation."

"A guy in the Washington Post did a whole big piece on it a while back."

"There goes that story." (Schema: Do not repeat feature stories that have been done by the Washington Post.)

"His was more the places you couldn't stop." (Schema: If you take a different angle on a story that has been done somewhere else, you can do similar story.)

"She could go down there..."

"Have you talked to her?" (Schema: If story idea is on a particular topic which is in a reporter's area of expertise, interests, or skills, give story directly to that reporter.)

"Yes, just briefly this morning."

"She could do this - but she has a lot of stuff going on." (Schema: If a particular reporter has been requested to do several pieces already, don't request more until he/she has finished the stories already ordered.)

"You have to do this by Labor day or not at all." (Schema: If you have a story dealing with summer/summer activities, it must air before Labor Day. [After Labor Day is when school starts, and it is considered to be fall, the end of summer.])

"You want her to go to places she did stop."

"I don't know if we can send her down there." (Schema: Unless a story is a major story, don't send reporters out because it costs too much money.)

"Well, let's see what we can do."

Summary: The story concerns a feature idea on the problems blacks used to have traveling in this country on vacation due to the racial tensions of the country. Many different schema come into play in this discussion, pegging the story to Labor Day, concern with repeating other media's stories, and primarily the notion that logistics will prevent the story from being done. In the end, a decision is deferred until the reporter could be spoken to in order to get a better understanding of the reporter's interest in the story and whether or not it could be done.

11) Incident # 224: National Parks
Meeting

8/18 ATC

"There's a new book out on National Parks - this guy talks about how the public wants stuff to boast on, while Congress only wants worthless land. Do you want me to set up a 2-way?" (Schema: 1) If have a story on an environmental threat, do a piece on it; 2) If story source is an author of a book, do piece as a host 2-way with author of the book.)

"This a big thing with Hoedel [Secretary of the Interior]. It's really a reporter piece. There's a lot of people fighting, business groups vs. ecologists - you can make parks accessible, but it destroys their natural beauty... I have a hard time hearing it as a 2-way." (Schema: If there are multiple sides to a story, multiple issues, multiple constituencies in a story, do as a reporter piece.)

"There was a bill passed on this in June."

"Let's get [reporter] to do it. He hasn't been on our air in a long time. It's really his beat. Let's get a copy of the book though." (Schema: If story idea is on a particular topic which is in area of a reporter's expertise/interest/skills, give story directly to that reporter.)

Summary: Initially the idea for the piece was a simple 2-way (interview) with an author of a new book. However, the staff felt that the issue was too complicated, involved too many sides to do the piece adequately through just talking to one person. A decision was then made to do it as a reporter piece, where the reporter could do an in-depth investigation of the topic and talk to many people from all sides to cover the issues more fully.

12) Incident # 226: Ethiopian Drought 8/18 ATC Meeting

"There's the story about the Ethiopian drought."

"It's so hard to do these stories and make them real without going to Ethiopia." (Schema: If story takes place in a foreign country and is complicated and involves talking to people, need to do it as a reporter piece.)

"Well we could call someone..." (Schema: If don't have a reporter in the country in which the story takes place, can 2-way an expert on the situation.)

"We have to do it with someone who's been there recently." (Schema: If have news coming out of a foreign country, need to talk to someone there or someone who has been there recently.)

"Could do the science angle, how weather patterns have changed." (Schema: If a story is about the environment, natural effects on man, categorize piece as a science piece, i.e. to be done by the science desk.)

"Or talk about the political problems with the government." (Schema: If a piece deals with a foreign government's problems, categorize piece as a foreign piece - i.e. to be done by the foreign desk.)

"There's an article which says there was a study done by the Department of Agriculture." (Schema: If a report is scheduled to be released/has been released, can do story on topic of report and peg them together.)

"If you can do it with someone who's been there in the recent past." (Schema: Reasserts schema above about talking to someone who has been there recently.)

"Or a scholar who knows about the history of the war." (Schema: If you have a question on historical background of a particular issue, can 2-way an analyst/expert on subject.)

"Okay, let's try to find someone for later next week."

Summary: The problem with the story was the lack of sources for information on the story - a key rule prevailed that you must talk to someone in the country or has been there recently to be able to do the story adequately. A search for alternative ways to categorize the story where sources could be obtained more easily was made. A news peg helped decide the issue - the story could be pegged with the report's release, so it was decided to do the story to talk about the general issues, but with someone who has been

there recently.

13) Incident # 201: Libya/Chad Fight 8/11 ATC Meeting

"How about the Libya and Chad story, they're fighting again." (Schema: Any outbreak of fighting between countries, do a story on it.)

"We don't need any big thing on it." (Schema: Unless it is a big story - something radically new, don't do stories on non-western/non-white countries unless affects U.S.)

"France has sent troops there before, they're not doing it now." (Schema: If a story is new or different, then you can do the story.)

"Until it takes a significant turn, we don't have to do anything." (Schema: Unless something new/different in story, don't do it.)

"There's not like a big issue that you can hold onto." (Schema: Need a major issue to hang piece on if discussing a story concerning non-western/non-white countries.)

"If the land had strategic value or someone suffered a defeat or something, then we could do it." (Schema: Schema used here apparent - if the land has strategic value or there was a defeat by one side or the other, then could do story.)

Summary: The major schema that was activated in this discussion concerned the fact that the story takes place in African countries, involving a fairly routine dispute between them over a piece of land. The key organizing schema was one which suggested that something really new or different has to be taking place in order for a story to be done on it, because it involves non-white/non-western peoples and does not have an affect on the U.S.

14) Incident # 239: Anti-Indian Beer 8/20 ATC Meeting

"In Wisconsin, there's a battle between Indians and the people there over fishing rights. It's a fairly usual thing, but there's an interesting twist - they've created an anti-Indian treaty beverage, proceeds from the sale of this beer go to this fund to fight the Indians." (Schema: 1) If a story is of a minority group fighting the system, do story; 2) If a funny/ironic/slice of life story, do it; 3) If a host requests a piece be done, do it.)

"I think it's a reporter piece, to get the people who are disgusted by this." (Schema: If a piece calls for talking with people involved in situation, do it as a reporter piece.)

"It's basically a chronology story..." (Schema: If a story involves tracing the history of an issue/situation, do it as a reporter piece.)

"I agree we should do it as a reporter piece."

"But if we give it to the National desk, we won't get it for 2 years." (Schema: 1) If a reporter piece on a topic going on somewhere in the U.S. and not in Washington (Federal Government), it is a national piece, i.e. done by the National desk, 2) If want to get piece done quickly do it using the show staff.)

"If we could get someone good to talk to..." (Schema: If piece to be done by show staff, do it in a host interview.)

"Okay, let's do it ourselves, we'll never get a reporter." (Schema: The quickness of turn-around on the piece is the most salient characteristic of the story, so it is decided to do piece using show staff personnel, and do it as a host interview.)

Summary: The key schema activated concerned whether to do the story using a reporter or do it in a host interview. Resource contingencies influenced this decision, as a reporter piece would take awhile to get done. Thus, it was decided that timeliness would be the key factor and that the piece would be done by show staff, in a host interview.

15) Incident # 252: College Bowl Meeting

8/25 ATC

"I have a story from a press release from Disney. They're putting the college bowl back on the air. It has survived the generations. There's a 6 city tour coming around. We could get an interview." (Schema: If a story about interesting/funny topic, do story - nostalgic topics especially.)

"Washington has had a long history in this, the host of the show here is a radio guy. We could interview him." (Schema: If you want to capture a reaction to a trend, 2-way an expert in area.)

"Is this a national phenomenon?" (Schema: If story happens in D.C., must check to see if happening around the country to do a piece on it.)

"Yes, it's going to be on the Disney Channel."

"We could take the high school angle - they have classes on studying for these." (Schema: Search for angle which does not give publicity to another media network.)

"If we were to do this, would we want to follow a high school team?" (Schema: If have a general story, try to make it specific by talking to one group of people.)

"No, I just thought of using McGarry as a commentator along with this." (Schema: Again reasserts schema of using an expert to discuss a national trend/event.)

"I think that's too much. We should do one or the other. I really see the only thing that's interesting is to follow some teams and ask about how they're studying. I'm not really convinced about the college idea."

"I could be a fun build-up piece, could start watching them in the fall."

"McGarry is good for one quote, but we could do 2 remotes." (Schema: Again reasserts schema to try and avoid using Washington D.C. personalities in story.)

"Also, it happens nationally all over." (Schema: Further support for the schema above - if story happens nationally, avoid doing it from Washington, D.C.)

"The story here is the Disney Channel, there must be a big audience for this. We could look at the market information, etc."

"I don't want to give them the publicity." (Schema: Don't give free publicity to rival TV network.)

"I think it would be interesting to see why they're bringing it back."

"I'm still marginally interested in them."

"I see it as a trend, intellectual shows, a spin-off from Jeopardy." (Schema: If story concerns a national trend or phenomenon, there is a good chance story will get done.)

"How long ago was the last college bowl?"

"A long, long time."

"We could do it. We could send a producer out to some classes of a high school in Indiana to 2 schools. Could get sound, and then go back again with a host." (Schema: 1) Try to do national trend stories from places outside Washington, D.C.; 2) If you can get good sound in a piece, do the story.)

"I think it's good. We should pursue it."

Summary: Discussion centered around a good idea - college/-high school academic bowl teams. There is a strong concern not to do the story from Washington, D.C. and not to give free publicity to other networks for their programs. A discussion ensued during which staff members came up with a new angle on the story which would satisfy their informal rules for stories. The end result was a spin-off of the major story.

16) Incident # 317: Tom Seaver's Retirement 6/22 ATC Meeting

"Tom Seaver [Former NY Mets baseball player] is retiring today."

"An ideas? Talk to him, try and get him? (Schema: Feature pieces profiling individuals are done in host interviews.)

"Is there something about his career that's important?"

"Well, he was on the one of the worst teams and helped turn it around."

"I know we've done a lot of baseball this year. I suppose I could get interested if I asked a lot of questions..." (Schema: Don't do feature stories on topics that have been done recently on the show.)

"We've done a lot of New York baseball, maybe we should hold it this year." (Schema: Try to avoid doing too many stories based in Washington, D.C., New York, or Los Angeles.)

"It seems almost like a commentary." (Schema: If want to discuss opinion/evaluation of an individual, do as a commentary.)

"But it's a New York team - we've done so much of it. Let's forget it."

Summary: The anti-New York schema is the strongest for this story. So the decision was made to not do the story. Although the topic was interesting, it was felt that too many stories on similar topics had been done lately, so the story idea was killed.

17) Incident # 264: Protester vs Train I 9/2 ME Meeting

"There's the story of the guy getting hit by the train, he's from a hard core protester group..." (Schema: If a story is on a protester getting injured during a political protest, then do story.)

"We've done a piece on the group before. What's the guy's condition?" (Schema: If have done story on same topic before, do not do it again.)

"At present he's in the hospital with some fractures..."

"Apparently there is some controversy over whether he jumped in front of the train, talking with witnesses will be the big thing." (Schema: If story covers a new angle on a story, gives information that has not been given before, do it.)

"It was a munitions factory building nuclear weapons?" (Trying to get the proper angle on the story - is it a nuclear weapons story?)

"No, they said that they were shipping arms to Central America." (Here it is verified that is a Central America policy protest story, not a nuclear weapons protest story.)

"What could we do to advance this?" (Schema: If can't advance story, push it forward, do not do story.)

"We could get their [the group's] view of the peace plan."

"I think the real story is that passive resistance is getting dangerous." (Schema: Do not give airtime for protest group's views - search for a new angle.)

"We could talk to the group's members about the risks you take..."

"A reporter piece?" (Schema: If piece involves multiple voices and covers a general issue, do as a reporter piece.)

"No, an interview with [the host]." (Schema: If have questions about one issue, do as a host interview)

"I don't know."

"Get [reporter]."

"Maybe we can have him look at the videotape."

"The video will show the Navy, the train going faster."
(Again here, the schema is evoked concerning the presentation of new information - the videotape will provide new information and it needs to be described by someone who can see it and talk about it, i.e. a reporter)

"I think it's probably a reporter piece then." (Schema:
If a major source/part of a story is something that needs description, do it as a reporter piece.)

Summary: The decision centered on how best to do the story. It was decided that the only way to get the information and the ideas across that were needed was to do a reporter piece. As a result, a reporter in the area will be contacted to do the story.

18) Incident #272: Protester vs. Train II 9/2 ATC Meeting

"What about the guy who was hit by the train?" (Schema: If a story is on a protester getting injured during a political protest, then do the story.)

"It's not a 'Let's blame the government' piece." (Schema: Do not do anti-government pieces on activist issues.)

"No, it's a what happened piece. We also want to talk to someone about this guy's background, have a profile of someone who puts their life on the line. Get a 2-way to go with the piece." (Schema: 1) Don't cover issues of activist groups that are in the news, cover what happened to them; 2) If want to capture human reaction to news event, 2-way an individual who is part of the situation.)

"We shouldn't have the Hodads [a previously discussed story on commune group who is environmentally active] at the same time as this protest group, it makes us sound too..." (Schema: Don't run 2 stories on radical/liberal/activist issues on same show - spread them out over shows.)

"Good idea. Let's talk to someone else on that."

Summary: Here a different decision was made on the same story by the other show staff. Here a decision was made to do 2 separate stories on the topic, one which covers what happened and one which profiles the individual involved. Because the staff was concerned with going beyond just the hard facts of the situation, a two-way was used to back-up the hard news piece.

19) Incident # 266: Persian Gulf Meeting

9/2 ME

"Shouldn't we do some more on the Persian Gulf?"
(Schema: If a major national/international story, look to do a lot of pieces on topic.)

"Like what?"

"Let's talk to [analyst] about why we are still supporting Iraq. Why are we... What do they have to do for us to stop?" (Schema: If you have a general foreign policy question, 2-way an analyst on issue.)

"Take 52 hostages, try to spread fundamentalism throughout the region..."

(The staff then tries to find an angle to take on the story - looking for the best way to advance the story.)

"We're not really supporting Iraq, more not supporting Iran."

"I mentioned this yesterday about the Truman doctrine, the policy of intervention getting us into trouble all over." (Schema: If you have a confusing political question, do a piece putting issue in its historical context.)

"Now Donald Trump is mad. He has full-page ads in the NY Times saying Japan and Saudi Arabia should get involved."

"Doesn't it seem absurd that we're supporting Iraq when they're doing all that bombing?"

"Yes, and we're supporting Kuwait who has backed Iraq?"

"This whole involvement is because of the Soviet Union. Kuwait asked us first and we rejected it and then they asked the Soviets, so then we said yes. I think we've said all this stuff." (Schema: If have already covered issues in another piece, do not cover them again.)

"It's hard to make sense of it."

"You can't make sense of it. We've covered the basic issues." (Schema: Again reasserts schema above.)

"What about the War Powers Act?"

"It has been through the house. They didn't feel they needed it. If we could get [reporter] to do a piece showing how our policy over the last 30 years has been defending others and how that has got us here. It's based on an

article I read. [Reporter] can talk to this guy and test his theory." (Schema: If piece involves research, coverage of broad historical issues, and talking to people, do as a reporter piece.)

Summary: Final assertion repeats the schema of doing a historical background piece - given that all the other issues have been covered in one form or another in previous pieces, the only really new piece that will advance knowledge, is a historical piece.)

20) Incident #011: Southern Politics 6/8 ATC Meeting

"[Staff member] has a book on politics in the south. She wanted to do the story - it could be pegged with Gore's [Tennessee Senator Al Gore who is running for president] announcement." (Schema: Do not run a topical book/movie interview, unless pegged with an event - i.e. paired to air right after the event/hard news on similar topic.)

"She needs preparation. [The host] needs to read the book to get interview questions."

"We have enough from [staff member] to do that."

"We could wait till Gore's announcing and peg it with that." (Schema: Reasserts schema about when piece should air.)

"When is that?"

"Sometime in a couple of weeks or so."

"You know Gore is a Washington D.C. person. He went to St. Albans [local Washington D.C. high school] and lived here when his father was a senator. It is sort of stretching a point to make a peg." (Schema: Here an argument is made that Gore's announcement really isn't related to a book on southern politics, so should not be pegged together.)

"But it is not stretching to do a story on politics in the south. We have done stuff like this before." (Schema: Here argument is made that initial categorization of stories is close enough to not worry about it.)

"Why don't we just do it when we feel comfortable."

"We could do it this week, pegged with the Andy Young [mayor of Atlanta] story." (Schema: Again schema activated which says should run this piece only if pegged to a more newsy story on similar topic of book interview.)

"Okay."

Summary: This discussion centered on the use of news pegs in deciding when to air a story on politics in the south. A search for an appropriate news peg was conducted, with the end result being that the piece would air with a story about a southern politician.

Section 3. Relationship between the Cultural Knowledge System and Behavior

Overview

The next section of this paper is concerned with establishing the relationship between the cultural knowledge system and behavior. A basic premise of the model examined in this study is that the interpretation process has a direct effect on behavior through the application of scripts or behavioral plans which individuals in the organization use as a result of their interpretation of story topics. Once a story topic is interpreted, a set of behavioral routines are enacted which turn the story topic into a finished piece ready to air on one of the programs.

The interpretation of a story topic by staff members determines the characteristics of the finished piece produced on that story topic. The characteristics that are affected include: 1) who is given the responsibility for production of the piece - show staff members or members of one of the news desks; 2) which news desk (if any) the piece is assigned to, 3) the type of piece which is produced - hard news, feature, in-depth investigation, etc.; 4) the length of the piece; 5) the time frame for completion of the piece - for the same day or for some time in the future; and 6) determination of when the piece should be aired.

In this section, two analyses were undertaken to obtain information on how interpretations of story topics using the

cultural knowledge system affect the behavior of organizational members. First, one set of schema, the rules for placement of pieces onto the program is focused on in detail, and its relationship to the outcomes of behavior is examined. Second, the cultural knowledge system is used in a predictive manner to determine if it can accurately predict the responses of organizational members to new story ideas, as well as account for past member behavior, in terms of prediction of the characteristics of previously aired stories. The results of these analyses provide further indication of the effects of the cultural knowledge system on the behavior of individuals within the organization.

Analysis of the Effects of the Cultural Knowledge System on Story Placement

As described in a previous section, the schema that are used by organizational members in interpreting story topics and developing plans for production of pieces include schema concerning the placement and ordering of pieces on a news program. These schema are used by organizational members as a guide in the scheduling process, helping staff members to plan their programs so that there is a coherent flow among the pieces in a program.

The scheduling of the pieces appearing on a given show reflects the producer of the show's implicit system for the categorization and organization of the pieces into the whole of a show. There are no formal, written rules (except for some general formatting guidelines on the Morning Edition program) for this process, as the producer relies on his/her set of implicit rules for what a show should "sound like" to determine the placement of pieces. These implicit rules are consistently applied to individual pieces in the scheduling process to come up with shows that fit the NPR format and style.

Characteristics of the stories that were aired on the programs during the observation period and their placement on the programs were analyzed using the run-down logs to demonstrate that organizational members rely on a set of

schema concerning scheduling to make decisions regarding placement of pieces onto the programs. Because the Morning Edition and All Things Considered programs have different formats, these shows will be considered separately.

For Morning Edition, the placement of a piece was coded as being one of the planned segments of the show, A through E, which staff members use in the formatting of the show (see previous section for a detailed description of the schema associated with these segments). In this analysis, the relationship between the placement of a piece (segment) and the content category and type of story were examined to identify regularities which occur in the placement of pieces within the program.

Table 9 shows the placement of different category types into the segments for the Morning Edition program. According to the schema developed from the cultural knowledge system, in each of the segments, A through E, certain story topics should be placed into particular segments. As can be seen from the table, the analysis demonstrates that there is a regular pattern to the placement of stories into segments. Washington (91%) and foreign (73%) stories are placed mostly in the A and D segments; the majority of national (46%), science (51%), and feature (44%) stories fall in the B segment; sports stories are placed in the C segment (98%); arts stories are placed primarily in the E segment (74%) or

Table 9. Crosstabulation of Content Category by Story Placement (Morning Edition)

CATEGORY	COUNT ROW PCT	PLACEMENT					ROW TOTAL
		A	B	C	D	E	
		SEGMENT	SEGMENT	SEGMENT	SEGMENT	SEGMENT	
		11	21	31	41	51	
WASHINGTON	1	154	15		69	7	245
		62.9	6.1		28.2	2.9	17.0
FOREIGN	2	148	50		107	46	351
		42.2	14.2		30.5	13.1	24.3
NATIONAL	3	22	67		46	10	145
		15.2	46.2		31.7	6.9	10.0
FEATURES	4	1	34	1	30	12	78
		1.3	43.6	1.3	38.5	15.4	5.4
BUSINESS-TRANS	5	12	7		16	5	40
		30.0	17.5		40.0	12.5	2.8
SCIENCE	6	11	51		33	6	101
		10.9	50.5		32.7	5.9	7.0
ARTS	7		50		9	167	226
			22.1		4.0	73.9	15.7
SPORTS	8			175	1	2	178
				98.3	.6	1.1	12.3
COMMENTARY	9	18	19	1	21	4	63
		28.6	30.2	1.6	33.3	6.3	4.4
LETTER, ETC	10		16	1			17
			94.1	5.9			1.2
COLUMN TOTAL		366	309	178	332	259	1444
		25.3	21.4	12.3	23.0	17.9	100.0

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 0

the B segment (22%); and listener letters are placed in the B segment (94%). The regularities in the placement of story categories into the segments correspond to the rules of the cultural knowledge system.

Table 10 analyzes the type of stories placed into the 5 segments. Hard news stories (65%), analysis/sidebar/news features done by a reporter (73%), and hard news interviews conducted by a host (86%) fall primarily in the A and D segments, those which are slotted for more immediate news items. In-depth investigations, which are longer pieces, fall in either the B (40%) or the D (56%) segments, while reporter features are either sports-related and fall in the C segment (24%) or are arts pieces and are placed in the E segment (50%). Host feature stories fall in either the B segment (33%) or are sports-related interviews and are placed in the C segment (39%). Commentaries can be placed in any segment, as they are spread out among the different segments. These are usually used to fill a hole in the program, and are inserted at the end of a particular segment to ensure that the segment will meet its time requirements. Again, the findings from the analysis of the run-down logs indicate that the implicit categorization of stories from the cultural knowledge system impacts on the placement of stories into the segments, as particular types of stories are placed in particular segments of the show.

Table 10. Crosstabulation of Type of News Story by Story Placement (Morning Edition)

TYPE	COUNT ROW PCT	PLACEMENT					ROW TOTAL
		A	B	C	D	E	
		SEGMENT	SEGMENT	SEGMENT	SEGMENT	SEGMENT	
		11	21	31	41	51	
HARD NEWS	1	200	70	32	123	70	495
		40.4	14.1	6.5	24.8	14.1	34.3
IN-DPTH INVSTGTM	2	2	36		50	1	89
		2.2	40.4		56.2	1.1	6.2
COMMENTARY	3	20	38	39	21	16	134
		14.9	28.4	29.1	15.7	11.9	9.3
ANALSS SBR-RPTR	4	71	52	5	85	1	214
		33.2	24.3	2.3	39.7	.5	14.8
HRD NWS SBR-HOST	5	66	14	2	28		110
		60.0	12.7	1.8	25.5		7.6
REPORTER FEATURE	6	2	55	67	15	140	279
		.7	19.7	24.0	5.4	50.2	19.3
HOST FEATURE	7		24	28	9	11	72
			33.3	38.9	12.5	15.3	5.0
SATIRE	8					4	4
						100.0	.3
HOST COPY	9	5	20	5	1	16	47
		10.6	42.6	10.6	2.1	34.0	3.3
COLUMN TOTAL		366	309	178	332	259	1444
		25.3	21.4	12.3	23.0	17.9	100.0

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 0

A similar analysis was performed on the contents of the ATC program. ATC is free-format, within three half-hour time periods. In order to examine the ATC data, the placement variable was coded as two variables, the 1/2 hour segment ("third") the piece was placed in (being either in the 1st, 2nd or 3rd third) and the order within the third (whether the piece appeared 1st, 2nd, 3rd, etc. within a third).

Tables B1 and B2 in Appendix B show the relationship between the third the story was placed in and the content category and type of story it is. The results of these analyses reveal few differences across the thirds in content category and type of news. This should be the case, as the producer usually attempts to create three relatively "stand-alone" programs, one in each half hour of the show, all filled with a mixture of types of pieces. There are however, a couple of exceptions. First, in terms of categories of news pieces, Washington pieces rarely fall in the middle third (only 14%), while national (50%) and science (56%) appear in the second third more regularly. For type of news, in-depth investigations appear most frequently in the middle third (70%), and there is a slight tendency for hard news/sidebar stories done by a host to appear in either the first third (43%) or the second third (33%), while reporter features are more likely to appear in the second (37%) or the 3rd third (39%).

Table 11 shows the ordering of pieces by category. As can be seen, Washington (70%), foreign (59%), and business (51%) pieces are usually scheduled as one of the first 2 pieces in a third, while national stories (58%), features stories (87%), science stories (70%), and arts stories (96%) typically appear in the 3rd through 7th slot in a segment. Commentaries are never the first story in a segment, and are usually placed toward the end of a segment, with 86% of them coming after the second story in a third. Letters are usually the last or one of the last stories in a segment, as 95% of them were sequenced in the 4th, 5th, or 6th position.

Examination of the relationship of type of news stories and their ordering within a third reveals some interesting differences between types of stories in their placement on the show (see Table 12). As expected, hard news stories are usually placed at the beginning of a segment, with 84% of them being the first, second or third stories in a segment. Hard news analysis or sidebar pieces done by a reporter (11%) or a host (11%) are rarely in the first spot in a third, as they usually follow the lead story in the second or third spot, with 60% of reporter pieces and 65% of host hard news interviews falling in those spots. Reporter features and host features usually appear at the end of a segment, as 65% of reporter features and 66% of the host features were placed in the 4th or 5th spots in the segment.

Table 11. Crosstabulation of Content Category by Story Order (All Things COnsidered)

CATEGORY	COUNT ROW PCT	ORDER							ROW TOTAL
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
WASHINGTON	1	112 39.2	89 31.1	52 18.2	25 8.7	5 1.7	2 .7	1 .3	286 23.5
	2	85 32.0	73 27.4	58 21.8	34 12.8	15 5.6	1 .4		266 21.8
FOREIGN	3	28 21.2	27 20.5	31 23.5	35 26.5	11 8.3			132 10.8
	4	5 2.8	18 10.2	39 22.2	47 26.7	47 26.7	18 10.2	2 1.1	176 14.4
FEATURES	5	11 25.6	11 25.6	10 23.3	5 11.6	5 11.6	1 2.3		43 3.5
	6	10 11.1	17 18.9	25 27.8	20 22.2	14 15.6	3 3.3	1 1.1	90 7.4
SCIENCE	7	2 2.2	2 2.2	10 11.0	34 37.4	27 29.7	16 17.6		91 7.5
	8	1 9.1		1 9.1	3 27.3	5 45.5	1 9.1		11 .9
SPORTS	9		14 13.6	23 22.3	27 26.2	22 21.4	12 11.7	5 4.9	103 8.4
	10			1 4.8	8 38.1	8 38.1	4 19.0		21 1.7
COMMENTARY									
LETTER, ETC									
COLUMN TOTAL		254 20.8	251 20.6	250 20.5	238 19.5	159 13.0	58 4.8	9 .7	1219 100.0

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 1

Table 12. Crosstabulation of Type of News Story by Story Order (All Things Considered)

TYPE	COUNT ROW PCT	ORDER							ROW TOTAL
		1	11	21	31	41	51	61	71
HARD NEWS	1	203	90	74	50	19	2		438
		46.3	20.5	16.9	11.4	4.3	.5		36.0
IN-DPTH INVSTGTM	2	5	18	20	18	5			66
		7.6	27.3	30.3	27.3	7.6			5.4
COMMENTARY	3		14	23	28	24	15	5	109
			12.8	21.1	25.7	22.0	13.8	4.6	9.0
ANALSS SBR-RPTR	4	13	39	30	21	8	4		115
		11.3	33.9	26.1	18.3	7.0	3.5		9.4
HRD NWS SBR-MOST	5	25	82	63	35	17	1		223
		11.2	36.8	28.3	15.7	7.6	.4		18.3
REPORTER FEATURE	6	3	2	11	19	30	9	1	75
		4.0	2.7	14.7	25.3	40.0	12.0	1.3	6.2
HOST FEATURE	7	2	5	22	54	45	20	2	150
		1.3	3.3	14.7	36.0	30.0	13.3	1.3	12.3
SATIRE	8			5	3	2	2		12
				41.7	25.0	16.7	16.7		1.0
HOST COPY	9	3	1	2	10	9	3	1	29
		10.3	3.4	6.9	34.5	31.0	10.3	3.4	2.4
COLUMN TOTAL		254	251	250	238	159	56	9	1217
		20.9	20.6	20.5	19.6	13.1	4.6	.7	100.0

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 3

Table 12. Crosstabulation of Type of News Story by Story Order (All Things Considered)

		ORDER							
COUNT ROW PCT									ROW TOTAL
			11	21	31	41	51	61	71
TYPE									
HARD NEWS	1	203	90	74	50	19	2		438
		46.3	20.5	16.9	11.4	4.3	.5		36.0
IN-DPTH INVSTGTM	2	5	18	20	18	5			66
		7.6	27.3	30.3	27.3	7.6			5.4
COMMENTARY	3		14	23	28	24	15	5	109
			12.8	21.1	25.7	22.0	13.8	4.6	9.0
ANALSS SBR-RPTR	4	13	39	30	21	8	4		115
		11.3	33.9	26.1	18.3	7.0	3.5		9.4
HRD NWS SBR-HOST	5	25	82	63	35	17	1		223
		11.2	36.8	28.3	15.7	7.6	.4		18.3
REPORTER FEATURE	6	3	2	11	19	30	9	1	75
		4.0	2.7	14.7	25.3	40.0	12.0	1.3	6.2
HOST FEATURE	7	2	5	22	54	45	20	2	150
		1.3	3.3	14.7	36.0	30.0	13.3	1.3	12.3
SATIRE	8			5	3	2	2		12
				41.7	25.0	16.7	16.7		1.0
HOST COPY	9	3	1	2	10	9	3	1	29
		10.3	3.4	6.9	34.5	31.0	10.3	3.4	2.4
COLUMN TOTAL		254	251	250	238	159	56	9	1217
		20.9	20.6	20.5	19.6	13.1	4.6	.7	100.0

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 3

The results of these analyses demonstrate that although ATC is free-formatted, there are regularities in the flow of the program. It appears that each half hour segment is begun with hard news stories, followed by analysis pieces by reporters or host interviews with newsmakers, analysts, or reporters. Following these pieces there usually is a secondary lead story done by a reporter, and then a host feature piece or a commentary to end the segment. This process is followed in each of the three 1/2 hour segments. These general policies are not written down; they are part of the system of organizational cultural knowledge of organizational members and represent what members feel the flow of the pieces on the show should be.

In order to assess the consistency of the shows' content over time, crosstabs were run to assess similarities in category content, type of stories, reporters on stories, time of stories, and interviewees used on stories across the time period examined in the study (crosstabs were performed across months of study; see Tables B3 through B8 in Appendix B). The results indicate that there were few differences across time periods in terms of the content of the show. In fact, the shows were remarkably consistent in terms of the representation of stories done on the program and the reporters used, especially given the fluctuation of news happenings, whereby one week the important stories may be foreign stories (e.g. fighting in the Persian Gulf) and

during the next the important stories may be national stories (e.g. the Pope visit to the U.S.). The only area in which there were differences found, although small, was in the interviewees used. There was a slight tendency to use more analysts and NPR reporters as interviewees in August and September than were used in May through July, with a corresponding decrease in the number of primary sources used during those months.

The consistency of the programs were also assessed on a daily basis to assess whether there are differences in the content of the shows due to the day of the week of the show. Tables B9 - B13 in Appendix B show the relationship between day of the week and the key variables examined. Within a given week, the content of the shows was also consistent. There were no differences across days of the week on these characteristics.

Overall, the shows maintained a remarkable consistency in both content and style over the time period studied. On each of the shows there was a regularity in the scheduling of pieces on the programs which corresponded to the schema developed in the cultural knowledge system. This finding suggests that the schema used by organizational members in the scheduling process are reliable across time, and that there is an implicit formula which is used by the producers when developing the schedule for their shows. It should also be noted that, although it was not measured, during the

time period examined, the job of developing the schedule for the programs was shared by a number of different individuals on each of the programs. Despite the differences as to who the decision-makers were on the scheduling of stories, there was still a consistency in this behavior across time. This suggests that the different decision-makers were using similar sets of schema to make their decisions.

Validation of the Cultural Knowledge System

A fundamental premise of the predictions developed in this paper is that the cultural knowledge system can account for the behavior of organizational members in terms of the interpretations they make concerning story topics and the decisions made based on those interpretations. To assess the ability of the cultural knowledge system to predict member behavior, two analyses were conducted. The first analysis involved the development and administration of a questionnaire designed to test the cultural knowledge system's predictions of organization members' responses to a set of hypothetical story ideas, which provides evidence of its ability to predict future member behavior. The second analysis involved the use of the schema (rules) developed in the cultural knowledge framework to predict how stories were done on the air at NPR, using a set of archive data. This analysis is used to show that the framework can account for past member behavior in a realistic setting.

Analysis of the Predictive Validity Questionnaire

A questionnaire containing 11 hypothetical story ideas was administered to two groups of subjects: first, a naive sample composed of a group of local university students, who provided baseline data; and second, a group of organization-

al respondents from NPR. Each group's responses were compared with the predictions made by the researcher based on the cultural knowledge system (CKS). Subjects were asked to respond to these hypothetical story topics and answer questions concerning story selection, production, scheduling, and categorization. A copy of the questionnaire can be found in Appendix C.

Table 13 shows the results for the issue of story selection. Respondents were asked whether or not they would select the story to be done as a piece on one of the programs. As can be seen, the NPR sample had higher overall agreement (81%) with the CKS's predictions than did the naive sample (71%). For 8 of the 11 stories, the NPR-sample had higher agreement than did the naive sample. With the exception of story 9, which was not well predicted, the overall level of agreement for the NPR sample was quite high, with over 80% of the responses correctly predicted by the CKS.

Table 14 shows the results for the form the story would most likely take. The level of agreement of the NPR sample and the CKS's predictions was quite high (79%) and again was higher than the level of agreement between the naive sample (55%) and the CKS's predictions. For 6 of the 8 stories, there was higher agreement between the NPR sample and the predictions made than for the naive sample. (Note that predictions were made on only 8 stories, not the original

**Table 13. Validation Questionnaire Results -
Story Selection**

Story Selection: Would you select this story to be done as a piece on one of the programs?

Story Number	Cultural Knowledge System's Prediction	NPR Sample % Agreement With Prediction	Naive Sample % Agreement With Prediction
1	Yes	82%	67%
2	No	81%	40%
3	Yes	94%	83%
4	Yes	100%	83%
5	Yes	81%	80%
6	No	71%	63%
7	Yes	100%	97%
8	Yes	81%	83%
9	Yes	41%	57%
10	Yes	88%	93%
11	No	71%	60%
Average Agreement		81%	71%

**Table 14. Validation Questionnaire Results -
Form of the Story**

Form of the Story: What form would this story most likely take (how would it be done)?

Story Number	Cultural Knowledge System's Prediction	NPR Sample % Agreement With Prediction	Naive Sample % Agreement With Prediction
1	Host 2-way	100%	65%
2	-	-	-
3	Reporter	100%	68%
4	Commentary	40%	56%
5	Host 2-way	23%	33%
6	-	-	-
7	Reporter	100%	83%
8	Reporter	85%	52%
9	Host 2-way	100%	0%
10	Reporter	87%	82%
11	-	-	-
Average Agreement		79%	55%

11, as three of the stories were predicted by the CKS to be identified as stories that would not be selected by NPR members, as was shown in Table 13. No predictions were subsequently made on the characteristics of these 3 stories.)

The results for type of story presented in Table 15 indicate that there was higher agreement between the NPR sample and the CKS's predictions (62%) than there was for the naive sample (52%). Of the 8 stories analyzed, the NPR sample had higher agreement than the naive sample with the CKS's predictions on 7 of them. The prediction rates overall were slightly lower than expected; however, there was still substantial agreement with the predictions.

Table 16 shows the results for the prediction of the content category of the story. Large differences were found between the responses of the NPR sample and those of the naive sample. The average agreement with the CKS across the stories was 81% for the NPR sample and 64% for the naive sample. The NPR sample had higher agreement with the CKS's predictions on 7 of the 8 stories examined.

Table 17 shows the results for the timeliness of the story, i.e. when the story should be aired. Again, there was higher average agreement with the CKS's predictions for the NPR sample (80%) than for the naive sample (63%). For 6 of the 8 stories, there was higher agreement for the NPR sample, while for 2 of the stories, the agreement was equal.

**Table 15. Validation Questionnaire Results -
Type of Story**

Type of Story: What type of story would most likely be done on this topic?

Story Number	Cultural Knowledge System's Prediction	NPR Sample % Agreement With Prediction	Naive Sample % Agreement With Prediction
1	Feature	46%	50%
2	-	-	-
3	Feature	40%	36%
4	Commentary	33%	32%
5	Analysis	54%	38%
6	-	-	-
7	Hard News	100%	83%
8	Hard News	62%	40%
9	Feature	86%	65%
10	Hard News	73%	68%
11	-	-	-
Average Agreement		62%	52%

**Table 16. Validation Questionnaire Results -
Content Category**

Content Category: What would the content of the story be best categorized as?

Story Number	Cultural Knowledge System's Prediction	NPR Sample % Agreement With Prediction	Naive Sample % Agreement With Prediction
1	National	62%	45%
2	-	-	-
3	National	53%	24%
4	Washington	100%	63%
5	Business	62%	25%
6	-	-	-
7	Foreign	100%	93%
8	Science	100%	76%
9	Human Interest	71%	100%
10	Foreign	100%	89%
11	-	-	-
Average Agreement		81%	64%

Table 17. Validation Questionnaire Results -
When the Story is to be Aired

When the Story is to be Aired: When would this story most likely be aired?

Story Number	Cultural Knowledge System's Prediction	NPR Sample % Agreement With Prediction	Naive Sample % Agreement With Prediction
1	Pegged	54%	40%
2	-	-	-
3	Future	47%	44%
4	Same Day	87%	56%
5	Same Day	92%	92%
6	Same Day	-	-
7	Same Day	100%	100%
8	Same Day	85%	48%
9	Same Day	71%	29%
10	Same Day	100%	93%
11	-	-	-
Average Agreement		80%	63%

Again, the overall level of agreement between the CKS's predictions and the responses of the NPR sample was quite high.

The results for agreement on story placement within a program are shown in Table 18. The results indicate that overall, average agreement was higher for the NPR sample (75%) than for the naive sample (57%), with the level of agreement higher for the NPR sample on 7 of the 8 stories. The rate of agreement with the CKS's predictions was fairly high for the NPR sample, as three-fourths of the respondents answered the question in the predicted fashion.

On the issue of whether a follow-up story should be done on the story topic, the results presented in Table 19 indicate that there were only small differences in agreement with the CKS between the responses of the NPR sample (72%) and those of the naive sample (69%). For the 8 stories that predictions were made for, there was higher agreement for the NPR sample on 4 of them, the two samples had equal agreement on 1 of them, and there was higher agreement for the naive sample on 3 of them.

For the type of follow-up story predicted to be done, shown in Table 20, predictions were made only for those stories (n=3) for which a follow-up story was predicted to be done. The results show that there was higher average agreement for the NPR sample (64%) than for the naive sample (46%) for each of the three stories predicted.

**Table 18. Validation Questionnaire Results -
Story Placement**

Story Placement: If this story was to air on one of the programs, what spot would it most likely be scheduled in?

Story Number	Cultural Knowledge System's Prediction	NPR Sample % Agreement With Prediction	Naive Sample % Agreement With Prediction
1	Middle	46%	40%
2	-	-	-
3	Middle	80%	52%
4	Middle	67%	20%
5	Lead	77%	54%
6	Middle	-	-
7	Lead	94%	97%
8	Lead	42%	28%
9	End	100%	88%
10	Lead	93%	75%
11	-	-	-
Average Agreement		75%	57%

**Table 19. Validation Questionnaire Results -
Follow-up Story**

Do a Follow-up?: Would you want to do another story on this topic on the same program (i.e. a follow-up story)?

Story Number	Cultural Knowledge System's Prediction	NPR Sample % Agreement With Prediction	Naive Sample % Agreement With Prediction
1	No	85%	45%
2	-	-	-
3	No	67%	80%
4	No	13%	40%
5	Yes	85%	62%
6	-	-	-
7	Yes	88%	90%
8	No	54%	50%
9	No	100%	100%
10	Yes	87%	86%
11	-	-	-
Average Agreement		72%	69%

**Table 20. Validation Questionnaire Results -
Type of Follow-Up**

Type of Piece of Follow-up: What type of piece would the follow-up story most likely be?

Story Number	Cultural Knowledge System's Prediction	NPR Sample % Agreement With Prediction	Naive Sample % Agreement With Prediction
1	-	-	-
2	-	-	-
3	-	-	-
4	-	-	-
5	Analysis	64%	43%
6	-	-	-
7	Analysis	67%	46%
8	-	-	-
9	-	-	-
10	Analysis	62%	50%
Average Agreement		64%	46%

A summary of the results for each question asked is presented in Table 21. As can be seen, the overall percentage agreement with the CKS's predictions was higher for the NPR sample (74%) than for the naive sample (60%). For each of the 8 questions asked, the percentage agreement with the predictions is larger for the NPR sample than for the naive sample. The values of average percentage agreement with the CKS's predictions for the NPR sample ranged from a low of 62% for type of story to a high of 81% for both story selection and content category of the story. For the naive sample, the values ranged from a low of 46% for type of follow-up to a high of 71% for story selection.

Although the results were not overwhelmingly supportive of the predictions made by the researcher, overall, there was good agreement between the NPR sample and the CKS's predictions, indicating some degree of support for the predictive accuracy of the cultural knowledge framework. Although the responses of the naive sample were higher in agreement with the predictions of the researcher than expected, they still showed consistently lower agreement with the CKS's predictions than did the NPR sample. Over all the questions asked in this study, 48/62 (77%) of the story/question pairs showed higher agreement between the responses of the NPR sample and the CKS' predictions, 3/62 (5%) of the story/question pairs showed equal agreement, and only 11/62 (18%) of the pairs showed higher agreement

Table 21. Validation Questionnaire Summary

Question Asked	Average NPR Sample % Agreement With Prediction	Average Naive Sample % Agreement With Prediction
Story Selection	81%	71%
Form of the Story	79%	55%
Type of Story	62%	52%
Content Category	81%	64%
When Story Aired	80%	63%
Placement of the Story	75%	57%
Want to do Follow-up	72%	69%
Type of Follow-up	64%	46%
Overall Agreement with Prediction	74%	60%

between the responses of the naive sample and the CKS predictions than those of the NPR sample.

Predictive Analysis using Archive Data

The second analysis that was performed to assess the predictive validity of the cultural knowledge system was the development of a set of predictions concerning the story characteristics of 50 stories that were previously aired on ATC (during the month of April 1987). For each of the 50 story topics, selected at random from the ATC run-down logs of stories aired that month, predictions were made as to how the story was done, the content category of the story, the type of piece that was done, and the placement of the piece within the program. These predictions were made using the schema from the cultural knowledge system (developed through the analysis of the verbal transcripts) as a guide. Appendix D contains a detailed listing of the story topics and the schema used for the development of predictions for each of them. The predictions made by the researcher were compared with the "true scores", which were the coding of the stories from the run-down logs by an independent individual who currently works at NPR, and a percentage correct was tallied for each variable predicted. Table 22 shows the predictions made for each of the 50 story topics

Table 22. Predictions from Archive Analysis:
How Story is to be Done and Content Category

Story Number	How Story is to be Done	Prediction Correct?	Content Category	Prediction Correct?
1	Host 2-way	Yes	Business	Yes
2	Reporter	Yes	Foreign	Yes
3	Reporter	Yes	Washington	Yes
4	Reporter	Yes	Washington	Yes
5	Reporter	Yes	National	Yes
6	Reporter	Yes	Foreign	Yes
7	Host 2-way	Yes	Human Interest	Yes
8	Reporter	Yes	National	Yes
9	Reporter	Yes	Washington	Yes
10	Reporter	Yes	Washington	Yes
11	Reporter	Yes	Foreign	Yes
12	Reporter	Yes	National	Yes
13	Reporter	Yes	National	Yes
14	Host 2-way	Yes	Human Interest	Yes
15	Reporter	Yes	Science	Yes
16	Reporter	Yes	National	Yes
17	Reporter	Yes	Foreign	Yes
18	Reporter	Yes	National	Yes
19	Host 2-way	Yes	Human Interest	Yes
20	Reporter	Yes	Foreign	Yes
21	Reporter	Yes	Science	Yes
22	Reporter	Yes	Foreign	Yes
23	Reporter	Yes	Business	Yes
24	Reporter	Yes	Washington	Yes
25	Reporter	Yes	Washington	Yes
26	Reporter	Yes	Science	Yes
27	Reporter	Yes	National	No
28	Host 2-way	Yes	National	No
29	Reporter	Yes	Foreign	Yes
30	Reporter	Yes	National	Yes
31	Host 2-way	Yes	Human Interest	Yes
32	Reporter	Yes	Science	No
33	Host 2-way	Yes	Sports	Yes
34	Reporter	No	Arts	Yes
35	Reporter	Yes	Science	Yes
36	Reporter	Yes	National	Yes
37	Reporter	Yes	Foreign	Yes
38	Reporter	Yes	Sports	Yes
39	Host 2-way	Yes	Human Interest	Yes
40	Reporter	Yes	Washington	Yes
41	Reporter	Yes	Foreign	Yes
42	Reporter	Yes	Science	No
43	Reporter	Yes	National	No
44	Reporter	Yes	Washington	Yes
45	Reporter	Yes	Foreign	Yes

(Table 22 cont'd.)

Story Number	How Story is to be Done	Prediction Correct?	Content Category	Prediction Correct?
46	Reporter	Yes	Washington	Yes
47	Reporter	Yes	Foreign	No
48	Reporter	Yes	Washington	Yes
49	Reporter	No	National	Yes
50	Reporter	Yes	Business	Yes

for the variables of how the story was done and the category of the story. Table 23 shows the predictions for the type of piece and the placement of the piece. These tables also indicate whether the predictions made were correct or incorrect.

Table 24 shows a summary of the results for the predictive validity analysis of the archive data. As can be seen, the predictions using the cultural knowledge system were highly accurate. The results indicate that the predictions for how the story was to be done (host interview, reporter piece, or commentary) were correct 96% of the time, indicating a large degree of accuracy in prediction. This decision is crucial in the interpretation process, indicating the fundamental direction a piece will take when produced.

The predictions for the content categorization of the stories were also fairly high, as 88% of the stories were correctly assigned to the appropriate content category. Determination of the content category of the story influences how the piece actually gets done, as the results of the categorization affects who the piece is assigned to (i.e. which news desk is given responsibility for the production of the piece).

The results for the predictions for type of piece done and the placement of the piece in the program were also highly accurate. 86% of the stories were correctly

Table 23. Predictions from Archive Analysis:
Type of Piece and Placement

Story Number	Type of Piece	Prediction Correct?	Place- ment	Prediction Correct?
1	Analysis	Yes	Middle	Yes
2	Hard News	Yes	Middle	Yes
3	Hard News	Yes	Lead	Yes
4	Analysis	Yes	Lead	Yes
5	Hard News	Yes	Middle	Yes
6	Hard News	Yes	Middle	No
7	Feature	Yes	End	Yes
8	Analysis	Yes	Middle	Yes
9	Analysis	Yes	Lead	Yes
10	Hard News	Yes	Middle	Yes
11	Hard News	Yes	Middle	Yes
12	Analysis	Yes	Lead	Yes
13	Hard News	Yes	Lead	Yes
14	Feature	Yes	End	Yes
15	Analysis	No	Middle	Yes
16	Feature	Yes	End	Yes
17	Analysis	No	Lead	Yes
18	Hard News	Yes	Middle	Yes
19	Feature	Yes	End	Yes
20	Hard News	Yes	Middle	Yes
21	Analysis	Yes	Middle	Yes
22	Hard News	Yes	Middle	Yes
23	Hard News	Yes	Middle	Yes
24	In-Depth	Yes	Middle	Yes
25	Analysis	Yes	Middle	Yes
26	Analysis	Yes	Middle	Yes
27	Hard News	Yes	Middle	No
28	Analysis	No	End	Yes
29	Analysis	Yes	Middle	Yes
30	Analysis	Yes	Middle	Yes
31	Feature	Yes	End	Yes
32	Feature	Yes	End	Yes
33	Feature	Yes	End	Yes
34	Feature	Yes	End	Yes
35	Hard News	Yes	Lead	Yes
36	Hard News	Yes	Middle	Yes
37	Hard News	Yes	Lead	No
38	Hard News	Yes	Middle	Yes
39	Feature	Yes	End	Yes
40	In-Depth	Yes	Lead	Yes
41	Hard News	Yes	Lead	Yes
42	Analysis	No	Middle	Yes
43	In-Depth	No	Middle	No
44	Hard News	Yes	Lead	Yes
45	Hard News	Yes	Middle	No

(Table 23 cont'd.)

Story Number	Type of Piece	Prediction Correct?	Place- ment	Prediction Correct?
46	Hard News	No	Lead	Yes
47	Analysis	Yes	Middle	No
48	In-Depth	No	Middle	Yes
49	Hard News	Yes	Middle	Yes
50	Analysis	Yes	Middle	Yes

Table 24. Archive Analysis Predictive Accuracy

Prediction Made	Frequency Correct	Percentage Correct

How the Story is to be Done	48/50	96%
Content Category	44/50	88%
Type of Piece	43/50	86%
Placement of the Piece	44/50	88%

Total Correct	179/200	90%

predicted as to the type of the piece that was produced, while 88% of the stories were correctly predicted to be placed into either the lead, middle, or end stories in a segment.

Overall, the results from the predictive analysis of the archive data indicate that accurate predictions can be made as to the characteristics of stories using the cultural knowledgesystem framework developed in previous analyses as a guide, as overall, 90% of the predictions made concerning the story topics were accurate. These results demonstrate the predictive validity of the framework and are additional evidence that the system developed accurately represents the way individuals in the organization interpret information and events in the story selection and production process. Further it suggests that the cultural knowledge system plays a strong role in this process, as it controls the way members process information on these issues.

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**ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE AS A THIRD ORDER
CONTROL SYSTEM: A COGNITIVE APPROACH**

by

Michael Paul Kirsch

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Discussion

Major Findings

This study examined the News and Information Department of National Public Radio, a non-profit broadcasting organization which produces 2 daily and 3 weekly news programs. The focus of this study was on how individuals within the organization utilized their cultural knowledge systems to make decisions regarding the selection and development of story ideas. It was hypothesized that to coordinate and control behavior in the organization, organizational members share in common a set of implicit, informal rules which guide their interpretation of news events and which aid them in making decisions regarding these news stories.

Several qualitative analyses were undertaken to obtain an understanding of the interpretation process of organizational members and its effect on the decisions resulting from such interpretations. These included: 1) the analysis of transcripts of staff and editorial meetings to extract the underlying schema which make up the cultural knowledge system used by organizational members, 2) application of these schema to decision contexts to exemplify how the schema are evoked by organizational members, 3) analysis of the content and characteristics of the programs aired by the network, and 4) use of the cultural knowledge system to predict organizational member responses to hypothetical

story ideas and the characteristics of stories previously aired on the network.

The central analysis undertaken to examine the content and structure of the cultural knowledge framework was an analysis of a set of written transcripts of the decision processes occurring in the daily staff and editorial meetings. In these meetings, individuals from the news department meet together to generate a common interpretation of news events which have occurred that day or are scheduled to occur sometime in the future. During these discussions, it was observed that a set of schema or rules underlie staff member comments and that these schema are used by staff members to generate interpretations of the news events/story ideas that become accepted by the members of the group.

To develop an understanding of the nature of these schema, a content analysis was performed on the transcripts from story interpretation discussions occurring over a four-month time period. The main focus of this analysis was on the extraction of a set of rules or schema which make up the cultural knowledge system. Over 350 schema were discovered as a result of this analysis, covering a wide variety of areas, including both general story selection and production rules as well as rules which were content specific.

The results of the analysis of the transcripts indicated that the schema in the cultural knowledge framework were used in a consistent way by organizational members to

make story selection and production decisions. From a sorting of the schema in the content analysis and from observation of member behavior, a 5-step interpretation process was suggested to be in use by participants. In the interpretation process, story ideas or topics that are developed by organizational members are analyzed for a number of key characteristics. The schema of the knowledge system "frame" these stories according to these characteristics and shape how they come to be interpreted. The schema act as a guide for organizational members' interpretation and understanding of the news stories, and help members to reach agreement on interpretation of the characteristics of the stories.

Very often, multiple interpretations of a particular story idea could be made. Through the process of evoking certain schema in the group discussions, members argue for various categorizations or interpretations of the story topic. For any story topic, a number of schema can be evoked which are equally appropriate for interpreting the story. In the discussion process, different perspectives on the story are examined and eventually one interpretation becomes dominant over the others and is then used by the staff members as a common interpretation of the story idea. This process of coming to mutual agreement on a story idea characterizes the essence of the interpretation process in the organization.

Additional support for these notions came through the application of the set of schema uncovered (the cultural knowledge system) to the transcripts of twenty story idea discussions held out from the original procedure. In this analysis, story interpretation discussions were examined to identify the schema members activated during their discussions. This analysis illustrated the notion that in the interpretation process, selected schema are activated which allow members to develop a greater understanding of the event or issues of the story. As a result of the evocation of particular schema, a common interpretation of the story and how the story was to be produced was developed by the staff members.

The major result or outcome of the interpretation process and the behaviors of organizational members are the news programs that are aired on the network. The content of the daily news programs, All Things Considered and Morning Edition, were analyzed to detect regularities in the way pieces were produced and to determine their relationship to the cultural knowledge system. An examination of over 2,500 stories aired over a four-month period showed that there were consistent patterns in the way stories were assigned, produced, and scheduled. These patterns were consistent with the schema of the cultural knowledge system and illustrate the notion that the way a story is interpreted

affects the characteristics of how a story is eventually produced and aired.

A key notion of this research effort was that given an adequate understanding and sufficient documentation of the cultural knowledge framework found to be in use in this organization, member decision behavior could be predicted. To examine this, two predictive validity studies were undertaken which tested the ability of the cultural knowledge framework to account for member behavior in responding to a series of hypothetical story ideas, as well as account for past member behavior, in terms of predicting the characteristics of news stories previously aired on the network.

The results from the predictive validity questionnaire indicated moderate support for the efficacy of the cultural knowledge system in the prediction of member responses to hypothetical story ideas. Overall, there was higher agreement between predictions made from the cultural knowledge system and the responses of NPR members than there was from the responses of a naive sample, although the percent agreement between the NPR member responses and the predictions from the cultural knowledge system was less than was anticipated. There was, however, a consistent pattern to the responses which indicated that for the majority of the question/story pairs (77%), there was higher agreement between the cultural knowledge system's predictions and the NPR member responses than the naive sample responses. The

level of agreement, overall, for the NPR sample was 74%, indicating a large degree of consensus between the predictions of the cultural knowledge system and the responses of NPR members. This suggests that the cultural knowledge system developed can account to some degree for member behavior.

There are however, several possible reasons that the results found were not quite as high as expected. First, the story topics which were used as stimuli in the questionnaire may have been written so that it was hard to ascertain what the key characteristics of the story were. Several subjects from the NPR sample reported, after responding to the questionnaire, that they had some difficulty making decisions concerning several stories because they felt they did not have enough information to make a decision. This suggests that more detailed information on the story than was provided is necessary for subjects to make their decisions on the story topics. Second, the writing of the stories themselves was difficult, as the researcher attempted to not make the story topics "too obvious", so that there would be some variability among persons in making the decisions. In some cases, this was successful, while in others it was not, as the responses to the questions on several of the stories indicated there was almost complete agreement among both groups on the decisions made concerning these stories. Thus, the story topics chosen as stimuli

could have affected the results. Third, there seemed to be some confusion as to the nature of the question on doing a follow-up story (this question had the most similar responses between the NPR and naive sample). Some subjects responded as if they were being asked about doing a follow-up story on the same topic sometime in the future, while the intent of the question was to discover whether or not respondents would suggest doing a second story on the same topic on the same program. This confusion could have led to the lack of differences between the groups on this question. Fourth, the answering of story questions from a questionnaire may have required the NPR members to perform a task that was not representative of the behaviors which they normally undertake. The interpretation process in a real-world context is a social process, in which members come together to develop a common interpretation of a particular story, while the process involved in responding to the questionnaire was an individual one. Ordinarily the interpretation process involves some give and take among organizational members, a search for additional information, and some degree of questioning and framing of the central issues of the story. To the extent that the questionnaire did not allow these processes to occur, the results may not have generated as accurate a representation of the validity of the framework as it might have. Finally, another possible reason for the results was the low sample size of

NPR respondents. Because several months had elapsed between the collection of the first wave of data and the administration of the questionnaire, many individuals were reluctant to take the time to fill out the survey. Three follow-up administrations of the questionnaire were undertaken, each with somewhat disappointing results. The low sample size (n=17) could have resulted in responses that were disproportionate to the overall sample.

The results from the predictive validity study of the archive data set of previously aired stories were more positive. The percent correct in the prediction of four story characteristics on the set of 50 stories analyzed ranged from 86% to 96%, indicating a high degree of predictive accuracy. Using the cultural knowledge system as a guide, accurate predictions of the central story characteristics were made by the researcher.

Despite the relatively high level of prediction, there are however, several potential factors which might have reduced the accuracy rate of the predictions. First, the coding of the type of story is subject to some error, as the run-down logs sometimes provide incomplete information as to the characteristics of the story. This can render the predictions made from these stories somewhat difficult. The prediction rate for the placement of stories in the segment may also be artificially deflated, due to the fact that often what other news stories have happened that day and are

ready for airing influence the placement of a particular piece. For example, on a day in which there is a lot of news, a story that is not a major story may be placed at the end of a segment, whereas on a slow news day, the same story may be the lead story in a segment. The relative influence of this factor, however, cannot be determined from the type of analysis conducted on this data (i.e. the analysis of individual stories rather than blocks of stories).

The prediction of the characteristics of previously aired stories represents a more realistic test of the predictive validity of the cultural knowledge system than the administration of a questionnaire, as the stories that were used as stimuli were a realistic output of the interpretation process of organizational members. Because the cultural knowledge system was developed to describe a social interpretation process, it is more appropriate to examine its predictive ability with a set of data resulting from a similar process. The results found indicated that the cultural knowledge system was able to make accurate predictions of the characteristics of the stories examined when the characteristics of the stories examined were a realistic outcome of the interpretation process.

Although the results from the predictive validity studies were useful in providing additional support for the cultural knowledge system generated, the results must be interpreted cautiously. The results from the two analyses

are limited because they 1) rely on the interpretation of hypothetical stories rather than real stories (the questionnaire analysis), 2) rely on rater judgment for estimating accuracy (the archive analysis), 3) do not represent prediction of on-going story making decisions (both the questionnaire and the archive analysis), and 4) rely on simple classifications in the assessment of the validity of the cultural knowledge system, rather than verifying the totality of the cultural knowledge system, in terms of the systems of rules and classifications that make up the system.

This last issue, that of capturing the richness of the cultural knowledge system, is the most critical, as although a large number of rules were developed to describe the decisions made in the organization, the manner in which the cultural knowledge system was tested did not allow for verification of the system itself, but rather only the outputs from the system. The key implication is that although the representation of the knowledge system developed in this study may be able to predict behavior, the degree to which it accurately captures the process of interpretation is unknown. Only through a more direct assessment of member interpretation processes can stronger confidence in the validity of the model be developed.

One potential method of assessment, which was not possible in the current study due to organizational con-

straints, might require the researcher to interact more closely with the participants of the organization while they are making decisions. Participants could provide explanations for the decisions made and describe the reasoning or interpretation process they are using while making their decisions. In this way, greater insight into the actual interpretive process being used could be obtained. This procedure might reduce the possibility of the researcher making unsubstantiated inferences regarding participant decision-making processes.

In summary, the qualitative and quantitative analyses performed as part of this research project on the influence of organizational cultural knowledge on the interpretation process provide preliminary support for the notion that a system of organizational knowledge is used by organizational members to interpret information and events occurring in the organization and its environment. Results from this study suggest that the cultural knowledge system controls member information processing by providing a set of categories and rules which guide the interpretation of information. Because there were very few formal rules in the organization, an alternative method (other than formal control systems) of ensuring member compliance with the values or culture of the organization was necessary. This alternative control system was the cultural knowledge system utilized by organizational members. It affected the processing of

information by organizational members, the development of behavioral plans regarding the information processed, and the actual behaviors performed as a result of the interpretation process.

Advancements to Knowledge of the Current Study

The current study adds to past research on organizational culture by suggesting that organizational culture, conceived of as a set of knowledge composed of schema or rules, plays a role in guiding member interpretations. Results from the current study suggest that to better understand the interpretation process, the system of knowledge used by organizational members must be extracted, identified, and analyzed to obtain a clearer notion of the nature of the interpretation framework that individuals within organizations use to interpret information and events in the organization and its environment.

This study focused on the advancement of knowledge on organizational culture in several key areas. These include 1) recognizing the complexity of cultural knowledge systems, 2) articulating the schema-in-use at a detailed level, 3) generating an understanding of the cognitive steps involved in the interpretation process, 4) linking the use of cultural knowledge systems to behavior, and 5) examining social influences on organizational cognition. These issues will now be discussed in turn.

The first critical implication of the study is the recognition that cultural knowledge systems are very complex. In this study, over 350 general rules or schema were discovered. It is not claimed, however, that these

rules represent the totality of rules in existence in the organization as this study focused solely on decisions made concerning story selection and production. It can readily be suggested that there exists informal systems of knowledge concerning other areas of the organization as well, including those such as personnel issues (hiring, promotions, standards of performance), relationships with supervisors and others, relationships with news sources, integrity of news accounts, etc. Clearly, individuals have a warehouse of cultural knowledge concerning their organization that can be tapped into to discover the underlying nature of the meaning attributed to information and events occurring in organizations. Future research on organizational culture must concentrate on the extraction of the different systems of knowledge to uncover the great complexity of these systems. Research in this area should no longer reduce the description of the culture of an organization to one or two broad themes, but should concentrate on analyses which reveal the depth and intricacy of organizational culture systems.

One of the key problems associated with past research conducted on organizational culture was the level in which cultural processes of organizations were described. Previous research remained at a very general level of analysis when describing the culture of an organization. The current study was successful in bringing the level of

analysis of organizational culture down to a specific behavioral level by articulating the schema-in-use of organizational members in terms of the actual systems of rules that are used by organizational members. From the analyses conducted in this study, it was discovered that there exists a whole body of knowledge which individuals rely upon to help them to interpret information and events within the organization. These findings help us to better understand the nature of the knowledge systems that may be in existence in this and other organizations and focus attention on the notion that cultural knowledge can be described in a very detailed manner.

Based on the generation of the schema-in-use at a very specific level and through the observation of behavior in the organization, a clear understanding of the manner in which cultural knowledge is applied to problems and information was generated. The actual cognitive steps individuals perform when interpreting information and making decisions in the sample organization were outlined and illustrated how the interpretation process actually occurs.

A general finding resulting from the identification of the steps used by individuals in the interpretation process is the notion that cultural knowledge systems affect interpretation through four phases. The first phase is through the control and selection of attention of organizational members. During this phase, the cultural knowledge system

provided guidelines as to which stories should be selected to air on the program and which ones were not acceptable. The process of focusing attention on some story topics and not on others occurred in both the initial screening process (individuals reading the newswires, magazines, etc.), as well as in the staff meetings.

The second step involves the association of meaning with the news event selected to be made into a story. Here the category systems contained in the cultural knowledge system play a large role in helping individuals make sense of the news events they analyze. The cultural knowledge system imposes structure onto the news events and helps members develop a common interpretation of the essential characteristics of the story which impact on how a particular story becomes framed by organizational members.

The third step in the interpretation process involves the development of behavioral action plans resulting from the interpretation made in the second step. Once a story is framed, the various characteristics of the story (e.g. type of story, content category of the story, etc.) resulting from the interpretation of the story suggests a sequence of behaviors which members can perform which turn a story idea into a finished piece. The steps taken to produce a piece follow naturally from the results of the story categorization/interpretation.

The fourth step in the application of the cultural knowledge system is the enactment of behaviors resulting from the interpretation process. This study was unique in demonstrating the direct link between the use of cultural knowledge systems and behavior. Previous research efforts have stopped short of specifying how individual behavior is directly influenced by the culture of the organization. Through the analyses conducted in this study, it was shown that how a story idea is interpreted directly affects the behaviors performed by members in the production process by imposing meaning on the story idea and setting up the framework of critical characteristics associated with the production of the piece. Thus, the cultural knowledge system is clearly linked to behavior, as the cultural knowledge system creates a cognitive network of associations with the particular story which act to direct members towards the appropriate courses of action.

The result of the four phases of the interpretation process is third order control over organizational member behavior, as the cultural knowledge system acts as a cognitive filter to guide organizational members through each of the four steps in the process. The cultural knowledge system affects the detection of problems/issues, the framing of them, the development of interpretations of them, the development of behavioral action plans in response to them, as well as the performance of the behaviors

themselves in response to these problems/issues. This system is implicit, internal, and unwritten, but yet it acts to direct member attention and action towards the organization's goals.

Finally, another important result of this study was the finding that social interaction among organizational members is a key element of the interpretation process. Information that impinges on organizational members is indeed "equivocal", as Weick (1979) has suggested, and multiple interpretations of the same information can be made, each with equal relevance for the organization. It is the development of a common interpretation, through the evocation of schema from the cultural knowledge system, that is accepted by organizational members that is crucial to action, and which results in behaviors that are directed towards the accomplishment of mutual goals.

Individuals within organizations share the schema of the cultural knowledge system to a greater or lesser degree. However, each individual develops his/her own interpretation of events or actions that occur in the organization and the environment. It is likely, given the sharedness of the cultural knowledge system that these interpretations will be similar; however, they must be checked against those of others, through social interaction with other organizational members, to ensure that the interpretations made are consistent with those of others.

In essence, there are two steps in the interpretation process. First, individuals develop their own individual interpretations of information and events through the application of their cultural knowledge system. These interpretations are controlled by the cultural knowledge system, as it directs member attention to certain events and not to others, and helps them obtain an initial understanding of the event. Following the initial interpretation, the second step in the process occurs, whereby individuals interact with other organizational members, either in a formal setting (a staff meeting) or an informal setting (informal discussions with other individuals) to develop a common interpretation of the event which is accepted by the parties involved. This mutual interpretation then results in the development of behavioral plans and the performance of behaviors relevant to the interpretation. Thus, the control system acts to guide the interpretation of information as well as guide the behaviors resulting from the interpretation.

Although beyond the scope of this paper, it would be interesting to examine the process of schema evocation in more detail using the data collected in this study or in future studies. Issues such as the determination of when certain schema are evoked, why one schema "wins" over another in interpretation, whether certain situations are associated with the evocation of particular schema, and the

average number of schema evoked per discussion, would all be interesting areas to pursue. Little research has been done on this process and both descriptive and predictive models could be developed to help understand the influence of social interaction on the interpretation process.

There are several other general suggestions that can be drawn from the theoretical framework developed in this study. First, greater attention should be paid to understanding the effects of organizational culture on information processing and other behaviors occurring within organizations. Clearly, organizational culture has an impact on how individuals make sense of what goes on within their organization and the environment. The manner in which individuals interpret events occurring in their world is critical for understanding how they react to situations and events and behave within their organizations.

Second, researchers have long been trying to predict the behavior of organizational participants. The framework developed in this study offers another perspective on organizational behavior which could be useful in generating better predictions of how organizational members respond to information and events within their organizations.

Third, a practical implication of this study is the suggestion that managers need to become cognizant of the systems of organizational culture knowledge that are in use within their organizations. Because the culture of the

organization plays a role in the control of the behavior of organizational members, if there are problems occurring within the organization, the culture of the organization could be examined to diagnose the cause of these problems. The extent to which cultural knowledge is shared among members (is the system widely shared or only shared among some groups, thus creating the potential for conflict), the level of coherence of the rules system (does the cultural knowledge system contain a coherent set of rules or are there rules which conflict strongly with each other), the procedures for the development of common interpretations (is there interaction among members when interpretations are made, or are they made on an individual basis), and the rigidity of the cultural knowledge system (is important information being missed or misinterpreted by organizational members) are all important areas to focus on to determine the nature of problems which might be occurring. A critical examination of the culture of the organization and modification of it could be a viable organizational development treatment aimed at improving the performance of the organization.

Linking of the Study Findings with Previous Research

The results from this study help add to our knowledge of organizational culture as a third order control system. In this study, a variety of qualitative and quantitative methods were used in an exploratory fashion to examine issues relating to the content, structure, and utilization of organizational cultural knowledge in the processing of information and the development of interpretations of information in the organization and its environment.

The interpretive paradigm was the perspective used to describe and understand the results found in this study. The interpretive perspective, as an approach to understanding organizational behavior, views organizations as being composed of shared meanings whose continued existence rests on the development and maintenance of widely shared interpretations that allow coordinated action to occur. The fundamental task of management, from this perspective, is to create, maintain, and renew a sense of organization to facilitate this coordinated action (Smircich, 1983a).

This perspective on organizations suggests that organizations and the behavior of individual members within them are controlled or organized through the development of a collective system of interpretation which enables members to produce goal-directed and functional responses to the exigencies of the organization. The model developed and

examined in this study focused on the generation of a greater understanding of this process, articulating how organizational culture (a shared cognitive interpretation system) acts as a third order control system within organizations to guide and direct member behavior in the appropriate direction for continued organizational functioning.

When an organization has a large number of people in it, each of whom performs a variety of tasks and has their own performance requirements, there needs to exist mechanisms which guide member behavior so that it is consistent with the organization's values, goals, and operating procedures. The primary set of mechanisms used to coordinate behavior within organizations are control systems. As Perrow (1979) has noted, control systems can be sets of formal rules and regulations, surveillance and monitoring by supervisors, or such structural mechanisms as hierarchy and specialization. In addition, organizational control systems can take the form of "third order" controls which are shared cognitive information processing mechanisms which act to control or guide member information processing.

Because so much of member behavior cannot be regulated by formal written rules and regulations, and supervisors are physically unable to observe and monitor all the behaviors performed by their subordinates, third order controls emerge to augment the formal control system. Third order controls act to limit information content and flow, thus controlling

the premises available for decisions; they set up expectations so as to highlight some aspects of the situation and downplay others; they limit the search for alternatives when problems are confronted, thus insuring more predictable and consistent solutions; and they achieve coordination of effort by selecting certain kinds of work techniques and schedules and not others (Perrow, 1979).

Third order control systems, then, are a response to the problem of coordination and control over the activities of organizational members. The notion of third order control systems is not contradictory to the more traditional notions of control systems posited by such researchers as Lawler and Rhodes (1976) or Ouchi (1975, 1977), but expand on these notions by encouraging a more comprehensive understanding of the mechanisms of control than was developed by these researchers. The traditional view examines first and second order control systems only, focusing solely on objective performance measures and performance monitoring systems, while neglecting the subtle controls over information processing which third order control systems provide. The results of this study indicate that third order control systems play a significant role in coordinating and guiding member interpretation of information and the development of behavioral routines in response to organizational contingencies.

Organizational cultural knowledge is stored by individual members of the organization and is organized as a network of categorization and interpretation systems which are shared among members of an organization. A key aspect of cultural knowledge systems is this sharedness. The sharedness of the cultural knowledge system helps form the collective consciousness of organizational members so that even though individual organizational members may come and go from the organization, organizations can continue to preserve knowledge, behaviors, mental maps, and norms over time. Although individuals within an organization may not fully agree on particular perceptions, it is this thread of coherence among organizational members that characterizes an organization's interpretation system (Daft and Weick, 1984). In other words, collective rather than individual omniscience is what is important in the interpretation process (Weick, 1979). On a more practical level, cultural knowledge is shared to the extent to which individuals in the same role will engage in similar behaviors (Sradley, 1972).

The basic components of a cultural knowledge system are schema. They are the elements in the system which allow categorization and interpretation to take place. Researchers in the area of cognitive psychology since Bartlett (1932) have posited that schema and scripts are the primary mechanisms which are used to make sense of our social worlds. Schema are cognitive structures that consist of the

representation of some defined stimulus domain. They contain general knowledge about that domain and help individuals to interpret information by providing hypotheses about incoming stimuli, which include plans for interpreting and gathering schema-related information (Taylor and Crocker, 1981). They are highly structured, pre-existing knowledge systems which are used to interpret the world and generate appropriate behavior. In sum, schema serve as a guide for the interpretation of information, actions, and expectations (Lord and Foti, 1986).

Spradley (1972) posits that every culture consists of a set of categories and rules (schema) which are used to sort and classify experience. He suggests that there are several important characteristics and functions of these rules in a culture. These include the notions that: 1) Rules have certain similar features and that there are many inter- and intra-societal variations among rules - some rules are explicit, while others are not; 2) Rules are instructions to behave in a particular way and that cultural behavior is constructed by learning and following these instructions; 3) Rules, as elements of human knowledge, have their locus in the mind; 4) Rules are learned through symbolic communication and by inference from behavior; and 5) Rules are learned at different levels of internalization, which determine their effect on behavior. These rules or schema

form the basis of the culture of the organization and are the key elements in the cultural knowledge system.

The basis for the development of an organizational culture knowledge system (an organized set of rules or schema) stems from the following sequence of organizational requirements. Within organizations, organizational members performing similar duties and faced with cognitive demands that are consistent over time, will develop sets of schema to help them react to these demands and speed up the process of interpretation and the development of behavioral responses. With greater experience in the organization, more exposure to other organizational members' systems of rules, and the evaluation of performance, these schema become more highly articulated, differentiated, and internalized by organizational members. Through such perceptual learning, organizational members become able to perceive progressively more subtle aspects of the environment (Neisser, 1976). To the extent that individuals within an organization encounter a more or less standardized set of social experiences, organizational members develop a common set of rules or schema to help ensure that they are responding to information processing demands in a fashion that is acceptable to the organization's requirements (Neisser, 1976).

Gioia (1986) suggests that there are both costs and benefits associated with the use of cultural knowledge systems. The benefits include the notions that cognitive

structuring: 1) facilitates cognitive economy, 2) imposes structure on organization experience, 3) allows interpretation of ambiguous situations, 4) speeds information processing and problem solving, 5) supplies missing information with default options, 6) furnishes a basis for evaluating people and events, 7) enables prediction of future events and outcomes, and 8) provides a basis for action. The costs of using such systems include the notions that cognitive structuring, 1) encourages stereotypic thinking, 2) subverts controlled information processing, 3) fills data gaps with typical, not veridical information, 4) ignores discrepant and possibly important information, 5) biases information processing toward existing schema, 6) discourages disconfirmation of present schemes, 7) resists revision of current cognitive structures, and 8) inhibits creative problem solving (Gioia, 1986).

The implication of these notions is that although the use of cultural knowledge systems may be beneficial in coordinating member information processing activities, this same efficiency in processing may result in the dysfunctional behavior of organizational members. Similar to the notions presented by Lawler and Rhodes (1976), control systems may result in interpretations which are stereotyped and telescoped, such that alternative perspectives on situations are never seen. Thus, a third order control system may be "too effective" if it blinds individuals to

areas that are important for continued organizational survival.

Evaluation of the Research Techniques Used in this Study

The notion of multiple methods and multiple techniques for ascertaining information on the culture of the organization played a large role in lending support to the model examined in this research project. Because multiple analyses and multiple methods were used to examine the issues, there is greater confidence that the results obtained reasonably represent the interpretation process that occurred within the organization. The notion of triangulation of methods in developing the construct validity of the theoretical notions examined in this study is an important one.

The extraction of underlying, implicit phenomenon such as those examined in this research project is very difficult. Attempts were initially made to uncover the "schema-in-use" of organizational members through individual interviews. There were several problems associated with this technique. First, individuals had difficulty articulating the system of rules which guided their behavior and the interpretation process. This was somewhat expected as both Spradley (1972) and Neisser (1976) have argued that this is necessarily true since schema are inscrutably locked within the brain where we cannot see them, and that while such rules are known by an individual, that person may not be able to state them explicitly. As a result, the indivi-

dual interviews were not as fruitful in providing information on the schema of the cultural knowledge system as initially hoped. Second, the length of time involved in attempting to generate schema from individual interviews is great. Multiple interviews of long duration are needed. Attempts to conduct such interviews during the on-going daily activities of an organization, will often be, as was the case in this study, prohibitive.

As a result, the alternative method of discovering the schema through the generation of inferences about them from the behavior of individuals in the organization was used. The rules were inferred by the researcher from the observation of the behavior of organizational members and from performing a content analysis of transcripts of the on-going interpretation processes of organizational members.

It should be noted, however, that the rules inferred by the researcher are not necessarily identical to the rules employed by the actors. Figure 10 developed by Spradley (1972) suggests that a set of underlying mental rules (cultural rules) are used by organizational members to generate their behavior. The observer cannot tap into these mental rules directly, but instead can infer the formulated rules from the behavior of organizational members. These formulated rules are not isomorphic with the mental rules contained in the cognitive systems of organizational members, but can account for the behavior of organizational

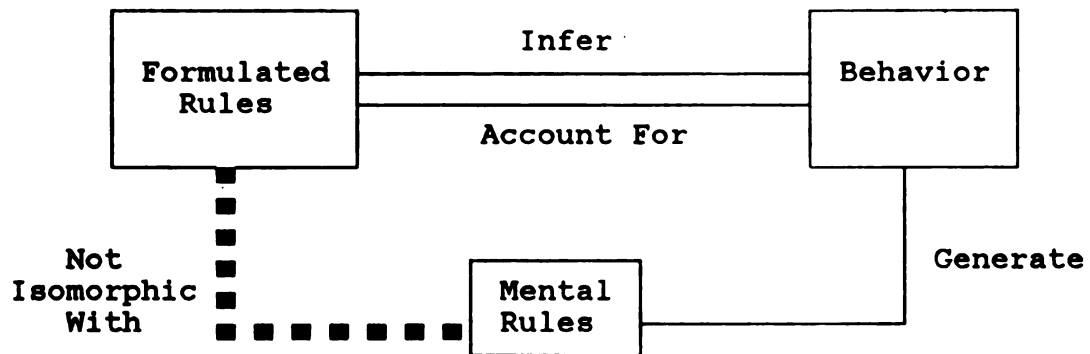


Figure 10. Spradley's (1972) Model of Methodological Constraints on Inference Processes

members. The implication of these notions is that any cognitive models developed of the process cannot be formulated with perfect psychological validity. This however, should not be a deterrent to conducting research in this area, merely a reminder of the underlying nature of the phenomenon being examined.

The primary method used to gather information in this study was that of participant observation. As discussed previously, in order to accurately capture the essence of the constructs examined in this study, such a direct relationship between the researcher and the participants of the organization was considered necessary. As Neisser (1976) has noted, understanding and predicting behavior in the real world requires detailed knowledge of that world.

And as Daft and Wiginton (1979) have argued, seemingly soft, non-rigorous research techniques are often more rigorous than traditional research techniques when investigating issues of natural language and underlying cognitive processes. Although a mixture of analytical techniques, including both qualitative and quantitative methods, were used to help understand the structure and use of organizational culture knowledge, it remained an important aspect of this study that these phenomenon were examined in detail in their natural context.

The results of this study are generalizable to the extent that the underlying cognitive processes inherent in the framework developed in this project are used by members of other organizations in ways which are similar to the ways in which the members of the organization studied used them. The exact systems of cultural knowledge developed in this study are, by definition, not generalizable to other organizations. However, similar processes are suggested as being used by individuals in all organizations. The notions of organizational culture and cultural knowledge systems are topics that have been discussed by researchers on a theoretical level, but have not been explicitly examined on a research level. This study represents an exploratory effort to examine such topics in a field setting. Future studies examining these issues, however, will have to be conducted

before a determination of the generalizability of the results can be made.

Future Directions

Future research efforts on the issues of organizational culture and its role in the control of member information processing and behavior are warranted. The current study was an exploratory attempt to examine these issues in a field setting and the results suggest that viewing organizational behavior from an organizational culture perspective can help add to our understanding of organizational behavior.

Several of the more traditional areas of Industrial/-Organizational psychology research could also benefit from the application of the notions developed from this project. First, research on the area of socialization processes could examine issues of how individuals within organizations develop the shared systems of knowledge that are prevalent within organizations. Such topics as discovering what the primary sources for this knowledge are, how that knowledge is codified and understood by organizational members, and the methods by which this information are absorbed are interesting and important areas to pursue. Examination of the use of such cultural artifacts as symbols, stories, and myths could be beneficial in helping to understand how cultural knowledge information is transmitted to new members of the organization.

A related area of research that could be pursued is that of training. Training programs could be developed which tap into the tacit knowledge that organizational members have concerning the culture of their organization. Members of the organization could be asked to generate a set of rules that are used in the performance of their jobs. They can then pass this cultural knowledge on to other members of the organization to help them understand what is going on in the organization. As a result, individuals entering organization would receive formal training for their jobs (technical and skills training) as well as informal training for the more subtle aspects of the performance of their jobs (cultural knowledge acquisition).

A third area that the notions of cultural knowledge can be applied to is that of performance appraisals. Researchers in the past ten years have examined the performance appraisal process from a cognitive perspective (c.f. Ilgen and Feldman, 1983; Landy and Farr, 1980). Perhaps one reason that this research has not resulted in a great deal of success in increasing the accuracy of appraisals is the fact that they have neglected (with a few exceptions) the effect that organizational cultural knowledge systems can have on the rating of performance. Raters have been suggested as having sets of categories which they use in the rating process (Ilgen and Feldman, 1983) and that these categories affect how performance information is evaluated.

The results of the current study suggest that greater effort should be placed on more clearly articulating the sets of categories or rules which raters use in making their judgments. Instead of imposing the researcher's conception of these rating categories onto the rater, future research should allow the rater to develop and articulate the rules that he or she is actually using in the natural language of the organization. This would create a better understanding of the cognitive processes a rater goes through when making performance judgments.

Finally, future research examining issues of organizational culture should continue the conduct of field studies in a variety of organizational settings to determine if the constructs examined here are applicable to other organizations. A variety of research techniques can be applied to help build on the notions discussed here, including those suggested by Spradley (1982) and Bougon (1987), which are designed to help articulate the underlying schema of organizational members. In addition, Taylor and Crocker (1981) argue that assessment of what schema actually exist within particular content domains is important and merits attention. The generation of knowledge of the content of schema in other work contexts in future studies would certainly help add to our knowledge of organizational behavior and its antecedents.

It is also suggested that future research studies on organizational culture require researchers to spend a minimum of four to six months in the organization(s) they are examining to be better able to capture the essence of organizational culture. It is clear that such participant observation is a necessary ingredient for conducting meaningful research in this area. The result of such work would be the opportunity and ability to study variables which are ecologically important rather than those that are easily manageable (Neisser, 1976). Increased understanding in this area demands such an approach.

Postscript

The goal of this research project was to use the interpretive perspective to investigate issues of organizational culture, focusing specifically on the content, structure, and application of organizational culture knowledge systems. The interpretive perspective requires that concepts be examined from the perspective of organizational members and that researchers limit their classification and interpretation of the data collected and instead attempt to capture the participants' meaning systems directly.

The purpose of this postscript is to note that the current study was not pure in its use of the interpretive method, as many elements in the study were based on positivist or functionalist traditions. These elements include 1) the application of a pre-determined theoretical perspective (organizational control as a third order control system) to the data collected, rather than allowing the data to guide the interpretations made; 2) validation of the model with quantitative-oriented predictive analyses; and 3) the lack of extensive participant verification and validation of the framework developed.

The distinction between the conduct of a research project using the interpretive approach and the conduct of a research project using the functionalist approach became

blurred when trying to operationalize the constructs examined during this study. It was very hard to maintain this distinction in the data collection and analysis process and, as a result, the final product was a combination of both approaches, rather than a purely interpretive approach.

Before entry into the organization being studied, the researcher developed a general framework for the study which focused on examining organizational culture as a control system. Based on that general framework, the first month in the organization was spent searching for a more specific focus to the study. A major concern of the doctoral committee, as well as of the researcher, was that, for the purpose of the study, one area of the organization be selected and examined in detail, rather than examining the organization as a whole. After gaining a familiarity with the organization, a decision was made to focus on the decision-making processes of organizational members. The result of deliberately focusing this study on one area, rather than allowing the participants to create the interpretive framework used in this study, was the generation of a pre-formed interpretive scheme by the researcher, which acted to influence the interpretations made of the constructs examined.

A second factor that influenced the results study was the researcher's lack of opportunity to probe in-depth the cultural knowledge systems of individuals in the organiza-

tion. Opportunities to conduct lengthy analyses of individuals' knowledge systems in two or three hour interview sessions were not available. The cyclical process of a "pure" interpretive study, as described by Spradley (1979), in which hypotheses are generated by the researcher, followed by verification and modification of them by the participants, and then further data collection and hypothesis generation, was not directly followed in this study. Organizational members literally did not have the time to undergo such analyses, and the fast-paced nature of the work performed in the organization made on-going assessment of decision/interpretation processes difficult. Retrospective analyses of decisions made by participants, as were performed in this study, potentially result in analyses of unconfirmed validity. Future research conducted in this area must focus greater effort on ensuring the ability of the researcher to enlist participants' help in the verification and modification of the frameworks developed before conduct of the study is begun.

One final concern expressed is that future research in this area should examine whether rigid distinctions between the interpretive and functionalist approaches are useful or necessary for conducting research on organizational issues. The conduct of this study makes evident that such distinctions are not as clear as those stated by some researchers

and that, in practice, overlap between approaches may not only be necessary but unavoidable.

Appendix A

ASSIGNMENT SHEET **MEETING EDITION!!! 10:25 AM

June 4, 1987

NEWS DIRECTOR'S NOTES: Almost unnoticed amidst the difficulties afflicting the first three last note were Bill B's superb Brit elections piece and Nina T's tantalizing interview with Spec Fros Walsh. And we have almost come to take the excellent work of the Aids team for granted.

Midway Day.

WASHINGTON
Thursday, June 4, 1987

REPORTER	PROGRAM	STORY
ANGLE	Summit through June 12	
CROCKETT	ATC FTU	Black peer pressure to avoid acting 'white' by getting good grades in school. Should be ready Thurs.
HOLPUS	Vacation through June 12.	
NAYLOR	Vacation through June 12	
ROBERTS	Iran/Contra	
TOTENBERG	Iran/Contra	
WERTHEIMER	Iran/Contra	
WILSON	FTU	Jesse Jackson's campaign strategy: some travel plus interviews. First piece is for Sun Wed June 14.
DELASNI	ATC tonight???	Iran/Iraq policy story; also looking at regional reporting of the story. Will monitor the Glenn/Warner news conference at 2:30 or 3 p.m. on their return from the Gulf. In yesterday's Post story from Kuwait, they had little to add to the discussion. This may be only a spot. Maybe a ME interview Friday would provide a bit more perspective.
LIASSON	ATC	Congressional campaign financing

June 4, 1987

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(Editing shared by Lawsky & Simon):

6-3 - 6-5: President travels to Venice, no events. Regular WH briefings start Thursday.

6-6: RR in Rome with Pope. Sylvia covers.

6-7: No events.

6-8 - 6-10: Summit.

6-11: Activities to be announced.

6-12: RR travels to Berlin, then Bonn, then Washington.

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FOREIGN DESK

SEEDRIER	PROGRAM	SIDE
BBC/TULLY INDIA	ATC	AIRLIFT, ACCOMPANIED BY MIRAC
BUZENBERG	ME	LABOUR AND DEFENSE (SEGMENT)
BERGER	ATC	KOHL SAYS YES TO ZERO ZERO, TO PERSHING REMOVAL (AND PARLIAMENT VOTE)
CRAFT?	ATC	NEW JAPANESE MEASURES TO LIBERALIZE FINANCIAL MARKETS
) FRANKL	ATC(SPOT)	BRITAIN CLOSES IRANIAN CONSULATE IN BIRMINGHAM
SPECK	UFG	MISKITOS SEEK NEW LEADER
WELNA	ATC	PARAGUAY: STRESSNER RELAXES GRIP
FRASCA	ME	CHILE ROCK GROUP TOPS CHARTS WITH PROTEST SONGS

WEEKEND PROGRAMS

FRANKL	WESAT	MBRIT ELEX MUSIC
AMOS	WESAT	ASHKELON: A TOWN AND 20 YEARS AFTER 67
POGGIOLI	WESAT(SPOT)	RONNIE AND J.F.II
POGGIOLI	WATC(SAT)	RONNIE MEETS THE POPE, ALSO START OF THE MARIAN YEAR
) CHESLOW	WATC(SAT) *	PALESTINIAN FAMILY AND THE EFFECT OF OCCUPATION
AMOS	WATC(SAT)	WATCHING FOR DEMOS ETC. ON

		ANNIVERSARY DATE
FOGGIOLI	WATC(SUN)	POPE TO POLAND
BUZENBERG	WATC(SUN?)	THREE WEEK CAMPAIGN
AMOS	WESUN	A.B. YEHOSHUA , WRITER, ON 6 AND NOW
BUZENBERG	WESUN	BRIT ELEX - RPTR NOTEBOOK(FR AT 9 AM)
UECOMING		
FOGGIOLI	ATC MON	SECURITY AT THE SUMMIT (INC. ITALIAN FROGMEN IN THE CANAL
	UFG	LAME DUCKS AT THE SUMMIT
ANGLE	ME(MON)	SUMMIT SET LP
	ATC(MON)	SUMMIT CEREMONIAL OPEN, ISSU
MATISONN	UFG	DISSIDENT AFRKANER ACADEMICS
GJELTEN	UFG	U.S. AIDS NICARAGUAN BOXING PROGRAMME(IN)
		NICARAGUA'S 'OTHER' NEWSPAPE
		EL NUEVO DIARIO, CRITICISED
		SANDINISTAS, DRAWS REFRISALS
BUZENBERG	UFG	BRITAIN'S ALLIANCE PARTY
		(EXPECTED TO DO WELL NOW
	WATC	TRAILING BADLY IN THE POLLS)
		THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN US
		CAMPAIGNS AND A 3 WEEK BRITI
		CAMPAIGN
FRANKL	UFG	THE PARTY LEADERS: WHO ARE T
		AND WHO VOTES FOR THEM
'67 WAR PIECES:		
AMOS	ATC(MAY 5)	THE CORRUPTION OF OCCUPATION
		THE EFFECT OF THE PAST 20 YR
	WESAT	ON ISRAELI SOCIETY
		PROFILE OF RESIDENTS OF ISRA
		TOWN OF ASHKELON:THEIR VIEW
	WESUN	THE AFTERMATH OF 67
		A.B.YEHOSHUA, ISRAEL'S FOREP
		NOVELIST DISCUSSES 1967 AND
	WATC	TODAY
		ARIEL: NEW JEWISH TOWN ON TH
		WEST BANK, DESIGNED AS THE 4
	UFG	LARGEST CITY IN ISRAEL (FUTL
		PALESTINIANS IN KUWAIT: 3RD
		LARGEST PALESTINIAN COMMUNIT
		BUT KUWAIT IS NOW WITHDRAWIN
		ITS BACKING
CHESLOW	ME(FRI)	THE OCCUPATION AND 'THE ECONC

		ISRAEL AND THE WEST BANK NOW DEFEND ON EACH OTHER, FOR LA AND INCOME- WHAT THAT MEANS OCCUPATION AND THE PALESTINIAN FAMILY: THE POLITICAL IMPOTENCE OF THE PARENTS AND THE DILEMMA OF TEACHING ETHICS AND DEFENDING THE ISRAELI ARAB, PALESTINIAN OR ISRAELI? THE GROWTH OF NATIONALISM IN 20YR
	WATC	
	UFG	THE TEMPLE MOUNT: HOLY SITE FOR JEWS AND MOSLEMS. AS SOON AS IT WAS TAKEN BY ISRAEL, GOV'T DECREEED WLD REMAIN IN MOSLEM HANDS. NOW RELIGIOUS JEWS SAY THEY WANT CONTROL.
	ME	
HOUSE	ME	BRAZILIAN ARMY INVADES LAST REFUGE OF AMAZON INDIANS ON NORTHERN BORDER.
	UFG	WORLD BANKS WITHDRAW ROAD FUNDING FM BRAZIL
CHARLIE	UFG	KANGAROO KILLINGS IN AUSTRAL

NOTE: UPCOMINGS IN JUNE: BRITISH ELECTIONS, ITALIAN ELECTIONS,
ECONOMIC SUMMIT IN VENICE (ANGLE AND POGGIOLI), POPE TO POLAND
20TH ANNIVERSARY OF SIX DAY WAR.

PLS NOTE: YUENGER SAYS HE WILL ONLY DO TWO WAYS , NOT PIECES,
WHILE POPE THERE. KAUFMAN HAS OFFERED SPOTS (DO NOT USE FOR
PIECES).

ALSO: 5 YR ANNIVERSARY OF ISRAEL INVASION OF LEB COMES OUT ON
SATURDAY TOO.

NATIONAL DESK

REEDER	BOGEM	SIDEX
ZWERDLING	FSU	Hepatitis in blood transfusions. NOTE: THIS PI IS READY FOR AIR AND SHD RUN A SIDEBAR TO AIDS CONFERENCE STORIES.
	ATC???	NASA news conference
	???	why EPA waits to ban dangerous pesticides
SMITH	ME (fut)	Why some reading skills impr
ADLER	ATC (fut)	Profile of Roy Grutman
	ME (fut)	Russian youths in Vermont
MANTEL	???	FSLIC problems
SHUSTER	ATC	Wedtech profile
	FSU (fut)	Slotnick profile
	ME (fut)	Vladimir Voinovich profile

June 4, 1987

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BROWNING	FOREIGN	More contras
HOCHENBERRY	ME/ATC (fut)	Pan American Games in Indianapolis set-up
LYDEN	FSU	React to Amnesty International report on Marion Frison
	WEED	Lastime drinkers
	ATC (Fri)	Chicago blues
MIGLINO	----	In Atlanta
BURNETT	ATC	Houston suburbs become ghost towns. THIS NEEDS CUTTER. -- mins. CAN HOLD.
	ATC (fut)	Texans grumble about banning beer in autos
	FOREIGN EDIT	Americans dis the Mayans
BERNES	OFF	
LIASSON	WATC	Does less money go to poor schools than to rich ones?
WESSON	SCIENCE	AIDS CONFERENCE
KAUFMAN	ME (fut)	New air controllers union vo
	ARTS (FUT)	Little movie studio
	WEED	L.A. homeless busted
KALISH	???	Watching Goetz trial
HOWARD	WATC	Banned movie about state men hospital
MCPHERSON	WATC	Commentary on turning 40
	WSUN	Designer food
DELEON	ATC	Caribou babies
D'ARCY	WATC	L.I. high school lobbies to Amerasian kid out of Vietnam
RPTR	ATC	Laxalt news conference on settlement of libel suit

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WEEKEND LIST

MCPHERSON	WATC	Commentary on turning 40
	WSUN	Designer food
) D'ARCY	WATC	L.I. high school lobbies to Amerasian kid out of Vietnam

June 4, 1987

3:00 P.

MELNIKOVE	WATC	No Aids singles club in Bostc
JESS		WATCHMissile museum
BARON	WSUN	Art for the blind
HOWARD	WATC	Barred movie about state ment hospital

 NOTES: Today's editors: East -- James (2766); South -- Edwards
 (2765); Midwest -- Tolan (2767); West -- Abramson (2764).

SCIENCE 624

HARRIS	ATC	THE DEBATE OVER WHETHER HIV-2 CAUSES AI AND STUDIES OF RELATED VIRUSES.
WESSON	ATC	DIFFERENCES IN PROGRAMS TO COMBAT AIDS: AFRICA, EUROPE, THE U.S.
---	ATC	RENEE'S 2-WAY WITH I.S. OKWARE OF UGANDA...IF SHARON CAN GRAB HIM. SHARON ALSO TRYING TO REACH LAIR RODRIGUES OF BRAZIL FOR ATC INTERVIEW.
TRUDEAU	ME	LATEST RESEARCH ON THE BRAIN AND AIDS.
WESSON	MAYBE ME	PREVENTION AND PUBLIC HEALTH EFFORTS AMONG IV DRUG ABUSERS AND OTHER HIGH RI GROUPS.
RICHARDS	MAYBE ME	ISSUES IN HEALTH CARE DELIVERY- WHAT ALTERNATIVES TO HOSPITALIZATION WORK.
ZWERDLING	ATC???	NASA ANNOUNCEMENT AT 2PM OF SOME NEW SHUTTLE SAFETY PROGRAM...DANNY WILL SEE IF IT'S A STORY.

-----WEEKEND

HARRIS	WESAT	CONFERENCE ENDER TO BE ANNOUNCED.
WESSON/GARRET	WESUN	HIGHLIGHTS 3 WAY.

Appendix B

Table B1. Crosstabulation of Content Category by Third of the Show

CATEGORY	COUNT ROW PCT	THIRD			ROW TOTAL
		1	2	3	
WASHINGTON	1	142	40	104	286
		49.7	14.0	36.4	23.5
FOREIGN	2	92	100	74	266
		34.6	37.6	27.8	21.8
NATIONAL	3	33	66	33	132
		25.0	50.0	25.0	10.8
FEATURES	4	60	57	59	176
		34.1	32.4	33.5	14.4
BUSINESS-TRANS	5	14	16	13	43
		32.6	37.2	30.2	3.5
SCIENCE	6	12	50	28	90
		13.3	55.6	31.1	7.4
ARTS	7	26	27	37	90
		28.9	30.0	41.1	7.4
SPORTS	8	2	6	3	11
		18.2	54.5	27.3	.9
COMMENTARY	9	38	27	38	103
		36.9	26.2	36.9	8.5
LETTER, ETC	10	7	9	5	21
		33.3	42.9	23.8	1.7
COLUMN TOTAL		426	398	394	1218
		35.0	32.7	32.3	100.0

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 2

Table B2. Crosstabulation of Type of Story by Third of the Show

TYPE	COUNT ROW PCT	THIRD			ROW TOTAL
		1	2	3	
HARD NEWS	1	155	127	156	438
		35.4	29.0	35.6	36.0
IN-DPTH INVSTGTH	2	7	46	13	66
		10.6	69.7	19.7	5.4
COMMENTARY	3	43	27	39	109
		39.4	24.8	35.8	9.0
ANALSS SBR-RPTR	4	40	40	35	115
		34.8	34.8	30.4	9.5
HRD NWS SBR-HOST	5	95	73	55	223
		42.6	32.7	24.7	18.3
REPORTER FEATURE	6	17	28	29	74
		23.0	37.8	39.2	6.1
HOST FEATURE	7	53	44	53	150
		35.3	29.3	35.3	12.3
SATIRE	8	5	2	5	12
		41.7	16.7	41.7	1.0
HOST COPY	9	10	10	9	29
		34.5	34.5	31.0	2.4
COLUMN TOTAL		425	397	394	1216
		35.0	32.6	32.4	100.0

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 4

Table B3. Crosstabulation of Month by Content Category

MONTH	COUNT ROW PCT	CATEGORY										ROW TOTAL
		WASHING- TON	FOREIGN	NATIONAL	FEATURES	BUSINESS & TRANS.	SCIENCE	ARTS	SPORTS	COMMENT- ARY	LETTERS, ETC	
MAY	5	34	30	14	19	1	19	20	10	5	3	154
	1	22.1	19.5	9.1	12.3	1	12.3	13.0	6.5	3.2	1.9	5.8
JUNE	6	141	152	77	50	20	62	85	49	46	8	690
	1	20.4	22.0	11.2	7.2	2.9	9.0	12.3	7.1	6.7	1.2	25.9
JULY	7	172	167	62	77	20	35	93	53	43	10	732
	1	23.5	22.8	8.5	10.5	2.7	4.8	12.7	7.2	5.9	1.4	27.5
AUGUST	8	117	184	58	49	27	46	77	45	38	11	652
	1	17.9	28.2	8.9	7.5	4.1	7.1	11.8	6.9	5.8	1.7	24.5
SEPTEMBER	9	67	84	66	59	16	29	42	32	34	6	435
	1	15.4	19.3	15.2	13.6	3.7	6.7	9.7	7.4	7.8	1.4	16.3
COLUMN TOTAL	531	617	277	254	83	83	191	317	189	166	38	2663
	19.9	23.2	10.4	9.5	3.1	3.1	7.2	11.9	7.1	6.2	1.4	100.0

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 1

Table B4. Crosstabulation of Month by Type of Story

COUNT ROW PCT	I NEWS	TYPE										ROW TOTAL
		IN-DEPTH INVESTGN	COMMENT- ARY	ANALYSIS SBR-RPTR	HARDNEWS SBR-MOST	REPORTER FEATURE	MOST FEATURE	SATIRE	MOST COPY			
MONTH		11	21	31	41	51	61	71	81	91		
MAY	5	59	13	5	14	16	19	21	2	4	153	
		38.6	8.5	3.3	9.2	10.5	12.4	13.7	1.3	2.6	5.7	
JUNE	6	247	38	58	88	79	109	46	5	21	690	
		35.8	5.5	8.4	12.8	11.4	15.7	6.7	.7	3.0	25.9	
JULY	7	248	37	64	90	93	102	69	6	23	732	
		33.9	5.1	8.7	12.3	12.7	13.9	9.4	.8	3.1	27.5	
AUGUST	8	225	38	64	84	92	78	52	2	16	651	
		34.6	5.8	9.8	12.9	14.1	12.0	8.0	.3	2.5	24.5	
SEPTEMBER	9	154	29	52	53	53	47	34	1	12	435	
		35.4	6.7	12.0	12.2	12.2	10.8	7.8	.2	2.8	16.3	
COLUMN TOTAL		933	155	243	329	333	354	222	16	76	2681	
		35.1	5.8	9.1	12.4	12.5	13.3	8.3	.6	2.9	100.0	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS • 3

Table B5. Crosstabulation of Month by Reporter of the Story

MONTH	COUNT ROW PCT	REPORTER						ROW TOTAL
		HST	NR	CRITIC- COMNTR	REC-UPI	MEMBER STATION	FREELNCE REPORTER	
		11	21	31	41	51	61	
MAY	5	42	42	10	8	12	39	153
		27.5	27.5	6.5	5.2	7.8	25.5	5.8
JUNE	6	154	238	76	26	46	148	688
		22.4	34.6	11.0	3.8	6.7	21.5	25.9
JULY	7	189	229	78	38	39	160	733
		25.8	31.2	10.6	5.2	5.3	21.8	27.8
AUGUST	8	183	205	70	30	46	138	682
		25.0	31.4	10.7	4.6	7.1	21.2	24.5
SEPTEMBER	9	103	153	48	12	28	80	434
		23.7	35.3	11.1	2.8	6.5	20.7	16.3
COLUMN TOTAL		651	867	282	114	171	575	2660
		24.5	32.6	10.6	4.3	6.4	21.6	100.0

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 4

Table B6. Cross-tabulation of Month by Length of Story

MONTH	COUNT ROW PCT	TIME						ROW TOTAL
		1 OR LESS	2-3 MINUTES	3-4 MINUTES	4-5 MINUTES	5-6 MINUTES	OVER MINUTES	
		11	21	31	41	51	61	
MAY	8	33	26	24	29	18	23	153
	1	21.6	17.0	15.7	19.0	11.8	15.0	9.9
JUNE	6	72	139	168	142	69	86	674
	1	10.7	20.6	24.6	21.1	10.2	12.8	28.0
JULY	7	97	159	171	110	75	108	718
	1	13.5	22.1	23.8	15.3	10.4	14.8	27.6
AUGUST	8	88	145	162	108	53	86	642
	1	12.7	22.6	25.2	16.8	8.3	13.4	24.7
SEPTEMBER	9	48	103	112	51	34	64	410
	1	11.2	25.1	27.3	12.4	8.3	15.6	15.8
COLUMN TOTAL		336	572	638	440	249	365	2897
		12.8	22.0	24.5	16.9	9.6	14.1	100.0

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 67

Table B7. Crosstabulation of Month by Interviewee

MONTH	COUNT ROW PCT	INTERVIEW					ROW TOTAL
		PRIMARY SOURCE	ANALYST	REPORTER	NON-REPORTER	PUBLIC FIGURE	
		11	21	31	41	51	
MAY	5	22	7	4	7	1	40
		98.0	17.5	10.0	17.5	1	6.9
JUNE	6	54	24	20	32	3	133
		40.6	18.0	15.0	24.1	2.3	23.1
JULY	7	91	27	21	23	7	169
		53.8	16.0	12.4	13.6	4.1	29.3
AUGUST	8	61	32	32	14	8	147
		41.5	21.8	21.8	9.5	5.4	25.5
SEPTEMBER	9	30	26	16	9	6	87
		34.5	20.9	16.4	10.3	6.9	15.1
COLUMN TOTAL	258	116	93	85	24		576
	44.8	20.1	16.1	14.8	4.2		100.0

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 2088

Table B8. Crosstabulation of Content Category by Day of the Week

CATEGORY	COUNT ROW PCT	DAY							ROW TOTAL
		MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDA	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	HOLIDAY		
		1	11	21	31	41	51	61	
		1	11	21	31	41	51	61	
WASHINGTON	1	41	64	58	66	56	1	286	
		14.3	22.4	20.3	23.1	19.6	.3	23.5	
FOREIGN	2	48	54	56	47	53	8	266	
		18.0	20.3	21.1	17.7	19.9	3.0	21.8	
NATIONAL	3	21	23	24	27	32	5	132	
		15.9	17.4	18.2	20.5	24.2	3.8	10.8	
FEATURES	4	26	37	29	34	36	14	176	
		14.8	21.0	16.5	19.3	20.5	8.0	14.4	
BUSINESS-TRANS	5	8	5	13	11	4	2	43	
		18.6	11.6	30.2	25.6	9.3	4.7	3.5	
SCIENCE	6	14	21	22	14	19		90	
		15.6	23.3	24.4	15.6	21.1		7.4	
ARTS	7	13	16	15	18	23	6	91	
		14.3	17.6	16.5	19.8	25.3	6.6	7.5	
SPORTS	8	2	3	1	2	3		11	
		18.2	27.3	9.1	18.2	27.3		.9	
COMMENTARY	9	25	20	23	20	12	3	103	
		24.3	19.4	22.3	19.4	11.7	2.9	8.4	
LETTER,ETC	10	1	1		18	1		21	
		4.8	4.8		85.7	4.8		1.7	
COLUMN TOTAL		199	244	241	257	239	39	1219	
		16.3	20.0	19.8	21.1	19.6	3.2	100.0	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 1

Table B9. Crosstabulation of Type of Story by Day of the Week

TYPE	COUNT ROW PCT	DAY						ROW TOTAL
		MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	HOLIDAY	
		1	11	21	31	41	51	
HARD NEWS	1	70	92	98	84	87	7	438
		16.0	21.0	22.4	19.2	19.9	1.6	36.0
IN-DEPTH INVESTGTR	2	12	12	17	12	10	3	66
		18.2	18.2	25.8	18.2	15.2	4.5	5.4
COMMENTARY	3	25	21	25	20	15	3	109
		22.9	19.3	22.9	18.3	13.8	2.8	9.0
ANALSS SBR-RPTR	4	13	22	24	30	22	4	115
		11.3	19.1	20.9	26.1	19.1	3.5	9.4
HRD NWS SBR-HOST	5	38	45	41	47	46	6	223
		17.0	20.2	18.4	21.1	20.6	2.7	18.3
REPORTER FEATURE	6	17	12	9	13	19	5	75
		22.7	16.0	12.0	17.3	25.3	6.7	6.2
HOST FEATURE	7	20	34	25	30	30	11	150
		13.3	22.7	16.7	20.0	20.0	7.3	12.3
SATIRE	8	3	4	1	2	2		12
		25.0	33.3	8.3	16.7	16.7		1.0
HOST COPY	9	1	2	1	18	7		29
		3.4	6.9	3.4	62.1	24.1		2.4
COLUMN TOTAL		199	244	241	256	238	39	1217
		16.4	20.0	19.8	21.0	19.6	3.2	100.0

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 3

Table B10. Crosstabulation of Reporter by Day of the Week

REPORTER	COUNT ROW PCT	DAY						ROW TOTAL
		MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDA Y	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	HOLIDAY	
		1	11	21	31	41	51	
HOST	1	60	82	69	98	84	18	411
		14.6	20.0	16.8	23.8	20.4	4.4	33.7
NPR REPORTER	2	70	92	102	97	85	8	454
		15.4	20.3	22.5	21.4	18.7	1.8	37.3
CRITIC-COMMNTTR	3	30	29	29	29	19	5	141
		21.3	20.6	20.6	20.6	13.5	3.5	11.6
BBC-UPI REPORTER	4	5	7	12	5	6	1	36
		13.9	19.4	33.3	13.9	16.7	2.8	3.0
MEMBER STATION	5	10	5	6	7	10	1	39
		25.6	12.8	15.4	17.9	25.6	2.6	3.2
FREELNCE REPORTR	6	24	30	23	21	34	5	137
		17.5	21.9	16.8	15.3	24.8	3.6	11.2
COLUMN TOTAL		199	245	241	257	238	38	1218
		16.3	20.1	19.8	21.1	19.5	3.1	100.0

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 2

Table B11. Crosstabulation of Length of Story by Day of the Week

TIME	COUNT ROW PCT	DAY						ROW TOTAL
		MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDA Y	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	HOLIDAY	
		1	11	21	31	41	51	61
2 MINUTES OR LESS	1	17	21	29	26	18	2	113
		15.0	18.6	25.7	23.0	15.9	1.8	9.3
2-3 MINUTES	2	49	63	50	62	56	10	290
		16.9	21.7	17.2	21.4	19.3	3.4	24.0
3-4 MINUTES	3	54	66	71	77	61	11	340
		15.9	19.4	20.9	22.6	17.9	3.2	28.1
4-5 MINUTES	4	44	49	47	47	55	8	250
		17.6	19.6	18.8	18.8	22.0	3.2	20.7
5-6 MINUTES	5	9	18	9	19	12	3	70
		12.9	25.7	12.9	27.1	17.1	4.3	5.8
OVER 6 MINUTES	6	25	26	34	23	33	5	146
		17.1	17.8	23.3	15.8	22.6	3.4	12.1
COLUMN TOTAL		198	243	240	254	235	39	1209
		16.4	20.1	19.9	21.0	19.4	3.2	100.0

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 11

Table B12. Crosstabulation of Interviewee by Day of the Week

INTERV	COUNT ROW PCT	DAY						ROW TOTAL
		MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	HOLIDAY	
		1	11	21	31	41	51	61
PRIMARY SOURCE	1	24	34	35	37	40	11	181
		13.3	18.8	19.3	20.4	22.1	6.1	48.3
ANALYST	2	18	14	11	17	17	2	79
		22.8	17.7	13.9	21.5	21.5	2.5	21.1
NPR REPORTER	3	7	9	12	11	8	1	48
		14.6	18.8	25.0	22.9	16.7	2.1	12.8
NON-NPR REPORTER	4	8	14	9	15	9	3	58
		13.8	24.1	15.5	25.9	15.5	5.2	15.5
PUBLIC FIGURE	5	1	5		1	2		9
		11.1	55.6		11.1	22.2		2.4
COLUMN TOTAL		58	76	67	81	76	17	375
		15.5	20.3	17.9	21.6	20.3	4.5	100.0

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 845

Appendix C

January 19, 1987

NPR News and Information Department Members:

During this past year, I have been working on my doctoral dissertation in Industrial/Organizational Psychology at Michigan State University, doing a study of the decision-making process and organizational culture of National Public Radio. For the first part of my project, I spent last summer observing the work activities of organization members and conducting interviews with organizational personnel.

For the second part of my study, I need to request your help in the completion of a questionnaire which follows up on some of the issues I have been investigating. This questionnaire focuses on the decisions you make concerning the selection of story ideas and the form these stories eventually take when produced. Your responses to this questionnaire are completely confidential and your name will not be associated with the results. Although your participation is greatly appreciated, your completion of the survey is voluntary.

The following page provides instructions on how to complete the questionnaire. When you are finished filling out the questionnaire, please return it to Joanne Wallace. Thank you very much for your help.

Sincerely,

Michael P. Kirsch

Michigan State University

Instructions

The following questionnaire is designed to assess how you think about potential news stories and how you analyze the information gathered from news sources to make decisions. These decisions include whether or not to do a piece on a particular story and the form and content of that piece. Although it is understood that many practical "resource" factors influence decision-making processes in real-life situations (such as cost, time, availability of reporters, what other news stories are happening that day, etc.), it is hoped that a good idea of how you make decisions can be obtained through your responses to this survey.

This questionnaire contains a brief description of 11 hypothetical story topics. Your task is to make a number of decisions concerning each story topic that is presented. These decisions include whether or not you would do a piece on the story topic, what the content of the piece is likely to be, the form the piece is likely to take, and the timeliness of the piece. Please answer each question as if it were the first piece you were going to do on that topic on the program (often times multiple pieces on a story topic are aired on the same program - please assume that this would be the first piece). Although there may be a number of ways of doing a story that are equally appropriate, please pick the one response per question which best represents how you would most likely do the story in an ideal situation (regardless of resource considerations).

The following are definitions of the terms used in the questionnaire:

Form of a Story:

- Host Interview - Piece done by having the host of the program interview a newsmaker or analyst on the story topic
- Reporter Piece - Piece done by having a reporter in the field gather information and/or conduct interviews with persons knowledgeable about subject area
- Commentary - Commentator voices an opinion or personal view about the story topic or issues

Type of Story:

- Hard-News:** Story deals with the facts of a story, what happened
- Analysis:** Story analyzes the background, important issues of a story in detail, the underlying meaning of the event/issue
- Feature:** Story is a human interest story, a topic of special interest, usually light in tone and content
- Commentary:** An opinion or personal view of the issues of the story
- Host Copy:** Host reads a script containing information on the story
- In-Depth Investigation:** An in-depth probing of the issues, usually involves interviews with multiple people, a longer piece

Category of the Story:

- Washington:** Story deals with the Pentagon, State Department, the White House, Congress, or other Washington agencies
- Foreign:** Story deals with issues/events in a foreign country
- National:** Story deals with issues/events in the United States
- Science:** Story deals with the environment, technology, health
- Business:** Story deals with finances, the stock market, the economy
- Sports:** Story deals with sports personalities, sporting events
- Arts:** Story deals with music, theatre, movies, fine arts, books
- Human Interest:** Story deals with a human interest story, personalities

Story Scheduling: A story segment is considered to be a block of time (approximately 20 minutes long), during which several stories (5-6) will be aired.

FOR EACH OF THE STORY TOPICS PRESENTED BELOW, PLEASE ANSWER THE QUESTIONS FOLLOWING THEM BY CIRCLING THE RESPONSE WHICH YOU FEEL BEST DESCRIBES HOW YOU WOULD REACT TO THIS STORY IDEA IN A IDEAL SITUATION.

Story Topic 1: Professor Nathan Daniels of the Harvard School of Government has authored a new book describing his comprehensive study of voting behavior in presidential elections. In his book, Daniels presents a model of electorate voting behavior which has accurately predicted voter choices in the past. In his press release, he has predicted the winner of the primaries and the eventual presidential winner.

1. Would you select this story to be done as a piece on one of the programs?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

If no, why not? _____

(If you answered NO to question 1, skip questions 2-7 and proceed to Story Topic 2.)

2. What form would this story most likely take (how would it be done)?
 - a. a host interview
 - b. a reporter piece
 - c. a commentary
3. What type of story would most likely be done on this topic?
 - a. a hard-news piece
 - b. an analysis piece
 - c. a feature piece
 - d. a commentary
 - e. an in-depth investigation
 - f. host copy
 - g. other _____
4. What would the content of the story be best categorized as?
 - a. a Washington story
 - b. a Foreign story
 - c. a National story
 - d. a Science story
 - e. a Business story
 - f. a Sports story
 - g. an Arts story
 - h. a Human Interest story
5. When would this story most likely be aired?
 - a. the same day or next program up
 - b. sometime in the future (when production is completed)
 - c. would run story only when could peg it to an event/date
6. If this story was to air on one of the programs, what spot would it most likely be scheduled in?
 - a. it would appear as the lead story in a segment
 - b. it would appear in the middle of a segment
 - c. it would appear at the end of a segment
7. Would you want to do another story on this topic on the same program (i.e. a follow-up story)?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

If NO, please skip question 7a, and move on to Story Topic 2.

- 7a. What type of piece would the follow-up story most likely be?
 - a. a hard-news piece
 - b. an analysis piece
 - c. a feature piece
 - d. a commentary
 - e. an in-depth investigation
 - f. host copy
 - g. other _____

Story Topic 2: A group of 125 animal rights activists, composed of college students from local universities, organized a protest today against Rockport Laboratories, a research organization well-known for conducting experiments with animals. Individuals in the group shouted slogans against Rockport and carried protest signs for about 2 hours during the morning and lunchtime hours. 10 protesters were arrested for disorderly conduct; all were later released on their own recognizance.

1. Would you select this story to be done as a piece on one of the programs?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

If no, why not? _____

(If you answered NO to question 1, skip questions 2-7 and proceed to Story Topic 3.)

2. What form would this story most likely take (how would it be done)?
 - a. a host interview
 - b. a reporter piece
 - c. a commentary
3. What type of story would most likely be done on this topic?
 - a. a hard-news piece
 - b. an analysis piece
 - c. a feature piece
 - d. a commentary
 - e. an in-depth investigation
 - f. host copy
 - g. other _____
4. What would the content of the story be best categorized as?
 - a. a Washington story
 - b. a Foreign story
 - c. a National story
 - d. a Science story
 - e. a Business story
 - f. a Sports story
 - g. an Arts story
 - h. a Human Interest story
5. When would this story most likely be aired?
 - a. the same day or next program up
 - b. sometime in the future (when production is completed)
 - c. would run story only when could peg it to an event/date
6. If this story was to air on one of the programs, what spot would it most likely be scheduled in?
 - a. it would appear as the lead story in a segment
 - b. it would appear in the middle of a segment
 - c. it would appear at the end of a segment
7. Would you want to do another story on this topic on the same program (i.e. a follow-up story)?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

If NO, please skip question 7a, and move on to Story Topic 3.

- 7a. What type of piece would the follow-up story most likely be?
 - a. a hard-news piece
 - b. an analysis piece
 - c. a feature piece
 - d. a commentary
 - e. an in-depth investigation
 - f. host copy
 - g. other _____

Story Topic 3: The NAACP announced today that they will award the prestigious Walter Evans award to the ACME Computer firm of Detroit this month for its success as a minority-owned business. ACME has been very aggressive in the training and recruiting of minority persons-taking kids from inner-city schools, sponsoring their college educations, and providing them with employment. Over the past 5 years, 35 inner-city youth have had their college education paid for by ACME, while over 75 other individuals have received technical training and jobs with the company.

1. Would you select this story to be done as a piece on one of the programs?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

If no, why not? _____

(If you answered NO to question 1, skip questions 2-7 and proceed to Story Topic 4.)

2. What form would this story most likely take (how would it be done)?
 - a. a host interview
 - b. a reporter piece
 - c. a commentary
3. What type of story would most likely be done on this topic?
 - a. a hard-news piece
 - b. an analysis piece
 - c. a feature piece
 - d. a commentary
 - e. an in-depth investigation
 - f. host copy
 - g. other _____
4. What would the content of the story be best categorized as?
 - a. a Washington story
 - b. a Foreign story
 - c. a National story
 - d. a Science story
 - e. a Business story
 - f. a Sports story
 - g. an Arts story
 - h. a Human Interest story
5. When would this story most likely be aired?
 - a. the same day or next program up
 - b. sometime in the future (when production is completed)
 - c. would run story only when could peg it to an event/date
6. If this story was to air on one of the programs, what spot would it most likely be scheduled in?
 - a. it would appear as the lead story in a segment
 - b. it would appear in the middle of a segment
 - c. it would appear at the end of a segment
7. Would you want to do another story on this topic on the same program (i.e. a follow-up story)?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

If NO, please skip question 7a, and move on to Story Topic 4.

- 7a. What type of piece would the follow-up story most likely be?
 - a. a hard-news piece
 - b. an analysis piece
 - c. a feature piece
 - d. a commentary
 - e. an in-depth investigation
 - f. host copy
 - g. other _____

Story Topic 4: Several previously undisclosed facts have surfaced in the past couple of weeks concerning President Reagan's role in the activities of former staff members now indicted for influence peddling. Although none of these reports have been directly damaging, as a whole they seem to indicate that Reagan's role might have been greater than he has revealed. Despite these facts, the American public still has expressed their belief in the president. Many cannot understand why the public continues to accept the word of the President, given what has gone on in the past.

1. Would you select this story to be done as a piece on one of the programs?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

If no, why not? _____

(If you answered **NO** to question 1, skip questions 2-7 and proceed to **Story Topic 5.**)

2. What form would this story most likely take (how would it be done)?
 - a. a host interview
 - b. a reporter piece
 - c. a commentary
3. What type of story would most likely be done on this topic?
 - a. a hard-news piece
 - b. an analysis piece
 - c. a feature piece
 - d. a commentary
 - e. an in-depth investigation
 - f. host copy
 - g. other _____
4. What would the content of the story be best categorized as?
 - a. a Washington story
 - b. a Foreign story
 - c. a National story
 - d. a Science story
 - e. a Business story
 - f. a Sports story
 - g. an Arts story
 - h. a Human Interest story
5. When would this story most likely be aired?
 - a. the same day or next program up
 - b. sometime in the future (when production is completed)
 - c. would run story only when could peg it to an event/date
6. If this story was to air on one of the programs, what spot would it most likely be scheduled in?
 - a. it would appear as the lead story in a segment
 - b. it would appear in the middle of a segment
 - c. it would appear at the end of a segment
7. Would you want to do another story on this topic on the same program (i.e. a follow-up story)?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

If **NO**, please skip question 7a, and move on to **Story Topic 5.**

- 7a. What type of piece would the follow-up story most likely be?
 - a. a hard-news piece
 - b. an analysis piece
 - c. a feature piece
 - d. a commentary
 - e. an in-depth investigation
 - f. host copy
 - g. other _____

Story Topic 5: The panel of economic advisors to the President have just released their revised economic predictions for the coming year. Their report includes some surprising statements, including the prediction of a small recession in the summer and fall months, which they say will be followed by a slight upturn in the economy by the end of the year. Many are skeptical of their conclusions.

1. Would you select this story to be done as a piece on one of the programs?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

If no, why not? _____

(If you answered NO to question 1, skip questions 2-7 and proceed to Story Topic 6.)

2. What form would this story most likely take (how would it be done)?
 - a. a host interview
 - b. a reporter piece
 - c. a commentary
3. What type of story would most likely be done on this topic?
 - a. a hard-news piece
 - b. an analysis piece
 - c. a feature piece
 - d. a commentary
 - e. an in-depth investigation
 - f. host copy
 - g. other _____
4. What would the content of the story be best categorized as?
 - a. a Washington story
 - b. a Foreign story
 - c. a National story
 - d. a Science story
 - e. a Business story
 - f. a Sports story
 - g. an Arts story
 - h. a Human Interest story
5. When would this story most likely be aired?
 - a. the same day or next program up
 - b. sometime in the future (when production is completed)
 - c. would run story only when could peg it to an event/date
6. If this story was to air on one of the programs, what spot would it most likely be scheduled in?
 - a. it would appear as the lead story in a segment
 - b. it would appear in the middle of a segment
 - c. it would appear at the end of a segment
7. Would you want to do another story on this topic on the same program (i.e. a follow-up story)?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

If NO, please skip question 7a, and move on to Story Topic 6.

- 7a. What type of piece would the follow-up story most likely be?
 - a. a hard-news piece
 - b. an analysis piece
 - c. a feature piece
 - d. a commentary
 - e. an in-depth investigation
 - f. host copy
 - g. other _____

Story Topic 6: New York City street vendors are incensed by a proposed city legislative plan which stipulates that they must pay a \$25 dollar a week surcharge on their work permits in order to continue operations. Mayor Koch claims that these fees are necessary to help maintain the cleanliness of city streets, which have become littered by the refuse generated from these street vendors.

1. Would you select this story to be done as a piece on one of the programs?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

If no, why not? _____

(If you answered **NO** to question 1, skip questions 2-7 and proceed to **Story Topic 7.**)

2. What form would this story most likely take (how would it be done)?
 - a. a host interview
 - b. a reporter piece
 - c. a commentary
3. What type of story would most likely be done on this topic?
 - a. a hard-news piece
 - b. an analysis piece
 - c. a feature piece
 - d. a commentary
 - e. an in-depth investigation
 - f. host copy
 - g. other _____
4. What would the content of the story be best categorized as?
 - a. a Washington story
 - b. a Foreign story
 - c. a National story
 - d. a Science story
 - e. a Business story
 - f. a Sports story
 - g. an Arts story
 - h. a Human Interest story
5. When would this story most likely be aired?
 - a. the same day or next program up
 - b. sometime in the future (when production is completed)
 - c. would run story only when could peg it to an event/date
6. If this story was to air on one of the programs, what spot would it most likely be scheduled in?
 - a. it would appear as the lead story in a segment
 - b. it would appear in the middle of a segment
 - c. it would appear at the end of a segment
7. Would you want to do another story on this topic on the same program (i.e. a follow-up story)?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

If **NO**, please skip question 7a, and move on to **Story Topic 7.**

- 7a. What type of piece would the follow-up story most likely be?
 - a. a hard-news piece
 - b. an analysis piece
 - c. a feature piece
 - d. a commentary
 - e. an in-depth investigation
 - f. host copy
 - g. other _____

Story Topic 7: Protesters on the West Bank today stepped up their efforts against occupying Israeli forces by launching a small guided missile against the Israeli military headquarters in the area. Four Israeli soldiers were reported dead, dozens injured. This is the first time such sophisticated weapons have been used by Palestinians on the West Bank against the Israelis in the area.

1. Would you select this story to be done as a piece on one of the programs?
a. Yes b. No

If no, why not?

(If you answered NO to question 1, skip questions 2-7 and proceed to Story Topic 8.)

2. What form would this story most likely take (how would it be done)?
a. a host interview b. a reporter piece c. a commentary
3. What type of story would most likely be done on this topic?
a. a hard-news piece b. an analysis piece c. a feature piece
d. a commentary e. an in-depth investigation f. host copy
g. other _____
4. What would the content of the story be best categorized as?
a. a Washington story b. a Foreign story c. a National story
d. a Science story e. a Business story f. a Sports story
g. an Arts story h. a Human Interest story
5. When would this story most likely be aired?
a. the same day or next program up
b. sometime in the future (when production is completed)
c. would run story only when could peg it to an event/date
6. If this story was to air on one of the programs, what spot would it most likely be scheduled in?
a. it would appear as the lead story in a segment
b. it would appear in the middle of a segment
c. it would appear at the end of a segment
7. Would you want to do another story on this topic on the same program (i.e. a follow-up story)?
a. Yes b. No

If NO, please skip question 7a, and move on to Story Topic 8.

- 7a. What type of piece would the follow-up story most likely be?
- a. a hard-news piece b. an analysis piece c. a feature piece
d. a commentary e. an in-depth investigation f. host copy
g. other

Story Topic 8: A recent issue of the New England Journal of Medicine includes the research findings of a new study on the treatment of AIDS which shows that the drug AZT has been effective in prolonging the life span of AIDS sufferers up to 2 years. Although the results are encouraging, doctors suggest that the effects of AZT on AIDS may only be temporary.

1. Would you select this story to be done as a piece on one of the programs?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

If no, why not? _____

(If you answered NO to question 1, skip questions 2-7 and proceed to Story Topic 9.)

2. What form would this story most likely take (how would it be done)?
 - a. a host interview
 - b. a reporter piece
 - c. a commentary
3. What type of story would most likely be done on this topic?
 - a. a hard-news piece
 - b. an analysis piece
 - c. a feature piece
 - d. a commentary
 - e. an in-depth investigation
 - f. host copy
 - g. other _____
4. What would the content of the story be best categorized as?
 - a. a Washington story
 - b. a Foreign story
 - c. a National story
 - d. a Science story
 - e. a Business story
 - f. a Sports story
 - g. an Arts story
 - h. a Human Interest story
5. When would this story most likely be aired?
 - a. the same day or next program up
 - b. sometime in the future (when production is completed)
 - c. would run story only when could peg it to an event/date
6. If this story was to air on one of the programs, what spot would it most likely be scheduled in?
 - a. it would appear as the lead story in a segment
 - b. it would appear in the middle of a segment
 - c. it would appear at the end of a segment
7. Would you want to do another story on this topic on the same program (i.e. a follow-up story)?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

If NO, please skip question 7a, and move on to Story Topic 9.

- 7a. What type of piece would the follow-up story most likely be?
 - a. a hard-news piece
 - b. an analysis piece
 - c. a feature piece
 - d. a commentary
 - e. an in-depth investigation
 - f. host copy
 - g. other _____

Story Topic 9: When Jimmy Keltner was 11 years old, he wrote a message, put it in an old bottle, and launched it into the Pacific Ocean from the beach near his home in southern California. In his message, he expressed his fear of nuclear war and said he hoped for world peace. Yesterday, 3 years later, Jimmy's message was found off the coast of Honolulu by a local fisherman who called the telephone number Jimmy had written on the message. Jimmy's father answered and said that Jimmy had passed away 1 year ago of cancer and was deeply moved when he heard Jimmy's message of peace.

1. Would you select this story to be done as a piece on one of the programs?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

If no, why not? _____

(If you answered NO to question 1, skip questions 2-7 and proceed to Story Topic 10.)

2. What form would this story most likely take (how would it be done)?
 - a. a host interview
 - b. a reporter piece
 - c. a commentary
3. What type of story would most likely be done on this topic?
 - a. a hard-news piece
 - b. an analysis piece
 - c. a feature piece
 - d. a commentary
 - e. an in-depth investigation
 - f. host copy
 - g. other _____
4. What would the content of the story be best categorized as?
 - a. a Washington story
 - b. a Foreign story
 - c. a National story
 - d. a Science story
 - e. a Business story
 - f. a Sports story
 - g. an Arts story
 - h. a Human Interest story
5. When would this story most likely be aired?
 - a. the same day or next program up
 - b. sometime in the future (when production is completed)
 - c. would run story only when could peg it to an event/date
6. If this story was to air on one of the programs, what spot would it most likely be scheduled in?
 - a. it would appear as the lead story in a segment
 - b. it would appear in the middle of a segment
 - c. it would appear at the end of a segment
7. Would you want to do another story on this topic on the same program (i.e. a follow-up story)?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

If NO, please skip question 7a, and move on to Story Topic 10.

- 7a. What type of piece would the follow-up story most likely be?
 - a. a hard-news piece
 - b. an analysis piece
 - c. a feature piece
 - d. a commentary
 - e. an in-depth investigation
 - f. host copy
 - g. other _____

Story Topic 10: South African government leaders in a speech before parliament today unveiled a new plan for the dismantling of Apartheid in the country. The plan includes some relaxation of segregated living areas and possible voting rights for blacks, although it is still unclear as to who may be eligible. Leaders of the African National Congress immediately dismissed the plan, saying that the plan includes no definite timetable for these actions as well as no black participation in the determination of how these policies are to be carried out.

1. Would you select this story to be done as a piece on one of the programs?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

If no, why not? _____

(If you answered NO to question 1, skip questions 2-7 and proceed to Story Topic 11.)

2. What form would this story most likely take (how would it be done)?
 - a. a host interview
 - b. a reporter piece
 - c. a commentary
3. What type of story would most likely be done on this topic?
 - a. a hard-news piece
 - b. an analysis piece
 - c. a feature piece
 - d. a commentary
 - e. an in-depth investigation
 - f. host copy
 - g. other _____
4. What would the content of the story be best categorized as?
 - a. a Washington story
 - b. a Foreign story
 - c. a National story
 - d. a Science story
 - e. a Business story
 - f. a Sports story
 - g. an Arts story
 - h. a Human Interest story
5. When would this story most likely be aired?
 - a. the same day or next program up
 - b. sometime in the future (when production is completed)
 - c. would run story only when could peg it to an event/date
6. If this story was to air on one of the programs, what spot would it most likely be scheduled in?
 - a. it would appear as the lead story in a segment
 - b. it would appear in the middle of a segment
 - c. it would appear at the end of a segment
7. Would you want to do another story on this topic on the same program (i.e. a follow-up story)?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

If NO, please skip question 7a, and move on to Story Topic 11.

- 7a. What type of piece would the follow-up story most likely be?
 - a. a hard-news piece
 - b. an analysis piece
 - c. a feature piece
 - d. a commentary
 - e. an in-depth investigation
 - f. host copy
 - g. other _____

Story Topic 11: The USA TODAY Newspaper reports on a survey conducted of 25-40 year old persons in the U.S. This survey showed that the majority of respondents indicated that work is the number one priority in their lives, followed by family concerns, leisure activities (working out, hobbies), and supporting political causes. Few differences were reported for men and women.

1. Would you select this story to be done as a piece on one of the programs?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

If no, why not? _____

(If you answered NO to question 1, skip questions 2-7 and proceed to the background information questions on the following page.

2. What form would this story most likely take (how would it be done)?
 - a. a host interview
 - b. a reporter piece
 - c. a commentary
3. What type of story would most likely be done on this topic?
 - a. a hard-news piece
 - b. an analysis piece
 - c. a feature piece
 - d. a commentary
 - e. an in-depth investigation
 - f. host copy
 - g. other _____
4. What would the content of the story be best categorized as?
 - a. a Washington story
 - b. a Foreign story
 - c. a National story
 - d. a Science story
 - e. a Business story
 - f. a Sports story
 - g. an Arts story
 - h. a Human Interest story
5. When would this story most likely be aired?
 - a. the same day or next program up
 - b. sometime in the future (when production is completed)
 - c. would run story only when could peg it to an event/date
6. If this story was to air on one of the programs, what spot would it most likely be scheduled in?
 - a. it would appear as the lead story in a segment
 - b. it would appear in the middle of a segment
 - c. it would appear at the end of a segment
7. Would you want to do another story on this topic on the same program (i.e. a follow-up story)?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

If NO, please skip question 7a, and move on to the background information questions on the following page.

- 7a. What type of piece would the follow-up story most likely be?
 - a. a hard-news piece
 - b. an analysis piece
 - c. a feature piece
 - d. a commentary
 - e. an in-depth investigation
 - f. host copy
 - g. other _____

Please answer the following background information questions. Circle the response that you feel best describes your background.

1. How long have you been working at NPR?
 - a. less than 6 months
 - b. 6 months - 1 year
 - c. 1 year - 2 years
 - d. 2 years - 5 years
 - e. over 5 years
2. Have you had previous experience working in other news organizations before working at NPR?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
3. What is your current position?
 - a. editorial assistant
 - b. production asstnt./assoc.
 - c. editor (incl. asstnt./assoc.)
 - d. producer/exec. producer

WHEN YOU HAVE FINISHED FILLING OUT THE QUESTIONNAIRE, PLEASE RETURN IT TO JOANNE WALLACE. THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP.

Appendix D

1. Harvard political economist Robert Reich says it now harder than ever to tell what consumer goods have been made in America and which haven't. Many cars and hi-tech consumer electronic products have certain parts made in Japan. Usually the most technologically sophisticated parts are assembled here by American workers.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If the story has an effect on economics/behavior, do the story.
- 2) If you can add new information to an old story, do a story on the new information.
- 3) If a specific phenomenon is a sub-part of a national trend, do a sidebar on the story.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Host Interview

- SCHEMA: 1) If you have a business story on an economic trend, interview an analyst.
- 2) If you have a question on one issue, interview an analyst for clarification of the issue.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: Business

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story has to do with business or economics, it is a business story.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Analysis

- SCHEMA: 1) If a piece analyzes the background, important issues of a story in detail, and covers the underlying meaning of the event or issue, it is an analysis piece.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: Middle Story

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story is analytical, not a major lead for the day, and does not have to air that day, it is aired in the middle of a segment.

2. The latest violence in South Africa has centered around union activities. Most recently, a nationwide strike by railroad workers. Today, in a related incident, heavily armed police raided the headquarters of the country's most powerful union, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, COSATU.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If there is a revolution or social change taking place in a foreign country, do stories on the subject.
- 2) If a story concerns minority persons fighting the majority, do the story.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Reporter Piece

- SCHEMA:
- 1) If you have to do a piece from a different city than D.C., do it as a reporter piece.
 - 2) If you have an on-going situation, cover the story as a reporter piece.
 - 3) If you want to tell what happened in an event, simply report the facts in a reporter piece.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: Foreign

- SCHEMA:
- 1) If the story is about politics/events in a foreign country, it is a foreign story.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Hard News

- SCHEMA:
- 1) If the story deals with the facts of a story, what happened in a particular event, it is a hard news piece.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: Middle Story

- SCHEMA:
- 1) If the story is about a foreign government or activities in a foreign country, is a secondary lead, and does not involve deaths, then the story is aired in the middle of a segment.

3. Special Prosecutor Lawrence Walsh today made his first charge in his investigation of the Iran-Contra Affair. Conservative fundraiser Carl Channel pleaded guilty to defrauding the government and implicated Oliver North as a co-conspirator.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If the story concerns corruption or scandal in the Federal government, do the story.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Reporter Piece

- SCHEMA:
- 1) If the story needs to be done today, to report hard news, do as a reporter piece.
 - 2) If you want to tell what happened in an event, report the facts in a reporter piece.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: Washington

- SCHEMA:
- 1) If the story deals with scandal in the Federal government, it is a Washington story.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Hard News

- SCHEMA:
- 1) If the story deals with the facts of a story or what happened, do it as a hard news piece.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: Lead Story

- SCHEMA:
- 1) If the story deals with political scandal in the U.S. government, is a hard news story, and must air today, then it is aired as the lead story in a segment.

4. A Supreme Court Ruling today allows the Reagan Administration to label as political propaganda 3 Canadian films on acid rain and nuclear war. The ruling specified that such labelling is not impermissible censorship.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) Cover major rulings by the Supreme Court (ones which affect many people, Administration policy, or changes in social policy).
- 2) If a story concerns the Reagan administration/policy, cover it.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Reporter Piece

- SCHEMA:
- 1) If you want to tell what happened in a piece, do it as a reporter piece.
 - 2) If you want to get at deeper reasons for an event, do it as a reporter piece.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: Washington

- SCHEMA:
- 1) If the story has to do with the Supreme Court, and rulings made, it is a Washington story.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Analysis

- SCHEMA:
- 1) If the story analyzes the background or important issues in a story, or covers the underlying meaning of the event/issues, it is an analysis piece.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: Lead Story

- SCHEMA:
- 1) If the story deals with a change in policy, the White House Administration, the Federal government, and must air today, then the story is a lead story.

5. In the midst of cutbacks and strikes at CBS, the company's president Lawrence Tisch, spoke today at a symposium on the economics of TV network news. Tisch defended the cutbacks at CBS and the layoffs and, at the same time, he made it clear that he has no intention of demanding that CBS News make a profit.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If a story is a major one concerning another news organization, it is okay to run it, else do not cover them.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Reporter Piece

- SCHEMA: 1) If you want to tell what has happened in an event, place, or discussion, simply report the facts in a reporter piece.
- 2) If the story needs to be done today to report hard news, do it as a reporter piece.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: National

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story deals with issues or events in the U.S. not related to the government, and have to do with major corporations, then it is a national story.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Hard News

- SCHEMA: 1) If story deals with the facts of a story, what has happened, the story is a hard news story.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: Middle Story

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story is a secondary lead, one not necessarily of major interest, does not necessarily affect many people, it is aired in the middle of a segment.

6. In Geneva, Soviet arms negotiators outlined a proposed draft treaty which calls for the elimination of medium and shorter range nuclear missiles in Europe. The Soviets say that the verification proposal is in keeping with U.S. demands for intrusive verification.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If the story presents information that is new or different, do a piece on it.
- 2) If the story concerns U.S. - Soviet relations, do the story.
- 3) If the story concerns foreign policy/arms negotiations, cover the story if new information is presented.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Reporter Piece

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story takes place in a foreign country, and you need to talk to people from that country to discuss the events happening there, do it as a reporter piece.
- 2) If you want to tell what happened in an event, place, or discussion simply report the facts in a reporter piece.
- 3) If you have an on-going situation/story, do as a reporter piece.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: Foreign

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story has to do with foreign policy discussions occurring in a foreign country, it is a foreign piece.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Hard News

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story deals with the facts of a story, what happened, it is a hard news story.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: Middle Story

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story is an on-going story, is a secondary lead, and is a foreign story, then it is aired in the middle of a segment.

7. Alan Dundes, author of "Cracking Jokes," spends his time collecting jokes that many people find offensive. He is a professor of anthropology and folklore at the University of California at Berkeley.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If you have a funny, unique story about someone with a strange experience or job, do the story.
- 2) If a piece has the potential for interesting stories within a piece, do the story.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Host Interview

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story is a cute/funny human interest story, then do the story as a host feature.
- 2) If the story is simple, do it as a 2-way with the host.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: Human Interest Feature

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story is a human interest story, do piece as a host interview produced by show staff.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Feature

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story is a topic of special interest, light in tone and content, it is a feature piece.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: End Story

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story is a feature story, one that does not have to air today, and is not hard news, then it is aired at the end of a segment.

8. A plan recently put forward by A.H. Robbins, maker of the Dalkon Shield Intrauterine Device (IUD) would pay as little as one hundred dollars to women who were victims of problems resulting from the IUD. Victims are pretty upset with the plan.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If you have a story of a little guy fighting the system, do the story.
- 2) If you have a story of a major business law suit involving a little guy vs. a big corporation, do the story.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Reporter Piece

- SCHEMA: 1) If you have a lot of elements in the story - multiple sides to the story, multiple issues or perspectives, and multiple constituencies, do it as a reporter piece.
- 2) If you want to have multiple voices in a piece, do it as a reporter piece.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: National

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story deals with issues or events in the U.S. not related to the government, and have to do with major corporations, then it is a national story.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Analysis

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story analyzes the background, important issues of a story in detail, the underlying meaning of the event/issue, it is an analysis piece.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: Middle Story

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story is an analytical piece, is part of an on-going situation, is a secondary lead, does not necessarily have to air today, it is aired in the middle of a segment.

9. The Justice Department has put Austrian President Kurt Waldheim on an immigration "watch list" that makes his entry into the U.S. highly unlikely.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If a story concerns a problem in foreign relations between the U.S. and another country, cover the story.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Reporter Piece

- SCHEMA: 1) If the piece involves doing a lot of background research, do it as a reporter piece.
- 2) If you have a lot of elements in the story, multiple sides to the story, or multiple issues, do as a reporter piece.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: Washington

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story has to do with the activities of a Federal government agency, and the relationship between the U.S. and agents of another country, it is a Washington story.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Analysis

- SCHEMA: 1) If you want to analyze the background, important issues of a story in detail, cover the underlying meaning of the event/issue, it is an analysis piece.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: Lead Story

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story has to do with activities of the Federal government and controversy, and the story has to air today, then the story is aired as a lead story in the segment.

10. President Reagan today urged Congress to avoid retaliation against U.S. trading partners. The President says such retaliation is dangerous and risks sending our economic relationship with our trading partners "into the sea."

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If a story concerns White House policy and relations with Congress, do the story.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Reporter Piece

- SCHEMA: 1) If you want to tell what happened in an event, report the facts in a reporter piece.
- 2) If the story needs to be done today to report a hard news story and there is a reporter available, do it as a reporter piece.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: Washington

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story deals with the President/White House, it is a Washington story.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Hard News

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story deals with the facts of a story, what happened, do it as a hard news piece.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: Middle Story

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story is an on-going story, a secondary lead, not of major importance, then it is aired in the middle of a segment.

11. Brazil's Finance Minister, Dilson Funaro, has resigned under pressure from politicians of Brazil's ruling party.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If you have a story concerning a foreign country of economic or strategic interest to the U.S. with domestic problems, cover the story.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Reporter Piece

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story takes place in a foreign country and you need to discuss events that are happening there, do it as a reporter piece.
2) If the story needs to be done today to report hard news, do it as a reporter piece.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: Foreign

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story concerns events taking place in a foreign country, it is a foreign piece.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Hard News

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story deals with the facts of a story, what happened, it is a hard news piece.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: Middle Story

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story deals with issues concerning domestic trouble in a foreign country, does not necessarily affect many people, then it is aired in the middle of a segment.

12. Opening arguments were heard today in the Bernard Goetz trial, the so-called "subway vigilante".

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If there is an important national trial, cover the story while it is happening, with on-going reports.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Reporter Piece

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story needs to be done today to report hard news, do it as a reporter piece.
2) If you have an on-going situation/story, do story as a reporter piece.
3) If you have to visit a different city (other than Washington, D.C., do story as a reporter piece.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: National

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story deals with a trial taking place in the U.S. of national interest, then it is a national story.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Analysis

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story analyzes the background, important issues of a story in detail, and covers the underlying meaning of the event/issue, it is an analysis piece.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: Lead Story

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story is of major national interest and has to air today, then it is aired as the lead story in a segment.

13. William Cruise was arrested by Palm Bay Florida police as the suspected gunman in the overnight shooting attack at a crowded shopping center. Cruise was arraigned in Broward County and is being held in isolation in the county jail.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If you have a story in the U.S. of a major violent attack by someone on innocent people, do the story.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Reporter Piece

- SCHEMA: 1) If you have to visit a different city (other than Washington, D.C.) to do the story, do it as a reporter piece.
- 2) If you want to tell what has happened during an event, at a particular place, simply report the facts in a reporter piece.
- 3) If the story needs to be done today to report hard news, do as a reporter piece.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: National

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story deals with events, actions occurring in the U.S and are not related to the government, it is a national story.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Hard News

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story deals with the facts of a story, what happened, it is a hard news story.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: Lead Story

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story deals with a large number of deaths in the U.S., is a hard news story, and must air today, then it is aired as the lead story in a segment.

14. Gregory Robertson, a skydiver from Phoenix, Arizona was skydiving with a group last Saturday and performed a heroic act, although he does not admit to being a hero. During a formation dive, a woman skydiver was rendered unconscious when she accidentally collided with another diver. Robertson accelerated his dive by streamlining his body into a bullet-like shape and reaching a speed of 160 mph., he reached the woman before she hit the ground.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If you have a unique human-interest story of someone with a strange experience, cover the story.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Host Interview

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story is a personality profile of a newsmaker, do as a host interview with that individual.
- 2) If the story is a human interest story, do as a host feature.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: Human Interest Feature

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story is a human interest story, do piece as a host interview produced by show staff.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Feature

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story is a human interest story, a topic of special interest, and light in tone and content, it is a feature story.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: End Story

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story is a feature story, light in tone, it is aired at the end of a segment.

15. The first open air test of a genetically altered bacterium known by the trade name, "frostban" was performed. Environmental groups opposed the test, saying the bacterium could harm the environment.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If there is a controversial technological development, do a piece on it.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Reporter Piece

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story involves doing background research, do as a reporter piece.
- 2) If you have a lot of elements in the story, multiple sides to the story, multiple issues, or multiple constituencies, do it as a reporter piece.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: Science

- SCHEMA: 1) If the piece concerns new technology or environmental issues, it is a science piece.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Analysis

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story analyzes the background, the important issues of a story, and covers the underlying meaning of the event or issue, it is an analysis piece.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: Middle

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story is an analysis piece, involves an investigation of the issues, is not of major interest, air piece in the middle of the segment.

16. A group of modern-day cowboys who have banded around one of their own to form their own church. They hold services every week in a Fort Worth, Texas rodeo arena. The Minister of the congregation, an award-winning rodeo champ himself, founded the church to reflect the cowboy lifestyle and culture.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If you have an ironic, funny, slice of life human interest story where something unique happens to someone, do the story.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Reporter Piece

- SCHEMA: 1) If you want or need to get sound in a piece, do it as a reporter piece.
- 2) If you want to have multiple voices in a piece, do it as a reporter piece.
- 3) If you have to visit a different city (other than Washington, D.C.), do it as a reporter piece.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: National Feature

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story has to do with events, people in the U.S., it is a national piece.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Feature

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story is a human interest story, light in tone and content, it is a feature piece.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: End Story

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story is a feature piece, a human interest story, does not have to air today, it is aired at the end of a segment.

17. In Japan, an advisory committee to the government has announced a blueprint for cutting the government's global trade surplus and turning Japan into a more open economy with higher living standards for its people than at present. The plan has been published less than a week before the Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone flies to Washington to try to repair a rift in Japan's trade relations with the U.S., caused by the rule over semiconductor trade.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If a story deals with a problem in U.S. foreign relations with another country, do the story.
- 2) If a story deals with domestic change in a foreign country of economic strategic interest to the U.S., do the story.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Reporter Piece

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story takes place in a foreign country, is complicated, and you need to talk to people from that country or need to discuss events happening there, do it as a reporter piece.
- 2) If you want to get at deeper issues (effects or reasons for a policy), do story as a reporter piece.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: Foreign

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story concerns a foreign country's policy or domestic changes, it is a foreign story.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Analysis

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story analyzes the background, important issues of a story in detail, the underlying meaning of the event/issue, it is an analysis piece.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: Lead Story

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story has a strong effect on the U.S. and the U.S. economy, has an effect on many people, then the story should be aired as the lead story in a segment.

18. Today in a U.S. District Court in Tampa, Florida, a jury found General Dynamics guilty of negligence in the design and manufacture of the F-16 fighter. In 1983, an Air Force pilot crashed and died in an F-16. The jury awarded the pilot's family, who sued the defense contractor, over 3 million dollars.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If you have a story of a little guy fighting the system, do the story.
- 2) If you have a story involving a little guy vs. a big corporation, do the story.
- 3) If the story concerns military inefficiency, do the story.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Reporter Piece

- SCHEMA: 1) If you want to tell what has happened in an event, place, or discussion, simply report the facts in a reporter piece.
- 2) If the story needs to be done today to report hard news, do it as a reporter piece.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: National

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story is of a trial (non-political) of national interest, occurring in the U.S., it is a national story.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Hard News

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story deals with the facts of a story, what happened, it is a hard news piece.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: Middle Story

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story is a secondary lead, one that does not affect many people, is not a major story, then air the piece in the middle of a segment.

19. City Judge and Justice of the Peace in Hico, Texas, Bob Hefner is one of a number of Hico residents who claim that outlaw Billy the Kid was not shot dead by Sheriff Pat Garrett in the year 1881, but rather lived under various pseudonyms, working various odd jobs, and riding in Wild West shows. Hefner claims the "the Kid" later settled in Hico and that he died there at the age of 90, in 1950.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If you have a story about someone who is unique, funny, or has interesting information, do the story.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Host Interview

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story is a personality profile of a person, do as a host interview with that individual.
- 2) If the story is a cute/funny human interest story, then do as a host feature.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: Human Interest Feature

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story is a human interest story, do piece as a host interview produced by show staff.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Feature

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story is a topic of special interest, light in tone and content, it is a feature piece.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: End Story

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story is a feature story, and is light in tone, it is aired at the end of a segment.

20. Sri Lankan government forces retaliated today for the Tamil rebel bombing yesterday at a bus station in Columbo. The government says its forces attacked Tamil guerilla strongholds with planes and helicopters and killed up to 80 rebels.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If there is a story of a revolution or social change in a foreign country, do a story on it.
- 2) If a foreign government commits violence against an internal opposition group, do the story.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Reporter Piece

- SCHEMA: 1) If you want to tell what has happened in an event, place, or discussion, simply report the facts in a reporter piece.
- 2) If the story needs to be done today to report hard news, do it as a reporter piece.
- 3) If the story takes place in a foreign country, and you need to discuss the events happening there, do it as a reporter piece.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: Foreign

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story concerns events or situations occurring in a foreign country, it is a foreign story.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Hard News

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story deals with the facts of a story, what happened, it is a hard news piece.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: Middle

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story is a secondary lead, concerns a foreign country not of major strategic/economic interest to the U.S., is an on-going story, air the story in the middle of a segment.

21. A confidential medical log book is missing from an alcohol and drug addiction center in Washington, D.C. The book may contain sensitive information about the results of AIDS blood tests.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

1) If the story has to do with AIDS, do the story.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Reporter Piece

SCHEMA: 1) If the story involves doing a lot of background research, do it as a reporter piece.
2) If you want to have multiple voices in a piece, do it as a reporter piece.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: Science

SCHEMA: 1) If the story concerns health issues or issues related to a particular disease, it is a science story.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Analysis

SCHEMA: 1) If a story analyzes the background, the important issues of a story, and covers the underlying meaning of the event or issue, it is an analysis piece.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: Middle Story

SCHEMA: 1) If the story is an analysis piece, involves some investigation, is not a major story, it is aired in the middle of a segment.

22. More violence in Sri Lanka today. 15 people were killed this morning when raiders attacked a Sengalese village in the east of the country.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If there is a story of a revolution or social change in a foreign country, do a story on it.
- 2) If a government commits violence against internal opposition groups, do the story.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Reporter Piece

- SCHEMA: 1) If you want to tell what has happened in an event, place, or discussion, simply report the facts in a reporter piece.
- 2) If the story needs to be done today to report hard news, do it as a reporter piece.
 - 3) If the story takes place in a foreign country, and you need to discuss the events happening there, do it as a reporter piece.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: Foreign

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story concerns events or situations occurring in a foreign country, it is a foreign story.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Hard News

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story deals with the facts of a story, what happened, it is a hard news piece.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: Middle Story

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story is a secondary lead, concerns a foreign country not of major strategic/economic interest to the U.S., is an on-going story, air the story in the middle of a segment.

23. Continental Airlines is extending its "Max-Saver" fares through 1987.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If the story affects economics and/or behavior, do a story on it.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Reporter Piece

- SCHEMA: 1) If you want to tell what has happened in an event, simply report the facts in a reporter piece.
- 2) If the story needs to be done today to report hard news, do it as a reporter piece.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: Business/Transportation

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story concerns the activities of a major corporation or the airline industry, it is a business story.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Hard News

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story deals with the facts of a story, what happened, it is a hard news piece.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: Middle Story

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story is a secondary lead, does not necessarily affect many people, air the story in the middle of a segment.

24. A new generation of laser weapons is being worked on by both the United States and the Soviet Union. The weapons would jam electronics and blind soldiers and pilots. Pentagon documents warn that future Soviet plans include designs for weapons which could destroy electronics and disorient the thought processes of people.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If the story is on the military and major advancements in technology, do the story.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE:

PREDICTION: Reporter Piece

- SCHEMA: 1) If a piece involves looking at historical perspectives and doing a lot of background research, do it as a reporter piece.
- 2) If you need to do an investigation of an event or issue and you need to take a lot of time to do the piece, do it as a reporter piece.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY:

PREDICTION: Washington

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story deals with the military or military technology, and Pentagon policy/actions, it is a Washington story.

C. TYPE OF PIECE:

PREDICTION: In-Depth Investigation

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story is an in-depth probing of the issues, involving interviews with multiple people, and a lot of background research, and is a longer piece, it is an in-depth investigation.

D. SCHEDULING:

PREDICTION: Middle Story

- SCHEMA: 1) If the piece does not necessarily have to air today, is not a hard news piece, involves analysis or in-depth investigation, air the piece in the middle of a segment.

25. The Senate Banking Committee is looking at the problem of insider trading. The aim is to pass laws to curtail a new kind of crime involving hundreds of millions of dollars.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If a proposed legislative bill affects many people or addresses a major social problem, do a story on it.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Reporter Piece

- SCHEMA: 1) If you have an on-going situation/story, do it as a reporter piece.
- 2) If you want to get at deeper issues (effects or reasons for a policy), do it as a reporter piece.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: Washington

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story concerns the activities of the Senate, it is a Washington piece.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Analysis

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story analyzes the background, the important issues of a story, and covers the underlying meaning of the event or issue, it is an analysis piece.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: Middle Story

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story does not necessarily have to air that day, is a secondary lead, and is an on-going story, air the story in the middle of a segment.

26. The General Accounting Office today released a report that says the National Cancer Institute is exaggerating success in cancer treatment. Survival statistics are being used to support the idea that cancer treatment is improving, but the GAO report, like others which have been issued in the past, says that much of the apparent improvement in statistics isn't related to treatment, but is partly a statistical mirage.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

1. If a story concerns corruption or scandal in the Federal government, do the story.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Reporter Piece

- SCHEMA: 1) If you want to tell what has happened in an event or what is written in a report, simply report the facts in a reporter piece.
- 2) If you have piece which involves doing background research and analysis, do it as a reporter piece.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: Science

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story concerns the activities of a health organization and new treatments for a disease, it is a science story.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Analysis

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story analyzes the background, the important issues of a story, and covers the underlying meaning of the event or issue, it is an analysis piece.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: Middle Story

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story is a secondary lead and involves an analysis or investigation, air the story in the middle of a segment.

27. A Federal judge today postponed a hearing concerning presidential assailant John Hinckley and whether or not Hinckley should be allowed to spend Easter at home with his family.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If a story concerns changes in the activities of a public figure, cover the story.
- 2) If a story concerns the outcome of a trial/judgment of national interest, cover the story.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Reporter Piece

- SCHEMA: 1) If you want to tell what has happened in an event or place, simply report the facts in a reporter piece.
- 2) If the story needs to be done today to report hard news, do it as a reporter piece.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: National

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story concerns a trial or judgment in the U.S., and is not Federal government related, it is a national story.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Hard News

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story deals with the facts of a story, what happened, it is a hard news piece.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: Middle Story

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story is a secondary lead, part of an on-going story, air the piece in the middle of a segment.

28. Pleasant Hill High was integrated in 1978, but the school will have two proms, one for the white students, and one for the black students.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If a story deals with an issue of strong concern for minority members, do the story.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Host Interview

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story is a human interest feature, do as a host interview.
- 2) If you have a story in which you want to compare current events with past history, interview an analyst on the topic.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: National

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story concerns individual behavior in the U.S., and concerns a social issue, it is a national story.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Analysis

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story analyzes the background, the important issues of a story, and covers the underlying meaning of the event or issue, it is an analysis piece.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: End Story

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story is a feature story and is not hard news, then it is aired at the end of a segment.

29. The Palestine National Council opened a meeting today in Algiers. The meeting included all factions of the PLO and its offshoots, except the ABU NIDAL group. The council re-dedicated itself to armed struggle against Israel and the establishment of a Palestinian homeland. The council also said it would move into closer alignment with the USSR. But the real direction of the group will not be apparent until the new executive body and their cabinet, is named at the end of the week.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If a story deals with a country (or people) of strategic interest to the U.S., cover the story.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Reporter Piece

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story takes place in a foreign country, and you need to discuss the events happening there, do it as a reporter piece.
- 2) If you want to tell what has happened in an event or discussion, simply report the facts in a reporter piece.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: Foreign

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story concerns issues/events occurring in a foreign country, with foreign participants, it is a foreign piece.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Analysis

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story analyzes the background, the important issues of a story, and covers the underlying meaning of the event or issue, it is an analysis piece.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: Middle Story

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story is an analysis piece, concerns a foreign country, is not a major story, then air the piece in the middle of a segment.

30. A group of people from Nevada, Arizona, and Utah claiming to be victims of radio-active fallout from nuclear weapons testing in Nevada lost a round in court yesterday. Nearly twelve hundred plaintiffs are trying to get compensation for radiation cancer and deaths which they say were caused by fallout from the government nuclear weapons tests.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If the story concerns the outcome of a trial/judgment of national interest, cover the story.
- 2) If a story of a little guy fighting the system, cover the story.
- 3) If the story concerns scandal or corruption in the Federal government, cover the story.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Reporter Piece

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story involves telling what has happened in an event, simply report the facts in a reporter piece.
- 2) If the story needs to be today to report hard news, then do it as a reporter piece.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: National

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story concerns a trial in the U.S. on an issue of national concern, and it does not take place in Washington, D.C., it is a national story.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Analysis

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story analyzes the background, the important issues of a story, and covers the underlying meaning of the event or issue, it is an analysis piece.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: Middle Story

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story is an analysis piece, is a secondary lead, does not affect many people, and is an on-going story, air piece in the middle of a segment.

31. The group "Footloose" is trying to legalize public dancing in the town of Anson, Texas. Dancing has been illegal there since 1933. A new law passed last week, supposedly allows public dancing, but it includes licensing and insurance provisions that make dancing illegal still for all practical purposes.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If you have an interesting, unique story of human interest concerning someone with a strange experience, cover the story.
- 2) If you have a story of a group fighting the system, cover the story.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Host Interview

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story is a cute/funny human interest story, then do it as a host 2-way.
- 2) If the story is a simple and timely story, do it as a 2-way with the host.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: Human Interest Feature

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story is a human interest story, involves personalities, an interesting "light" situation, it is a human interest feature.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Feature

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story is a human interest story, light in tone and content, it is a feature piece.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: End Story

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story is a feature story, is not hard news, and is light in tone, air the piece at the end of the segment.

32. The state archaeologist of Florida believes he has found a campsite of explorer Hernando DeSoto, which would be the oldest known European building site on the North American Continent.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If you have a story on an interesting, new scientific development, cover the story.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Reporter Piece

- SCHEMA: 1) If you have to visit a different city (other than Washington, D.C.), do it as a reporter piece.
- 2) If you need to have multiple voices in a piece, do it as a reporter piece.
 - 3) If the source of information for a story needs description, do it as a reporter piece.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: Science

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story concerns advancements in science, new findings, it is a science piece.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Feature

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story is a human interest story, light in tone and content, it is a feature piece.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: End Story

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story is a feature piece, is not hard news, does not necessarily have to air today, is light in content, air the story at the end of a segment.

33. Larry Doby was the first black to play in the American League; Doby played for the Cleveland Indians beginning in 1947, the same year that Jackie Robinson became the first in the National League. Once blacks were able to break into major league baseball, they were able to prove they could play every bit as well as white players.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) Do anniversary stories when they are whole number anniversaries (40 years).
- 2) If you have a story of interest or concern for minorities, do the story.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Host Interview

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story is a personality profile of a newsmaker, do story as a host interview with that individual.
- 2) If the story is a human interest story, do it as a host feature.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: Sports

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story concerns sporting events or sports personalities, it is a sports story.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Feature

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story is a human interest story, light in tone and content, it is a feature piece.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: End Story

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story is a feature story, is not hard news, does not have to air today, and is light in tone, air the story at the end of a segment.

34. Mr. Greenjeans, actor Hugh Brannum, died Sunday at the age of 77 of cancer. He was Captain Kangaroo's sidekick for 29 years, from 1955 to 1984.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If a famous person dies, prepare an obituary on that person to run as soon as possible.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Reporter Piece

SCHEMA: 1) If a famous person dies, cover the life of the person in an obituary reporter piece.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: Human Interest Story

SCHEMA: 1) If a story deals with a human interest story or a personality of national interest, it is a human interest story.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Feature

SCHEMA: 1) If the story is a human interest story, light in tone and content, it is a feature piece.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: End Story

SCHEMA: 1) If the story is a feature story, air it at the end of a segment.

35. The government of Mexico is proposing that the private sale of blood be banned to prevent the spread of AIDS. A group of Mexican doctors announced today that about ten percent of the Mexican donors who sell their blood have been found to be carriers of the AIDS virus.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If you have a story on AIDS, do the story.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Reporter Piece

SCHEMA: 1) If the story takes place in a foreign country, and you need to talk to people from that country or need to discuss events happening there, do as a reporter piece.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: Science

SCHEMA: 1) If the story concerns health issues or disease, it is a science story.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Hard News

SCHEMA: 1) If a story deals with the facts of a story, what happened, it is a hard news piece.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: Lead Story

SCHEMA: 1) If a story deals with AIDS, involves the presentation of new information, affects many people, air the story in the beginning of a segment.

36. Today, Mary Beth Whitehead, the surrogate mother who on Tuesday lost all rights to the child she carried for another couple under a surrogate contract gave her first public reaction to the outcome of the judge's decision. She says she has not accepted the decision that she and her daughter should be permanently separated.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If the story concerns the outcome of a trial/judgment of national interest, cover the story.
- 2) If a story concerns a topic that is a national trend, phenomenon, issue, or personality, do the story.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Reporter Piece

- SCHEMA: 1) If you want to tell what has happened in an event, place, or discussion, simply report the facts in a reporter piece.
- 2) If the story needs to be done today to report hard news, do it as a reporter piece.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: National

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story concerns a topic of national interest, is on a issue of national concern in the U.S., it is a national story.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Hard News

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story deals with the facts of a story, what happened, it is a hard news piece.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: Middle Story

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story is not a major story, is a secondary lead, does not contain much new information, then air the story in the middle of a segment.

37. Pope John Paul II met with General Augusto Pinochet today and also the Pope spoke to tens of thousands of people in one of Santiago's poorest neighborhoods. The address was broadcast on National Chilean T.V.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If the story concerns the activities of the Pope visiting a foreign country, do the story.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Reporter Piece

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story takes place in a foreign country, and you need to discuss events happening there, do it as a reporter piece.
- 2) If you want or need to get sound in a piece, do story as a reporter piece.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: Foreign

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story involves activities, events occurring in a foreign country, with foreign participants, it is a foreign story.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Hard News

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story deals with the facts of a story, what happened, it is a hard news piece.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: Lead Story

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story affects many people, is a hard news story, and it must air today, then air the story at the beginning of a segment.

38. New York Mets pitcher Dwight Gooden has entered a treatment center for rehabilitation after his voluntary drug test came back positive. Fans and the team reacted to the news today. It is unknown how long Gooden will be in treatment.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If the story concerns a topic that is a national trend, phenomenon, issue, or about a personality, do the story.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Reporter Piece

- SCHEMA: 1) If you want to tell what has happened in a event or place, simply report the facts in a reporter piece.
- 2) If the story needs to be done today to report hard news, do it as a reporter piece.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: Sports

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story deals with sporting events, issues, or personalities, it is a sports story.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Hard News

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story deals with the facts of a story, what happened, it is a hard news piece.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: Middle Story

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story is a hard news story, is not a major story, does not affect many people, is a secondary lead, air the story in the middle of a segment.

39. Composer Raphael Mostel creates new music for an ancient instrument from Tibet, the singing bowl. Mostel is the founder and director of the Tibetan singing bowl ensemble, a group of musicians based in New York. Mostel first saw the singing bowl in an antique store.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If you have a story about someone who has had a strange experience or holds a strange job, do the story.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Host Interview

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story is a personality profile of a newsmaker, do as a host interview with that individual.
- 2) If the story is a cute/funny human interest story, do it as a host 2-way.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: Human Interest Feature

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story concerns a human interest story, and is about an interesting personality, it is a human interest feature.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Feature

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story is a human interest story, light in tone and content, it is a feature piece.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: End Story

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story is a feature story, is not hard news, does not have to air today, and is light in tone, air the piece at the end of a segment.

40. The State Department begins a tough new review of its security procedures at the Moscow Embassy in light of the problems with three Marines there. Two have been charged with espionage and a third is being held for violating regulations for having sexual contact with Soviet women.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If the story concerns corruption or scandal in the Federal government, do the story.
- 2) If the story is on the military having problems or performing inefficiently, do the story.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Reporter Piece

- SCHEMA: 1) If the piece involves doing a lot of background research, do as a reporter piece.
- 2) If you have an on-going situation, do story as a reporter piece.
- 3) If you want cover a broad spectrum of general issues in a piece, do it as a reporter piece.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: Washington

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story concerns the State Department, it is a Washington story.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: In-Depth Investigation

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story involves an in-depth probing of the issues, involves interviews with multiple people, is a longer piece, it is an in-depth investigation.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: Lead Story

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story concerns scandal or controversy in the Federal government, the story is aired at the beginning of a segment.

41. Today another demonstration in Moscow. Soviet Jews demonstrated in favor of a more liberal emigration policy. The rally was not disrupted by Soviet police or the KGB.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If the story is on Soviet political life, the effects of Glastnost, or other human interest stories, do the story.
- 2) If there is a change in attitude or a major protest in a foreign country, do the story.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Reporter Piece

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story takes place in a foreign country, you need to talk to people there or discuss the events happening there, do it as a reporter piece.
- 2) If you want to tell what has happened in an event or place, simply report the facts in a reporter piece.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: Foreign

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story concerns events, activities, or issues of a foreign country, it is a foreign story.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Hard News

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story deals with the facts of a story, what happened, it is a hard news piece.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: Lead Story

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story concerns the Soviet Union, is a hard news piece, has to air today, and involves political change, air the piece at the beginning of a segment.

42. A recent report by the Congressional Research Service charges that the U.S. Park Service has severely mismanaged grizzly bears in Yellowstone National Park. The Park Service denies the reports' conclusions. The conclusions also say that federal agencies in general are doing a poor job of protecting wildlife in the nation's oldest national park.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If the story concerns problems, corruption, or scandal in the Federal Government, do the story.
- 2) If the story concerns issues or problems with the protection of the environment/wildlife, cover the story.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Reporter Piece

- SCHEMA: 1) If you have a lot of elements in the story - multiple sides to the story, multiple issues or perspectives, or multiple constituencies, do it as a reporter piece.
- 2) If you want to have multiple voices in a piece, do it as a reporter piece.
- 3) If you have an on-going situation, do the story as a reporter piece.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: Science

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story concerns the environment, wildlife, or animal welfare, it is a science piece.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Analysis

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story analyzes the background, the important issues of a story, and covers the underlying meaning of the event or issue, it is an analysis piece.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: Middle Story

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story does not necessarily have to air today, involves investigation, and is an on-going story, air the piece in the middle of a segment.

43. Some federal nuclear regulators say the news earlier this week about the Peach Bottom Nuclear Plant in Pennsylvania serves to spotlight a problem which exists at many nuclear plants in the country, bad management.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If the story concerns a topic that is a national trend, phenomenon, issue, or personality, do the story.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Reporter Piece

- SCHEMA: 1) If you want to have multiple voices in a piece, do it as a reporter piece.
- 2) If you want to cover a broad spectrum of issues, do it as a reporter piece.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: National

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story concerns an issue that is of national concern and involves a situation or event that is not located in Washington, D.C., it is a national story.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: In-Depth Investigation

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story involves an in-depth probing of the issues, involving interviews with multiple people, and is a longer piece, it is an in-depth investigation.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: Middle Story

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story is not a major story, is a secondary lead, is not a hard news story, is an on-going story, then air the piece in the middle of a segment.

44. President Reagan says the U.S. will stay out of its new embassy in Moscow and the Soviets will be barred from their building in Washington until the new U.S. Embassy in Moscow is secure.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If the story deals with a new White House policy, do the story.
- 2) If the story deals with problems, scandal, or corruption in the Federal government, do the story.
- 3) If the story deals with U.S. relations with the Soviets, do the story.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Reporter Piece

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story needs to be done today to report hard news, do it as a reporter piece.
- 2) If you want to tell what has happened during an event, place, or discussion, simply report the facts in a reporter piece.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: Washington

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story concerns the activities or policies of the President or White House, the story is a Washington story.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Hard News

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story deals with the facts of a story, what happened, it is a hard news piece.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: Lead Story

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story concerns controversy or scandal in the Federal government, relations with the Soviet Union, is a hard news story, and concerns the President of the U.S., air story at the beginning of a segment.

45. Argentina's Army Chief of Staff resigned today. Yesterday, Raoul Alfonsin negotiated the peaceful surrender of rebellious middle-rank military officers who staged an uprising to protest the prosecution of officers being accused of human rights violations. The resignation of the Army Chief met a demand from the rebellious officers.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If a story concerns a major protest or uprising in a foreign country, cover the story.
- 2) If a foreign government commits abuses or violence against internal opposition groups, do the story.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Reporter Piece

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story takes place in a foreign country, and you need to talk to people there or need to discuss the events happening there, do it as a reporter piece.
- 2) If you want to tell what has happened in an event or place, simply report the facts in a reporter piece.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: Foreign

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story concerns activities, political upheaval in a foreign country, it is a foreign story.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Hard News

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story deals with the facts of a story, what happened, it is a hard news piece.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: Middle Story

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story involves a non-major ally of the U.S, is a secondary lead, does not affect that many people, and is a hard news story, air the story in the middle of a segment.

46. The White House today announced sanctions against Japan. Items include complete TV receivers, automatic data processors, and rotary drills. The administration calls the sanctions a retaliation for Japan's violations of a computer chip trade pact with the U.S. The U.S. claims the Japanese were dumping chips at below cost on foreign markets.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If the story deals with a new White House policy, do the story.
- 2) If the story concerns economics or behavior, do the story.
- 3) If the story deals with a problem in U.S. foreign relations with another country, do the story.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Reporter Piece

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story involves telling what has happened at an event or place, simply report the facts in a reporter piece.
- 2) If the story needs to be done today to report hard news, do it as a reporter piece.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: Washington

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story concerns the White House and changes in policy, it is a Washington story.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Hard News

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story deals with the facts of a story, what happened, it is a hard news piece.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: Lead Story

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story concerns actions taken by the White House, is a hard news piece, must air today, affects many persons, air the story at the beginning of a segment.

47. One year later, analysts are still trying to evaluate the impact of the U.S. raid on Libya. Officially, the raid is considered to have been a success, but many believe that the U.S. bombing had less effect on Khaddafi's leadership than did the recent defeat in northern Chad.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If the story deals with U.S. relations with a foreign country of economic or strategic importance, cover the story.
- 2) If you have an anniversary of a historical event, do the piece on the date of the anniversary.
- 3) Run updates periodically on on-going stories.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Reporter Piece

- SCHEMA: 1) If the piece involves looking at a historical perspective and doing a lot of background research, do it as a reporter piece.
- 2) If you need to do an investigation of an event or issue and you need to take a lot of time to do the piece, do the story as a reporter piece.
- 3) If you want to have multiple voices in a piece, do it as a reporter piece.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: Foreign

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story concerns issues and activities in a foreign country, it is a foreign piece.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Analysis

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story analyzes the background, the important issues of a story, and covers the underlying meaning of the event or issue, it is an analysis piece.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: Middle Story

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story is an analysis piece, does not necessarily have to air today, involves an investigation, and is an on-going story, air the piece in the middle of a segment.

48. Investigators who have been looking into the network of organizations which have been raising secret funds for the Nicaraguan Contras are now discovering that possibly more than a third of the money raised may have been paid to the companies and individuals involved in running the private support network.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If the story concerns problems, scandal, or corruption in the Federal government, cover the story.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Reporter Piece

- SCHEMA: 1) If the piece involves taking a historical perspective and doing a lot of background research, do it as a reporter piece.
- 2) If you need to do an investigation of an event or issue and you need to take a lot of time to do the piece, do it as a reporter piece.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: Washington

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story involves a scandal in the Federal government, it is a Washington story.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: In-Depth Investigation

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story involves an in-depth probing of the issues, involving interviews with multiple people, and is a longer piece, it is an in-depth investigation.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: Middle Story

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story involves an investigation, is part of an on-going story, and does not necessarily have to air today, air the story in the middle of a segment.

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49. The rain swollen water of the Schoharie Creek hampered the search for victims of the bridge collapse on the New York State Thruway. In the northeastern U.S., floodwaters continue to keep hundreds of people away from their homes, while in the south, residents are digging out from a record snowfall.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If a story concerns a topic that is a national trend, phenomenon, issue, or personality, do the story.
- 2) If you have an interesting local story, generalize it and turn it into a national story.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Reporter Piece

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story needs to be done today to report hard news, do it as a reporter piece.
- 2) If you need to visit a different city (other than Washington, D.C.), do the story as a reporter piece.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: National

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story concerns activities/events occurring throughout the U.S., it is a national story.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Hard News

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story deals with the facts of a story, what happened, it is a hard news piece.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: Middle Story

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story is not a major story, is a secondary lead, and is part of an on-going story, air the story in the middle of a segment.

50. The Airline Pilots Association has made an offer to buy United Airlines from the Allegis Corporation for four and a half billion dollars. The APA is the union of the United Airline Pilots. They say that they believe the airlines could be run more efficiently as a separate company rather than part of a diversified business.

STORY SELECTION SCHEMA:

- 1) If the story affects economics or behavior, do the story.
- 2) If a story concerns the activities of or a change in a major U.S. corporation, cover the story.

A. HOW THE STORY IS TO BE DONE

PREDICTION: Reporter Piece

- SCHEMA: 1) If you want to have multiple voices in a piece, do it as a reporter piece.
- 2) If you have a lot of elements in the story - multiple sides, multiple constituencies, do the story as a reporter piece.
- 3) If you want to tell what has happened at an event or during a discussion, report the facts in a reporter piece.

B. CONTENT CATEGORY

PREDICTION: Business/Transportation

- SCHEMA: 1) If the story concerns the activities of a major corporation or the airline industry, it is a business story.

C. TYPE OF PIECE

PREDICTION: Analysis

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story analyzes the background, the important issues of a story, and covers the underlying meaning of the event or issue, it is an analysis piece.

D. SCHEDULING

PREDICTION: Middle Story

- SCHEMA: 1) If a story is an analysis piece, is a secondary lead, air the piece in the middle of a segment.

Appendix E

Story Idea Developed by Show Staff and Produced by Editorial
Desks

Story idea developed by show staff given to Desk editor in the form of a written or oral request to do the piece.

The desk editor reads the information on the story and discusses it with the show staff member and determines if the story is worth a piece.

If the story is acceptable, the editor decides: which reporters are available, how long the piece should be, when it is needed by, and how the piece will be transmitted back to NPR for production.

Editor makes calls to reporters and finds out who is available to do the piece, gives the information on the story to the reporter and discusses the general story outline for what the piece should look like.

Reporter conducts investigation, talks to necessary people/sources, does the research, also periodically consults with editor on the story.

When piece is completed, the reporter contacts editor and has an edit session which involves listening to the piece to check its overall production values, to make sure it is internally consistent, and that it covers the facts.

Reporter re-edits piece and transmits or gives it to the editor.

Editor then gives piece to show staff members on the show the piece is to air on.

Piece is listened to by show staff member and re-edited to fit requirements of the show. Piece is slotted into segment on the show for airing.

The piece is aired on the scheduled program.

Story Idea Developed and Produced by Show Staff - Host Interviews

Story is decided to be a show staff-produced interview conducted by one of the hosts (or host) of the program.

Editorial assistants read through the information on the story, do research on the topic, and begin making phone calls to track down the interviewee.

Editorial assistant calls interviewee and sets up time for the interview, schedules studio time, and notifies show senior staff.

Show editor begins preparation of preliminary questions for interviewee; host prepares for interview by reading background material on topic and developing questions.

Piece is assigned to a staff member ("cutter") who is told how long the piece should be and what the major emphasis of the piece should be.

Interview is conducted by the host in the presence of the editor who helps in the questioning of the interviewee, suggesting some alternative questions to ask.

Interview is edited/cut by staff production person and is reduced in length of time to the selected length. It is then given a slot on the program and scheduled to air.

Piece is listened to by show producer and editor to check for problems in sound, editing, consistency of the piece. Piece is re-edited if necessary.

Piece in final form is given to the director of the show and is aired in the appropriate slot on the show.

Story Idea Developed and Produced by a Desk Editor

Story idea is developed by desk editor through reading newspapers, talking to reporters, or from their ideas based on current events, or own experiences.

Story idea discussed by editor with senior editor and permission given to move story idea forward.

If story idea is acceptable, editor decides which reporters are available, how long the piece should be, when it is needed by, and how the piece will be transmitted back to NPR for production.

Editor makes calls to reporters and finds out who is available to do the piece, gives the information on the story to the reporter and discusses the general story outline for what the piece should look like.

When piece has been assigned to a reporter, it is put on the master list of stories being done. In the editorial meeting or through private discussions, the story is assigned to one of the programs.

Reporter conducts investigation, talks to necessary people/sources, does the research, also periodically consults with editor on the story.

When piece is completed, the reporter calls back and has an edit session over the phone or in person. The editor listens to the tape for overall production values, and to make sure it is internally consistent, covers the facts.

Reporter re-edits piece and transmits or gives it to the editor.

Editor then gives piece to show staff members on the show the piece is to air on.

Piece listened to by show staff member and re-edited to fit requirements of the show. Piece is slotted into segment on the show for airing and is aired.

Story Idea Developed and Produced by an Individual Staff Member

Story idea is developed by show staff member and discussed with show staff during the morning meeting.

If story idea is not met with immediate approval, show staff member is asked to pursue piece on his/her own due to lack of interest in the piece, lack of reporters, or lack of money to do the piece.

Story idea is refined by talking with editor on the appropriate news desk or show staff editor/executive producer to clarify what story is to be about.

Story suggester does background research and contacts possible sources for the story him/herself and develops outline for the story.

Story suggester gets NPR equipment and/or asks NPR engineer to accompany him/her to site for interview and recording of piece.

Piece is recorded by story suggester and brought back to NPR for editing, review of the material collected, and the writing of the script.

Show staff editor/producer or news desk editor is consulted to participate in the editing process on the piece, including listening to the tape for overall production values, and making sure it is internally consistent and covers all the facts.

When piece is completed the editing process, it is listened to by show producer and editor and given a final edit and review. Piece is then scheduled to appear on the program in a particular time slot.

Piece is given to the director of the program and airs at appropriate time on the show.

Story Idea Developed and Produced by a Freelance Reporter

Story idea is developed by a freelance reporter on his/her own. He/she then contacts an NPR editor to discuss story.

Freelance reporter "pitches" or tries to sell story idea to the appropriate NPR editor through telling what the story is about, explaining background of the story, and describing plan or outline of the story including where story is to be reported from, who the interviewees will be, the planned length of piece, and the expected time frame for its completion.

News desk editor discusses story idea with senior news editor and/or show staff personnel to determine general interest in the story idea.

News desk editor then makes decision whether or not to give okay to the freelancer to do the story. Freelance stories are only preliminarily accepted - final approval is not given until finished piece is heard.

Reporter conducts investigation, talks to necessary people/sources, does the research, also periodically consults with editor on the story.

When piece is completed, the reporter calls back and has an edit session over the phone or in person. The editor listens to the tape for overall production values, and to make sure it is internally consistent, covers the facts.

Reporter re-edits piece and transmits or gives it to the editor.

Editor then gives piece to show staff members on the show the piece is to air on.

Piece listened to by show staff member and re-edited to fit requirements of the show. Piece is slotted into segment on the show for airing.

The piece is aired on the scheduled program.

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