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**AN INVESTIGATION OF OCCUPATIONAL SEGREGATION
IN RADIO SPORT JOURNALISM**

by

LUCY BAXTER

B.A. (Hons), Newcastle-upon-Tyne Polytechnic, England, 1991

THESIS

**Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Masters of Arts in Sport Studies**

**School of Human Kinetics
University of Ottawa
1994**



Lucy Baxter, Ottawa, Canada, 1994



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DEDICATION

I dedicate this to four extremely special people.

To my parents for their continual unconditional love and support

but particularly over the last two years;

and to Mom and Dad Campbell for sharing so very much with me.

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Starting is always the hardest part - and particularly so here since there are many people that have helped me slip, slide and clamber through the last two years. First of all I am grateful for the help and support of my advisor, Geneviève Rail, during my graduate experience here at the University of Ottawa. I would also like to thank the other members of my committee, Jean Harvey and Pierre Trudel for their feedback and guidance.

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ABSTRACT

The present study was an investigation of the occupational structure of a national sport department in a public corporation. The goal was to determine whether occupational segregation was occurring, and if so what were the processes underlying this situation. Questionnaires were administered to the personnel of a public radio station (n=23) and subsequently interviews (n=14) were conducted with a sample of personnel from the department, including the positions of reporter, producer, executive producer and manager. Official documents, particularly those concerning employment equity from the CRTC, were also analyzed. It was found that occupational segregation is occurring in this department, both vertically and horizontally. The dual queue theory was adopted to explain the labour market dynamics operating to perpetuate differential employment opportunities for men and women in radio sport journalism. It was discovered that although highly qualified white women are currently at the top of this particular labour queue, it is mainly a result of pressure from two main factors: the fact that it is a public company regulated by the CRTC, and the move on the part of the personnel from jock journalism to investigative sport journalism. Barriers operating to perpetuate the fact that women do not consider sport journalism as a viable career opportunity include lack of access, lack of work experience, the jock environment, stereotyping, power dynamics, lack of sporting contacts and networks, lack of mentoring or training programs. Processes occurring to reduce women's access to radio sport journalism are contextualized within the wider society, and recommendations are made, including one emphasizing the necessity to conduct an industry-wide analysis of employment opportunities for men and women in the sport media.

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PREFACE

The original intention of the study was to investigate occupational segregation in television sport journalism. However, due to insurmountable difficulties experienced trying to gain access to an appropriate television station, the focus was switched to a radio station.

The experiences of not being able to gain access provide some insightful, thought provoking material with regard to the whole issue of occupational segregation in television sport journalism. It became blatantly clear after a few months of talking to various television sport and news managers, station managers and human resource directors, that they felt that the study posed a threat to sports journalism in their station. The reason for this was that I would be revealing barriers and problems that they did not want to deal with, and raising issues they would rather keep sealed behind their station doors. Their very attitude indicates that this is an area which really must at some time soon be researched, since government legislation and the Canadian Association of Broadcasters (CAB) licensing processes do not create enough of an environment for real change in this traditionally male dominated area. It seems that stations find ways of dealing with required laws, however, this still leaves a great number of barriers in place for women in this realm which, it would appear, management is only too aware of.

The supposed threats cited for not allowing the study to be completed at a television station included:

1. A belief, by the management that it would give people (i.e., women) high expectations for change, expectations which would not be fulfilled by action. It was stated that such false hopes would effect the working environment detrimentally for all of those involved.

2. A sentiment, by the management, that they already had enough women and there were no problems. For this reason they felt there was no need to conduct research.

3. As required by the CRTC, through the CAB, gender awareness programs (as far as the individual stations were concerned) had been dealt with previously, therefore there was a belief that this was no longer an issue. (Although when asked about the kinds of program used and evaluations of these, managers became very defensive).

4. A belief, by the management, that the study required far too much time on behalf of the participants and that they would not be able to donate such time since they worked in such a pressurized environment.

It should be noted that in various stations, a number of sport reporters would have been happy to participate, however, because of management decisions made without their input, it was impossible to conduct the study.

Finally, I would like to specify that the main reason I managed to get approval for the study in a radio station was due to the support of a woman who was willing to push for approval of the questionnaire and study design at a higher level, and who was in enough of an authoritative position to carry some power in the decision.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Researchers have shown how sport infiltrates our very consciousness, directs our lives, and impacts on the very core of our cultural identity (Hall, Slack, Smith & Whitson, 1991; Hargreaves, 1986; Willis, 1982). Sport forms a large portion of our social reality, contributing to the way we think and the way we produce and reproduce this social reality. This social reality is internalized by way of the dominant ideology, and subsequently accepted and perpetuated by our daily actions and behaviours. For instance sporting metaphors are used daily in our social, political and sexual language, demonstrating the power of sport over our language. The dominant ideology forms the way we think, interpellating every individual from childhood through to adulthood with patriarchal and capitalist values and norms. Research suggests that sport is a fertile ground for the perpetuation and legitimation of such male domination in our patriarchal society (Birrell & Cole, 1990; Bryson, 1990; Messner & Sabo, 1990). In this way sport has the ability to compound the creation of a negative and reductionist view of women within society.

The mass media, in the form of radio, television and print, is an institution which, when combined with sport, forms a power house of opinion shaping experiences and infiltrates the daily lives of Canadians. Radio, as part of this institution of the mass media, can be heard in 98.9% of Canadian homes (Statistics Canada, 1993). Crisell discussed how the radio differs from the other media forms because it is completely non-visual, however it is a "present tense" medium with a great sense of "liveness" (1986, p. 6) which allows events from around the world to be relayed instantaneously.

Rath (1986) has contended that television programming is manipulated, so that the power to reproduce images and interpret reality is firmly rooted on the side of production. Similarly Crisell (1986) has discussed how the producers of radio make selections on behalf of the listener with regard to the information available, the order and depth of this. Available at any moment during the week, radio-produced reality constitutes an arena for the dissemination and perpetuation of the dominant ideology.

Radio also confirms, perpetuates and validates social processes through the importance attributed to various stories, issues or perceived problems. As suggested by its prevalence at home, work or when travelling, the radio is important in Canadians' lives as a method of information distribution. Specific research on the relationship between sport and the radio is very scarce, the trend having been toward the television or print media research.

It has been shown that radio sport journalism has been a particularly male orientated domain, haunted from the start by the reporting of sports manifesting violent, hard and muscular characteristics (Campbell, 1990; Fitzhenry, 1990). The method of communication is also live play by plays, characterized by a great deal of "jock talk." Sport broadcasting has been perceived as a backdrop of male sport, it has therefore resulted in not becoming a popular career choice for young women (Fitzhenry, 1990).

Research on women in the work force has demonstrated that there has been an improvement in the last 30 years with regard to access to work opportunities (Duffy & Pupo, 1992; Crompton & Mann, 1986). It has, however, also been shown that much needs to be done in terms of impacting traditional male spheres and gaining equality with regard to opportunity, as well as economic and political power. Giddens (1989), and Hearn and Parkin (1987) have noted that men are still identified to the public sphere of paid work and

women, to the private domain of family values. This division has had repercussions on the job market where legal channels had to be adopted in order to place more women in decision making positions and to alter the pay structure which gave men more power and privileges (Strober, 1984).

An analysis of average salaries reveals that women are still concentrated in the lower paid, part-time secondary labour market. For instance in 1990 women earned on average \$17,757 compared to \$29,847 for men (Statistics Canada, 1993). Of all income recipients, 16.9% received a total income of \$40,000 or more, a large majority of these being men (78.1%). In contrast 28.3% of income recipients had a total income of less than \$10,000, of which 58.2% were women. These figures indicate that occupational segregation is occurring not only horizontally (in terms of the presence of "male" and "female" sectors) but also vertically (in terms of the hierarchical structure within a sector). One particular sector in which women have failed to successfully penetrate is radio journalism, more specifically, radio sport journalism.

Statement of the Problem

It has been widely accepted that sport is important in forming social reality and contributing to the ruling ideology in contemporary society. Sport particularly remains a fertile ground for the perpetuation and legitimation of male dominance in the media. This pattern contributes to the creation of a negative and reductionist social construction of women within the bounds of a patriarchal system of meaning. A great deal of research has been conducted on the texts of sport coverage, but very little has been done beyond this to analyze the construction of the teams producing the programs. Research indicates that sport journalism has received some attention with regard to harassment of women

reporters (Fitzhenry, 1990; Kane & Disch, 1992; Watson-Rouslin, 1987), however research has failed to focus on the internal dynamics of sports departments.

There is a need to analyze and understand the structures which constitute the background to hegemonic processes, and to the patriarchal interpretation of sport as it is presented in the mass media. Furthermore, the sexual division of labour within the sport media needs to be analyzed, as much as the dynamics which continually allow the systematic subordination of women journalists. Evaluation of this will enable a clearer understanding of the perpetuation of male dominance, a process evident in the radio, television and print media. In order to understand the dynamics of the division of labour in radio sport journalism, the occupational structure must be examined.

The goal of the present study, therefore, is to investigate the processes occurring in the radio sport environment and determine whether occupational segregation exists in this field. If occupational segregation does exist, then a secondary goal of the study is to examine the internal dynamics which may contribute towards the production and reproduction of the barriers blocking entry to women into radio jobs.

Theoretical Framework

In essence the theoretical framework of the study will be the dual queue theory, a micro perspective allowing to study the internal dynamics of a radio station. This theoretical model will help to describe the internal job movements operating in radio sport journalism at one Canadian broadcasting station and explain perceived gender differences in job composition. Succinctly it allows us to understand and answer the question regarding the "why" of vertical and horizontal gender segregation in this environment.

In addition to the micro perspective, feminist cultural studies was chosen as a macro perspective allowing to contextualize the results of the study in the larger space of our North American society. Feminist cultural studies provides a framework which highlights women's experiences within contemporary society by understanding the dynamics of the cultural systems of oppression and power. Questions regarding the naturalization of the prevailing patriarchy and resultant struggles between different groups are examined. The unequal dispersion of power between the sexes is the focal point of discussion. In this study then, feminist cultural studies provides a larger framework for the discussion of the results, allowing to understand and place horizontal and vertical segregation in radio sport journalism within the wider cultural processes occurring in Canadian society.

Methodology

Triangulation was adopted in order to combine different methods and provide a multi-faceted approach to the research. The three methods used in this study were: (a) an analysis of official documents from the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunication Commission (CRTC) and State reports, (b) a survey of the personnel currently employed in the radio station, and (c) in-depth interviews with a sample of the personnel.

The data were collected between December 1993 and March 1994 using a questionnaire to gather information on the attitudes and characteristics of the personnel. Semi-structured interviews were used to focus on the internal dynamics and subtle barriers present within radio journalism. The quantitative data was coded, transcribed and analyzed through a computerized statistical analysis package while the interviews were transcribed verbatim, then analyzed using Hyperqual, a computerized qualitative data analysis package.

Significance of the Study

This study has theoretical, methodological and practical significance for the body of literature. From a theoretical point of view, there have been no studies conducted on occupational segregation in radio sport journalism, thus this study will fill a void in the body of knowledge of the sociology of sport. The study will further contribute to the body of literature in that it provides an additional development of the job queue theory previously tested by Reskin and Roos (1990). A last theoretical contribution is the use of feminist cultural studies as a general framework for the study. Since feminist cultural studies has made very few inroads within sports studies in general and sociology of sport in particular, its use in this study constitutes a significant development.

From a methodological standpoint, a triangulated approach was adopted. The use of three different data sources allowed for the collection of both qualitative and quantitative data. The use of qualitative data is particularly significant since there is a void of this type of data in the field.

Finally, from a practical viewpoint, the findings of the study will help to better understand the segregation processes occurring in radio sport journalism. They may even provide clues as to how such processes can be resisted, changed or reversed. These clues have obvious strategic significance for women in radio journalism, radio sport journalism and sport in general.

Delimitations

The present case study was delimited to one public, English-speaking Canadian radio station located in the province of Ontario. It was further delimited to the national sports department, at the head office. The study was also delimited to the part-time and full-time sports personnel working within the

station. The use of questionnaires and interviews delimited the type of data collected to categorical and qualitative. Finally in terms of official documents, the study was restricted to documents available from the CRTC and the public corporation.

Limitations

Since the data was collected from an English-speaking, Ontario-placed public radio station, the results cannot be extrapolated to other radio networks in Canada. This is particularly true for the French-speaking stations, since cultural differences may bring different processes within these stations. Additionally, the fact that it was the head office means that the results are not necessarily indicative of regional stations, where the sports departments are a great deal smaller. Since the study was conducted on a radio station, the results are not specifically related to other forms of media. Since the focus was on sports, relating the findings to other departments within radio (such as news, current affairs) is not recommended.

The study was limited in that those who took the time to answer the questionnaire were perhaps those interested in the topic, so that the untapped population could have provided a wider variety of data. In relation to this, the fact that the interviewer was female was a limitation in that it may have influenced different responses from the interviewees, depending on their gender. Another limitation was that those who were interviewed later in the week may also have been influenced by the persona of the interviewer. Social interaction had occurred during the time spent in the station which could have influenced the interviewees' answers (e.g., they may have been more likely to say what they interpreted as being what the interviewer wanted to hear).

A final limitation was the small number of women sport broadcasters interviewed. Such a number means that generalization of the results to all women radio journalists should be done with extreme caution.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Canada is a very large country with a relatively small population which demands effective and efficient internal communication reflective of its multi-cultural heritage and society (Bird, 1988). In light of this, the media forms an integral part of Canadians' lives right across the country. Sport media and sport practices also play an ever increasing role in Canadian life. Hence, participation in a pastime which is defined and perpetuated by traditionally male values is a concern because it is restrictive to certain groups (i.e., women, natives, persons with a physical or mental handicaps).

Bryson (1987), Clarke and Clarke (1982), and Willis (1982) have contended that women's sporting experiences in sport are constrained by the existing social frames. These structured experiences are kept within the boundaries of the patriarchal culture. Since the dominant ideology has been created and maintained so successfully within society, these experiences are not questioned. By cultural definition, sport becomes an avenue through which power is extended, hence participation and success in sport are evaluated according to male standards. Bryson has identified four concrete processes by which this dominance is constructed and reconstructed through sport: definition, direct control, ignorance and trivialization. The systematic exclusion of women from many activities serves to reinforce the fact that sport is a masculinity-validating experience (Messner, 1990).

The following review of literature progresses from a brief look at the composition of the management of sport in Canada, to an examination of the relationship between the media and sport. By demonstrating how sport is

represented according to the dominant ideology in the media, it becomes apparent that the time has come to go beyond an analysis of what we see, to an analysis of the "who" and "how" of the production and reproduction of the value system through media sport. Since an understanding of the internal dynamics is necessary to analyze the working environment of a radio broadcasting station, occupational segregation in the workforce forms the next part of the review. From there, the focus is narrowed to sport journalism, where it is evidenced that radio sport broadcasting is most definitely in need of more research.

Women and the Administration of Sport

The administration of sport has been shown by Macintosh and Beamish (1987, c.f. Minister's Task Force Report, 1992), Whitson and Macintosh (1989) and Hall, Cullen and Slack (1989) to be dominated by men in decision making positions and women in clerical positions. Reasons for these trends ranged from the lack of interest by women, family commitments, the old boys network, to the social structure of Canada. Coaching, another influential profession in determining women's sport participation, also shows great discrepancies between the number of women and men coaches (Acosta & Carpenter, 1985a, b; Campbell, 1990; Kane & Stangl, 1991; Knoppers, 1992; Parkhouse, 1990). Researchers have suggested that the main cause of women failing to access the coaching profession was the success of the old boys' network.

With respect to Canada, Theberge (1988) has claimed that coaching is dominated by part-time positions, positions that are not well defined and tend to be poorly funded or voluntary. In the general workforce, women predominate in the part-time sector, for example in 1990 they constituted 70% of the part-time workforce (Statistics Canada, 1994). Duffy and Pupo (1992) found that by 1992 one in seven Canadian workers was employed part-time, women still filling over

70% of these jobs. Duffy and Pupo have proposed that the part-time phenomenon can be theorized as an indication of the liberation of women, who wish to seek manageable part-time work. Alternatively, it may be seen as a reflection of the further entrenchment of women in positions characterized by economic, opportunity and power limitations. This provides an interesting paradox because coaching is filled with voluntary or part-time work.

Theberge (1988) has reported that discriminating practices operating to restrain women from accessing the mobility tracks were extremely subtle. She also has found that the majority of female athletes interviewed did not have a feminist perspective, so were unlikely to be aware of processes occurring to maintain masculine hegemony. The coaches did not recognize the need for structural change, but believed that if they work hard, they would be rewarded (which can be true, but not very often in this instance). The same illusions were unearthed the following year by Hall and her colleagues (1989) in their study of women in leadership positions in sport in Canada. Theberge has further argued that if more women made it to the top positions in coaching, the face of sport would significantly alter. It could be argued that this would happen if more women were aware of what had to be done to improve the situation for women and if more of them thought that more opportunity had to be made available for women. The Minister's Task Force Report (1992), however, has shown that only 34% of coaches taking NCCP courses are women, and that women occupy just five percent of national team head coaching positions and 18% of all national coaching staff positions.

Barriers shown to restrict women's access to, and progression through the ranks in sport administration include lack of role models, lack of time, informal recruitment, denial of access to upper management, lack of positions available, and unattractiveness of positions due to the large number of men (Hall et al.,

1989; Minister's Task Force Report, 1992; Whitson & Macintosh, 1989). The link between women's lack of representation in coaching, administration and radio sport journalism revolves around the fact that gaining control over their own sporting domain is imperative to empower women in sport. The whole picture must be analyzed in order to understand the cultural processes serving to perpetuate the current restrictions.

Women, Sport and the Media

Pick up a newspaper, flip on the television, turn on the radio, gaze through magazine racks, everywhere the sport craze is evident in North America. This phenomenon has been growing steadily over the past few decades and, in recent years, has been the cause of a great deal of research (Birrell & Loy, 1981; Parente, 1977; Smith, 1976). The economic relationship, however, between television and sport has remained the main focus of research through the years. Other issues investigated have included the income of television rights for professional teams, the subsequent changing influence on the very nature of sports, the effects of advertising on sport coverage, the effects of sport representation (or misrepresentation) on the audience, and more recently, the gendered nature of sports presented to us by the media.

Right from the inception of the media-sport powerhouse, events covered have tended to be male dominated, thus serving to exclude women from the experience (e.g., hockey, football, soccer, rugby). Such a unidirectional coverage has allowed the development of a powerful cultural agency which Clarke and Clarke (1982), Hargreaves (1986), Kane and Disch (1992), and Willis (1982) have shown to have the ability to legitimize and naturalize gender differentiation and identity. Similarly, the male power structure has been shown to be reproduced throughout contemporary society and institutionalized by the media

(Bryson, 1990; Clarke & Clarke, 1982; Hall, 1988; Hall et al., 1991; Hargreaves, 1982; Kane & Disch, 1992; Messner & Sabo, 1990; Whitson, 1990; Willis, 1982).

The sport media complex has been at the center of a great deal of research over the last few decades (Birrell & Loy, 1981; Blinde, Greendorfer & Shanker, 1991; Duncan, 1990; Duncan & Hasbrook, 1986; Fasting & Tengen, 1983; Hall et al., 1991; Hesling, 1986; Hilliard, 1984, 1992; Jolliffe, 1989; Kane, 1988; Klein, 1988; Lee, 1992; Reid & Soley, 1979; Sage, 1987; Smith, 1976; Theberge, 1991; Theberge & Cronk, 1986; Valgeirsson & Snyder, 1986). Studies conducted on media representation of athletes have predominantly used the print medium and have identified empowering and disempowering images for males and females. Sage has noted how potent the media is for perpetuation of the hegemonic ideology, since it is interwoven with most peoples lives in a manner such that the communicated messages are rarely questioned. One of the methods for doing this has been the attribution of greater importance to male success and characteristics through a differential distribution of media space, terminology, and photographic representation for men and women (Anderson, 1983; Blinde et al., 1991; Duncan & Hasbrook, 1988; Gelinas & Theberge, 1986; Lee, 1992; Theberge & Cronk, 1986; Valgeirsson & Snyder, 1986). Klein (1988) has argued that the media act as a "normalizing agent" which legitimizes the marginalization of women's achievements and attributes this treatment to the natural differences between men and women's performances.

A further technique used to relegate women to the peripheral zones of coverage is by reference to the family, as illustrated by Hilliard (1984, 1992). Hilliard (1992) has demonstrated how Olympic media coverage of a male cross country skier elevated him to the status of hero by contrasting a glowing account of his success with his female counterpart's emotional traumas. This preoccupation with women's extra-sporting activities in media coverage extends

to traditional stereotypes of male and female athletes, as a further method of worshipping men and confirming patriarchal superiority (Blinde & et al., 1991; Lee, 1992; Signorelli, 1989). Trivialization is an alternative mechanism used by the media in order to reduce women's sporting achievements in relation to their male counterparts. Trivialization occurs, then, either by degrading female athletes' bodies or allowing the camera to do a similar job (Duncan, 1990; Duncan & Hasbrook, 1988; Hilliard, 1984; MacNeill, 1988). MacNeill (1988) has demonstrated in her research on work out programmes, how the camera angle, frame of body and body language give strong sexual connotations, which reduce athletes to sex objects. Similarly, Duncan has maintained that sport photographs of Olympic athletes reinforces physical differences between women and men, building on relationships which confirm patriarchal superiority. Blinde and her colleagues and Duncan and Hasbrook have revealed how the differences in commentary between men and women's basketball, surfing and marathons also reflect dominant patriarchal values, with the men's games providing the reference point for the women's games.

Croteau and Hoynes (1992) have presented the idea that media coverage of sport is dominated by "a combination of two realities", one of numerical superiority and one of the preponderance of the male value and belief system. Since the evidence presented above confirms this, it is necessary to identify the effects this can have on the audience.

Carragee (1990) has argued that the media present a frame of reference which viewers can use to read the messages presented Carragee, however, has also maintained that audiences can have their own framework and interpret information in a way that makes their daily routine meaningful. Much research has focussed on the polysemic text; a text which has the ability to carry multiple meanings because of the inter-textual relationships (Condit, 1989). In fact, most

of the research has focussed on the television, where the dynamics of acceptance and resistance between viewers and what they see/hear has been acknowledged in varying degrees (Atwood, Zahn & Webber, 1986; Duncan, 1990; Duncan & Brummett, 1991; Gantz & Wenner, 1991; Garrison, 1989; Roberts & Bachen, 1981; Zemach & Cohen, 1986; Ziegler & White, 1990).

Pfau (1990) has indicated that the radio maintains has the ability, like other media, to influence audiences, but that since it only appeals to one sense, it lacks the impact of television. There is a lack of research on audience's interpretation of radio programmes, but we can hypothesize that every viewer has the ability to resist the preferred reading of programmes and instead create his or her own symbolic interpretive framework.

More specific to sport, the ideas presented by Duncan and Brummett (1991) regarding gender differences in empowerment by alternative interpretation of sport coverage suggest that polysemy occurs. This means that there is a shared understanding of a text, however, there is so much disagreement about the underlying values that different interpretations result. Since Pfau's (1990) study has shown that there are similarities between television and radio texts, it can only be suggested that different interpretations of radio sport broadcasting may occur. Furthermore, in sport radio broadcasting, the move has been away from play by play accounts to a more issue-oriented approach. This suggests that listeners may have more opportunity to resist the dominant reading and construct their own.

It has been briefly shown how sport and the media are male dominated, and how they continually elevate male achievements as the standard by which other groups are measured. This phenomenon has been particularly disempowering for women. In order to better understand the underlying causes of this phenomenon we need to examine what is occurring in the recording

studios. If the patterns are occurring on the sporting fields and offices, they probably also occur within the broadcasting stations. To better understand such processes we need to look at the body of literature on occupational segregation. This is the topic of the next section.

Occupational Segregation

The body of literature on occupational segregation traces the segregation of opportunities from the family to the workplace, and offers some information specific to the fields of journalism and sport journalism.

Segregation in the Workplace

Many authors have made the link between the fundamentally different opportunities for men and women in the workforce and their position in the home (Giddens, 1989; Hearn & Parkin, 1987; Stacey, 1986). One pivotal factor in this discussion has been the economic distribution: historically the woman having been reliant on the man for funds. The increase in recent years in single parent families, lesbian and gay families, divorces, and people not marrying has caused such theories to be reconfigured. Nevertheless, Reskin and Roos (1990) and Marini and Brinton (1984) have argued that the phenomenon of segregation in the workforce dates right back to the origin of work. Reskin and Hartmann (1986) have shown that sex segregation has been a pretty stable phenomenon, which they claim is surprising given the huge changes in the employment structure and economy which have occurred over the years. One change has taken place, however, and it is that the number of women in the workforce has steadily increased, particularly in the last 20 years. Statistics Canada (1993) document that the percentage of women in the workforce has risen from 33 in 1970 to 39 in 1990.

Since Statistics Canada (1990) has claimed that educational levels influence earnings, the increasing number of women in higher education would suggest increasing chances for women. The statistics show though, that of those individuals with degrees, women still earn only 70% of the earnings of men. Statistics Canada (1994) indicates that the ratio of men's to women's earnings varies greatly by age, for instance in the 15-24 age group, women's earnings are 83.7% of men's; in the 55-64 age group, women's earnings are 60.6% of men's; among individuals who have never married, women's earnings are 91.3% of men; and among married individuals, women's earnings are 63.1% of their male counterparts. It has also been shown that women, like men, will now spend most of their adult life in full time work which is why, as Reskin and Hartmann (1984) have argued, the consequences of occupational and job segregation are so significant.

The continuing perception that a women's place is in the home has resulted in a lack of power to command a substantial income, which subsequently has maintained women's economic dependence on men. Kanter (1977), Klegon (1976), Knoppers, Meyer, Ewing and Forrest (1991), Marini and Brinton (1984), and Walby (1988) have listed other factors reported to retain women in lower economic positions, for example, their concentration in lower paid occupations with shorter career structure, their limited access to resources, and their lack of autonomy in decision making. This is confirmed by Statistics Canada (1993) for 1990, which show women concentrated in non-unionized, service industries and lower paying occupations. In 1994, women comprised 76% of clerical staff, 57% of the teaching occupations, while men were more evenly distributed and had higher representation in the better paying occupations (Statistics Canada, 1994)

Horizontal and vertical patterns of segregation have been identified by Bilton, Bonnett, Jones, Stanworth, Sheard and Webster (1988), and by Walby

(1988). Horizontal segregation is when men and women have qualitatively different jobs, (e.g. when among reporters, men get political news while women get fashion news). Vertical segregation is occurring when men and women have quantitatively different jobs (e.g., when men are managers while women are receptionists or cleaners). Armstrong and Armstrong (1992) have verified such patterns with a study of gender differences in the professions in Canada. It is clear from their study that within and among professions there are significant differences in power and rewards related to gender. Forty four percent of male professionals were involved in medicine, academic work, law or engineering, whereas only 14% of female professionals were. The remaining 86% of professional women were concentrated in teaching or social work (61%). They also discovered that a woman doctor or lawyer was more likely to deal respectively with general practice and the family. By being disproportionately represented in the lower echelons of the professions, women have little autonomy, decision making power or authority. Armstrong and Armstrong have also pointed out that women have less chances to define issues, influence legislation or change the direction of trade union struggles.

Reskin and Hartmann (1984) have suggested that sex segregation does change historically; for instance, since World War II, women have claimed the jobs of bank teller, insurance adjuster and real estate agent. What is important to realize is that occupations may change, but as Reskin and Hartmann have shown, sex segregation continues. Reskin and Hartmann (1986) have discussed how the process of segregation can be social, physical, restrictive, and voluntary or enforced. They have argued that segregation in the workplace is a combination of voluntary and restrictive practices.

Reskin (1984) has identified three ways in which women are segregated in relation to work . The first concerns traditional norms and values, which through

socialization and other processes, result in men working in the public sphere of paid work and women in the private sphere of the home. The second concerns the way in which some work environments are purely one-sex settings, (e.g., male-dominated spaces such as the steel, coal, fish, horticultural, logging and construction industries). The last way concerns functional segregation, which operates by way of men and women performing different jobs within the same setting. This segregation is perpetuated by differential opportunities to promotion, pay and power, and the authority structure is such that it restricts the upward mobility of women. Functional separation ensures the maintenance of physical segregation, and they become interdependent.

Reskin (1984) has highlighted the consequences of sex segregation: stigmatization, differentiation and separation, which can lead to differential treatment and experiences for those involved. It has also been shown how women are relegated to the poorly paying positions (Reskin, 1984; Reskin & Hartmann, 1986) and Reskin and Hartmann (1984) have identified wage differences as another consequence of sex segregation. Other consequences have been suggested: differential in retirement income, susceptibility to unemployment, on the job training, occupational and status mobility, occupational prestige, job stress and finally power and work in the family (Reskin & Hartmann, 1986).

It is very clear that sex segregation has grave consequences for men and women, contributing to lower wages for women, and subsequent loss of employment benefits. Reskin and Hartmann (1986) have contended that there is also a possibility that it has serious effects on household division of labour and subordination of women in the wider society. Reskin (1984) has argued that sex segregation is only one form of unequal opportunity in the workplace (others being sexual harassment and unequal fringe benefits, etc.), but that it plays the

most important role because of the way men can maintain dominance over women as a result of this process.

In addition to occupational sex segregation, there is job segregation, as presented by Reskin and Hartmann (1984), and Reskin and Roos (1990). Occupationally-judged measures of segregation can under-estimate the true amount of segregation: for example, in the service industry, men are more likely to work as waiters in expensive restaurants where the wages and tips are higher than in cafes where women are more likely to work. Reskin and Hartmann have demonstrated how the amount of segregation can be underestimated in censuses by examining the Dictionary of Occupational Titles (United States). This index lists 12 thousand unique job titles, representing an aggregate of one million jobs done by 15 million people. Hence the 500 occupations classified by the census involves amazing amounts of aggregation. This information, though being slightly dated, is relevant since the same processes are still being used today.

The media is another industry where this occurs: for instance, in journalism, where women are concentrated in positions with little to no decision making power. Reskin and Hartmann have thus recommended that wherever possible the focus be on jobs rather than occupations.

Segregation in Journalism

As mentioned above, one area of employment which has been dominated by men is that of the media. In 1988, women constituted 35% of the workforce in television and film (Anderson, Kershaw, McCallum & Pregel, 1990), dominating positions such as production secretary, script supervisor, art department trainee, make-up artist and hairdresser. Research conducted on journalism has tended to focus on news programmes or newspapers (Pollard, 1987; Rakow & Kranich,

1991; Reep & Dambrot, 1988; Schultz-Brooks, 1988; Soderlund, Surlin & Romanow, 1989; Stone, 1988; Ziegler & White, 1990). Schultz-Brooks has described how women are slowly moving from the soft ghettos in journalism, (e.g., food, garden or fashion sections) to the news departments. There has been evidence of horizontal segregation, where women are confined to light, unrevered coverage which brings about poor pay, opportunities and little or no promotion. An identical movement has been identified by Stone (1988), that is, women increasing in number in rank and file jobs of broadcast news, although failing to penetrate management.

Schultz-Brooks (1988) has argued that the top management positions in the media corporations remain as closed to women as they were 20 years ago. Pollard (1987) has investigated the professionalization of journalism as a barrier to access. The reasons given by management against professionalization included the fact that it would make qualifications mandatory, which editors felt would give newcomers unrealistic expectations of their achievements in short time periods, and the fact that legal awareness would be heightened, thus journalists would be cognizant of the extent of their rights. Pollard also stated that editors preferred young workers since they would become more easily socialized in office ethos. A factor not covered by Pollard relates to gender. The higher number of female graduates from journalism schools theoretically means that professionalization would open more doors for them, something which, one can argue, would upset the old boys network. In this regard, data provided by nine out of the 14 Canadian universities offering under-graduate and graduate journalism show that in 1992, 65% of those awarded a degree were female; while at the graduate level, women comprised 56% of the graduates.

Kelly (1989) has demonstrated that women made up 25% of the management in the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) in 1989, but that

they were congregated in the bottom two out of nine levels. Pollard (1987), Reep and Dambrot (1988), Schultz-Brooks (1988), Stone (1988), and Ziegler and White (1990) have identified that limitation of women's access to certain positions probably occurs because of the following processes within the organization: lateral moves of women labelled as promotion, differing salary scales obtained by the manipulation of men's number of years of experience, inflation of the male job status, isolated existence of successful professional women, presence of harassment, and discrimination. Schultz-Brooks has also discovered a mechanism used to isolate women in their quest for job improvements: the victimization of male sympathizers.

The variation between public and private stations treatment of gender representation has been another avenue for research. Soderlund and her colleagues (1989) have specifically studied differences between the roles of anchor and reporter and the nature of the work assigned to them. Men were found to dominate anchor positions in private networks, while more women were present in the public networks. The author suggested that this strategy of the public network can be seen as part of a plan to fulfil State regulations. Soderlund and her colleagues proposed that research should tend towards private networks hiring strategies, although this seems restrictive since dynamics occurring within public stations also need to be investigated. Public networks deserve much research attention, especially in terms of understanding processes occurring beyond the placement of token women in visible positions. There is, indeed, a very large number of untapped questions regarding the hierarchical organizational structure of journalism as a whole.

Segregation in Sports Journalism

From the studies available on journalism it is possible to see that it is still very much a male dominated sector, however, one sub-sector is even more male-orientated, that of sport journalism. Eberhard and Myers (1988) have investigated the position of women in the sports departments in the United States' large newspapers (defined as having a circulation over 10,000). Within the personnel 96% of the women possessed a college degree and 17% a Master's degree, but many of them felt they were employed purely as a token and attitudinal discrimination was experienced by 60% them. Other forms of discrimination experienced were "denial of access to locker-rooms, sexual harassment, condescension and being threatened physically" (Eberhard & Myers, 1988, p. 598). Eberhard and Myers also found that women felt they were attempting to break through a double barrier, that of journalism and sport.

Garrison and Salwen (1989) profiled sport journalism and the attempt to professionalize the trade. A survey of members of the Association of Press Sports Editors (APSE) indicated a distrust in such a process since a formalization of the requirements would change the structure of the sports room. They saw this as a change towards the threatening of jobs and the limiting of the pool of journalists. An alternative hypothesis is that there may be a fear that women would have more access if this was to occur, a process parallel to that found by Pollard (1987) in news journalism. Indeed, women would have more right to access because of their higher qualifications (Beasley, 1987). Another consideration, however, is that on-the-job experience is imperative which is another method of maintaining "legitimate" barriers around the male bastion, because this has been traditionally denied to women as a result of the access problem (Garrison & Salwen, 1989).

From the point of view of the reporter, Fitzhenry (1990) has stated that sport journalism remains as one of the "last bastions of male supremacy" (p. 35). The low number of women in the field has been explained by Fitzhenry in the following ways. First because women are excluded from sport during journalism training, they rarely develop an interest or become immersed in the male bonding procedure underlying sport.. Second, women have a low perception of sport journalism, most likely as a result of there being very few or no role models. The thought of working in a male environment does not encourage women to join that sector. A further development of this, is that when women are in the field, they have to over prove their ability to be a reporter and are challenged a great deal more than their male counterparts. Third, the press boxes are seen as a "male domain". Finally, the concept of maintaining a professional and private life provides women with more problems than men because of home responsibilities. Shift work and week-end work is common, but if a woman has a young family, she is more likely to be required to spend that time at home. Additionally, her safety is at risk when she is required to leave the workplace at unusual times of the night.

Eberhard and Myers (1988), Fitzhenry (1990), McManamon (1985) and Watson-Rouslin (1987) have all investigated the pressures on journalists in sport. Watson-Rouslin has suggested that a female in a male-dominated can not rely on her male colleagues for support, because as a woman she is very much on her own. This author has also argued that the establishment of one's own beat is the hardest part of the job, because once this is acknowledged, the journalist becomes known and slowly accepted by co-workers and athletes. Watson-Rouslin has also documented how women have to prove that they can write and report better than men in order to retain their jobs. Scheslinger (1987) has analyzed this problem in news, stating that women have to be at least 25% better

than men in order to survive. The woman sportswriter also continually faces a dilemma with regard to discrimination and other forms of harassment, since too many complaints would result in a move to a less prestigious beat and the label of a trouble maker (McManamon, 1985; Watson-Rouslin, 1987).

McManamon (1985) discussed the issue of access to the locker room. She found that some players left the locker room to speak to the female journalists but that this would occur after the other reporters had finished, so that more often than not players were tired and uncooperative. The barrier to the locker room was also found to restrict the female reporters' access to good stories, promotion and other opportunities (Watson-Rouslin, 1987). McManamon had also shown how in the last decade there has been a hodge podge of shifting and conflicting policies concerning access. Furthermore, he has contended that someone's rights are being stepped on in the sense that it is a battle between men and women reporters and that one party will always loose. Watson-Rouslin and Eberhard and Myers (1988) have stated that in any confrontation women are the ones who loose, and that they are more likely to move to general or feature sections.

Kane and Disch (1992) have investigated the reproduction of male power in the locker room by analyzing the now infamous Lisa Olsen incident. Kane and Disch have highlighted how women going into the locker room are challenging established relations of gender difference, hierarchy and power. The crux appears to be that Olsen had power, which was perceived by the athletes as a major problem. The first problem was that by being present she was preventing the usual occurrences of male bonding and contesting the implicit sexual hierarchy. On the second instance, Olsen possessed power as a sportswriter who was to write critically about what she saw. Kane and Disch have maintained

that the reactions which occurred in the locker room were a result of the men feeling threatened, their power being diminished.

These types of experiences associated to sport departments contribute towards maintaining them as all male domains. Reporters, however, are only a small part of the staff within stations and reporters' experiences could be the result of other processes. This is why it is important to understand the dynamics of the entire organization in order to reveal barriers operating at any level. The focus has been on reporters alone so that it is necessary to move the focus to a wider berth. Attitudes, perceptions and value systems of the staff need to be analyzed to provide us with a better understanding of the phenomenon.

Conclusion

The research reviewed has shown just how sport is a man's world. In administration, organization and coaching where the hierarchy is structured by gender, the reasons posited, by the authors referred to, for the gender differences include women's family responsibilities, the old boys' network, women's lack of qualifications by women, conscious and unconscious discrimination, women's unwillingness to move, and the lack of women to apply for positions. The review of literature also provided evidence about the reciprocal nature of the relationship between sport and the media. Discussed was the ability of the media to limit our experiences by a kind of coverage whereby sport comes to mean muscular and male. Studies on media representation of sporting events and athletes have shown the greater importance attributed to male activities by space allotted to script and photographs. It also became clear how gender specific terminology is utilized and how male sports are used as the marking point for female sports. In the media, references to the family as a support system and to emotional problems in relation to women tend to reduce

them to their status as a female rather than an athlete. Research indicated that, in relation to women athletes, commentators talk about their other activities, for example, that they were valedictorian or home coming queen, to almost confirm that they are women, while athleticism is the only topic for male athletes.

Research on the visual coverage of sports showed that different camera angles are used for men and women and that the commentary on women's sports usually serve to defend women's involvement. The impact of televisual representations on large audiences was discussed as well as the ability of the audience to interpret them. A great deal of this research has been descriptive in nature and has failed to develop a theoretical element. Research on media coverage has rarely gone beyond the reporting to discover the underlying dynamics. Questions regarding the future of media sport and alternative coverage methods have not been addressed either.

The last section of the review focused on gender and occupational segregation in the family, the general workforce, journalism and sport journalism. The family is a key to segregation since from the beginning of time the woman has been the care giver, a fact which has influenced the kind of work women do today. Horizontal and vertical segregation were shown to occur in the workforce and particularly within jobs, in various occupations. Explanations posited for this phenomenon have relied on structural or human capital kinds of theories, which fail to account for all the factors involved.

Journalism, as an occupation, showed similar patterns of employment. The barriers blocking women's entrance mainly appear to be caused by men seeing women as a threat to their protected domains of power. The unattractiveness of working in a male dominated area, lateral moves, harassment and discrimination, were reasons put forward as limiting women's progress in the news media. A

further disadvantage to women was the victimization of males attempting to help them.

Finally the review turned to employment in the sport media, an area perceived by women as one of the greatest male bastions. The research has mainly been on problems associated with females gaining access to the locker room: harassment, denial of access to the locker room and to work experience, condescension, and lack of support. Little research has focussed on the dynamics occurring behind the scenes, and there has been no attempt to theoretically explain these phenomena. The present study, then, should help to fill some of the identified voids in the literature. The idea, here, was to extend questions beyond the journalists themselves to the internal dynamics occurring in a station. Using the dual queue theory as a micro-perspective and Feminist Cultural Studies as a macro-perspective to frame the study an attempt was made to answer some of the questions regarding occupational segregation in radio sport journalism, i.e.: Are there more men than women in radio sport journalism (horizontal segregation)? In radio sport journalism are there more men than women in positions such as reporter, presenter, producer, technician, and more women than men in positions such as receptionist, editorial assistant and administration (vertical segregation)? Have men been in broadcasting positions longer than women? Do men hold a majority of the decision making positions? Are men more likely than women to be at the top of the labour queue for radio sport journalism? Do women rank radio sports jobs lower in the job queue than men? Do women rank radio sports jobs lower in the job queue than other broadcasting jobs?

CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The following section addresses the theoretical framework used for this study, which is composed of a micro-perspective and a macro-perspective. The micro perspective chosen is the dual queue theory, as outlined by Reskin and Roos (1990), which provides a mechanism to try and explain movements within and between jobs in radio sport journalism and the perpetuation of such movements. On the macro level, feminist cultural studies has been adopted to provide a wholesome theory grounded in British cultural studies and socialist feminist theory. The key concepts from feminist cultural studies which will be discussed include hegemony, power, culture, oppression and ideology. Both perspectives should contribute to the enhancement of our understanding of the dynamics occurring in radio sport journalism to cause occupational segregation.

A Micro Perspective: The Dual Queue Theory

To reveal the subtle causes of job segregation occurring in radio sport journalism, Reskin and Roos' (1990) dual queue theory was adopted. Reskin and Roos (1990) have adapted Thurow's (1969) queuing theory and suggested a model of sex composition of jobs in terms of two queues: the labour queue and the job queue. The labour queue is the employers' ranking of the workers by suitability for particular jobs, while the job queue is the ranking of jobs by desirability by the employees. This model was employed to analyze job segregation in radio sport journalism in one radio station in Canada; examining how the workers get ranked for jobs by employers (labour queue) and how they themselves perceive the importance of particular jobs (job queue).

Thurow's (1969) original work was based on the experiences of Blacks in the work force in the United States. He realized that the market was actually composed of a series of components which caused the market operants to work. It was Strober (1984) that recognized the presence of a job queue in her research, although she did not label it as such: Reskin and Hartmann (1986) adopted this idea later.

The dynamics operating in the workplace are the job and labour queues. Employers will hire people who they perceive to be high in the labour queue and naturally laborers will accept their best offer. Thus, the best job goes to the best worker (in the eyes of the employer), and the jobs lower in the queue will go to the remaining workers. As a result, workers ranked at the bottom may not have a job, and the jobs perceived to be the worst will not be applied for, unless in times of severe restrictions, such as a recession (Thurow, 1972).

The Labour Queue

The factors affecting the shape of the queue work for both the labour and job queues. The shape of the labour queue depends on the number of prospective workers in each sub-group. Classical economists explain that the manner in which employees are ranked in the labour queue by their employers depends on productivity and labour costs. Fluctuation in the market results in an uneven match between the labour and job queues. For example, a recession enables an employer to become extremely specific on future workers, and workers less choosy about their work. In times of war, however, the restriction of male workers results in more openings so women have more choices, and employers less.

Such a queueing process has implications not only for hiring but for firing as well. It is much more likely that an individual low in the labour queue will lose

his or her job first. It is also possible that if jobs are made available in occupations classified as undesirable before, then lower members of the queue may be displaced. For example, consider coaching in female sports: in the United States when women's teams were low profile and poorly supported, a majority of the coaches were women. Since, however, funding has been made available, salaries have increased and the status associated with the job has risen, men have tended to displace women from these positions (Reskin & Hartmann, 1986). Such a process shows how the level of sex segregation in the labour force may transform the labour queue into a "gender queue.". Other demographics may impact the labour queue. For instance Strober (1984) has shown how traditionally, employers gave white men first choice for most jobs. Other important factors in employers ratings of employees concern marital and parental status, particularly with regard to women (Strober, 1984).

Strober (1984), Reskin and Hartmann (1986), and Reskin and Roos (1990) have shown that most businesses will place greater emphasis on hiring men, which results in the male work force increasing faster. As the male work force grows in size, so do opportunities for promotion and training, subsequently increasing the difference in skill level between men and women thus effectively reducing the competition from women for the same jobs. Other factors which influence this decision on the part of the employers include assumptions about women's performance and marital or parental status.

Reskin (1984) has claimed that there are five main factors which cause the labour queue to become a gender queue. Firstly, sex categorization results in employers becoming prejudiced about the appropriate work for women and men. Secondly, the requirement for productivity results in employers reducing prerequisites to education, experience and group membership, which favour men. Thirdly, the concern that introducing women to a male workplace will

decrease productivity and upset male workers serves to prevent such decisions. Fourthly, if the introduction of women can reduce considerably a firm's expenditure on wages, then firms are likely to do this, but if labour is only a small consideration of the budget, wage savings are ignored and the most desirable employees, that is men, are placed at the top of the labour queue. Finally, Reskin has argued that employers just "naturally" favour men, for reasons such as maintaining the internal and external privileges available to men, while relegating women to a subordinate, non-threatening role. The gender hierarchy is thus safeguarded in the public sphere and consequently in the private too. The dual queue theory accounts for dynamics of the labour queue but also considers processes occurring in association to the job queue. This is the topic of the next section.

The Job Queue

A queue, by definition, is made up of ordered components, the order having consequences for the fractions involved. Reskin and Roos (1990) have perceived queues as characterized by certain structural properties, the ordering of workers, the relative sizes, sub-groups, occupations and finally whether elements overlap or not. Reskin and Roos have claimed that it is changes in these properties which result in redistribution in occupations.

The job queue is the employees' ranking of jobs. The ranking in the job queue is an expression of their power to reject jobs based on criteria such as pay, social standing, security, working environment, interest, promotion prospects and so on. Different groups of people will attach various levels of importance to different factors. As noted above, the number of elements will fix the shape of the queue, the shape being affected by the kind and number of jobs available at each level. The order of the job queue can remain constant, while the shape can

change. This variation will affect the likelihood of the worker gaining access to that particular job.

The job queue can be reshaped according to trends in the economy and job market, for example, an increase in male occupations may make it open to women if the supply of preferred employees (men) is exhausted (Reskin & Roos, 1990). One mechanism Reskin and Roos have shown to be used to maintain a male domain and resist to change is to raise wages to attract more men. The alternative, however, is not to change wages so women are then interested and the queue alters. Reskin and Roos have discussed how this happened in quick turn over jobs like bar tending, book keeping, real estate sales and insurance. In contrast, in fields such as law and medicine workers tend to stay for life so women's inroads have been much slower. Masculinization of an industry can also occur, when wages rise and attract men, pushing women to peripheral roles. Cockburn (1988) has documented this occurring in England where men took women's jobs in radiography when pay and conditions improved.

The job queue, then, describes the process through which workers rank jobs in relation to the importance of a number of characteristics, the latter being particular to each individual. Past experiences affect future decisions on occupations, and ranking occurs according to established preferences and the likelihood of achieving specific goals.

The dual queue theory was used in the present study to investigate occupational segregation in radio sport journalism. The various processes associated with occupational segregation can be further explained in the context of our North American society. For that purpose a macro-perspective was chosen. This is the topic of the following section.

A Macro Perspective: Feminist Cultural Studies

Feminist cultural studies is a theory which allows for a wholesome analysis of society's social and cultural processes, with particular interest in furthering an understanding of the relationships between power and oppression. The following paragraphs focus on the main concepts of British cultural studies and socialist feminist theory, which are at the base of feminist cultural studies.

British Cultural Studies

The concepts central to British cultural studies are culture, hegemony, ideology and power, all of which have been taken from a number of difference sources. With British cultural studies a new interpretation was developed for culture, one which was no longer confined to texts or artefacts. The questions regarding the naturalization of the dominant ideology, resultant struggles and, resistance were brought to the forefront for examination. The move to define culture in terms of practice and in the correct historical context meant the marginalization and decentralization of text analysis. This did not mean texts were excluded as materials, but they were included as less important evidence. The identification of cultural practices as a site of struggles meant that the deterministic Marxist view of society, a dialectic between the superstructure and base, was no longer sufficient. The confinement of societal processes to the concepts of base and superstructure, with no interaction except with regard to access to the mode of production, was now seen as far too reductionistic. Culture was identified as being an element of its own instead of being seen as a result of other forces. Hence, the move was away from Marx's perception of totality (where the parts reflect the total) to a notion of totality as complex in nature, composed of multi-directional and influential forces. This resulted in

cultural studies becoming concerned with the interdependence of social practices.

Structural linguistics popularized the study of culture and shifted the focus of analysis to the "how" of a cultural system instead of the "what" (Hall, 1980). The critique tended towards the "decentring" of cultural processes. Language was perceived to provide the key through which all cultural practices could be analyzed. Structuralism contributed to a significant shift in cultural studies by removing the individual from the center of analysis. Culture was believed to guide and reproduce cultural forms through the unconscious, a concept that was close to that of ideology. British cultural studies were influenced by Lévi-Strauss, a structuralist, who concentrated on the internal dynamics of culture, seeing its perpetuation occurring by way of the human mind.

Althusser (1977), a prominent Marxist structuralist, directed a large part of the early debate concerning cultural studies. The most important concept taken from his work was that of "ideology," which was seen as the representations through which human beings experience and understand their living conditions (this idea being relatively close to Lévi-Strauss' notion of culture). Althusser perceived ideology to be perpetuated and legitimated through Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs), so it became necessary to focus the analysis on such institutions. He also identified ideologies operating at the individual level and adopted the term "interpellation" to explain this process. Interpellation refers to the presence of ideology in the person. It is how, through the individual's consciousness, values and norms become an unquestioned part of that person's existence. Individuals do not realize that their actions and thoughts are structured by the ideologies in society.

Hall (1980) believed that Althusser also made two other significant contributions to cultural studies. First, Althusser questioned the deterministic

view of the economic base with regard to the last instance. The last instance refers to Marx's topography, whereby events occurring in the superstructure were always going to be reliant in the last instance on the determination of the economic base. The second contribution by Althusser was that he criticized the simplistic relationship previously outlined between class and cultural formations and practices. He argued that classes were constituted of all practices, political, ideological and economical, which had dynamic ongoing relationships. From this analysis, class was not to be reduced in the sense of having only one ideology or culture. Althusser's work allowed for the relation of ideologies to all the apparatuses operating in society to produce structural formations such as the church and family.

Another theorist whose work is of central importance to the development of British cultural studies is Antonio Gramsci. A commonality between his theorizing and that of the structuralists was the move away from reducing class analysis to an economic base. Gramsci identified the central debate as the understanding of the base-superstructure dialectic, particularly when pursuing social historical analysis. Gramsci introduced the term "hegemony" which played a germinal part in cultural studies. Hegemony is the term given to the perpetuation and legitimation throughout society of the belief system which instills unconscious submission to the ruling ideology. A focus on hegemony factors in the superstructure such as domination and power; concrete tools for achieving political ends. Gramsci saw the proletariat as having power to resist hegemony through class consciousness, and subsequently, the ability to unite in revolution (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). Hegemony, then, is never total as there are ongoing conflicts, struggles and contests. Gramsci's ideas can be used to explain cultural practices and only class practices. Gramsci, in fact, used a social classification involving groups rather than classes, a move away from Marxist economic

reductionism. As Hall (1980) has shown, Gramsci's concept of hegemony is extremely relevant to today's advanced capitalist society. Hegemony applies to a complex society in which popular culture is dependent on the masses and where social change involves a complex struggle of economic, ideological and political forces.

Foucault was also an influential theorist in the development of cultural studies. A number of his analyses focus on the concept of power and how it acts on individuals, making them subjects. Foucault (1979) argued that his research actually centered on the subject, analyzing the complex power relations which surround humans. He was interested in the form of power which causes individuals to become subjects, and highlighted the dual way in which this subordination functions. On the one hand, the individual becomes a subject as a result of the power relations which allow someone else to control him or her. On the other hand, each person is tied to his or her own identity whether by their conscience or by self knowledge. Both of these systems result in the individual being subjugated by some form of power.

One important point to be taken from Foucault's work is the idea that power only exists when it is used, it is something which acts upon the actions of another, simultaneously withdrawing the receiver's freedom. Foucault (1979) believed that the base of power relations is seated in the system of social networks. He made the link between power relations and relations of strategy, whereby the strategy is the mechanism utilized to exercise power. Domination was perceived by Foucault as the point where power relations interact effectively with relations of strategy, causing one group to become subordinated.

Foucault (1979) also identified the malleable aspect of power and how it can be transformed and organized according to the situation, continually adapting processes to maintain a privileged position. The notion of power for Foucault

goes beyond the notion of the State, with which it was originally associated. Power is an unattainable notion, not ascribable to a class, but circulating throughout individuals. Power is ubiquitous, permeating every individual, immanent in the structuralist sense of the term.

Modern societies use a disciplinary power based on a surveillance system which is internalized by individuals to the extent that they become their own surveyor. This application of power relations was demonstrated by Foucault through Jeremy Bentham's "panopticon" (Cole, 1993), a circular prison. The circular design is such that the inmates are unaware of not being watched by guards in the tower at the centre of the building. Self surveillance as a disciplinary measure results from the process of everybody watching and being watched by everyone else. This manifests the strategy of operationalizing power effectively and the consequent maintenance of it by the dominant group. This example also illustrates Foucault's point that every extension of power results, ultimately, in the drawing of boundaries for power. This is shown by the prison design, in that the walls are the confines of power over the inmates, since external to the building, a different set of processes and power relations would be required to obtain a similar effect.

Feminist cultural studies, as a macro-perspective, has incorporated the concepts of culture, ideology, hegemony, and power, concepts at the core of British cultural studies. But it also incorporates a number of elements borrowed from socialist feminist theory. This is discussed in the following section.

Socialist Feminist Theory

Socialist feminist theory is one of the branches of feminist theory and, as such, it has challenged existing ontological, epistemological, methodological and human nature assumptions present in social theory, shifting the focus to

incorporate awareness of the female position. Feminist theory has placed gender as a "central, theoretical category" (Hall, 1990, p. 233) rather than as a mere variable to be manipulated or rather forgotten at the whim of the researchers. MacKinnon (1982) has argued that feminist theory is a theory of "power and its distribution: inequality" (p. 2). Thus it is important to realize that although there is a diverse range of branches of feminist theory, the driving force is the attempt to analyze the systematic subordination, exploitation and oppression of women in society, in addition to the difference in experiences between women. The development of this type of theorizing was in revolution against the patriarchal order, that is, males possessing inherent power over women. Strober (1984) has defined patriarchy as "a set of personal, social and economic relations that enable men to have power over women and the services they provide" (p. 147).

Documentation, analysis and theorization of women's position in contemporary society has emerged as a result of the development of feminist theory and its immersion in the academic programmes, such as women's studies. The development of feminist theory involved documenting the absence of consideration of gender from many theories and academic disciplines. Social movements (e.g., the Women's Liberation Movement) resulted in academic agendas being redesigned in order to consider issues such as male violence, reproduction and sexuality (Franklin, Lury & Stacey, 1991). Over the years, feminist theory has diversified, as different theories have emerged to explain the oppression of women. The field of feminist theory is very large and complicated, with some of the feminist theorizing being grounded in Marxism, psychoanalysis, radical theory, postmodernism, liberal theory, third worldism, socialist theory and literary criticism.

Feminist theory is still evolving, developing more complex understandings of the dynamics occurring to cause the oppression of women, and its subsequent

perpetuation, legitimation and naturalization. With respect to socialist feminist theory, it is a "counter-disciplinary" approach to gender relations. Issues central to socialist feminism's political cause are those such as child care and reproductive rights. Cole (1993) has contended that socialist feminist theory grew out of the debates surrounding the Women's Liberation Movement in the 1960s and 1970s and that it merges the combined virtues of radical and Marxist feminist theory. The main differences between Marxist and Socialist Feminist theories are that patriarchy forms a central unit of analysis for socialist feminist theory, as do the operations of ideologies in society, whereas Marxist feminist theory focuses on gender relations within the constraints of an economic determinism.

Cole (1993) has shown how socialist feminist theory developed from the positions of the theorists Mitchell and Rubin and considered the need to account for women's position in the family in a capitalistic society. Mitchell (1971) viewed patriarchy and capitalism as two divergent systems, and tried to explain women's subordination within a capitalist society. A "dual-systems" approach attempted to explain the use of women's labour within a capitalist society by conceptualizing patriarchy and capitalism as separate but interdependent processes. Rubin (1976) contended that patriarchy evolved as a result of the deeply structured gender system in society and that oppression was not a necessary factor but nevertheless resulted from the combination of social processes. Housework became a central issue in socialist feminist theory because it resulted from a sexual division of labour and it was unwaged labour. This labour was seen as not only physical, but emotional and sexual too, which served to perpetuate the labour divisions and the family (Cole, 1993).

Cole (1993) has argued that Rubin's perception of patriarchy is intimately associated with gender relations external to capitalism which marks an important

shift in theorizing for socialist feminist theory. In this way, patriarchy affects the sexual division of labour and reproduces masculinities and femininities. Barrett (1980) has also focused on the sexual division of labour in the family and its consequences for the reproduction of labour power. Barrett conceptualizes the split in labour between housework and industrial production as a consequence of capitalism.

Cole (1993) has discussed how interested the State is in maintaining the dichotomy between men and women in the work force and at home, as this, in turn, reproduces ideologies which regulate sexualities and maintain the dominant hegemonic order. Ideology, as such, forms a prominent part in naturalizing the repression of women. The power of this political agenda is demonstrated by its ability to warp the many feminist projects round to the right (Cole, 1993).

Patriarchy, sexual division of labour and gender remain the central concepts in the socialist feminist agenda although Cole (1993) has stated that "Socialist-Feminism emphasizes and is based on the assumption that capitalism, patriarchy, and racism are historical, interrelated, interdependent, and, simultaneously, autonomous systems of oppression" (p. 10). Socialist feminism provides the opportunity for women to be recognized for the individuals they are, as opposed to members of one homogeneous group. Cole has argued though that language remains a barrier to free theorizing since words attributed to terms (e.g., class, race, sex) segregate concepts, making it difficult to identify links. Cole has purported that the interpretation of gender is central to the feminist debate, since the concept itself indicates a social system of signification. It is important, therefore, to move from just using terms which denote sexual difference. Gender, however, remains pivotal in discussions relating to the access to power in our society.

Feminist Cultural Studies

As Franklin and her colleagues (1991) have argued cultural studies has failed to develop models of culture informed from a feminist perspective. This lack of consideration is attributed to the underpinnings of cultural studies being grounded in an interpretation of culture which was exclusive to men. Although in cultural studies the shift away from Marxist economic determinism can be attributed to a feminist theoretical influence, very little has been done to deal with the marginalization of issues central to feminism. Cultural studies is also weak with regard to the inclusion of women in its theorizing because of the various theoretical frameworks which focus on the interaction between the social, economic, political and ideological levels. There remains a reliance on Marxist economic determinism in the last instance. This compounds the marginalization of women in theorizing, since it is based on the capitalist system which naturalizes gender inequality. As for feminist theory, it has tended to isolate the experiences of women and see them as separate from the milieu of cultural practices. Feminist cultural studies addresses all of these issues.

Franklin and her colleagues (1991) and Hall (1993) have maintained that there are two main kinds of overlap between British cultural studies and socialist feminist theory. The first is the investigation of the role of culture in the reproduction of gender inequality because of a shared focus on issues related to popular culture, representation and identity. The second overlap is a common consideration for the contribution of gender to the understanding of culture. British cultural studies and feminist socialist theory have both shifted the focus of study from the text to the reader/audience, although how they have done this is slightly different. Socialist feminist theory has shifted to investigate differences between women in this arena, and what this means for cultural reproduction. As

for British cultural studies, it has looked at the activity of the audience, moving away from the idea of a passive audience to that of an interactive one.

Cole (1993) believes that socialist feminist theory and British cultural studies have both decentred the subject, applied a sociological imagination to contextualize the ongoing cultural practices, and moved away from an economic reductionist approach. By doing this the emphasis on power relations has moved from that of the State to the individual, personal level.

The development of a feminist cultural studies perspective allows for the above disadvantages to be overcome. An investigation of the role of culture in the reproduction of gender equality, an analysis of representation of identity and an analysis of gender can all contribute to an understanding of culture. Feminist cultural studies also has important implications for the methodologies adopted, since the positivistic approach is strongly rejected. Instead a greater emphasis is placed on an anti-positivist, nominalist, voluntaristic and ideographic approach.

Feminist cultural studies focuses on the dispersion of power through society and attempts to explain the processes occurring which contribute to the subjugation of women. It looks at the cultural production of sets of practices in relation to the production of power. It is an approach which allows for changes in structures and processes as they occur. It also allows for an analysis of the different cultural practices prevalent in contemporary society as sites of struggles over access to power - social, political or economic - with a particular interest in the experiences of women.

Conclusion

The dual queue theory discussed above is applicable to any of the labour markets operating in Canada today. The labour market which will be the focus of the present study is radio sport journalism and the ensuing job and labour (or gender) queues. This theory offers a mechanism by which to investigate radio sport journalism and discover who is ranking the jobs and how. From such an investigation, subtle and overt barriers to women should be uncovered. Feminist cultural studies offers a macro perspective in which to frame results of this study. The main concepts of feminist cultural studies (hegemony, power, oppression, patriarchy, ideology, gender) provide a way of contextualizing processes occurring in radio sport journalism in the wider society, and offer avenues for understanding them through the interplay of power relations and the perpetuation of cultural practices.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

The goal of the study was to determine whether occupational segregation is occurring in radio sport journalism at one Canadian broadcasting network, and if so, why. A case study approach was adopted, the primary unit of analysis being a sport department in a public broadcasting station. The case study allows for a general strategy to be developed when "how" or "why" questions are to be asked, and when the investigator has little control over events (Yin, 1984). Yin has argued that one of the strengths of case studies is the researcher's ability to use multiple sources of evidence of the specific phenomenon under scrutiny. It also allows a broader range of attitudinal, political, and organizational issues to be addressed (Yin, 1984).

It has been suggested that the validity of such a study is increased by using multiple methods of data collection (Jick, 1983; Yin, 1984, 1993). In light of this, a triangulated methodology consisting of pertinent official documents, a survey and interviews was adopted. This can show findings, which by, adopting only the survey, interviews or document analysis would never have been revealed. A greater depth can be added to the research at hand.

In triangulation, it is assumed that the weakness in each method is counter-balanced by a strength in another. For instance the official documents provided a grounding knowledge in legal and ethical information which was incorporated into the interview structure. The questionnaire was designed to gather a large quantity of background information about the general atmosphere and characteristics of the department staff, while the interviews offered a chance to delve into the individuals' perceptions and attitudes. This approach also allowed for the integration of quantitative and qualitative data.

Data Collection

The data collection took place between November 1993 and March 1994, in Ontario, Canada. Three different types of data were collected: official documents, questionnaires and in-depth interviews.

Official Documents

The purpose of analyzing official documents was to gain background information on the structural organization, rules and constraints which would provide pertinent knowledge prior to the interviews. The documents collected included organizational charts and reports, the 1986 CRTC policy statement on sex role stereotyping in the broadcast media, to public notices, press releases, and research reports. The CRTC was selected because of its prominent and regulatory role in the broadcasting industry. The CRTC was originally developed in relation to broadcasting issues, but was enlarged to deal with the budding telecommunications industry in the mid 1970s. During the growth of broadcasting, technological developments have occurred but so too have conflicts regarding the use and control of the communication systems. Since the Task Force in 1979, which was established to develop guidelines to eliminate sex-role stereotyping in the broadcast media, there has been a number of follow up studies to monitor results and action. The CRTC's role to promote employment and gender equity processes and prevent sex role stereotyping in the media is done by liaising directly with the public broadcasters. With regard to the private broadcasters, however, this is done through the CAB (Canadian Association of Broadcasters). Subsequently it is obvious that public organizations are under more direct control in such matters. In light of this, it would be a natural step to suggest that close attention to these issues would be

reflected in an improved situation in the working environment of public broadcasters, which is why the documents were analyzed. Questions regarding these issues were asked in the interviews.

Documents from the corporation concerned their employment equity policy, the most recent data on the representation of women within the corporation by occupational categories and data on gender representation in sport programmes. Two internal reports (Repositioning and Media Accountability) completed the documents which were analyzed for further information on management directives. These documents were collected between November 1993 and February 1994.

Survey

Sample. The sample for the survey was composed of the entire population of radio workers, both full and part time, in the sports department of one public broadcasting station in Canada (N=23). The sample comprised of nine women and eleven men who were involved in positions such as producer, reporter, assignment editor, executive producer, host and manager. The long standing tradition of selecting samples so randomly that the results can be inferred back to the larger population was not of any significance. That is because a case study was adopted and so in line with the interpretive framework, application to the population is not the ultimate goal. A greater understanding of the issues involved and how to counteract them is more important.

Instrument. A pilot questionnaire was administered to journalists in September 1993. As a result of the pilot study minor alterations were made to the questionnaire. The final questionnaire (see Appendix A) was composed of a series of open- and closed-ended questions, as well as a section on attitudes

using a Likert scale. The questionnaire took about 10 minutes to complete and was divided into the following parts.

Part I and II consisted of statements with a four-point Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. These were to gauge the gender differences with respect to perception of processes occurring in radio journalism. It was also to identify whether there was any difference the perceptions with regard to the stereotypical reasons posited for women not being in particular working environments.

Part III was divided into two sections. The first half consisted of six questions regarding the respondent's present position, initial job in radio, broadcast experience and factors which were felt to help or hinder occupational progression. These questions were to provide information on the qualitative differences between men and women in the same jobs, the influence their experience is felt to have on their present position, and then again identification of problems. The kinds of problems listed were expected to be structurally different for men and women.

The second section of Part III was developed to gather demographic information such as age, sex, marital status, income and education of the respondents. Other questions included whether the job involves travel, if the job is part or full time, and the process through which respondents learnt about their job. This was to see if informal networking was prevalent or not, and if so, whether there were different access opportunities for men and women.

Thus, the questionnaire provided information about the explicit organizational structures which were hypothesized to maintain the gender hierarchy. The questionnaire borrowed from that designed by Hall and her colleagues (1990) to investigate the gender composition of National Sporting Organizations. The questionnaire was designed to collect information about the

work force and the personnel's attitudes and perceptions on particular issues. Information gained about educational and family background provided cross-comparative statistics to be checked with the official documents and interviews.

Procedure. At the end of October 1993 a letter was sent to the Head of Gender Equity Initiatives in the sport department of the radio station, requesting permission to administer the questionnaires to the staff. This was followed up by a telephone call six days later, when the goal of the study was briefly described and negotiation occurred regarding the approval of the questionnaire and access to the results. It was agreed that the questionnaire would be passed to the appropriate Vice President for approval, a process which took a few weeks. It was also agreed that a copy of the results would be forwarded to the manager upon completion of the study.

A list of the prospective subjects was faxed by the Head of Gender Equity to the investigator, which included all sport department personnel, except for freelancers. At the end of November, a letter was circulated in the department informing the personnel of the imminent questionnaire and requesting their cooperation, while stating the support of the manager.

A total of 23 questionnaires were mailed the second week of December to the sport personnel at the workplace. A covering letter was included to explain the purpose of the study and to request their participation on a voluntary basis (see letter in Appendix B). Stamped, pre-addressed envelopes were enclosed for the return of the questionnaire.

A second stage of the questionnaire distribution was completed by hand in January 1994, when the researcher went to conduct the interviews. Questionnaires with a revised covering letter were placed in respondent's mailboxes. This was to encourage as high a response rate as possible. It was requested that questionnaires be either handed to the researcher during her time

in the office or mailed in the envelope provided. A total of 20 valid questionnaires were returned, for a 87% response rate.

Interviews

Sample. The individuals who participated in an interview were a sample of the contractual and permanent staff in the radio sport department (N=14; 8 women and 6 men). The interviewees were selected based on their position in the department and on recommendations from the first few interviewees (i.e., a specialized sample). For instance those in decision making positions were essential for the study, as were women in the department. It was also important to include more experienced journalists in the sample. Four of the interviews were conducted as a result of personal recommendations from interviewees; as a result of the interview the interviewees were cognizant of the purpose of the study and were able to recommend staff with pertinent experience and knowledge.

Instrument. The interview (Appendix C) provided a way of gaining access to the overt and subtle barriers operating to maintain patterns of occupational segregation in broadcasting, more specifically in sport. Interviews were between 35 to 90 minutes in length and were semi-structured. During the interview, questions developed from the current position of the interviewee to his or her access to, and experiences in broadcasting. Experiences of interaction with staff, work load, and allocation of work led to questions regarding the distribution of men and women and the power dynamic in the station. Questions regarding the support system such as training opportunities and day care, were included. A form of reliability came from the verification of information gathered through other interviews.

Procedure. A pilot study was conducted (N=3) to check the progression of the questions and the clarity. As a result, changes were made to the interview schedule (see final schedule in Appendix C). The interviews took place between January 18 and February 7, 1994. A telephone call was made to the prospective interviewees a week before the interview and his or her permission was requested to participate in the study. At this point the purpose of the study was outlined, and then, if they agreed to participate, a date, a time and a place were set for the interview. Prior to the interview a consent form was given to the interviewee, which was read, and signed before the interview began. All interviews were conducted by the main investigator.

Interviews took place in the conference room in the sport department and were recorded upon agreement of the interviewee. It was very difficult to maintain the original schedule of interview times due to occurrences such as news breaking, alteration of schedules, departmental problems. Of the two managers interviewed one is now the head of sport and the other one is head of another department. She was interviewed because she began in the department as a secretary and worked her way up the ranks to Executive Producer, an ascension which is incredibly difficult to do in the sport environment as a result of factors such as lack of movement by current staff, lack of structure within the department and the dominance of a jock philosophy. Due to illness on the part of two subjects, two interviews were conducted over the phone. All interviewees were guaranteed anonymity and confidentiality.

Data Analysis

Official Documents

All of the CRTC's reports, press releases and public notices since 1987 (Images of Women) regarding Sex Role Portrayal and gender equity were analyzed, as were the Broadcasting Act, 1991, the EEA, 1986 and the following documents from Mediawatch: . The employment equity policy, Annual Reports from the last three years, data on the breakdown of the workforce by gender and occupation were obtained from the Corporation. Documents concerning breakdown of stories by reporters by gender were obtained from the sport department.

The pertinent issues from the documents were identified, and analyzed. This information was useful in two stages. Initially to set the stage and provide background understanding of the broadcasting industry and the radio station. This was to enlighten the researcher prior to conducting the research. The second step was to enable contextualization of the data collected, so that the information gathered could be understood within the larger picture of the corporation and broadcasting industry.

Questionnaires

Quantitative and qualitative analyses were carried out on the data collected from the questionnaires. The questions containing quantitative data were all coded and fed into SYSTAT, a statistical analysis computer package. The open-ended questions, which provided qualitative information, were compared and contrasted with the quantitative and interview data.

Frequency tables were constructed for all parts of the questionnaire, and descriptive statistics were compiled. The attitudinal section of the questionnaire

(Part I and II) was analyzed and particular attention was devoted to find whether there was a sizeable difference between the sexes in the responses.

Interviews

The interviews were transcribed by the researcher, using an audio tape machine and concurrently typing the script onto a word processor. Miles and Huberman (1984) have pointed out that qualitative data provides rich description and firmly grounded explanations of processes occurring in the social context. In the present study, the qualitative data allowed in-depth knowledge that would not have been available from quantitative data. The text of the interview transcripts provided a greater understanding of the phenomenon under study. Reliability was targeted through the concepts of trustworthiness and credibility; when an issue was raised by more than one interviewee it was assumed that some kind of dynamic was occurring. If just one person raised particular problems it was taken that it was likely that these were personnel issues with the department.

The text analysis was an ongoing process which occurred during and after data collection. The analysis of the interviews basically concerned making sense of the data in a logical way. The stages of organizing, abstracting, integrating and synthesizing were used. In order to discover patterns in the transcripts, an outline was developed to transform them into categories. Categorization is claimed by Thomas and Nelson (1990) to be a key facet of qualitative research. It allowed for the data to be retrieved and analyzed intra and inter-categories. After this process was completed, support was identified from the document analysis and information, from the questionnaires. The data was pooled, and the final analysis consisted of forming a coherent discussion incorporating all of the facts, new findings and the location of this within the theoretical framework.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS

In the following section are presented the results of the data analyses. An overview of the broadcasting industry is presented in order to contextualize the station studied within the overall picture. Then, the demographic characteristics of the respondents are provided, followed by the results concerning the composition of the job and labour queues. The dynamics of these queues are discussed consecutively and data gathered from the questionnaires, interviews and official documents are used to explain the patterns. Finally these explanations are contextualized within the paradigm of vertical and horizontal segregation.

Contextual Overview

The organization under investigation was the national radio sport department of a public corporation. The corporation as a whole employs 9,275 people in various capacities within television and radio broadcasting (see Appendix F for a full breakdown of the occupations). Since this company is a public corporation it is accountable to the State and the general public. This accountability is monitored internally by way of a complaints office and externally through the CRTC. As a result of State initiatives, formalized through Acts of Parliament, the CRTC acts as the State's regulator of the broadcasting industry, and consequently this organization. This hierarchical delineation of power between the State, the CRTC and private and public broadcasting organizations is represented in Appendix G. The structure of the CRTC and the public

corporation is explained next in order to better understand the interaction between these organizations.

The Canadian Radio-television Commission was established by the Broadcasting Act of 1968, with the power to regulate and licence public and private broadcasting in Canada. Its original mandate was to fulfill Parliament's initiative for the provision of a national broadcasting system which would transmit a continued expression of Canadian identity and develop national unity (Bird, 1988). This was to be built up through cooperation between private and public companies, and monitored by the Canadian Radio-television Commission.

In April of 1976, the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission Act changed the mandate and name of the Canadian Radio-television Commission. The new act created a larger board (now nine full-time members as opposed to the former five members) and a more powerful Commission, with the added jurisdiction of telecommunications. The new name of the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission was to reflect the increased power. As of 1991, the Broadcasting Act states that the Canadian Broadcasting system (for which the CRTC is the governing agency), "through its programming and the employment opportunities arising out of its operations, serve the needs and interests of and reflect the circumstances and aspirations of Canadian men, women and children, including equal rights" (Broadcasting Act, 1991, p. 120).

As an integral part of the Canadian broadcasting system, the public organization investigated in the present study must also fulfill this directive, which it attempts to do by providing radio and television services offering a wide range of programming which "informs, enlightens and entertains" (Broadcasting Act, 1991, p. 121). The complexity of this task in a country as geographically large as Canada is reflected in the size of the corporation and the management structure.

The corporation must naturally provide for both French and English Canada on both radio and television. The President presides over the entire corporation, and other responsibilities are divided between Senior Vice-Presidents, Vice-Presidents and, subsequently, the various department and regional heads (for a complete diagram of the hierarchy refer to Appendix H).

The Radio Sport Department

With respect to the sport department, it is under the control of the Vice-President, English Radio, through the manager for sport and regional broadcasting and the executive producer (see Appendix I for the structure of the sport department). The sport department employs a total of 23 people of which 20 responded to the questionnaire (for a response rate 87%). Of the respondents, 45% were female and 55% male, with a mean age range of 26 to 35 years. There are also nine regional sport reporters across the country who concentrate on local events, but who take from scripts put out by the head office (these nine reporters were not included in the sample).

The average age range for the corporation as a whole was 36 to 45 years (Annual Report, 1993), with 55% of this sample (46% of the men and 67% of the women) in the 26 to 35 age category. Fifty four percent of the men were in the 36-55 age category, 33% of the women were between 36 to 45 years of age. For a more detailed breakdown please refer to Appendix J).

The majority of the respondents were married (65%) with only two of those having children living at home (a complete breakdown is available in Appendix K). In terms of education, a higher proportion of the men in the department had a bachelor's degree (64% as opposed to 34% of the women). Everyone except one male was employed on a full time basis in the department. The personnel's income started at \$21,000, with the average income falling in the \$41,000 to

\$50,000 bracket (for more information on the respondent's education and income, please refer to Appendices L and M).

Out of all the respondents, 14 individuals who worked or had worked in the department were interviewed (five men and nine women). The interviewees were involved in the department as executive producer, Manager, Senior Producer, Producer, Assignment Editor, Host, National Reporter and Reporter.

Policy decisions made at upper management levels are imposed on the department (regarding budget, department size, cut backs, programming, employment equity, etc.). Long term planning (involving staffing decisions, what sporting events are covered, etc.) is performed at the middle management level in negotiation with lower management. One grave problem which was apparent through the interviews was the ignorance about sport at the middle management level, and the lack of respect for it at upper management levels, demonstrated by the following interviewees:

.. there is a real ignorance of what the role of sport is on radio by the people that make programming decisions. They don't know and they don't care and there is real blind spot when it comes to sport, there is a real bias against it on the part of the people that make decisions. (Male respondent)

Sports has never been something broadly embraced by the corporation, there are a lot of people who work here who couldn't care less about sports. (Female respondent)

Bottom of the bottom of the bottom. The reputation within radio, we are actually doing a review, but there are some very influential people who don't think, Mr. X (in upper management) does not believe that we should have sportscasts on the air, we get that in private, why do we have them? (Female respondent)

Decisions within the department are made by the executive producer with only a small degree of input from the staff over departmental decisions. This was clear in the following excerpt:

You have your producers, you have your executive producer who basically has the final say. (Male respondent)

The isolation of sport from other departments and top management was evident in the interviews. People working external to sport tended to have a very

low opinion of the sport department, manifesting both distrust and dislike towards the sport personnel. Consider, for example, the following excerpts:

Even though I work in a department different to them there is still this weird thing that happens, like all of a sudden, "oh a sports producer", or they want to test you, they will say; "oh who do you think is going to be taken today in the draft?" It is like: "I don't know, and I don't care." (Female respondent)

Some people have a negative view of sport, then I am a guy that only has sport background: that wouldn't be something that would be held up high (Male respondent)

This gives a slight indication of possible problems facing sport from within the corporation. There are many more internal conflicts, however, which the department is facing at the moment. These are conflicts which must be resolved in the very near future if the sport department is to develop a more secure position within the corporation. The department is more than aware of this, which is demonstrated by the changes it has undergone in the past 10 years. The next section outlines the changing face of sport at this station and how it is attempting to resolve its internal and external conflicts.

The sport department appeared to be in a constant state of flux due to, among other things, strong signals from top management that it is not a priority in programming or budgetary decisions. There have also been a great number of staff changes in a short period of time, which include different management structures, monitoring of work to make sport broadcasts more reflective of societal trends, vetting of scripts, higher expectations of the quality and quantity of work, and cut backs on the number of freelancers used.

As a result of the indications from the top management that it is not a priority in the future agenda of the corporation, the sport department is currently fighting to maintain and improve if at all possible its status within the corporation. This lack of support has been demonstrated through processes whereby the department is denied funding for particular projects, there are irregular staff

changes at very short notice and constant reviews are made. As such, the department is desperately trying to develop a more journalistic approach to sport, which means a move away from just providing results from professional games towards dealing with a wider variety of issues occurring within the sphere of amateur and professional sports. This is indicated by the following comments:

I really honestly believe that we are really now only coming into the 20th century when it comes to covering sports. (Male respondent)

One of the problems with that is that sports never grew up journalistically the way that other departments did; it didn't have the same quality of standards. (Female respondent)

Thus the key issue undergoing debate amongst the sport personnel concerns how to use traditional material but also balance it out with more issue-oriented sportscasts which focus is away from the American-influenced professional sports. This was quite clear in some of the interviews, exemplified by the following excerpts:

Even people that like things to be done differently, they say you can't do a sportscast without mentioning the Montréal Canadians, that is great that you did that other story, but you have to acknowledge this. (Male respondent)

We find a good solid traditional material is still important but it is balancing it, that is the challenge, I'll be the first to admit it doesn't always knit. (Female respondent)

This push for change from jock talk to sport journalism has been initiated by management in an attempt to bring sport up to date with the journalistic practices of the other departments in the corporation and subsequently make it more competitive in the marketplace. The sport department is also attempting to improve its image within the corporation, since other journalists do not always equate good journalism with sport. This is important in the light of the internal recruiting that goes on if the department wants to attract better quality personnel to work in sport. Consider the following statement:

You can find talented people to do work. The problem here is, what people expect from sport is a little different, they say: "well that is not journalism." They don't equate journalism and sport, a lot of good journalists. (Male respondent)

Although the women in the department have brought a different focus into sport in that they do not automatically turn to scores and game play stories, the department is still dealing with the fact that it is entrenched in an old jock system. This jock image is perpetuated outside the sport department in the corporation. Subsequently this results in older journalists nearing the end of their careers being laterally moved to sports so hindering attempts at changing the journalistic approach in the department. This is amply exhibited in the following comments:

Sports is the elephant burial ground for the corporation, the elephants come to die in radio sports. It is the worst place I find. (Male respondent)

A lot of people dump their worst people into radio sports, old hosts go to radio sports. Well, that is damage, they don't think of it as a place where you could really make an impact. They say: "well lets get them out of the way, lets put them there." (Male respondent)

It is important to note that the first changes in the department, (i.e., the idea that all scripts should be vetted and quality of on air work monitored) were put in place by the first female executive producer. The following excerpts illustrate this:

I put an agenda forward, which was really difficult because I said: "we are doing all professional sports stories, we are doing them in a language that is totally alienating, and this is in terms of sportscasts, we are doing them in a language that shuts out people." I made it mandatory to have all scripts edited before it went to air. (Female respondent)

[vetting:] They went into that kicking and screaming because that wasn't part of sports, also most of them were very male, it was all guys that were in sports, there were no women on air doing sports. (Female respondent)

It seemed that perhaps the women and the younger men in the department have contributed a different sensitivity to the coverage of sport in that they are more aware of different angles which can be used for the same story. There are story meetings every day for the reporters and producers, where ideas are exchanged for the following day or for any trips. There is a policy now whereby reporters cannot just go to a game or press meeting without an agenda, the implication being that preparing in this way should result in better quality of work

and a higher percentage of it being put on air. This was an issue which older male journalists found problematic, as shown by the following account:

The men you can almost count on to do the jock side of things, to ask the question that the sports fan wants to know, or has been conditioned to want to know. (Male respondent)

We want to try and get the stories behind the scenes and do more research-orientated stories, in-depth, look at conflicts going on in sport, the sort of drama going on behind the scenes and cover Canadian sport too. I guess that is the real priority here because we are inundated with American sport. (Female respondent)

This whole concept of covering sport with a slightly different agenda in mind has also caused problems in the regional offices which tend to be dominated by older male journalists. The producers do not really have much jurisdiction over the broadcasts from the regional centers which means that the change in their approach will take longer to achieve. This notion is evident in the following excerpt:

We have had such a hard time getting this across to some of the male reporters out in some of the regions. [It's] that: "we are not asking you to go out and do female stories. We are just asking you to broaden the way you look at things, like don't forget there is a female sport to go with this male sport." (Female respondent)

This move away from the old style of providing play by play of hockey, baseball, football or basketball games has constituted a major re-direction of the sport department. Consequently, this, coupled with the major staff changes which have occurred over the last five years among the sport personnel, has resulted in some very uneasy and tough times for the department. It is necessary to be aware of these modifications which have occurred and are ongoing in the department when interpreting the results.

At a more global level, as discussed earlier, the organization is directly affected by any legislation that the State introduces via regulation by the CRTC. The pertinent legislation and research which affects the broadcasting industry, particularly regarding employment equity, was analyzed for this study and it is the topic of the next section.

Employment Equity Policies in Broadcasting

Research conducted by the CRTC on employment equity began in March 1979, with the then Minister of Communication setting up a Task Force to investigate sex-role stereotyping in the broadcasting industry. By sex role stereotyping, the Task Force was referring to the way in which the media failed to portray men and women in equitable roles, too often not reflecting the increasing diversity of women's lives. The concern was that the media were reinforcing and perpetuating stereotyped images of women and girls which legitimize a reduction in men's, women's and children's perceptions of their roles within society (Images of women, 1982).

The issue under analysis, therefore, was the constitution of programming and advertising. This was the first area of action by the CRTC to raise the awareness of the treatment of women in and by the media. As a result of recommendations from the Images of women report released by the Task Force in 1982, a two-year period of assessment of sex-role stereotyping by the broadcasting agencies was established. In September of 1983, the CRTC released a public notice which required all television and radio licensees to submit reports by September 1984 on the measures adopted to deal with sex-role stereotyping. This period of self-regulation initially ended in August 1984, but was extended to September 1984. Despite this extension, reminders were issued to licensees in November 1984 to request reports from those who had failed to submit. By January 1985, 66% of eligible stations had submitted a report on measures taken to deal with sex-role stereotyping (CRTC Policy Statement, 1986). The final report, compiled by ERIN, was published early in 1986.

As well as the individual licensees' reports, the Canadian Association of Broadcasters, public corporations and the Advertising Advisory Board (as the industry associations responsible for the Sex Role Stereotyping codes in public and private broadcasting) also submitted reports. Despite a series of reports being released about the two year self-regulatory period, the CRTC failed to draw any conclusions from the findings with regard to the success of the scheme. A reflection of the CRTC's lack of commitment to enforcing adherence to sex-role stereotyping changes was the vocabulary used in the recommendations. Instead of attesting its commitment to this issue through forcing companies and corporations to act on the recommendations, the CRTC tended towards language which would not result in stations prioritizing the disappearance of sex stereotyping.

Of special interest here were the comments in the ERIN report regarding employment in the radio and sport. In the programming section, the report suggested that: "women's perspectives on issues of general interest (for example, the economy, elections, international events) should be included adequately in general reporting and comment (women as experts or authorities), and/or in giving public views" (CRTC, 1986, p. 3). More specifically for the radio, the only references made to women were as follow: "Broadcasters should be sensitive to their use of language and images to avoid sexist and demeaning treatment of women. This is important especially for hot line hosts and radio personalities [...] Women should be adequately represented as D.J.s and program hosts, in particular as hot line hosts" (CRTC, 1986, p. 4).

In the sport section no reference was made to women working in sport. Rather, it simply stated that: "Participation of women in sports should receive fair and equitable coverage [...] Women athletes should not be subject to patronizing or belittling treatment" (CRTC, 1986, p. 4).

The results of this report indicate that there is clearly an ambivalence exhibited by the broadcasting industry towards the issue of the treatment of women and young girls in any way shape or form in the media. In December 1986, the CRTC released their Policy Statement on sex-role stereotyping. The stated goal of the policy was:

a more realistic portrayal of women in radio and on television in programming and in commercials and ultimately to the elimination of sex-role stereotyping from the Canadian broadcasting media (CRTC Policy Statement, 1986, p. 56).

The imposition of this was through a condition of licence on all radio and television licensees; the second compulsory adherence condition imposed by the CRTC ever. The only other condition of licence which was made across the board concerned the Broadcast Code of Advertising to Children. Perhaps this could be taken as an indication of their commitment to the issue on a public (or rather political) level. The overall policy statement, however, indicates that the CRTC is giving broadcasters a wide berth in the issue by letting them set their own standards and speed of change.

In 1988, a study was commissioned by the CRTC (to be conducted by ERIN again) to assess gender portrayal in 1988 and compare the 1984 and 1988 results. Obviously, to compare the data, the second study would have to be a replication of the initial research, which again eliminated the issue of employment equity from the mandate. Generally the study demonstrated how women were still being qualitatively and quantitatively under represented in the broadcast media (newscasts and sportscasts were put together).

This indicated that the strategy of self-regulating the industry was ineffective, the CRTC failing to utilize its power to revoke (at the worst) licences. As Mediawatch (1991) stated, a penalty which has no financial or penal implications is unlikely to reduce sex-role stereotyping, and will fail to promote much change. The same Mediawatch study pointed out that in a survey of the

transcripts of licence renewal hearings across Canada, the issue of gender stereotyping was rarely raised by the Commissioners:

Four of the 18 stations surveyed were not asked a single question about gender stereotyping and their initiatives to comply with this condition of licence. Of those applicants who were asked to outline initiatives taken to increase awareness of gender stereotyping, only nine made reference to having an internal gender stereotyping committee, only six mentioned mechanisms for dealing with public complaints; only three commented that they hired employees according to employment equity objectives; and only seven answered that they followed the CAB guidelines (Mediawatch, 1991, p. 14).

The introduction of the guidelines for "Sex-role portrayal in radio and television programming" by the CRTC once again indicated the ignorance of employment practices and other aspects of sexism. Finally, in 1992, the CRTC began to address the issue of employment equity with the introduction of policies on employment equity and gender portrayal for the broadcasting and cable industries. The CRTC, however, stated how it had to be careful to avoid overlapping Employment and Immigration Canada and the Employment Equity Act. The actual regulation of making qualitative changes at the training, hiring and planning stages of operation remains at the licence renewal stage, most of this power laying with the CBC, CAB and AAB in requiring the private and public sectors to fulfill this directive. At the same time, the CRTC states that it is concerned with two problems: first, the recession affects the implementation of employment equity programs, the hiring of staff and the availability of resources for broadcasters; second the CRTC wishes to avoid over-regulation within the industry. There was at least a move by the CRTC to acknowledge that there is a problem in hiring among the five designated minority groups in broadcasting, even if the policies provided large loopholes allowing companies to escape compliance.

The reports reviewed here suggest that although the CRTC has made moves to monitor employment equity issues in broadcasting, it is lacking in the

action part of the process. By allowing companies to escape from the sex-role stereotyping directives so easily, it did not voluntarily, (i.e., without pressure from outside interest groups) set the stage for change in the field of employment equity.

The Dynamics of the Labour Queue

With the background clarified, the labour and job queues can now be determined for this particular sport department. When considering the structure of the labour queue at this sport station it is necessary to take into account the present economic and social climates which affect any choices made by those in hiring positions. As is widely recorded, Canada is struggling to recover from a long recession which has effected so many businesses nationally and internationally. As identified by the analysis of official documents, there has also been an emphasis in recent years to increase the number of persons with minority status in the work force and a focus on women (particularly for companies with over 100 employees). Subsequently this sport department, as an integral part of a public corporation under control of the State, has been very much affected by the economic cuts and the changes in hiring policies.

One result of hiring changes is evidenced by gender becoming an over riding factor dictating hiring practices. This is in contradiction to what would have been expected to happen to the structure of the labour queue during a recession. In other circumstances (and as historical data have also shown), the employer was able to become very choosy about future employees because of the boosted size of the unemployed work force. The experience of the employer in this department, however, is rather a result of CRTC reports and legislation. There has been a demand for women sport journalists which pushed them to the top of the labour queue. This is in contrast to white males who were traditionally

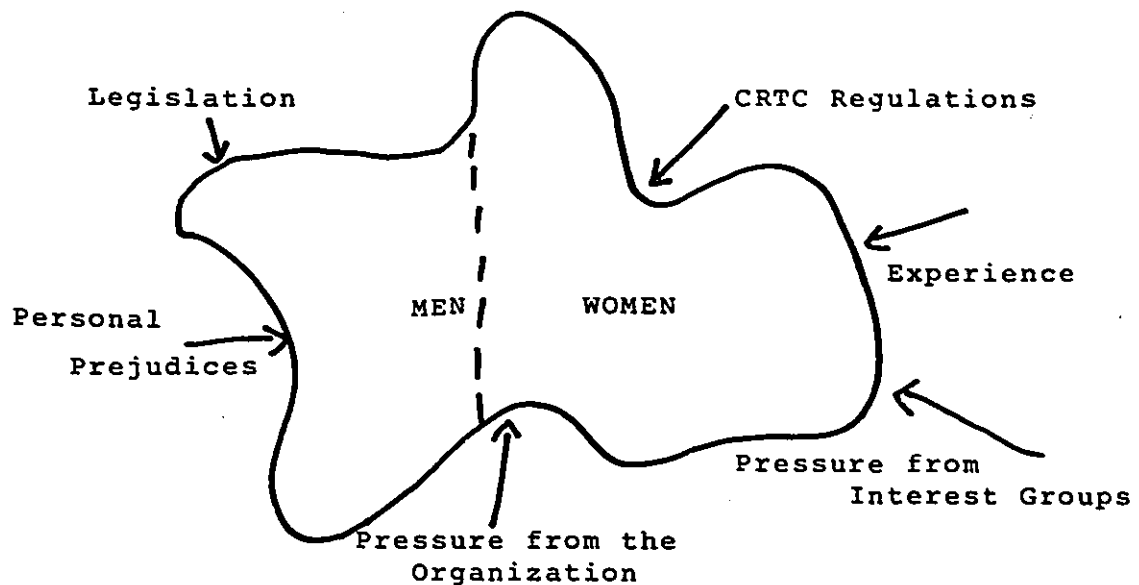
perceived to be at the top of the labour queue. Consequently for this particular sport department, highly qualified, white women are at the top of the labour queue, followed by white men with, respectively, high, medium and low qualifications. The queue is illustrated in Figure 1, and it should be noted that hiring levels rarely reach below the top 3-4 categories.

Figure 1. The Labour Queue in one Public Radio Sport Department

1. White Women, High Qualifications
2. White Men, High Qualifications
3. White Men, Medium Qualifications
4. White Men, Low Qualifications
5. White Women, Medium Qualifications
6. White Women, Low Qualifications

To realize how and why the labour queue is constructed in this way it is necessary to understand the background factors which influence an employer's decision making process. From the present analysis, it seems that the number of men/women hired has been dependent on the ranking, by the employer, of such factors as legislation, CRTC regulations, experience, personal factors, pressure from the organization and the kind of work for which the employee is being recruited. All of these criteria have a different level of impact on the final decision of who is hired. For the purpose of the present study this ensemble of factors is illustrated in Figure 2, and corresponds to the idea of an amoebic transformational process affecting hiring decisions. The idea is that the number of men and women hired or the pressure for the hiring of men or women, adjusts

Figure 2. The Amoebic Transformational Model of Factors affecting Hiring Decisions



depending on which factors carry the most influence (these factors were identified specifically for this study). In an ideal situation, when there are equal pressures on all factors and when gender is not an issue, the shape of the ensemble remains stable and round. The hiring decision can be transformed by great pressure being exerted on just one factor or a combination of different criteria, each mechanism affecting the quantity of men or women hired. If men are not the preferred group because of great legal changes coupled with gender of management, personal factors, and pressure from the organization and the CRTC, the dividing line between men and women shifts, so that women become the preferred group. This seems to have happened in the station under study. It is necessary to explain here the factors which affect the employer's choice and subsequent ordering of prospective workers. These will now be discussed.

The 1986 Employment Equity Act forced the station under study, as well as all Canadian companies with over 1,000 employees, to comply with the regulations. This caused the Employment Equity Office (established 1975) to increase its profile within the corporation and to set goals to include the development of staffing and promotional measures to increase the proportion of the five designated groups within the corporation. This office was also to recruit and train these new members of staff. An Office for Equitable Portrayal in Programming was also set up. This office has four main objectives: (a) to develop and implement staff awareness action plans and strategies; (b) to coordinate studies on programming content for equitable portrayal of the designated groups and to distribute the results; (c) to follow up on complaints for on-air practices and (d) to submit an annual report to the CRTC on the corporation's action and progress. In 1993 a senior level Standing Committee on Equity was set up to monitor progress of employment equity. Such overt action may have created the impression that issues were being dealt with effectively, however it became apparent that this was not necessarily the case. For instance, in the 1993 Annual Report, it was stated that the Standing Committee on Equity was initiated to ensure "that progress towards full employment equity continues" (Annual Report, 1993, p. 62). But to monitor the progress, a high representation of people working in programmes, such as executive Producers, Unit Managers, etc., is needed on the committee, because of the complex nature of the corporation which renders the circulation of information quite problematic. There were only two representatives, however, from lower management on the Standing Committee for the entire Radio and Television networks.

In the Annual Report the only reference to employment equity is the two graphs demonstrating employee breakdown by sex and age. There is no qualitative break down of positions held or any further explanation of exactly what

the programmes and initiatives have done or are doing. In the two internal reports made available (Reposition and Media Accountability), and the Annual reports from 1989 to 1993, the only reference to a qualitative analysis of gender differences is in terms of monitoring the coverage. It is stated that a dual analysis will be extended to programming research, but there is no mention of this kind of approach being used to analyze the composition of the work force.

It is stated in the Annual Report that as a result of employment equity initiatives the percentage of women employed has increased in all age cohorts, although all age groups are still dominated by men. On further analysis, it becomes apparent that women have increased their share of the under 25 years old category more than men, but this category's actual share of the whole market has decreased from 7% in 1984 to just 2% in 1993. In addition, it is unclear whether the increase of women across the age cohorts is a result of employment initiatives or a result of more traditionally male-held positions being made obsolete due to downsizing and repositioning (there was a 22% reduction in the workforce between 1984 and 1993). Although further analysis of this reduction would be useful for this study, no further information was available from the corporation.

In response to the Employment Equity legislation, moves felt at the departmental level involved the specific hiring of women in order to comply with the legislation. At the sport level, for a short period of time, there was an attempt to fulfill this directive, as indicated by the following excerpts:

You see, some locations, and I will name one, Timbucktoo, said [that for] our next reporter or sports reporter we don't even want to talk to men, we want a woman. That is fine if you get a qualified individual. Unfortunately they didn't, and what has happened now [is that] they have come to realize that and they have just not renewed the contract. (Male respondent)

I think to a certain degree yes, for many years, for the last four or five years you stood a better chance if you were a woman getting a job here than if you were a man. (Male respondent)

I think there was a whole lot at the network level, like for instance, I don't know if it is still in place, but there was an apprenticeship program, where they brought in different people into the sports department and at one point they said: "we have to have a woman, it has to be a woman." (Female respondent)

These efforts to hire women, however, were in the mid to late 1980s. More recent action, such as in the last year or two, by the Employment Equity Office is not evident in the sport department. The departmental initiatives which do occur are due to top management decisions, which are heavily influenced by legislation and the CRTC. Because of its public status, the corporation's degree of compliance to initiatives such as gender equity was expected by the State, the CRTC and the general public to be higher. This has resulted in pressure on the management staff to show that they are aware of the problem and that they are taking action to change it or at least trying to improve the situation. The following accounts speak to this point:

The reason for the internship program, or anything else, comes out of the 1986 Federal Employment and Immigration Act and because we are federally regulated public broadcasting, we have to answer to that. (Female respondent)

If this corporation wasn't to do some of this stuff, it would be a bit of a scandal or very badly seen, that State money is going in and it is only going to one portion of the population. From that end it is lucky because it has been forced to do some things a lot faster than some of the other organizations. (Male respondent)

At first it was legislated, but still because the tie to the State. Because it is a crown corporation, the State can legislate to us and say: "you must hire more females", which it had to do at first. (Male respondent)

Within the sport department, a direct result of these pressures was the development of an internship program to bring in trainees as reporters. This program was designed to provide an individual with the correct skills to be a radio sport reporter, and then to develop within the corporation. But this program was only put into action once, when one woman was hired from internally. Based on all the information gathered though, the official documents and the interviews, it appears that this was the only active response within the department to employment equity guidelines. It also appears that there has been no gender

awareness program or any other kind of initiative established since the late 1980s. It was expressed in the interviews that there is a perception that the corporation is achieving the goals set by the CRTC with regard to employment equity which, interviewees have suggested, is not entirely true. This is exemplified by the following excerpts:

The difficulty with employment equity initiatives is that unfortunately we are considered to be doing a very good job at it and we are not. (Female Respondent)

Then again, corporately we get good report cards from Employment and Immigration and [...] unfortunately when I look at who we bring in and how many stay, we don't do a good job. (Female respondent)

The point was raised that when people outside of the "normal" white, middle class category were hired, they brought different perspectives and ideas into the workplace, which contrasted the accepted norms. This seemed to be a change which the corporation is not yet willing to confront. A respondent offered insight to this:

We do not accept new ideas in a creative institution. There are very few people who would agree with me on that and I really believe that that is the case. Any difficulties that we have had is that we are unwilling to change and unwilling to look at things. The other thing is many people are even unwilling to admit that we even have biases. We all have biases to everything that is out of our own sphere and that is the stage where I am at with the employment equity, trying to recognize that we have those (Female respondent)

With respect to increasing opportunities for the five designated minority groups in radio, the Employment Equity Officer was awarded \$150,000 for the creation of training programs, internships and other opportunities in 1993-1994. One active strategy established by this manager was to arrange a conference on employment equity to enlighten producers about the issues involved, what they meant for the corporation and, more importantly, for them as prospective employers. A committee was set up and the conference took place in May 1993. The upper management's apathy in those matters, however, was demonstrated by their efforts to push the whole matter under the table:

That conference happened last May and we are now February, so not too much has happened. In fact there was a move by certain members of senior management who wanted this committee that had been set up, disbanded: "your work is done, the next conference is going to be back on programming and none of this stuff." (Female respondent)

The role of employment equity officer was delegated to the first person who showed an interest in the issue. It was a female manager who pursued this and attempted to improve the situation. No major changes, however, could occur due to the level of management at which the position was; a level which did not allow policy changes to be made. In addition, the financial support for the position has not been promised for the 1994-1995 year and is dependent on approval from upper management:

We still are facing a financial problem but assuming that is the first thing to go, and there is no support by senior management to put it back on the table in any way shape or form. How it will get back on the table is at the end of the year, [but] I haven't been asked. (Female respondent)

The only way this issue can be effectively handled is by giving this position authority to drive initiatives through. The corporation appears not to be willing to spend any more time or money dealing with an issue that an authoritative agency (i.e., the CRTC) thinks it has effectively handled. Subsequently between lower management and the floor, minor initiatives have a tendency to dissolve within the day to day running of things, and the authority for more radical steps toward gender equity must come from the top, which is not occurring at the moment. The following excerpts exemplify this point:

[There is] some support from the Vice-President, but certainly between him and me no support whatsoever for employment equity. And until there is, it is going to be very, very difficult to change people's attitudes towards it and to hold people accountable. (Female respondent)

As someone pointed out to me: "we get asked more about our camcon requirements, how much Canadian music is put on the air, as opposed to what we are doing with our employment equity initiatives." (Female respondent)

It is possible to identify the conflicting issues which a manager must consider when hiring new employees, however, there are other interplaying factors such as the gender of the employer. The literature has shown how

gender affects decisions consciously or unconsciously, as well as the treatment of the employment equity issue in an office, for example, in the distribution of work, information, training programmes and so on. Within the studied corporation, the actual knowledge of employment equity initiatives and background to new policies and programs appears to be very poor by the general staff at the department level. On the floor, the only real reaction to the 1986 and 1988 ERIN reports has been the monitoring of types of stories which are broadcast. Within the sport department, in order to try and alter the male makeup of the sport coverage, a board was set up with signs for different stories, as well as colours: red denotes a woman as the feature, black is shown for men. In this way, the sport department promotes finding a wider circle of athletes and issues for stories.

They generally keep logs every day on stories that are being run, and if it is a male reporter or female reporter. If it is a men's issue or female issue, professional, amateur, disabled, you name it. So they try and keep close tabs of what they are doing, and if they are not doing enough they try and do more of that particular thing. (Male respondent)

I remember when I worked in Brunswick, there used to be a story board and when you put up the story, you either put it up in red or black, signifying red women, black men. The idea behind it was they could keep strict control over the number of women that they were going to have on over the number of men. (Male respondent)

This log is kept month by month by gender of the reporter and gender of the sports person covered. This initiative, however, was not started until December 1992, two years after the report and recommendations came from the CRTC and the ERIN research. In December 1992, the number of women journalists who did tape for airing was seven (27%) compared to 19 male journalists (73%). A year later, in December 1993, these statistics had changed to two women journalists (11%) and 16 men (89%). The actual distribution of stories for male and female athletes is illustrated in Table 1. Of the 10 stories about women athletes in 1992, four were about women's downhill skiing. By 1993, there were five about Kate

Pace and women's downhill skiing and four about Sylvie Frechette's gold medal in synchronized swimming.

Table 1

Distribution of Stories by Gender of the Journalist in December 1992 and 1993

	1992		1993	
	n	(%)	n	(%)
Stories				
About Male Athletes	48	(83)	29	(73)
About Female Athletes	10	(17)	11	(27)
Total	58	(100)	40	(100)

That the gender of the management may affect how such issues are dealt with was evident when following the hiring of a woman changes occurred with regard to the station's approach to sport, for example, the vetting of scripts, the hiring of more women, and the editing. Another important factor is the length of time an Executive Producer is in a department, and what his or her personal goals are. It is argued here that the gender of the Executive Producer has had a large effect on the more subtle criteria operating during the worker selection process, such as consideration of group membership, the experience required from prospective workers, the delegation of stories and the selection of freelancers.

Group membership has to do with the fact that it is easier to perpetuate a single sex environment since it is believed that there are then less personnel issues to deal with. Since the sport department is such a male environment,

choices are more likely to favour men. This extends to the hiring of freelancers, whereby a cyclical process occurs of using old contacts which have been established over the years. Women have not yet gained access to these kinds of networks, so they lose out on this kind of work, unless other women in the department notify them of the possibility of work:

We never get women that offer to freelance for us, they don't even think of phoning or they are just not interested. I am not really sure but, for me, it is really frustrating: we don't have any female freelancers, like new people that are up and coming. (Female respondent)

The whole issue of the use of freelancers is important in this department since this would be an avenue through which women could gain vital sport experience. There has been a reduction in the number of freelancers hired, however, due to the decrease in full time staff, freelancing remains a key way to gain access. The problem seems to be about encouraging those who have the authority to use freelancers that are outside the realm of sport. One woman producer has the ability to do this and her programme is not confined to the professional sport realm. She offers the following insight:

I think the kinds of stories we are doing, some of them you don't need a knowledge base because it is initial research that has to be done anyway. So it is somebody who is good at making documentaries. You can find them outside of sport. (Female respondent)

This personal standpoint, however, raises the issue of what the rest of the sport department is trying to achieve. In fact, any attempt to produce a more issue-oriented approach is being met with resistance from within the organization. The following passage speaking to this point:

From inside the corporation we get a strong reaction: "do the game, what is this other shit?" Very strong reaction. (Male respondent)

Aside from this dilemma, another subtle issue is the fact that the sport host is perceived as an individual who must always appeal to the station's audience: there is a perception that this is best done with a male sport host. Since a great proportion of the broadcasts are still filled with scores and professional sport

information, as opposed to issue-oriented stories, this reinforces the perceived suitability of men as sport hosts. It is not surprising, then, that the morning sport show is currently produced and hosted by men (the peak hours for the sport department are between 6 and 9 am).

Further evidence of the constant pressure to conform to the norm (malestream sport) in sport broadcasting comes from an incident which occurred last year. The morning sport show was overhauled and, in an attempt to improve the position of women on the air, a woman host and a woman producer were put on the show, but three months later they were removed and replaced by men with more experience. This incident raises a number of questions, for instance, why were two inexperienced women placed there when they had women with experience in the office, or alternatively, why not one man and one woman, or why were so many great changes made at once to the peak airing programme? The incident suggests mis-management and questions the priorities of the department.

The issues discussed above introduce the problem of experience for those in the trenches: the journalists. Experience is obviously an influential factor in the selection process. In radio, experience is essential since radio is a specialized medium. Experience can be gained through training or freelancing, but these are not easily accessed by women. Paradoxically, women (white and highly qualified) are reportedly at the top of the sport journalism labour queue. This paradox highlights how, in this corporation, the management faces the perennial problem of trying to define what exactly they are hiring for: for sport journalism or jock journalism. It was shown that when employers look beyond the sport world for journalists there, they find many more women available. However, due to the pressures outlined above this does not occur very often.

Naturally, all of these processes are directly affected by what human resources are available in the open market. Obviously there are varying levels of qualified people available to work in sport journalism, but the main issue for this study is the fact that there are more men than women. In the next section, an attempt is made to develop an understanding of the interplaying factors which cause more men than women to look to sports journalism as a career.

The Dynamics of the Job Queue

The job queue is dependent on how workers perceive the available jobs and this is related to the criteria used to rank these jobs. The factors used to rank jobs are dependent on things like role models, experience, qualifications, social norms (for instance in 1984 Strober suggested that men were afforded first choice of the most attractive jobs available), working environment, job security, interesting work, chances for promotion and social standing. A key point to consider here is the different value attributed to the job characteristics by men and women, and how this value affects an individual's choice.

The criteria used by male workers in the sport department to rank jobs were found to be: financial rewards, earning potential, occupational attractiveness (occupational opportunity was important for women), working environment, job security, power relations and flexibility of the working schedule. Based on these criteria, workers construct a list of possible jobs in order of attractiveness. The differences in career planning between men and women in this department are quite evident when we look at their respective job queues (see Figure 7). These job queues were constructed on the basis of the data collected from interviews and questionnaires.

Figure 3. The Job Queues for Male and Female Workers in one Public Radio Sport Station

Male Workers	Female Workers
Sport	News
Freelancing	Current Affairs
TV Sport	Music
Management	Arts & Entertainment
Current Affairs/News	Sport
Arts & Entertainment	

As can be seen, the ranking of sport is quite different for men and women. The reasons underlying the process through which women do not choose sport as their first choice of career while men predominantly target a sport career will now be discussed. It should be noted here that much of the discussion related to these reasons is linked to answers provided to questions about the extent of involvement in radio and questions about attitudes with regard to the under-representation of women in sport broadcasting. These questions and the answers provided by the respondents are presented in Table 2 and 3, respectively.

Table 2

Opinion of Personnel about Items on the Questionnaire Associated to their Involvement in a Radio Sport Broadcasting Station

	Men		Women	
	Agree N (%)	Disagree N (%)	Agree N (%)	Disagree N (%)
1. My experiences within radio helped me achieve my position	9 (90)	1 (10)	7 (88)	1 (12)
2. I have made considerable personal sacrifice to obtain my current position	8 (80)	1 (10)	4 (50)	4 (50)
3. I have the potential to be very successful in this organization	10 (100)	0 (0)	8 (100)	0 (0)
4. I feel good about the working environment	8 (80)	2 (20)	3 (43)	4 (57)
5. I feel good about my interaction with my colleagues	8 (80)	2 (20)	8 (100)	0 (0)
6. There is a conflict between my work here and my personal life	1 (10)	9 (90)	4 (50)	4 (50)
7. I see myself as remaining in radio for a long period of time	7 (70)	3 (30)	7 (88)	1 (12)
8. I interact socially with other people in this organization	8 (80)	2 (20)	5 (63)	3 (37)
9. If I am to progress in this station it is necessary to have links with the "right" people	9 (90)	1 (10)	7 (88)	1 (12)
10. To get where I am now I had to really prove myself	10 (100)	0 (0)	6 (75)	2 (25)
11. I have been able to make a number of changes to the way this station operates	5 (50)	5 (50)	5 (63)	3 (37)

Table 2 (Continued)

Opinion of Personnel about Items on the Questionnaire Associated to their Involvement in a Radio Sport Broadcasting Station

	Men		Women	
	Agree N (%)	Disagree N (%)	Agree N (%)	Disagree N (%)
12. The positions I have held were central to it achieving its goals	8 (80)	2 (20)	6 (86)	1 (14)
13. I have strong contacts with people at the regional and national levels of radio broadcasting	6 (60)	4 (40)	6 (75)	2 (25)
14. A lot of people outside of this organization have helped me to get where I am now	4 (40)	6 (60)	1 (12)	7 (88)
15. I have experienced personal growth through the positions I have occupied here	9 (90)	1 (10)	6 (75)	2 (25)
16. I see myself taking higher profile positions here in the next few years	5 (50)	4 (40)	8 (100)	0 (0)
17. I feel there is more pressure on me to perform well than on most other people in the organization	6 (60)	4 (40)	4 (57)	3 (43)
18. The positions I have held here have provided me with the opportunity to move up the organizational hierarchy	7 (70)	3 (50)	3 (43)	4 (57)
19. The people at the top of this organization got there because they are committed	3 (30)	7 (70)	4 (50)	4 (50)
20. People acquired their position at this station because they were the best persons for the job	2 (20)	8 (80)	1 (14)	6 (86)
21. There is a strong "inner group" of people who control this organization	7 (70)	2 (20)	8 (100)	0 (0)
22. Women have to do better work to achieve equal recognition here	0 (0)	10 (100)	7 (100)	0 (0)

Table 3

Opinions of Personnel in one Public Radio Sport Broadcasting Station Regarding The Reasons for the Under-representation of Women in Sport Broadcasting

	Men		Women	
	Agree N (%)	Disagree N (%)	Agree N (%)	Disagree N (%)
1. A lack of knowledge on the part of women	4 (40)	6 (60)	4 (50)	4 (50)
2. A lack of female role models	9 (90)	1 (10)	8 (100)	0 (0)
3. A lack of training opportunities for women	3 (30)	7 (70)	6 (75)	2 (25)
4. Constraints placed on women due to family responsibilities	3 (30)	7 (70)	3 (43)	4 (57)
5. The unwillingness of women to travel	1 (10)	9 (90)	0 (0)	8 (100)
6. A lack of qualified women	7 (70)	3 (30)	1 (12)	7 (88)
7. A lack of women with sufficient relevant experience	8 (80)	2 (20)	2 (25)	6 (75)
8. A department dominated by men does not attract women workers	1 (10)	9 (90)	6 (75)	2 (25)
9. A weakness of informal female networks	4 (44)	5 (56)	7 (88)	1 (12)
10. A lack of commitment on the part of women	1 (10)	9 (90)	1 (12)	7 (88)
11. The success of informal male networks	4 (44)	5 (56)	8 (100)	0 (0)
12. Discrimination	1 (10)	9 (90)	4 (57)	3 (43)

Limited Access

In order for an occupation to become a viable option for workers it must be valued as a possible alternative when making career choices. One way of this having the chance to occur for women is through female role models providing newcomers with indications that the occupation is accessible. The lack of female role models affects choices: prospective workers may well resort to using traditional notions of appropriate and inappropriate work based on gender. This is evidenced by the following passages:

A big part of that is seeing your own on the television or hearing your own on the radio: if you only hear men broadcasting sports events, or talking about sports events, then you presume only men can do that job. (Female respondent)

Like every kid coming out of school who is male thinks they should be able to work in sports because they know everybody's name in hockey, where they come from and other stats. (Female respondent)

Both of the above quotes suggest that opinions and attitudes are shaped by life experiences, and that if women are not hosting or reporting on radio sport, young females are far less likely to consider it as a viable career option. The majority of respondents (94%) to the questionnaire agreed that there is a definite lack of female role models in radio sport broadcasting (question 2, Table 3). Such models are apparently needed at various levels. Not only are the hosts and reporters important, but also the content of their broadcasts. To tune in and hear male voices discussing football, baseball or basketball is not always inviting to prospective women journalists and women listeners. The following accounts illustrate this:

The corporation is out there trying to get all these female listeners so you have better write it in a language that is accessible. So often that is probably the biggest downfall more than anything. (Female respondent)

One of the things that came up [...] and it was brought up by a woman, was that they were generally pissed off that it was three men that covered the Blue Jays. That sent out a signal to people listening. Like why was it three men? (Female respondent)

Once workers have focussed on possible career options, they will obviously only enter occupations where positions are available, or where they are aware that they may become available. The working environment also has to attract them, and it would appear that for prospective women journalists, a department staffed with only a few women is less welcoming than one where women are visible at every level.

Question 8 (see Table 3) targeted this idea of how welcoming the sport department is to women. The results suggest that men think that their numerical superiority in the department is not unattractive to women workers, where as women feel the opposite. Men do not feel that their overwhelming presence constitutes a negative feature for women coming into the department, which appears to be contrary to the women's experiences, as is demonstrated in the following excerpts:

A lot of the male reporters have probably been there since I was born and they have just stuck with this department and never moved into any other things. (Female respondent)

I think to some degree there are some people, I don't want to call them dinosaurs, but some people who have been in their positions a long time. (Male respondent)

In an age of occupational mobility, older members of the department are at times perceived to block job openings, they also act as intimidators and precursors to any kind of change. This was particularly apparent with regard to the alternative style of sport journalism and higher standards being demanded today. The following excerpts exemplify this point:

There are some people who could push harder and not accept mediocrity and there are other people who need to step aside and let new people come forward who are maybe sharper. (Male respondent)

.. the generation that were hired in the 60s and 70s who are still there got hired because they were hired for sports. Now we hire in the hope that they are going to do a number of things, and that probably started when I got hired in the mid-80s and it certainly is practiced now. (Female respondent)

Even if there are job opportunities, a prospective candidate needs to have the correct qualifications, which appear to be a combination of formal qualifications and experience in today's labour market. The questionnaire responses were split along gender lines about whether there was a lack of qualified women available (see Question 6, Table 3). The fact that the men generally felt that there are not enough qualified women could be a reflection of their not wanting to believe women can do the job. It is difficult to know how anyone interpreted the term "qualified", whether it was from an experience or educational attainment perspective. The interviewees all stated that to gain access to radio sport journalism now, a combination of experience and qualifications is imperative. For example, two respondents stated:

In our line of work the more education you have the better, but you can't underline the benefit of experience enough. (Male respondent)

Because times are so difficult and money is so tight, even the people with degrees and experience are having to sit on the sidelines until things open up. (Female respondent)

The last statement also highlights the problem for women journalists: how do they get experience with no qualifications and vice versa? With regard to access, the respondents were asked about whether the lack of women in radio sport journalism was a consequence of their lack of experience (see Question 7, Table 3), and in another question, whether it was a question of lack of knowledge (see Question 1, Table 3). Respondents, however, were evenly split on the question of knowledge. This suggests that male respondents believe that women do not have journalism experience even if they do have the knowledge. The answers to these questions suggest the circulation of myths about women journalists and the lack of current information on training in journalism. For instance, in 1982, 53% of the graduates from journalism schools were female, and this percentage rose to 65% in 1992. At the graduate level, women

comprised 48% of the graduates in 1982, and 56% in 1992. Again here, the term "knowledge" may have been interpreted differently by men and women, for example, it may have meant "jock facts" or "background information."

As has been demonstrated, experience is important in order to gain access, and this is where freelancing becomes very valuable since it is a way of getting a foot in the door and getting your name known at media locations. The following statements are indicative of this:

I think this department relies on freelancers quite a bit, not as much as it has in the past, let's put it this way : with the number of journalists that we have had in the regions and in Toronto, we shouldn't have to use very many freelancers, but we use an inordinate amount of freelancers. (Male respondent)

I can't guarantee you a job per se, or specifically where you will be, but I know there is enough work here that if you get one contract you will probably get more and more work as time goes on. (Female respondent)

Based on the interviews, it seems that there are actually very few women who are freelancers and actively push their work onto the sport department. Whether this is a result of the lack of awareness of this opportunity or a lack of aggressiveness is unknown at this point. What is certain is that freelancing would offer a great opportunity for young women to gain both experience and contacts at once, since this is how many men access sport journalism today. A contact, however, is also needed to first obtain the information about freelancing, as suggested by the following respondent:

That includes people starting out. I came into sports a few time before I ended up working here, where I was told: "No, we don't have a job, we don't have anything for you." Not even any suggestions like maybe working as a freelancer. (Male respondent)

Alternative routes to sport journalism have included getting in right at the bottom and working one's way up, which was possible in the early to mid-1980s, when the hiring freeze was not in place and more active recruiting of women was occurring. With the structured recruitment practices now evident in the organization, this route is a very difficult choice. Intra-organizational mobility is

another alternative route. To this effect respondents were asked whether their experience within the radio had helped them achieve their current position (see Question 1, table 2). The majority of respondents agreed that previous experience had helped them (89%). This indicates how important it is to gain initial access to the radio station, as then one gains the specific skills required. From there it is perhaps easier to build up and move on. This is described in the following passages:

I think the only way to get in is to get any sort of a "Joe job" and sort of try and work your way up. It is really hustling. (Female respondent)

I was basically the "gopher" kind of thing, but learnt to edit tape, learnt to recognize stories, did on air-work and all that sort of stuff. Basically stayed there and bid my time until I got a network job. (Female respondent)

A structural constraint which further impacts the access problem is the small size of the sport department and the lack of internal movement. Not only is this due to the sport journalists remaining for long periods of time in their positions, but also because of the somewhat negative typecasting of sport personnel by other departments, particularly the stereotyping of women in sport. It became apparent that to develop any kind of a career in sport it is necessary to move out of the department relatively early in the career to gain more experience, and then, move back, as the next two respondents discuss:

There is not a lot of change in sports personalities in any of the mediums, [...] You like sports and you stay in it. It is a sort of long term dedication thing, so there is very little movement in sports at all levels, writing and on-air radio and in television, it is so hard to get into. (Female respondent)

If I really wanted to move up in this department I would want to move out of the department first and come back. (Female respondent)

In contrast, larger departments within the corporation, such as news and current affairs, offer much more space for lateral and hierarchical movement, and, of course, there is not the negative typecasting seen in sport. The matter of women having to become more aggressive to demand attention was a reoccurring preoccupation in the survey and interviews. One of the first women

in the department describes how it was necessary to become aggressive in order to progress within sport:

It was about in 1988 when I finally said: "I am not going to play this junior thing anymore, either you give me some authority and I rise." I personally had to begin not to play this junior part and start to have some confidence in myself, because no-one was going to tell me i was going to do a good job. No-one was going to promote me [...] so I went to my boss at the time and was very aggressive, and said [that] if he didn't consider me for the job then I would think there was something really wrong. (Female respondent)

This idea of having to move oneself to make a positive, lasting impression was formulated in the questionnaire (see Question 10, Table 2). There was an overwhelming agreement by the male and female respondents with the statement "to get where I am now I had to really prove myself." Whether or not to "move oneself" has the same meaning for men and women is questionable, however. This issue will be dealt with later when difference in quantity of work expectations between men and women will be discussed.

This idea of having to be more aggressive to be noticed as a female in the radio sport environment is a matter which the women seemed to have realized very early in their career. The development of an internal support structure was mentioned as something absolutely vital in helping women integrate with a male environment. This support would have been particularly required at the onset of the career, when difficulties were experienced. The following excerpt exemplifies this point:

At first, I think here it is really difficult as a woman to come in. Partly just because people don't trust that you can produce, like I don't know all the facts, I don't know all the trivia stuff, I don't know the names of the old timers. (Female respondent)

One employee joined the department in 1988, finding the transition from current affairs to sport particularly tough, as she describes:

I was thrown in and left to swim. I don't know if that was a strategy but it was very difficult at the beginning, really difficult, and in fact, I thought of quitting a couple of times. (Female respondent)

The offer of collegial support and advice would be a way to overcome these initial difficulties and isolation.

From the data gathered, the corporation did not demonstrate that it had created better access opportunities for journalists of different cultural backgrounds. This issue was raised in the interviews when the elitist structure of the corporation was highlighted, as demonstrated in the following account:

We are definitely Caucasian, a certain socio-economic group predominantly. Not too much difference on that, really, on the overall scheme of things. So getting jobs is really, really difficult. (Female respondent)

By promoting their own kind and replicating the system, change is virtually impossible. Thus, without the contacts and information in such an agency, access for women (or men) not in the right socio-economic or racial group is virtually impossible. For example, one respondent mentioned:

We are our own version of an ivory tower, and it is rather a large bureaucracy. So it is very difficult if you don't know who is who. So it means you've got to know somebody that is inside and therefore it perpetuates who is inside and who we all look at. (Female respondent)

The issue of "who is inside" was investigated by way of a question regarding those who had control in the organization (see Question 21, Table 2). There was an overwhelming agreement among women (100%) and men (70%) that there is, in fact, an all powerful inner group. Under such a perceived control, it was felt necessary in this study to determine the extent of both perceived and available mobility. In terms of perceived mobility, respondents were asked about the extent of their personal growth and actual movement up the hierarchy (see Questions 15 & 18 respectively, Table 2). A large majority of the respondents (83%) believed they had experienced personal growth in the radio station. With respect to ascending the hierarchy of the organization, very few women felt they had experienced this kind of opportunity (38%), while a considerably higher number of men did (70%). These answers, however, need to be interpreted

within the wider framework of the department (and corporation), particularly with regard to the age and experience levels of the respondents. About 70% of the women were between 26 and 35 years of age, whereas 55% of the men were 36 years old and above. These numbers indicate that a smaller number of women have had enough time to nurture promotion opportunities.

Also linked to mobility, it was deemed necessary to gauge what the employees felt the future held for them. This was done through the questionnaire by requesting the personnel whether they felt they had the potential to be successful within the organization (see Question 3, Table 2). This resulted in a total agreement (100%) with the statement that they had the potential to succeed. Whether their success was envisaged within or outside of the sport department is unknown however.

This section has presented information pertaining to access to radio sport journalism, and how differential access opportunities could influence the gender distribution within the department. This is of course one mechanism in the whole picture to be examined. Another mechanism is the relevance of work experience to success in radio sport.

Differential Background Experience

This section examines the background of the sport personnel and how it impacts on their experiences in sport. It also provides an opportunity to explain why none of the women in the department selected sport from the very beginning as the focus of their career.

Results of the survey indicate that the backgrounds of men and women in the department are quite different. To start, men joined the media beginning in 1957, whereas the women started arriving in the media only later, 1973. More men than women had experience in television prior to the radio, and all men

entered at a higher level than the women. Most of the male interviewees (83%) indicated that sport had played an important part in their life, as such, building a perfect backdrop for a career in the area. The following passages offer accounts of this:

I started doing play by play of university hockey games in the mid-1980s. From then, I wanted to do more and I wanted to do more than just hockey games and I mean more in broadcasting. (Male respondent)

[I graduated] from Ryerson a Bachelors of Arts in Communication in 1984, but during that time I worked at the campus radio station, I was involved in sports and sports broadcasting and play by play hockey, that kind of thing. I was head of the sports department at the radio station. (Male respondent)

These types of experiences were not present in the histories of the women interviewed, however, actually playing in sport seemed more a part of the women interviewees' youth than the males' youth. It was apparent from these interviews that women lacked the direction for a career in sport broadcasting, something which their male counterparts had in abundance. It seems that sport was an avenue which opened at an appropriate time in the career of the women; a direction which was not pre-planned. Most women respondents had the emphasis on wanting to work for the corporation rather than specifically in sport. The following respondents speak to this point:

I was on an arts degree so I didn't know which direction I was going in. (Female respondent)

So I fell into sports, it was always in my background, I played intramural, never varsity sports at university and I just ended up doing it. (Female respondent)

No, none of it was sport until I came here. My background is radio current affairs, journalism. (Female respondent)

I didn't really do sports when I sort of specialized, I didn't do sports. I did a lot of general current affairs work and I worked in some of the arts work that they have here at the corporation. (Female respondent)

The women's lack of motivation to work specifically in sport was reflected in the structure of the job queue. This gender-based variance in experience in sport prior to entering the sport broadcasting arena posed a problem in the view of men

in the department. The male interviewees were suggesting that the women might bring a different perspective and aspect of journalism to the department, but that they lack the essential asset: sport trivia knowledge. Consider the following passages:

I have seen a lot of people come in with good ideas, but [they] don't have enough of a grounding of what area they are in to be able to connect the relevance between what they want to do with the fundamental basis of what sport is all about and the basic numbers. (Male respondent)

There is a bit of a problem with that [...] my experience has also showed me in the last few years some people that we have brought in in the last few years have good ideas, don't know enough about sport and often times they are missing a kind of a grounding in what it is they are talking about. (Male respondent)

I think that if you had news reporters and producers and journalists and editors they still need a grounding generally in how the world works to draw stories from that. I think that is missing often times in sport and I think that is really what a lot of women who work in the business are missing. (Male respondent)

This could be interpreted as the men's resistance to the enforced changes in the style of journalism, since with a move towards the issue-oriented approach, sport trivia knowledge becomes less important than background knowledge. The female interviewees raised the issue that they were not competent in the historical sport trivia knowledge but they did bring other assets to the department. They also stated that they knew the basic facts involved in sport today, since not to do so would most certainly hurt them and their careers, as is the case in any other department. The following respondent speaks to this:

I sometimes compare sports to news, and what if someone would come into a newsroom never having heard of Breshnev, not particularly caring who Breshnev or Stalin was. (Female respondent)

Thus the emphasis which came through for women and those in favour of the new style of journalism was the knowledge of issues and facts rather than the trivia. Two respondents confirmed this:

What media are looking for are people who come to the table with ideas, thinking people with ideas, people who have insight and who can offer analysis and context. (Male respondent)

I think the women in the department have a broader interest, they are interested in the broader context of sports and I think that is because a lot of the guys who got into sports reporting are the fans; they loved sports so got into it. (Female respondent)

This point regarding trivia knowledge touches on the tip of what is considered a very large iceberg in radio sport: the perceived jock attitude and jock environment associated to the sport media. These attitudes and environment are such that despite the fact that women reported more sport playing experience than men, they are still not considered as knowledgeable in sport as the men. Coming through is the assumption that men know more about sports, whether they have been directly involved in them as players or not.

Jock Environment

From the beginning, when sport news came over the airwaves, male professional sport scores were rattled off, team statistics, top scores, MVP names. Consequently, it is not surprising that many people consider the sport broadcasting environment a reflection of the jock culture covered. Such an environment is not perceived as welcoming to women. Time and again during the interviews, the issue of "jock talk" was identified as a systematic way to exclude women from inter-office communication and programme information. It also seemed to be a testing ground where women had to prove their worth not just once but continually. This is evident in the following excerpts:

I do think there is a sort of, a bit of a guys' club in sports still, that game talk, jock talk, very much. (Female respondent)

I could never play that stuff, so you were always a bit of an outsider. That is how guys talk about sports. Some women do. So yes, that is a cultural barrier. (Female respondent)

I think you have more to prove, certainly, probably. There is nothing overt, but there is something more subtle and I am trying to define it. (Female respondent)

I mean the bottom line is if you don't joke around with the guys once in a while about whoever, if you don't know who won the world series in 1964, even though it was the year I was born, they don't quite take you seriously on certain things. (Female respondent)

This jock talk was seen as a form of communication for the men within the department, an exclusive one which women were not able to gain access to.

Consider for example the following:

I think that is why sports and that type of stuff go hand in hand, so it is much different for guys talking to other guys about sports than it was talking to other females about sports. (Male respondent)

That jargon jock world can be easier translated and worked with if you are working with another man here, but sometimes that can have limitations when you want to go beyond that with some people. (Male respondent)

The jock talk also extends the exclusivity of sports to the air waves, where it becomes a way for male journalists to protect their power. This differential treatment can create a negative atmosphere since those outside the information circle (e.g., the women), are unnecessarily made to feel inferior, as the following respondents indicate:

I told everybody, I will ask you questions when I don't know, because the bottom line is you can't just go on the air and make mistakes, but you hope that the support is there [but it's not ...] I just think that is unacceptable. Certainly doesn't welcome anyone to come forward and ask questions in any way shape or form. (Female respondent)

But still, I sit there going, thinking, well maybe I should know this, and maybe this is where sports producers are like. You start to question all this stuff and maybe I am just stupid and maybe I am just totally off base with what I think. (Female respondent)

There also appears to be an unspoken understanding between the men which allows them to switch freely between joking in their familiar jock talk and seriously discussing issues. This is a line which is very difficult for the women to cross back and forth as quickly and often, they are obliged to make a point of when they are joking around or when they are being serious. This can only cause or increase tension in an office, since it is another way for women to be tested on unfamiliar ground. This is described in the following:

It was an issue that I had to draw a line in a way quite strongly to be able to be perceived as being taken seriously in the department as a whole. (Female respondent)

Initially, I had to, like it is a balance it depends on how you play it. I like to be sort of casual and goofy in the office and relaxed and I have had to say to my boss on

occasion to stop teasing me when I want to talk to you seriously. (Female respondent)

A question in the survey dealt with the respondents' feelings toward their working environment (see Question 4, Table 2). A high proportion of the men (80%) felt good about the working environment, while the women were split on the issue. One possible cause of this difference could be the abundance of jock talk in the department. For instance, six out of eight women interviewees commented on how jock talk disrupted and slowed down meetings. The following passage is a telling example:

With the other women, we have talked about it before, the story meetings and how sometimes they will just go on and on, and they will just talk jock talk for like 15 minutes and we are waiting for the story meeting to actually begin. We don't sit around talking recipes for 15 minutes, we wait until lunch to do that. (Female respondent)

Perhaps with the change in the type of sport journalism, the jock talk will gradually be replaced in the department by a "talk" that would be more inclusive than exclusive. This, of course, would be more likely to occur if there were more women on staff.

Related to the issue of jock talk is the approach to work. Obviously if individuals sit around chatting a great deal they are not producing as much work as they should. In that regard, it was raised by the women interviewees that the men have more leeway in their work habits. There is a perception that there is less pressure on them to be continually productive and that it is accepted by the management that they sit and jock talk during the day. In contrast, partly due to the low number of women in the office, it seems that any break that goes over the allowed time is noticed by all. A respondent offers the following account:

The guys can slack off all they want or not come in or be late or do whatever, and it can go unnoticed for a long time. It can't go unnoticed if any of the women aren't working, aren't producing, that type of thing. Because there are so few of you and you are so visible you continually have to be on top of the game all the time. The guys don't have to be. (Female respondent)

This difference in work habits is reflected in the survey when respondents state whether they agree or disagree with the statement that women have to do better work to achieve equal recognition (see Question 22, Table 2). The difference was clear: women agreed that that was true, while men disagreed. Alternatively, respondents were asked whether they thought a lack of commitment on the part of women was a cause for their under-representation in radio sport broadcasting (see Question 10, Table 3). Results show that a majority of the respondents did not (83%), an indication that women's dedication to work and work habits are not questioned.

Stereotyping and Gender-based Treatment

Within the sport journalism environment, there are a number of ongoing processes which serve to hold back certain individuals. Stereotyping processes are an example of this and result in differential hiring practices and treatment. In this study, despite problems and issues raised within the sport radio department, the men generally did not believe that gender and gender stereotyping were problems anymore, or issues requiring further staff education or awareness campaigns. This is evident in the following passages:

[Gender:] was an issue at one point. I don't think it is any more. I think that the men, I am not particularly proud of my gender but some of the men who were the dinosaurs got to the point where the women's issue was stronger than them, and they left. The women are still here. (Male respondent)

But now there are so many women in responsible positions that they are in harmony with men. I don't think it is an issue any more. I really don't. (Male respondent)

You take a look at our department that we have now, there are no issues out there. (Male respondent)

During the interviews, any time the issues of gender, employment equity and related topics were raised, men would reply that there are no more problems in radio sport. Judging from what the women in the department had to say on

these issues, it seems that the men were rather unaware of how they perpetuate them. One example of this is the occurrence of stereotyping by way of type of stories covered by reporters. Interviews revealed that women who were (or had been) reporters felt restricted in their type of stories. By being put into ghettoized sport events (which is normally due to stereotyping women as caring, emotional human beings who can only cover stories reflecting these qualities), women felt restricted from gaining as much prestige as their male counterparts get for the hard, political or economic stories. For example, a few respondents recount:

I fell into what I now call the pink ghetto: I did gymnastics and sports medicine. Now, I was a national swimmer and almost made the Olympic team, but they never let me cover swimming because that was [a co-worker's] beat. (Female respondent)

I like to think that I have done features so well that that is all they remember. I am sure that is not what it is. I don't know what it is and I can't say I have been totally pegged, I perceive that in some ways I have been pegged. (Female respondent)

There is still very much a feeling that I do the featurish type things, which is crap, but we could get into that, it would be another study. (Female respondent)

As a result of the stereotyping process, it seems that women are discriminated against in gaining opportunities to expand, improve and move on. It is also a process which limits their attempts to cover the dominant discourse used in sport reporting since they do not have complete access to malestream sports. The typecasting of women therefore affects doubly their opportunities for personal development inside the office. It was evident from the interviews that this problem was not simply linked to experience, since the people who identified it were considered the best reporters in the office, yet they were still being fed the ghetto issues. This suggests that even as women prove themselves over time the typecasting does not dissolve.

On the one hand, women are fed the ghetto issues, and on the other hand, they are finding themselves within a larger ghetto: that of sport. By association to their male colleagues, women in the sport department are perceived by

personnel from other departments to be of the "jock type." Consequently, they are ghettoized in sport. For example one respondent mentioned:

People can look at you and think: "oh, she does sports, I guess that means she is either incapable of doing anything else, or just not interested in doing anything else." (Female respondent)

One side effect of such perceptions is pressure on women to perform well and prove their worth inside and outside sport. This was investigated through the questionnaire, where the respondents had to state whether there was more pressure on them to perform well than on others in the organization (see Question 17, Table 2). A small majority of men and women who answered this question felt that there was (6 men out of 10 and 4 women out of 7)

Other forms of stereotyping are sometimes more overt, for instance when women are made to feel dependent or powerless or subjected to physical harassment. In relation to these, respondents offered the following experiences:

I remember where there was one fellow who would just stand in the door way and put his arm across so you couldn't really go in the door and there would be a group of guys talking and I would be trying to go into the office, and he wouldn't make way for me. I would either have to go under his arm or I would have to say: "can I get through?" But he made me have to do something. (Female respondent)

[A co-worker] hung up the Sunshine pictures around my desk and thought it was a big joke, [...] this person continued to whisper in my ear when I was on the phone. (Female respondent)

Stereotyping and gender-based treatment are types of discrimination, but as Kelly (1987) has argued, discrimination often goes underground when explicit actions result in serious penalties. A more subtle type of discrimination regarded the gaining of recognition in the department. Answers to the question "women have to do better work to achieve equal recognition here" confirmed the perfect split in the office on this topic (see Question 22, Table 2). The interviews provided more information about this, for instance, women felt they had to be a great deal more aggressive in order to make headway in the department. This is evident in the following passages:

Here it pays to be a lot more aggressive and I think as women we find that harder to do, to interrupt, to be more forceful, to blow your own horn a lot, which I would never do. It is so hard to do and the men do it a lot more. (Female respondent)

I just found like constantly the men were, like, if I made any kind of intelligent suggestion well I felt them jumping down my throat, or this is the classic, repeating what I said as if they thought it up. (Female respondent)

This gender-based treatment seemed to also affect other situations where resources and opportunities were lost to men because of their more dominating, aggressive style, as shown in the following statements:

But it is like I can say something, I can give you an opinion on whatever, and the man next to me may give you the same opinion and him saying it will count for a lot more than my saying it. So we have discussed it because it happens all the time. (Female respondent)

Then dealing with other more aggressive, which in this case happen to be male personalities, who really sell themselves and as a result get it. Be it a plum assignment, be it equipment, complicated or simple, they get it. (Female respondent)

Not unrelated to this, were the respondent's degree of agreement with the statement that women are under represented in sport broadcasting because of discrimination (see Question 12, Table 3). While 90% of the men disagreed with the statement, only 38% of the women did. This significant difference is probably linked to differential experiences by men and women within the department, and it may also indicate a difference in the perception of what constitutes discrimination.

A final form of gender-based treatment concerned the departmental atmosphere. This intangible aspect of the work environment was particularly discussed by the women who had come into sport after working in other departments, and who came in at a higher level than secretary or assistant/trainee reporter. These women felt something different about the atmosphere in the sport department, although they could not define exactly what it was. One thing was for certain, this difference was divided along gender lines, as described in the following excerpts:

I felt a difference coming from current affairs to sports, in terms of being a woman and I can't tell you what it is. I can't. I have spoken to other people about it, it is really hard to put your finger on. I don't feel it as much anymore, but initially I did, quite a bit. (Female respondent)

It is not blatant and we all get along, there are no problems, but we have often said to ourselves: "just what is going on?" Because you sort of sense an undercurrent I think. Do we have to turn into that kind of forward, not necessarily domineering but dominant kind of person? (Female respondent)

In conclusion it seems that the stereotyping and gender-based treatment experienced by the women in the department take multiple forms and negatively impact their professional duties and activities, the general atmosphere in which they work, and the manner in which they are perceived inside and outside the sport department.

Power Dynamics

Within the sport department, it is clear that there were a number of small power fights occurring. One which resurfaced continually concerns who has the most influence in story meetings, decision making processes and general departmental activities. Consider the following for example:

I think it is more, I don't know how to put it and we have discussed it so many times. Just within the department ourselves, I don't want to say your word doesn't count for much here, but maybe I do want to say that. (Female respondent)

Whether they agree or disagree, but they will listen to what I am saying. Again though, I think it comes down to how much influence you have and I think sometimes, as women, that is where we are lacking: how much influence we can exert over the people who make the decisions. (Female respondent)

Well, I have to be really vocal in order to be taken seriously in terms of what stories [have] to be covered or research. (Female respondent)

Based on the interviews, it appears that one of the ways the women could exert any influence in the decisions was to present a united front, to back each other up. This, of course, entailed time spent discussing the issue beforehand. This in a way throws light on why the men in the department were suspicious of women talking together: it may be that they felt threatened by the women's solidarity on issues. This solidarity is evident in the following passages:

So we have other women to pitch things off, who are there to help you, and I think that when you are trying to do any story, like if you are trying to set up anything in a

meeting, like if I am going into a meeting trying to sell an item, well I will say to you beforehand: "what do you think of this?" You will work on it then, so at least when you go in you have some kind of support for it. That type of thing. (Female respondent)

Say for example, a person was given an assignment, a reporter, and it is a high profile assignment and we don't agree that that person was given it because they haven't sort of proved themselves that they can do it or handle it. I tend to find the women all agreeing, sitting around and saying: "I can't believe that, does that ever piss me off." (Female respondent)

The interviews were a telling tale of the power dynamics present in the department and underlined how far into the 20th century sport had yet to be pulled. According to the respondents, even women who came into sport from other departments were shocked at the backward practices in sport, whereby it is difficult for a woman to have her ideas heard. This is described here:

Other women who work in [...] current affairs departments cannot believe that what they say isn't listened to [when they are in the sport department]. (Female respondent)

An obvious connection with women's lack of influence is the issue of dominance within the department. It seems that the intimidation of women, the belittling of women's their ideas, ignoring the women, and jock talk all serve to maintain the men's dominance within the sport arena. The women interviewed made the link to the fact that, socially, girls are not brought up to be pushy and aggressive, whereas this is more an acceptable behavior for boys:

We have had this discussion before and I think it comes back to always growing up being told never to interrupt, whereas the men do it all the time. I think it is changing ourselves to say this is not right, we should interrupt more, control [...] the conversations as much as they do. (Female respondent)

To modify the power dynamics, the women felt that they needed to become a much larger force within the department, one whose presence would be felt, and listened to. In this way, they would gain more power within the decision making processes. The following account illustrates this:

As women, that is where we are lacking: how much influence we can exert over the people who make the decisions. That comes from being a more dominant force in the department, or a force that you feel all the time because you are always talking or always blathering on about something. (Female respondent)

One way of empowering themselves was adopted by the women and it took place during the assessment periods. Some interviewees contended that if they supported each other during such evaluations then at least their qualities would be mentioned instead of swept under the carpet. This is described in the following excerpt:

I find myself that I know there are women in this department who realize my talents and go out of their way to praise me and to lift me up, and to get me assignments. So I turn around and try to do it for them. (Female respondent)

In terms of the power dynamics, respondents were surveyed on the question of whether they had been able to make changes to the way the station operates (see Question 11, Table 2). If the information from the interviews suggests that the women do not have much influence in the department, the figures from the survey indicate that a small majority of the women (63% compared to 50% of the men) perceive that they have made "a number of changes to the way this station operates." An element of explanation for this paradox may be that women considered small changes possible, but still felt powerless in terms of the major decisions taken within the department.

The women's lack of dominance and power within the department seemed to be transferred to experiences external to the department. One obvious place where this was felt to be the case was the locker room, while another was the press box. In either one of these, the women are generally very noticeable and become easy targets, as discussed by the following respondent:

It is always a little bit worse if you are a female, just if you don't know the people in the press box. I have been in the press box a few times, people aren't just saying "hi", they want to know who you are, why you are there, what you are doing, if you really know what you are doing ... (Female respondent)

On the contrary, weaker male journalists were perceived to be able to get away with slipping into either circumstances unacosted. Consider the following for example:

I think if you are a kind of dozey male you can get away with just saying: "hi, how are you?" But you have to somehow convey to them that you have some kind of knowledge or reason for being there if you are a woman. It is not really questioned if you are a man. (Female respondent)

The male reporters, however, also commented on how unwelcome they feel in the locker room. They added that it is not really a useful part of the evening, since the information tends to be very limited, predictable, and often times unusable. This is described in the following excerpts:

I know, as a man walking into the locker room I don't feel comfortable. There was even some talk here by the executive producer of maybe even stopping that altogether, stopping going into the locker room. All you are going to get is "oh yes, fantastic", stuff that really is meaningless. (Male respondent)

So it is not pleasant and I don't think that reporters need to go into the locker room. There is nothing said in that dressing room that is really warranted. The only thing is sometimes you can see the dynamic in the team and know it is not good, it is good, or whatever, but still that depends on what the priorities are. (Female respondent)

Another mechanism taking place in terms of power dynamics within the organization was the people's own interpretation of what power is and who has it. Differential interpretations at times lead to perceptions that the wrong people were placed in prominent positions:

You are considered to be important, sometimes because you have got a title, that helps, and it has nothing to do with whether you have any knowledge anyway, sometimes you get titles and you shouldn't be in those jobs, but the other things is what information [...] you have. (Female respondent)

It seems that much of the above-mentioned dynamics were occurring because of the poor inter-gender communication. Communication lines seemed to be broken more often than not between women producers and men reporters, assistant producers and Executive Producer. On a social level, there again were similar problems. The latter seemed to be intermingled with the recent changes forced in the staff's approach to work, the required productivity levels, and the staff structure. The following excerpts exemplify this point:

The other thing I would change would be more communication within the department, like a lot more of us talking to one another. (Female respondent)

I think problems with miscommunication. People not knowing who is doing what, after the fact, people not being told what other people have been told. I think the

big, big problem is communication, which is weird when that is what we are doing.
(Female respondent)

Contacts and Networking

An organization such as this public one has highly structured hiring procedures, and the contacts made while progressing through the station are extremely important with regard to access to available opportunities. Right out of journalism school, it was clear that contacts were vitally important within the industry if an individual wished to progress quickly, as the following respondents discuss:

Around 1982 I started to meet some people from here and ended up being at the same press conferences as they were, Mr. [.] was one of them and the head of the department was a gentleman by the name of Mr. [.] so we hooked up and just started talking, and then they realized that I did freelance. (Male respondent)

In terms of making contacts, that was one of the most important things about the school I went to. (Female respondent)

Networking has positive sides, but also means that individuals outside the network are not always aware of opening positions. In fact, when respondents were asked if people acquired their jobs because they were committed (see Question 19, Table 2), or because they were the best for the jobs (see Question 20, Table 2) a majority of respondents disagreed with both statements (61% for Question 19; and 78% for Question 20).

It became apparent through the interviews that the corporation's current hiring procedures and fiscal reductions have resulted in networking becoming even more important in the grand scheme of things. Consider for example the following:

Networking is very important in this job. (Male respondent)

With more restrictions and jobs are hard to come by now, it is one thing to have qualifications, it is another to have the contacts. (Male respondent)

Now, there has to be a subtle distinction between the contacts made in and through sport (which men have in great number), and those made outside of

sport. Given the tendencies away from jock journalism and toward sport journalism, it seems important that contacts be made with people in a wider range of positions and departments, (i.e., both internal and external to the sport department). In light of this, it seems that the women had the possibility of a wider range of contacts outside of the sport department because of their occupational movements prior to sport. For example:

I know an awful lot of people, either by the productions that I have worked on, or direct, friendships that have grown through the business, that kind of thing. So I would credit an awful lot of that with the fact that I have stayed with the corporation for all these years. (Female respondent)

I have tentacles all over, I know quite a few people just because I have moved around so much. (Female respondent)

It is the contacts you make, yes in terms of who is on and who is not; it is how you make your reputation. (Female respondent)

The interesting thing was that a few of the male interviewees did not perceive themselves as being involved in networking. They almost seemed to envy the women's position on this, which is evident in the following:

Some of the women in the office have been networking with women's groups, other broadcasters, I mean it is a growth thing for anybody, but the women have been doing this and the men haven't. (Male respondent)

Can you imagine what men could do if men networked? But men are too competitive. (Male respondent)

There seemed to be a great deal of power lying with those who knew the latest corporation gossip, this, of course, being only attainable from networking within the corporation. Networking seemed necessary, particularly when individuals wanted to avoid becoming too insular, a notion clear in the following passages:

I didn't coin this but it is called radio corridor and that is how, if you want to get things done, it is who you know, how you know and that kind of stuff that is not different from a lot of different businesses, but it is weird. Every unit has its culture, every department has its culture, every medium has its culture and also language for sure, and then there is a corporation culture. (Female respondent)

If you know who is going to be the next executive producer on program X, wow your number is up there because you are in the in, you are in the know and a lot of people spend most of their day trying to find out information, across the country and here in Toronto. (Female respondent)

The access to knowledge and information seemed to be a key to power and it was also related to promotion prospects in the corporation. This was confirmed by the responses to a question about the necessity of knowing the "right" people if progress in the corporation was to be made (see Question 9, Table 2). Subsequently, it is clear that there was a hierarchy in the organization and a definite network which one must access if one is to succeed. This was supported by the responses to questions pertaining to contacts in the corporation (see Question 13, Table 2) and contacts outside the corporation (see Question 14, Table 2).

The respondents indicated that external contacts were not useful for promotion in the corporation, however internal ones were. This was reinforced by a question regarding how they learned about the availability of their present position. Answers are shown in Table 4.

Table 4

How Personnel in a Public Radio Sport Department Learned About the Availability of their Present Job

Method	Women	Men	Total
Newspaper	0	1	1
Acquaintance inside the corporation	8	7	15
Being in the right place at the right time	1	3	4
Acquaintance outside the corporation	0	0	0
Other method	0	0	0

It should be indicated that not one person indicated that they got the job through an acquaintance outside the corporation or any other method.

Finally, in terms of networking, one factor played against women and that is history: it takes time to build up a network of reliable contacts and given the shorter history of women in broadcasting, they have not had the time or opportunity to do this. Statements regarding the weakness of informal female networks (see Question 9, table 3) and the success of male networks (see Question 11, Table 3) were posed as potential reasons for the underrepresentation of women in radio sport journalism. There was a difference of opinion between the men and women to these questions, the men disagreeing and the women agreeing. It was apparent that the women in this sample overwhelmingly believed that contacts are a strong and successful way of maintaining male over representation and restricting women's access.

The network has been in place for men a great deal longer than for the women who are only now overtly working to overcome this barrier. The problem seemed to be, however, that women were networking with very few others. For the networks to be useful, it seems that efforts must be made to bring such networking corporation wide. With the move of the corporation in 1993 to a single building as opposed to the 28 separate ones before, there is a greater opportunity for women to interact and network with the other women in the building. The improvement is substantial, particularly for women in the sport department which was previously located in the attic of a small building, where all employees were very isolated.

Evaluation and Mentors

There was a consensus of opinion from the interviews that within the sport department, there was very little done in either mentoring processes or evaluation. It appeared that evaluation was spasmodic, and that mentoring occurred only for a few lucky ones, as exemplified in the following accounts:

There was certainly no mentoring, anywhere, whether it be news, sports or any job I have done since then. We just don't do a very good job of how we mentor our people along in any way shape or form. (Female respondent)

So it is the more bits of advice from the people I haven't really known very well, but people who I have really respected that have been, not mentoring, but I wish I had had someone who had been there from day one. (Female respondent)

The only person that I would say has really helped me a lot was somebody that I met in NB that happened to be the network producer. (Male respondent)

The lack of a mentoring program is particularly unfortunate for women in sport, since it would have enabled them to enter a network or at least give them easier access to it. With regard to evaluation, it seemed that most staff members were "lifers" particularly since the unions ensure that they can not be removed. The attitude appeared to be that since these employees will stay no matter what, there is no point in evaluating them. Alternatively, newcomers in the department are all on contract, which gives a great deal of power to the executive producer, since if their work is not up to standard he has the option of not renewing their contract. The following excerpts aptly describe this:

For me it is more evaluation [when I am allowed to continue] working. (Male respondent)

Feedback on your progress? No it is not as good as it should be. (Female respondent)

This seems to begin a vicious circle in the sense that there is no punctual evaluation and contract workers are just let go when their work is not up to standard. The quantity of quality workers available, therefore, will remain small if evaluation is not offered as a first step toward progress.

Training

Associated with the above processes of evaluation and mentoring is the process of training. This training seemed to be lacking in some instances, or difficult to obtain. This is evidenced in the following passages:

The news [department] has had tones of training programmes for the longest time, [but] they haven't been available to the sports department. (Female respondent)

No, there are a number of training courses and I think you have to fight for everyone of them. (Male respondent)

The President of the corporation recently took a stand on training by extending the budget by \$8 million (it was set at \$6 million for 1993-1994, and 1994-1995). In the internal report which discussed recruitment, training, professional development, evaluation and assessment, statements were extremely positive in terms of increasing training schemes, evaluation, assessment and development. It is stated that, on average, the corporation spent \$400 per person in 1992 on training. Within the sport department, however, not one person interviewed seemed to have experienced any of these opportunities. Another matter raised in relation to training was that the radio is a very different medium to work in (when compared to television or the print media) and preparation at universities is very limited. This means that there is more of a need for newcomers to acquire the correct, specific skills, as the following individuals attested to:

The problem is, it is harder to be able to develop, radio is very insular, it is hard to develop that kind of programming to radio and it is hard to gain experience unless you are working inside. (Male respondent)

There could be more in the way of training for everybody who comes in because you don't have enough voice training. (Male respondent)

The same thing here if you want to improve at the corporation you have to find the right person to work for. Unfortunately they don't really have programs in place that can really improve people's skills. (Male respondent)

There was an internship set up in the mid 1980s to allow one individual a year to come in and be trained specifically for a position as a sport reporter, with the understanding that when a job came up they would apply for it (and it was highly likely they would get the job). It appeared, however, that it was only put in place for one year and it was used specifically to recruit a woman into the department (this woman subsequently progressed to a higher level). It appears that formalization of this internship never happened.

The questionnaire addressed the issue of lack of training opportunities as a restriction of access to radio sport journalism (see Question 3, Table 3). The responses were split along gender lines with women agreeing (75%) and men disagreeing (70%) that this was the case. It appears that the lack of opportunities for sport personnel in the mentoring, evaluation and training system is an example of the corporation's lack of dedication to the department and it also appears that these voids are particularly felt by the women.

Social Dynamics

The social dynamics is another aspect of the internal dynamics of the sport department. From the information gathered through the interviews, it appears that the social dynamics were such that a rift existed between men and women in the department. Although office dynamics seemed fine on a superficial level, there were comments and indications that the gap between men and women in the department was a long way from being breached to the satisfaction of either side. The questionnaire touched on this aspect of office relationships by asking respondents whether they interacted socially in the organization (see Question 8, Table 2). The positive responses to this question do give the impression that, socially, department employees mix well. If this was somewhat confirmed in

terms of the whole organization, there were other indications in the interviews that this was not true at the departmental level.

One major modification which has changed the social side of things has been the reduction in number and length of road trips. In 1988, 28 people were sent to the Calgary Olympics, while in 1994 only one person was sent to the Lillehammer Olympics. This means that in 1994, there was much less enforced social time. It could be argued that the present departmental atmosphere is more reflective of what relationships are really like, since the staff are not thrown together anymore. Individuals are now able to make their own free choices regarding when and who they go out with.

In terms of social dynamics, the main breach appeared to be with the "pick up socials": not the fact that they went on, but the fact that the men were very overt about them and failed to extend invitations outside of their clique. This is evidenced in the following passages:

I know that a lot of the guys get together and play street hockey [...] but nobody goes out to make a conscious effort to say come and play street hockey. (Female respondent)

The guys would continually come in, like: "[name] are you going for lunch, lets go for lunch together." They do that all the time, every now and then one of us would go "oh, for sure, don't ask us for lunch." "Well, you are busy." That does go on, definitely. They do all the time. (Female respondent)

Just like there was a time when, all of us women used to laugh, there was a group of 3 or 4 guys who used to get together and go for lunch, go get their coffees or whatever. (Female respondent)

The men, when questioned about the social aspect of the job, were all very positive that things were friendly and that the department often did things together. Another example of their differential perception of department dynamics is displayed in the following:

We play on a baseball team together, men and women on the team, from the whole department and we usually go out after the game so that is fun, it is nice to have those kinds of experiences. (Male respondent)

Once again the women were much more critical and reflective of their experiences than their male counterparts. Another issue raised in the interviews was that of the men socializing all day, through jock talk, particularly at the beginning of meetings. Paradoxically, the responses to the questionnaire regarding the interaction with colleagues completely opposed these statements (see Question 5, Table 2). The majority of people (89%) agreed that they felt good about the interaction in the office. It has to be noted here that the questionnaire was distributed first, and then, interviews were conducted. Even in the interviews, the interviewees "warmed-up" and only towards the end did they start to divulge some of the less pleasant aspects of their work environment. This could explain the discrepancy between the questionnaire responses and the statements made in interviews. It is also possible that the question was interpreted as day to day interaction, as opposed to situations pertaining to outside the office or during breaks. The social networking in the department does not seem to be as interactive as it could be, with gender playing the dividing role.

What Does the Future Hold?

As has been indicated throughout the results, one of the major struggles in the department concerns fighting for its status within the organization. The issue of broadcasting was briefly covered in the section on change, however, it is necessary to see where the sport department is heading. This point may be grasped in the following passages:

That debate is really going on with a vengeance inside the corporation, inside radio sports. What sort of things should we be covering. If you don't hear women, minorities in sport on the public broadcasting then where are you going to?
(Female respondent)

The problems that this department is facing from my perspective aren't questions of women over men, it is a question of what the hell are we doing with the radio, what kind of idea do we want to propose about sports. Involved in that is a question [...]

dealing with male professional sports vis a vis women or amateur athletics.
(Female respondent)

This whole department has gone through a lot and is still fighting to maintain its status. (Female respondent)

It seems that the sport department has to identify what it is aiming to do in a much more concrete way. It seems, however, this would be better done by the department as a whole as opposed to being imposed upon the department by the management. In contrast to the breath of change favoured by the women and by the staff in other departments, there was still a strong feeling among the men in sport that the "journalistic" sports coverage, the issue-oriented stuff, is a fad, and that the only way to maintain a high listener level is by providing facts and figures. This notion is voiced by the following respondents:

If we start going off on a tangent to get agenda issues into our sportscasts simply because "oh yes, this is a great story and it takes up two and a half minutes of our four minutes sportscast", I am sorry, we have lost listeners. It is going to go full cycle, it always will. (Male respondent)

I will tell you this much: I think we are at a point now where we can't continue to ignore the meat and potatoes of sport coverage. (Male respondent)

Despite the plea for a certain form of status quo, it has been realized by many that to survive, sport has to change in a way which excludes a return to the old regime of the mainstream sports play by play. The following passages speak to this point:

I think sports has to redefine itself and put a public broadcasting face on what it doesn't, because listing scores and that kind of thing is not going to save it.
(Female respondent)

That conflict still exists here, not to a great degree, it is basically changing and basically the power that has control is the one that does sport more in the journalistic way. (Male respondent)

While some may feel a definite improvement with the sport department, there is a feeling that higher management is leaning more towards current affairs and arts, with sport having little space, as the following respondents describe:

We are way ahead of where arts is, but does arts ever have a review called on it? No, sports is having a review on it. (Female respondent)

I don't know whether even sports will exist here in 10 to 15 years, the way money is going and all that sort of stuff. (Female respondent)

This feeling that the future is not with sport is particularly there with women and it is reflected in their opinions about what they will do next. Most women thought they would be moving onto another department, corporation or medium.

The following accounts illustrate this:

As far as jobs go, probably not in sports. Because of financial constraints they do not know how many opportunities for jobs there will be as far as sports goes. (Female respondent)

Back to news or current affairs positions. (Female respondent)

I don't want to stay in sport for ever. I mean I enjoy it, I think I just get tired of it at a certain point. It is not the real world in some ways. (Female respondent)

The women's intent to move on in the next few years to higher profile positions was reflected in the questionnaire. As for the men, one thing which must be taken into consideration is that a larger number of them are close to retirement age, so change is not a priority at this point in their life. The questions targeting the future of employees in radio (see Question 7, Table 2) and the move to higher profile positions (see Question 16, Table 2) had similar responses. A majority of the employees do intend to remain in radio (72%) and take higher profile positions (78%). The interviews gave the indication that the women would be competing for higher profile positions in other departments, while the men would attempt to remain in sport. Granted these results, it is clear that if the sport department is to attract more women, it will have to do some very proactive recruiting, both inside and outside of the corporation.

All of the processes outlined above are occurring in a manner such that sex segregation appears to be maintained in radio sport journalism. These processes follow certain patterns of vertical and horizontal segregation that are serving to perpetuate the unequal opportunities. These patterns are the focus of the next section.

The Patterns of Segregation

All of the preceding information has generally indicated that there is still a high degree of occupational segregation within the corporation and more specifically in the sport department. Earlier on, the labour queue and job queue have been described as the dynamics which have resulted in employers and workers making decisions based on labour market dynamics. Now, the focus is on horizontal and vertical patterns of segregation which have occurred as a result of these dynamics.

Vertical Segregation

Vertical segregation is apparent two levels: first at the corporate's higher level and secondly, within the sport department. Vertical segregation through the corporation is demonstrated by the fact that there are no women in senior management positions (i.e., President or Vice-President positions). These positions are where the major policy decisions are made which affect the whole organization, both in the short and long term. At the lower management level the structure is still dominated by men who compose 84% of this level. In addition, women have failed to penetrate the engineering hierarchy or the areas of technology or media management. As one works down the corporation, however, it is possible to see that women are prevalent in the human resource, sales and clerical departments. These are all departments which do not have the same access to decision making power within the corporation, which have less occupational prestige, and which offer smaller salaries and fewer opportunities for occupational mobility.

At the sport department level, one of the problems raised earlier concerns the lack of structure within sports, a structure that would enable occupational

movement. The two positions which are obviously more powerful than the others are those of overall Manager and the Executive Producer, those positions being held by a woman and a man respectively. Since, however, all clerical positions are held by women, and since men are in the majority within the department, it is clear that men do retain the positions that are higher up in the hierarchy. A more in-depth analysis is, however, impossible, because apart from the Manager and Executive Producer, the positions, as well as their placement in the hierarchy of the department, are not clearly defined.

Vertical segregation works along the hierarchical lines; power in decision making delineating the top positions from the bottom ones. The results of this study show that occupational segregation is still occurring very much along gender lines at both levels. Just the fact that there are so few women in power positions within the corporation is an accurate reflection on the corporation's commitment to its employment opportunity policies. Within sport, however, there has been progress given the constraints with which the whole department is working and women are seen to be having some kind of impact on sport.

Horizontal Segregation

Horizontal segregation occurs, as the name suggests, along a lateral plane. At comparable levels of management, but in different areas, it is possible to see how women are still restricted, particularly with regard to access to defining policies, influencing decisions and changing policies.

In 1993, although men constituted 75% (N = 5,997) of the whole workforce, the highest proportion of women were in clerical positions: those with low wages, no autonomy, no decision making power and low chances of progression. A further breakdown of the workforce shows that men dominated the scientific categories and those with access to decision making and promotional

opportunities. These type of divisions are a clear indication of horizontal segregation.

Table 5

Breakdown of the Company's Workforce by Department

Department	% Men	% Women
Clerical	25	75
Sales	34	66
Human Resources	38	62
Financial	54	46
Design & Staging	57	43
Presentation	62	38
Producers	65	35
Other	64	36
Information Systems	74	26
Media Management	76	24
Engineering	94	6
Technological	94	6

The above table shows how the women are concentrated in the clerical, sales and human resource departments of the organization, whereas men have numerical superiority in engineering, technological and information system departments of the corporation. As has been discussed earlier in this paper, it is these technical departments which carry the most influence in an organization, particularly with regard to the allocation of funds and major decision making processes.

As indicated in the discussion on vertical segregation, because there is so little structure in the sports department, subtle differentiations between the positions tend to appear and it is these aspects which create, maintain and legitimize the qualitative effects of segregation in the workplace. For example, for the announcer and hosts, these differentiations can come in what time of day

they are on air, how long they remain on air and whether they cover major events. For reporters and producers the difference comes when the type of work is analyzed. For instance, it was shown how women are put into "pink ghettos," despite having proven their worth to have harder, political stories, or women being asked to do feature stories instead of the hard hitting, far reaching cuts. Another example of a way in which horizontal segregation occurs concerns travelling. It appears that a factor playing in being sent on a trip was the fact that the Executive Producer believed in an individual and was giving that individual a great deal of responsibility. This seemed to occur less for women than for men.

Salary is one variable along which sex segregation occurs, but in this study it was not possible to determine whether this was the case in the sport department. This was because the salary scale in the questionnaire was not constructed properly, as it should have had more categories and gone up to a higher amount. This resulted in not being able to distinguish between the respondents' earning levels of above \$51,000 and it so happened that 60% of the sampled staff were in that category.

Research Questions

It is now possible to discuss the research questions posed in Chapter two. Are there more men than women in radio sport journalism? It has been demonstrated that there are a higher number of men than women (62% men, 38% women) in the radio sport department studied. In radio sport journalism are there more men than women in positions such as receptionist, editorial assistant and administration? In relation to the delineation between these kind of positions, women were in the only administrative positions available in the department. The difference in power distribution with regard to social rewards (attribution of respect, etc.) was more subtle and more likely to be made through

the types of stories covered, time on air and trips away from the office for reporters.

Have men been in broadcasting positions longer than women? The information regarding the length of time people had been in broadcasting was dependent on the data from the questionnaire. There were a few men who did not reply and who were all older members of the department which would have affected the figures. Male respondents had been involved in broadcasting from 1957, as opposed to the first female in the survey who started in 1973. It was apparent, however, that six of the female respondents began in some form of administration whereas the male respondents were mainly disc jockeys or reporters at the onset of their careers.

Do men hold a majority of the decision making positions? It was not clear that men hold the majority of jobs in decision making positions since the Executive Producer is a man, but a recent restructuring has resulted in a Manager of the department, who is a woman. As noted previously though it was evident that the men in the department still maintained a great deal of the power when it came to decision making or delegation of work, the mechanisms for the maintenance of this will be covered in the discussion.

Are men more likely than women to be at the top of the labour queue for radio sport journalism? The question of positions in the labour queue was complex, in that it was clear that many factors interplay in the structure of the labour queue, however, legislation has had a major impact. As a result of the latest Employment Equity law, gender became an overriding factor in decisions regarding hiring, so that white women were actively recruited. The actual number of women available to work in sport broadcasting, however, is relatively small since it has not been a career option available to them for a long time. Also since there is a hiring freeze on the department is relying on freelancers for extra work,

an aspect of broadcasting which, in sport, women do not seem to have accessed. Subsequently since this is the only area from which new recruits are being used women have again slipped back in the casual labour queue, but they are still at the top of the labour queue for hiring for more permanent positions.

Do women rank radio sports jobs lower in the job queue than men? Do women rank radio sports jobs lower in the job queue than other broadcasting jobs? It was evident that the women in this sport department definitely rank sport jobs lower in the job queue than their male co-workers, and sport was below other departments (such as news, current affairs, arts and entertainment) in the job queue for women. These rankings were as a result of the mechanisms which will be summarized in the next chapter, and explanations posited for the occurrences of such dynamics.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION

Before attempting to contextualize the results of this study within the theoretical framework of feminist cultural studies, a summary of the main findings is presented. An interpretation of the dynamics occurring in the sport department will then be made using feminist cultural studies to contextualize them within the wider society.

Understanding the Segregational Processes at the Radio Station

It is apparent that radio sport at this particular station is fighting to maintain its status within the organization as a whole, a battle which occupies a large part of the department's time. Entwined with the department's battle for status are a number of other issues, one of the main ones being the attempt to challenge the established order of jock journalism and turn it into sport journalism. In doing so, it is hoped that the other departments' (such as news and current affairs) perception of sport journalists will simultaneously alter as well as the corporation's impression of the sport department. It is a change in the internal perception which must occur if sport is to enhance its image within the corporation and gain a greater portion of the budget for programming and training.

There are also other issues which the department is dealing with, and the one most pertinent to this study, of course, is gender. It has been shown in the results section that at the corporation level, employment equity initiatives from the CRTC resulted in some changes, such as the establishment of the Employment

Equity Office and the Office for Equitable Portrayal in Programming. At the departmental level, employment equity directives resulted in the active recruiting of female journalists, initially through an internship program and later through proactive hiring.

It has also been shown here that vertical and horizontal segregation is occurring at both the corporation and sport department levels, with men maintaining a large portion of the power in decision and policy making positions. This is exactly what Armstrong and Armstrong (1992) reported in their study of the professions in Canada. They discovered that even though women had made inroads to medicine, law, engineering and dentistry; they were clustered in the lower echelons without access to the decision making, authoritative positions.

The segregation which has been identified at this sport station is being perpetuated through labour market dynamics of the job and labour queues. For this particular study, the labour queue identified placed white, highly qualified women as the top priority for being hired. This found to be as a result of gender becoming an over riding, overt factor dictating hiring practices as a result among other things, of pressure from the CRTC, pressure groups and legislation, among other things (this dynamic was represented through the construction of the amoebic transformational hiring process). Research by Reskin (1984), Reskin and Hartmann (1986), Reskin and Roos (1990) and Strober (1984) has investigated the feminization of occupations, arguing that normative expectations (governed by "traditional" views of men and women's work) were perpetuated by stereotypes which created sex typical occupational choices by women. The reasons cited for the change in the structure of the labour queues studied by these researchers (i.e., women being put ahead of men), included (a) a belief that productivity differences between men and women had changed, (b) a decline in the preference for men, (c) the high costs involved for those satisfying their own

preferences, (d) the fact that new rankers were in position which did not favour men automatically, and (e) the fact that in large organizations, men considered the entry of women inevitable.

In the present study, the overriding factor which caused the reshaping of the labour queue was legislative changes. As Reskin and Roos (1990) pointed out, however, when breaks with traditional perceptions of which sex does particular work occur, the resultant reconstruction of work labels sometimes allow access to women. This is also a factor in the sport station studied, since the move is away from play by play coverage of games to sport-oriented journalism. Since sex stereotyping influences occupations' sex composition (Reskin & Roos, 1990), the belief that women possess superior interpersonal and communication skills would aid their integration into the department, on the basis of the new approach to sport reporting (i.e., sport journalism). This is in contrast to the previous situation when the jock journalism approach excluded women.

If currently highly qualified white women are at the top of the labour queue in the sport department studied, followed by highly qualified white men, medium qualified white men, low qualified white men, medium qualified white women, and low qualified white women, this queue is not stable. There is continual resistance, compounded by the presence of institutionalized barriers which are embedded in the formal structure of the whole organization. Reskin and Hartmann (1986) have identified the presence of internal labour markets in large corporations whereby the hiring of employees contributed to the maintenance of a homogeneous work force, where the corporation's norms were internalized instead of questioned and resisted. As such, personnel practices and mobility ladders are quite stable and similar throughout these kinds of companies. This concept would suggest that, in the present study, the corporation's philosophy favours white males as the preferred group for hiring, since that would maintain

the homogeneous workforce. The introduction of a female manager for sport, in this sense, represents a positive move towards the beginning of a more permanent, rather than temporary, change in the philosophy of the sport department.

The construction of the job queue, which is determined by the criteria the workers use to rank jobs, was found to differ between the men and women in the sport department. Sport was a first choice as a career for the men, whereas for the women it was not a chosen path. Rather, it was an opportunity which arose at a convenient time in their career development, while news, current affairs, arts and entertainment were their first choices. It is necessary to remember that women have historically not had the same range of occupational choices as men. Also the feminization or masculinization of jobs usually occurs for opposite reasons. The feminization of jobs has occurred because men have moved into alternative, higher positions leaving openings for women in lower paid, lower ranked jobs. Alternatively, re-structuring of occupations can result in the influx of women (in bank telling, for example, women were hired for dealing with the customers because of their perceived interpersonal skills). The new openings are often an improvement compared to previous jobs women have been able to apply for, and since they are being actively recruited, feminization of that occupation occurs. As can be identified from this explanation, the masculinization of jobs/occupations occurs when there is an influx of men to a job. When better opportunities such as more money, promotional prospects, higher prestige, are on offer for men, they reclaim jobs women may temporarily have been doing (e.g., coaching women's college teams was predominantly female until Title IX increased the status and financial reward for coaching such teams). This is pertinent for the present study since the change in the agenda of the sport department (i.e., switching from jock journalism to sport journalism) may

have a long term effect on the composition of the work force (i.e., a more equal representation of men and women on the staff.

The factors which were identified as operating to maintain the structures of the job queues for the women and men in this sport department included access problems, lack of role models, the jock environment, a sense of powerlessness, stereotyping and the quantity of contacts/networking. These were elements which were very similar to those identified by other researchers in sport administration and coaching (Acosta & Carpenter, 1985a, 1985b; Campbell, 1990; Hall, Cullen & Slack, 1989; Kane & Stangl, 1991; Knoppers, 1992; Macintosh & Beamish, 1987; Theberge, 1988; Whitson & Macintosh, 1989).

The radio sport department studied offers very few female role models since during prime time, (6.30am - 9.30am EST) when young people are likely to be listening, the program is produced and hosted by men. This is likely to result in the option of sport broadcasting not becoming a viable option for young women, since if they do not hear other women on the air on a regular basis they are less likely to consider sport radio as a possible career choice. Structurally, the sport station under study is a small department with no clear, delineated lines of promotion and with very little movement of personnel. These factors coupled with the dominant image of the sport department as a "jock world" do not create a favorable environment for women in broadcasting.

The lack of role models serving as a preventor of change was identified in the structure of coaching, both in Canada and the United States. Acosta and Carpenter (1985a, 1985b), Campbell (1990), Kane and Stangl (1991) and Knoppers (1992) all identified large discrepancies between the number of male/female coaches and the number of male/female athletes. The processes discovered to be operating to exclude women from penetrating coaching ranged from the lack of defined, funded positions; the old boys' network and the lack of

women in those positions which define policies. This was very similar to the mechanisms posited by Hall and her colleagues (1989), Macintosh and Beamish (1987) and Whitson and Macintosh (1989) as restricting women's access to and progression through the ranks of sport administration. More specific to sports journalism, research has tended to focus on problems experienced by women who have gained access, rather than an analysis of why more women are not entering sport journalism.

In the present study, a further factor which caused women not to rank sport as a priority when looking for career paths, was the established jock environment. This environment continued to systematically exclude women from interaction with colleagues, information exchange, networking, access to other resources and the exiling of women from the press and locker rooms. The locker room issue has been a popular topic of research (Eberhard & Myers, 1988; Kane & Disch, 1992; Kidd, 1990; McManamon, 1985; Watson-Rouslin, 1987) whereby it was found that women were seen to be invading a male territory and challenging established relations of gender difference and power. In this particular study, however, the locker room was much less of an issue. This was because, for the most part at the station, interviews are arranged out of game time or mechanisms are in place to insure equal opportunities for all reporters (i.e., a press meeting after the game).

An issue which was more pressing in the sport department under analysis was the need the women felt to continually prove themselves in front of their male counterparts, and the requirement to work harder to be judged to be producing the same amount of work. It was apparent that women could not challenge the dominant discourse of sport reports since they were restricted to the pink ghettos or the feature story (i.e., stories which are fillers for programmes as opposed to headlines).

This point of women having to over prove themselves was identified by Eberhard and Myers (1998) and Watson-Rouslin (1987) in sport journalism, as well as Scheslinger (1987) in a news department. The women in the present study also stated how it was not acceptable for them to be seen chatting in the office, whereas their male counterparts passed a great part of the day doing this. This phenomenon was seen by the women as a mechanism used by the males to reduce their own sense of powerlessness, since the women generally produced a united front on issues. The men seemed to be very wary of women getting together to talk, and it appears that one of the ways they dealt with it was by questioning the women's ability and standard of work.

The process through which the women pulled together to present a united front was a result of them experiencing feelings of powerlessness in meetings and day to day office interactions. They had discovered that solidarity could be used to reverse or at least alter some management decisions. The powerlessness felt by the women was similar to that identified by Eberhard and Myers (1988) in their study of a newspaper sport department. The respondents in their study also discussed how they felt like tokens in the department, where their experience and skills were not used effectively.

In the present study, the continuing existence of the old boy's network and the weakness of the women's network in sport were also exposed as systematic mechanisms through which women were excluded from the information exchanges. It is well documented in other literature pertaining to sport management, coaching and journalism that the existence of the old boys' network is a strong precursor to change involving the increase of women in the management of the sport industry (Acosta & Carpenter, 1985a, 1985b; Fitzhenry, 1990; Hall, Cullen & Slack, 1989; Kane & Stangl, 1991; Knoppers, 1992; Theberge, 1988; Watson-Rouslin, 1987). In the sport department, the women

were successful at maintaining contacts external to sport as a result of their previous jobs. Since sport is such a different environment, the development of a different group of contacts was a necessity. Reskin and Hartmann (1986) have argued how important it is to develop sex integrated networks since this would enhance the development of alliances, access to resources and the chances for promotion. This concept was found to be a long way from being developed in the sport department.

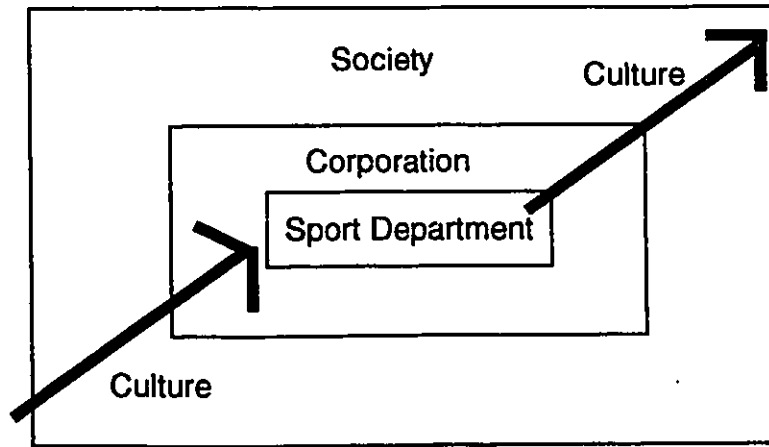
The indication of what the future holds for the sport journalists was perhaps an indication of how they felt about their present experiences in the sport environment. The fact that the majority of women expected to move out of sport to develop and gain more experience while the men saw their future in sport really speaks for itself. As a result of the interviews, it became apparent that the only way sport is going to retain and improve its position on the radio airwaves at this particular station and the only way it is going to encourage a higher proportion of women to consider it as a career option, is if attempts are made to give sport a broader meaning to the listeners, one where a wider range of sports and issues are involved.

Segregation Within the Canadian Society

In order to understand fully the dynamics occurring in radio sport broadcasting, it is necessary to recontextualize them within the broader framework of Canadian culture. This is accomplished here by situating the dynamics within the department, then within the corporation, and finally within society at large (see Figure 4).

Feminist cultural studies was the framework adopted for this study to explain the dynamics identified as occurring in the sport station in the context of the wider Canadian society. The understanding of the role of the social construction of gender within

Figure 4. The Interpellation of Culture Throughout Society



Canadian society is pivotal to understanding why women are oppressed in the radio sport station investigated.

From the very moment they are born, the nature of the Canadian culture is to attach labels to infants which will affect their future lives. As Betterton has argued, from the very moment we are born "we are colour coded into pink or blue" (1987, p. 7). This simple observation is a reflection of many complex cultural processes which shape one's social experiences. Patriarchal hegemonic authority, legitimated and perpetuated throughout Western society, serves to reproduce unequal opportunities for men and women at home and in the workplace.

Hegemony can be used to demonstrate how the ruling group acquires and subsequently maintains support for its dominance. It is not always submissive support however, but rather a site of resistance and acquiescence whereby the subordinated groups are continually contesting the dominant ideology. This ideology is reproduced structurally in society to maintain the unequal power distribution between groups. In the capitalist, Western society in which the subjects of this study live, the access to power lies with white, heterosexual males from higher socio-economic echelons. Systems of differentiation between

those who have power and other groups in society (such as women, disabled, visible minorities) are utilized to institutionalize the power relations without the manifestation of consensus from the majority of the population.

The protection of this power is insured by the embodiment of the patriarchal capitalist ideology in the institutions of society, such as the legal system, the police, the State, the family, education, religion and the media. One's sense of identity is thus constituted through this ideology which interpellates every level of society to cause submission and conformity to the dominant thought structure. Althusser relied on the Marxist topography of the superstructure (containing political and ideological levels) and the economic base to describe how the structures in society are maintained. While his analysis fails to take gender into account, it does, however, provide a structure for the maintenance of state power throughout society, which when taken historically, allows us to develop an understanding of why women have been disadvantaged by the institutionalized power relations.

Althusser realized that the maintenance of the State power had to become more than just an abstract phenomenon in order to be effective as a tool for the perpetuation of institutionalized power. Althusser identified two apparatuses do this: the Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs) and the Repressive State Apparatuses (RSA). ISAs are realities with which we live, from which we learn the norms and values of our culture but which are embodied through the education system, religion, the family, the political system, communications and culture (e.g., sport); all of which are private domains. Alternatively the RSAs are the State's mean of exercising force, through the police, military and penal system, very much public institutions functioning primarily through repression. The ISAs, since they are in the private domain function, primarily by ideology, an ideology which is reflective of the ruling class in our society, that of white upper

class males. This dominant group also has primary access to the State power, whereby its power is solidified and legitimized. ISAs, however, are the site of power struggles and in the context of this study, an institution linked to communications and culture such as the radio, is very much the site of struggles between various groups. In this case, ideological battles surface when groups other than white males have the opportunity to challenge the dominant ideology.

Sport obtains a great deal of its power from the fact that although it is a microcosm of society, people consider it external to society. This phenomenon has been well documented by Hargreaves (1986), Theberge (1988) and Willis (1982), among others. Sport, coupled with the media, another pervasive social institution infiltrating all levels of social existence, subsequently become an extremely powerful ideological tool through which the dominant group can perpetuate the desired gender roles and inequalities. Particular to this study, since all Ideological State Apparatuses contribute to the reproduction of capitalist relations of exploitation, the sport media plays an extremely influential role because it is a communications apparatus emitting information regarding a pervasive cultural practice, that of sport. Subsequently, while the general media send individuals messages of nationalism, moralism and chauvinism (Cormack, 1984), the sport media follow a similar path and provide audiences audience with chauvinist, misogynistic and nationalistic themes.

Drawing all of this to the present study, it was evident that there were patterns of occupational segregation occurring within the sport department which caused the oppression of women in the department. This oppression is rooted in the continual legitimation of sport as a central site of the reproduction of masculinity. Thus, institutional practices (i.e., radio broadcasts as well as practices within the sport department) serve to perpetuate patriarchal power relations and legitimize cultural practices whereby males maintain privileges and

women are kept at a disadvantage. It needs to be stated that the problems facing women in this area are not new, and are rooted in the foundations and subsequent developments of sport broadcasting. As discussed in previous chapters, society operates on an ideology which is grounded in patriarchal hegemony, reflected through popular or high culture, and this is nowhere more true than in sport. The disproportionate amount of coverage (quantitative and qualitative) of male sport on the radio is reflective of the marginalization female athletes have been attempting to challenge over the last few decades. It was clear, however, that the composition of the on-air broadcasts was an issue which the sport department has realized it must change if it is to remain competitive in today's marketplace. This highlights a very complex problem the department must deal with, since in the past, reporters have been dealing with ideological themes which perpetuate and legitimate the patriarchal values of a male sporting world, and consequently society at large. As such, the department must deal with a shifting focus from sport coverage to sport journalism, the growth of radio and television dedicated sport channels, and at the same time, fight for its position within the corporation amidst major cutbacks.

Social processes prevalent in society today are a result of historical processes and transformations. These foundations need to be taken into account when interpreting the mechanisms of dominance. Understanding the dynamics in the sport department in terms of the traditional reluctance of women to opt for a career in sport, demands that we have a clear appreciation of the meaning of sport in society historically and today. Our whole perception of sport today is a consequence of its development from 17th Century England, when as a cultural practice, sport was used to subordinate proletariat men to the gentry of the day. Even at this point in the development of sport, it is possible to identify the gendered nature of sport since women were confined to the home while men

enjoyed their sporting pastimes. Today sport is still a powerful tool used to reproduce unequal power relations by way of cultural processes and practices, however the dominant and subordinate groups have changed. In Canadian society, the urban, middle and upper class males constitute the dominant group and there are many other groups involved in contesting the terrain they have appropriated. By far the largest and most vocal of these groups has been constituted of women, perhaps because they have suffered so much of the discrimination that goes on in sport. What we have to understand in the context of this paper is how the mechanisms of power relations and relations of strategy are reproduced within the Canadian society, the corporation and ultimately the sport department, to confine women sport journalists' experiences to the limits of a predominantly male interpretation of sport. The continuation of this gendered interpretation of sport perpetuates the limitation of opportunities for women in sport journalism.

Even from the inception of broadcasting, the development of this particular social structure excluded women. The media became a further means of producing and legitimating the ideology which constructed different roles for men and women. Roles which elevated the men involved to positions of power, and relegated women to subordinate ones (such as clerical positions). The 1920s saw the rapid development of broadcasting which was promoted by national corporations, churches, provincial States and unions (Bird, 1990) all institutions dominated by the ruling patriarchal ideology. It was evident that the growth of broadcasting would be directed by men for men, since women at this time were still only beginning to be observed as citizens with the right to vote and other social powers. The development of the broadcasting industry is a prime example of how the ISAs interacted with the RSAs to perpetuate the power relations between the ruling group and the other groups. Even today, the composition of

the board of directors in the corporation studied reflects the prevalence of a gendered system dominated by men, which is going to be perpetuated until women penetrate the legal, political and ideological superstructure at the level of the means of production.

As mentioned earlier, sport is a cultural base of hegemonic masculinity, one which gains most of its power from the fact that sport is assumed to be external to real life when in fact its common sense assumptions reiterate and confirm the dominant ideology. But, as a cultural form, sport is full of paradoxes. Participation in sport can be an avenue for freedom, but at the same time participation is constrained by rules; participation in organized sport can be emancipatory, but it can also result in the internalization of the sexist, heterosexist, white, supremacist capitalist value system. This backdrop of male supremacy has influenced the broadcasting of sport, since as Smith (1976) has claimed, the sports gaining coverage have been those which appealed to the largest audience: professional male team sports. With no alternative sports to follow, the audience has been forced into viewing this unilateral portrayal of what the media construction of a sports player was. Such repetitive system of representations has perpetuated the narrow confines of what success, failure, and sport all mean to a large proportion of the population, this being framed within the order of hegemonic masculinity. Within a capitalist society such as Canada, the maintenance of social order and status quo is a priority for the State. In this sense, the investigation of sport as a gendered activity which legitimizes unequal opportunities for women, persons with disabilities, persons of native ancestry, persons of colour and visible minorities is not necessarily conducive to this end. Any attempts at resisting the ideology which legitimizes hegemonic masculinity are marginalized from mainstream society.

The organization under study here was a public corporation where profit wasn't an issue in directing sport programming decisions, as it can be with private companies. One directive, however, which was contained in the Broadcasting Act, was that the corporation had to promote national identity, as ascribed by a male dominated State and constructed around power relations which do not allow major challenges to this order. Thus the sports selected as major air time fillers have reflected the interpellation of the State's ideology throughout the corporation, that is, those sports which ritualize and legitimate aggression, skill and strength (as in hockey, football, baseball), features which confirm the gendered nature of sport. Obviously, this has served to exile women from the sporting experience because they have been excluded from the information exchange through jock talk or have been less likely to play these activities as men did. The realms of sport broadcasting has not often been not a career option for women, and not unrelated to this, it has been assumed that women do not have the inherent sporting knowledge to make it in sport journalism, due to gendered socialization experiences.

It is possible to identify power relations within the sport department studied, whereby the men have used the ideology of male superiority through a specific sporting vocabulary (i.e., jock talk) thereby shutting out their fellow women journalists. This approach to sport broadcasting was still evident in the department studied when women began accessing the department in the 1980s. Obviously just the presence of women in such an environment has challenged the dominant discourse and this has resulted in a reaction, with overtones of discrimination. Today, because of legislation, the increase of women and the change in approach to journalism done, overt discriminatory practices have not been found. However, differential treatment of women is still evident. In the case of co-workers subtle mechanisms are still in place to exclude women: for

instance male journalists are unlikely to invite the women journalists to socials, they use jock talk and refer to sport trivia from decades before and they are not committed to change a working atmosphere perceived as "uneasy" by women. These reactions by the male journalists may be associated to their loss of territory and, for the older journalists, probably a function of their age and experiences in life. Age is a factor in this analysis which should not be overlooked since the older journalists are more likely to feel threatened at the changing face of sport journalism and the working environment because they grew up when women were less resistant to the lack of opportunities afforded them. Domination and exploitation as mechanisms of power which had previously maintained the elitist, white male sport broadcasting environment are now being threatened by a more progressive view of society. The attempt to move sport journalism into the 1990s and the introduction of women journalists are bringing more social issues to the forefront and making the sporting world face the fact that it is irreversibly entwined with the same problems as the wider society. Issues to be faced include, among others, aids, drugs, sexual harassment, discrimination against women and other minority groups, homophobia and alcohol abuse. It is evident that the older, white, sexist, male reign over sport is being challenged, as is the perception of what roles men and women should have within society. At the same time, older, more traditional men are having to realize that not all men are aggressive, masculine, sporting and heterosexual (even in sport). It seems that contest and redefinition of sport is beginning to occur in this sport department, one where the reproduction of traditional gender relations is beginning to fade away.

Some advances have been made in this sport department, particularly when compared to the situation in place 10 years ago, however, most of the power still remains with the men in the department. This is a result of power relations being

rooted very deeply in the social nexus, which has in turn led to them being institutionalized to a high degree. Also the objectives of men and women regarding what they plan to achieve within the department are different, and as long as the objectives are being set by a man whose fundamental point of reference is the dominant ideology, change will be extremely slow or completely elusive. Practically, the maintenance of the subordination of women journalists in this sport department occurs through the practice of confining the women reporters to ghetto areas, ghettos which cannot politically, economically or socially create an impact. In addition, systematically rewarding male journalists with road trips (and not the equally capable female journalists), not listening to the women's point of view in meetings, and relegating women hosts and producers to programs out of prime time perpetuate the segregation of men and women in the department.

The women in the sport department are now all actively working to challenge the reproduction of the male power structure by way of presenting a united front, encouraging and supporting each other, trying to access stories that are out of the ghettos and also by intending to gain more experience out of the sport environment before returning to sport in a higher position. It appeared that to increase the pool of prospective women sport journalists it is necessary to reconfigure perceptions of sport within the corporation and within society.

It is also necessary to understand how to improve women's position throughout the corporation, why sport is not seen as a viable career option by other women either inside or outside the corporation and why those outside the sport department view women in the sport department negatively. The sport department is just one small part of the larger whole where challenges to mainstream ideas are often crushed or sidetracked. It is also possible to see how dominant patriarchal norms are perpetuated when the corporation's entire senior

management is composed of men. Any woman penetrating these echelons seems to remain in a stereotypical "female" occupation such as those available in human resources and communications. Women are in charge of both the Employment Equity Office and Sex Role Portrayal in Programming office which is an indication of the amount of power these offices actually have to disperse the current social structure of the corporation (this is because women directing these offices are not in any powerful positions in the corporation where they can really influence decisions, and they do not have strong allies in senior management where attempts will rather be made to protect the all white male domain).

The public commitment to employment equity policies and the simultaneous private withdrawal is also exhibited by the CRTC. The CRTC establishes policies but puts them in place with mechanisms which allow them to be avoided. For instance, they have created employment equity guidelines but have not enforced their adoption by making them conditions of licence, and have stated that the companies do not have to make their plans public. One explanation for this is that the largest part of the broadcasting industry is run by private corporations which economically have a great deal of power. By allowing the private companies to dictate their adoption of policies, particularly regarding issues such as employment equity which offer a channel for the oppressed groups to resist the dominant class, the exploitation of minority groups can continue. In this way, the private broadcasting companies, as Ideological State Apparatuses, are just an extension of the Repressive State Apparatuses through the CRTC whereby there is unity under the dominant ideology.

It has emerged during this discussion that it is necessary to challenge the dominant interpretation of sport, one which is sexist, heterosexist, capitalist, white and male, by altering the way sport is perceived in the media and consequently in society. The danger exists, however, that with men still maintaining the powerful

positions in the sport broadcasting environment , reproduction of the established social construction of gender will occur. This is also true for the broadcasting industry, whereby men rarely question the established order because they are a part of it, while women and other minority groups are powerless being external to it. The continual oppression of women, and women belonging to minority groups, once they gain entry, diminishes their opportunities for resisting the system, since they become immersed in the system, consumed by relations of power which are such that decisions are mostly taken with the dominant group's interests in mind. The women in the sport department analyzed are attempting to change the accepted interpretation of sport so that it becomes more accessible to other groups. There are still strong mechanisms in place to discredit their attempts, as described above. These mechanisms are tolerated because of the interpellation of the ruling ideology and the prevalence of a patriarchal, capitalist hegemony. All of these processes concur to slow down the efforts made towards equitable opportunities for women and other minority groups within society, the corporation and the sport department analyzed.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

To conclude the study, the phenomenon of occupational segregation in the radio station is summarized. Then, implications of the study are presented. Finally, recommendations are made regarding priorities in terms of future research.

Occupational Segregation in a Public Radio Station

Occupational segregation was identified as occurring in this public radio sport station along both horizontal and vertical lines. A dual queue theory was used to explain the dynamics operating to sustain the current labour market dynamics. Although highly qualified white women are at the top of this particular labour queue, this is mainly as a result of pressure from three sources: the CRTC, the fact that it is a public corporation (funded by public monies) and the attempt to switch from jock journalism to sport journalism. The ranking of factors influencing the structure of this particular labour queue also included legislation, personal prejudices (of the employer), experience, pressure from the organization and group membership. The interplay of these factors was demonstrated by way of an amoebic transformational process, whereby the varying pressures from these different factors would affect the quantity of women and men hired.

The job queue was found to be different for the men and women in the study. Women placed news and current affairs at the top of their job queue and sport at the bottom, whereas their male counterparts ranked sport as a priority. The reasons for women placing sport so low in the job queue included access problems, lack of sporting experience by freelancing or any other processes, the perception that a great deal of sport trivia was required for a job in the

department, the jock environment, stereotyping of roles within sport, the actual treatment of women, the male bonding which perpetuates a power dynamic exclusive to men, the old boys' networking within the sport department, the lack of an effective evaluation program where rewards are made on merit instead of gender, lack of mentoring, lack of training programs and the social dynamics which are also usually sex segregated.

The department under analysis is currently experiencing an identity crisis which is causing a great deal of questioning of their philosophy, and what their function as a department is within the organization. It was apparent that those in top management positions do not see a need for sport journalism in its present form, hence the struggle to forge a new kind of sport journalism where issues are the main focus instead of play by play coverage. At the same time the corporation is under pressure to produce what is interpreted as popular programs, which include hockey, baseball, football and basketball. In light of this, it is possible to see that survival is the key point for the department, particularly in the light of some very serious cut backs.

Feminist cultural studies was adopted to explain the department dynamics in the context of Canadian society. The focus of the discussion was on the social construction of gender and how this is used in power relations to reaffirm the supremacy of men through cultural practices and relations. Sport was shown to be a particularly powerful tool for perpetuating and legitimizing a gendered division on which it is claimed the social order depends. The differences between men and women were shown to be maintained by way of the sport media, an eminently powerful institution empowered to construct and reproduce the gender boundaries.

The fact that sport has the ability to appear outside of real life was discussed as enhancing the idea that differences are natural. It was also

demonstrated that the women in the sport department are resisting and contesting the patriarchal hegemony evident in sport reports and as such challenging the dominant gender ideology and social relations. It was apparent though, that the women interviewed did not see a future in the sport department but rather elsewhere within the corporation. A few of them stated that they would consider returning but only after gaining a great deal of experience elsewhere and in a higher, more influential position. Alternatively all of the men interviewed saw their future in sport, if not in radio then in television or freelancing.

This study provided evidence of patterns of vertical segregation in the broadcasting station, since there were no women in senior management and a minority of them in middle to lower management. Horizontally, segregation was identified within the sport department whereby subtle mechanisms were used to reduce women's opportunities to realize their full potential. These mechanisms include the allocation of women journalists to the pink ghettos and feature stories, the allocation of stories involving travelling opportunities to men and the placement of men in prime air time. There was a higher number of men than women in the sports department, and for the time being, despite popular opinion among the men of the department, there really is still a problem for women in terms of gaining access to radio sports journalism.

Implications of the Present Study

Theoretically, this study contributed to the body of knowledge in sociology of sport by investigating the concept of occupational segregation in a radio sport station and identifying the presence of vertical and horizontal segregation. It also tested the dual queue theory, as developed by Reskin and Roos (1990), to explain the mechanisms occurring in this sport department. A new concept was

developed to better understand the interaction of factors dictating the construction of the labour queue. This amoebic transformational hiring model allowed an explanation to be posed for the constant struggle faced by the employer in ranking employees. Finally, feminist cultural studies was adopted to explain the dynamics discovered as subordinating women's experiences within the sport department and subsequently within the wider context of Canadian society. The macro theoretical framework used in this particular study constitutes a new development of feminist cultural studies in the sociology of sport.

Methodologically this study contributed to the expansion of the use of qualitative data in sociology of sport. The interviews provided a very insightful source of data. Practically, this study developed the understanding of the processes of segregation occurring in this particular radio sport station. Education programs for staff members in the sport department on employment equity and gender issues; corporation wide gender awareness seminars; a focus on the recruitment of women graduates from university; and the development of training, evaluation and mentor programs were all identified as mechanisms through which the traditional gendered division of positions and individuals could be resisted and perhaps changed. A recantation of beliefs and attitudes about men and women can only be achieved if at the same time there is more wide spread education and awareness throughout society. Sport offers an excellent site for such contestation of norms and values because it is such an integral part of our popular culture.

Recommendations for Future Research

There are a number of other studies that could complement the current one, for instance an analysis of sport on private radio, and a look at the differences and similarities between public and private radio. A much larger study could be

carried out looking at the employment patterns and experiences of journalists in the print media, television and radio. The different environments of these different media would provide interesting similarities and contrasts which could be utilized to develop an understanding of the processes occurring in employment strategies. Then of course a direct comparison between news, current affairs and sport departments either in the same or different companies would be another way of understanding employment dynamics. Specifically within sport, comparisons or differences of employment practices between sport administration, coaching and sport journalism could be analyzed. Alternatively, a similar study could compare sport with completely different industries or other institutions such as the military.

An analysis of final year journalism students and their aspirations may provide insight as to the influence journalism school has on shaping their future expectations. Such a study could also develop a better understanding of how sport is viewed at the entry level. The problem which, as a result of this research, appears to be the most challenging, is the understanding of employment mechanisms occurring in television sport stations. The reluctance of all of the stations approached prior to conducting this study suggests that there are some very interesting dynamics occurring indeed.

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APPENDIX A

SURVEY

RADIO SPORT PERSONNEL

PART I - INVOLVEMENT IN RADIO

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
1. My experiences within radio helped me achieve my position.	☐	☐	☐	☐
2. I have made considerable personal sacrifice to obtain my current position.	☐	☐	☐	☐
3. I have the potential to be very successful in this organization.	☐	☐	☐	☐
4. I feel good about the working environment in this organization.	☐	☐	☐	☐
5. I feel good about my interaction with my colleagues.	☐	☐	☐	☐
6. There is a conflict between my work here and my personal life.	☐	☐	☐	☐
7. I see myself as remaining in radio for a long period of time.	☐	☐	☐	☐
8. I interact socially with other people in this organization.	☐	☐	☐	☐
9. If I am to progress in this station, it is important to have links with the 'right' people.	☐	☐	☐	☐
10. To get where I am now in this organization, I had to really prove myself.	☐	☐	☐	☐
11. The majority of jobs I have undertaken here are routine.	☐	☐	☐	☐
12. I have been able to make a number of changes to the way this station operates.	☐	☐	☐	☐
13. The position(s) I have held in this station are central to it achieving its goals.	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
14. I have strong contacts with people at the regional and national levels of radio broadcasting.	☐	☐	☐	☐
15. A lot of people outside of this organization have helped me to get where I am now.	☐	☐	☐	☐
16. I have experienced personal growth through the positions I have occupied here.	☐	☐	☐	☐
17. I see myself taking higher profile positions here in the next few years.	☐	☐	☐	☐
18. I feel there is more pressure on me to perform well than on most other people in the organization.	☐	☐	☐	☐
19. The positions I have held here have provided me with the opportunity to move up the organizational hierarchy.	☐	☐	☐	☐
20. The people at the top of this station got there because they are committed.	☐	☐	☐	☐
21. People acquired their position at this station because they were the best persons for the job.	☐	☐	☐	☐
22. There is a strong "inner group" of people who control this organization.	☐	☐	☐	☐
23. This station needs a higher proportion of women.	☐	☐	☐	☐
24. Women have to do better work to achieve equal recognition here.	☐	☐	☐	☐

PART II - OPPORTUNITIES IN RADIO

Research has shown that women are sometimes under-represented in radio sport broadcasting. In your opinion, this is because of:

25. A lack of knowledge on the part of women about positions available.	☐	☐	☐	☐
26. A lack of female role models.	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
27. A lack of training opportunities for women.	☐	☐	☐	☐
28. Constraints placed on women due to family responsibilities.	☐	☐	☐	☐
29. The unwillingness of women to travel.	☐	☐	☐	☐
30. A lack of qualified women.	☐	☐	☐	☐
31. A lack of women with sufficient relevant experience.	☐	☐	☐	☐
32. A department dominated by men does not attract women workers.	☐	☐	☐	☐
33. The weakness of informal female networks.	☐	☐	☐	☐
34. A lack of commitment on the part of women.	☐	☐	☐	☐
35. The success of informal male networks.	☐	☐	☐	☐
36. Discrimination.	☐	☐	☐	☐

PART III - EXPERIENCE IN RADIO

37. What position do you currently hold in the radio station?

38. What is your main responsibility in this position?

39. What was your very first position in radio?

_____ Year: _____

40. Which other broadcasting medium, if any, have you worked in?

41. If there are sports that you are more involved with, what are they?

a) _____ b) _____ c) _____

42. What are the competitive levels of sport that you are involved with?

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| ☐ Local | ☐ National |
| ☐ Regional | ☐ International |
| ☐ Provincial | |

43. When you think about your background in broadcasting, what main factors have helped you in obtaining the position you currently hold (e.g., being an athlete, having a journalism degree, etc.)?

44. When you think about your background in broadcasting, what main factors have hindered you in obtaining the position that you currently hold (e.g., not knowing the right people, having a family, finances, etc.)?

45. For your job, usually you travel:

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| ☐ | Three times a month or more |
| ☐ | Once a month |
| ☐ | Twice a month |
| ☐ | Never |

46. You learned about your job mostly through:

- | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------|
| ☐ | Newspaper |
| ☐ | Acquaintance inside the company |
| ☐ | Acquaintance outside the company |
| ☐ | Elsewhere: _____ |

PART IV - DEMOGRAPHICS

47. How old are you?

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------|
| ☐ | 25 or less |
| ☐ | 26-35 |
| ☐ | 36-45 |
| ☐ | 46-55 |
| ☐ | 56 or more |

48. Are you

- | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| ☐ Male? | ☐ Female? |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|

49. What is your present marital status?

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| ☐ Single | ☐ Living with a partner |
| ☐ Married | ☐ Separated |
| ☐ Divorced | ☐ Widowed |

50. Do you currently have a child (children) living with you?

☐ Yes ☐ No

51. Do you work:

☐ Full time (Go to Q. 54) ☐ Part time (Go to Q. 52)?

52. If you work part-time, do you have another job?

☐ Yes ☐ No

53. Is your other job in radio?

☐ Yes ☐ No

54. What is your personal income at the present time?

☐ \$10,000 or less
☐ \$11,000 - \$20,000
☐ \$21,000-\$30,000
☐ \$31,000 - \$40,000
☐ \$41,000-\$50,000
☐ \$51,000 or more

55. What is the highest grade you have completed?

☐ Elementary	☐ Bachelor's degree
☐ High school	☐ Some graduate school
☐ College	☐ Master's degree
☐ Some university	☐ Doctoral degree

56. Please feel free to make any other comments you like regarding this questionnaire below.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION

**PLEASE RETURN THIS QUESTIONNAIRE IN THE
ENVELOPE PROVIDED**

APPENDIX B



UNIVERSITÉ D'OTTAWA
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

FACULTÉ DES SCIENCES DE LA SANTÉ
FACULTY OF HEALTH SCIENCES

December 15, 1993

Dear Colleague:

I am a graduate student at the University of Ottawa studying for my Master's degree in Sports Studies. My thesis project is on the occupational make-up of radio sport journalism. As much information is needed on this topic, I would like to ask you to volunteer 10 minutes of your time to take part in the study. I would appreciate it if you would fill out the enclosed questionnaire.

The information you provide me with will be kept strictly confidential, and anonymous. Myself and my advisor will be the only persons to access the data and presentation of the results will only occur through pooling of the data to guarantee anonymity.

The participation in this study is purely voluntary, but your cooperation would be greatly appreciated since the larger the sample the more representative the results will be. This will also contribute to a greater understanding of the dynamics occurring internally in a radio station. Upon completion of the study, you will receive a summary of the findings.

We thank you in anticipation for your cooperation. If you choose not to complete this questionnaire, please return it anyway in the enclosed, prepaid envelope.

Thanks again for your cooperation and time.

Sincerely,

Lucy Baxter
School of Human Kinetics
Tel: (613) 235-8660

Advisor:

Geneviève Rall, Ph.D.
School of Human Kinetics
University of Ottawa
Ottawa, Ontario
K1N 6N5
Tel: (613) 564-9122

Chair, Human Research Ethics Committee:

Marie Des-Anges-Loyer, Ph.D.
Faculty of Health Sciences
University of Ottawa
Ottawa, Ontario
K1H 8M5
Tel: (613) 787-6705

APPENDIX C



INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

History

What made you decide to work in radio?
 Did you have any work experience in broadcasting before starting in the radio?
 What did you expect when you started?
 What is your ultimate goal (within broadcasting or externally)?
 Where do you see yourself in ten years time?

Employment Patterns

What were the channels you went through to get this job?
 How do you find out about most career opportunities?
 Is there a great deal of movement (for jobs) within broadcasting companies or externally?
 Change in makeup of composition?
 Have you noticed a change in the amount of competition for jobs over the years? Change from full time to part time or contract?
 What is the best kind of experience to help you get into the media (formal education or informal)?
 Roughly how many hours do you put in per week?
 Do you work holidays/week-ends?
 Do you feel pressurized at all at work from other employees / workload / your family?

Mentors/Networking

Did you have a mentor at any stage?
 Did you have any role models to follow?
 Socially do you interact much with your colleagues?
 Or how about at work?
 Are there any networking groups to which you belong?
 Is there difference of opportunity for networking for men and women?
 Unions - do you belong to one? (Encouraged or not by company)

Gender

Why do you think it is that there tends to be a concentration of women in news?
 Do you think there are specific women issues in radio sport?
 How do you feel about gender equity (is it a positive move, does it encourage more women into the work force)?
 Do you think men/women graduate towards different kinds of jobs?
 What? Why? Are there any differences when working with men and women? What kind...?
 Have you experienced any kind of problems from interviewees, co-workers?

Culture

How does the distribution of decision making power work? Formal / informal networks?
 Who is influential in the department? Who are the policy makers?
 What is your perception of the decision making style (democratic, autocratic ...). Do you have a say in what goes on?
 How much leeway do you have - is everything described for you or do you have freedom to make your own choices on how you do things?
 What are the constraints that stop you from doing what you want? (Personnel, structural i.e. organizational)
 Do you feel that your competency is well used in the department?
 What kind of conflicts occur most frequently? (e.g. managerial, on the floor etc)
 What are the priorities of the station/program? New projects? Do you agree with these?
 If you wanted to change anything - what would you do? Who would you go to?

APPENDIX D



FACULTÉ DES SCIENCES DE LA SANTÉ
FACULTY OF HEALTH SCIENCES

**CERTIFICATION OF INSTITUTIONAL HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE
FACULTY OF HEALTH SCIENCES**

This is to certify that the Institutional Human Research Ethics Review Committee of the Faculty of Health Sciences has examined the research proposal by Lucy Baxter, a student from the School of Human Kinetics for the project entitled : "A cast study of occupational segregation in a Canadian radio station " and concludes that in the proposed research protocol meets the appropriate standards of ethical acceptability, at a Category 1A level.

MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE

<u>Name (Optional)</u>	<u>Position held</u>	<u>Department of discipline</u>
Claire-Jehanne Dubouloz	Professor	Programme of Occupational Therapy
Nadia Lebreux	Student	Human Kinetics
Marie Loyer	Chair	Human Research Ethics Committee & School of Nursing
Ian MacKay	Professor	Audiology/Speech Language Pathology
Joan McComas	Professor	Programme of Physiotherapy
Jacqueline Neatby	Member-at-Large	
Daniel Proulx	Professor	Faculty of Law
Frank Reardon	Professor	Human Kinetics

11/1/94
Date

SIGNATURE
Marie Loyer
Committee Chairperson - Marie des Anges Loyer, Ph.D

APPENDIX E



**UNIVERSITÉ D'OTTAWA
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA**

**FACULTÉ DES SCIENCES DE LA SANTÉ
FACULTY OF HEALTH SCIENCES**

Consent for participation in an Interview as part of a Research Project

I state that I am over 18 years of age and agree to participate in research being conducted by Lucy Baxter of the University of Ottawa, School of Human Kinetics. I further grant permission for the tape recording of my participation in that research.

Purpose of the project

The study is attempting to determine whether occupational segregation exists in radio sport journalism. It aims to reveal whether there are subtle or overt barriers operating to block women's entry to a variety of jobs in radio sport journalism.

Procedure

The experimental procedure for the respondent is to participate in an in-depth open-ended interview conducted by the investigator, for the duration of approximately one hour. During the interview, the respondent is invited to discuss and describe his or her experiences in radio journalism. The interviews will be conducted in confidence, at a time and place satisfactory to the interviewee.

I acknowledge that the nature and purpose of my participation in the study have been fully explained to me and that Lucy Baxter has offered to answer any questions which I may ask about the procedures to be followed. I have been made fully aware that I may report any incidences that violated my welfare to the University of Ottawa Ethics Committee. I understand that I may withdraw this permission at any time and that any recordings of my participation will be erased at once upon my request. I also understand that all materials collected as a result of my participation will be used only for research purposes, that they will be available only to responsible professionals, and that my anonymity will be protected at all times. I freely and voluntarily consent to take part in this research project.

If I have any questions, comments or concerns I can contact Lucy Baxter, Dr. Genevieve Rail or Dr. Marie Des Anges Loyer, the chair of the Human Research Ethics Committee of the University of Ottawa at the addresses listed below.

Signature of subject

Date

Lucy Baxter, BA (Hons)
Genevieve Rail, Ph.D.
School of Human Kinetics
University of Ottawa
Ottawa, Ontario, K1N 6N5
Tel: (613) 564-9122

Marie Des-Anges-Loyer
Chair,
Faculty of Health Sciences
Human Research Ethics Committee
Ottawa, Ontario, K1H 8M5
Tel: (613) 787-6705

APPENDIX F

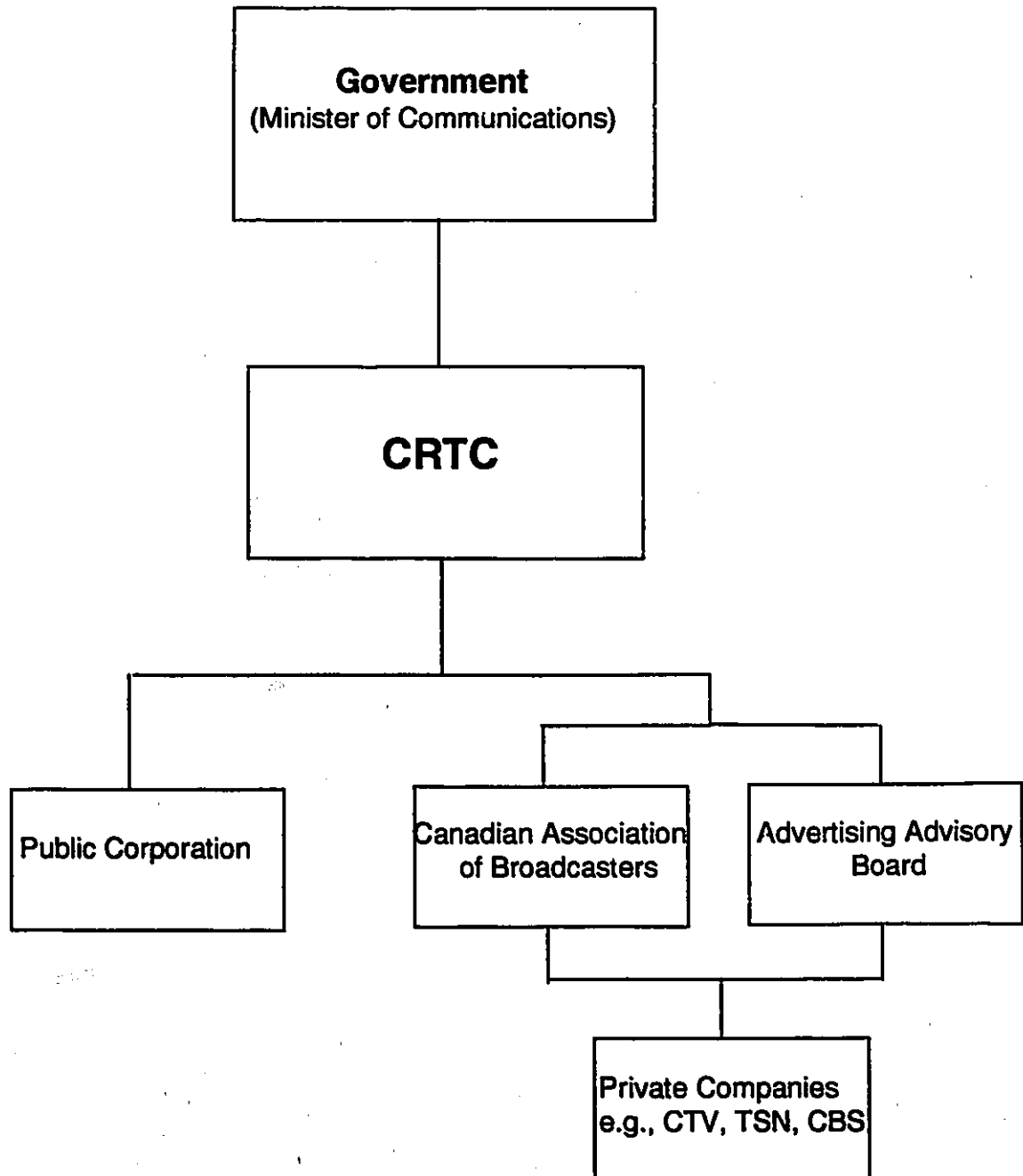
A Legend of Occupations in the Public Radio Station

Producers	Conceive, organize and make radio and television programs.
Presentation	Are on air and direct support staff responsible for the production and distribution of programs.
Technological	Provide all technical elements needed for the operation, production and distribution of programs.
Design and Staging	Produce and set all of the scenic elements for television programs.
Sales	Market and sell the advertising availabilities on television. Market and sell programs to other media.
Media Management	Supervise, direct, and advise on the production, operation and distribution of radio and television programming.
Finance	Administer and advise on the utilization of the Corporation's financial resources.
Human Resources	Manage, assist and improve the effectiveness of the Corporation's human resources.
Engineering	Direct, improve and implement technical changes to the Corporation's capital equipment and acquisitions.
Information Systems	Operate, improve and implement the information systems requirements for the efficient operation of the Corporation.
Clerical	Perform all of the necessary daily functions required in the production, operation, distribution of radio and television programs as well as the administration of the Corporation.
Others	Include those whose jobs assist in the efficient, effective and economic operation of the Corporation.

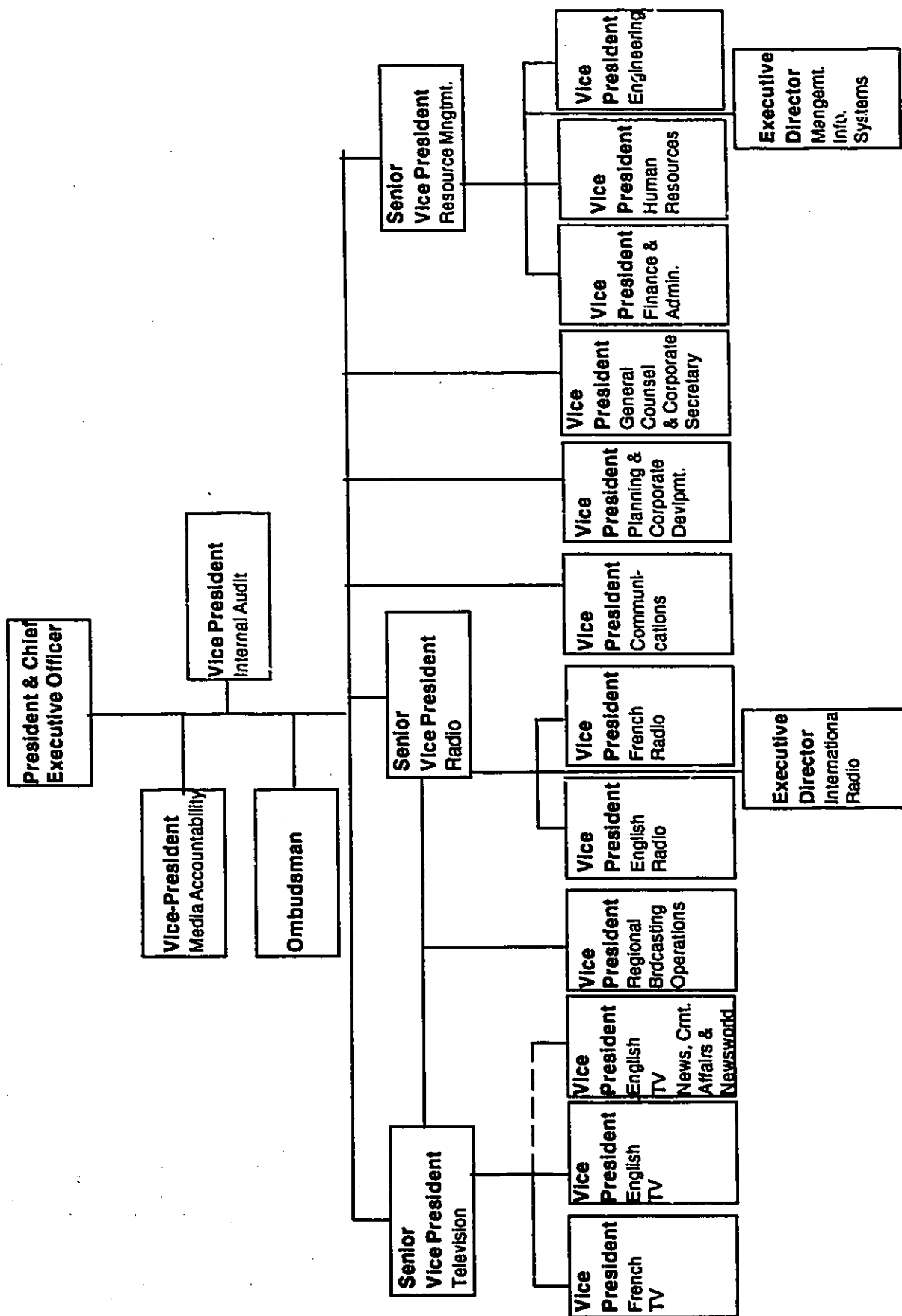
From the Annual Report, 1992-1993, p. 63.

APPENDIX G

Illustration of the Hierarchical Relationship Between the Government, the CRTC and the Broadcasting Industry



APPENDIX H



APPENDIX I

Organizational Breakdown Focussing on the Sport Department Level