PIECING THE PICTURE TOGETHER:
WOMEN AND THE MEDIA IN CANADA

Susan Crean

Dans la première partie de cet article, Susan Crean, auteure du livre Newsworthy: The Lives of Media Women, *fait une contribution importante à un sujet négligé — le role qu'ont joué les femmes dans le développement de la télévision et de la radio canadiennes. Elle documente leur participation dans ces média, se concentrant spécialement sur la Société Radio-Canada. Dans la deuxième partie, elle fait le bilan de l'expérience de la Société en matière d'action positive et d'équité dans l'emploi.*

Surprisingly little work has been done on the history of women in Canadian journalism, and almost nothing has been written about the role women have played in the development of radio and television. Given the particular attention paid to the portrayal of women by the media and the general recognition of the importance of communications systems in the dissemination of cultural values and images, it does seem odd that it has taken so long for feminist scholars and writers to get around to weeding our own back garden. While reclamation projects have been undertaken in history, politics, science and virtually every pocket of the labour force where women have been significant participants, the lack of attention to our professional involvement in radio, television and print journalism is striking.

There are several good reasons for this situation, I think, including the fact that although journalists travel in packs, it is nevertheless a loner's profession, the type of work which encourages people to move around a great deal (from beat to beat, station to station, even from one medium to another), where the hours don't recognize holidays or weekends, and where it is therefore very difficult for the individual to gain a sense of the profession as a whole. It is, in short, a peripatetic occupation which abhors self-reflection and resists turning its probing eyes on itself (this activity being disparagingly known as navel gazing). So it can happen that a major network TV current affairs show is able to pay its women producers 25% less than the men, that a known sexual harasser can be confirmed in a senior programme management position without so much as a flicker on the news wires. What would be news elsewhere is apparently accepted with equanimity, as a fact of life, at home.

Add to this the fact that huge sections of the media (notably private radio and television) are not unionized and it may not then seem quite so outrageous that media unions have come so lately and ineffectually to deal with the issue of sexual discrimination on the job. (The exceptions are ACTRA, CUPE and the journalists' union in Quebec.) In 1984, when I began researching the status of women in journalism for a book on the lives of contemporary media women, I quickly discovered that the statistics didn't exist. Save for the CBC (which has been tracking its employees since 1977) and ACTRA (which has undertaken several studies), there were only scraps of information to be found. The CBC producers' associations began breaking out membership by gender for the first time that year, but when I approached the American Newspaper Guild for a breakdown of its Canadian membership, I got back a verbal response (never committed to paper for obvious reasons) that "oh well, it's about half and half."

Two years later we still have little hard data to go on and women still find it difficult to organize effectively within their unions and associations to bring about change. Though the question of the participation of women has been raised at various CRTC hearings, the Commission has failed to dignify the issue with serious study — let alone policy directives. Even after the report of the Abella Commission on employment equity, which studied the CBC along with ten other crown corporations and government agencies, the issue has not 'stuck' with the professionals or the media managers. Lynn McDonald, NDP culture critic, does keep an open brief on the situation and manages to keep it on the agenda of the Commons Committee on Culture and Communications. But few people, and even fewer agencies in Ottawa, are listening. Last year an ad hoc group of media women in Toronto (the Committee for the Mass Media in the Nineteen-Nineties) did some preliminary analysis and tried, without success, to get funding to do a major industry-wide survey. One result of their activity was a submission to the Caplan-Sauvageau task force on broadcasting, which promoted the task force at least to look at the issue. Finally. But whatever the report says, the reality remains unchanged. No one knows how women enter the field, what their career patterns are, or why as a group they have done as well (or badly, depending on which way you look at it) as they have.

All we have are pieces of history, fragments of a story which promises to be an astounding tale of daring and ingenuity when it is finally told. We know for instance, quite a bit about the nineteenth century women who first broke through the barriers against women into newspaper journalism. From the life stories of Sara Jeannette Duncan, Kit Coleman and Cora Hind we know that women have been active in journalism since the 1880s, when they were first permitted to join the staff and work on the premises alongside of the men, instead of corresponding from their parlour cloisters (Duncan for the *Globe*); that women were in the Ottawa press gallery as early as 1888 (Duncan, again, for the Montreal *Star*); and that the first female war correspondent went from Canada to cover the Spanish American war in 1898 on her own initiative (Coleman for the *Mail and Empire*). Cora Hind, of course, was the world-famous agricultural editor of the Winnipeg *Free Press* who stunned grain experts and financiers every year (from 1904 when she began doing her own crop inspections until well into the '20s) with the accuracy of her projections for the annual yield. This was in the days of the great wheat boom, which today would be like having the world's most experienced and accurate authority on oil reserves writing for the

Kate Aitken

Edmonton *Journal.*

What we don't know is why the succeeding generation of women who went into newspaper journalism did not congregate in the general newsrooms, but instead in the women's section. And although these pages had started out as a platform which brought women out of obscurity into the mainstream of public discourse (as they were originally conceived by Coleman, Duncan and others), by the 1920s they had become ghettos. In most papers they became the preserve of society columnists, fortune tellers and the dispensers of potted wisdom to the lovelorn. The serious journalism of earlier years had disappeared along with the poetry and short fiction. In many establishments, moreover, the women's section was not even located on the editorial floor; when it was, it invariably was partitioned off; and either way the department was handled editorially as a separate and not-quite-professional necessity. Needless to say, the women's pages soon turned into a professional cul-de-sac. Through the 1930s and '40s a few brave souls did make their way into general news, but the women's pages do not seem to have been the starting point for them. For years unofficial quotas kept their numbers to one or two and, although these newshens undoubtedly earned their spurs and professional respect, it's indicative that when a national radio service was being set up, they were not invited to participate.

Originally women were permitted on radio only as performing artists (singers, comediennes, actors and musicians). They were never heard on-air as announcers, reporters or programme hosts. But if they were excluded from radio journalism at the beginning (in fact, it wasn't until the 1970s that women established a journalistic presence on radio), they quickly found a niche in the schedule during the day time — when no one *except* women were presumed to be listening. (Actually between ten and twenty percent of the audience was male.) Here on both public and private radio women developed a distinctive kind of programming tailored to an audience of homemakers, which did sometimes venture beyond talk about food, fashion and how to get the puke out of baby's bib. In the '30s and '40s daytime radio in Canada was dominated by personalities like Kate Aitken and Clare Wallace, world travellers and housewives extraordinaire, who delighted their listeners with colourful accounts of taking tea in Buckingham Palace with the Queen Mum or scaling extinct volcanoes in Mexico. Their role, as they saw it, was to offer the housebound a window on the world and a taste of life behind the headlines and beyond the kitchen.

At the CBC a department responsible for "women's interest" programmes was established early on under the direction of Elizabeth Long; since the 1930s women have been involved with production (or programme planning as it used to be called) on the public network. Not so on the private side. In the '50s, when commercial radio was thrown into a mid-life crisis by the exodus of programmes and audiences to television, the CBC continued to develop daytime programming for women; but everywhere else the voice of women disappeared from the air along with the soap operas, radio drama and live radio variety. Private radio eventually reinvented itself by switching to wall-to-wall recorded music, carving out a piece of the market by specializing in a particular kind of music (pop, rock, etc.). This meant that the only way left for stations to differentiate themselves from each other was by the sound or the patter of the host/disc jockey who was hired to read the weather and the time while chatting up the audience. The one natural source of diversity was completely ignored. Women were not hired as dj's, newsreaders or traffic reporters until well into the '60s and even today there are still some programme directors out there telling female applicants that their audience "just isn't ready for women."

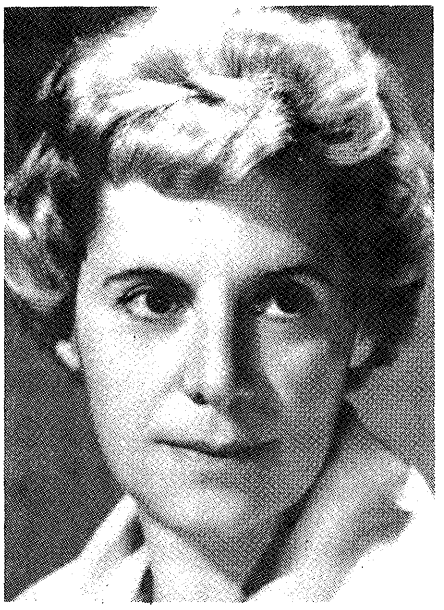
Predictably, women didn't make their comeback on the 6 p.m. news, but out on the margins on the new FM band and

Elaine Grand

in the dead of night. More than one station was happy to assign a female jockey to the graveyard shift, but adamant the audience would never accept her reading the news past five in the morning. (You figure it out.) Today, in most radio markets, women are an everyday sound on Canadian (English language) radio. The highest percentage of female announcers is still found on private FM radio stations, and the lowest on private AM band (20 and 4.5% respectively, with the CBC weighing in with 15% overall while the private stations have women announcers only 10% of the time. Breaking this down further, you find that women are more likely to be reading weather or traffic reports or conducting interviews (over 20%) than either reading the news (14%) or introducing music (8%).

Meanwhile the CBC continued developing women's programming through the '50s and '60s and in 1952 introduced a new genre (now universally known as the magazine format) with an afternoon show called *Trans-Canada Matinee,* which pioneered a more solid and contemporary approach to radio current affairs. In due course the idea was transferred to television, first with *Open House* starring Anna Cameron and then with *Take 30* and Adrienne Clarkson. The programme lasted on air until 1984, a remarkable two decades.

For women the introduction of television represented a setback — just as radio had before; once again, they had to start out all over at the bottom. On both occasions when the style and format of the service was being defined women were not involved. Worse, when some



Judith Jasmin

women were eventually hired, they were relegated to the most menial of support positions. With a couple of extraordinary exceptions — notably Elaine Grande, the consumate interviewer on the CBC in the '50s, and Judith Jasmin, who was one of two people hired by Radio-Canada to develop TV current affairs (the other was René Lévesque) — television doggedly repeated history. Although originally no one had production experience and everyone had to be pulled in from other media, women were not recruited (though they were undoubtedly there and with equal experience). Men simply elected to go off to recreate the world in their own image.

Given the strength of the tradition of women in CBC radio this turn of events seems tragic. On the English side, women had not only participated in production and planning for some time, they had actually dominated the department of Talks and Public Affairs in the '50s. However, in the '60s radio was upstaged by television (the two were saddled with each other in a single department then) and television fell into the hands of a leadership which "despised women and did not see any place for them in senior positions." So says Helen James, who was assistant supervisor of the department, responsible for daytime programming at the time. James and a large group of her colleagues became convinced that "the lid was on the advancement of women" in the corporation and in 1965 they resigned *en masse* as CBC management looked on in wonderment. The president, Alphonse Ouimet, made a personal plea to James to reconsider, but he never offered a new position or even made any promises. So the women just left and took up new careers elsewhere.

However, James and her cohorts did leave a legacy. For one thing, *Matinee* and *Take 30* continued for years to function as an unofficial training ground for on-air and production talent, the place where a good many household names got their early breaks (Helen Hutchinson, Barbara Frum, Mary Lou Finlay and Hana Gartner, for example). And if the ascent up the management ladder was blocked in James' time, her successor, Dodi Robb, made her way successfully to the top rungs by the time she retired twenty years later. In fact, the last three posts Robb accepted she took deliberately because no woman had ever held them before and because it was always her philosophy to push at the barriers.

Surveying the history of women in CBC current affairs (which is largely an oral history, so far) it seems that first the War and then television gave women a chance — television because it shoved radio out of the limelight, thereby creating an institutional backwater where women were welcome because power and prestige had moved elsewhere. Not exactly honourable reasons, but still it meant that CBC radio has functioned as an oasis of opportunity for women in an otherwise arid environment. It is equally apparent that this was not the result of any conscious corporate policy, but of the efforts of the women themselves with a little help (or non-interference) from their male colleagues. And it is also true that none of this could have happened in the private sector (although it has been more than happy to capitalize on the female talent developed by the CBC), which obviously has a great deal to do with the CBC's public mandate and its obligation to produce a diversity of original Canadian programming.

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Given all this, it might be instructive to examine the one example on record of a media institution which has been forced to reckon with discrimination. The story begins with the report in 1970 of the Royal Commission on the status of women, which documented in numbing detail the inferior position of women in the labour force and which identified the public sector as one of the chief culprits. Crown corporations like the CBC were criticized for their poor

Adrienne Clarkson

record of hiring and promoting women and exhorted to "encourage women to move out of traditional female occupations."

Of all the public agencies and government bureaus dotting the Canadian landscape, there can hardly be any more 'public' a public enterprise than broadcasting. All any citizen or Member of Parliament has to do to check up on the CBC's activities is flip on a switch. In 1970, then, the absence of women on the CBC's airwaves suddenly became a very public embarrassment. Not very long after the Royal Commission released its report, CBC English radio saw the light — and its way clear to hiring a woman for the first time as a staff announcer for the network. Four years later, when public attention was again focussed on the CBC's performance (following the Corporation's appearance before the CRTC for its network licence renewals), the same thing happened. At the hearings the CBC was harshly criticized by women's groups who noted that, although female announcers did exist, none had ever been permitted to tread on holy ground — the national television news. Within a matter of weeks, Jan Tennant, that original female staff announcer who by this time had shifted to television, was asked to take *The National* over Easter weekend. Not wishing to miss an opportunity to indulge in a little self-congratulation, the CBC leaked the story to the papers, and all of Canada tuned in that evening to see if the world as they knew it would survive. The huge response from the public was heartwarming and enthusiastic, although, as

Joyce Davidson

Tennant remarked some years later, "it all made me realize just what a tragic comment it was on society because, in truth, reading the news wasn't a big deal, and it shouldn't have been an amazing event."

Meanwhile, between 1970 and 1974 women in the CBC had grown increasingly impatient. Alert to the opportunities that might open up if the recommendations of the RCSW were implemented, they had at first waited and watched. And waited. Then they began meeting to study their position. The first group to get organized was brought together in Montreal by Judith Jasmin (who unfortunately died before she could see the final results of her initiating effort); then women in other CBC locations began to follow suit and, as a result of their collective pressure, the president finally announced in 1974 the formation of a task force headed by Kay MacIver, the director of radio for the English network in Montreal.

The MacIver report was published a year later and was unequivocal. The group had been able to meet with about one-third of the female staff and they found widespread dissatisfaction, a feeling that women were being treated like second-class citizens, right across the system:

While due in part to frustrations common to both sexes, this general discontent is fundamentally caused by their being women in a man's world. For the CBC is a man's world, in that men are in the majority and hold most of the decision-making power. Men's decisions determine the careers and the working environment of the female minority and these decisions are based on attitudes that are often quite unlike the attitudes of the women involved. Women's dissatisfaction with this situation is intensified by the fact that they see little prospect of change.

The portrait of the status of women at the CBC drawn by MacIver and her committee was sobering. Not only were there three men on staff for every woman (this proportion lagging behind the workforce average by an apparently widening margin), but the research also showed that two-thirds of the women worked in clerical, administrative and support service jobs. Most jobs, in fact, were segregated by sex — with the result that women had access to only 24% of the jobs in the corporation, while men had access to 92%. Along with this came a salary gap of 27% on average (which ranged from 22% to 49%).

The task force presented a great deal of information about women's working life at the CBC, including the fact that they were three times less likely to receive training than men, more likely to seek training outside on their own initiative than men; but had three times less of a chance of being advanced into positions of power. After describing the situation, the task force then turned to examining the causes. From interviews with personnel officers across the CBC, it selected four of the most common stereotypes about women and checked them against the facts and the real opinions of women.

From these investigations the task force concluded:

Women in the corporation are treated inequitably as a group. It follows that individual women are frequently victims of discrimination since the decision makers often make judgements about the capability of individual women on the basis of characteristics they associate with women generally, and act on these assumptions to deny women access to many categories of work.

Attempting to appeal to management's sense of self-interest, it continued:

We also conclude that by denying women access to the full range of jobs, the corporation also loses in a number of ways. The pool of candidates for any job is considerably reduced by excluding the other sex, and the best candidate may be in the excluded group. Valuable abilities simply go to waste, and the different perspective that women can bring to many positions, particularly programme production, is lost.

MacIver not only documented how women were negatively affected by systemic and attitudinal discrimination, she forced Mother Corp. to recognize the fact. The report recommended

Barbara Frum

action: modification of hiring practices, a policy of equal opportunity and an Office of Equal Opportunity to monitor progress. Accordingly, the OEO was set up late in 1975 in Head Office in Ottawa. It was placed under the aegis of the department of human resources and given the mandate to "ensure all CBC employees enjoy equality of opportunity without regard to sex, religion, age, marital status or national origin, in all areas of employment within the Corporation."

The OEO was delighted with the tall order and immediately set itself up with a team of five officers and two primary goals: to increase the representation of women within the CBC's workforce, and to increase their presence in management, production and other key positions. Over the next seven years several programmes were carried out including a review of personnel practices (maternity/ paternity policies, equalization of compensation schemes, the elimination of sexist language from all personnel materials), a series of awareness seminars for women and a parallel set of 'sensitization' sessions with managers and other staff. Its main thrust, however, was defining and propelling a corporate policy of equal opportunity. And therein lies the tale.

The first policy on employment equity was written into the corporate policy book in 1977 as follows:

It is the policy of the CBC as an employer to ensure employment, training, and development and other career opportunities are available to everyone regardless of such considerations as race, national or ethnic origin, religion, age, sex, or sexual orientation or marital status.

The OEO was identified as the body which would provide "guidance on the appropriate actions and corrective measures deemed necessary to ensure fair

Barbara Smith

treatment and equality of opportunities for all employees," and human resource directors across the system were to be responsible for implementing the policy and enlisting the co-operation of all managers.

In 1979, however, the OEO proposed a change in the policy and convinced the Joint Management Committee to move to an affirmative action approach which implied the use of preferential measures. The goal of breaking down job segregation was to be taken into account in all hiring, promotion and transfers, and where imbalances persisted, special efforts would be made to redress the situation directly.

The first step in this direction was the inclusion of an equal opportunity objective in the executive vice-president's annual operating objectives for the year 1980/81. This read: "to improve opportunities for the employment and advancement of women in the CBC workforce so as to measurably increase the number of women... particularly in management and production positions." But, once again, the subsequent action was far less eloquent than the words. In its own submission to the Abella Commission in 1983, the CBC was, to say the least, guarded in its evaluation of the policy's success. The priority effort to increase the number of women in the ranks of management had pulled the percentage up from 7.5 in 1975 to 18.5 in 1983. But otherwise progress was 'limited' and 'slow.' Carefully dressed in officialese, the CBC confessed that it had finally decided to abandon the 'non-coercive' affirmative action approach, stating that "it is clear from our experience that social change does not take place simply as a recognition of the problem. It requires strong, persistent and often extraordinary measures. What is needed is a systematic approach which will ensure that all managers join in the effort." In other words, managers would not be encouraged to enforce the policy (which in the old days merely meant changing the target when it wasn't reached), but would be *required* to enforce it.

This, incidently, was the same conclusion Judge Abella came to in her 1984 report. Her first two recommendations proposed that all federally regulated employers be required by legislation to implement employment equity, to report participation rates, occupational distribution and income levels of employees on an annual basis, and that any legislation must include an enforcement mechanism.

It was precisely at this juncture, as the CBC was poised to take a second significant step on the road to equality, that two things happened to derail the entire initiative. First, following the appointment of Pierre Juneau as president, a massive internal reorganization was effected which left many programmes and positions in limbo. Second, shortly after the election of the Conservative government, the CBC was delivered a whopping $75 million cut which led to a prolonged period of 'downsizing' that continued through a second series of cuts in 1986.

Between 1980 and 1985 the equal opportunity policy remained on the books, largely ignored and unknown. (When representatives of a group of CBC women met with Denis Harvey, vice-president and head of the English TV network in 1984, he confessed ignorance of the policy and had never actually seen the OEO's affirmative action pamphlets. In 1986 he still knew nothing about the policy, or what had become of the 1983 decision to opt for a mandatory approach.) Moreover, the problems inherent in the OEO's mandate and position started coming home to roost. Throughout most of its existence the OEO director was herself the senior most ranking women in CBC Head Office — a fact which many considered illustrative of the lack of power and prestige accorded the programme. Furthermore, the OEO had been instituted as a temporary measure and its presence within the human resources department created political tensions with the department's hierarchy which never were resolved. Critics contended that the OEO should have been autonomous, placed outside human resources

Elizabeth Gray

with the director reporting to the executive vice-president.

The OEO's work was further compromised by the fact that its mandate covered CBC employees only, thereby leaving a great many people in the most creative areas of broadcasting outside its jurisdiction. Thus its database and the scope of its programmes were severely constrained, all of which naturally affected its visibility and impact on a workforce 11,000 strong and spread out across thousands of miles. Consequently, as the OEO was hit with budget cuts, and its staff diminished to two, there was not a huge outcry from CBC women, many of whom would not even have been aware of its existence. In its last two years, while treading water at Head Office, the most important work of the OEO may arguably have been the informal (i.e. unofficial) counselling done with women who did hear about it and were victims of sexual harassment with nowhere else to turn.

In 1985, after a decade of work, the OEO was closed and its director, Helen McVey, was unceremoniously laid off. Ostensibly this was due to budget cuts; in reality the OEO was a victim of new corporate priorities and the climate of fear which has pervaded the entire CBC. Nevertheless, Pierre Juneau appeared before the Commons Committee on Culture and Communications in 1984 to boldly announce that the CBC "intends to adopt a target system which would apply to every area of the corporation. Managers would be accountable for their successes in implementing or reaching those targets." But it was never necessary for Juneau to follow through on the promise, as the Canadian govern-

ment itself came up with the means to let him off the hook.

It is called Bill C-62, the Conservative response to the Abella report, introduced last March by Flora MacDonald. Ignoring the advice that any employment legislation would be useless except as window-dressing, unless it includes tough enforcement measures, the proposed act has been dubbed by the National Action Committee and other women's groups as a toothless "voluntary-mandatory" approach. The only penalties provided are for failure to report annually to Ottawa, not for failing to implement an employment equity programme or even for failing to live up to any self-defined targets. The legislation, if enacted, will give the CBC a licence to take a giant step backwards, and the corporation is already preparing to comply with the new law, having apparently shelved its own policy and forgotten its own experience.

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The CBC experience with equal opportunity programmes demonstrates the terrible difficulties involved in addressing discrimination in large institutions. From the beginning, the approach of the OEO was twofold: to bring about procedural adjustments (the easy part) and to promote the modification of attitudes through awareness seminars and internal communications (the hard part, obviously).

Women now have a fifty-year history in broadcasting in Canada. The pioneering efforts of the first generation paved the way for a second, which moved into radio and television in large numbers in the 1960s and '70s when there was a widespread migration of women, generally, into the Canadian labour force. As a result, over the past twenty years women have established themselves in both these media, though we have only been mildly successful in escaping the pink collar ghetto. As producers and as journalists, women have risen to positions of responsibility and influence, although it is still rare to find females at the senior management level where responsibility comes with authority attached.

In short, women have made it through the door and into the mainstream of broadcasting at the level of programme production and, to some extent, in middle management. In the CBC's case, by the Spring of 1986 women constituted 34% of all network television

Ann Medina

producers and 28% of radio network producers; 28% of network TV management and 39% of network radio management. However, 79% of these management women were clustered in the bottom two (of nine) management classes, and in the corporation overall women managers were making significantly smaller salaries than their male counterparts (86% in 1985).

Although there is no comprehensive information about private broadcasting, educated guesses place it a considerable distance behind the CBC's modest performance. Job segregation and the income gap still affect the daily lives and careers of women at the CBC: this was made abundantly clear in 1983 and 1984 when the ad hoc committee of CBC women met in Toronto over a period of months to prepare a brief for submission to the CRTC at the time of the network licence renewals. The overwhelming concern expresssed at meetings and through a survey circulated to about 100 women was with promotion and advancement.

In other words, the issues raised by the MacIver task force twelve years ago are still alive and ill. The success of many a CBC woman depends on the ability of men to evaluate her performance potential and, as the more candid broadcasting executives have admitted, men still have terrific difficulty doing this — particularly if she is attractive or 'aggressive', which is to say professionally demanding. The problem now facing women with career ambitions in broadcasting is less that of getting a foot in the door, and more the complicated task of keeping a career, once started, going, growing, and challenging. Time and again one comes across stories of talented women who found themselves in a desperate professional rut after ten or fifteen years, unable to secure new projects, opportunities or direction.

This indicates that the major obstacle to women's advancement at the CBC and in the private sector both, are of the invisible variety, having to do with attitudes, biases and presumptions about women by those in senior management and production positions. The sins of today are more likely to be sins of omission rather than commission (opportunities denied rather than revoked). But it isn't only the attitudes of the boss or of his colleagues on a hiring committee: a great deal has to do with the luck of drawing a good crew of men to work with in the first place. More than one nascent career has faltered when a woman, once hired, found her male colleagues were unwilling or unable to accept her as an equal or accord her the authority to function responsibly in her position.

Researchers and management experts have theorized that the first stage entry of women into a previously all-male occupation, up to 20% or 30% participation, may be shocking but it is not dislocating. That is, women can be accommodated relatively painlessly and their presence does not imply fundamental alterations to the job or the environment. The second stage, moving the percentages up to equality, may actually be the more tricky one, for it very definitely does imply changes which can only be called revolutionary and will most likely be perceived as such by most men. In this stage it ceases to be a matter of moving over to give women room and becomes one where some men will have to move out.

The experience of the CBC with affirmative action and employment equity is instructive on two counts. First, it has demonstrated that breaking down job segregation will not happen unless there is commitment and active leadership at the senior corporate level. Women only got to first base because a couple of key individuals resolved to make it happen. (Which means that women will still only get into management positions if they arrive with an escort.) Secondly, it suggests that the successes will not be replicated (or even consolidated) unless the policy is made mandatory.

Women in journalism have begun to challenge themselves and to demand more opportunity to advance; they take their ambition neat, and are beginning to expect their contributions will be met with the same rewards as men's. There is still, however, a deep well of anger and frustration in the newsrooms and studios across the country as women individually run up against the invisible

barriers. That we need more encouragement is self-evident; that we need to organize more effectively and to develop our own leadership is also obvious. So is the need for better information and analysis on the actual status of women in the various media, as the issue cannot be propelled to the level of public debate without it.

We are now heading towards the crunch where men will have to start paying the price. Employment equity will not happen just because it is a good idea. It will only happen if the affirmative action for white, able-bodied men upon which these media institutions were all founded is ended; and that will only happen if there are penalties accompanying equal opportunity programmes — and if they are painful. I think we all have to understand that.

Susan Crean is a Toronto writer and member of the This Magazine *editorial collective. This article is based on research done for her book* Newsworthy: The Lives of Media Women *(Stoddart, 1985; paperback due from Good Read in the Spring of 1987) and a paper on Canadian women in broadcast management prepared for the Canadian Commission for UNESCO in 1986 as part of a five country study.*
