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"Window on the World":
A History of Women in CBC Radio
Talks and Public Affairs
1936 - 1966

by

Alison Taylor

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
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of Women in CBC Radio Talks and Public Affairs
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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the historical role of women in the Talks and Public Affairs (English Language) department of the CBC from 1936 to 1966. Specifically, the study traces the involvement of both broadcasters and producers in the development of radio programs targetted to a female audience. The major findings establish that women were responsible for creating a wide range of programs designed to reflect and broaden the Canadian woman's interests in all areas. Although the focus of Women's Interests programs changed throughout the thirty period, it adhered to the general philosophy of the Talks and Public Affairs department. It was concluded that despite their important contribution to Public Affairs radio, women broadcasters and producers experienced a number of forms of discrimination, including their containment to women's programming during the day and their exclusion from the CBC Pension Plan. The voice of women's radio programs did not radically challenge the traditional concepts of women's interests, projecting instead male-stream notions of their role in Canadian society. However, the reproduction of patriarchal attitudes occurred within a separate, woman-centered culture which maintained a distinct group identity and association with women listeners.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Introduction	1
Chapter One : Establishing the Guidelines - A discussion of relevant feminist literature	9
Chapter Two : A General History of the Talks and Public Affairs department 1936-1966	27
Chapter Three: "The Formative Years - 1936-1949"	54
Chapter Four : "The Many Voices of Tradition - 1950-1959"	93
Chapter Five: "Decade of Transition - 1960-1966" ..	140
Conclusion:	175
Notes:	183
Bibliography:	197

INTRODUCTION

Radio opening wide my portals,
Leads to a starry guest within
And I find each room grown spacious
Where her wayward feet have been.

(Claire Virginia Barton, 1925)

In June of 1965, Helen Carscallen, senior program organizer for CBC Talks and Public Affairs, submitted her resignation. Two months later, Helen James resigned as Assistant Supervisor in charge of Women's interests programs after twenty years of service. Less than a year later, Margaret Howes, Regional Supervisor for English-language Public Affairs programs in Quebec, left her position after nineteen years of employment. Also in 1966, Dorothea Cox, veteran producer-program organizer for Talks and Public Affairs, left her job in September. All four women were of the highest ranks of production in the Corporation with a combined seventy years of experience in broadcasting. Helen James had achieved the highest position then open to women.

On the surface, there was little in common in the reasons given for leaving the CBC. Helen Carscallen, for example, believed she no longer had the ability to create new program ideas for women's programs. Helen James' decision to resign was a result of her desire to return to her previous career in social work. Margaret Howes left because of her growing frustration with the tensions between English

and French in Quebec and the CBC's apparent disinterest in fostering English-language programs which would interpret French Canada to the English-speaking communities. Finally, Dorothea Cox, at one time the only Talks producer for the Maritime region, was eligible for a full pension after twenty years of service.

Important as individual reasons are, they do not by themselves reveal the factors which link the four resignations together as a shared event. The sequence of events suggest that there were broader causes not wholly understood by the individuals involved which conceivably influenced their decisions. An exploration of the underlying factors reveals a host of interrelated developments which precipitated this event. The establishment of the collective nature of the resignations and their significance for Public Affairs programs hinges on an analysis of the changes which important programs experienced. Because women producers and program organizers implemented policy through their program decisions, their response to changes in the direction of that policy was direct and dynamic. In other words, the status and position of a producer was derived from the perceived status associated with the programs under her control. A search for the more general historical developments must therefore include an understanding of the wider sphere in which these women worked. Indeed, the sequence of the resignations can only be understood fully in

terms of the previous evolution of women's role in Talks and Public Affairs.

* * * *

Throughout its history as a public corporation, the CBC has used public affairs radio as a primary means of fulfilling its mandate for educational programming in the Canadian context. The Talks and Public Affairs department fashioned a program philosophy which focussed on the importance of creating an informed community-oriented dialogue dealing with the full spectrum of issues relevant to a Canadian audience. This perspective provided the necessary ideological framework for the development of programming directed specifically to women whose interests were assumed to be oriented toward the home and community. In addition, it offered women the opportunity to become part of a public-spirited team of producers dedicated to the expression of a changing political and social consciousness.

The role of women in English-language Talks and Public Affairs merits special attention as the department was the only program area which employed a significant number of women as producers and broadcasters. Although other divisions, notably Drama and Features, hired women as script assistants and secretaries, the overwhelming majority of women in senior production were grouped in Talks and Public Affairs. From its genesis in World War II to the mid-1960s, these women were closely associated with the

department's interpretation of CBC policies regarding educational and informational programming.

The Talks and Public Affairs philosophy was predicated on the belief that educational radio should introduce listeners to ideas and information which would widen their horizons. For women in the home, daytime programs were a relied-upon window on the world. Over a thirty year span, Women's Interests interpreted national and international events from a woman's perspective. In order to understand the changing interpretation of this philosophy, the analysis will be divided into four chapters. Because the Talks and Public Affairs policy guidelines served as an umbrella for all programs, the first chapter will explore the general history of the department. The following three chapters will discuss the role of women producers and broadcasters in radio with specific emphasis on Women's Interests programs. To account for changing attitudes of women's role in society and their impact on radio, each decade will be dealt with separately.

During the 1940s, the CBC as a whole was still engaged in the process of mapping out broadcast policies which would articulate and reflect the Canadian society to which it spoke. The relative fluidity of the Corporation's structure, coupled with the acute labour shortage during the war, allowed women to enter the one department where their training and skills could be effectively applied. Most women broadcasters and producers held university degrees, primarily Library Science, English or Politics, and had at

least a smattering of journalistic experience. The Talks and Public Affairs' focus on community and public involvement and its emphasis on indepth research and creative input was well-suited to women's traditional interests.

Their survival beyond the post-war era assumed women would return to the home ensured that their contribution to programming would remain a vital factor in the development of public affairs radio. Throughout the 1950s, women in both production and in front of the microphone solidified their position within the Talks program schedule. Yet despite the advance made in creating more sophisticated educational programs, women continued to be formally discriminated against; their status within the Corporation remained unequal to that of their male counterparts. During the 1960s, this situation was reversed. Although women's full right to permanent employment on a basis equal with that of men was finally recognized, their ability to control and direct programming deteriorated.

The documentary record of Talks and Public Affairs programs, specifically Women's Interests, can be mined more effectively with the use of relevant theoretical literature. Where historical documentation is fragmentary, feminist literature helps to pose more meaningful questions in addition to placing available material in a clearer light. At the same time, this study of women's role in CBC radio may throw more light on the relationship between women and the media. There are still only a few historical

analyses of women's involvement in the media in Canada. In fact, there was no previous research of any kind on women and programming in the CBC before the 1974 CBC Task Force Report on the Status of Women.

Sociology and psychology are among the disciplines that have recently developed a number of hypotheses which attempt to reveal the barriers to women's advancement, and their sources for power, autonomy and authority. Differences in gender experiences have rendered women invisible within a male-stream--supposedly neutral organization such as the CBC. The traditional split between work and family, public and private spheres, has prevented a more balanced interpretation of women's roles. Conventional methodologies have masked fundamental differences in gender experiences. The use of feminist theory addresses the contradiction in social concepts of femininity and business-like behaviour.

Understanding how women perceived themselves as decision-makers in an organizational setting is a key factor in discovering both their formal status and their relationship to programming in Talks and Public Affairs. There are several fundamental questions which need to be addressed. Was there a distinct women's culture which evolved separately from the male corporate world of the CBC? If such a parallel orientation existed, what strategies were employed by women producers and broadcasters to maintain group identity? Did they create a network of support or rely on

mentors? Such strategies would directly influence women's sources for control of programs and their status within the department and the Corporation as a whole.

The tendency to institutionalize accepted opinions and ideologies included patriarchal notions of women's traditional interests in the home and family. Oral history allows a deeper exploration of women's own view of her work. For example, how are her responses to her work affected by her concept of women's role? Why does a woman believe in her particular truth and how does that influence her approach to programming? Oral histories of women include a unique set of contradictions. Direct questions about job discrimination usually result in a firm denial; most will argue that they were simply doing 'their job'. It is difficult, often impossible to have a woman admit that in her career she faced unusual problems because she was female. Yet further, more discreet questions reveal how she felt about her work and how others treated her and so may uncover the unspoken, informal rules which placed her as a woman working in a man's world. Did women producers and broadcasters reproduce the current male-stream values? Or did they attempt to use radio as a means of voicing an alternate, woman-centered ideology?

This research on women in CBC radio is devoted to establishing the precise nature of the dynamic relationship between programs and those responsible for their production. An exploration of women's control over programs will

also uncover the factors affecting their status within the Talks and Public Affairs department. In broad terms, understanding these two interrelated questions will reveal the changing voice of the world of women's radio.

CHAPTER 1 : Establishing the Guidelines

From the beginning of the CBC's history as a national public media institution, women worked as program organizers and broadcasters in the Talks and Public Affairs department. They are often seen, in retrospect at least, as holding non-traditional elitist occupations offering a strong future in a newly expanding field of communications. Yet since World War II, their relative numbers and status within this department remained relatively unchanged. Indeed, it is clear that although the Corporation grew substantially during this period, women's sources for and input into innovative radio programming did not. This was the case even though many women were located in the national program head office and were thus accorded a significantly higher degree of prestige. What is not so clear, however, are the underlying reasons for the static nature of women's place in CBC radio.

Determination of these reasons must ultimately rest upon hard evidence. Such evidence is not only decidedly scarce, however, but also difficult to interpret. If the best use is to be made of it, therefore, two prior steps are necessary. First, the explanations given in retrospect by the women in question should be taken into consideration, allowing, of course, for built-in biases and distortions resulting from time. Secondly, explanatory concepts, hypothesis, and theories within the rapidly maturing field of women's studies should be kept closely in mind. This is not to say that all of these are either relevant or valid in the

present context. But certainly there are a great many ideas that have been developed by women's studies scholars that could potentially help to illuminate the object of study of this thesis. The purpose of this chapter, therefore, will be to set forth some of the most important of these ideas.

A general explanation for the situation under examination might conceivably be found in the traditional, historical conception of women's role in the workforce, which have been based on static concepts such as caste, class, or oppressed group. This male-stream approach has depicted women as the passive recipients of external forces acting upon them without reciprocal responses. It has equated men with the "active" public sphere and women with the "inactive" private realm of domesticity. However, such generalizations have obscured women's real sources for initiative and influence in the workplace. In those instances where research has recognized women's role in specific occupations or, in the workforce generally, women's experience have frequently been regarded as synonymous with that of men. Furthermore, by simply recording the points of resistance by, or oppression of, women, there is a failure to address women's own sources for initiative and autonomy within a patriarchal organization.

Current feminist research thus seeks to address this imbalance by breaking down traditional definitions to allow for a more complex and subtle treatment of women's involvement in public life. By placing women in the centre of

analysis, feminist historical frameworks provide greater insight into the ways in which women have actively contributed to historical processes. The "writing of women into history" involves the expansion and remodelling of traditional notions of historical significance.¹ New categories, designed to account for personal subjective experiences as well as public and political actions, have opened up a multiplicity of changes in women's roles over time. In addition, this focus permits the discovery and study of a wide range of developments that cut across class, race, and ethnic lines and move toward the identification of women's work as a collective experience. While individual strategies are clearly important to an analysis of women in a public organization, recognition of women's shared condition establishes a clearer link between the public they serve and their own sources for the expression of autonomy, authority and creativity.

The idea of a shared condition is important to keep in mind in the present case because a close range analysis of one particular group of women could lead to the false conclusion that their experience was the product of personal failure or unique insight. Studied collectively the women in CBC production, whether in front of or behind the microphone, acquire a more dynamic perspective. In particular, a number of strategies, initiated on both group and individual levels, were available for women in the Talks and Public Affairs department to survive or challenge the prevailing ideology concerning women's place.

Although formal authority structures in a society may still subsume women's experience in categories based on male-stream ideals and values, the close attention paid feminist research to women's strategies and motives, to the types of relationships they establish and the ends they achieve, reveals that women have a good deal more power than generally assumed. The forms this power takes are often less visible, however, and not communicated in the same manner as the power and authority used by men. One method through which women can attain greater levels of responsibility and authority is by stressing their differences from men. Indeed, one feminist theoretical perspective explores the possibility of a separate women's culture illuminating women's unique experiences. Gerda Lerner has argued, for example, that "...what we call women's history may actually be the study of a separate women's culture. Such a culture would include not only the separate occupations, status, experiences and rituals of women but also their consciousness, which internalizes patriarchal assumptions. In some cases, it would include the tensions created in that culture between the prescribed patriarchal assumptions and women's efforts to gain autonomy and emancipation."² Similarly, Rosaldo and Lamphere have maintained that by accepting and elaborating upon the values and expectations traditionally associated with their cultural and social definitions, women may establish a society unto themselves.³

An examination of the differences between male and female values, their use in a organizational setting, and their capabilities for preserving traditional sex-role stereotypes, could help explain the static images and separate status accorded women in the CBC. A potential for the creation of a separate women's culture existed in Women's Interests, a division of the Talks and public Affairs department. Under the direction of Elizabeth Long, Women's Interests developed a wide range of programming with women as its central focus.

Traditionally, history has focussed on "official actors" and actions and has ignored the importance of the private supportive and informal structures. The result has been the underestimation of women's involvement in all areas of history. To counter this, feminist researchers have begun to look at less visible social systems. This has helped to make clear that local and informal networks are important to the study of women's contributions and influence in formal structures, for "women have had to get by informal power what they have been denied formally."⁴ Although not exclusive to women's experience in the workforce, "networking" and "mentoring" are two strategies which frequently indicate the presence of a women's culture.⁵

In organizations such as the CBC, the competent execution of tasks is assumed; it is the groundwork upon which authority and autonomy is created. In order to exert authority, one must also demonstrate competence visibly. Such visibility can be attained through positions which

liaisons between different departments or between the organization and external groups of individuals. Often referred to as networking, the establishment of a mutually beneficial support system is particularly important for women. Visible performance is demonstrated by successful risk-taking, yet women are frequently slotted into dead-end jobs which provide few opportunities for risks. Women have difficulty entering elites because they lack access to the proper informal networks. There is a direct connection between the acquisition of formal status roles and participation in informal networks. As one ascends in a hierarchy, such networks play important roles in opening up opportunities for evaluation and support.⁶ Where networking is possible, it offers women alternate channels of communication and information. Where there are enough women, as in the case of women producers and broadcasters in the Talks department, the possibility exists for a separate women's "network".

Women's networks, like their male counterparts, take their shape from the requirements of the positions held by each woman within the network. Women in sales positions which demand a high degree of travel may be able to make more use of their liaisons with other women in the group. Other networks function infrequently owing to the demands made upon women's time to compete for power within the male-dominant network system. Regardless of the dynamic a network has, it must involve women who share similar positions within the organization. In most cases, the similarity

arises out of common positions or responsibilities shared by counterparts across a region or locally, within a department. In the Women's Interests Division of Talks and Public Affairs, exchanges of information and expression of support were made possible through the shared experiences which formed a basic part of women's broadcasting role. Although strung out across the country, women broadcasters formed an informal network to reinforce their responsibilities to their female audience.

A second element contributing to the formation of a women's network is the presence of a "ringleader." Although not always a requirement, the inclusion of a central leadership figure with a higher level of authority and power is often helpful to a network's survival. A ringleader's clout and greater ability to accomplish tasks beneficial to the group places her squarely at the centre. Particularly for highly decentralized networks, a central authority is important for the dissemination of relevant information quickly and efficiently. As Supervisor for Women's Interests, Elizabeth Long and later, Helen James, may have used their position with the department to act as ringleaders. As members of a network, the leader also benefits in receiving valuable information that may not be easily available through official channels.

The informal social network that pervades an organization also permits the development of social connections with sponsors or mentors. The more visible leadership

profile accorded women in supervisory roles frequently allowed them to use their authority in mentor/protegé relationships. In other words, the loose group dynamic of a network encourages the development of individual relationships between an authority figure and her subordinates. As a group, women lack the built-in status of maleness and the power base it creates. Where education and expertise are identical for women and men, men are accorded a higher level of legitimacy that allows them to rely upon competence and concrete resources in their attempts to influence others or to gain more responsibility. "Since actions of high-status people tend to be judged favourably, they can afford to exert influence more directly than can lower-status people, stressing the competence and concrete resources with which they are associated."⁷

In order to win a wider sphere of responsibility and authority, women can attach themselves to a highly-placed authority figure, male or female. Sponsors or mentors provide the opportunity for lower level members to bypass the hierarchy to get inside information or to cut red tape. Yet the small number of women in managerial positions, both historically and in the present, makes it more difficult to recruit female leaders. Rosabeth Moss Kanter has argued that senior members in an organization are mostly men who favour males as protégés. Superiors sponsor individuals because of identification based on socio-cultural similarities and behavioural patterns. This process almost

automatically eliminates women. Kanter quotes one employee at the American firm INDSCO who commented, "Boy wonders rise under certain power structures. They're recognized by a powerful person because they are very much like him. He can see himself, a younger version, in that person... Who can look at a woman and see themselves?"⁸ When women do acquire sponsors, the reasons are often different from the male mentor/protegé relationship. Frequently, women are chosen to demonstrate the organization's openness to high-performing women.

When female authority or leadership figures do exist, a mentor/protegé relationship may be created more easily than with a male mentor. For many women, mentoring is a key factor to their success as they are usually members of a minority forced to operate within the structures and traditions of a male organization.⁹ Entering the organization for the first time and in unfamiliar territory, women may have trouble defining their job responsibilities. In high pressure or competitive jobs, there is often a need to foster a mentor relationship with a person of greater power or prestige. Since so many women in the CBC lacked professional self-esteem, higher level recognition may have been essential. The process of feedback or even companionship allows the protégé to solidify her identity and strengthen her for the probable barriers she will face in her career. While many women broadcasters and producers in the CBC may not have consciously chosen to effect changes

in their status, they may have sought out colleagues, male or female, who were in a position to enlarge their sphere of responsibility in programming. Neil Morrison, Frank Peers, Elizabeth Long and Helen James, the four senior members of the department during the period under study, may have culled women as their protégés.

Although not linked directly to the concept of a women's culture, the general issue of women's status is central to an understanding of their place in an organization. In Women's Place, Cynthia Fuchs Epstein develops a sociological study of the social factors which assign women to their place and prevent them from occupying many spheres of influence and responsibility which have traditionally been the preserve of men. There are deep contradictions between the images of the female role and a society's value of equality and success. Female and professional roles are portrayed as mutually exclusive rather than overlapping and the core values of most professions are considered masculine. The contradictory nature of women's many roles and statuses is crucial to the nature of their participation in the professional arena. As Epstein argues, "Much of the strain experienced by the woman who attempts to work is structured strain, caused by a combination of an over-demanding set of role obligations, lack of consensus as to the hierarchy of obligations and the clash of obligations from home and occupational statuses."¹⁰ No one status in itself is a total deterrent to a career but a combination

of roles frequently places seemingly irreconcilable demands upon women. Women have fewer coping mechanisms to adjust and accommodate various pressures, a situation which is reflected in the higher divorce rate among professional women than among professional men.¹¹

The structure of occupations and the images and traditions inextricably bound to it perpetuates this set of circumstances. Where men are predominate, being female has meant being "unlike" and therefore, unsuitable. Two processes ensure this: sex typing (associating either sex with specific positions or responsibilities) and status-sex typing (associating a low status to female work and a higher status to male work). Both are important for reflecting cultural expectations of women -- their performance and opportunities for success in the professional context. The result is that men may become upwardly mobile simply by entering an industry whose growth potential is assured by the demands of an expanding economy. Conversely, women may become professionals because of the actual growth of the enterprise. They may find themselves growing into roles which have not been formally identified and assuming the identity long after they have learned and performed the duties attached to the status.¹² Women who were hired by the Talks and Public Affairs Department during and immediately after the war entered the CBC during its formative years. They found themselves involved in the non-traditional work of radio production and broadcasting during an era when the

CBC itself was still discovering its own potential. Thus, job categories and levels of responsibility remained fluid, freely crossing the more rigid departmental boundaries created during the 1950s and 1960s. This flexibility held the potential for easier access to the career ladder by virtue of the relative lack of sex typing of production positions. On the other hand, the more vague job descriptions prevented women (and men) from clearly establishing areas of authority and, therefore, visibility. These already subtle differences were further complicated by women's salary status within the CBC in general. While men were considered permanent employees, women were hired on a war temporary or casual basis. Clearly, a central question to explore is the degree to which these factors created a separate status for women; how they affected their work in production and broadcasting.

Closely related to the general issue of women's status is their application of different strategies to gain power and prestige within the CBC. Research on the Canadian women and their use of power in an organizational setting is sparse and confined primarily to socio-psychological or quantitative approaches. Other studies of women in organizations use the university as their research focus to theorize about the general exclusion of women to the normal routes to power.¹³ A more practical study for the scope of this study on women in the CBC is Rosabeth Moss Kanter's work on men and women in corporations. As a consultant

for the American firm INDSCO, Kanter analyzed the differing relations between men and women to the various strategies available to increase personal power, responsibility and prestige.

Although modern organizations have a universal image as sex neutral and objective in its treatment of employees, sex is a crucial variable in determining areas of responsibility and power. Despite the growth in material that documents the degree to which women are socialized to perform different roles (often with less power and prestige), less attention has been paid to the pattern of relationships between men and women in organizations. Concentrating on the administrative levels of U.S. businesses, Kanter identifies those areas for analysis that can uncover the experience and place of women in business and their relationship to such male-stream corporate values as power, influence, and status.¹⁴ To discover the nature of the barriers to women in management and to understand the differences their presence makes, Kanter asks how culture and behaviour in an organizational setting are shaped by the sex distributions of managers. The politics and informal networks of management are studied to discover how the culture and work behaviour of management is affected by and reflected in the sex ratio of its personnel. In office work, for example, women are associated with clerical work as men are to management.

Kanter calls for a new integrated model to examine structural issues in corporations. Her approach views the organization as a "large, complex social unit in which many groups interact."¹⁵ These groups are defined both by their formal functional responsibilities and their informal connections. The nature of the organization is shaped by the relative number and power of such groupings, their tasks and the ways in which they interact. Integration between them is limited by the potential for conflicts of interest. Those with power wield it in the interest of their group or network. Women entering an organization are not only placed in jobs but in an opportunity structure. Mobility, hiring and promotion rules govern the allocation of personnel. Ability in one group is not always transferable to others. Women participate in a separate labour market than men, even within the same organization. "Their typical jobs in the office carry with them not only sex role demands but also placement in a class and hierarchy that itself limits mobility into positions of power."¹⁶

Groups of women differ from groups of men in their orientations toward interpersonal relationships and levels of aspiration. Although this may be in part attributable to society's training of women for family roles, the difference could also be part of a realistic response to the structural oppression women face in organizations: opportunities and their limits, the roles demands in the specific levels occupied by women and even women's dependence on interpersonal relationships for mobility. Power and status defines

behaviour in groups. Those in low power situations engage in more approval seeking while those in high power positions engage in more attempts to influence others. The differential behaviour of the more and less powerful is a corollary of group behaviour patterns of men and women.

Kanter devotes considerable space to a discussion of the effects of "skewed" sex ratios -- a numerical dominance of one sex and a "lone" or nearly alone member of the other sex. Lone women in management experience isolation and invisibility which is both self- and group imposed. Women promote themselves less often, avoid conflict and practice strategies designed to make them less visible.¹⁷ Those women with formal authority are reluctant to exercise it visibly over subordinates, generally preferring to maximize individual autonomy.

Kanter's analysis of the masculine organizational ethic and the ideological underpinnings of contemporary management structures is more fully developed in her Men and Women in the Corporation. Specifically, her chapter on "Power" further explores the possibilities for an integrated theory of behaviour in organizations. The traditional value of power assumes it to be a finite resource; one who wields it does so to the detriment or loss of another. For Kanter, power is defined in terms of the ability to dominate. Equally important are the sources of powerlessness or "accountability without power."¹⁸ Contrary to the assumption that power is an automatic adjunct of a formal title, people often have to get it from the more hidden

political processes. An effective leader has the ability to win a share of the resources or opportunities available for the group or subordinates. Power can be accumulated as a result of performance but the activities must meet three criteria if they are to increase the power of the person engaging in them. They must be: 1) extraordinary actions, 2) visible and 3) relevant to the solution of the problem.

People who are held accountable for the results of a job and whose formal role gives them the right to authority but who lack informal political influence and access to resources are powerless. Regardless of formal position or even the ability of the person fulfilling it, powerlessness can be the result of management not extending opportunities downward. Many women, according to Kanter, protest the "protectiveness" that they perceive in their bosses which limits their capacity for effective performance. Anyone who is protected loses power for success is attributed to the helpful actions of others. The powerless are caught in a downward spiral as the "coping mechanisms of low power are also those most likely to provoke resistance and further restriction of power."¹⁹ Women are those most often caught in cycles of powerlessness.

In an organization such as the CBC, few women have held positions of power, therefore the content of the media does not present women in viable role models. Gaye Tuchman identifies two concepts central to this research on women in Talks and Public Affairs: the reflection hypothesis and

"symbolic annihilation". The reflection hypothesis, simply stated, assumes that the media "reflect dominant societal values."²⁰ Symbolic annihilation refers to a group, in this case women, which is at times absent altogether or otherwise trivialized to the extent that their representation might well not exist at all. While this research will not concern itself directly with the images of women in radio programming, it is nonetheless important to understand Tuchman's concepts for women's ability to challenge and change the traditional male-stream views on women's social and economic role may well be a reflection of their level of power and authority within the department.

Women themselves often recreated traditional sexist notions in programming. Many perceive themselves as unusual in their interest in the economic and political future of their sex and believe other women are interested in traditional program fare which concentrates on homemaking and child-bearing. Further, the distortion of women's role is internalized and can impede or prevent female accomplishments. Even when women do view a topic differently than men, the rules of professionalism often limit the possibilities for more radical critiques. "It is difficult for women employees to resist ideas and attitudes associated with success in their profession, even if those ideas disparage women, for sexism, like racism, is best understood as an institutional, not a personal, phenomenon."²¹ A contemporary example is the image of the New Woman as an

economically successful mobile corporate woman. The image depicts woman as man -- woman as corporate bureaucrat.

The value of the above discussion lies in its emphasis on integrating a host of ideological and socio-cultural factors into a structure capable of revealing and explaining the status and experience of women in the CBC in a creative and flexible way. The issues of male-stream ideological production and the symbols used to perpetuate common myths about women are useful for understanding women's role within the Talks and Public Affairs department -- their ability to direct programming and challenge existing patriarchal assumptions regarding women's role in organizations such as the CBC.

CHAPTER 2: A General History of Talks and Public Affairs

At the most fundamental level, institutions are derived from a system of perspectives and ideas about the individual and society. Implicitly or explicitly, they embody views of what is desirable. Created in 1936 under the Liberal government of MacKenzie King, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation became one of the federal government's most important wartime institutions. As a public corporation, the CBC's capacity for social and cultural development existed within the confines of a specific political and social philosophy. The growing technology of radio was shaped in part by changes in attitude regarding its potential for education and, during wartime, for social control. By its very nature and its capacity to reach every home instantly, broadcasting became vitally important during a time of war. Although careful to maintain a distinct status, the CBC did support the wartime Liberal government in its policy of guiding the war effort and maintaining morale. "During wartime, radio is necessarily relied upon to an increasing degree by Government as an instrument of publicity. The CBC's job is to develop, without loss of independence, close cooperation with government departments, especially those concerned with the three armed services."¹

* * * *

The CBC's mandate to strengthen a national consciousness and unite a culturally and geographically scattered people drew new energy from World War II. More sophisticated programs, a national news service and better coverage combined to bring

alive the Golden Age of radio. The Talks and Public Affairs department became a center for creative innovation in the CBC, to emerge as one of its most valued departments. In charge of the spoken word, Talks and Public Affairs began to meet the challenge of providing programs which would educate and entertain a wartime audience. As part of a public corporation, it recognized the need to communicate the opinions of diverse organizations over the airwaves while at the same time responding to government policy on censorship and propaganda and the more subtle political pressures incurred in the face of controversial programming.

When the CBC was born in 1936, its mandate was clear. Both public and private radio stations were to be married in a single system controlled and regulated by a Board of Governors. The more flexible and financially independent structure which replaced the old Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission performed a combined operational and regulatory function. Its main responsibilities were to develop a national broadcasting service, regulate private and public broadcast stations and advise the federal government on technical control over licences, wavelengths and fees. In addition, the CBC's powers included the creation of new programs, securing exchange programs from outside Canada and the publication of papers and periodicals to promote the Corporation.²

The CBC mandate given by the federal government and reflected repeatedly in royal commissions and reports lay at the heart of the Talks program philosophy from the beginning. The concept of educational programming to inform and unite a geographically and culturally diverse country was a primary reason for the department's existence and would remain an integral part of its approach to programming well into the 1960s. However, before World War II, the Talks department held a relatively low status in the CBC's hierarchy of priorities. The depression had created a demand for light and imaginative entertainment. Yet in a climate of economic uncertainty, and social upheaval, Canadians needed not only entertainment but also a forum through which they could arrive at a clearer understanding of their circumstances as well as being entertained. "These people are cheered, while watching for better times, by being able to listen to radio; when they feel depressed they turn the switch and hear a concert from Toronto or Montreal. It gives them courage."³

The growing popularity of American radio entertainment which pushed into Canadian airwaves with stronger signals threatened to submerge the fledgling CBC. The Corporation's primary concern was to attract and hold its listeners through a slate of national and regional entertainment programs of its own. Unlike the wholly private system of commercial sponsorship established in the U.S., the CBC was a public institution which derived a meagre

income from radio license fees and government subsidy. The expense of establishing high-power transmitters, a network of stations and national affiliates kept low-priority staff and program budgets to a minimum.

By 1939, the CBC had carved up its programming schedule to include talks aimed at educating its audience on current social, economic and political issues. These early years were not marked by any of the distinctive programs developed in the mid- to late 1940s. Under the aegis of Donald Buchanan, first Supervisor of Talks from 1936 to 1939, the department channelled its energies into building a team of producers who themselves were still discovering the communicative potential of the new medium. The program schedules of the late 1930s indicate that serious educational programming was allowed only a few hours a week. CBC was still primarily an entertainment medium. A concert or two, an occasional review and a few documentaries were the staples of a service overwhelmingly given over to popular entertainment, the bulk of it American. No Canadian variety shows and little Canadian comedy could match the scale of "Kraft Music Hall", "Jack Benny" or "Fibber McGee and Molly".

Yet the CBC service was being provided in both official languages and a satisfactory working partnership had developed between the Corporation and the owners of private stations. Technically, the national system was on its feet with a coverage of 90 per cent although there were

still isolated areas, notably the northern mountainous region of British Columbia. Financially, the Corporation was operating with a healthy surplus and was now ready to turn its attention toward programming.

The war catapulted the CBC into a new era of communications which sharpened its sense of public duty. "Whether we like it or not, radio is infected with a deep public interest. Indeed, it is licensed to operate in the public interest, convenience and necessity".⁴ The public did not judge its service on the basis of engineering accomplishments or financial resourcefulness. No matter how resourceful, the CBC's public image was formed through its programs.

The demands of war meant the Corporation assumed a much larger role in the affairs of the country, realizing that the task of "welding together the diverse elements of the country has a much greater sense of urgency now."⁵ The CBC saw its own wartime function in these terms: "In wartime, it [the CBC] serves also to interpret policy, by bringing the country's leaders in constant contact with listeners and to sustain morale by means of programs that adequately interpret the will of the whole Canadian people to prosecute the war to a vigorous conclusion by any means possible."⁶

Ernie Bushnell, head of Programming, clarified and extended the Corporation's wartime position and organized the system to bring the sound of battle to the Canadian

hearth. The central goal of the CBC was to gain the complete confidence of the listener and to remove any doubt that although answerable to the government, the CBC was not controlled by it. Bushnell believed that the challenge presented to the CBC was to inform its public about radio's potential as a daily service of democratic freedom: the CBC was to become instrumental in keeping the home fires burning and maintaining the nation's confidence. "There are literally millions of prospective listeners; there are relatively few broadcasters. The purpose of most serious broadcasters is to inspire the listener to take action for himself. Radio is next to the book in its power to make men think."⁷

Shortly before war broke out, Hugh Whitney Morrison succeeded Buchanan as Supervisor of Talks. The impetus provided by war and the more secure status of the CBC enabled Morrison to pursue a more active policy in educational and informational programming. More substantial programs primarily related to the war effort were secured in the CBC weekly schedule. Morrison's philosophy included the creation of programs calculated to inspire the nation as a whole and to put people in the frame of mind to accept willingly the inevitable sacrifices of the war effort. Weekly program schedules and announcements were distributed in advance to schools and industries. Other shows like "Peoples on the March" which aired news and comment about the Allied nations' contributions to the war effort, had

folders, pamphlets and kits to encourage similar projects. Programs suited to the "needs of happier days" were not overlooked and as early as 1941, the department had on its drawing-board forums on postwar reconstruction. Yet despite this expansion, talks remained narrow in focus and format, were carefully scripted and did not experiment with any of the controversial approaches evident in the later war years.

A contributing factor to the department's lack of diverse and innovative programming prior to 1943 was the censorship policy imposed by the CBC Chairman, Gladstone Murray. The CBC was new, the war was new, and the general goal of the department was to develop an objective, detached style. Talks shows tended to the short, crisp, one-man deliveries designed to complement the News department's reports of the war overseas. A second problem was the separation of the Talks department from Public Affairs until 1943. Although Public Affairs programs followed similar educational guidelines, they were imbued with a more flexible mandate to broadcast the emotional appeals suitable for maintaining war morale.

Early into the war, Public Affairs programs enjoyed wider popular support as they employed more dramatic techniques and held listener interest. This was the era of the government sponsored feature - "Victory Loans", "Comrades in Arms", "Fighting Navy" and "L for Lanky". As the war progressed, however, listener interest in the dramatized narratives of Public Affairs programs waned.

Much of radio's patriotic urging in Canada and the United States has failed; too many of radio's war plays have been hysterical melodrama. Listeners have resisted persistent haranguing, interest in others has waned. Canada's three years at war has produced better war programs than the American radio chains until late last year.⁸

By 1942-43, tired of the Liberal government's and the CBC's attempts to foment inspired nationalism, the public began to demand the more objective, informed commentary on the news which the Talks department had been providing. The request for a simple, direct approach was expressed in Saturday Night's "Radio This Week" column with Frank Chamberlain.

Straightforward announcements ... explaining the primary job citizen's can do right now are needed. It's information we want, not emotional urges. Let's call a holiday on these dramatized announcements interspersed with fanfares from the orchestra.⁹

In 1943, the separate spheres of Talks and Public Affairs were merged to reflect the CBC's growing commitment to informed and sincere commentary on national and international events. In the same year, Neil Morrison was appointed head of the new department, replacing Hugh Morrison. A strong proponent of the educational approach of his two predecessors, Morrison's entry into Talks and Public Affairs marks the department's first real attempt to create and produce more talks on an experimental footing.

Morrison recognized that listeners who had heard war news commentaries for more than one to two years built

up an immunity to anything that was not dramatically new. This did not mean any serious flagging of interest in the war effort itself. Instead, it emphasized radio's power to indoctrinate listeners, to make him/her adjust to the medium's content and format quickly and often without thought. In a move which paralleled events in other departments, particularly news, Morrison urged his team to more creative work. Background stories, interviews, human interest material, comments on literature and the arts, politics and history, community events and women's issues broadened the Talks and Public Affairs program schedule beyond information directly related to the war.

Neil Morrison's tenure as Supervisor of Talks and Public Affairs, the longest in the department's history, solidified the underlying principles of educational broadcasting. Longer running programs replaced the single talks format, enabling the production staff to work within a broader, more secure framework. The assurance of continuity and the increasingly experimental nature of the programs themselves shaped Talks and Public Affairs into one of the CBC's most valued and controversial departments.

A student in Political Science, Morrison worked with E.A. Corbett, Director of the Canadian Association for Adult Education. Through the CAAE, he met Buchanan and Hugh Morrison and, later, Orville Shugg who was head of the Farm department. With Alex Sim and Shugg, Morrison conceived the series of national discussion forums on problems in rural

communities. "Farm Forum" began in eastern Canada where discussion questions were sent to study groups who in turn would report back to the CBC on a monthly basis. The forums depended on a high degree of audience participation and spawned hundreds of community projects. So successful were Farm Forums, the series became a flagship of the CBC and by 1945 had 1300 active groups representing over 17,000 farmers.¹⁰ When Morrison joined the Talks and Public Affairs department, he created the companion series "Citizen's Forum", for discussion of national and international issues. In cooperation with the CAAE, "Citizen's Forum" continued to be broadcast over radio and television well into the 1960s. The broadcasts were the most controversial of the talks programs but strong public support allowed the program to deal squarely with sensitive key issues: unions, unemployment insurance, world peace and the UN, economic depression and women in the labour force. The use of the panel discussion format combined with music and short dramatizations was also the format used in "Labour forum" and "Servicemen's Forum". Although these two series did not survive as successfully, they represented the department's appreciation that, as part of a public corporation, it must plan and execute programs with consideration of its audience's opinion.

By 1949, Talks and Public Affairs had established itself as a vital link between the public and the CBC. Broadcast time slots devoted to talks were expanded

considerably and the department now enjoyed a wide support network of community and national groups. The years following the war were not marked by significant changes in programming policy or format. Although war programs such as "Carry On, Canada" were phased out, news commentaries, theatre and literature reviews, the forums and women's programs continued in their wartime formats.

The early 1950s marks the first period of noticeable change in Talks and Public Affairs. Two key people responsible for Talks policy and programming left in 1953-54. Neil Morrison was appointed head of Audience Research and was replaced by Frank Peers, formerly a Talks program organizer. Elizabeth Long, veteran of the pre-war CBC, was replaced by Helen James as Assistant Supervisor in charge of Women's Interests or Daytime Programming as it was later titled. Long remained with the department as a special advisor until 1957, thus smoothing out the transfer in responsibility.

Frank Peers reinforced the concepts of public trusteeship and accountability through community involvement. In 1954 he wrote: "The CBC believes in the necessity of producing programs to appeal to a variety of tastes and interests rather than attempting to find a mass audience.¹¹ More clearly than ever before, the department targetted special interest groups for programming: women, labour, business, farm communities, children and the university community. This was the era before the mass appeal of magazine programs which would introduce a series of interrelated topics brought together

under a broad theme. In keeping with the CBC's general policy, Talks and Public Affairs broke down subject areas into categories for comment and analysis from a variety of viewpoints. In any given month of programming, a specific topic such as unemployment could be dealt with in a political commentary, in a women's morning talk, as background to the news and in a panel discussion.

Structurally, the balance of production between the regional studios and Toronto head office shifted. Neil Morrison had created two interlocking levels of production which were originally intended to enjoy similar degrees of responsibility and prestige. Both head office and regional producers were responsible for the technical, day to day operations of programs. This included timing of scripts, briefing the broadcasters before airtime and soundbooth production. Program planners or program organizers, as they were later titled, worked solely in Toronto with the Supervisor to conceive and research program ideas. Because program organizers were associated with the head of the entire department and handled the more creative side of programming, they were in actual fact accorded more prestige and autonomy. Although producers, particularly those in regional studios, were encouraged to contribute ideas and offer criticism, the program organizers in the national office made most of the final decisions regarding both content and format. In

addition, the program organizers absorbed the responsibility for the coordination of contributions to national series from production centers across the country. The regional producers were left with the planning and producing of regional and local programs. As the Talks schedule expanded, program organizers began developing specialized areas of knowledge. A major program such as "Capital Report" or the "Trans-Canada Matinée" series for women used a team consisting of a program organizer and one or two producers. By 1950, there were women's interests, arts and literature, news, business and labour and the Talks and Public Affairs contributions to the three hour long "CBC Wednesday Night".

In a report to the National Program Conference of 1951, the regions expressed a concern for their quality of production. Toronto had lured many personnel thereby weakening regional resources. The larger staff in Toronto also permitted a degree of specialization and sophistication while in the regions, the producers remained responsible for all types of talks programs.

Despite the increasing imbalance between production centres, the Talks and Public Affairs system had matured into a coordinated network of regional and national production teams, supported by public agencies and organizations devoted to the goals of quality, objectivity and balance, and Canadian content. The two-tiered system succeeded largely due to the unique team-oriented philosophy and approach to programming.

Through annual conferences and continuous correspondence between head office and its satellite studios, regional producers considered themselves an essential element in a partnership. Both Morrison and Peers recognized the value of a sense of community and of sharing a common responsibility in the preservation of standards regardless of the production point. The unity of the department's sections also facilitated the movement of personnel between production centres.

From Halifax to Vancouver, the department set up production teams to develop programs reflective of the special interests of each region. Separate from national programs, these regional shows derived their own network of public support from local community groups and provincial educational organizations. In addition, the regions were responsible for coordinating with program organizers in head office on national network programs. The continuous, time-consuming search for informed and entertaining speakers meant that the national office, of necessity, depended to some degree on the regions to provide material and suggest speakers. Regional input was also recognized as essential to reflect the multiplicity of perspectives and interests across Canada. In exchange, the national department apportioned a percentage of many national programs to be hosted by the regions. "Citizen's Forum" travelled across the country to solicit views on national issues in each province.

Shedding its youthful image and wartime role of educating for peace, the department successfully passed through the experimental stage in its evolution. The support and approval accorded earlier creative efforts such as "Citizen's Forum", the Couchiching Conferences, "Our Special Speaker" and "Capital Report" allowed its creators to move on to similar programming which possessed a growing sophistication.

Building on the formula of "Citizen's Forum", the department called on a number of organizations and outside consultants to help plan programs and lend support. "Cross Sections", a series of special interest to business and labour, was planned in consultation with the Canadian Manufacturers Association and the Canadian Chamber of Commerce. "In Search of Ourselves", a series on human relations and mental health, was run in cooperation with the Canadian Mental Health Association. Still one of the CBC's most popular and controversial shows, "Citizen's Forum" was so widely used that the department set up a National Advisory Board with representatives of ten national organizations to handle audience mail, the selection of topics, and criticism from the media and political and business groups. With the introduction of television in 1952, the intimacy between the Forums and its listening groups was broken. The move to transfer the program from radio to television met with limited success although it continued to be broadcast over both media into the 1960s.

Other programs, created in the 1950s included "Speaking Personally" which discussed a daily lead news story and, like "Weekend Review", offered a personal view for the "ordinary, intelligent listener."¹² Using an international mix of speakers, the program was designed to give background information to the news through descriptions of the living conditions, progress or the lack of it, and any special problems of the country through first-person documentation. "Press Conference", created in 1951, consisted of interviews with prominent public figures from Canada, the U.S., Great Britain and the UN. The guests who appeared on these press conferences were in themselves newsworthy and their answers frequently made front-page news.

In 1956, Talks and Public Affairs aired one of the first radio magazine feature programs. Created in the hope that the CBC might win back an audience from television, "Assignment" was a fast-paced current affairs program which included on-the-spot actualities, interviews with celebrities, brief news commentaries, music, sports and feature stories. "Fighting Words", soon to become one of the department's highest profile programs, was a discussion program broadcast on both radio and television. The program was built around controversial quotes which the panel identified.¹³

Talks and Public Affairs also matured its political concept of its role in Canadian affairs and its relationship with the federal government. Globally, during the 1940s and

and 1950s, public broadcasting was strongly influenced by the social reform impulse associated with a leftist political doctrine. The fathers and mothers of the CBC in the 1930s were the churches, schools and a host of educational bodies such as the CAAE. Many in this Canadian intelligentsia of the '30s were supporters of the CCF. The anti-Fascist sentiment following the war meant nothing was more natural than that there should be a slight social democratic bias, a bias which fit well with the concept of a public trusteeship.

Frequently, during the 1940s, the Talks and Public Affairs department had found itself under fire for using too many commentators known to have leftist political philosophies. Frank Underhill and Elmore Philpott were among these used for political commentaries such as "Our Special Speaker". Eric Koch, program organizer during the 1950s commented: "The difficulty was that most people who were interested in public affairs, interested in public debate and ideas ... were people who had leftist tendencies."¹⁴

In the 1950s, it became a clearer part of policy to provide for the expression of varying points of view, particularly on controversial subjects. Frank Peers was devoted to balance in programming and for every leftist view, there had to be a corresponding right and centre opinion. Unlike the 1960s, the labels "right" and "left" were more easily applied and producers began to use the labels more intelligently in their choice for representatives. "Weekend Review", a program created

created during World War II, was a 10 minute Sunday night commentary on international and national highlights of the week's news with three alternating speakers. Providing for the "free expression of opinion", "Weekend Review"s subjectivity forced its producers to apply their political judgment with the acuity so essential during wartime.

Other programs did not avoid the built-in potential for controversy and political pressure. "Preview Commentary", a five minute post-news talks on parliamentary affairs began in 1957 and soon ran headlong into the glare of media coverage and strong public debate. In 1959, Acting President Ernie Bushnell cancelled Preview Commentary in response to strong criticism from the Diefenbaker government of the persistent needling of the party by Preview commentators.¹⁵ Frank Peers and most production personnel across the country resigned (temporarily) in protest over the "unprecedented surrender to political pressure by the Corporation."¹⁶

The program and all staff were re-instated two days after the CBC management received the resignations but the incident clearly demonstrated the potential for what Peers labelled "clandestine" political interference in a publicly owned corporation. Although the department had experienced political pressure before, this marked the first time top management decided in favour of a program's critics by removing it from the schedule without consulting the staff involved. The complaints from the politicians in power were reasonable in that "Preview Commentary" reporters occasionally

used the program for "scalping forays and the airing of half-baked and prejudiced opinion."¹⁷ The listener's basic right to have a fair and careful interpretation of events in Ottawa was therefore transgressed. A succession of commentators did not assure overall balance as listeners would be required to hear all programs in the week. Yet, in the public's eye, the occasional faux pas of Preview commentators did not justify cancellation of the program in response to criticisms levelled by politicians.

The walkout signalled the climax of two problems which had been festering for a number of years. First, it was a demonstration by staff and supervisors of their complete lack of confidence in top management's integrity and ability to withstand external pressure. The affair also marked the demise of the traditional approach to programming in Talks and Public Affairs. It was the "last swan song of the radio era."¹⁸ The old guard of the Canadian intelligentsia which had raised radio on a diet of educational and informational programming for minorities was challenged by the CBC's new focus to create a mass audience in television. In the fall of 1952, the CBC television network began broadcasting, quickly establishing a loyal following. In 1960, the CTV network went on the air and the CBC no longer enjoyed the advantages of a monopoly. The Golden Age of radio in which the CBC had been judge and jury was over. Unlike radio, television was less cost-effective to operate and required regiments of staff for production. The CBC budget quadrupled

and the Canadian taxpayer had to pay a sizeable sum for its entertainment. In order to justify the budget, the Corporation needed to attract a mass audience on a scale never before attempted. If it continued programming along the old radio guidelines, catering to selected minorities, the Canadian public would not support CBC television.

The new direction in broadcasting had a profound effect on Public Affairs radio programming. The belief that the CBC had matured to the point where it could no longer afford to "indulge" special interest groups meant a slow erosion of the network with representative organizations in the 1960s. The long tradition of maintaining community liaisons with such bodies as the CAAE had begun to lose favour. Public controversy was no longer identified as a major policy objective in the 1960s. Traditionally, public affairs radio was a "small" medium requiring a minimum of production personnel but supporting a large network of organizations. The close cooperation and teamwork within the department created an atmosphere similar to a large village. In contrast, the more popular medium of television demanded a larger number of production personnel and required a minimum of interaction with public groups.

Within the CBC, most radio producers and program organizers were considered old-fashioned and elitist whereas the new television generation were perceived as enterprising and progressive. Ross McLean, Cliff Solway and Daryl Duke, among others, were not educationalists first like many of

the earnest academics in radio public affairs but were producers who thought more in terms of entertainment and show business. While the new medium attracted this new breed of producers, the original members on the radio side of the fence consisted of people who saw themselves as the "guardians and high priests" of the essential mandate of the CBC. There was, therefore, no natural affinity between the old guard and the new television producers who wanted to have a more direct and immediate impact. The division between Public Affairs radio and television reflects a wider conflict in program values. Until the need for a mass audience arose, Talks and Public Affairs had been concerned with fulfilling the CBC mandate to stimulate thought. During the 1960s it admitted a mass audience was necessary but reminded itself of its higher purposes. "The lust for mass audience" could not be used to justify any deviation from existing policy.¹⁹

Bernard Trotter, who succeeded Frank Peers as Supervisor in 1960, referred to the danger Public Affairs programming faced in an article to staff.

... Entertainment programs make profits, public service programs, don't. There is nothing wrong with private broadcasters making money and calling their unprofitable programs anything they want but for those of us in the CBC to split our program thinking into profit and loss columns is dangerous and foolish.... That split thinking can only reinforce deliberately to create a confusion in the public mind about the nature of the CBC service and the combination of ways in which they, the public, pay for it.²⁰

Despite the divergences in approach between radio and television within the department, Public Affairs as a whole was still recognized by CBC management and the public as the lifeblood of the Corporation. The CBC's twenty-five year long tradition and devotion to the concept of targeting specific audiences for education and information remained strong enough to keep Public Affairs radio intact.

By universal consent, Public Affairs is the CBC's special province. To some, it is the ultimate justification.... It is a permanent lobby on behalf of the CBC's continued existence promoting old ideals and enlisting support among special interest groups. The annual report for 1964-65 asserts very competently that the "Corporation's mandate rests on the solid foundations of national thought as expressed by Royal Commissions, committees, organizations and leading citizens". Public Affairs is the CBC's most important propaganda agency for building support and forming it into a favourable consensus.²¹

Public Affairs during the 1960s was also perceived as a safety valve permitting the release of pressure from within the CBC and for warding off attacks by politicians and other critics of the CBC. Crises such as the "Preview Commentary" affair of 1959 strengthened the network by renewing public support for the idea of a public media institution. Regardless of its level of achievement, Public Affairs was where controversy was expected and where the CBC's senior management was prepared to accept it in order to maintain its grip on the network.²²

In the 1965 edition of the CBC guide to programming and policy, the fundamental principles of public affairs radio

were reaffirmed. The main objectives remained the need to provide information on a large variety of topics; to present a wide range of viewpoints on these topics and to interest Canadians in current affairs and subject areas which might otherwise be outside their range of experience. The only addition to these traditional goals was the final comment which argued that radio was to meet these objectives through programs which were as entertaining as possible.²³

A number of key programs, notably "Preview Commentary", "Weekend Review", "Our Special Speaker", "Capital Report", and "Citizen's Forum" survived successfully and maintained their public interest. More easily than television, the radio methods ensured variety and a reflection of regional differences from production points. Radio was also more mobile and could be more readily on the scene in both urban and remote locations, making it more suitable for talks and interviews and frequent newscasts. That reaffirmation of the traditional radio values meant that, throughout the 1960s, Public Affairs continued to attract a relatively small audience in centres where private stations concentrated on popular programming.

Program formats had not changed significantly since the mid-1950s and many of the production staff had been with Talks and Public Affairs for a decade or more. For the new generation of radio and television producers with more formal broadcast training, "Carefully scripted talks, painstakingly edited documentaries and close ties to citizen's organizations

seemed unnecessarily confining".²⁴ In the attempt to create larger audiences, Public Affairs initiated the revision of old formats in programs which had survived from the 1940s and 50s. Beginning with "Weekend Review" and "Citizen's Forum", the process did not gain much momentum until the late 1960s and early 1970s.

The distinguishing features of the old style "Citizen's Forum" became blurred. Public discussion had become common-place and committees, conferences and organizations proliferated and acted as pressure groups in Canadian society without the support of radio. As a whole, the public was more sophisticated and knowledgeable. Yet Public Affairs programs continued to try to touch the adult mind, to arouse some reaction. Those in Public Affairs radio were aware that the 1960s would be a decade of change similar to the 1940s. In an article for the CBC staff magazine, Radio, Christina Macdougall, program organizer, wrote, "Between now and its 40th anniversary, we may hope that Citizen's Forum will experiment with new approaches in communication with the public and act as interpreter for the new technological age which is coming as it did with the period of post-war reconstruction."²⁵

The Talks department began experimenting with new formats for old shows by moving away from the straight panel discussions. Macdougall initiated the open line telephone technique first used on the 1950s program "Nightline" to allow listeners direct participation in radio. The new form of

audience participation did not always manage to create passionate discussion on basic issues but it became one of the brightest hopes in the radio industry. "Threatened throughout the 1950s by the towering spectre of television competition, radio is making a sensational comeback and the reason may well be the success of the telephone talk show."²⁶

In 1965, the old "Weekend Review", begun in 1938, and "Our Special Speaker", which dated back to 1947, were combined in a new series of 20 minute broadcasts under the same title of "Weekend Review". Instead of the scripted expression of one person's opinion, the new program was an extemporaneous discussion among people who held differing viewpoints on the preceding week's news.

However, changes in Public Affairs radio were slow as a result of the department's overly cautious stance. In the wake of the 1959 crisis, there was a desire on the part of the supervisors and producers to avoid further controversy. Neil Morrison, now at York University, argued that the threat of stagnation in programming did not come from the vested interests attempting to protect themselves from the often unsettling influence of thought and imagination. Instead, it came from within the Corporation itself. "The strength of the Corporation's present position is endangered more by its own negative and defensive policy than by its enemies, real or imagined. Nothing will so quickly paralyze the initiative, integrity or independence as fear. It is obvious from both published statements and private accounts that the CBC is

fearful."²⁷ The siege mentality engendered a division between CBC top management and production staff in Public Affairs. For producers who dealt with controversial material as part of their daily routine, the situation prevented the use of innovative approaches to old programs during a time they were most needed.

A second preventative to radical change before the late 1960s was the difficulty in measuring change in public tastes. Undeniably, the younger generation did not have the same taboos as the older generation but there was little consensus in assessing this change. This last factor became particularly relevant if the program had to satisfy the tastes and preferences of a group acting as a program committee, as in the case of "Fighting Words" and "Citizen's Forum". Frank Peers, now Director of Information and Programming, wrote in 1963, "We were somewhat careful about sexual and other taboos, about what kind of material was considered fit for the family livingroom. If the Public Affairs Supervisors were careful, the program and administrative heads in Toronto, ... were doubly careful and the Supervisor was often ordered to make sure that "Fighting Words" did not deal with such and such a subject. The Supervisor of course argued in favour of free expression but probably not often enough or hard enough to suit the producers concerned."²⁸

* * * *

Although decisive action in programming did not occur before 1966-67, the gradual integration of the traditional Public Affairs policy with new program formats had

begun. The challenge of television, the initiative taken by the new generation of producers and the reaffirmation of the Talks philosophy which dated back to the wartime CBC introduced a breeding-ground rich in potential. These factors, combined with the growing trend in the 1960s to challenge the existing social ideology, steered the Talks and Public Affairs department onto a new course in radio programming.

Equally important was the effect these interrelated factors had on the structure and function of work relationships and their associated levels of prestige and responsibility. As the following discussion will demonstrate, the implementation of policy through specific programs had a direct effect on the amount of authority, autonomy and status accorded ~~those~~ program organizers and producers responsible and the degree of orientation toward cooperative, as opposed to a competitive, work dynamic. Set within this context, an analysis of women's specific status and role within the department must include a discussion of the interdependence between program policy, work roles and the dominant male-stream ideology which informed their relationship to programming, and, by extension, to their own levels of power and responsibility.

In September of 1939, Canada entered the international arena of world war. While its men were overseas, its women were expected to protect the traditional hearths of democracy and free enterprise. Building upon the experience gained in World War I, this "second line of defence" thrust Canadian women into a broad spectrum of wartime roles, ranging from volunteer community work to work in munitions plants. Among those involved was a relatively small group of women who produced and broadcast programs for the Talks and Public Affairs department of the recently created Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. However, their work placed them outside the defined areas of participation for women in the Canadian workforce. The question thus arises as to the extent to which they represented a challenge of existing patriarchal assumptions and values about women's wartime role. To establish the nature and degree of their responsibility, autonomy, and acceptance of patriarchal attitudes requires a two step analysis. For a dichotomy existed between the ideology held by women broadcasters and their supervisor, on the one hand, and women producers and program organizers on the other. Women broadcasters tended to direct their energies and attention to women listeners, developing a perspective which reflected the dominant male-stream attitude toward women's role in the war effort and post-war society. Conversely, women producers actively challenged many of the patriarchal notions restricting their sphere of responsibility

and authority. Although there were exceptions to both trends within Talks and Public Affairs, the differences are significant enough to call for separate analyses of women broadcasters and producers during the period from 1939 to 1949.

* * * *

Historically, women as a group have remained economically dependent on men, and this has reinforced patriarchal assumptions about their place in the workforce. As Ruth Pierson has pointed out, "To speak of the subordination of women and the superordination of men reflects the differing relation of women and men to power in the sense of 'power over', of dominance. A power difference is part of the inequality of the male-female relationship under patriarchy: male dominance is the other side of women's subordination. The enforced economic dependence of many women on male providers has contributed greatly to the perpetuation of that power difference and the survival of patriarchy."¹

While women, particularly those who were single, were encouraged during the Second World War to enter most occupations, their duty to family and home remained the first priority. Women's contribution to the war effort was meant to speed up the return of their men home, not to open up a new front in the struggle for women's rights. The massive publicity campaigns of the federal government were calculated to preserve the male-female division of labour by combining women's wartime role with traditional images of femininity.

These campaigns had as an additional goal the task of reminding the Canadian public that women's unique relationship to family and domesticity would remain intact.²

During World War II, the number and proportion of women in the workforce increased dramatically. Statistics on women in the labour force in the 1940s are severely limited and fragmentary. However, from the information available, it appears women made up 18.5% of the workforce by 1941. According to the census for that year, 20.7% of all women worked "for pay."³ But women continued to face social and cultural pressures to find a husband and to place family needs before their own. Because their role demands diverged from those of the workplace, different factors influenced the type of career they chose to enter. Family responsibilities were a major influence affecting the time of entry and withdrawal from the workplace.⁴ A large number of women traditionally worked until marriage or the birth of the first child and then returned to work during some period in their later adult life.⁵

From 1901 through the Depression years and into the 1940s, the pattern for working women was predicated upon their status as single or married. Whereas the adult male was expected to work throughout his life, few women were expected to do so. The work life of most women was characterized by discontinuity; they entered and left the labour force several times over the course of their lives.

While some women were able to combine housework and wage work, family responsibilities and the patriarchal assumptions regarding women's place in the home greatly circumscribed women's opportunities in the workforce. Although little historical data exists on the nature of married women's activities in the Canadian workforce, statistics from the 1941 census suggest a 4% participation rate. By 1951, this rate had increased to 11.2% , still well below the 22% rate of the 1961 census.⁶ The low participation rate of the 1940s is attributable to the more traditional marital and fertility patterns. Women were marrying and beginning families relatively late in life compared to later decades. The average age of marriage for women in 1940 was 24.4 years compared to 22.9 in 1961. Moreover, only 56% of women under the age of 45 had had their first child before the age of twenty-five. Taken overall, therefore, the wartime demands for womenpower had a marginal effect on the participation of married women. The traditional pattern continued for the most part, whereby women withdrew from the labour market during the early period of family formation and then re-entered in middle-age.

Through the National Selective Service (NSS) and the Department of Labour, the federal government mobilized the labour reserve of women in successive layers which were plumbed as the labour pool of men began to dry up in 1942-43. It began with young women and single women, turned to married women without children, and finally to married women with

children. Concerned with the disruption of the family unit, the government was reluctant to draw upon the final layers of the female labour reserve. The early phase of the war followed on the heels of the Depression with approximately 900,000 unemployed.⁷ This reserve met the sharp increase in demand for labour created by military recruitment and the wartime production of munitions. By 1942, however, the slack in this pool had been tightened to create a labour shortage. Fraudena Eaton, Associate Director in charge of the Women's Division of the NSS, supervised a compulsory national registration of women in order to determine the precise nature of available workers. The scheme was designed to measure the size of the young single female population. Eaton's policy reflected the prevailing concern to separate single women from married women, particularly those with children. As she stated on one occasion, "[W]e shall not urge married women with children to go into industry."⁸

In addition to the stimulus provided by the national registration, the NSS launched a national publicity campaign using the press and radio to impress upon women the need for their involvement in the war effort. The Talks and Public Affairs department of the CBC produced several series of dramatic narratives and talks about individual women and their potential for war work in cooperation with the NSS. The appeal was successful and by June, 1943, an additional

158,000 women had joined the war effort, raising the total number of women in the workforce to 255,000.⁹ By then, however, the labour reserve of single women was nearly exhausted; it thus became necessary to appeal to housewives to offer their services on a part-time basis. The approach the government took in the utilization of housewives was based firmly in its desire to maintain as clear a distinction as possible between the public domain of men and the private world of women. While married women -- and later married women with children -- were encouraged to enter the workforce, it was viewed as an extension of their home-bound role as wife and mother. An NSS circular of August, 1943 stated: "It is possible for many women to streamline their housekeeping at home to do the housekeeping in the community for standard wages."¹⁰ The Canadian media reflected the same approach to women's wartime role in the workforce. Between 1939 and 1950, the most widespread appeal in magazine advertisements was directed toward housewives, accounting for 50% of advertising content.¹¹

The wartime employment of all sectors of the female population was regarded by the Canadian public as a temporary arrangement. Women were expected to return to the home to lessen the problem of post-war unemployment and leave room for the returning soldiers. The concept of women's right to work was expressed infrequently, and the over-riding concern was the male veteran's right to work. Women's wartime work was viewed as a sacrifice for the nation at war and hence was a

temporary aberration from the traditional split between private/public work roles in the labour force.

The general role of women in the workforce during the war was reflected in the Army and in the Civil Service. The Canadian Women's Army Corps placed women in occupations that were either direct extensions of housework or else had already been ghettoized in the civilian labour force. A large portion of Canadian society disapproved of women joining the armed forces, including many of the eligible young women themselves. Recruitment pitches stressed women's work to reassure potential female recruits that their femininity would not be lost if they joined the C.W.A.C. The Army would not require women to undertake work considered suitable only for men. The C.W.A.C. never developed an employment pattern that threatened the male-female division of labour. Instead women performed work associated with traditional work roles: cook, laundress, medical orderly, waitress, clerk, and secretary. Over 70% of the CWAC's were either cooks or clerks. As Pierson observes, "[T]he uses of the overwhelming majority of CWAC's in subordinate service jobs were identified as women's work in the outside world. Occupationally, the sexual division of labour was carried over from civilian society into military life."¹²

The possibility of high unemployment among women after the war led to suggestions about channelling women

back into the home or into the more accepted female sex-typed occupations such as domestic services, nursing and teaching.¹³ As early as 1943, the Liberal government began planning to "shift women's eyes again from the pay-wicket to the home fires which must be properly aid for Canada's male veterans of battle, field and factory."¹⁴ The concern for widespread post-war unemployment found a partial justification in the memory of the severe recession that followed World War I. A number of provisional policies created by the federal government to aid the entry of married women into the workforce were repealed. Day care facilities and counselling services were closed at the end of the war. In addition, government restrictions on the employment of married women, which had been relaxed during the war, were re-imposed in 1947.¹⁵ In the civil service, married women were kept on only in specific circumstances and even then, their opportunities for advancement were limited. Preference for positions in the government and its satellite corporations was accorded to veterans. The only exception to the policy imposed by the Civil Service Commission was the hiring of stenographers and typists, both traditional "ghettos" for women.¹⁶ Finally, the role of women within the family was reinforced through the introduction of family allowances in 1944, while a special income tax concession for husbands with working wives was terminated in 1947.¹⁷

Government efforts to channel women back into the home were successful, as demonstrated by the decreasing participation rates for women. In 1946 women comprised 31.4% of the labour force; a year later, the participation rate had dropped to 22.7%, the same as the pre-war rate.¹⁸ The post-war society was characterized by the return of women to "hearth and home" and an ensuing baby boom, which reached a record high in 1947.¹⁹

Patriarchal assumptions about women's place in society included the belief that women would, in fact, placidly accept a return to their pre-war status. Despite the war, moreover, women were as domesticated by 1950 as they had ever been. As Bland has written, "The brief emergence of "Rosie the Riveter" ...did nothing to threaten the dominant position of Henrietta the Homemaker, in fact, women's changing role during the war indirectly contributed to the upswing of the homemaker role. The women of 1945 were ready for the idea that their place was in the home and that it was the duty of the homemaker to . . . be fulfilled and happy in the home."²⁰

Clearly, federal government policies and propaganda coupled with the media representations of women combined to reproduce a patriarchal view that narrowly defined women's status. When high unemployment in the early phase of World War II was replaced with a severe shortage in 1942-43, the government began a series of campaigns directed to all sectors of the female population. Although single women were the

the first targets, married women and later, married women with children, soon followed. Yet throughout the war, their participation in the workforce was viewed as a temporary measure. From the beginning, the government used the CBC as a forum to appeal to women's role as custodians of values justifying Canada's involvement in the war. In a 1941 broadcast, for example, J.T. Thorson, Minister of National War Services, reflected the male concept of woman's place in wartime.

The women who keep the heart of the nation sound by doing their daily tasks of the home and in the communities in which they live are doing war service of the highest possible order. It is essential in time of war even more so than in peace time, that the life of the community be maintained, the aged assisted ... If the needs of the community are met, as only the womenfolk can meet them, the heart of the nation will be kept sound. Many of these tasks are dull and prosaic, there is no glamour or publicity attached to them. They are necessary tasks in times of peace but they are vital when a nation is at war.²¹

The CBC itself not only accepted the male conception of women's wartime role but also recognized the importance of programming specifically tied to women's special domain. Within the Talks and Public Affairs department, a distinct production unit was created to produce a range of programs for women; in August, 1938, Donald Buchanan hired Elizabeth Long to organize and develop all talks relating to women. As Assistant Supervisor in charge of Women's Interests, Long was the first woman hired in an executive capacity and from the outset held a relatively high degree of autonomy and

authority. As she later recalled, "I always was free to hunt program ideas and carry them through without special supervision, though of course I did consult Charles Jennings and Mr. Bushnell whenever I was travelling or changing programme objectives. There never was any trouble."²² Long held responsibility for hiring women commentators, supervising staff, publicizing programs, and maintaining liaisons with national and international women's organizations. A graduate of the University of Manitoba, she had been editor of the Social and Women's departments of the Winnipeg Free Press in the 1920s. From 1926 to 1930, she had been associate editor of the Free Press Prairie Farmer and had written columns under the name of Jane Allan. When she joined Talks and Public Affairs in 1938, the CBC had only two programs directed to women listeners -- "The History of Dress" and "Touring English Cathedrals."

In her memoirs, she recalled her early years with the department: "I had little knowledge about how I should go about my work. But it was the time of the wild popularity of the daytime soap serials in the United States and also in Canada. Here and there, women commentators...were beginning to give daily reports on local happenings on local stations. But on the networks, CBC appeared to have scheduled few women speakers in their own broadcasts."²³

Elizabeth Long was a pivotal figure in CBC broadcasting until her retirement in 1957. More than any other woman in the Corporation, she had a deep sense of the power radio held for raising women's consciousness. She believed housewives

had the right to have a window on the world. "My experience led me to the firm conviction that women would find listening entertaining if you could offer them information that was of practical use to them at the moment."²⁴ Believing that the home and the community should remain their primary obligation, Long designed programs to meet the interests of the Canadian housewife. She did not, therefore, provide material which encouraged women to enter the workforce. Unwilling to push wives with young children out of the home and into the world, her alternative, and her choice, was to bring the world into the home.

As the Talks and Public Affairs department matured during the early 1940s, Women's Interests began to separate itself from the rest of the staff. The division is significant and can be explained in a number of ways. First, because it was presumed that most women were home during the day, Women's Interests was allocated the majority of time slots available to the department for daytime broadcasts. The after-four to midnight period was left free for general talks on the news, politics and international affairs. Secondly, Long's administrative approach was based firmly on her belief that women's programming should be a separate department. Although it continued to remain a part of Talks and Public Affairs, it was never fully integrated into its daily routine. There were also structural reasons for the division between the two program areas. Most national talks were produced in Toronto. While such programs as "Citizen's Forum"

emphasized regional participation, it was the responsibility of the program organizers in the national office to make the final selection of topics and speakers. In contrast, Long set up a regional system of commentators. In general, evening talks were primarily national in scope, while women's commentaries reflected a local flavour.

Despite the division, Long and Neil Morrison shared a strong commitment to the basic philosophy of the department, which centered on the need for community support and public involvement in broadcasting. Both recognized that such input was essential for implementing the CBC concept of radio as a public domain and both reminded their staff that, as broadcasters and producers, their work must be viewed as a trusteeship. Long wrote: "Whatever the basic training, we realized our personal responsibility of broadcasting to the Canadian people - in fact, when we were hired, we all were told that our main duty was to serve the people of Canada."²⁵ The theoretical underpinnings of public ownership and community support were met in practice with an increasingly wide range of programs whose formats were flexible enough to accommodate the changing interests of audiences. As the Winnipeg Free Press commented, "Women's activities have broadened vastly during these war years and most would agree that this development in public spirit and social conscience should be a permanent quality amongst them in the years to come.... One of the agencies that has contributed enormously to this trend in women has been the CBC. They have really exercised their

imaginations in bringing the woman who is busy at home the sort of information and stimulation that she sorely needs."²⁶

During the early years of World War II, Women's Interests began to prepare the housewife for the needs of economy and thrift. As the main family spender, the wife was the target of talks on budgeting, rationing, and cooking. Long developed women commentators as authorities in specific areas. Ethelwynn Hobbes and Alison Grant worked closely with the Wartime Prices and Trade Board to give women information on consumer problems and nutrition. Other experts such as Dr. Elizabeth Chant Robertson worked on child care, human relations, and family issues. "The CBC provides an excellent service in advice on buying. Done intelligently as it is, a woman who is the principal spender of the family income can learn a great deal about being a good citizen and about the connection between the daily needs of her family and the problems of the world."²⁷ The traditional role of women was reinforced through series which dealt exclusively with community affairs, arts and literature, and domesticity. Among the core programs which were broadcast nationally throughout the war were "A Book I Like," "CBC Cooking School of the Air," "School for Parents," and the news commentaries which were aired during the afternoon.

The Women's Interests team consisted of a network of commentators with a minimum of one in each regional studio who broadcast daily morning talks of 3-10 minutes in length.

These commentaries formed the backbone of Women's Interests. Unlike the evening talks, "these morning talks were designed to share a personal moment with women in the home. As Long frequently mentioned, "The morning commentator's work is presenting gossip on a high level, but it is chummy gossip full of people, their plans, their joys and sorrows.... A clear portrait of forward action all the time. Too dull sentences will lose listeners. Every word must be vital."²⁸ The woman listener was portrayed as the "unseen companion" who should feel she is an active and respected participant. In turn, the woman commentator must possess a sense of belonging to a female community and have a "heartfelt desire to be a welcome guest in every Canadian listener's home."²⁹ The idea of a dialogue between women listeners and broadcasters matured within the general community-oriented spirit of the Talks and Public Affairs department. Mattie Rotenberg described the system as a party of radio women. "I always feel our audience is a big club of women. Some days I happen to be the speaker. Other times, I listen. But we're all pooling our knowledge for the good of the club."³⁰

By 1943, Talks and Public Affairs had begun to concentrate its efforts on the problem of returning soldiers and post-war reconstruction through such mainstays as "Citizen's Forum". In a parallel development, Women's Interests created "Post-War Woman" and "Woman Tomorrow" to give women ideas about how they could help win the peace and

build a better world. In 1944 Rotenberg commented, "We women know that this is our war and that knowledge raises in every heart the unshakeable resolution to hold out till victory ... this is a woman's war. On its outcome depends the answer to the question: Are we to move forward to a position of greater freedom or lose what we have gained? ... Curing poverty and ignorance -- rightly injustice -- that's part of our war effort."³¹ Post-war women's programs gave special consideration to family relations through such series as "Health in the Home", "Cooking for Health" and "The New World Ahead". As Long commented, "Our broadcasters first had a wartime slant to their talks which gradually was modified with the hope of approaching peace. Much later, we moved into the effects of rehabilitation... Successful adjustment to these changes depended greatly on each family unit knowing exactly what was their own status."³²

Canada's contributions to World War II confirmed her status on the world stage. The CBC's national news service increased to the public's awareness of international events by bringing the war into Canadian homes. Public Affairs programming had evolved a broad range of commentaries and programs such as "Capital Report," which had an international focus. Although Long kept the home and the neighbourhood the solid base of her programming, she felt that post-war understanding could be promoted by bringing women of other countries to the CBC microphone. In 1947, she was elected

Convenor of the Standing Committee on Broadcasting for the International Council of Women. In that capacity, she visited the National Councils in most of the capitals of Western Europe and attended the triennial meetings of the ICW in Athens, Helsinki and Montreal. In 1948 she was a delegate to the first European non-governmental organizations meeting, which worked in consultation with the UN; there she was elected President of the session on mass communications, thereby furthering her network of women around the world. In May of 1948, Long prepared a report on her tour in Europe in which she stressed the need to 'promote international relations. "Our experts in various fields should be sent abroad regularly at public expense to get ideas and attend meetings," she wrote, "so we finally have authoritative opinion in our country, not merely on national policies but an informed public opinion to aid in shaping policies and give support to individual Canadians. Women's unique perspective should be enlisted to further this aim.... Parallel with the history of democracy has been the development of the civic and economic rights of women. In fact, the story of women's progress in various countries is an oblique and colourful way of telling the story of democratic development."³³

In cooperation with the CBC's International Service, Long set up the most comprehensive plan of international broadcasts for women of any radio system in the world. Canadian women heard the voices of women across the world in special weekly reports. At the same time, Long understood

that the work of hunting daily news items, writing scripts and broadcasting fifteen minutes a day was too much work for most women commentators to handle. To sustain the quality and variety of their talks, therefore, she supplied the commentators with background material and radio letters from women in other countries. The international material dealt with women's interests and the daily activities of women in various cultures and did not discuss political or economic issues.

In the latter stages of the war, the woman's world of the home and her concern for peace expanded to include such traditionally male interests as politics and economics. While advocating women's primary responsibility to the family, Long did not underestimate the importance of marrying women to the broader issues of international affairs. Unlike her morning commentators, the afternoon news broadcasters were frequently identified with a more progressive approach and they encouraged women to push their sphere of knowledge beyond the narrow focus of the home. "One of the fine results of these afternoon news commentaries, Long wrote to Florence Bird, "is that women are getting an opportunity to broadcast in the field of current affairs which in all countries that I know of is practically a monopoly for men. However, I have every faith that we will have plenty of women doing it yet. It is just a question of being that much better."³⁴

The news commentaries, normally three minutes in length, were given by the same woman over a three month

period to establish her audience. Each talk discussed a significant event in the news from an angle that would appeal to the home woman. Unlike the evening talks such as "Our Special Speaker," Long required her news commentaries to be free from political bias. "...[W]e do not want this to become a discussion of political affairs as it will be necessary to have three or more viewpoints represented and the women will all be mixed up for they do not know one viewpoint from another."³⁵ Instead, they were supposedly the expression of personal opinion by a woman who "understands and respects the viewpoint of the home women and realizes she will respond best to ideas of human morality, human needs and the fact that beyond greed and personal ambition, most of the people of the world are struggling towards the same objective -- better living for themselves and their children."³⁶

Long recognized the need to give the news commentators the same freedom of choice of material and expression that was accorded the regular male Public Affairs speakers such as Wilson Woodside and Elmore Philpott. Yet, like her male colleagues in the department, she believed that, while a woman's voice could express sincerity and conviction, it seldom had the same authority as a man's. For this reason, the news commentaries were more personal and informal in their tenor following the approach laid down for the morning commentaries.

Men are most used to discussing the news and public affairs, and the technical terms do not worry them. I think women are quite intelligent enough to understand public affairs. They will find discussion in terms which directly affect women. There is a danger for women broadcasters to sound dull and pompous when they super-impose their opinions, speaking with long words and abstract terms like democracy and world peace etc.³⁷

In Long's opinion the more successful woman news commentators were those who felt there was a "kinship" between all women in their interest in the news and thus developed a "woman-to-woman" communication.³⁸

In 1940, Mattie Rotenberg a commentator who had begun freelancing for Women's Interests in 1939, broadcast a series of radio talks for women in which she outlined the various responsibilities of women in the home. In the informal conversational style which characterized women's talks, Rotenberg commented on the homefront.

In the course of the war, women may be called upon for service in farm or factory and this service must be rendered without making the home suffer.... Feeding the family properly -- that is the most important service the housewife can render to the nation ... on good health depends good spirits. I sometimes think that if the government would give us uniforms and medals or titles such as 'Guardians of the Nation's Health', people would look with more respect on the housewife's job. But honestly, is there any medal that would give you as much satisfaction as having that boy of yours get up from the table with a satisfied sigh, and say to you, 'Gee Mom, that was a swell dinner!'³⁹

The housewife's role in connection with family and children was continually legitimized through the symbolic imagery of building morale and courage to sustain the nation during wartime. "These words, peace, silence, rest, take on a vividness in the midst of noise and weariness like a lighted

window in the dark. Isn't that a beautiful way to think of home? And that's the homemaker's job -- to keep that lighted window always shining."⁴⁰ While single women were encouraged to enter the workforce, the traditional association of women with the pure, live-giving qualities of motherhood was an equally strong theme in Women's Interests talks. Nonetheless, women commentators did not totally ignore the importance of women's place in the work world.

In the same series of radio talks which heightened women's home-bound role, Rotenberg addressed the right of women to work. Adopting a progressive stance, Rotenberg reminded her female audience that equality in the workplace was essential to uphold a truly democratic way of life.

The more we examine the facts, the stronger is our conviction that it is not reason but tradition and prejudice that makes women's pay less than men's. In the professions, after a long fight, women are achieving equal recognition with men.... But old prejudices die hard, and a woman has to be not only good but better than a man to get an even chance. Women make up one-half the number of our citizen's. As long as there is discrimination against them we cannot have a true democracy.⁴¹

Rotenberg's progressive approach was recognized by Long who commented, "Mattie Rotenberg is not the conventional type of broadcaster, but she always draws mail. It is the one time we can be sure that there are a lot of men listening to the afternoon talks on the Trans-Canada network. At least one of them will take his pen in hand after every talk and want a copy of the broadcast to be read to the Kiwanis Club."⁴²

Another exception to the general situation is illustrated in the career of Florence Bird who began her career as Anne Francis in Winnipeg and under Long's guidance, became a household name as a commentator specializing in economic issues. In 1941, she approached the CBC about starting her own program, and with Helen Magill as her first producer, broadcast a series of 15 minute programs called "Behind the Headlines". The series was almost cancelled when the Program Director's office in Toronto thought it impossible for a woman to do "background to the news" broadcasts during wartime as women lacked authority and therefore, credibility. But H.G. Walker, Regional Program Director, argued her case and won. "Behind the Headlines" was heard until 1946 when Bird then became a woman news commentator under Long.⁴³ As her reputation for her knowledge of current affairs grew, she was in demand for such programs as "Midweek Review" and "Capital Report", making her one of the few women to transfer successfully from women's news to general talks.

Through her interpretations of world affairs for women, Bird broke through many of the barriers preventing women's full participation in radio broadcasting. In reference to a broadcast on Canada's economic efforts in wartime, Bird complained to Long of the difficulty she experienced in arguing for women's equality in the workforce to a male audience. "I tried to make a broadcast which would hold the male animal as I had visions of every man dealing me out the minute I mentioned the rights of women."⁴⁴

By the end of the decade, Bird and Rotenberg were joined by a number of successful freelancers who commented on the news from a woman's point of view. Among the new contingent were Ethel Wilson, Sasha Davidson, Isabel Wilson from the CAAE, Jessie MacPherson, Dean of Women at Victoria College, and Maudie Ferguson, an Ottawa news reporter. However, few women under Long's supervision articulated the progressive view of Florence Bird and Mattie Rotenberg. For the majority of commentators, the conflict between women's domestic world and the growing emphasis on her place in the workforce was unresolvable, a situation clearly recognized by Long.

In the midst of all the complications of a world war, it was quite a comfort for all Canadian women to know what other women were thinking and doing. . . . it soon became clear that the nation needed women's contribution in jobs outside the home; and at the same time doctors and psychologists asked bluntly how mothers could keep children happy and adjusted to these various wartime changes if mothers were absent from home during the day.⁴⁵

In her series "Women in Public Life" (1946), Jean Howard clearly mirrored the ambiguities between private and public life resulting from the war and changing attitudes toward women's roles.

I'm not a feminist in the old sense of the word but I'm very, very glad to see women moving out in growing numbers into the world of civic affairs, because I think that the feminine touch has been bitterly lacking in our public life.... We have elected a few women to public posts, through the years, but too many of them have been women with something of a masculine outlook -- that was the reason they were attracted to politics in the first place. What I would like to see in Parliament is large numbers of very feminine women -- women who have families about which they love to talk, and who

fuss over pretty hats, and exchange recipes and are very anxious to keep their husbands happy and contented. These have a faculty too, of going right to the heart of things, where men just get tangled up in words and end up just beating around the bush. They want to know such simple and direct things as why old age pensioners should have to struggle along on such a small income.... Of course, the thought of serving in Parliament would appall most of us women. We'd rather leave the sort of job to the men. But until we recognize that its our responsibility too, we'll never get anything we want for ourselves. And what is more, we'll not get them for our children either.⁴⁶

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The Talks and Public Affairs department's policy of creating women's programs applies only to those shows broadcast by women and does not address the involvement of women in areas other than Women's Interests. Moreover, while Women's Interests programming reproduced the traditional assumptions linking women to domesticity and culture, the department as a whole did not typify the treatment of women either in the CBC or Canadian society as whole. Although Talks and Public Affairs linked women as an audience to cultural and domestic issues, there were a number of women producers and program organizers who worked on general evening programs and shared an almost equal level of autonomy and authority with their male colleagues.

The mandate of the CBC, together with the more general economic and social changes wrought by war, had a profound effect on the development of hiring policies of the Corporation. The more fluid labour market created by wartime labour shortages allowed women to enter Talks and Public Affairs as program organizers and producers at the height of

its formative and creative years. Because they had not been completely stereotyped into certain occupational categories women were potentially able to challenge and influence the existing structure of programming. In short, the war was a Period in which women could expand their sphere of influence and responsibility. When Neil Morrison encountered a severe shortage in available, qualified radio men, he began hiring women. The result was a string of women regional producers who worked from coast to coast in the five CBC regional stations, usually teamed up with a male counterpart. In addition, women worked as program organizers in the Talks and Public Affairs office in Toronto.

The working partnership between the Toronto office and the regional studios during the 1940s gave women producers in the regions a level of autonomy and responsibility not possible for those producing in Toronto or regional studios in later years. The relatively limited number of staff in the regions meant that women producers who worked on general and women's programming were accorded an unprecedented degree of responsibility. Moreover, Talks and Public Affairs relied heavily upon the regions for contributions to national programs such as "Citizen's Forum". Regional producers were also encouraged to develop local programming to fill Public Affairs dedicated to community involvement and adult education.

Among those to benefit from this situation was Dorothea Cox who was hired in 1942 as a producer for the Maritimes. As the only producer for Talks in the region during the war, Cox held authority for the entire range of programming in the department. With a B.A. from the University of New Brunswick, an M.A. from McGill and several years of teaching experience, Cox was well-qualified to give expression to the views held by her Eastern audience. Using the tools of first-hand investigative journalism, she contributed to most major Talks and Public Affairs programs such as "Speaking Personally," "Science Review," "Our Special Speaker," and "Citizen's Forum. Cox shared Morrison's commitment to the idea that radio was an educational force that should be used to widen the scope of listener's interests. To fully implement the philosophy required the development of personal contacts and liaisons with regional organizations. As Cox wrote in her annual report to Morrison in 1944, "...it is increasingly evident that the position of Maritime Talks Producer requires one to be well-informed about activities of every sort; housing, city-planning, rehabilitation, handicrafts to name but a few matters. Keeping in touch with worthwhile activities in Halifax is not difficult, but it requires a good deal of both travelling and correspondence to keep up-to-date with developments in the rest of the region."⁴⁷ Like most regional producers, Cox maintained liaisons with branches of national and provincial bodies which supported the department. Because she was a woman, she pulled in the

Canadian Women's Press Club and the Business and Professional Women's Club to contribute ideas to programs, distribute material among their members and generally, promote public affairs discussions in the community.

As the only producer for Talks and the only woman in the Halifax studios, Cox was forced to do battle with traditional notions of woman's place but not with her radio colleagues. Instead, she encountered resistance and scepticism of her ability and ideas from the general public. Most speakers who she approached for broadcasting associated her with the "unimportant realm" of Women's Interests. Following the war, her range of decision-making power came to an abrupt end when W.E.S. Briggs became the first Regional Director for the maritimes. Although Cox's experience as a woman within the Corporation demonstrates the low status ascribed to most other female producers, her relationship with her immediate male superiors and colleagues was supportive. Certainly, they were prepared to give her the same kind of cooperation that they accorded to male colleagues. In 1944, Cox wrote "During the year, both the Supervisor and the various members of the National Talks Office staff have showed the greatest interest in helping this department get under way. Suggestions as to speakers and subjects were made, background material sent, and valuable assistance given in every way. In fact, the two way flow of memos has been constant and covered a suprising variety of subjects."⁴⁸

Margaret Howes worked independently in an arrangement similar to that of Dorothea Cox in that she was the only Talks producer in the English language station in Montreal. A graduate in Political Science and active in the Student Christian Science movement, Howes became secretary of the CAAE where she met Neil Morrison. In 1946, Morrison requested her to fill in as a temporary replacement for a male producer who has not returned from furthering his education. The significance of her status as a war temporary was unimportant to Howes as she fully expected to leave within 3-4 months. However, she stayed with the department for 20 years, retiring in 1966. Her work with the CAAE and her understanding of the importance of community support allowed her to contribute to the full range of programming. In addition, she had a special mandate to interpret Quebec to the rest of Canada through talks and discussions on business, French-Canadian culture and nationalism.

Helen Magill was hired as a CBC Press and Information officer in 1940 and became an assistant talks producer in 1942. One year later, she was in charge of Women's Interests for the Prairie Region. Magill dramatically increased the number of women commentators and by 1944, the Prairie region originated one quarter of women's talks to the national network. In accordance with Long's and Morrison's policy of developing a solid support network for both regional and national programs, Magill worked closely with local women's organizations. She sat on the Advisory Committee for the

CAAE and represented the CBC at the annual meetings of the National Council of Women, the Children's Aid and the Winnipeg Family Bureau.⁴⁹

Howes versatility was also exemplified by Helen James who was hired by Elizabeth Long in September, 1945 as a producer for Women's Interests in Toronto. Having served in Europe with the Armed Forces, James belonged to a priority hiring group. She successfully circumvented the partial freeze on hiring women which went into effect in early 1945. Following a short stint on women's programming, James became a general talks producer responsible for "Citizen's Forum", "Critically Speaking", "Weekend Review", and "Canadian Short Stories". James often worked 7 days a week without overtime pay to gain experience and frequently worked on programs in other departments such as Schools and Religion. The effort paid off when she was appointed Long's successor as Supervisor of Women's Interests in 1954.

Along the vanguard of women program organizers in Toronto were Marjorie McEnaney and Elspeth Chisholm, both of whom entered Talks and Public Affairs during the war to supervise general talks. A graduate of Library Science from the University of Toronto, Chisholm worked in the Trinity College Library when she was discovered by Elizabeth Long in 1939. Chisholm was hired to replace Thelma LeCog as a women's commentator specializing in arts and literature. In 1942, she joined the staff as a program organizer in the Talks depart-

ment. Chisholm's career follows the pattern of many later producers such as Kay McIver who entered the department through the "backdoor" of Women's Interests and merged into the mainstream of Public Affairs programming. Although Chisholm was given responsibility for a wide range of programs, her specialization continued to be that of arts and letters, and Canadian social issues.

Born Marjorie Winspear in Birmingham, England, McEnaney had been an associate editor for a women's magazine called the National Home Monthly prior to her entry into the CBC. Hugh Morrison hired her in 1942 to salvage "Labour Forum" which had gone through a number of temporary program planners who were quickly called for frontline duty. Under Neil Morrison, McEnaney's responsibilities broadened to include many of Talks and Public Affairs' key programs; "Weekend Review", "Citizen's Forum", "Capital Report" and "In Search of Ourselves". As a program organizer, McEnaney also had responsibility for many of the national political commentaries.

Through articles for National Home Monthly and memos and notes to her colleagues and superiors, McEnaney clearly identified her concern for women's issues and her determination to make her stand on them known to management. Of paramount importance to her was the necessity of recognizing women's contributions to radio during the last years of the war as she realized that many women stood the risk of losing their positions when the soldiers came home from the war.

Although she never produced programs for Women's Interests, she continually demonstrated her concern for the importance of a woman's perspective in broadcasting. In speaking of Elizabeth Long, she wrote,

You can't plan talks for women and find women to do the talking without becoming somewhat of a champion of women and their rights. That is exactly what has happened to Elizabeth Long in her five years in the CBC. She thinks women can do practically anything they want to do if they put their minds to it.⁵⁰

McEnaney was equally representative of the 1940 woman's traditional status within the institution of marriage. In 1945, with the war grinding to a halt, McEnaney criticized the CBC for its lack of coverage of Canadian political affairs. The policy was, she argued, a direct contradiction to the public's belief that the war was being fought for the freedom of speech. With Neil Morrison she combined three short commentaries to form a half-hour program called "Capital Report" which broadcast Canadian affairs from London, Paris, Washington and Ottawa. Recalling the event, McEnaney revealed an acute sense of her personal status as a married woman in the Corporation. "Part of my freedom of action was because I was a married woman. I could always look to my husband for food and shelter and that is a great feeling in the tough world of broadcasting."⁵¹

Few of these women considered discrimination within the department to be a key factor restricting their work or career advancement. They did not feel isolated or unusual in their work because there were more of them. In addition, the

department's difficulty in coping with the severe wartime shortages in manpower meant there was a high premium placed on close cooperation and teamwork -- opinions were respected and ideas shared. Throughout the 1940s, Talks and Public Affairs was under pressure from its own management to win enough time for essential programming. Other CBC departments which were more commercially oriented were creating immensely popular variety and music programs and the daytime soap operas had quickly developed a loyal following among housewives. The over-riding concern was not women's right or discrimination against one sector of the department but the need to cooperate in the dissemination of ideas, speakers and material within production units and across the country. As Howes commented, "We realized that we needed a strong department, a strong sense of belonging to a department in order to achieve prime-time for programs we thought merited a good audience."⁵² Both Morrison and Long insisted on annual talks conferences to promote communications between Toronto and the regional studios. For those women who were program organizers in Toronto, these conferences secured their senior status as planners with the authority to parcel out material and responsibility to the regions.

Despite the close cooperation which characterized the department, the status of women became a post-war issue. Although women in Talks and Public Affairs believed their status as temporaries did not interfere with their daily routine, they were conscious, indeed often resentful, of their

of their position within the Corporation. The Liberal government's wartime strategy included the principle that the family was the foundation of all societies and it was the duty of all governments to protect the welfare of the family and the sanctity of the home. During wartime, the government restructured its policies to redefine the character of the labour market to include the reserve labour pools such as married women. Following the war, the traditional role of women was re-established and reaffirmed through planned policies. The CBC followed the general government policy directive which dictated that married women would be phased out to make room for the returning soldiers. Women could expect to leave their positions as they had been hired as temporary replacements. In 1946, J.P. Landry, Director of Personnel and Administrative Services for the CBC, issued a series of statement announcing that:

No married woman is to be engaged on the permanent staff of the Corporation. Any female employee whose status is that of a 'married woman' as defined above will have to sever her connection as an employee of the Corporation and be replaced in her functions at a date which, in all events, shall not be beyond March 31st, 1947. If a female employee should, from the date of this directive, decide to contract marriage, she shall be considered as having tendered her resignation from the Corporation's service.⁵³

Landry argued that the "excessive employment" of married women in temporary positions (they were never considered for permanent status) would penalize the Pension Plan as these would occupy positions which would be filled by permanent members who would contribute to the scheme. "In view of

the large sum of money that is paid yearly by the Corporation for the benefit of employees on the permanent staff in the way of pension benefits, it would seem that a female employee who is married, and whose husband is living, should not benefit from the Corporation's monies to provide for retirement, because of the fact that one of the first responsibilities of a husband is to provide for his wife."⁵⁴ In 1945-46, 333 of the 966 positions listed as permanent in the CBC were held by temporary replacements or war temporaries. Approximately 100 of these were married women therefore, one third of the temporary category was affected by Landry's policy.

The difficulty with this policy, from the point of view of the Talks and Public Affairs department, was that women in senior production posts were not easily replaceable. They had developed a knowledge and level of skill in radio in an era which understood very little about the capabilities of the medium. Aware that the situation was to their advantage, women launched a series of protests in 1945. McEnaney, along with Alice Frick of the Drama department, submitted a brief on the rights of married women in the Corporation. The brief argued that as citizens in a democracy, married women had a right to equality of opportunity and no group should be singled out for discriminatory treatment because of sex or marital status.

The summary of the brief clearly recognized the power position occupied by men. "This brief presents views

of some, but not necessarily all women who are employees of the Corporation, and it is offered for consideration by those men who make and carry out policy on post-war employment."⁵⁵ Wrote McEnaney in December, 1945:

... as a policy it be recommended that the retention of married women presently employed by the Corporation and of those who marry while in its employ be determined on the basis of merit and that economic necessity be taken into account.⁵⁶

In 1946, the national executive of the Staff Councils, the forerunner of the CBC unions, took up the cause. "... we should not limit ourselves by refusing to consider married women when they have the abilities sufficiently valuable to be retained. This would therefore apply more specifically to those in higher positions in the Corporation."⁵⁷

In 1947, Helen James circulated a petition which stated that "As public servants in a country having membership in UNESCO, the CBC should give leadership to, and not deny, the application of the principle of equal rights for women.... The logical criterion for employment is ability, experience and special aptitudes and not sex, marital status nor individual necessity."⁵⁸ As the Ontario representative on the national executive of the National Staff Council, Helen James lobbied for and received the full support of that body. Commenting on the principle of equality, James argued that the CBC stood to lose valuable veteran employees

if the policy of forcing female staff to resign when or after they were married was enforced. The Staff Council resolved to change policy on the issue and in July of 1949, submitted a suggestion for the rephrasing of CBC regulations to read: "Employment may be extended to married women in all classifications where length of service, experience and value to the Corporation give them preference over unmarried women, widows, divorced or legally separated women and married women, who by force of circumstance, must bear the responsibility of supporting a family, when employees are to be placed on permanent staff."⁵⁹ Despite the support for specific groups of married women, the Staff Council maintained the status quo by agreeing that female employees who marry while on permanent staff should be allocated temporary status. In addition, women who married CBC employees were still expected to resign.⁶⁰

In 1949, Landry rescinded the original policy, which had yet to be fully implemented, in favour of a more flexible approach. Single women were still given a higher priority but a number of married women could be hired. Despite the efforts of the Staff Council and women such as McEnaney and James, the CBC continued to prevent married women from achieving permanent status and participating in the Pension Plan. Augustin Frigon, General Manager of the CBC, supported Landry's final position on the issue and handed down a policy ruling on June 17, 1949.

Although we believe that we should encourage unmarried girls rather than married women who have a husband to look after them, we agree that in many cases there should be no fundamental objection to hiring the services of a limited number of the latter group. From now on, there will be no harm in hiring married women on a casual or temporary basis, but in all cases whenever it is possible, we should give preference to girls who have to earn their own living. The Director of Personnel and Administrative Services will confirm this understanding.⁶¹

The internal debate over married women and women in general within the CBC received press coverage. In 1946,⁶² Frank Chamberlain, a long-time watchdog of the CBC, wrote a blunt column in which he condemned the CBC policy. "... married women have the right to work for the CBC.... To say that they haven't and to send working women back to their homes, is to put the struggle for women's rights back 50 years.... Is the price of marriage to be that women must renounce their desires to work for the CBC? In these modern days of nursery schools, pressure cookers and electrical appliances that make housekeeping easier, are we going to force women to remain in the home?"⁶³ Radio Would, a professional trade paper echoed this sentiment: "unless the CBC wants to make itself a laughing stock around the world, it will rescind its absurd instructions that married women now employed by the CBC must be dismissed before March, 1947."⁶⁴

McEnaney's personal struggle over her status as a married woman is a clearcut reflection of society's and the CBC's concern for the potential conflict between a married

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McEnaney returned to work in November of 1944 without senior management's official approval but with Morrison's sanction. McEnaney recalled the reaction to her arrival in her memoirs "Who Stole the Cakes?":

My colleagues Elspeth Chisholm and Elizabeth Long were amused to see me. Neil arrived mid-morning, went into his office, came out with a pile of scripts - Elizabeth and Elspeth looked the other way. They were overworked, thank you, and Neil spotted me, laid the pile on my desk and requested that I process it.⁶⁶

Although no real issue ensued, McEnaney did not receive her salary for several months. When she was finally officially reinstated, her status was reverted from casual, which permitted a minimal pension, to temporary, which prevented access to any form of pension sick leave pay or vacation benefits.

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The evolution of a separate sphere of production called Women's Interests encouraged the development of a distinct women's culture, which had low prestige and was limited in scope. While men controlled and supervised most areas of programming, most women were connected with domestic and social issues: the set of associations linked to reproduction within the department. This division was fostered by Long herself who believed women's programming should remain independent. This marginal position would begin to change noticeably in the following decade. As women's programming secured a firmer foothold in the Talks schedule, it would begin to broaden its program base, pushing beyond the traditional conceptual framework of the 1940s.

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Having established its programs base, Women's Interests moved into a decade of solidification in which old programs were streamlined or discarded and new, more sophisticated programs were developed. The network of regional commentators expanded and evolved a closer working relationship with the Toronto office. Programming, as a reflection of the social trends of the 1950s, began exploring the controversial issues although not to the sacrifice of its traditional focus. For the most part, Women's Interests continued to act as the voice of male-stream assumptions regarding women's traditional place in Canadian society. Yet this reaffirmation took place within the steady development of a separate, woman-centered identity in the division. The common goals inherent in producing and broadcasting material specifically for women listeners encouraged a unique program vision.

* * * *

The post-war movement toward the segregated participation of women in the Canadian workforce intensified in the 1950s. Yet the development of a two-phase work cycle for women was paralleled by a remarkable growth in women's participation rate. The intercensal period 1951-1961 marked the first time that more women than men (49.1% compared to 50.9%) entered the workforce.¹ The participation rate for women of working age was 29.5% by 1961 compared to 18.5%

in 1941.² The most rapid increase in this rate occurred between 1955 and 1961. The result by the close of the 1950s was a considerable increase in the proportion of women in the labour force. To understand these developments, it is crucial to realize that there was a basic contradiction in the social values pertaining to the family and work roles for women. At first glance, women's traditional family-oriented role was not simply re-affirmed but elevated in this period. But a closer examination reveals more subtle changes involving new and irreversible roles. Alice Kessler-Harris, a noted American feminist, has pointed out this ambiguous situation of the decade: "The discordance between ideas about women's real work being at home and economic pressures that insisted on wage labour created an impossible bind: women could effectively fulfill family obligations only by leaving the home."³

The new consumerism, aided by improvements in household technology, enabled many married women to begin supplementing the family income. While wage work had previously been merely a short phase in women's lives, it now began to assume a central focus; women no longer quit work after marriage. In 1941, one in twenty married women in Canada worked; by 1951, more than one in ten held a job. As early as 1958, Department of Labour studies began documenting this trend. According to a 1958 survey, "For girls who have grown to adulthood since the war, marriage does not

almost automatically mean leaving paid employment as it did before World War II. Today's young women commonly expects to play the double role of homemaker and job holder, at least for a few years, and perhaps off and on throughout her life."⁴ Women were expected to shoulder both responsibility for the home in addition to her paid employment and to leave her work altogether with the arrival of children. Thus, the two phase working cycle had clearly emerged during the 1950s.

The increased participation rate of married women not only influenced overall numbers of female workers but the nature of that participation. Women worked until marriage and returned when the children had matured. Thus the effect of marriage reduced dramatically the tendency of women to enter the labour force.⁵ In 1951, the highest rate of married women was among those at 20-24 years of age and then declined steadily. By 1961, the first phase of work activity was followed by a sharp drop until the middle thirties. This second phase involved a return to the workforce of many women who had previously worked outside the home. This second, larger peak was reached at ages 35-44.⁶

The two-phase cycle was reinforced by social values and traditions which underlined women's place in the home and with the children. "The popular prejudice against married women working has lessened considerably in recent years but there is no doubt that public opinion continues to hold that if a woman has children she should stay at home

with them until necessity drives her to work."⁷ As her children reached their late teens, there were fewer social restrictions regarding work outside the home. Two out of five worked continuously following initial entry and approximately one half spent a minimum of ten years in the workforce. Of those who re-entered after a period in the home, more than 75% did so only once.⁸ Once employed, most married women became committed to their double role as housewife and wage-earner. Yet for the majority family and home remained their primary interest and their reasons for becoming a second income-earner were usually related to the improvement of the family's material position.⁹

Women's behaviour in the labour market was influenced directly by external factors including the overall employment situation and internal variables such as family life and expectations. Women who married during a boom period in employment were more likely to be allowed to remain on the job. Those who had been out of the labour force for some years also found it possible to find work in periods of high employment. The most important factors in determining married women's participation rate in the fifties was, therefore, the prevailing social and economic climate. The decision to stop work was frequently made for them by the employer. Where the decision rested with the woman, she remained in the workforce until she chose to have children.

The age of their children was not the only significant factor influencing women's return to the workforce; their educational level was also a variable. For

every age group, the fertility rate of women declined with higher education and the percentage of childless women increased.¹⁰ The more educated woman also tended to postpone building a family for a longer period following marriage. A second association between female labour force activity and education was the nature of work a woman performed. The higher the level of education, the greater the incentive to work since more interesting and remunerative work was available. Ostry suggests that educated married women may also have tended to be satisfied with housework as a full-time job.¹¹ In general, married women who worked during the 1950s were younger and better educated than those who remained in the home. One third of full-time employees had a minimum of vocational training from secretarial and clerical institutions.¹²

While the 1950s was a period of high employment, the family-oriented society still dictated the kind of work women could do by maintaining the traditional association of work with their homemaking role. As a result, "increasing work force participation did not blur the rigid segmentation that defined the occupational structure."¹³ Jobs in the clerical, secretarial, and service sectors mushroomed as the demand for women grew and by 1960, women were clustered at the lower levels of the employment ladder. This was not a conspiratorial plot; women's general lack of training, experience, and status as second income earners landed them in the lower echelons without coercion and, indeed, with their full consent. For most, it was thought natural that

women's work roles should be an extension of their work as housewives.

Although the Canadian women of the fifties was allowed, even encouraged, to enter the workforce as teacher, nurse or secretary, other avenues of work that presented a potential challenge to the family structure were restricted, if not closed. Such professions as engineering were considered suitable for men only. Women were expected to train for a narrowly defined range of work.¹⁴ For example, the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labour published a series of booklets for women in the workforce. Their 1962 manual on job training for the mature woman suggested a list of occupations suitable for women: grocery clerk, food service supervisor, hairdresser, medical record librarian, nursing aid, sales, seamstress, waitress, and teacher.¹⁵ The significant exceptions in employment expansion were the professional and technical sectors where there were proportionately fewer women in 1961 than in 1931.¹⁶

Material useful for understanding the status of women radio producers and broadcasters is sparse. Existing documentation and census data on women professions deals primarily with such traditional spheres as nursing, library science, and nutrition. This suggests that women's involvement in radio was not one of the accepted areas of women's work. The only reference to women in communications was to switchboard operators.¹⁷ Women who did manage to pursue a professional career such as lawyers or university

professors earned on average 43.3% less than males in these professions in 1961.¹⁸

Women managers and supervisors faced more barriers to success than women employed in more traditional fields. The lack of freedom to relocate made it difficult for married women to establish themselves in large corporations. It was also assumed that most single women would soon marry and leave work to take care of their children and home. Social norms also included the belief that workers, whether male or female, did not adapt well to supervision by women; that women did not have sufficient objectivity and authority to supervise effectively; and finally, that women present special problems by virtue of their sex, such as group travel.¹⁹ According to Kathleen Archibald, "the capability of women may be limited by sex roles, that is, by the bundle of shared expectations about proper masculine and feminine behaviour."²⁰

It was not until 1955, when approximately one-third of all women working in Canada were married, that federal Civil Service regulations restricting the employment of married women were finally revoked. Whether this caused an immediate influx of married women into government positions cannot be determined since data on the marital status of employees is not available. However, it probably accelerated a trend that was already underway. Within a short period after the war, female positions in the Civil Service had dropped to about 30% of the total. But this proportion then began to rise in the early 1950s, reaching 40% by 1954

and jumping to 45.5% in 1955 and 47% in 1956. Of these women, over 80% held office or administrative support positions.²¹ Here, as in the workforce at large, one of the main barriers to women's advancement was the social tradition governing the work relationship. "If men will not accept a women in a position of authority, she has no authority", commented Kathleen Archibald, "The essence of authority lies not in making decisions but in having them acted upon. If a women, by the very fact of being a woman and being acted towards as a woman, cannot establish rapport with male co-workers, she will not be able to work as an efficient member of a team."²²

As argued earlier, power relationships have institutional foundations; it is the nature of institutions to enhance the dominant group's power. Lipman-Blumen contends that women's subordinate position is partially a result of the reflexive nature of institutions. "Institutions are reflexive in that they give the original institutional structure additional and enduring legitimacy by validating the judgments and assumptions used in the initial design. Even more crucially, they spread the mantle of legitimacy over the decisions and activities of those who control and perpetuate these institutions through time."²³ As this process of validation continues, the institution's hierarchical structures become entrenched and the relative positions of roles and the groups permitted to occupy those roles become more rigid.

It will be seen that the situation in the Civil Service and the Canadian workforce in general was reflected

in the CBC as well. In general, gender roles, with men dominant and women subordinate, were frozen into reciprocal power positions. Men were twice as likely to reach supervisory positions in both public and private institutions; in all occupational groups, the percentage of women with supervisory authority was lower than the percentage of men, even where there were a large number of women present. For those women who did reach the upper echelons within the public service, their staffs were normally smaller and their authority less.²⁴ Where job tenure, continuity of employment, age, and education were controlled factors, women did not attain the same salary level with men. Occupational segregation countered women's success potential since their wages were lower and their mobility restricted to traditional female spheres. Those women in traditionally male fields appeared to fare better than those in female fields. Regardless of the specific area of employment, the factors which account for differences in male/female salaries were segregation by sex, by occupation, and by department.²⁵

As the decade progressed, social attitudes towards the home and the economy changed because of the increasing participation of married women. The result was a slow but steady reconstruction of women's roles, which would become more pronounced in the 1960s. The 1950s were forced to accommodate change within the traditional framework based on women's ability to manage children and home. Yet women's socio-economic relationship to work and family remained ambiguous. "The constraint of the home typically placed women in a disadvantaged place in the labour force that in

turn seemed to reinforce the patriarchal family structure."²⁶

The dichotomy in women's work/home roles and their status as a "personal dependent" were clearly illustrated and acted upon by the media.²⁷ While there have been no studies of the treatment of women in radio programming in the 1950s, there are several studies on women in magazines. In particular, Gertrude Robinson's, Susannah Wilson's, and others reveal distinct trends in material directed toward women.

Despite the startling changes in women's work lives, only seven per cent of all magazine articles sampled by Robinson were related to women's employment.²⁸ Traditional topics such as children, home, health, and beauty constituted 86% of the content analyzed. Contrary to expectations of the study, there were no drastic increases in magazine attention to women's employment throughout the decade. Topics which harmonized with socially acceptable roles continued to receive more coverage than those which did not. Where coverage was given to women in non-traditional work, it was portrayed as an aberration resulting from special financial or intellectual resources. Divergent perspectives that did not fit with dominant views of women's role in the home were a minor or secondary theme. According to Robinson, this overall exclusion of women's changing role in the workforce was the result of the challenge it presented to traditional ideology.²⁹

Robinson outlines an interdependence theory which assumes that there are no simple relations between social

opinion and media variables nor between women's increasing workforce participation and media interest in it. Topics covered for the 1950s did not reflect the different kinds of work engaged women or pay attention to the issues relevant to women's work outside the home. Instead, topics were selected on the basis of women's status as a social and economic dependent. Robinson's analysis demonstrates that a "preferred description" portrayed only single, or married women with older children, as working. Other groups, particularly young mothers, were encouraged to remain in the home. Their reasons for working were also portrayed on a selective basis. Women's unselfish nature meant she might work to support her family, supplement her husband's income, help the war effort, or provide income during her husband's periods of unemployment; rarely was she portrayed as working for her own career advancement and self-fulfillment.

Susannah Wilson's study of fiction in magazines parallels Robinson's discussion. During the 1930s and 1940s, the image of fictional heroines was that of the "Spirited New Woman." By the 1950s, this theme was replaced by the more traditional one of the "Happy Housewife."³⁰ While the actual workforce participation rate was increasing, women in fiction were still relegated for the most part to the roles and duties of housewife and mother. The percentage of fictional career women who were married declined from 23% to 1940-49 to 14% in 1950-59. Those stories portraying career-oriented women were rarely presented in a sympathetic light. Forced to choose between their family and their work, their dilemma was resolved by forsaking their career in the interests of family and husband. The

messages of magazine fiction, therefore, were often conflicting. Women often balanced career and marriage, but the role-conflict was easily resolved by giving preference to the role of housewife-mother. Both the invisibility of women's work and the underestimation of their household tasks are important for determining the image of women projected by the media.

Programs that focussed on women's homemaking role reaffirmed their social functions and status. By reproducing the co-existence of different social classes and groups, such Women's Interests programs served to reduce potential social tension. At the same time, according to Michelle Matellart, "Society ha[d] to reassert its cohesiveness by reproducing the legitimacy of public opinion (defined as that of the average citizen). This average citizen -- in fact an abstract entity in the service of the social inertic [sic] -- becomes the basic norm to mediate change and ensure the continuance of tradition."³¹ The basis for women's programming laid down in the 1940s was more clearly demarcated in the following decade. By the 1950s, the Women's Interests division had developed its programs, both national and regional, within the traditional household timetable. "It punctuates the day with moments that make women's condition "all worth while" and helps them to compensate for being shut up at home all day."³²

During the early 1950s, Elizabeth Long's plan to "bring women together under one vast radio roof" had assumed a more definite shape in the form of the regional morning commentators."³³ Long's introduction of both tradi-

tional and non-traditional subject specialists such as Ruth Harding (nutrition), Estella Langdon (child care), and Anne Francis (economics) were permanent fixtures in the radio schedule. Her success in establishing both is more significant in view of the opposition to the appearance of women commentators on general talks during the 1950s.

An enduring myth in broadcast history is that women's voices were not suitable for radio. Their high pitch and apparent artificiality and lack of authority were cited by men as reasons for their supposed inferiority to the voices of male broadcasters. This was used as a rationalization for excluding women as news announcers and commentators. Rose Reilly, a radio analyst of the 1930s, illustrated the covert hostility toward women in radio in her article "Screaming Meemies: Women's Voices on Radio," in which she spoke of "a collorature chasing a flute up and down the octaves so gaily- and so nerve-wrackingly- off key."³⁴ Her criticism was typical of current views on women radio broadcasters. "Naturally, I don't indict the whole sex on the air. I have many favorites, just as you have. But what I am wondering is why can't the average woman do a real, competent human job of work on the air as the average man does? Why can't the girls impress us with their sincerity, their intelligence, their sensitivity?"³⁵ Instead of recognizing the prejudice, radio broadcasters in the 1950s accepted the popular myth by stereotyping on-air topics in a fashion similar to print journalism. The male sphere included commentaries, news, and commercials; the female sphere covered women's programs

appealing to a largely female audience and emphasizing homemaking, recipes, nutrition, and other traditional women's fare. Only rarely could a woman change the format from women's news and recipes to a more informative and political perspective.

The response to women broadcasters is reflected in a letter a listener sent to Ira Dilworth, then General Superintendent of the CBC International Service,

Last evening, six of us, three ladies and three gentlemen, were sitting around listening to CBC. When the news was over, a special feature review came on, the broadcaster being a woman. Within three or four minutes, every person got up and left the radio because her voice was not suitable for broadcasting. A discussion of this factor naturally followed as a result of which an unanimous opinion was expressed that the CBC was following the wrong policy in using a higher proportion of women in its broadcasting service....

Apparently quite a few of your listeners hold the view that women are not likely to be so well informed on world events as men and are not likely to be able to make up or prepare as good a program on such matters as men. Furthermore, most women really do not possess the voices for broadcasting. It would be natural that there would not be as many able women as men in this particular business, for the reason that a much higher proportion of men devote their time to the qualifying pursuits. I listen to the BBC broadcast and I practically never hear a woman.³⁶

The use of women in general evening programs such as "Weekend Review" was also criticized from within the Corporation. Ernie Bushnell, Director of Programming, wrote a series of memoranda to Morrison in 1950 commenting on the use of Constance Garneau, a CBC Montreal news commentator. "I listened rather critically to the 10:10 to 10:30 period

last night. I don't think Constance Garneau's Weekend Review was quite up to par. She is a little indecisive in her reading and didn't sound too convincing to me. I presume occasionally a woman's point of view on world affairs is quite justified and yet somehow or other, I feel that the tone and quality of the average woman speaker is not quite what is required in these eventful and rather disturbing days."³⁷ Frank Peers, then a program organizer for "Weekend Review," advanced a more sympathetic view of the Garneau issue, arguing that the more traditional nature of the Quebec radio audience evoked more pressure on women to perform well. "Unfortunately, there is still enough prejudice against a woman speaker among our listeners that she must be almost a paragon before they will agree that she has a right to be heard."³⁸ The unfavourable reception of women on radio public affairs programs kept their number to a minimum in the evening schedule. There remained the Women's Interests division of the department for commentaries from a "woman's point of view."

The Women's Interests network of broadcasters had grown gradually but steadily during the late 1940s and early 1950s. During the previous decade, each broadcaster was required to cover a large area, with the result that many local events were overlooked. Both Neil Morrison's and Elizabeth Long's lengthy tenure and senior status in Talks and Public Affairs generated consistent support for the regional commentators, securing their role within the department. During the 1950s, the areas were smaller,

enabling the broadcaster to cover local and regional events. In addition, Long's international network of women received radio letters from across the world; this became a popular supplement to the material used by the commentators. While there was opposition to women's involvement in the male-dominated world of national and international affairs, there was widespread acceptance and support by the CBC and its audience for the development of women's programming. Commentators were the "eyes, ears and feet for the person who must spend most of her time within the home."³⁹ Parallel to other media of the 1950s, women's programs in the CBC perpetuated and encouraged the assumption that, as there was no longer a war, women should remain in their homes and return Canadian society to its "normal" pre-war status.

Women's Interests commentators, encouraged by the support of their audience, began to make inroads in areas of news and current affairs traditionally considered the male domain. In her autobiography, Florence Bird wrote about the need to develop a specialization in political and economic issues.

Shortly after we moved to Ottawa, the CBC's Bessy Long, the grand old feminist, gave me a piece of sound advice. she said 'Get to be a specialist in something so that when producers are looking for a person to do a job in that area they automatically think of you. Why don't you become a specialist in the problems of working women? We've won the right to vote so we have our political rights but working women are still discriminated against. The economic rights of women are what we must fight for now.'⁴⁰

Both Long and her successor, Helen James, commissioned Bird for commentaries on economic and political events relevant to women's programming. She broadcast several series on women's political and economic rights which demonstrated her early feminist ideology:

All week now a battle between women has been raging here in Ottawa. It started when an indignant married woman wrote a letter to one of our local papers. In this letter she suggested a rather startling cure for unemployment in Canada. She wants the government to pass a law to make married women stay at home instead of working. She feels that not only unemployment but juvenile delinquency and divorce would automatically be ended by such a law.

Well, to begin with -- in my opinion there can be no excuse for any law which prevents any one group of people in our society from working. In a democracy we still respect the freedom of the individual. In the United Nations Charter of Human Rights, it is laid down that every human being has the right to work regardless of race, religion, language or sex.

As you remember when Hitler came into power in Germany he decided that the place for women was in the home. He outlined a woman's function as being bound by three things, Kinde, Kirche and Kuchen, meaning children, the church and cooking. But in a free country like Canada we feel it is the right of every person to decide how they themselves want to live. We do not think the government has the right to regiment people's private lives.⁴¹

While news commentators like Bird adopted a more progressive line, choosing subjects related to wider issues, the regular regional network of morning commentators continued to voice the traditional view of women's domestic role, albeit with a sensitivity to the frustrations such women faced as full-time housewives and mothers. Joan Marshall, the Maritime commentator and one of the most

popular broadcasters in Canada, summarized her listener's opinions on the occasion of her second anniversary on the air:

Good Morning everyone. At last the day has come -- the time for summarizing your opinions of the Joan Marshall program.... I got letters from all the people who like to hear about places and things, and shows and habits and educational subjects.... You like me to tell about something I saw myself. It seems closer somehow. Women housekeepers in even the most remote places now obtain daily newspapers and good magazines and they're able to keep well informed through those things of general interest as well as household hints. But these housekeepers who perform so many daily tasks often have a very secret desire for the freedom and changes which others enjoy.⁴²

To place these women commentators on the CBC spectrum of programs, audience attitudes towards the CBC need to be considered. A confidential study on the CBC's image conducted in 1959 portrayed the Corporation's image as a "somewhat remote disagreeable, aloof Britisher -- a man who strives to inform them though they want to be entertained."⁴³ "Mr. CBC" was perceived as a well-educated, highly intelligent reporter who, although a good employee, tended to be indifferent and even hostile toward the ordinary Canadian. Over 80% of these interviewed felt that the CBC was a man instead of a woman or a sexless entity. The male image of the CBC was similar to the image of a school principal held by a pupil. The interpretation of the CBC as male stemmed from the simple fact that most announcers were male. "The voice of authority, the personality which introduces the CBC's product, is almost invariably

male."⁴⁴ Support and interest in the CBC was closely related to the educational level of the listeners. Using completion of high school as the lowest educational level, men tended to like the CBC more than women. The weakest support for the Corporation came from women at lower educational levels, especially those who had not completed high school. Women's Interests commentators thus tended to be heard primarily by housewives with some level of education beyond high school and who worked until marriage or the birth of children.

The development of television in the early 1950s gave the Women's Interests team its first real opportunity to solidify its position and reaffirm its program policies. In September of 1952, the CBC began its first season of national television. Drawn by the novelty of the new medium, the established radio audience quickly switched to CBC television to tune in Canadian versions of popular American variety and light entertainment programs such as "Canadian General Electric Theatre." Popular radio programs, such as afternoon soap operas, soon developed formats for television and successfully made the transition in order to hold their audiences. While the threat television posed for radio cannot be underestimated, the removal of soaps to television freed a significant block of time in the mid-afternoon on radio. Elizabeth Long and Helen James saw the new time as an opportunity to expand women's programming beyond the brief 10-15 minute morning and afternoon commentaries. They approached Ira Dilworth with a proposal

for a 45 minute magazine program reflecting the broad range of interests of Canadian women. Dilworth's support for the concept was based on his awareness of the increasing demand for greater variety in daytime programming and more information and discussion of daily affairs from the women's point of view. On September 29, 1952, "Trans-Canada Matinée" went on the air and, despite the interest in television, won a sizeable audience almost immediately.

A typical program had five sections. First a five minute report called "What's New" which reviewed community and cultural events, fashion, and home improvement. A second section of thirteen minutes consisted of either a talk or commentary on issues relevant to the Canadian housewife (child care, education, etcetera) or a reading of humorous verse. This was followed with a nine or ten minute item on the traditional concerns of homemaking. The program finished with a five minute news commentary from broadcasters like Florence Bird, Maud Ferguson, or Marion McCormick and a reading from a novel or series of songs. The longer program period accommodated more elaborate productions, such as an edited actuality of an annual meeting or conference or a "homemaker's clinic" in which listener's questions were answered by specialists in child training, nutrition, or psychology. The official announcement introducing "Trans-Canada Matinée" made a direct appeal to housewives as it was aired during the afternoon. It was "designed for women listening in their homes. All through the year, it carries a certain

proportion of talks and discussions of various phases of family living as seen from the viewpoint of the home woman."⁴⁵

Initial reaction to this first attempt by the CBC to broadcast a major program specifically for women was positive. In 1953, D.E. McGill, the Program Director for CBM Manitoba, wrote: "I have been enjoying "Trans-Canada Matinée" very much..... Many housewives of my acquaintance declare that at last their intelligence is being recognized and they are very grateful to the CBC for recognizing the fact that many women do not enjoy the soap opera type of program."⁴⁶ While previous women's commentaries had treated women in the home with respect, these broadcasts were brief interludes in an afternoon of soaps and dramas and allowed little time for the development of opinion. The creation of "Matinée" united a host of scattered and unrelated broadcasts into a more identifiable women's interests frame of reference. The program demonstrated CBC management's first real commitment to significant programming in the interests of women.

As important as this step was in solidifying and increasing the status of Women's Interests within the program schedule and within the department, the program content of "Matinée" continued, at least in its early years, to incorporate a high proportion of traditional program fare. Although broader social and economic issues were covered, an examination of the early program schedules reveals a strong reflection of current patriarchal notions

of women's role. The underlying assumption of "Matinée" centered on the idea that while women were interested in more than the occupational concerns of the home, their primary status nonetheless remained that of housewife. Few programs attempted to deal with women's role in the work-force or addressed the potential conflicts inherent in juggling private and public work world. This approach had less to do with the views of the program planners than with the need to establish a following for the new program, which faced stiff competition from other radio divisions such as school and religious broadcasts and with television. In addition, any noticeably radical shift in approach or content would engender more criticism than it was worth from all sectors of the CBC's audience as well as from within the Corporation itself.

Helen James, who was partly responsible for the program's birth, succeeded Elizabeth Long as Supervisor of Women's Interests in 1954. While Long continued on as a special advisor from her retirement in 1954 to 1957, it was James who most influenced the direction taken in "Matinée" in the 1950s. She propelled Women's Interests off its narrow course to being a careful questioning of broader issues not possible in the 1940s. From 1954 on, she lobbied for the scheduling of a wider range of topics. The program's ghettoized position in the less popular daytime hours accorded it an ironic advantage. Lack of support for women's programming from the senior management also meant a

lack of listening interest. While Dilworth remained supportive of the program, most male CBC executives and politicians focussed on the higher profiled "Weekend Review" and "Citizen's Forum," both of which were aired during the evening. As James commented: "We knew that "Trans-Canada Matinée" was privileged because the MPs couldn't hear it in the day time and we were able to broadcast material and deal with subjects that the evening programs could not."⁴⁷ That "Matinée" began broadcasting "taboo" material is significant, since the political pressure which threatened "Preview Commentary" could easily have been applied to a program of lesser status and visibility.

Equally important is the need to understand how this reality affected the consciousness in which series for the program were created. During the 1940s, Long's feminist ideology demanded a distinctly separate department for women's programming. Failing that, she settled for a separate status within the least oppressive department of the CBC. James' ideological approach was a reflection of the ambiguous state of women's self-image and roles in the 1950s. While the idea of women's right to work received wider support, the media still reaffirmed their homemaking role to raise post-war families. James did not support the concept of a separate program area for women. When she became Supervisor of Women's Interests, a clear demarcation existed between women's and general programming. However, most female producers and program organizers who worked on

women's programs had begun to feel that, while they should continue to direct material to women in the home, their content could be made suitable for a general audience. The change in program focus stemmed largely from a fear that the status of women's programming, isolated in the program schedule and functioning independently of mainstream programs in the department, would become increasingly marginalized. Moreover, women producers in the regional studios, such as Dorothea Cox (Halifax), Betty Tomlinson (Winnipeg), and Kay McIver (Winnipeg), were responsible for the entire spectrum of talks programming. They perceived "Trans-Canada Matinée" as a daytime companion to evening commentaries. Consequently, James changed the title Women's Interests to Daytime Programming. As Helen Carscallen, program organizer, commented: "We knew this was a ghetto as we were looked down on a bit by the other members of the department -- the male members of the department -- as not quite having as much clout as a program which had a mixed audience in the evenings, so we tended to play down the fact that it was a women's program and I think that is the reason the name was changed to Daytime Programs."⁴⁸

"Trans-Canada Matinée" employed several male producers and a male master of ceremonies, Bill Bessey. While Daytime Programs were still directed primarily to women in the home, they also began to attract male listeners. "But what about the men in the audience? Or are there any? Yes indeed. In fact, some of the commentators hear almost as

much from them as from their wives. There are those that work on night shifts and are home in the daytime, salesmen who listen in their car radios...."⁴⁹ In a report to the annual Talks and Public Affairs conference of 1956, Betty Tomlinson indicated that a search for more male performers would be initiated to gain more women listeners for the program. "Open House," its television equivalent, began its first series with Fred Davis and later Paul Soles as host.

Women's programming operated within the policy guidelines and social ideology of the Talks department, itself one of the CBC's most controversial program areas. By its very definition, however, it could not wholly reflect the male-stream ideology. While the major part of its programming mirrored a patriarchal image of women's roles, the division also had a strong subversive element. In planning a series on women in science, for example, James wrote: "Our hidden purpose ... is to demonstrate that women do have a contribution to make in this scientific age."⁵⁰ That James purposely sought to exploit "Matinée"'s daytime status to introduce more radical discussion while maintaining the status quo is indicative of the split consciousness which the division experienced throughout the 1950s.

With the help of Helen Carscallen, who became her protégé, James worked to broaden the program base while still according the housewife a high degree of respect. "Being a housewife and caring for children was a 24 hour a

day job. I could get away from my job. I could leave it, they can't.... I wanted to try to put everything that was involved in being a caring working person in the home on a footing that was the equal of being a radio producer."⁵¹ James shared Long's philosophy that women's programming should treat their female listeners as people who shared the same concerns about world and national affairs as did men. Under her supervision, "Matinée" moved away from the 1940s emphasis on domesticity -- sewing cooking and children -- and began including more commentaries and stories on political, economic, and social issues affecting women. In 1958, Helen Carscallen planned a series of broadcasts entitled, "The Law in Our Lives," in which prominent lawyers addressed legal issues relating to the household, divorce law, and individual rights and freedoms. As Carscallen argued: "We feel the women of Canada need to hear authoritative information about the legal aspects of separation, custody and divorce.... The breaking up of a family is a serious matter and we feel our audience needs to know the implications of such a move."⁵²

Along more traditional lines, a second concept was a "housewives' press conference" called "Women Want to Know," which grew out of the controversial "Mr. Prime Minister" program of the 1940s. This series had two objectives: first, to provide "Matinée" listeners with solid information on important national issues; and secondly, the development of a panel of women with interests who were not

media professionals. In contrast to series such as "In My Opinion," which dealt superficially with light topics, "Women Want to Know" delved more broadly and deeply into controversial and significant issues. Each region produced a minimum of one broadcast and dealt with topics of special interest to the area concerned. Winnipeg discussed agricultural production and marketing; Montreal focussed on education and federal aid; and Halifax looked at the recommendations of the Gordon Commission on economic development.

Despite the broader program base, "Matinée" continued to devote a major part of its programs to community affairs and household management. Women's outside interests in politics and current affairs remained secondary.

Women too are interested in life at home and abroad. Thank goodness we have those days behind us when women's interests were narrowly defined as cooking, sewing and the other domestic arts. Not that those subjects have disappeared from our programs. Housewives will always be interested in the tools of their trade ... always bringing thousands of requests but on our daytime programs we range far and wide. Women at home are extremely busy women. They live with their jobs and are never free of them and so they haven't the chance to search out the information they might like to have, to meet a variety of people at work, or over lunch to exchange opinions or hear about their activities. Women at home often say that what they miss is adult companionship so on our daytime radio and television programs, we try to bring them interesting people with stimulating and provocative ideas.⁵³

James also created the popular "Matinée Quiz" which dealt with home and school matters. This portion of

"Matinée" featured well-known authorities such as Dr. Elizabeth Chant Robertson, who answered questions on education and child care and used the same format as the shorter series "Women Want to Know."

Don Bennett, the Ottawa producer for "Trans-Canada Matinée," reflects the contradiction between traditional and progressive program material in a memorandum to James in 1955. In referring to a freelance commentator, Louise Dale, he wrote: "Louise has suggested a talk under the title 'Why Apologize?' She wants to come to the defence of harassed housewives who feel that it is unfashionable for them to indulge in conversations about home and children. She thinks that is is nonsense that women should feel this kind of inhibition, that this attitude indicates a lack of respect for women's primary interests.... Personally, I like this idea, but I don't know whether it fits in with the emancipation policy which I sometimes think is being pursued by us."⁵⁴ In her reply, James indicated the significant amount of time already devoted to traditional material and was clearly not prepared to sacrifice the "emancipation policy" she had embarked on. "My god! Isn't is obvious that with "Matinée Quiz", and Ruth Harding every week, with our two yearly Cooking School series, with other practical material, that we are doing our darndest to pay our respects to and to build the primary interests of women? We are trying hard to put an end to this tendency of being 'just a housewife'."⁵⁵ The policy of correcting the image of

women's work in the home, in a decade which had witnessed more women in the labour force than ever before, culminated in programs dealing with the "typical" women: "how she can combine family and career without actually going insane -- practical, anecdotal and possibly amusing."⁵⁶ In contrast to the 1940s programming, which concentrated on the "perfect woman," offering advice on how to improve the household, the new slant contained information and straightforward discussion of the difficulties women faced in a society clinging to patriarchal values about the home while calling women to the workplace as secretaries and nurses. In 1956, Tomlinson suggested a series on careers and vocational guidance, a field which had previously not been touched in women's programming seriously.⁵⁷

Since Daytime Program's producers did not consider their audience as consisting of career women, series which focussed on employment did so from the housewife's viewpoint. In 1957, Carscallen wrote to Betty Marsh and Robert Patchell of Vancouver about the approach "Matinée" should take in a proposed vocational series which arose out of Tomlinson's suggestion. "We think there's a place on "Matinée" for talks on careers but we think the broadcasts should be slanted to the parent who'll be listening. The mother of a teen-ager is perhaps concerned about what determines her son or daughter's choice of career, and how much she can or should influence him."⁵⁸ "Matinée" did produce several series on careers for women but a close

scrutiny reveals their traditional bias as well. In 1958, Margaret Howes developed "Careers After 40" for "Matinée". Broadcast by Betty Shapiro, the series looked at basic career opportunities for women returning to the workforce after a period of years in the home. In a format similar to the one used by the Department of Labour's Women's Bureau, the focus was restricted to office worker, sales clerk, school teacher, real estate sales and hairdresser. Through personal interviews, Shapiro developed a personal storyline which discussed a woman's experiences in the occupation. This personal approach was frequently adopted to encourage a closer identification of women listeners with the interviewee.⁵⁹ A typical "Trans-Canada Matinée" program schedule for 1955 illustrates the variety and composition of the material directed to the women audience:

March 21: What's new in surgery (Isabel Melville in Regina).

Cooking School of the Air

The English Scene -- "On Juvenile Delinquents" (Freda Hawkins, London).

News Commentary - Anne Francis (Ottawa).

Songs by Charles Jordan.

"Crawford" by Elizabeth Caskell.

March 22: What's New in Ontario

"Matinée Quiz"

News Commentary - Anne Francis

Songs by Joyce Sullivan

"Crawford" by E. Caskell.

Audience reaction to "Trans-Canada Matinée" throughout the decade was favourable and supportive, particularly among national women's organizations such as the National Council of Women. The Federated Women's Institutes of Canada nominated James as a voting delegate to their international conference in Ceylon in 1959. The NCW and the Canadian Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs lobbied the CBC to rebroadcast portions of "Matinée" during the weekend in order that working women may listen. Other groups which maintained liaisons with Daytime Programming staff included the Canadian Association of Consumers, the IODE, the YWCA, the National Council of Jewish Women and the Federation of University Women's Clubs. By January of 1959, the program had achieved a relatively high degree of visibility and support and the Network Radio Program Report listed it as fourth in daytime sustaining programs.⁶⁰ An evaluation by the Quebec's Women's Institutes concluded: "Trans-Canada Matinée" gets the honours here. We are fortunate to have a program of such high calibre for our daytime listening. It is really trans-Canada and both timely and helpful."⁶¹ The same report echoed the Canadian women's concern for more intellectual programming. "We would like to have more educational and political programs. Our minds are being lulled into repose by the absence of serious material. We recommend more information and less frivolity, more good music and less Hit Parade."⁶²

Response to "Trans-Canada Matinée" within the Corporation was ambivalent. The National Evaluation Report of 1958 began with the statement "This is a good straightforward program and fills an important need in our schedule. There was good variety in the items in the week under consideration."⁶³ The local Toronto appraisal panel was much harsher: "We find the program typically 'Trans-Canada Matinée', dull, square, not very professional and with a distinct lack of showmanship .. while many may be able to prove that this is an excellent program, we feel that it might reach a potentially larger audience with the use of different presentation techniques."⁶⁴ The criticisms of "Matinée's" monotonous presentation was well-founded. As James was quick to point out, however, the program primarily used amateur commentators as part of its audience appeal. Items considered poorly delivered were frequently appreciated by its listeners for their familiar, informal approach. While Carscallen and her colleague, Margaret Fielder, tried for more interviews, discussions and actualities to liven the program, the small budget limited their attempts.

The program's lower status and ambivalent image also left it open to arbitrary schedule and budgetary changes. In 1957, James battled with one of many attempts to shunt the program out its established time to improve the audience of another program. The Director of Program Planning and Production proposed "Matinée" move from 2-3:00 p.m. to one half hour later in order that the Ontario School

Broadcasts would be able to increase its audience. Arguing against this proposal, James demonstrated the importance of the existing time for "Matinée" listeners. Beyond this, she hinted at the fact that far from being a minor program, "Matinée" served a wide audience and she was unwilling to undermine existing support.

Women want to hear the program before their afternoon shopping expeditions or club meetings, or before their children come home from school. That this region (Toronto) hears the program as early as two o'clock could be a major reason for the fact that our largest audience ... is in this area. As you know CBC has made a great effort to draw the program to the attention of women's organizations in the country and we have had frequent indications of their approval and support, notably in several briefs to the Fowler Commission. I think that it would be a serious mistake to move "Matinée" to an hour which would not make it as easy for housewives to listen. "Trans-Canada Matinée" is a program which meets the interests of the general daytime audience and it would be retrograde step to seek the improvement of another branch of CBC service at the expense of this one.⁶⁵

Not only did "Matinée" hold its position in the program schedule, it finally won approval for a half hour rebroadcast on the weekend in June, 1959. The expansion was largely a result of the intense lobbying of the Canadian Federation of Business and Professional women who argued that recognition of the increasing numbers of women in the paid labour force was long overdue. While the weekend edition of "Matinée" was directed to working women, it also looked to a general mixed audience who could not hear the regular program during the week. "Matinée Highlights" was inaugurated on Sunday, October 4 from 11:30 to noon and was

hosted by Bill Bessey, the original host of "Matinée". Betty Tomlinson, an ex-Morning Commentator and Toronto producer became the weekly program's new host. By the end of the 1950s, then, Women's Interests or Daytime Programs had asserted some degree of security within the program schedule by expanding its central program and reinforcing the network of commentators who worked in studios across the country.

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Unlike the post-war issue arising from the CBC's intended policy of firing all married women, women's status within Talks and Public Affairs receded from the limelight of the press and ceased to be a focal point for discussion within the Corporation itself. Although the department did not hire many new women (or men) as producers or broadcasters, those that survived the threatened purge of the late forties remained in their original position or were promoted to the higher ranks of production. Few moved out of production and into management with the exception of Helen James. Understanding the reasons for the lack of advancement of women producers in particular involves a discussion of the central factors which will illustrate the nature of this static environment.

Parallel to the separate labour market which existed for women in the Canadian workforce, women in Talks and Public Affairs were, by virtue of their sex, associated with women's programming. When Elspeth Chisholm left to

work for the CBC's International Service, the only remaining women working on general talks were Marjorie McEnaney in Toronto and Margaret Howes, Regional Supervisor in Montreal. Their position in the mainstream of general talks was due largely to the severe labour shortage during the war. Most of the new faces which appeared on the Talks scene in the fifties were channelled into women's programming; Betty Tomlinson, Helen Carscallen, Margaret Fielder, Kay Rex to name a few. In the regions, women producers such as Kay McIver in Winnipeg and Betty Marsh in Vancouver were expected to assume responsibility for women's programs in addition to regional talks and news and national contributions such as "Citizen's Forum". As the discussion has demonstrated, Daytime Programs was accorded a distinct secondary status within the program hierarchy. As a result, those associated with the area were also accorded a secondary status. While most men in the department recognized Daytime Programs as a necessary field to fulfill the department's mandate, its isolation and special relation to women prevented it from being elevated to an equal status with such programs as "Weekend Review" and "Capital Report." Thus, women producers and program organizers were marginalized, placed in a stable hierarchy in which two groups, women's programs and general programs, co-existed.

A precondition to the existence of a marginal group is the presence of definite advantages to belonging to the "privileged" group. Secondly, there are barriers

between subordinate and dominant groups, including a variance in power, informal support and career opportunities.⁶⁶ In her sociological study, Marcia Rioux argued convincingly that:

Barriers to access for members of the subordinate aggregate to power and privilege held by the dominant aggregate may take a number of forms, including legal and/or informal discrimination. These might be said to originate in the attitudes of the members of the non-marginal aggregate towards members of the marginal aggregate.... The barrier, however, while restricting access to power and rewards, does not exclude similarities of cultural values between members of the marginal and non-marginal categories. Marginal situations are therefore characterized by varying degrees of cultural similarity accompanied by inconsistent levels of social status and participation.... Members of the marginal aggregate are pulled by the promise of the greater rewards offered. However, such orientations are frustrated by the relative impermeability of the 'ascribed qualification' barrier.⁶⁷

In the case of these women attached to women's programming, the barriers to access to general programming took the form of informal and subtle discrimination. The promotion of the concept of team cooperation to fulfill the department's overall mandate of directing programming to specific interest groups provided the ideological and cultural base. An illustration of the emphasis on teamwork is the "Preview Commentary" affairs of June 1959. When Frank Peers resigned in protest over political interference, 36 of 51 producers walked out in support. Commented Carscallen: "That brought us together very fast and made us very close to Frank ... the rest of us felt we should have the guts to do it".⁶⁸

While unequal levels of power and privilege are evident from the foregoing analysis, the goals and identification with mainstream talks production on the part of female producers is not clear. Several women producers and program organizers settled for the creative side of radio and consciously chose to opt out of consideration for administrative posts. Helen Carscallen, for example, felt there was more control over program content at the program organizer level. Further, her attitude was representative of others who believed in the power of programming to change and mold social opinion. As program planners, these women had one of the most useful vehicles at hand for developing a more progressive image of woman. Finally, with the Job and Wage Analysis of 1949 came the creation of several categories of producer. With this added flexibility, women who wanted to remain in production and planning had added financial incentive by working their way through the senior levels. While no data is available to support an alternative conclusion, one suspects that the creation of a more complex hierarchy meant male producers could be hired at higher levels than women and move from production into management more easily.

The increasing specialization necessary during the rapid growth of both television and radio in the fifties meant many women stayed within Talks and Public Affairs rather than applying for positions and promotions in other

fields. As it became more necessary to develop special fields of research to cope with the expanding program schedule, it became increasingly difficult to move from one field to another. Many women found it natural to remain where they were welcomed and where they did not have to struggle inordinately to be accepted in a "foreign" community where authority would be questioned more easily. Cynthia Fuchs Epstein commented on this phenomenon in her study on women in the professions. "There is a difference between working in an environment where everyone is geared to expecting your success and one in which everyone is geared to your failure. Women have most typically faced situations where it is assumed they would fail in supervising male-dominated assignments. They were not given the treatment a boss gives to a protégé."⁶⁹ Because women in the marginalized field of women's programming found it difficult if not impossible to seek mentors from within the larger programming area, they looked to Long and James for support, thus reinforcing their subordinate status. While James was nominal Assistant Supervisor of the department, she was in effect Supervisor of Daytime Programming with a geographical and communications network of broadcasters and producers strung across the country. This network itself created an internal cohesiveness which was difficult to assimilate into general talks production, despite her attempts to involve more male producers and announcers.

Women tended to be in positions without departmental or divisional responsibility. However, because of the relatively small size of the department until the late fifties, women did bring a considerable amount of individual initiative to their work as producers and program organizers. Because the department was small and operated on a team-oriented ideology, it is difficult to measure the amount of individual responsibility, making the divisions between management and production unclear. For example, a producer may have five to ten people responsible to her/him and will work closely with those heading the department, but they do not make policy decisions. It is significant, however, that the only woman to become part of management during this period, Helen James, was the highest placed woman in the Corporation.

The CBC pension plan and salary scales continued to discriminate against women throughout the 1950s. Married women hired during or after the war were prevented from gaining permanent status and therefore, from receiving a pension. Single women, on the other hand, were permitted to join the plan as permanent staff as it was considered appropriate for unmarried women to be classed as self-supporting. However, insurance annuities were bought by the CBC only for permanent female employees under the age of 35. It can only be assumed that the logic behind this is the belief that the great majority of women over the age of 35 were married.⁷⁰

The status of temporary personnel, most of them women, remained an issue during the early years of the decade. Yet, discussion was internal, between the CBC management and the Staff Councils representing employees. In 1951, the Montreal Staff Council met to discuss the lobbying efforts of a group of temporary personnel requesting they receive the benefits of permanent employees. In January of 1952, the Council concluded that following a certain period of continuous service, temporaries should be recommended for permanency and if this status could not be granted, that they be permitted to participate in some form in the CBC pension plan.⁷¹ The continued pressure of the temporary staff was a result of an appreciable number of male temporaries on the Montreal studio payrolls. In April of 1952, the Council passed a resolution supporting its temporary staff's position.

Whereas the Montreal Council is of the opinion that temporary employees, particularly male personnel, should be allowed to participate in the pension plan and after a certain period of continuous service with the Corporation, every effort should be made to place them on the permanent establishment. (my emphasis)⁷²

There is no evidence to suggest that similar actions were undertaken in other centres, particularly Toronto, where the proportion of female to male temporary staff was the reverse. However, there is a striking example of one married woman's continual attempt to be included in the CBC Pension Plan. Margaret Howes was a senior producer who later became the department's regional supervisor for English language talks in Montreal. Her fight to be

classified as a permanent employee would not end until 1966 when the CBC finally agreed to include married women in its pension plan and fully recognize all past years of service.

On October 26, 1955, the federal government amended the Civil Service Act by P.C. 1955-1606 to revoke two sections of the act which discriminated against the employment of married women. As a result, married women were placed on the same status as all male Civil Service employees and were allowed to participate in all government benefit plans. This precedent marked the beginning of a ten-year struggle by Howes to win permanent status, a necessary prerequisite to participate in the CBC's Pension Plan. In January, 1956, C.E. Stiles, Director of Personnel and Administrative Services, sent out a questionnaire to all married women who were then classified as temporary. "Because of your married status, your position is classified as 'Temporary'. As a result, you are not at present eligible to participate in the Pension Plan or Group Life Insurance Plan. We would like to know if you would prefer to participate in these welfare plans, provided that the CBC found it possible to arrange for your inclusion."⁷³ Howes replied immediately that she would like to be considered for the plan. Marjorie McEnaney also replied in the affirmative, requesting that her pensionable service be dated to November 1944. She argued that the Department of National Revenue's Blue Book on "Statement of Principles and Rules Respecting Pension Plans stated: "Employees on a

temporary, seasonal, transient or part-time basis may be excluded, although coming within the definition of an otherwise eligible class. Coverage must extend according to the facts and not by internal classification of employment."⁷⁴ National Revenue had frequently ruled that people who had been regularly employed over a long period of time may not be classified as temporary employees. When Howes learned of the position taken by McEnaney in response to the new Civil Service regulations and the CBC questionnaire, she wrote to her in frustration. Interestingly, it was McEnaney's husband who replied in support of Howes' claims: "The CBC stand is that in the case of female staff the classification rests on marital status. Has it the right to do so in view of the published government regulations? ... The CBC has and must accept the principle of 'equal pay for equal work.'"⁷⁵

By March 31, 1956, the results of the questionnaire distributed by Stiles were available: "... the great majority of married women on our temporary establishment do not wish to participate in either the Pension Plan or the Group Life Plan. Underwriting requirements will not permit coverage of the minority."⁷⁶ The Personnel and Administrative Service department believed that the CBC would only include married women as a group in the pension plan. In other words, the reclassification from temporary to permanent status could not be accomplished arbitrarily if the majority concerned were not in favour of the change. In a

later memo, John Hart, Supervisor for Staff Welfare Plans, summarized the CBC's position to Howes: "... the CBC did not consider that it was justified in imposing the will of the minority on the majority, and the group concerned remained outside the scope of the benefit plan."⁷⁷ The CBC management's obvious unwillingness to include married women in the two schemes was reinforced by the majority of women's own disinterest in paying into the plans. Approximately 72% expressed themselves as being against inclusion in both plans.⁷⁸ Howes decided to continue her lobbying but in a different arena. A brief month later, in April 1956, she sought advice from Marion Royce, Director of the newly created Women's Bureau in the Department of Labour. Wrote Howes: "Could you tell me whether married women in the Federal Civil Service are regarded as regular employees, entitled to the same welfare pension and group insurance schemes as other employees? My question arises because in the CBC, married women are classified as 'temporary' employees and are therefore not entitled to share in group insurance or pension schemes which are compulsory for all regular employees."⁷⁹ Royce's reply was general and factual, containing no direct reference to or expression of support for Howes' predicament.

Howes also maintained pressure on the management personnel concerned with the CBC. Throughout the late 1950s, she repeatedly contacted individuals within the Personnel and Administrative Services department to advance

her arguments and learn of any new developments. By 1959, the CBC's position remained firm and when pressure became too strong, management pointed to the questionnaire as evidence that there was no need for revisions in the status of married women. Further, should the CBC consider reclassification justified, it would refuse to give recognition of past years of service. "Any backdating of pensionable service for a large number of employees would change the whole actuarial position of the plan, thereby destroying the justification for action already taken in the past years."⁸⁰

In isolated cases, male and female temporaries were placed on the permanent staff. However, many were not credited with previous years of experience insofar as a pension was concerned. Elspeth Chisholm became a permanent (married) employee while a producer with the CBC International Service. Not only was she uncredited with her previous years with Talks and Public Affairs, but was required to serve a three month probationary period before participating in employee benefits.

For those women who did contribute to the CBC's pension scheme, their deductions were 1% less than those of their male colleagues, resulting in a significantly lower pension. As late as 1974, a female employee's family received no protection unless she was a single parent or her widow or dependent children could prove their need through a means test.⁸¹ In 1956, the CBC approved an increase in

the maximum insurance provided by the Group Life Plan but the inequities between female and male employees remained. Prior to 1956, women were allowed a maximum of \$14,000 compared to \$21,000 to men (salary of \$8,000 and up). After December 1, 1956, women's insurable earnings increased to \$16,000 but men's increased to \$24,000 (salary of \$10,000 and up).⁸²

Women employees were also required to retire earlier than men. Regardless of their length of stay in the Corporation's employ, their retirement went into effect at age 60 compared to age 65 for men. Elizabeth Long retired officially in 1954 although she continued on as a special advisor until 1957. In a reply to a query about Long's "early" retirement, K.M. Kelly, Supervisor of Personnel and Welfare, defended the policy. "The CBC has valued Miss Long's services very highly and would have no wish to discriminate against her in any way. When the Corporation established its pension plan in 1943, it followed the practice of the federal civil servant superannuation act which provided for the retirement of male employees at age 65 and female employees at age 60. This pattern is still predominant in industry at large and I might mention that the cost of providing early retirement for female employees is very high in relation to the cost for male employees."⁸³

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Clearly, women producers and program organizers in Talks and Public Affairs experienced discrimination in the form of unequal status, benefits and pensions in addition to the less structured, informal actions taken through social ideology concerning women's work role as a function of her domestic traditions. As the foregoing discussion suggests, the lack of visible collective protest during the fifties may have been the result of the prevailing assumptions concerning women's place in the workforce. The myth of home was a potent and well-used theme, both in women's programming and throughout Canadian society in general. Secondly, the concern for quality radio programming in a field which was accorded a secondary status was an overriding priority. Women's fight for improved status came, not through the attempt to implement structural changes in the bureaucracy, but through the programs themselves. As an institution devoted to broadcasting, power and status lay within individual programs, their degree of visibility and place in the schedule. To fulfill that end, women's focus was on creating and operating within a network of producers and broadcasters which itself followed the team-oriented, community-oriented environment of the Talks department. While most women were conscious of the CBC's discriminatory practices to varying degrees, the department was viewed as a somewhat separate, self-sufficient unit. Certainly the department was subject to all CBC policy directives, but the internal support system and shared values of women's

programming was viewed as a highly effective counter-measure. What this analysis has demonstrated to this point, however, was that the ideology expressed in women's programming was a product of male-dominant views of women's role. The full recognition of women's place in the paid labour force, her rights and the expression of a more progressive view would not develop until the following decade.

CHAPTER 5: "Decade of Transition" - 1960-1966

Between 1960 and 1966 daytime radio programming continued to act as a traditional voice for women in the home. By their very place in the afternoon hours of the Public Affairs schedule, the programs were expected to represent women's special interests. However, the focus on such material did not preclude a progression toward a more general format capable of attracting a larger audience of men and children in addition to housewives. As the decade unfolded, daytime programming increasingly distanced itself from the approach of the 1950s. Eventually, the original mandate for Women's Interests programming was altered in the quest for a style that would attract a mass audience.

* * * *

The 1960s witnessed increased awareness of the disparities in the nature of male and female patterns of employment. The participation of women in the workforce became the object of a growing body of literature and the question of women's rights occupied centre stage in the media. Yet the attention paid to women's work had no significant effect on the status and income of most working women.¹

While the overall male labour force participation rate had been steadily declining since the end of the Second World War, (from 85.1 per cent in 1946 to 77.8 per cent in 1966), the participation rate of women had risen steady from 24.7 per cent in 1946 to 32.8 per cent in 1966.²

Another striking factor was the increase in the number of married women working. Their participation rate rose from 20.8 per cent in 1961 to 26.8 per cent in 1966.³ This was a dramatic change from the early 1950s when only one out of ten married women were in the workforce. By 1966, married women represented more than 52% of working women.

This steady increase in the rate of women working was the result of a number of factors. While women did not have as strong and continuous an attachment to the workforce as men, the trend was beginning to reverse itself in the early 1960s. Single women no longer considered employment as a temporary occupation prior to marriage but expected to return to work following the birth of children. The two-phase working cycle had become an integral and permanent feature of women's work pattern. As the 1961 census revealed, women's employment rate still peaked at 20-24 and 45-49 years of age. In the case of female civil service employees, including those in the CBC, there was another factor; time variations in the appointments of women to civil service positions. A substantial proportion of women in the 45-49 age group had joined the government during World War II. Following the war, there was a drastic decrease in the number of appointments of women because of the return of armed forces personnel. This produced a distinct "trough" in the age groups immediately below 45-49 by 1966.⁴

Census data for 1971 demonstrates that occupational segregation also remained a significant factor in women's work. Throughout the 1960s, employees preferred to hire women rather than men in many occupations, particularly in the service sectors. Evidence for this is the low unemployment rate of women; 3.3 per cent compared to 6.4 per cent for men in 1963.⁵ In economic terms, a major reason is that the supply curve for women was highly elastic; women seemed more willing to work for less money at an equivalent level of skill and experience. They were less concerned with fringe benefits such as pensions and life insurance, which traditionally were considered more important for men who were heads of households. Women also continued to be clustered in a limited range of low-skill work although there were more examples of women in non-traditional occupations such as secretary, waitress, sales, clerical, medicine or law. The area which experienced the greatest increase in the number of women was the clerical sector. In 1941 19.5 per cent of women in the work force held clerical positions but by 1961, it had reached 28.6 per cent.⁶ This dramatic increase during the 1960s was a primary factor contributing to the division of labour between occupations which were stereotyped as female and those reserved for men. The concentration of women in the professional and technical categories, conversely, revealed a static pattern. In 1941 15.6 per cent of all female workers were those two categories, and by 1971 the percentage had actually decreased to 15.1 per cent.

In the federal public service between 1966 and 1968, 43.5 per cent of female public employees had been promoted, compared to 42.7 per cent of males. However, most women were still grouped at the lower levels in secretarial and clerical positions. In addition, approximately four men out of ten held supervisory positions, but fewer than two women out of ten did so.⁸

Although the kinds of work women were expected to do placed limitations on their career advancement and status, there was a more progressive attitude in some quarters toward women in the workforce. In a 1968 report, Stanislaw Judek argued that the stigma attached to working wives and mothers belonged to the past: "It would seem that the position of a wife and mother is not likely to be imperilled by having a fuller life in a business or professional career....The right to work or not to work is an individual decision that our society must respect."⁹ The development of equal rights legislation in the 1960s supported this new social acceptance of women's paid labour. While the emergence of women as fully integrated members of the working community was far from complete, pronouncements on discrimination by sex demonstrated a growing sensitivity to women's involvement in the workplace as permanent rather than temporary members. The United Nations Commission on the Status of Women issued a statement criticizing sex discrimination as an obstacle to "the full development of the potentialities of women in the service of

their countries and humanity."¹⁰ In Canada, the federal government appointed the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada in early 1967 to make recommendations to ensure women had equal opportunity in all sectors of Canadian society.

Awareness of the radical changes in women's roles during the 1960s was also clearly expressed in the 1969 Women's Bureau publication "The New Role of Women". The commentary pointed to the advent of the birth control pill and technological innovation as influences on women's pursuit of economic equality, as well as to the more intangible social values which permeated Canadian society. For example, while women were free to work without the drudgery of household maintenance, there remained a considerable heritage of traditional attitudes which defined their role in the context of an era long past. This was nurtured not only by men but also by women whose concept of their role was deeply imbedded in their own social training and career expectations. "Perhaps for the first time, society will neither disdain nor adore woman in her new role, but will accept her as the partner of man. This will entail some positive action on the part of woman herself...There will still remain for women the challenge posed by the traditional prejudices which will take generations to eradicate completely."¹¹

Recognition by the federal government of the changes occurring in female employment in the 1960s was more progressive than the views held by Canadian society as a

whole. While more and more wives were working, most Canadians still subscribed to the idea that women's proper place was in the home. This lag between cultural norms and workforce patterns was possible because the new feminine role was conceived in economic terms rather than as a commitment to new social values. While both single and married women sought jobs, they did not pursue careers as such, but were seen to take on the dual responsibility for home and work, not because they found paid work rewarding, but because of economic necessity.¹²

Social attitudes about who gained from a marriage were conditioned by perceptions about the nature of the partner's economic and social contributions. Traditionally, the primary contribution made by women was housework. Despite dramatic increases in the participation rate married women, women still had near-exclusive responsibility for housework. During most of the 1950s, work outside the home was viewed negatively on the assumption that involvement in the public sphere conflicted with a woman's home duties. By the 1960s, however, Canadians increasingly accepted the idea of married women working outside the home, although the presence and number of children shaped this attitude. In 1960, nearly two thirds of the respondents to a Gallup Poll thought married women should take a job if they had no young children. Ten years later, over 75% of the respondents believed married women without children at home should work.¹³

The same series of Gallup Polls also ascertained views on whether or not married women should be given equal opportunity to compete with men for jobs. Throughout the decade, results did not reflect the principle of sexual equality in employment opportunities. The percentage of those who believed men should be given the first chance was 59 per cent in 1956, 70 per cent in 1961 and 53 per cent in 1965.¹⁴ By 1965, therefore, the percentage of Canadians who believed married women should be allowed equal opportunity in employment was only slightly higher than in 1956. Thus, while Canadian attitudes towards women in the work-force, particularly married women, were beginning to change during the first half of the decade, traditional views of women's maternal role remained strong.

* * *

Women's radio programming became less 'woman-centered' during the 1960s. With more women in the work-force, "Trans-Canada Matinée" and the regional commentators broadcast to a smaller group of women in the home. Programs which would have been considered quite progressive in past years now became more frequent and accepted as "Matinée" broadened its appeal to a more general daytime audience. Helen James' insistence on incorporating more men both in production and in front of the microphone ensured that programs would deal less with domestic topics and more with political and economic issues. She summarized this shift in orientation in an informal brief to R.S. Bryden, Director of Information Services:

At the time the program began, there was much more emphasis on the domestic scene than there is now. You will remember that we then carried Cooking School on the Air; Hazel Stevenson's series on sewing and so on. Now we have no regular series on cooking - it crops up only occasionally in an indirect way - nothing on sewing and except for "Matinée Quiz"... we do not concentrate on aspects of housekeeping. This has happened because of the broader interests of the daytime audience which has more time nowadays to look further afield. This is reflected in the change of the name from Women's Programs to Daytime Programs.¹⁵

Parallel to new social trends of the 1960s, "Trans-Canada Matinée"'s producers pushed beyond the earlier tentative forays into more progressive subjects. The program was freed from many of the constraints placed on "taboo" subjects which restricted its approach in the 1950s. "Not only language but subject matter too is getting more sophisticated, especially in the field of women's problems which not long ago were barely conceded to exist. Daytime TV has been exploring this area and now CBC's "Trans-Canada Matinée" is off on the subject of menopause."¹⁶

This shift in women's programming was illustrated in the more direct action taken by James to lift Daytime Programs out of the marginal position into which it had been frozen. In the same brief to Bryden, James insisted that the promotion announcements for "Matinée" eliminate its focus on women in the home. "I have a feeling that this emphasis would conceivably keep interested males from tuning into this exceptional program. The fact that (it is of wide interest to both perceptive men and perceptive women is very important indeed. We women and our cookery and cleaning interests are over-emphasized today!"¹⁷ While many male

The adherence to a more traditional format was in part the result of the general nature of organizational support for women's programming in this era. The majority of the groups who sponsored the conference consisted of middle-class, volunteer women whose input had become a relied-upon contribution to the development of daytime programming in the 1950s. Although the conference focussed on the plight of working women, it was not a success in representing the full spectrum of women in society. Public Affairs was deluged with responses from working women, but the available space had been filled by women with more traditional backgrounds in community-oriented social organizations. The lack of strong representation from women in the work force meant a weak and inadequate voice. Ironically, the strong attendance from "clubwomen" proved to be their final demonstration of power as they no longer spoke for the average woman's experience in a rapidly changing society. Following "Real World of Woman," their sponsorship and support for daytime programs dwindled considerably. However, despite the conference's failure to reinforce the network created during the 1940s and 1950s, it signalled a more visible public acceptance of women's role and status in society, raising issues which had hitherto been downplayed with the department.

The regional commentators also strove to develop a more direct relationship with their audience and with their producers in Toronto. In 1959 Helen Carscallen was

With increasing use of male producers came support for maintaining a broad appeal. Raoul Engel, "Matinée" producer, wrote in 1965 that the program was:

a one hour daily network magazine program which deals with anything and everything in the public domain with frequent excursions into the controversial, the literary, the scientific as well as the private preoccupations of ordinary and extraordinary people...It is not a 'woman's program' with the genteel overtones that that implies.²¹

In order to encourage a wider audience for "Matinée", James and her program organizers, Helen Carscallen and Margaret Fielder, fashioned several new components as well as occasional special series. One of the more important of the new permanent features was the popular "Matinée Commentary" which was based on the "Preview Commentary" series in the evening Public Affairs schedule. This daily fifteen minute feature gave listeners background comment on national and international affairs. Two originated from Ottawa each week with the balance coming from the regions or from overseas centres. The commentators were usually male journalists such as Walter Stewart of the Toronto Star and John Maffre of the Washington Post.²²

Despite this change in orientation during the early 1960s, the actual audience for daytime programs continued to consist primarily of housewives and programming policy still attended to their special concerns. It was assumed that women in the home "engaged in some quiet routine activity and able to listen at the same time, want to know what is going on in the world outside and in other people's minds."²³ The earlier, more traditional treatment of women remained an integral part of "Matinée"'s

material. While an increasing number of women were entering the work force, those with young children usually remained at home full-time. Despite "Trans-Canada Matinée"'s frequent explorations into sensitive and controversial issues and recognition of women's right to a career, it continued to reflect prevailing social expectations concerning married women's primary responsibility for childrearing and its priority over paid employment. Therefore, while portions of the program were devoted to the interests of the general audience, producers continued to fulfill women's desire for a "window on the world". As one woman listener commented in a letter: "Thank you very much for very stimulating programs over the years... It is good for us stay-at-homes to be made aware of a different way of life."²⁴

The Public Affairs broadcasting manual for 1966 expressed this duality, describing "Matinée" as consisting of talks, interviews and discussions on issues in the arts and sciences from across Canada and around the world supplemented with practical information from specialists in 'home management'; nutrition, childcare and community affairs. Aside from the "Matinée Commentary", the program's regular items included regional editorials, science reports, monthly London, Paris and New York newsletters, book readings, "Matinée Quiz" and "Quebec Editorial", a weekly commentary on French Canadian issues. Among "Matinée"'s special series designed for the general audience were programs on investment and money, civil law, and the Canadian political system.²⁵

Series which reflected women's special interests included "Housewives Press Conference" with René Levesque, then Quebec's Minister of Natural Resources, which discussed differences in French and English culture. Another series, broadcast in 1964, with Anne Francis and Robert Prittie, MP for Burnaby-Richmond, discussed birth control legislation and the private member's bill recommending the repeal of the Criminal Code's ban on the publication of birth control information.²⁶ "Matinée" also began the series "Let's Be Frank" which was modelled on the personal advice columns popular in the print media. Interviewer Betty Shapiro from Montreal and psychiatrist Juanita Chambers answered questions on personal and family relationships. "Matinée" also created a series on education which explored current teaching methods and curricula in use across Canada.

Audience response to the CBC's daytime programs of the 1960s is sparse, but the occasional letter from a regular listener does reveal that many women in the home preferred the serious and educational content of "Trans-Canada Matinée" and the women commentators to soap operas. One housewife wrote: "One of my favorite programs is "Trans-Canada Matinée" which is a happy deliverance from soap operas. I like the panel discussion, news, book reviews and some of the music."²⁷ Wrote another: "Please give us a lot of good strong stuff. It is an hour when the little ones are asleep and bigger ones at school and I want to hear something really serious or enlightening."²⁸

The popularity of "Trans-Canada Matinée" permitted its production staff to rebroadcast major portions on "Matinée Highlights". In recognition of the number of women in the work force, the half-hour program was broadcast weekly in the evenings. In 1960, "Trans-Canada Matinée" was carried on 26 stations: 17 CBC-owned and 52 affiliates and the average daytime audience (in number of households) was more than 100,000 a day.²⁹ This increase is made more significant when compared to the number of listeners for evening talks programs. "Capital Report", which aired on Sundays on the same number of stations, had an average of only 78,700 and "Cross Country Checkup", which was also aired on Sundays, drew only 56,500.³⁰ In contrast, "Take Thirty", "Matinée"'s television equivalent with hosts Anna Cameron and Paul Soles, was watched by an astounding 450,000 viewers by 1966 and of these, 60% were adult women, 25% were adult men, and the remaining 15% were children.³¹ Audience research on "Take Thirty" also indicated that it had an average index of audience enjoyment of 76 (out of 100). This was only 10 points below that of the highly popular and controversial "This Hour Has Seven Days" and was higher than the figure for both "The Sixties" and "Public Eye". Despite its growing popularity, "Take Thirty" remained a low budget priority. "We were ... planning the show five half hours a week while other shows which were one half hour every three months had the same staff and biggest budgets. We were women broadcasting to women. It's as simple as that."³²

The more liberated outlook on "Trans-Canada Matinée" was a result of several interrelated factors. As the above discussion noted, general public opinion of women's role in society included the acceptance of married women's place, albeit limited, in the workforce. The women's movement and the development of new ideas concerning women's equality won many new converts which led to a more sophisticated and articulate expression of women's economic and social rights. In both the United States and Canada, commissions and legislation related to women's right to equal employment multiplied. The growing radicalism in the women's movement underlined Daytime Program's attempts for more serious discussion of women's unique problems.

The politicization of women's issues was most clearly reflected in one of the first national women's conferences. Held in September, 1962, the CBC's "Real World of Woman" conference was representative of the desire for a more open and collective discourse on women's changing role in both public and private spheres. Organized by Helen James and Helen Carscallen, the conference attracted over 500 delegates from across Canada who debated women's role in contemporary society. "So many broadcasts, magazine articles and speeches deal with the dilemma of today's woman" commented James. "None of them can hope to deal with more than one small aspect of the role of women."³³ James also noted the trend of women with families entering the work force. "Much advertising and some writing pictures

her as a paragon of perfection ... not only in the home but in the community as well -- and all without any apparent effort. When she falls short of this ideal, she tends to feel guilty. Today's woman seems to feel guilty no matter what's expected of her -- this is partly because she's not really aware of what's happening to her in a changing society."³⁴ Held at Hart House in Toronto, the conference was designed as a forum to reveal and explain some of the more subtle contradictions inherent in women's lives. Dr. Mara Komarovsky, Professor of Sociology at Columbia University, delivered the keynote address for the three day event. She concurred with this view of society describing it as "a veritable crazy-guilt of contradictions."³⁵

The Daytime Program division had the assistance of 18 national organizations, including the National Council of Women, which responded enthusiastically to the conference. When registration closed, there was a waiting list and Hart House, scene of the plenary session, was filled to capacity. Many of the delegates learned of the conference through a special CBC television program, "The Best Thing in the World", aired in June to publicize the event. Following the telecast, Public Affairs received hundreds of letters commenting on the conference. "I suspect", a typical viewer responded, "that women are one national resource we haven't fully developed."³⁶

Reaction to the conference from within the Corporation was mixed. Carscallen believed there was a high

degree of scepticism from male producers and program organizers in Public Affairs. While there were men on the planning committee for the conference, she recalls few attending the meetings. Press reaction, ranging from negative to cautiously optimistic, appeared to treat the event as a fad representative of the issue-oriented 1960s. In his regular MacLean's column, Robert Fulford commented on the conference:

If my judgment is correct, and it rarely fails me, then women are the in problem this season and may well dominate our thoughts for several years to come. Their turn on the cycle has come up again, and if you are not prepared to hear a great deal about their troubles, you had better move to China, or get ear plugs, or stop reading. Now we like to take one issue at a time, elevate it to the rank of a problem, and worry it to death.³⁷

However, support for the idea from senior management was evident in the coverage devoted to the event on both radio and television. In fact, it was Eugene Hallman, CBC Vice-President of Programming, who conceived the idea and chaired the opening session. A year earlier, Hallman met with Frank Peers and Helen James to discuss the possibility of a conference as a way of generating quality material and outstanding speakers for women's programs. As Carscallen commented at the time: "We hope to get program ideas from the workshop discussions - ordinary people expressing their views on today's woman and her problems."³⁸ From a public relations perspective, such a forum hoped to reaffirm the network of community support from women's groups.

National audiences benefitted from the discussions through a number of CBC radio and television programs broadcast during and after the conference. Two special hour-long features were aired on television: "The Real World of Woman" on September 6 and "A Woman's Education" on September 9, 1962. On radio, seven individual programs, were devoted to the event, including "Trans-Canada Matinée" and an hour-long broadcast of the opening sessions. On "Our Special Speaker" in the evening, Dr. Henry David, President of the New School of Social Research gave his impressions of the conference, while a final broadcast entitled "The World Ahead" provided excerpts from the closing session.

While the timing was ripe for a women's conference, James and Carscallen steered away from a controversial discussion of women's rights. "One thing the conference won't be is a platform for women's rights," commented James. "We're sick and tired of the battle of the sexes." Carscallen added that "Real World of Woman" would be "as much about men as women. Whatever the problems of women, they are bound to effect their husbands."³⁹ Recognizing that social change had challenged the division of labour and traditional roles of the sexes, James and Carscallen believed men as well as women were victims of the resultant confusion and uncertainty. In order to reflect this philosophy, the conference included a significant proportion of men as speakers and panel members.

The adherence to a more traditional format was in part the result of the general nature of organizational support for women's programming in this era. The majority of the groups who sponsored the conference consisted of middle-class, volunteer women whose input had become a relied-upon contribution to the development of daytime programming in the 1950s. Although the conference focussed on the plight of working women, it was not a success in representing the full spectrum of women in society. Public Affairs was deluged with responses from working women, but the available space had been filled by women with more traditional backgrounds in community-oriented social organizations. The lack of strong representation from women in the work force meant a weak and inadequate voice. Ironically, the strong attendance from "clubwomen" proved to be their final demonstration of power as they no longer spoke for the average woman's experience in a rapidly changing society. Following "Real World of Woman," their sponsorship and support for daytime programs dwindled considerably. However, despite the conference's failure to reinforce the network created during the 1940s and 1950s, it signalled a more visible public acceptance of women's role and status in society, raising issues which had hitherto been downplayed with the department.

The regional commentators also strove to develop a more direct relationship with their audience and with their producers in Toronto. In 1959 Helen Carscallen was

appointed supervisor of all commentators in order that James could concentrate on the new daytime television program "Open House" (later renamed "Take Thirty"). Like James, Carscallen believed that Elizabeth Long's assumption that women's sole occupation as housewife was outdated. Consequently, women commentators in the 1960s tended to follow the pioneering examples of such earlier commentators as Florence Bird.

Marion McCormick, regional commentator for CBM Montreal, was typical of this pursuit of broader economic and social perspectives. In 1958 McCormick replaced Shirley Brett, whose program "People and Events" had survived for over nine years. Unlike Brett, whose youthful, bubbly image was typical of the 1950s, McCormick was frequently ascerbic, controversial and critical of government policies. Although she was called a morning commentator, she argued that her program was of general interest. "Apart from housewives, the program is heard by a good number of men such, as doctors, sales representatives and others driving and listening to their car radios."⁴⁰ In 1965 Betty Shapiro was hired to replace McCormick in Montreal. She began her career handling radio documentaries for "Matinée and "Citizen's Forum". Her brand of investigative journalism became a hallmark of daytime programming throughout the later 1960s. "The program deals with issues close to home, commented Shapiro, "I dig up stories that bother or annoy Montrealers, the more controversial the better . . ."⁴¹

The progression from Brett to Shapiro illustrates the movement away from the traditional material on women's domestic role to a more integrated and sophisticated focus on issues designed to initiate debate in a style similar to evening talks.

There was no policy manual for these commentators to consult on questions of judgment or good taste. Helen Carscallen functioned as a watchdog, reviewing scripts and offering criticism for future commentaries. Initially, at least, her interventions were resented as the broadcasters were highly individualistic women with a background in journalism. All researched their own material, wrote the scripts, and received a minimum amount of supervision from regional producers. However, as they began investigating broader, more controversial issues, Carscallen's criticisms and supervision were relied on increasingly.

In addition to evaluating the regional network of broadcasters, Carscallen received and edited letters from women foreign correspondents. Created by Elizabeth Long, these "radio letters" had remained a popular staple in day-time programs. By 1964 the division had a dozen such female contributors who reported on life in other countries.

Throughout the early years of the decade, both the commentators and "Trans-Canada Matinée" broadcast within a stable environment despite relatively low prestige and budgets. However, this status rapidly deteriorated during a

period of reorganization in program policy and personnel within Public Affairs.

* * * *

Between 1965 and 1966, several key women producers resigned from the Public Affairs department. Helen James, Helen Carscallen, Margaret Howes and Dorothea Cox had worked in the department since the late 1940s and early 1950s. The series of resignations marks the first significant change in the direction of Public Affairs programs; in particular, the event marked the demise of Daytime Programs.

During this period, Public Affairs embarked on a new course in policy which greatly affected the content and format of most talks programs. In addition, the new direction influenced the work dynamic within the department as the nature of control over various programs was redefined. Throughout the decade, Public Affairs radio had lagged behind the program approaches in television. Influenced by the general currents of change in Canadian society, CBC television had rejected the highbrow tradition of radio in favour of a perspective which would appeal to a mass audience. The new course in policy coincided with the appointment of Reeves Haggan as a Supervisor of the department, replacing Bernard Trotter. While Trotter had followed the initiatives of Peers and Morrison, Haggan was of a new breed of producers who placed less emphasis on the intellectual and academic approach and focussed more on packaging the product. On the eve of his appointment, Haggan outlined

this new policy: "We have a lot of competition in this business and we must give viewers something they will want to see; we can't force them to watch shows that are good for them."⁴² Dennis Braithewaite, a frequent critic on the CBC, interpreted the comment as a sign of the CBC's attempt to develop a more visible, glossier profile. He wrote:

This is fairly heretical talk at the CBC and may indicate that some of the old dedication to uplift national identity and a murky something or other called program balance is leaking away. It could mean a lot less didacticism and a lot more showbiz in future. Any change in public affairs will be welcome. There haven't been any really new ideas to come out of the department in the past 10 years.⁴³

Public criticism of public affairs radio was also wide-spread and harsh. The demand for a complete overhaul in its programming to reflect current social concerns more clearly was summarized in Ray Shield's regular column on the media in the Toronto Daily Star.

CBC radio is high on brains and low on ratings . . . While (it) has the talent, it hasn't a recognizable 'style'. Commercial radio, though lacking content has plenty of style and zip. As a result, CBC radio has lost the young crowd, the transistorized teenagers and the bright new adults in their twenties who constitute half our population... Unless CBC radio gets with it, argumentative, controversial, committed, contemporary and young - it will end up broadcasting to itself. It must forget that CBC radio of the 30s and 40s ever existed.⁴⁴

The response to this kind of criticism came, not from radio, but from television. Earlier, in 1964, Haggan and senior producer Douglas Leiterman had created the short-

lived but highly acclaimed "This Hour Has Seven Days". Hosted by Patrick Watson and Laurier Lapierre, 'Seven Days' departed from the old style Public Affairs to develop its own unique brand of hard-hitting, often controversial journalism. Its primary mandate was to win for the CBC a mass audience and challenge the commercial successes of CTV and the new Global network. "The program must identify itself as closely as possible with the attitudes and interests of the mass audience, abandoning the lingering didactic bias of CBC Public Affairs programming, while preserving the basic imperative of treating serious subjects responsibly and fairly."⁴⁵

There were earlier programs which had adopted the same approach, notably "Close-up". However, the high profile and high priority of "Seven Days" contributed to the growing division between radio and television both in terms of status and ideology. The change in program policy was felt in all regional production centres but none more deeply than in Montreal. The role of the 'new breed' of producers such as Douglas Leiterman, Ross McLean and Christina MacDougall and their disinterest in the old style Public Affairs radio was underscored by the growing tensions between English and French communities during the beginning of the Quiet Revolution in Quebec. As Regional Supervisor, Margaret Howes was placed squarely in the middle of the conflict. Throughout her career, she had fought to introduce high quality programs which would interpret French

Canada to the English-speaking public but with little success. During the Montreal producer's strike of 1959, Howes finally realized that management in Toronto were unsympathetic to French-Canadian concerns and by the mid-1960s she was prepared to abandon the struggle. "Not only was there no really solid programming to the network on television about French Canada, there was no body of support... I saw no way where the mandate of the CBC to interpret French Canada to English Canada was ever going to take place under Reeves Haggan."⁴⁶

A second factor contributing to the 1965-66 crisis was the division of radio and television. During the 1950s, when television was in its infancy, the department's production staff were frequently involved in both radio and TV programs. With the growth in television technology and budgets, more elaborate productions and growing public interest, television assumed the first priority. Further, the knowledge and skill required for television production meant those in radio could no longer operate effectively between the two mediums. Haggan initiated the long-overdue process of separating radio and television at the executive producer or program organizer level. The new sub-division of television public affairs was headed by Eric Koch.

The decision to split radio and television had serious implications for the status of women in the department in general. Radio production was relatively simple and there were many women in the control booth. However, television facilities demanded more sophisticated, technical

expertise and involved twice the number of production personnel. Women producers were not thought capable of making the transition from radio to television and thus remained in radio. As Carscallen commented, television was "a highly technological subject and women were not supposed to be experts in technology."⁴⁷ Some women were program organizers in television, but during the mid-1960s, there was only one producer, Peggy Nairn Liptrott, who worked in the control booth. Unlike radio, the real power and control was in the control booth. "That's where the power is, in the control room. I could bring people on the program but the producer could change my concept of what the program was going to be."⁴⁸ One reason Carscallen resigned was management's refusal to consider her for television production.

Margaret Howes also encountered this threat to her responsibility and authority over television in Montreal. As part of the new plan to segregate radio from television, Haggan proposed transferring Jim Taylor from Ottawa to supervise Public Affairs TV in Montreal, thereby leaving Howes with responsibility only for radio. When Howes learned of the plan, she believed Haggan had no confidence in her ability to handle television, and she tendered her resignation. "He was going to offer me something upstairs, clearly confined to radio . . . It was the end of the job as far as I was concerned and I was having none of it. Reeves didn't think I could make any contributions to television."⁴⁹ Although Howes later won the battle to

remain in charge of TV, Haggan's clear lack of support for her position was a primary reason for her resignation in January, 1966. She was replaced by another woman, Kay McIver, previously a senior producer in Winnipeg, who later chaired the CRTC Task Force on the Status of Women in the CBC in 1973-74.

As Supervisor of Daytime Programs, Helen James experienced the full impact of the reorganization of senior production staff. When Eric Koch became head of television, he took control of "Take Thirty". James was left with "Trans-Canada Matinée" and the regional women commentators. The erosion of her power base lead to increasing conflict within the department. Carscallen continued to supervise "Take Thirty" but although she worked on the television side, she did not report to Koch, but to James. The ambiguity of her position was heightened by James' own attempts to maintain control of "Take Thirty" by reversing many of Carscallen's decisions. "All of us were becoming more self-conscious about women's programs and wanting to broaden our base, our scope. Here I was having a chance to do it in a much more concrete way than she (James) was and she just couldn't keep out of it."⁵⁰

James shared Carscallen, Howes and Dorothea Cox's lack of confidence in the direction the Corporation was taking and its motivation to capture as large an audience as possible. In addition, she was not considered for advancement in the administrative ranks, despite her seniority and broadcast experience. Her resignation in August of 1965

caused considerable comment both within the CBC and in the press.

Miss James contends, and quite rightly, that the Victorian attitudes which nail women half way up the ladder in Canadian business administration are unenlightened and wrong... At the CBC, the routine was as familiar as it is in Canadian business as a whole... When Canadian businessmen think of appointing women to jobs, they think 'Is that a suitable job for a woman?' When a top administrative job opens up, it is not their custom to consider the qualifications of applicants regardless of sex. Miss James, who enjoys as much respect as any woman I know in journalism, has grinned and borne it as long as she can. I would like to think her decision causes something more than a ripple in this stagnant pool of male attitudes.⁵¹

Dorothea Cox, previously a Talks producer in the Maritimes, became a senior producer in radio in Toronto. In a letter to Elizabeth Long written a year before she left, she expressed her sympathy for her three colleagues and her frustration with the prevailing discriminatory attitude in the department. "Helen James is going to leave at the end of August to take two years at the School of Social Work for a Master's degree. This on top of Helen Carscallen and I'm sure you know about the third woman leaving but I can't mention it yet - of course it's Haggan basically, with all three in different ways... He ignores us all but I think Helen's resignation has shaken him."⁵²

The division between radio and television with its resulting redistribution of areas of control is the most noticeable short-term change influencing the work dynamic in Public Affairs. There were other, equally influential events with deeper historical roots which came to the fore during the same two year period.

The long tradition of maintaining community liaisons with such public organizations as the Canadian Association for Adult Education had begun to lose favour in the early 1960s. Public input into programs in exchange for their support in times of controversy was no longer identified as a major policy objective. After James and Carscallen left in 1965, the program organizer position in Toronto was eliminated as the department felt that what communication was necessary could be carried through by the senior producers. Margaret Howes also argued against this decrease in community networking as it was vital to her efforts to promote a better rapport between English and French audiences.

The weaker ties to community-based public interest groups had a telescopic effect on the nucleus of daytime programs. Because women's programming had little status or prestige, it had relied heavily on the support of such national groups. Both "Trans-Canada Matinée" and "Take Thirty" had survived on restricted budgets and personnel while managing to develop a series of wide-ranging programs. The decline in support from this network following the Real World of Woman conference in 1962 was speeded by the general movement away from community involvement. This loss of power severely restricted the one effective area of control that many women had consistently associated themselves with, daytime programs. Christina McDougall, a producer for "Citizen's Forum" and "The Sixties", was one of the new school of producers hired during the early 1960s who

survived this conflict in program ideologies. She witnessed the events which led to the critical point in 1965-66. "It was only when Reeves Haggan became Supervisor that things changed because his ideas - strongly influenced by Bernard Ostry, Pat Watson and Douglas Leiterman - ran counter to the slightly didactic approach with which the department had been impregnated . . . In the process, many of the women staff members who did not accept being hand-maidens in the new wave, found they no longer had a *raison d'être*."⁵³

For many producers hired during this era, the new directions adopted by the CBC were acceptable. In addition, Peter Campbell replaced Reeves Haggan as Supervisor in 1966 and implemented a more equitable working relationship in both radio and TV which allowed more women producers to pursue highly successful careers. Among these were Margaret Lyons, who became a senior producer in radio in 1966 and is currently Director of Radio for the English Services Division (ESD). In the early 1970s, she supervised the transformation of CBC radio and introduced such authoritative and entertaining programs as "As It Happens", "This Country In The Morning" and "Sunday Morning". Betty Zimmerman rose from the Public Affairs ranks to head Radio Canada International. Although women were still clustered in radio production in 1966, they represented a considerably higher proportion than during the early 1960s. In addition to Margaret Lyons, Christina McDougall and Betty Zimmerman in Toronto was Dodi Robb, who replaced James as Supervisor

of Daytime Programs and engineered the popular "Marketplace". "Trans-Canada Matinée" was organized by Rosemary Macmillan and Lynn Peers, and "Take Thirty" had Margaret Fielder and Cynthia Scott. In the regional centres were Frances Cutler, Kay McIver, Joan Barberis, Betty Tomlinson and Phyllis Webb among many others.

Although the security enjoyed by Daytime Programs was seriously threatened during the mid 1960s, the same two year period marked the successful resolution of the Corporations's 30 year discriminatory practice against married women. In 1960, CBC management again raised the question of including married women in the pension plan. Using this as leverage, Margaret Howes renewed her efforts to secure a pension by contacting George Haythorne, then Assistant Deputy Minister of the Department of Labour. He fully supported, on paper at least, her argument that the number of women who had chosen to opt out of the pension plan was irrelevant to the fundamental principle of equality. "It is clear...that the CBC has not had a progressive attitude towards the position of married women in the past and the grounds at least which they have advanced to you for continuing to discriminate against them are flimsy...I agree entirely with you it is not the number but the principle that is significant here. Mr. Hart has avoided commenting on this basic point."⁵⁴ Six months later, the CBC finally offered a compromise: married women were still prevented from participating in the pension plan but were allowed to receive coverage under the group life

insurance agreement between the Corporation and Mutual Life Insurance. Married women appointed to permanent position from August 22, 1960 onward entered the plan as a condition of employment. For those such as Howes who were already on staff, the opportunity would be offered only once.⁵⁴ One year later, in August, 1961, the CBC agreed to open its doors to all married women who wished to join the pension plan. A female employee "shall be deemed for the purposes of the pension plan to have been appointed to the staff of the Corporation on September 1, 1961 and any further change in her marital status shall not affect her status as a contributor to the pension plan."⁵⁶

Although this change in policy effectively recognized married women's right to permanent status and a pension, their past years of experience and service in the CBC were still not accepted. For Margaret Howes, Elspeth Chisholm and others who joined the CBC in its formative years, as many as 19 years were ignored. John Hart rationalized this policy by arguing that "At the present time there is no provision for retroactive entry. As you realize, the rather heavy expenditure the Corporation would be called upon to make in allowing this concession has to be taken into consideration."⁵⁷ For Howes, the issue of retroactive service remained unchallenged until her decision to retire in 1965. At this time, she expressed concern for her non-existent pension which recognized only four of her nineteen years of employment. Referring to the new Pension Plan, Howes requested Guy Coderre, then Vice-President of

Administration, to increase her pension benefits in recognition of her past years of employment. Again, she met with a negative response. Believing that the Pension Board of the CBC, if left to itself, would ultimately decide against her claim, she took her case to Judy LaMarsh, Secretary of State, in 1966. Howes wrote: "...it seems arbitrary to me that the CBC has for more than four years failed to take a decision to recognize past service as pensionable when this is accepted practice in many industries and in all federal government agencies at present."⁵⁸ LaMarsh's reply must have been a source of great disappointment to Howes for she wrote: "I am sure you will agree with me that for any Minister of the Crown to become involved directly in such decisions could well raise questions as to the essential independence of the CBC from government control...the CBC feels that its position prior to 1961 was not discriminatory in the sense that the restrictions applied to married women under the Corporation's pension plan were in line with what it felt to be a general industrial philosophy of regarding married women as temporary rather than a stable source of manpower...The Corporation feels, and I believe correctly so, that anything done in your particular case would have to become the general ruling for all women now employed by the Corporation who were not members of the pension plan before."⁵⁹

In 1966, the CBC commissioned an actuarial survey on the pension plan's financial conditions which included the question of married women's past service. The survey recommended such recognition and in October, 1966, amendments were made to the plan to provide for 'elective service' for any person "who was prevented as of August 31, 1961, only by reason of age or marital status from entering the Group Annuity Plan."⁶⁰ The following year, D.B. Sumner, the new Director of Personnel, informed Howes that her pension benefits had finally been backdated to include 17 years, 8 months of employment. This final decision still failed to recognize Howes' full 19 years of work for the CBC.

Existing research to date indicates that Howes was the sole member of the Public Affairs department who consistently lobbied for permanent status and rights to a full pension. While her ten year battle is remarkable, it is not surprising that she fought alone as married women were at the time a small minority in the department. As she commented in a recent interview, most married women were young, situated in the secretarial ranks and did not view their job as a career. Most of her colleagues, including James, Cox and McIver, were unmarried.⁶¹

Given the wider acceptance of women's right to pursue a career and the marked increase in the number of women in the workforce, the CBC would inevitably face public pressure to redraft its pension legislation. But Howes' perseverance despite her lack of job security and tenure was

a significant contributing factor precipitating the review of the plan. Further, her lobbying demonstrates that the collective, team-oriented work dynamic which dominated Public Affairs in its first 30 years of programming did not preclude individual initiative.

* * * *

While Daytime Programs experienced a further series of setbacks in both program budget and policy in the wake of the 1965-66 crisis, its inclusion here is beyond the scope of this analysis. The events leading to the breakdown in the old order in Daytime Programs clearly reflects the interrelationship between producer and program. Further, the degree of control and input into programs was a major factor in determining the maintenance or loss of a power base within Public Affairs. The decision of James, Carscallen, Howes and Cox to resign was predicated on their dissatisfaction with current policy directions, the status of women in the department and in the CBC in general and the rapid demise of the historical links with public interest support groups which had their roots in the 1936-1959 era of radio. Taken separately, the ~~resignations~~ are not significant but as a group sharing a common ideology, and a preference for an increasingly unpopular program philosophy, these women signalled the final breakdown of the original orientation in Public Affairs radio. Set within the wider social context, the era of traditional, 'woman-centred' programming was viewed as redundant. Changes in

social attitudes and public tastes were influential factors in phasing out the specific focus of Women's Interests.

As a final comment on the analysis of women's programming during this decade, no historical discussion of women and the media can be simplified. Clearly, daytime programs consciously sought to incorporate both radical and traditional elements of Canadian society. But their low status and budget, compounded by the general erosion in Public Affairs radio's popularity as an educational and entertaining medium, prevented the development of more progressive programming. Television, with its shorter history and more popular support, was better equipped to fulfil the CBC's desire to attract a mass audience.

CONCLUSION

Come, come, my conservative friends,
wipe the dew off your spectacles,
and see that the world is moving.

(The Woman's Bible,
Part 1, 1895)

For thirty years, Women's Interests provided a "window on the world" for women in the home. Assessing changes in both women's programming and the status of women producers and broadcasters associated with them requires a review of the theoretical questions in light of the historical material.

A central question raised at the beginning of the discussion was the possibility of the evolution of a separate women's culture which shared a common set of values. If such a culture existed, it was suggested, it required the maintenance of a cohesive group identity with a distinct set of experiences and expectations and which included a tension between patriarchal values concerning women's place and women's own sources of autonomy. The team of women producers and broadcasters which made up Women's Interests fulfill the requirements necessary for such a culture. As the historical analysis has demonstrated, women in Films and Public Affairs reflected the dichotomy between internalized patriarchal assumptions and their own efforts to gain autonomy and authority. As a group, those responsible for women's programs reproduced male-stream expectations of their social and economic roles. As individuals, many sought to better their status. Margaret Howes, for example, fought to eliminate the Corporation's discrimination against married women's participation in the pension

plan. Others, notably Helen James, used programs to increase their level of authority and prestige. Yet the dichotomy between the reproduction of patriarchal attitudes and the initiatives taken to eliminate discrimination existing within the confines of a specific women's culture which shared a common program ideology and developed strategies calculated to maintain group identity.

The creation of a division called Women's Interests within Talks and Public Affairs provided a unique opportunity to develop programming calculated to reflect women's 'special needs'. Changing social attitudes and economic conditions affecting Canadian women meant this mandate was subject to different interpretations over the years. During the early years of the department's history, Elizabeth Long's philosophy of bringing women together under one radio roof was predicated on her belief that women in the home had a right to learn of the larger world around them. Radio's ability to reach listeners immediately in most areas of the country was a natural instrument. Yet although there were more women working during the war than ever before, her approach did not challenge the current patriarchal notions of women's place in society. Radio contributed to women's fulfillment of their roles as housewives and mothers by giving them credit for their knowledge and by giving them the necessary tools to carry out their assigned tasks in society. Consequently, programming for women during the 1940s did not search for an alternate voice to contravene traditional assumptions.

When Helen James succeeded Long as Assistant Supervisor in charge of Women's Interests in 1953-54, programming experienced a gradual but noticeable shift away from broadcasts dedicated solely to domestic subjects and light news. Although still careful to devote a substantial portion of program time to those traditional concerns, James was able to use the newly-created "Trans-Canada Matinée" as a vehicle for exploring broader subjects. Yet the general tenor of the broadcasts continued to reflect the prevailing male-stream attitudes and only rarely ventured into material of a more radical nature. In other words, Daytime Programs still centred on the concept of women broadcasting to women in the home. The adherence to an acceptable philosophy secured women's programs in the Public Affairs schedule. Despite the popularity of television, "Trans-Canada Matinée"'s very ability to capture and articulate the interests of the woman of the 1950s attracted a wide audience. Any marked deviation from this expected course would surely have resulted in severe criticism if not cancellation of the program. Even more than "Matinée", the regional broadcasters continued to provide advice and comment on the news from a traditional vantage point. The 'friend over a cup of coffee' was the most prevalent image of these women commentators who spoke for the Canadian housewife.

Toward the end of the 1950s, with the emergence of the two-phase work cycle for women in the workforce, women's programming began to redirect itself. A new focus was

adopted which recognized women's increased involvement in work outside the home. As Daytime Programs moved into the 1960s, this outlook became a more permanent feature of both "Trans-Canada Matinée" and the regional commentaries. The clearest reflection of this was the 1962 "Real World of Woman" conference which brought together women from across the country to debate the contradictory nature of their roles in a rapidly changing society.

A second precondition to the existence of a separate women's culture is the marginalization of its members from the general group. Throughout this thirty year period, Daytime Programs remained a separate division subject to lower prestige and status. Clearly, women in this division and within the department as a whole did indeed experience segregation through both formal, structural discrimination and more informal means. The CBC's exclusion of married women from the Pension Plan is one of the most obvious discriminatory practices. Yet there were other, less evident forms which contributed to women's marginal position within the department.

The allocation of women's programming to the afternoon hours rendered women both as audience and as producer or broadcaster less visible. Their marginal position in the program schedule meant they did not reach as wide an audience as those broadcasts aired during the evening. "Trans-Canada Matinée" experienced its crisis in growth due, not to a slackening of popular demand, but to the limits imposed upon it. The request to have it rebroad-

cast during prime time in order to reach working women and men was rejected by senior management until the 1960s. Ironically, the producers themselves saw this marginal status as the only possibility for introducing non-traditional topics which might challenge women's social and economic condition.

During the 1960s, the ghettoization of daytime programs was more clearly perceived as a barrier to women's advancement within production ranks. Because a producer's status was derived from the programs under her control, she must compete with other programmers for seniority in budget and priority scheduling. As a result, James pushed beyond her earlier attempt to redirect "Matinée"'s appeal to housewives to encompass a more general audience. The strategy met with limited success. Portions of "Matinée" suitable for a mixed audience were rebroadcast during the evening but both "Matinée" and the regional commentators continued to be identified as speaking specifically to women and therefore never succeeded in winning larger budgets and production staff. In addition, the breakdown in the old order of Public Affairs radio and the divestiture of community-oriented program policies contributed to a status loss for many women in the department.

A question related to the concept of a separate, marginalized women's culture is the use of networking and mentoring. As the discussion has illustrated, both strategies were employed albeit in a limited way. As the 'ringleader', Elizabeth Long and later, Helen James, encour-

aged the development of a regional network of women commentators. Although each was highly independent and used material relevant to her region's specific interests, they shared common responsibilities and positions. Perhaps more importantly, these women articulated the broadcast philosophy laid down by Long and James and thus held a shared view of the value radio held for educating women. The network was effective for the exchange of information and opinion and served to reinforce the broadcaster's responsibility to her female audience. Yet the highly decentralized nature of the network prevented it from becoming a collective attempt to improve women's status as freelance broadcaster. This initiative lay with the central authority figures of Long and James. Both used their position to mentor such well-known women as Florence Bird and Mattie Rotenberg.

Mentoring was a less decisive factor in determining women's role as producer in Public Affairs broadcasting. Helen James certainly sponsored her associate, Helen Carscallen, but there are no other clear-cut examples of a one-to-one relationship. Indeed, the only support Margaret Howes received during her struggle for a pension was from another married woman, Marjorie McEnaney. It would appear that the prerequisite for support in this case at least was marital status not gender. Women in Daytime Programs functioned as a group only in reference to their programs, not to each other. The team-oriented work environment of the department meant most were concerned about the quality of production of the programs themselves.

Because programs were the focal point, women producers chose instead to gain autonomy and power through their work. Moss Kanter's definition of power stresses the ability to use resources and accomplish goals rather than attempting to dominate others. Clearly, women producers perceived programming as the means through which they could achieve some degree of recognition and hence, autonomy and power. Although many recognized the need to manage resources, few had the opportunity to accumulate the power which was a frequent outcome of successful performance due to the low prestige level of the programs with which they were associated. Power can only be had if the activity is visible, a situation which rarely occurred given the lack of visibility of the programs. Further, those who held formal authority, such as Elizabeth Long and Helen James, were reluctant to exercise it over their producers or broadcasters. The emphasis on cooperation instead of competition within the sub-group included a preference to maximization of individual autonomy and conflict avoidance.

Membership in this sub-group called Daytime Programs meant women participated in a separate opportunity structure governed by different mobility and promotion rules. While most were highly competent in their program field, ability in one group was not necessarily transferable to others. The critical situation of the 1965-66 period reflects this point; women were accepted in radio but few were considered skilled enough for television.

Women's continuous involvement in the Talks and Public Affairs department was a result either of individual ambition and ability or the fact that they seized opportunities during World War II. While most women were associated with women's programming during this period, men were free to work in the entire spectrum of public affairs programs, including "Trans-Canada Matinée" and "Take Thirty". Clearly then, the lack of experience in women's programs in radio was not a barrier to men's promotion, but the lack of hands-on experience in 'men's areas' was a barrier to women. Despite the static nature of women's status within the department and the Corporation as a whole, their relationship to programming was direct and dynamic. Developing programs for women involved a high degree of creativity as well as an ability to interpret the Talks and Public Affairs mandate. On this basis, women producers and broadcasters in the CBC fulfilled an essential role by speaking to women.

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CBC Collection (PAC RG 41)

The CBC archive, with over 700 volumes, was one of the primary sources for this research. For anyone interested in the history of the Corporation, this collection is a rich and varied storehouse of material. From drama to news, engineering to general policy, all areas of both radio and television are well represented. The material used specifically for this study can be divided into three sections, the first of which consists of documents relating to the general history of Talks and Public Affairs. Volume 177 deals with general policy through news clippings, policy manuals, scripts and memos by CBC management. Volumes 185 to 206 breaks down the talks by program and includes such long-running series as "National's Business" (Vol. 195), and "Citizen's Forum" (Vols. 200-203). In addition, short-lived programs are represented such as "Of Things to Come" which preceded "Citizen's Forum" (Vols. 186-187), "Index", "Outlook", and "Byline" (Vols. 204-205).

The second area of research in the collection deals with "Trans-Canada Matinée" in volumes 179-184 as background information and acquaints the researcher with key personnel associated with the program. However, it is difficult to draw any understanding of general changes as the files primarily contain practical exchanges necessary to put the program on the air and does not discuss policy. Volume 178 is useful as a supplement in this regard as it contains correspondence between Women's Interests staff and national women's groups such as the National Council of women and the Consumer Association. In addition, volume 194 contains biographical material on select female Talks personalities: Helen Magill, Norah Pulling, Allison Grant, Elsie Park Gowan, Eileen Laurie and Elspeth Chisholm.

The final research area is the CBC's files on staff relations (Volumes 112-122) which outline the National Staff Council's involvement in various areas of CBC administration, including labour legislation, and program research (Vol. 112), job analysis and pensions (Vols. 114-115), the issue of married women (Vol. 112), and temporary employees (Vol. 116). General information on job specifications, salary scales and conditions of employment from 1942-1964 can be found in volumes 50 and 59. The only significant area not covered in the CBC collection is that of salary and classification levels of women as compared to men. This information has not been made public and therefore has not been included in this study.

Oral History Interviews

The following interviews, many of which were for the CBC Oral History Project (Carleton University), were done in 1983-1984:

Helen James (Toronto)
 Helen Carscallen (Toronto)
 Neil Morrison (Ottawa)
 Margaret Howes (Montreal)
 Eric Koch (Toronto)
 Dodi Robb (Toronto)

Margaret Howes Papers

All of the material relating to women and the CBC Pension Plan is in the personal possession of Margaret Howes who currently resides in Montreal. The documents were made available for the express purpose of this thesis.

Neil Morrison Papers (PAC MG 30 E 273: Volumes 1-28)

Morrison's material relates to administration and program policy in the CBC, specifically Talks and Publics Affairs from 1940 to 1953 and includes articles, clippings, reports and scripts. Volumes 1-3 (1940-1961) divides the material into two sub-categories-personal correspondence and chronological working filed which follow the original CBC office organisational procedure. Volumes 4-15 (1936-1961) consists of material relating to six CBC staff subjects: administration; general policy; meetings and conferences; scheduling of programs; royal commissions and parliamentary inquiries; and CBC staff secondment to the West Indies. In particular, volume 7 contains material on women commentators and the general national Talks conferences and staff meetings. Volumes 11-13 contains a great deal of material on specific talks programs such as "Citizen's Forum" and "Wednesday Night".

Jean Hunter Morrison Papers (PAC MG 30 D 265: Volumes 1-3)

Jean Morrison worked as a freelance writer and broadcaster for the CBC during the 1950s and 1960s, specializing in consumer primarily of scripts, notes and correspondence relating to her work for such programs as "Women's World", "The Ruth Harding Show", "Take Thirty" and "Trans-Canada Matinée".

Mattie Rotenberg Papers (PAC MG 31 K 8)

In 1939, Rotenberg began to do freelance public affairs broadcasts over CBC radio. Her work was honoured in 1945 when she won the Memorial Award of the Canadian Women's Press Club for her broadcast "Post-War Woman" (see Volume 1 for transcript). The index to the collection is a list of the topics covered in her radio commentaries which reflects her concern for the status of women, science, education and foreign affairs. Volumes 1 and 2 cover such subject areas as "Radio Talks for Women", "Fighting Pioneers" and Middle East and International Affairs". Each subject area contains six to ten scripts dating from 1940 to 1964.

Marjorie McEnaney Papers (PAC MG 30 E 342: Volume 1-2)

McEnaney's material is largely related to programs produced in Talks and Public Affairs such as the mental health series, current affairs and public affairs. Volume 1 contains a series of letters on McEnaney's concern for the status of women in the CBC and the Brief to the Board of Governors and Management on the status of married women. The volume ~~also~~ contains material relating to political interference in broadcasting and reports to various parliamentary committees. Volume 2 consists of a variety of documents on Talks and Public Affairs programs and production techniques. There is also a personal series of correspondence from Elizabeth Long to McEnaney on Talks personnel. Volume 3 contains her memoirs "Who Stole the Cakes?" which combines personal memories with vivid descriptions of the life of a career woman.

Elizabeth Long Papers (PAC MG 30 E 366: One volume.)

Long's collection is not suitable for direct research but does provide some insight into her own career and broadcast philosophy. It consists of personal letters from former CBC colleagues, including Dorothea Cox, Ruth Harvey, Margaret Howes, Catherine McIver and Marjorie McEnaney. The majority of these are from Cox during her visits in Europe and Uganda, 1959-1962. Included in the collection is a finding aid to the Elizabeth Long papers at the University of Waterloo.

Florence Bird (PAC MG 31 D 63)

The relevant material for this study is located in Volume 3 which contains notes and scripts relating to Bird's career as Anne Francis (1948-1974). Volumes six and seven are Bird's drafts of her autobiography as Anne Francis, 1973-1975.

Peter Stursberg Papers (PAC MG 31 D 78: Volumes 1-5)

Stursberg was a reporter for several British Columbia newspapers and, during World War II, was an overseas war correspondent for the CBC until 1944. The most useful material relating to public affairs broadcasting in general is in volume 3 which consists of information on CBC projects and documentaries and radio and television talks. The remaining volumes contain personal correspondence and drafts of his various books, including *Journey in Cold War* and *Mister Broadcasting*, the story of Ernie Bushnell.

Ernest Bushnell Papers (PAC MG 30 E 250: Volumes 1-5)

Bushnell is well-known for his contributions to public broadcasting in Canada. He joined the CRBC in 1933 to organize the western network and was appointed Director of English Language Programs when the CBC was created in 1936. During the war, he directed the overseas war reporting unit and in 1944, was made Director of General Programs. In 1952, he became Assistant General manager of the CBC.

The material used in this study is in volume 2 which contains notes on the Talks department's programming and organization and minutes of the meetings regarding the National Programme Conference. Most of the papers in this collection related to senior management-level policy and Bushnell Communications. For those interested in grasping the fundamentals of the development of a Canadian broadcasting corporation, the Bushnell collection is essential.

E. Austin Weir Papers (PAC MG 30 D 67)

Weir was Director of Radio for the CNR in 1929 and later returned to the CBC in 1937 where he worked in various capacities, including Commercial Manager and Supervisor of Press and Information. For the purposes of this study, the collection does not touch on the role of women in the CBC but it is a rich resource on a variety of subjects, particularly the early days of radio. Volume 3 contains the only direct mention of women's role in the CBC in the form of a hand-written memo commenting on individual reasons for series of 1965-66 resignations. Volume 4 contains correspondence on "This Hour Has Seven Days" (1963-1966).

Jean Bruce Oral History Collection (Sound Archives Division
of the Public Archives
of Canada)

Between 1980 and 1981, Bruce, formerly a producer for CBC Public Affairs, conducted a series of interviews with key women in that department. Although these histories have not been used in this thesis, their general conclusions are substantially the same as those arrived at in my own interviews. Among those women Bruce interviewed are: Helen James, Marjorie Whitelaw, Helen James, Florence Bird and Margaret Howes.

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