

# Canada's Silenced Communicators

## A Report on Women in Journalism and Public Relations<sup>1</sup>

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The negative image of women in media content has prompted great debate and many research papers in Canada over the past decade. An equally important concern, women's status as employees in communications, has drawn less attention. This article reviews the research in this area. It is limited to a description of women as journalists in newspapers and broadcasting and as public relations officers simply because little is known about women in other media fields. The reasons for this gap in research is open to speculation, but the fact remains that a literature search and phone calls to associations representing magazine writers and advertising professionals drew a blank. These and other mass media occupations, such as filmmaking and photo journalism, remain prime targets for study.

The available information about women in journalism echoes the story on women in the work force generally. Compared to men, women are fewer in number, have lower salaries and are barely visible at senior levels.

Although some of the research is dated and may not perfectly reflect today's situation, there is nothing to suggest that the status of women journalists has improved measurably. In public relations, women are stronger in numbers and have made solid gains in the federal public service. Overall, however, they are low-level employees and the salary gap with men is widening. Public relations women, like their sisters in journalism, are Canada's silenced communicators.

It is important to know what is happening to women professionals in communications because this industry has an impact on virtually everyone in Canada. The industry is not only a significant economic force, it has a strong influence on a nation's values and beliefs. If anyone wonders why feminists are concerned about the ideological power of the male-dominated media, the writings of Harold Innis alone provide a succinct answer. A pioneer in Canadian communication theory, Innis was convinced that the basic form of social power is the power to determine the entire world view of

a people—to define reality. Control of a society's communications system is a major weapon of that power.<sup>2</sup> It is important, then, to question the communications industry more closely than others. Indeed, the status of women in this field should be investigated not only in terms of better job opportunities, but in terms of their potential ability to re-define reality by influencing media content.

### **The Corporate Media Elite**

Twenty years ago many Canadians believed intelligence and initiative were the important stepping stones to the top of the business and media worlds. The pioneering work of sociologist John Porter in 1965, followed by Wallace Clement's update in 1975, put an end to any such delusions. The two reported that business and media empires were virtually closed to outsiders. They were ruled by a small number of closely tied Canadians who tended to be of British origin, Anglican, university educated and overwhelmingly male.<sup>3</sup>

In 1978, a study by Debra Clarke focussed on the 155 individuals at the top of 17 groups that owned and controlled most of the Canadian media. She found no meaningful change in personal characteristics, including sex, from the situation documented by Porter and Clement. Although five women sat on the boards of major media corporations, the elite was 96.8 per cent male.<sup>4</sup> Clarke maintained that the predominantly male owners were not inclined to let professional communicators set the policy and tone of their print and broadcast products. Many of the owners not only sat on boards, they also held important managerial positions within their own organizations. Owners did the hiring and firing for key posts, and tended to recruit people whose background, values and sex matched theirs. (Clarke mailed questionnaires to media executives just below the corporate owner level. She received 174 responses and only seven were

from females.) It would appear, then, that women have little say in the direction given to the media.

### **Newspapers**

One final point, not immediately germane to this paper but mentioned as a matter of interest—discrimination against women in both financial and job opportunity terms appears to be a marked feature of newspaper editorial departments.<sup>5</sup>

This brief comment in the three-volume Senate committee report on mass media in Canada (Davey Report) offered a nutshell description of female newspaper journalists in 1970. The Royal Commission on Newspapers, chaired by Tom Kent, had just as little to say in its 1981 report. The Kent Report mentioned in mid-sentence that newsrooms have more women reporters today and, perhaps unconsciously, revealed the absence of women in management positions by referring to editors as "he" and reporters as "he or she".<sup>6</sup> This lack of concern for the status of women on the part of government commission researchers is matched by the daily and weekly newspaper industry itself.

### **Daily Papers**

As of mid-1981, the Canadian Daily Newspaper Publishers' Association (CDNPA), representing 87 per cent of total daily circulation, had no completed studies of the status of women employees. However, a 1980 CDNPA survey of journalism graduates prompted voluntary comments about sexism in the newsroom. One woman left her job because the editor was a "sex maniac". Another said her goal was to reach the senior reporter level, but not higher. "I have been given no reason to believe women are welcome elsewhere."<sup>7</sup> Such comments certainly do not suggest that equality is alive and well in daily papers.

We are left, therefore, with a less than complete picture of the present position of female journalists on dailies because the most comprehensive source of information dates back to 1975. This was a survey of Canada's (then) 106 dailies, undertaken by Gertrude Joch Robinson, now director of the Graduate Program in Communications at McGill University.

How can a daily newspaper journalist judge how well she or he is doing in the business? For Robinson, there were three ways. Firstly, does the subject matter the reporter covers (the news beat) have prestige with colleagues, editors and the community, or is it considered peripheral? Secondly, does a person have a supervisory or senior management position? Thirdly, and most importantly, does a journalist receive the same pay as colleagues with the same education, training and workload? Robinson found women fared poorly in all three areas.<sup>8</sup>

In her study, Robinson reported that 25 per cent of the 2,450 daily paper journalists in 1975 were women (male: 1,946; female: 504).<sup>9</sup> Women were represented proportionately in all Canadian regions and cities, and in papers of all sizes. In fact, about 30 per cent of the women, but only about 27 per cent of the men worked on large-city, large-circulation papers. These larger papers can usually afford to pay higher wages and can offer more prestigious assignments. But did women get these valued reporting jobs and meet the first of Robinson's three criteria for professional status? Very often they did not.

Robinson found there were distinctive "male" and "female" beats, and that male beats (covered by men) were often the ones judged worthy of front page coverage. For instance, 19 of 30 sample dailies had no women reporters covering the federal government; 25 of 34 papers had no women writing business and financial news; and 23 of 44 dailies had no

female police and court reporters. The distinctively female beats were lifestyles, consumer affairs and religion.

A later study (1979) by researcher Hawley Black suggested that women's access to prestigious political news beats was improving. Black reported that 15 per cent of the print reporters in the Parliamentary Press Gallery in 1979 were female, compared with four per cent in 1966. The women journalists were better educated than their male colleagues and also tended to be younger, less experienced and earned less money. Several women were chiefs of one-person news bureaus, but they received less money than a comparable one-man bureau chief or male reporter.<sup>10</sup>

When Robinson looked at her second criterion for success—authority, she found that women were disproportionately represented in the lowest of reporting and management rungs. While 53 per cent of all reporters on dailies were at the rank-and-file level, 63 per cent of all female reporters were grouped there, along with 50 per cent of all male reporters. Women had less than one per cent representation in each of the top three management categories: day and night editor, assistant managing editor, and chief editor and publisher.

Looking at her third criterion for success—money, Robinson reported that all employers in her survey said they paid both sexes equally, taking experience, seniority and education into account. She learned that the average salary for all types of daily journalists in 1974 was \$12,827, while half her women respondents said they received \$10,000 or less. Robinson suggested the difference could not be explained totally by the fact that women were often in lower positions. She believed the Canadian case would prove similar to the U.S., where a study using sophisticated forms of analysis showed that a journalist's sex alone

was a significant predictor of salary. Paraphrasing the U.S. study, Robinson wrote, you get more money with more experience, if you work in a large city, and if you are not a woman.<sup>11</sup> She concluded that barriers restricting women from prestigious beats and higher positions were probably costing Canada's women daily newspaper journalists about \$2,000 a year (in 1974 dollars).

The Washington D.C.-based Newspaper Guild, which represents employees of Canada's 11 organized dailies, has done no research on the subject of women journalists. It claims, however, that Guild demands, first voiced in the early 1960s, have "virtually wiped out" salary discrepancies between women's page reporters (predominantly female) and other reporters. The Guild is also continuing a "largely successful" battle to open more of the important news beats to women and other minorities.<sup>12</sup>

Women hold almost one-third of the jobs on newspapers but men really run the show.<sup>13</sup>

This was the finding of the Ontario Press Council following a 1977-8 survey of its nine daily newspaper members. In size, these papers ranged from Canada's largest daily, *The Toronto Star*, to the *Owen Sound Sun Times* with a circulation of less than 19,000. This survey is more timely than Robinson's, but its statistics are not directly comparable because they include all employees, not just journalists. Men in the nine newspapers held 93.14 per cent of major decision-making roles, and 87.78 per cent of the minor ones.

Authors of the report said the "depressing" news for women was that only one of 198 could expect to win a major management post; one in 27 would fill a minor post. They added, however, that the dailies were hiring greater numbers of women for the newsroom and that,

"given the opportunity", women had proven as capable as men in all aspects of work.

### Weekly Newspapers

Every man holds a decision-making role of some kind. Among the women, it's one in four.<sup>14</sup>

This fact about the staff of five small Ontario weeklies is also from the Ontario Press Council report. Once again, the survey of member newspapers covers total staff, not just journalists. In all, the five papers had 36 employees in 1977-8; 24 women to 12 men. Only two of the women had major posts; four had minor management jobs. The report said the weeklies found women adaptable to the diverse skills needed to produce their papers. As well, the weeklies found they could use women on a part-time basis and at a lower pay rate than dailies.

There appears to be no further information about the status of women on weeklies. The Canadian Community Newspaper Association, representing 550 weeklies, has no studies.<sup>15</sup>

### Broadcasting

Information about the status of women journalists working in Canada's more than 500 radio and television stations appears to be minimal.<sup>16</sup> The previously noted study of Ottawa's Parliamentary Press Gallery in 1979 found that 13 of 90 radio and television reporters were women. In 1966 women did not exist in this field on Parliament Hill. Like the female newspaper correspondents in the press gallery, the 13 broadcasters were better educated, younger and less experienced than their male colleagues. They also earned less money.<sup>17</sup>

A 1975 study of all women (not just journalists) employed in the Canadian Broad-

casting Corporation (CBC), indicates there had been a slight increase in the percentage of women as producers and managers. The authors wrote, however, that it would take women until the year 2009 to be proportionately represented in management. Producers of TV shows would not “make it” until the late 1990s while radio producers could expect proportionate representation by the late 1980s.<sup>18</sup>

The CBC study of all staff showed there were distinctive “male” and “female” jobs; and that women’s jobs (positions where 90 per cent of employees were female) generally had lower salaries. News work was considered an “integrated” job only in central Canada because female reporters and editors were rare elsewhere. Despite the “integrated” label, only seven of 66 news reporters in Toronto were female; and only seven of 55 were female in Montreal.

As a result of the report, the CBC established an office of equal opportunities to implement the recommendations. These included a long-term equal opportunity program that would equalize treatment of males and females in job and promotion access, give women equal training, pay and benefits, and change the rules of work to recognize joint parental responsibilities. Helen McVey, Director of Equal Opportunities, said last year that women were being offered more senior management jobs, and there was a considerable change in senior management’s attitude towards women employees.<sup>19</sup>

### News Services

A literature search produced no evidence of in-depth studies on women journalists in the half dozen news services that supply the bulk of national and foreign news printed and aired every day. The 1979 study of the Parliamentary Press Gallery, however, gave some in-

dications of the status of women in Canadian Press (CP), Canada’s largest agency. Five of CP’s 25 press gallery reporters were female in 1979, compared to one in 1966. Although none of the five had a senior role, more women than men had higher salaries, even though the women were younger and had slightly less education and experience—a surprising finding for which there was no adequate explanation.

Although CP did not assign its five women to “female beats”, some editors of the newspapers that use CP stories seemed to assume that a female byline meant the story must be primarily for women. One female CP reporter on Parliament Hill covered the voyage of the tanker *Manhattan* through the Arctic and discovered her story printed on the women’s page of some papers.<sup>20</sup>

### Public Relations

Public Relations is the one area of the communications industry where the status of women has prompted recent and in-depth research. The two major studies are by the Public Relations Degree Program at Mount Saint Vincent University and the International Association of Business Communicators. As we will see, the only encouraging news for women comes from a study of federal government public relations officers which I undertook.

In 1980, researchers at Mount Saint Vincent University studied the “help wanted” ads and questioned employers about the type of public relations people they were looking for.<sup>21</sup> Of the 118 respondents (people who made hiring decisions), only eight per cent were women. Researchers learned that equal numbers of men and women were being hired across Canada, except in the West. In the booming western provinces, organizations were hiring more women than men and were paying

higher salaries than the rest of Canada. But were these western firms paying their higher salaries to the female employees? The answer is "no", reports Jon White, who headed the study. He said follow-up interviews with several western respondents indicated that women are employed in greater numbers because they would accept lower salaries.

The International Association of Business Communicators (IABC) is a San Francisco-based organization with 8,000 public relations practitioners as members. In 1979, it studied the employment status of 2,742 members, about 10 per cent of them Canadian.<sup>22</sup> The research showed that women were now a majority in the association. Their membership had risen from 46 per cent in 1975 to more than 54 per cent in 1979. IABC's "typical communicator", according to the report, is a woman in her mid-30s with a journalism degree and seven years full-time work experience. She is an editor in the employee relations division of a manufacturing firm; she has two people reporting directly to her; and she earns less money than the average male IABC member.

The survey showed that women tended to attend more business conferences and workshops than men, and belonged to more professional groups. Women communicators were also found to be younger than male IABC members, slightly less likely to hold a degree, and tended to have less experience. But analysis showed that sex was the best overall indicator of salary. All things being equal, women earned less money and the disparity was increasing. A breakdown of Canadian respondents to the survey showed women with an average salary of \$18,333 in 1979, while men earned \$4,632 more.

A more recent study, carried out in Quebec, paints a similar picture. The Canadian Public Relations Society (Quebec) learned in 1981

their women members were generally less experienced and had lower pay than male colleagues.<sup>23</sup>

### Federal Government Public Relations

The job market for public relations practitioners includes private public relations firms, public relations divisions of business firms and social organizations (such as a hospital), and the information services divisions of all three levels of government. Since the IABC study and the Mount Saint Vincent University study did not focus on government employees, I gathered data to compare salaries of public relations officers in the Canadian government with public relations officers in Canadian industry, and with journalists in Canada's unionized newspapers and television stations.<sup>24</sup> The comparison (see Table 1) shows that, regardless of sex, public relations (Information Service) officers in the Canadian government were significantly better paid in 1980 than their counterparts in private enterprise. As well, government salaries more than matched The Newspaper Guild's minimum salary schedule at the newspaper and television station that offered the highest unionized salaries in Canada. In addition, the federal government, an avowed equal opportunity employer since the early '70s, has hired more women than men in public relations during the last eight years and has promoted these women to management posts at an impressive rate.<sup>25</sup>

The Mount Saint Vincent University survey of 118 employers, mainly non-government, showed that university graduates with five years experience in communications were being offered public relations jobs with salaries that usually ranged from \$16-\$22,000 in 1980. But we have also learned from their follow-up study that females were accepting lower salaries than males. To compare with Canada's unionized media (where union

minimums are equal for men and women): The Newspaper Guild minimum at *The Toronto Star* in 1980 was \$25,077 for a new reporter with six years media experience. This Toronto daily was the Guild's highest paying newspaper in 1980. The Newspaper Guild also had a contract with one television station in 1980. At that time, the Guild's minimum at CJOH-TV in Ottawa was \$26,704 for a newly hired senior reporter (experience not specified).

Let's compare this with federal government salaries. A public relations executive with a major federal department reported it would not be unusual to hire a person with five or six years communications experience as an Information Service Officer Level 4 (IS4). The IS4 starting salary for a person of either sex was \$27,196 in 1980. Unfortunately for job seekers with an eye for the top dollar, our government source pointed out that federal belt-tightening in the past few years has made

it difficult to hire people who are not already working for the government.<sup>26</sup>

As shown in Table 2, men and women were equally represented only in the lowest of seven levels of the federal Information Service hierarchy in 1972. The female presence dropped significantly halfway up the ladder, until, at the top, there were no women at all. By 1976, women outnumbered men in the bottom category. Men outnumbered women on each successive step, but to a much lesser extent (except at Level 6). At the top, women had increased from zero to nearly 16 per cent.

By 1980, women outnumbered men in the lowest two categories. They also held 24 per cent of the jobs in a middle management group (IS5), compared with 7.1 per cent in 1972 and 18.1 per cent in 1976. At the top level (IS7), women had 17.4 per cent of the posts, com-

Table 1  
Comparison of 1980 Salaries in Mass Media and  
Public Relations, Regardless of Sex

| Employer                                  | Qualifications                          | Salaries                |
|---|---|-------------------------|
| Toronto Star                              | 6 years experience                      | \$25,077                |
| CJOH-TV                                   | Senior reporter                         | \$26,704                |
| Majority of PR Jobs                       | University Degree<br>5 years experience | \$16-\$22,000           |
| Federal Government<br>Information Service | 5-6 years experience                    | \$27,196<br>(IS4 level) |

*Sources: Agreement Between the Treasury Board and the Public Service Alliance of Canada (Ottawa: Minister of Supply & Services Canada, 1979); White, p. 26; telephone interviews with The Newspaper Guild, Canadian Region, Ottawa, March 1981.*

pared with zero in 1972, and 15.8 per cent in 1976. Overall in 1980, women held nearly 39 per cent of the federal government's 1,002 Information Service positions. In 1972, they were 25.8 per cent of the more than 600 employees.

In short, the federal government has been hiring more women than men and appears to offer Canada's women communicators the best promotion opportunities, and the best salaries—a pay package worth up to an additional \$11,000 a year.

Table 2  
Total Employees in the Federal Government's  
Information Service Group, and Percentage of Women

| Level   | 1972            |       | 1976            |       | 1980            |       |
|---------|-----------------|-------|-----------------|-------|-----------------|-------|
|         | Total Employees | Women | Total Employees | Women | Total Employees | Women |
| 1 (low) | 2               | 50%   | 64              | 62.5% | 40              | 62.5% |
| 2       | 146             | 47.3% | 219             | 49.8% | 191             | 55.5% |
| 3       | 165             | 27.9% | 286             | 41.6% | 269             | 46.1% |
| 4       | 194             | 19%   | 302             | 25.5% | 304             | 29.6% |
| 5       | 56              | 7.1%  | 155             | 18.1% | 129             | 24%   |
| 6       | 39              | 5.1%  | 44              | 4.5%  | 46              | 15.2% |
| 7       | 15              | 0%    | 19              | 15.8% | 23              | 17.4% |
| TOTALS  | 617*            | 25.8% | 1089**          | 34.7% | 1002            | 38.6% |

\*Excludes 12 employees whose sex was unknown.

\*\*Excludes 4 employees whose sex was unknown.

Source: *Data Stream File and Population Annual Report (PARFile)*, Statistical Analysis and Forecasting Unit, Human Resources Planning Division, Public Service Commission of Canada, Ottawa, 1972-80.

## The International Scene

Although this report focusses on the Canadian experience, it is useful to know to what extent we differ from other countries. Looking at a United Nations analysis of research material from around the world, we find the Canadian situation echoed: women are underemployed, underpaid and undervalued.<sup>27</sup>

Two points raised in the United Nations report may be of interest to Canadian researchers. One was the fact that U.S. females were valued for on-air TV news work—if they had a pleasing face and personality. Second, a U.S. government agency discovered in 1977 that some TV stations were loading three-quarters of their staff into top management categories to impress equal opportunities officials. In fact, they had simply reclassified low-level minority group workers without changing their responsibilities or salaries.

Apart from the United Nations report, two other studies showed that Canadian women had an edge on their American sisters in some respects. More Canadian females, proportionately, worked on large-city, large-circulation dailies—papers that could offer higher wages and important news beats. As well, Canadian women held a wider range of reporting jobs than American women.<sup>28</sup> The second study showed that Canadian women in public relations earned \$2,000 more than U.S. women.<sup>29</sup>

A 1980 U.S. study on public relations found that women tended to remain in “technician” roles (writing, editing and material production), while men rose to the policy-making and director levels.<sup>30</sup> The survey information from 480 respondents was adjusted to account for women’s younger age and less experience, but that did not explain the differences. The study’s author, Glen Broom, raised the issue of whether women really want to have authority.

He answered that by referring to another study showing women public relations officers scored higher than males in a test that measured their sense of professionalism.<sup>31</sup>

Broom closed with the question: “Is it something about the employment situations, something about the practitioners themselves, or aspects of both that account for role differences?”<sup>32</sup> Researchers who ventured to suggest the answers, believed the root cause was “attitudes”: the socially approved male view of women as inferiors in the working world.

## Male Attitudes: A Major Barrier

Research to date indicates that women in communications generally run a poor second to men, and that discrimination on sexual grounds alone is a prime factor. Robinson, who reported on the unequal treatment of women in Canadian daily newspapers in 1975, concluded that negative attitudes about women were a major factor in the structural barriers restricting their employment and advancement:

These inequalities appear to stem from deeply ingrained notions about women’s inferiority, which seem to pervade all types of societies. These negative evaluations continue to be fed and sustained by patriarchally-defined roles of man and wife in the home and by a lack of understanding that industry, politics and culture require women’s talents *on a par* with those of men.<sup>33</sup>

The importance of “attitudes” was emphasized also in the 1975 CBC task force report on female employees in all departments. Since 93 per cent of management positions were held by men, their views of women are important, the authors said. Interviews with CBC managers across Canada led the authors to conclude that many men in charge of hiring

and promotion had a “very distinctive view of women”.<sup>34</sup> Generally this view was that women did not want to be promoted, were not mobile and did not “need the money.” Women did not have the background for “important” work, were often absent, were not long-time employees, and could not do strenuous work. Women were better suited to work that required speed and accuracy, and they enjoyed repetitive detail. Women were overly emotional and generally troublesome.

The CBC report followed these statements with 27 pages of text, tables and graphs that tested the truth of these views. The authors concluded that women’s unequal treatment at the CBC was a result of management decisions based on assumptions that were unquestionably false for the majority of women.

The United Nations study referred to earlier also concluded that stereotypes about women produced their negative rating as employees. It pointed to a 1976 survey of American businessmen in general. The survey showed that businessmen thought of their female colleagues and workers as women first, employees second. The men tended to doubt women’s ability to balance their jobs with family responsibilities; and they had an inaccurate picture of women’s physical and biological makeup, and its effect on their abilities.<sup>35</sup>

Such attitudes could well be seen as a fundamental indictment of the mass media. Although changes in attitude are not brought about solely by the media, the perpetuation of erroneous myths about women must surely be related to the lack of factual information about women in television programming for instance. The distorted portrayal of women in advertisements and commercials is also a major problem, and one not easily solved. The United Nations report stressed that advertisers have built a lucrative consumer market by using women as sex symbols to encourage men to

buy anything from cars to power tools. Businessmen have also found it profitable to socialize females into believing they are inadequate if the kitchen and bathroom are not the centre of their daily concerns.

### Conclusion and Research Recommendations

Researchers have made it clear that the communications industry is controlled by males whose background and interests make them unlikely to accept females as equal partners in the work force. Women face discrimination because of their sex alone, and this is reflected in low pay, power and prestige. Although the powerful mass media could help change erroneous beliefs about females, Canada’s women communicators at present have little influence on media content.

Jean Baker-Pearce, a weekly newspaper owner, writes:

The employment of women in responsible positions becomes almost a “dog chasing its own tail” situation for the women’s advancement. Until newspapers and other media portray women responsibly, as sensible human beings, or *appear* to treat women responsibly, many will feel that they must be irresponsible.<sup>36</sup>

What can researchers do to clarify the situation of women in journalism and public relations and in other communications professions? In the first place, it is important to update the existing work on print journalists and to initiate studies in the media fields which have virtually been ignored—advertising and magazines in particular. Secondly, women in the federal information services have risen rapidly to management ranks in the past decade. It would be valuable to know who these women are, what effect they have on government programs, and how they are perceived by their male peers or superiors and

other females.<sup>37</sup> Another prime target for research is the socialization of young women at the more than 40 Canadian colleges and universities with journalism and public relations courses.<sup>38</sup> Female students outnumber males in most schools, but attempts to instruct them in the patriarchal nature of society, and their future as media women, seem to be rare. It is usually left to the initiative of individual teachers. Journalism professors appear to be predominantly male, and some female students have complained of sexual harassment.<sup>39</sup>

Lastly, but certainly not least in importance, is the need for research to link the connection between advertising's stereotypes of women, media owners' dependence on advertising, media content, and women's poor status as communicators and workers generally.

#### NOTES

1. This article is an adaptation of "The Status of Canada's Women Communicators" written for Professor Jill Vickers by Andrea Nugent as a research paper for a directed studies course in the Master of Journalism Program at Carleton University.
2. James Carey, "Canadian Communication Theory: Extension and Interpretation of Harold Innis", *Studies in Canadian Communications*, G.S. Robinson et al. (eds.), 1975, p. 44. Based on Harold Innis, *The Bias of Communication* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1951).
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4. Debra Clarke, "The Significance of Mass Media Ownership for the Process of Ideological Reproduction", M.A. Thesis, McMaster University, 1978.
5. Report of the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media, Vol. II, *Words, Music and Dollars* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970), p. 444.
6. *Royal Commission on Newspapers* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1981), p. 105.
7. Catherine Russell, "The Attitudes of Canadian Journalism Graduates Toward Journalism Education" (Toronto: Canadian Daily Newspaper Publishers' Association, 1980), pp. 12-13.
8. Gertrude Joch Robinson, "Women Journalists in Canadian Dailies", Association for Education in Journalism Convention, Carleton University, Ottawa, 1975.
9. A 1981 survey for the Royal Commission on Newspapers mentioned, in passing, that Quebec's nine French-language dailies employed 411 male journalists and 60 females. (Women were 12.7 per cent of the total.) *The Journalists* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1981), p. 200.
10. Hawley L. Black, "Today's press gallery women", *Carleton Journalism Review*, Summer 1980, pp. 13, 14.
11. William W. Bowman, "Distaff Journalists", Diss. University of Illinois, 1974, p. 157, as cited in Robinson, "Women Journalists", p. 18.
12. Telephone interview with Hannah Jo Rayl, Human Rights Co-ordinator, The Newspaper Guild, Washington, D.C., March 9/81.
13. "Roles of Women in the Newspapers", *Sexism and the Newspapers* (Ottawa: Ontario Press Council, 1978), p. 16.
14. "Roles of Women in the Newspapers", p. 16. Staff survey of the *Stittsville News*, *Alliston Herald*, *Orangeville Citizen*, *Shelburne Free Press and Economist*, and the *Port Elgin Reporter*.
15. Telephone interview with executive member Jean Baker-Pearce, Allison, Ontario, February 26/81.
16. Telephone interviews with Pierre Nadeau, Canadian Association of Broadcasters, Ottawa, February 17/81; Ted Ledingham, Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunication Commission (CRTC), Ottawa, February 17/81; Ninon Bourque, Canadian Cable Television Association, Ottawa, February 27/81.
17. Black, pp. 12, 13.
18. Report of the CBC Task Force on the Status of Women, *Women in the CBC*, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 1975, p. 17.
19. Telephone interview with Helen McVey, Office of Equal Opportunities, CBC, Ottawa, Feb. 27/81.
20. Black, pp. 12, 13.
21. Jon White et al., *Public Relations Employment in Canada*, a report by faculty and students of the Public Relations Degree Program, Mount Saint Vincent University, Halifax, 1980.
22. "Profile/79", *Journal of Organization Communications*, Vol. 8, No. 4, 1979.
23. Study of Canadian Public Relations Society members in Quebec by public relations faculty and students at Laval University.
24. *Agreement Between the Treasury Board and the Public Service Alliance of Canada* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1979); White, p. 26; telephone interviews with The Newspaper Guild, Canadian Region, Ottawa, March 1981.
25. *Data Stream File and Population Annual Report (PARFile)*, Statistical Analysis and Forecasting Unit, Human Resources Planning Division, Public Service Commission of Canada, Ottawa, 1972-80.
26. Personal interview with Cedric Jennings, Director General Public Affairs, Employment and Immigration Canada, March 19/81.
27. Mike Ceulemans and Guido Fauconnier, *Mass Media: The Image, Role, and Social Conditions of Women* (Paris: UNESCO, 1979).
28. Robinson, 1975.
29. "Profile/79", p. 18.
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31. Rose Lyn Jacob, "Public Relations Practitioners: Gender as a Predictor of Professional Orientation", Thesis, University of Wisconsin—Madison 1979, as cited in Broom, 1980.
  32. Broom, p. 8.
  33. Gertrude Joch Robinson, "The Future of Women in the Canadian Media", *McGill Journal of Education*, Vol. XII, No. 1, Spring 1977, p. 131.
  34. Report of the CBC Task Force, p. 41.
  35. R. Scott, *The Female Consumer* (London: Associated Business Programs, 1976), as cited in Ceulemans and Fauconnier, UNESCO, p. 49.
  36. Jean Baker-Pearce is the owner and publisher of the Alliston (Ontario) Herald, and an executive member of Canadian and Ontario newspaper associations. This quote is from her article "Women Publisher Comments", *Sexism and the Newspapers*, p. 19.
  37. A recent study shows female managers have a favourable view of female co-workers. J. Jabes, the *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science*, Vol. 12, 1980, p. 52 and following pages. Cited in letter from Wendy Josephson, lecturer in psychology, University of Winnipeg, March 4/81.
  38. A list of journalism schools and a description of courses at major institutions is included in *The Journalists*, Vol. 2 of the Royal Commission on Newspapers' research studies on the newspaper industry. Public relations courses are described in Jo-Lynne Sutherland, "An Examination and Analysis of the Practice and Teaching of Public Relations in Canada", Diss. School of Business Administration, The American University, Washington, D.C., 1977. Neither document examines feminist issues.
  39. Personal interviews and/or correspondence in 1981 with Phyllis Wilson and Joseph Scanlon, Carleton University, Ottawa; Harry Goldhar, University of Western Ontario, London; Mary Maguire, Ryerson Polytechnical Institute, Toronto; Pat Preston, Mount Royal College, Calgary; Jon White, Mount Saint Vincent University, Halifax.
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*ROLE PLAYING* by Sarah Jackson, pen and ink, 1976.

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