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**Women's Professional Status in Caribbean Television:
Parity: Perception and Reality**

by
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A thesis
submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree
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Abstract

A considerable body of work on women's television careers exists in Europe and North America, but the English-speaking Caribbean countries have never been investigated for their regional practices. This dissertation fills this void by addressing three major themes: a) the discrepancies between the high female labour force participation rates and their low representation in media management positions; b) the role of Caribbean gender ideology and stereotypes in excluding females from the professions; and c) the dearth of anti-discrimination and equity legislation in the region, their impact on female professional careers; and what can be done to ameliorate the working conditions of female broadcasters in the Caribbean.

Historically, there has always been a significant percentage of women in employment in the Caribbean: during slavery, women outnumbered male workers on the plantations. The last two decades have seen a marked movement of women out of agriculture and into the service sectors including tourism and banking; as well as communication and some of the professions. As elsewhere in the world, gender structures and fragments the contemporary Caribbean labour force; and the tendency for men and women to have access to qualitatively different types of jobs is a persistent feature of both professional and general employment patterns in the region.

This thesis investigates journalism as one of the prestige professions, which has attracted female personnel since the 1960s; and compares their access, promotion and remuneration to that of the male professionals. The thesis further uses Canadian and American findings to determine the informal barriers encountered by females in building their careers, as well as assesses the equity legislation and its impact on the region. Two comprehensive surveys covering all Television stations in the Anglophone Caribbean provide the data for the thesis; which are similar to those used by Robinson/St. Jean (1997) in Canada and Weaver/Wilhoit (1998) in the United States. The value of the findings are enhanced by this comparability.

Il existe en Europe et en Amérique du nord de nombreuses études sur la vie professionnelle des femmes oeuvrant dans le domaine télévisuel. Aux Caraïbes Anglophones, par contre, il n'existe aucune étude de ce genre. Ce travail vise à combler ce vide en considérant le problème sous trois angles principaux: a) les écarts existant entre le taux élevé de la main-d'œuvre féminine dans le domaine télévisuel et la sous-représentation des femmes parmi les cadres supérieurs du secteur des médias b) le rôle de l'idéologie et des stéréotypes de sexes aux Caraïbes dans l'exclusion des femmes des postes de responsabilité au sein des entreprises médiatiques et ca la pénurie d'une politique de justice sociale et d'équité d'emploi dans la région et ses conséquences sur les carrières des femmes; et dans quelle mesure il serait possible d'améliorer les conditions de travail des femmes dans le domaine de la télédiffusion aux Caraïbes. Historiquement les femmes des Caraïbes ont toujours constitué un pourcentage important de la main-d'œuvre: pendant l'esclavage, le nombre de femmes travaillant sur les plantations dépassait celui d'ouvriers de sexe masculin. D'ailleurs, au cours des deux dernières décennies, les femmes ont de plus en plus abandonné le secteur de l'agriculture au profit de celui de services et de consommation, y compris le tourisme et les opérations bancaires, la communication et certaines autres professions. Comme ailleurs dans le monde, l'appartenance sexuelle conditionne et influence le découpage de l'effectif aux Caraïbes contemporaines; la tendance selon laquelle les hommes et les femmes occupent des postes qualitativement différents est donc une caractéristique permanente des politiques d'emploi de la région. Cette thèse analyse le journalisme comme profession de prestige ayant attiré les femmes depuis les années 60 et compare leur accès au travail et à la promotion et leur rémunération à ceux de leurs homologues masculins. La thèse s'inspire des résultats d'études effectuées au Canada et aux Etats-Unis afin de déterminer les obstacles informels auxquels les femmes font face dans l'établissement de leurs carrières, ainsi que l'existence et l'effet de législations sur l'équité de l'emploi dans la région. Nos données proviennent de deux sondages effectués auprès de dix chaînes de télévision dans les Caraïbes anglophones. Ces données sont semblables à celles de Robinson/St. Jean (1997) au Canada et Weaver/Wilhoit (1998) aux Etats-Unis, ce qui rehausse la valeur de nos résultats.

Acknowledgments

As a former journalist, news anchor and television producer in the Caribbean, I witnessed firsthand the ways in which gender stereotypes and gender ideologies influenced recruitment, promotion and remuneration practices. I saw how structural and institutional barriers worked to sideline, oppress and delimit the mobility of women within a domain that is largely male-centered, male-directed and male-dominated. This dissertation assesses empirically the subordination of women and the absence of a level playing field for professional women within the television medium in the English-speaking Caribbean. It is a new beginning in an under-researched region. Equity is a cause that is being championed everywhere and there is no logical reason for it not to be so in the Caribbean. Employees in the media must begin to "mirror the racial and gender composition" of the rest of the Caribbean population.

When I first embarked on this journey four years ago, little did I know that the path of my academic and professional life would take a new and dramatic turn that would change my entire world view forever. Like many graduate students, I came to McGill with quite idealistic and perhaps far-fetched ideas about what my dissertation would be about. When I met my Supervisor, Professor Gertrude Robinson, the "light bulb" went on. The *crème-de-la-crème* of Supervisors, Professor Robinson guided me, moulded me, scolded me and served not just as my Supervisor, and mentor but also as a friend and sounding board for many of my ideas, opinions, views and more latterly professional plans. She took great time, energy and care to mould me intellectually and guide me through the maze of feminist discourse, which were new to me. To her, I am eternally grateful.

I also express sincere appreciation to Dr. Alain Pericard, who was a constant inspiration throughout. To Professor Will Straw, Professor Cheryl Hamilton, Dr. Jennifer Fisher and Susana Machado, I say a hearty thank you for the assistance and guidance offered along the way. To my friends and family in Montreal, Toronto, and Antigua particularly Kathleen James, Ramona Lewis, my sister-in law and her family, Claudette DaCosta, Desiree Leandro, Debbie Jeffers, Maroushka Kanywani, the two Andreas, Andrea Roberts and Andrea Thompson, the Gore and Maynard families, I say special kudos for all the support and assistance granted me during my sojourn here.

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This work is dedicated to all Caribbean peoples. It is my hope that in the long run it will add to the growing body of scholarship on this most quintessential of issues and ultimately will inspire positive changes towards parity for professional women in the Caribbean.

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Source: Payne, Anthony and Paul Sutton: *Modern Caribbean Politics*. London; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.

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I

Introduction

A. Dissertation Overview

In many developing countries, the Caribbean included, the media form part of the "modern industrial sector". In such countries, jobs in this sector are few, and as a general rule men predominate overwhelmingly (Gallagher, 1981). In Europe and North America, a number of writers (Weaver and Wilhoit, 1996), (Gallagher, 1981) (Pritchard & Sauvageau, 1998) (Armstrong, 1991) (Egsmose, 2001), (Tunstall, 1993), (Robinson, 1994, 1996), (Saint-Jean and Robinson, 1997) (van Zoonen, 1994), among others have written extensively about the status of men and women in the media profession. Most of them have demystified the myth that women have attained parity with men in the highly visible television medium. Many of these scholars point to the fact that the situation of women in television, film and broadcasting have seen some increases in relationship to that of men. However, they provide the caveat that the numbers of women in the field are lower than national averages, and women for the most part remain underpaid in a range of categories.

The most significant areas of inquiry within feminist critique of the media focus on two major kinds of disadvantage: societal ones, the product of the social system and the mind set of the people already occupying the field; and internal ones, determined by women's own perceptions and their ideas about what they can and want to do. These issues are at the forefront of this dissertation albeit within the context of a small developing region-the Caribbean.

In contrast with the wealth of research from all parts of the world into the question of women's portrayal by the mass media, relatively little is known about the extent and nature of women's participation *within* the media work environment. Practically no information is available on women working in the television medium of the Caribbean. Indeed, very little attention has been paid to these originators of media output. Who are these individuals? To what extent do their backgrounds, value systems and attitudes influence media content? Within this context, women's access to, and participation in the "professions" using media work as a point of departure is the crucial issue, which this dissertation assesses.

The study is confined to television, since television's agenda setting function confers on it the power to provide a repository of available meaning which people can draw on to make sense of events and issues which are often removed from their direct experience. All media, and particularly television create messages for the entire public, and in various ways, assist in the public definition and legitimation of life and work (Robinson, 1980). The media, with television in the lead reflect the dominant values and attitudes in our societies; and "act as agents of socialization" (Tuchman, 1978:12). Gerbner (1978) points out that television is a common basis for social interaction among a very widely dispersed and diverse national community. It is perhaps the most powerful cultural agent as a "provoker and circulator of meanings" (Fiske, 1987:1).

By examining this medium I am aware of its important public role in the definition of who Caribbean women are and their place in a high profile profession. It is selected over print or radio (although North American research has

shown that women tend to proliferate in these media, more so than in television) because it is viewed as a more prestigious occupation within the profession itself. Also, within the limited context of this dissertation, it would be a truly momentous task to study the print medium for 13 countries, each of which have two or three major daily newspapers, as well as a variety of minor weeklies.

The work is an attempt to chronicle female broadcasters' career paths, the professional barriers they have encountered, their perceptions of their and their male counterparts roles in the profession, the beats they cover and the ways in which they combine work with family life. Why are fewer women at the top? Is the proverbial glass ceiling tightly fixed in place? Are women in television pulling the same weight as the men; holding down the same jobs and commanding the same salaries? These and other equity issues will formulate the bases of my research for this dissertation. In short, what this dissertation is concerned with are the historical relationships between men's jobs and women's jobs in the media profession in the Caribbean.

The importance of the professions as an avenue of advancement for women and other disadvantaged groups cannot be underestimated. Even though the 'professions' represent a small percentage of workers in the Caribbean, they are seen as some of the most desirable occupations in any society. The ability to enter and rise in a profession has always been regarded as assuring middle-class status. The professions have always offered relatively greater control, autonomy, power and rewards than have "nonprofessional" occupations. The professions are at the top of the occupational hierarchy in terms of the power and prestige they confer on their practitioner (Engelberg & Patterson, 1987). To a very large extent this is where

people aspire to be. In fact, when we look at the possibilities for progress and career achievement, the professions provide a "best case scenario" for most individuals. However, the vast majority of Caribbean women do not acquire professional status. Since 1970 most of the English-speaking Caribbean states have made significant progress towards greater gender equality- most notably the Bahamas, Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago.¹ For example, Barbados ranks 11 in terms of its gender-related development index (GDI)² above such countries as New Zealand, the United Kingdom, Belgium, Switzerland and the Netherlands. The 1995 Human Development Report notes that there is less gender inequality in the Caribbean than other regions in the world. The Caribbean also does well with regard to gender empowerment (GEM) which measures women's participation in economic (female share of earned income) political (percentage share of parliamentary representatives) and professional (proportion of women in administrative, managerial, professional and technical positions) terms.

There is very little research on Caribbean women's status in the professions. However, if international consensus is any guide, women's increased participation in the labour force has not translated into "a parallel increase in their participation in the higher professions" (Robinson: 1977:124). In Canada, Robinson (1992) reports that "though three times as many women were working outside the home in the seventies than in the forties, their entry rate into the professions had remained virtually static over time"(3). She points to a range of structural and social barriers

1 These are the states for which UNDP reports data on gender-related development and gender empowerment.

2 The GDI is a variant of the Human Development Index (HDI) which measures life expectancy, educational attainment and income of women relative to men.

which have circumscribed women's participation in the professions.

Heavy production occupations and aggressive or analytical professions like law, science, engineering and dentistry are categorized as "male", while the helping and supportive occupations like librarianship, teaching, nursing and social work are sex-typed as "female". Both females and males trespassing into the work territory of the opposite sex become social deviates (Robinson: 1977:125).

Work stereotypes and false notions of a "woman's place" restrict access to male professions through:

- i) fostering stricter self selection processes; and
- ii) through raising the bar for women and minorities in the hiring process.

Census figures in the United States show that professional women often earn less than men doing the same work. Studies of legal and medical professions, both of which traditionally have been dominated by men, indicate that women lawyers and physicians tend to perform less prestigious tasks and are in less prestigious specialties (Epstein, 1982). If television follows the same or a similar pattern, we would also expect women television journalists to earn less than men and to receive less prestigious assignments than men.

If we may extrapolate from the general labour force of the Caribbean, women continue to dominate clerical and sales and services occupations and men, production, trades and agriculture. Available evidence for the decade of the 80s suggests that the female work force has been increasing, that women have been moving away from the agricultural sectors into more remunerative services and industrial sectors. However, the evidence also indicates that there is a preponderance

of women at the lower end of the occupational scale at both sectorial and overall levels. This pattern may extend to the professions as well. Secondly, women have been moving increasingly into the informal sector in activities which reflect not only an extension of their domestic responsibilities but also the occupational segregation of the formal sector. Thirdly, although female work rates are rising, they continue to be lower than male rates, and this is accompanied by rising female unemployment rates, which also exceed male rates. However, the general feeling in the Caribbean is that the region has far to go in correcting certain fundamental disadvantages which have for too long characterized the situation of women.

From the research and reports emanating from North America, and Europe major changes have taken place in the past decades in the position of women in the labour force, since the proclamation of the United Nations Decade for Women in 1975, but to what extent has the Caribbean region kept pace with the strides made by their American and European counterparts? The West Indian Commission (1992) writing on socio-economic conditions in the region, notes that what has been achieved has been "the mere recognition that gender is a key issue to be factored into the development thinking, policy and programmes. [However] this recognition has not translated into adequately resourced programmes which genuinely improve the position of women in West Indian societies"(:334).

As a result there continues to persist a perception that West Indian women are "strong, powerful matriarchs", who are perfectly capable of taking care of themselves and their families without assistance. Closer and more critical examination reveals that considerable variation exists among women across age,

marital status, class and racial lines within individual territories and between territories of different levels of development. Further, "the basic assumption about the matriarchal nature of these societies masks the essentially male dominated nature of these societies and the substantive inequality in the position of women" (W.I Commission 1992:335). Over two fifths of Caribbean households depend on the income of women for their survival. Yet, in every territory female unemployment rates consistently exceed male rates at all ages and especially at ages under 30.

The Canadian Statistical Profile (1990) makes the important point upon which this work is clearly based, that in order to move closer to parity with men, women must become "part of the group of people who decide what we can watch on television;" (CSP, 1990:1); they must also be well represented in the "creative core" of film and broadcasting: as producers, directors, writers, art directors, and full editors. This dissertation is confined to the English-speaking Caribbean, the 12 countries formerly governed by the British. These countries now form the major part of the economic and political grouping referred to as CARICOM,¹ the Caribbean Community and are members of the Commonwealth group of nations. Except for Guyana on the South American mainland and Belize in Central America, these are all island states, namely: Antigua and Barbuda, the Bahamas, Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, Jamaica, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, and Trinidad and Tobago.

¹ CARICOM is the acronym for the Caribbean Community and Comon Market, the regional body formed to bring together countries of the Anglophone Caribbean on economic, political and cultural cooperation

The main thrust is to assess whether employment equity is institutionalized into the structure of the television world of the Caribbean region; whether there are stringent enforcements and penalty mechanisms; whether managers are held accountable for breaches of the law. What kinds of bargaining power do Caribbean women have in these organizations and is there any accountability for the failure to promote women, to properly evaluate their performance? Are managers' own promotability and income level based on their performance as promoters of equal opportunity. Are stronger laws such as Canada's 1986 Employment Equity Act, or the strong role which the CRTC plays in licensing and broadcasting policy as a means of promoting employment equity, required in the region? It is clear from the literature that governments can and do make a considerable difference through the enactment of policies, programs and laws that are practical and enforceable. In addition to presenting comparative data between countries of the Caribbean, cross comparisons are also made with the Canadian broadcasting profession and to a lesser degree to the US broadcasting experience.

B. Literature Review

I. Theoretical perspectives.

Much of the work that is currently being undertaken by feminist researchers focuses on the manner in which power and authority are exercised within patriarchy and within patriarchal institutions (McCalla Vickers, 1982). As early as 1975, Dorothy Smith drew on Marx's and Engel's concept of ideology to explain both how the dominant system of ideas develop and how women are excluded from this development. For Smith, systems of ideas are not accidental or collective products representing universally shared values. Men have authority as individuals because they are "representative of the power and authority of institutionalized structures which govern society" (362) not because they have innately special skills or knowledge.

The division of labour helps create different perceptions of the world, as well as the conviction that the division of labour is natural and or inevitable. These distortions are reinforced by the dominant ideology, which serves to justify the division of labour and simultaneously reproduces this division. Patricia Marchak's (1973) research on women workers in British Columbia for example suggests that their low level of resistance must be understood in terms of their easy replaceability, rather than in terms of patriarchal ideology.

For many Radical feminists, who have also drawn on Marxist analytical tools, it is women's reproductive labour that provides the key to understanding the dominant ideology and the differences between women's and men's experiences. Mary Obrien (1981:8) argued that it is "within the total process of human

reproduction that the ideology of male supremacy finds its roots and its rationales." According to her "human reproduction is inseparable from human consciousness" and the origins of both patriarchal ideology and differences in male and female consciousness can be traced to the "historical discovery of physiological paternity." Armstrong and Armstrong (1990) point out however that although O'Brien's theory offers a way of understanding persistent differences in male and female ideas by linking these to the work of reproduction, it provides few clues to understanding change over time or differences among women from various races and classes.

One of the earliest theories for explaining women's work was from the perspective of cultures. Characterized by common belief systems, cultures determined the behavior patterns known as a "role". From birth, children were socialized into roles that were different for each sex and that are valued differently by each sex. Learning roles meant sex-specific beliefs and behavior patterns. This early learning provides the foundation for later years, but some adult socialization and resocialization continues throughout life (Armstrong, (1990). Within this group, theorists such as Greenglass, (1992); Mackie, (1983); Miller and Garrison (1982); Getty & Cann (1981); McGee & Stockard (1987) detail how socialization takes place and suggest that there is some amount of influence of role models, selective sanctions and cognitive development.

Others within this schema point to families, schools, books, toys, and media images which all come together in developing ideas internalized in childhood which are reinforced through adult years. These ideas and roles guide both men and women into sex-appropriate work and they also encourage employers to give preference to

one sex for a particular kind of work. Tuchman (1978) sums up sex roles aptly as "social guidelines for sex-appropriate appearance, interests, skills, behaviours and self-perception"(45).

Similarly, symbolic interactionists have also focused on roles and meanings in order to explain women's work. Where they differ, however, from the cultural determinists is their belief that meanings and roles are a result of social interaction. From this point of view women and men are active protagonists in negotiating meaning rather than passive recipients of cultural beliefs. According to Haas and Shaffir (1978:48), sex role behaviour becomes "scripted" behaviour, which is played out in accordance with "culturally produced sets of meanings" that devalue women and their work (Mackie, 1987:28). Mackie argues that "symbols and social structure are interdependent."

Theorists who focus on ideas and roles (e.g. Anderson, 1972, Boyde 1975, Russell, 1978, Cook, 1976, Eichler, 1977) tend to establish differences in the ways males and females are socialized, in the images of females and males presented in the media and in the ideas held by members of each sex about themselves and each other (Armstrong & Armstrong, 1990). Such research seems to support a theory that explains "segregation in terms of the parts children play in the theatre of life and in terms of attitudes which members of both sexes acquire about appropriate male and female behaviour" (Armstrong & Armstrong, 1990:39).

Margrit Eichler points out in *The Double Standard*, that role theory is more descriptive than analytical and presents difficulties in explaining how and why work roles develop or how and why they change over time, the limits imposed on most

women's choices or the social structures that help shape individual lives. For the purposes of this dissertation, role theory is not an adequate stand alone theory although it may help to explain in a rather generalized way the reason some men and women behave the way they do. Jerry Jacobs (1989) puts it quite succinctly when he says "while sex role socialization is important since it instills values and goals, it is inadequate by itself to maintain the system of sex segregation." Sex role socialization can be viewed as a system of social control for the early years, *necessary but not sufficient* to account for the persistence of occupational sex segregation. Armstrong and Armstrong (1990) state that many feminists who began using role and functionalist theory moved away from an approach that understood societies as being based on a shared belief system and instead started to think in terms of a patriarchal ideology. On another level, Morley and Gunderson (1985:220) suggest that economic theoretical approaches to women's work fall into four basic categories: (i) *neoclassical taste perspectives*, (ii) *non-competitive theories*, (iii) *statistical discrimination* and (iv) *non-labour constraints*.

For neo-classical theorists, market forces and rational choice prevail. Both women and men are viewed as having equal information and equal power in making choices that are designed to maximize utility and profit and that weigh leisure against further economic gain. When inequities in the market are addressed they are seen as the product of ideas, usually called "discrimination of taste". Most of the theoretical work on discrimination of taste (Lester Thurow (1969); Barbara Bergmann (1970) Gary Becker (1957) was done in the context of racial differences, but it has generally also applied to gender differences.

Becker's theory defines discrimination as a preference or "taste" for which someone is willing to pay. So, for instance employers with a "taste for discrimination" would hire white workers rather than equally productive blacks, even if they were forced to pay the white workers a higher wage. In Becker's model, employers who discriminate hurt themselves because they are operating inefficiently. However the causes of these ideas and the interests that they serve are left largely unexplained. Why do some bosses base promotion of female employees on their 'femaleness' rather than on qualification, performance and ability? Neo-classicists have shown how the inequalities are perpetuated, but not how they develop and how they change.

Human capital theory comes out of the neo-classical paradigm. People are assumed to make rational choices about investing in their own development, their own capital. They make this investment by improving their education, their training and their skills and they reinvest when the demands for skills change (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1990). It is also assumed that people are paid based on their marginal productivity, which is also related to human capital. These theorists suggest that women are paid less because they have invested less in their own development for the market and because they are less productive. They are segregated into female job ghettos because they have only developed women's skills (Armstrong, 1984). Segregation and low pay are women's fault because they have failed to learn appropriate skills or to obtain appropriate education.

For purposes of this study, the theory is contradicted by evidence and certainly is highly inapplicable for the professions where women often have more

formal education than men and are more likely to have taken courses that are directly job related (Gaskell, 1982). Sylvia Ostry (1968:45) discovered that "even after accounting for such differences in work year, occupational deployment and quality of labour between the sexes, there remained fairly sizable pay gaps between male and female workers in Canada." Gaskell also makes clear that skills are socially defined and socially evaluated, therefore the argument that people are paid on the basis of their skills is severely weakened. In the Caribbean region where tertiary education statistics clearly indicate that women are outperforming men at the undergraduate and graduate levels; and where the percentage of women graduating from the University of the West Indies has consistently exceeded men since the 1980s; the human capital theory does not provide a relevant theoretical base for this work.

The most popular approach, which falls in the non-competitive theories is that of "segmented labour markets". This approach emphasizes "the changing organization of labour demand" and examines "processes which affect the differential labour force experience of various sub-groups" (MacDonald, 1982:171). Dual labour market theory purports that the market is basically divided into two sectors. Jobs in the primary sector are characterized by relatively good wages and working conditions, opportunities for advancement and job security. Those in the secondary sector by contrast are dead end and low paid. They offer little security and poor working conditions. White males make up the majority of the employees in the primary sector, whilst females of all races form the majority in the secondary sector. "Employers in both sectors rely on highly visible characteristics and assumed

group traits when hiring employees" (Armstrong, 1984:29). According to Mary Huff Stevenson (1978) labour market segmentation helps employers to preserve their power over employees by:

- (i) creating divisions among workers thereby preventing worker solidarity;
- (ii) limiting workers' aspirations by discouraging and disabling upward mobility;
- (iii) using institutional sexism and racism to its advantage.

Dual labour market theory is seen as an improvement of human capital theory, but again it does not explain in a satisfactory manner how differences come into being or how they change. It is more descriptive than analytical and like neoclassical theory it does not further our understanding of how women end up in particular kinds of jobs or why even within occupations there is further division by sex.

Jerry Jacobs (1989) provides an interesting departure from the older, more established theories referred to as the "revolving door" model of sex segregation. This perspective recognizes a variety of stages in the career development process and it recognizes a host of pressures women face. It suggests that most women will face one or more barriers to the pursuit of a career at some point, but they are likely to overcome some of these and not others. Thus there will be substantial flows of women into and out of male dominated professions while the overall system changes only gradually. Jacobs' theory of "integrated social control" with its "revolving doors" is attractive and methodologically useful since as he rightly points out sex role or socialization theory holds that a crucial time during which sex segregation is reproduced is the earliest stages of life. Human capital theory emphasizes the period

of educational decision making and the acquisition of on-the-job skills. Dual market or labour segmentation theory maintains that the period of participation in the labour force is the essential time during which effective gender tracking is enforced. However in contrast the lifelong social control view holds that the process is drawn out and needs more reinforcement than is implied by any of the other approaches (Jacobs, 1989).

Be that as it may, despite their shortcomings, the dual market/ segmentation approach and discrimination theory best fit the parameters of the research here and can bring a feminist perspective to the analysis of the Caribbean media professions. Where socialization and human capital theories focus on factors that influence the supply of working women, discrimination and segmentation theories scrutinize the demands for women workers. Human capital theory and sex role/socialization theory focus on a limited period during which social control is exercised, namely the pre-labor force years. Labour market segmentation and discrimination theories, on the other hand, focus on structural constraints *within* the labour market and minimize the importance of processes which occur *prior* to entry into the labour force (Ibid.).

This dissertation goes a step further by also incorporating Doeringer and Piore's (1971) concept of an "internal labour market." This concept supports Kanter's theory in that when women enter an organization, they are placed not only in jobs but in an *opportunity structure*. Internal allocation of personnel is governed by hiring, promotion and layoff rules within each structure. Ability in one work environment is not always transferable to others, for what leads to success in one may be dysfunctional for mobility in another (Kanter, 1975). Kanter states that

occupations and professions carry with them membership in particular organizational classes. Each class may have its own internal hierarchy, political groupings and allegiances, interactional rules, ways of coming into contact with other classes, promotion rules, culture and style, including demeanor and dress (Kanter, 1975).

The rules of the internal labour market, Doeringer and Piore theorize, may vary from rigid and internally focussed to highly responsive to external economic forces; and rules also vary among organizational strata. They argue that women participate in a different labour market than men, even within the same organization. Their "typical jobs" in the office carry with them not only sex role demands but also placement in a class and hierarchy that itself limits mobility into positions of power. This also fits into a more structuralist approach which I find attractive in its theoretical foundation. Structuralist theories of the media have been broad-based and are able to incorporate many diverse contributions including Saussurean linguistics, the structural anthropology of Levi-Strauss, the semiotics of Roland Barthes and Lacan's reworking of psychoanalysis. The central and substantive concern therefore is with *systems and processes of signification and representation* in my analysis of the media situation.

In embracing a structuralist gendered theory of the media, I am by extension rejecting the political economic theory and its concept of downplaying ideology as less important than and determined by the economic base. As Stuart Hall points out the weaknesses in political economy theory are its insistence that the economic level is not only "a necessary" but "sufficient" explanation of cultural and ideological

effects (Hall, 1980:15). The economy as significant as it has been, and currently is in small developing states, cannot offer a "*sufficient*" answer to the unequal status of women and men in the professions.

Labour market discrimination can help to explain both the mobility of individuals and the aggregate patterns of change. Discrimination is likely to be consistent with a degree of mobility on the part of individual women based on political affiliation, personal tastes, ethnic composition among others, or a combination of these attributes. The dual segmentation praxis would explain structural inequities, so both working in tandem offer my work reasonable and rational explanations for the absence or presence of parity and equity in the Caribbean media profession.

Patriarchy¹ is useful in this dissertation as a research concept because it is concerned with power relations and can be used in a systemic way. The work of Cynthia Cockburn (1991) is instructive: she looks at how gender equality in working life may run aground. Men's resistance to equality within the organizations which she studied is systemic, "not casual but structured, not local but extensive, not transitory but stable, with a tendency to self reproduction" (Cockburn, 1991:6). Therefore, Cockburn suggests the use of patriarchy as a conceptual tool for the systemic subordination of women. Like Cockburn, other feminist scholars have observed that patriarchy divides the world into a system of dichotomies that are imposed on the world and people in the world. Marxist feminists see capitalism in

¹Patriarchy' may be broadly defined as male control over female labour and sexuality, that is over women's productive and reproductive role. Patriarchy predates capitalism, but is a dynamic concept that differs historically and cross-culturally.

alliance with patriarchy as a source of women's subordination, but they differ as to which is primary and on the relationships between them. Those emphasizing capitalism focus on class exploitation of labour by capital in the production process, while those emphasizing patriarchy emphasize gender exploitation through male domination over women in the family as the primary source of women's subordination. Feminist scholars like Barrett (1980:211) argue that the family "is the central site of the oppression of women." According to Barrett, gender ideology is formed principally within the family through women's dependence on a male wage and is reflected at other levels of society such as the workplace and the polity.

Safa argues however, that a woman's dependence on a male breadwinner is not reflected in, but reinforced by certain policies at the workplace and from the state that continue to undervalue women as wage earners. Thus, there are various levels of gender subordination- in the *family, the workplace and the state*- which while linked, need to be kept analytically separate (Safa, 1995:39). Mann (1986) also contends that patriarchy no longer exists in advanced industrial societies because the distinction between the public and the private sphere has been eroded through massive wage labour by both men and women, through universal citizenship, and through the nation-state's intervention in the private household, although he admits that patriarchal values still permeate many aspects of the state. Safa suggests that Mann's model is more applicable to advanced industrial societies like Britain than to developing countries such as the Caribbean, where the distinction between the private and public sphere is still sharper. In most developing societies as in advanced industrial societies earlier, the notion of separate spheres for

men and women maintains gender differences and defines women as family members whose work roles are secondary (Kessler-Harris, 1990).

The notion of separate spheres was heavily dependent upon the man's role as principal breadwinner, which gave the man control over family income and family labour and ensured women's economic dependence. Safa states unequivocally that the myth of the male breadwinner has ideological as well as material roots in patriarchy as well as capitalism. This myth of the male breadwinner persists, despite the increasing importance of women's wages in the household. She suggests that the origins of this myth must be sought in the changing sexual division of labour that accompanied the rise of industrial capitalism.

Pleck (1984) suggests that there are "structural buffers" in the links among these roles, the first kind being sex segregated market mechanisms for both paid work and family work. A sex segregated "*dual market*" for paid work means that women and men do not compete for the same jobs. As a result changes in the level of female employment occur neither at the expense nor to the benefit of male employment. Further, since women are segregated into not only different but inferior jobs, women will rarely have jobs of equal or greater status than men's, thus psychologically threatening their husbands or co-workers. In these ways, the dual market for paid work insulates the male work role from the changes in female work role that have occurred in society.

Margrit Eichler (1980) points to the fact that the sexual double standard is deeply ingrained in all parts of our social life. "It is a part of our legal structure, part of our economic structure, part of our educational system, it underlies our political

system, is constantly evident in the mass media and the contemporary family is firmly built on a multi-layered double standard (Eichler, 1980: 123). This double standard is also manifested in attitudes and social practices at a formal and informal level. This work attempts to analyze whether this is the case for the Anglophone Caribbean. I will now undertake a more detailed discussion of the various theories as they relate to the professions.

II. Gender and the Professions

It is a well-researched and well-known fact that women in professions do not share the same situations and experience the same job conditions as their male colleagues. Women face a variety of problems, from initial and often continuing overt discrimination to lower pay, less prestigious positions and circumscribed specialties (Engelberg & Patterson, 1978). They represent a very small minority and their role in the professions can be characterized as marginal. There are two competing views of the position of women in the professions¹ which have dominated the empirical and theoretical literature in sociology and economics. The first is known as 'status attainment', 'human capital' or 'individual analysis'; the second as 'occupational gender segregation', 'dual labour market' or 'structural theory'. Sokoloff

¹ Turner and Hodge (1970) offer a definition of the professions in Jackson, J.A (ed.) (1970) **Professions and Professionalization**. Cambridge University Press. They list four essential attributes: "a high degree of generalized and systematic knowledge; primary orientation to the community interest rather than to individual self-interest; a high degree of self-control of behaviour through codes of ethics internalized in the process of work socialization and through voluntary associations organized and operated by the work specialists themselves; and a system of rewards (monetary and honorary) that is primarily a set of symbols of work achievement and thus ends in themselves, not means to some end of individual self interest."

Harries-Jenkins (1970) in the same book lists twenty-one sub-elements of professionalization among them; specialization, centralization, standardization, institutionalized educational process, length of training, sense of group identity, status, socialization process, codes of conduct and evaluation of merit.

suggests that because both approaches are located within the theoretical mainstream of social stratification theory, they necessarily provide a very limited understanding of women in the professions.

Supporters of the human capital/status attainment positions argue that women have made dramatic gains in the labour market since the upsurge of the women's movement and changes in legislation, both of which began in the 1960s. The rationale is that the qualities which people bring into the labour market, such as their education, and occupational training and experience as well as gender-role training; are the most important determinants of occupational success. So, if women can get the same education as men, both qualitatively (in prestigious fields at top flight schools) and quantitatively (same number of years of study) they should be able to achieve the same occupational status as men in general (Sokoloff, 1992). In particular they should be able to make their way into the higher status, more privileged male-dominated professions, work their way up the ladder, and receive the same rewards. What is required the argument promulgates is a 'resocialization' of women to aspire to, educate themselves for, and train for more prestigious "male" occupations.

Theorists of the human capital/status attainment theory believed that women's increased participation in the professions was largely due to their reaching the required levels of education and training and changing their attitudes toward, and behaviours associated with, gender roles, children, and work commitment and continuity. Hence "if women succeed, it is because they have seized opportunities open to them that are similar to those open to men; if they fail, it is no one's fault but

their own" (Ibid.; 15). This position was challenged in the 1970s by proponents of the occupational gender segregation theory. This theory holds that the problems women face in the labour market are not due to individual women's attitudes and qualifications but to the fact that the jobs and labour markets in which women are employed are stacked against them organizationally and tend to segregate them from men. In short, the problem is 'structural' rather than individual. Gender segregation is tied to areas of specialization, with the more lucrative and more powerful being less accessible to women; for example women lawyers are underrepresented in litigation (Epstein, 1983); and women doctors are underrepresented in surgery (Bowman and Gross, 1986).

In an effort to explain women's increased participation in high-status male-dominated professions, occupational segregation theorists point to broader structural changes in the economy and the society. They underscore the importance of broad-scale social movements such as civil rights, the women's movement, affirmative action legislation and policies, and occupational expansion, as well as occupational changes such as increased emphasis on services (Epstein, 1988). However structural theorists further argue that despite all the changes on both structural and individual levels, the amount of gender segregation overall and in the professions in particular has remained fairly constant throughout the 20th century. Sokoloff concludes quite aptly that both the human capital theory and the occupational gender segregation theory can be used to argue that there has been a significant numerical increase of women in the professions- the first by focussing on the individual and the second by looking at broader structural forces in society.

However she presents a caveat that "neither [theories] adequately explains if and how this increase means genuine progress for women throughout the professional labour market" (Sokoloff, 1992:16).

For my purposes, in an effort to explicate what actually transpires within editorial offices of the various Caribbean institutions, the dual labour theory is a useful starting point; however I strongly feel it is not sufficient to analyze what women and men do in the newsroom but also why men do what they do to women in the workplace. Moreover, because human actors must be seen as active agents, rather than passive responders to a given set of constraints, a more eclectic or 'hermeneutic' approach will be pursued to account for the varying interpretations and perceptions of those constraints (Robinson, 2001¹). In order to focus on the meanings which people attach to their behaviour and their perceptions of others' behaviour, a "communication based gender theory" is optimal for this work. Thelma McCormick in *"Towards a Nonsexist Perspective on Social and Political Change"*, argues that the assumption of a single society, in which generalizations can be made about all participants, hides the fact that men and women may inhabit different social worlds, have a different world view and that their behaviour can only be understood by refusing to adopt "techniques of decontextualized analytic methods of social science"(McCalla Vickers, 1982).

Theorizing journalism as a profession and the roles of women and men within it (Rakow 1986, Robinson 1986) brings to the fore the debate about whether it is indeed a 'profession', a 'semi-profession' or 'a trained group of people' practicing

¹ Personal notes to this writer from Reading Course, November, 2001.

their trade. Zelizer (1993) theorizes on an additional way of conceptualizing what she calls the "community" of journalists other than through the professions. This additional form accounts for alternative dimensions of journalists' practices. It suggests that journalism be considered not only as a profession, but as an *"interpretive community"* united through the shared discourses and collective interpretations of key public events. So, Caribbean journalists would make sense of global or regional events in an entirely different way and with a distinctive "Caribbean world view" than their American or European counterparts.

Using the dominant frame of a "profession" has helped the understanding of how journalism works. A profession is characterized or described as such when it shows certain combinations of skill, autonomy, training and education, testing of competence, organization, codes of conduct, licensing and service orientation. The profession also provides a body of knowledge that instructs individuals what to do and avoid in any given circumstance. As such, the commonality of journalists is determined by a shared frame of reference for doing work. Being professional has generated an air of authoritativeness in journalists' ability to decide what is news and to determine the audience's own interests and needs (Tuchman, 1978).

In Zelizer's view, journalists function more as a community with an identifiable culture. Promulgating this alternative frame, Zelizer's *"interpretive community"* is defined as a group united by its shared interpretations of reality. They display certain patterns of authority, communication and memory in their dealings with each other, and they establish conventions that are largely tacit and negotiable as to how community members can recognize, create, experience and talk about

texts (:223). Similarly Melin-Higgins and Djerf Pierre (1998) concur, suggesting that Zelizer's "interpretive community" or "culture" is marked by "what a body of journalists at a particular point in history, feels, thinks...en/acts and is (1998:6). Situating journalism as a "culture" allows greater analysis of "the processes through which its practitioners make meaning as well as the ways in which different groups within the profession develop different professional practices and outlooks" (Robinson, forthcoming). Within a newsroom setting these differences articulate with the prevailing power structure in which male and female professionals experience diverse work environments (Schudson, 1982).

In locating the journalism profession within feminist cultural analysis, Spitzack and Carter suggest that because communication scholars take as data everyday human speech and utilize language in sharing their discoveries, analyses of relations between language, thought and human knowledge need to be clarified in order to promote a critical understanding of the dynamic of theory-building within the gender paradigm. Robinson aptly postulates that "a society's language and symbolic system defines and legitimizes what is to be taken as true, what is normal, as well as what is to be considered as good and bad" (Robinson, forthcoming). Language perpetuates the gender roles one assigns to each other- male and female.

III. Sex Typing and Sex Labeling

Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, whose work in this field is legendary, claims that culture and social structure interact in the creation of "sex typing"; the linking of certain types of behaviour with one sex or the other. In turn, sex typing which creates social distinction operationalizes dichotomous thinking. It was Oppenheimer's early (1968) work on 'sex labeling' which formed the base of many modern day researchers in this field including that of Fuchs Epstein. He promulgates the view that sex labeling is an important determinant in the acquisition of social role and statuses. The culture assigns a designation of 'male' or 'female' to a task, drawing on tradition or ideology. Transmitted through the decisions of powerful people or via folk networks, the models become translated into practice in patterned ways. Sex typing structures individual choices and leads to segregation of men and women into spheres which may be physically separate or symbolically separate through the use of different titles or role assignments (Epstein, 1988).

In her book, *Woman's Place*, Epstein (1970) analyses the problems women face in assuming roles widely regarded as men's. It shows that sex typing is the cultural designation that provides guidelines for the division of labour and maintains gender-specific boundaries and thus is a source of legitimation for gate-keeping. Sex typing also explains the self selection of men and women in their choice of occupations. Supporting Epstein's view, Bowman's¹ research of the media industries in the US, found that many women do not attempt entry to media jobs because entry

¹ Bowman, William. (1974) "Distaff Journalists: Women as a Minority Group in the News Media." unpublished dissertation, Chicago: University of Illinois, as quoted in Robinson, G.J (1977) The Future of Women in the Canadian Media. Mc Gill Journal of Education 12:1.

is known to be difficult. Epstein assembled documentation showing how sex typing of occupations occurs in all cultures so that some jobs become known as male and others as female, with only a few not assigned to either sex. Nursing for example has long been a sex-typed female occupation.

In the 1970s some scholars referred to 'status sets', focusing on the problems women and men had in acquiring statuses not viewed as consistent with their sex status and on the consequences this had for role performance. Through a feminist communicational analysis, this study draws on Epstein's theories and distinguishes between *ideal roles* and the *actual roles* individuals play within the broadcast organizations, between notions about *what they ought to be doing* and *what they are actually doing* and to show how people often classify female behavior differently from that of males even when they are doing the same thing.

This conceptual analysis is integral to my work because the division of socialization and labour in the Caribbean along gender lines, is rooted in strong beliefs about masculinity and femininity, manhood and womanhood; based partly on religious teachings and partly on traditional cultural values. (Leo-Rhynie, 1998:242-243). Brown and Chevannes (1995:130-131) show in their research how expressions about male/female roles in Caribbean society and the assertion of male supremacy and dominance border on biological determinism: "a man is tough, he is the provider, the head of the house: God made us to control the world, animals, women, everybody, no woman can be brilliant like a man, because once you is a man, you is king- A woman is only a queen." This is indicative of the "traditional values and concepts relating to manhood and womanhood and reflect some of the tenets of

sociobiology, as well as biological essentialism, adrocentrism and gender polarization in the region" (Leo-Rhynie, 1998:245).

Gender polarization is evident in the Caribbean as described by Bem (1993) in the stereotypes of dominant public male and accommodating, private female. Male/female roles in society are very often reflected in the lyrics of popular songs-calyпсо and 'dance-hall' -which reveal a contempt for women on the one hand and admiration on the other. The sexual division of labour is even more pronounced in the household: domestic tasks remain the almost exclusive preserve of women, since the Caribbean male is generally not socialized to perform such tasks. The traditional role of the female is serving the male- whether he be father, son, brother or husband. Males are not expected by either sex to perform certain domestic and other tasks culturally defined as 'women's work'.

Becker (1985) has argued that a fundamental reason for disparities in socioeconomic attainment is the amount of effort men and women devote to work, even when they work the same number of hours. This theory is contradicted by Bielby and Bielby (1988) who found that contrary to Becker's hypothesis that women work less hard because of their obligations at home, women allocate more effort to work than men. Epstein's work on the legal professions indicated that where women did have access to opportunity, in many cases their contributions, in terms of publications, professional associations, and hours spent at work; equaled or exceeded those of men (Epstein, 1970a).

IV. The Media Profession

In their analysis of journalism professionalization, Carr-Saunders and Wilson (1933) referred to the appearance of a body in British journalism which had professional aims. They claimed that, unlike journalism, it was difficult to describe the whole range of activities which fell within the scope of a profession. Journalists are employed in reporting, writing up, interviewing, sub-editing; and a whole range of activities which ultimately impact on and possibly shape peoples' views, opinions and actions.

Sociologist, Ernest Greenwood (1957) has suggested that any profession must have five attributes: (i) systematic theory, (ii) authority, (iii) community sanction, (iv) ethical codes and (v) a culture. Based on this theory, one of the foremost scholars on the media profession, Jeremy Tunstall states that it is improbable that journalism could ever acquire these professional attributes to the extent of medicine. A more realistic objective he suggests, would be to categorize journalism into a semi-profession, similar to the way in which teaching for instance is a semi-profession. Journalism lacks defined career timetables such as exist in medicine, the military or the civil service, where maximum and minimum speeds for promotion can easily be discerned (Tunstall, 1971).

Perhaps the most celebrated work on journalism in the US is that of Weaver and Wilhoit (1996) which chronicles the American journalist in the 1990s. Weaver & Wilhoit map the basic characteristics of the US Journalist, using the following categories: size of journalistic workforce, geographic distribution of journalists, age and gender, ethnic and racial origins, religious backgrounds, political views, and

media use. The major hypothesis is whether there are significant differences in the aforementioned categories, in a comparative analysis of the basic characteristics of journalists in the 1970's as per the Johnstone et al study; their 1982-83 and the 1992 period, their updated version. Comparisons are also made with the US census figures for the population.

In 1992 the typical US journalist was likely to be a white Protestant male who had a Bachelor's degree, was married, 36 years old earning about \$31,000 a year. He was more likely to be a Democrat, had worked in journalism about 12 years, did not belong to a journalism association and worked for a medium-size, group owned daily newspaper. Tunstall identifies an elite group of 200 journalists whose "incomes are in the national top one per cent; most of them are men. Most are university graduates" (Tunstall 1996:151). In 1992, US journalists were older than in 1982-83, but no more likely to be female. This, despite dramatic increases in women journalism students and the emphasis on hiring more women in journalism in the 1980s. US journalists were disproportionately clustered in the 25-34 and 35-44 age brackets, and substantially under-represented in the 24 and younger age categories; and television journalists tended to be youngest (33 yrs on average) (Wilhoit and Weaver, 1996). Weaver and Wilhoit claim that women did not stay in journalism as long as men: In 1992 the average number of years of journalism experience was 15 for men; and 12 for women. This is also borne out by the Robinson and Saint-Jean study of the Canadian media. Gender was closely tied into marital status and family situation. Women were less likely to be married (48%) than men (65%); and were much less likely to have children living with them (28%)

than men (44%).

The biggest increase in women journalists in the 1980s was in the youngest age category (under 25) and the only decline was in the 45-54 age bracket. The proportion of women in the youngest category slightly exceeded that for the total US civilian labour force in 1989. For the researchers, this indicated greater hiring of young women for entry level positions during the 1980s. However, in the 25-35 age group the percentage of women journalists lagged behind the percentage of women in the overall labour force. From 1982-1992 the differences between women journalists and women in the labour force declined in all categories except those 35-44 and 45-54 years old. Despite this progress, the overall percentage of women in US mainstream journalism did not increase significantly from what it was in the earlier decades.

In Canada, Robinson and Saint-Jean's (1997) progress report indicate that "structural inequalities resulting from gender classification in the professional realm have substantially diminished since the early seventies" (Robinson, 2002:5). Like their American counterparts, Canadian female journalists are younger than their male colleagues, are less likely to be married and have fewer children. However, there is more access for women, faster and greater upward mobility as well as increased pay in Canadian media professions. In 1994, women held 37% of all positions and were proportionally represented in five out of six positions (Robinson & St. Jean, 1997). Only at the top, at the executive producer level were women under represented at 18% of the total pool. This trend has also been observed in Europe (Melin-Higgins, 1996b). Robinson (1992) points out that achieving social

equality between men and women fundamentally rearranges established private and public power patterns.

The major weakness in the Weaver Wilhoit study is that it is largely positivistic in nature. The focus is from a sex difference approach as opposed to a gender studies approach. The focus in their inquiry is on women's different social and workforce participation as well as differences in social status between women journalists and male journalists (Robinson, 1975/1980). It portrays a preference for dichotomous thinking, a male versus female perspective which as Simone de Beauvoir (1949) states, casts men as the norm and women as the "other", possessing traits opposite to those attributed to men. Levi-Strauss (1978) has claimed that the foundation of social structure is the human capacity to build a perception of the world by perceiving opposites or contrasts, which he says is unconscious, much as any power struggle is unconscious. Epstein (1988) also points out that most dichotomous conceptual pairs are linked to qualitative distinctions- for instance, good is better than bad and beautiful better than ugly; thus male is better than female. Most importantly, Wilhoit and Weaver's analysis of women in journalism tends to look for gender distinctions and inequality rather than as Epstein (1988) suggests to "locate the sources of these distinctions and understand their dynamics." It appears to be a poor and dismal attempt to add women to a study that had been done of men. This tendency in the work can be dubbed '*minimalist*' since to a larger extent it shows how the two sexes are similar but does not show how the differences may be linked to bureaucratic, organizational or social traits rather than psychological differences.

This is extremely significant for my research since mere description of the status of men and women in the Caribbean *will not* serve the purpose of inquiring beneath the surface level into the perception of these gatekeepers of the media which will ultimately extricate bureaucratic, structural, organizational and social traits which lead to status differences. Epstein suggests that it would be more useful to the social scientist to see abstract properties of parts not in isolation from their associations as wholes, but as arising out of their associations. According to this approach which is called 'dialectical', it takes into account the history of the organism and its relationship to its environment. The approach would therefore free the investigator from the dualisms of hereditary/environment, nature/nurture, or in Weaver and Wilhoit's case male/female or minority/white.

Reports of sex differences tend to gloss over the size of difference and convey the impression of mutually exclusive categories rather than overlap. Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) points out that the major problem in studies of sex differences lies in the failure to report findings of no difference. They indicate a tendency for isolated positive findings to sweep through the literature, while findings of no difference are ignored. As Epstein postulates, "it is not women's desires and preferences but their location in the market that structures their opportunities and rewards," hence Weaver & Wilhoit's questions about role perceptions perhaps defy validity. They treat gender as a mere variable, rather than as a structuring feature. A feminist approach which presents a more culturally situated gender based inquiry of women and the media would re-order the types of assumptions, and methods on which the study of media is based.

V. Women in the Media

The World Plan of Action adapted from the 1975 World Conference of International Women's Year underscores the importance of the "critical and creative participation of women in all systems of mass communication, at the programming, production, distribution, reception and consumer levels.¹ It suggests that "women should be appointed in greater numbers in media management decision-making and other capacities, as editors, columnists, reporters, producers and should encourage the critical review, within the media of the image of women projected."²

At that time the UN was of the view that in order to harness the media to make them powerful tools in the challenge for change, it was necessary to:

- a) end, and in practice diminish gradually, male control of the media by increasing the creative participation of women; and
- b) to give access to education (professional and technical training) which is indispensable for women who work or intend to work in the media in higher echelons in management, in decision-making activities and in creative capacities. While the International Women's Year provided an international and national forum for discussion and a catalyst for various ideas and projects, researchers have now come to the conclusion that having more women in the media serving as reporters, producers or managers will not necessarily equate to more balanced or more gender sensitive reporting or programming.

Globally, the number of women in journalism is steadily rising: according to a 1995 UNESCO report on employment patterns in the media, women now make up

¹ Resolution 19 of the World Conference of the International Women's Year.

² World Plan of Action, paragraph 18.

the majority of journalism students, especially in Europe and the Americas (Gallagher, 1995). Theoretically, there are no clear dividing lines between jobs for women and jobs for men, but the research seems to indicate that despite the increasing numbers, in practice very few women reach top positions as directors, first assistant directors, production managers, etc. (UNESCO, 1980). Access to top creative posts are difficult, except in departments mainly reserved for women; e.g. in children programming, programmes for women, educational broadcasts, where women are often employed as producers, directors, assistant producers and so on. But in politics, economics, sports, current affairs, most of the top positions are held by men. Women help as research and production assistants, dead-end jobs without much chance of advancement. At the bottom of the ladder, the situation is reversed.

Armande Saint-Jean provides a useful theoretical starting point to better understand the importance and range of statistics which portray women's involvement in the television medium. She suggests that the deep rooted myth of numerical equality needs to be shot down. She states that there is a discrepancy between the "reality depicted by the statistics and the general impression held by the public at large" (Saint-Jean, 1991:119). The public has this false impression because women are highly visible on television and in movies; "All we need is one woman in the limelight and we believe that hundreds of women have also succeeded. Often the opposite is true"(Ibid.).

This is supported by the Weaver and Wilhoit study, since US journalists in 1992 were no more likely to be female than a decade previous, despite dramatic increases in women journalism students in universities; and an emphasis on hiring

more women in journalism in the 1980s. When compared with the total US labour force, the percentage of women in journalism in 1992 lagged behind by more than 11 points, and was at about the same level as the percentage of women in the total US labour force in 1971 (34%). But when compared with some other professional occupations, women were better represented in journalism. In 1992, only about 27% of US college faculty were women, 22% of attorneys, 9% of dentists and 18% of physicians.

The overall representation of women in journalism in 1992 did not increase from 1982-83 levels, although the proportion of women under the age of 25 increased notably, primarily because women have not stayed in journalism as long as men. It appears that many women left journalism before their mid-30s and returned in later years, resulting in fewer years of experience than men, who stayed on the job without taking a leave. The income gap between men and women decreased from 64% of men's salaries overall in 1971 to 81% in 1991. When years of experience, size of news media organization, managerial responsibilities and several other predictors were held constant, the gender gap in income disappeared by the early 1990s. Women lagged behind men in perceived influence on hiring and firing, especially in Radio and TV news. Overall the 1992 findings suggest that Radio and TV newsrooms were more likely to be controlled by men than women, but not so for the print media, where women were more numerous.

Unlike the Weaver & Wilhoit survey, Robinson's work on the Canadian media points out structural barriers which affect career prospects of women. One such barrier is "promotional inequality", the fact that women are disproportionately

funneled into a narrow range of low prestige professional fields (Robinson, 1992). In Canada, the comprehensive study of the CBC (1977) found that women held 7.5% of management jobs, 9% of announcer positions and 13% of TV producer jobs; and that media women were disproportionately located at the lowest rungs in the least prestigious categories. In addition women tend to earn less than their male counterparts for the performance of the same tasks. Bowman's (1974) research discovered that almost 70% of the female journalists reported incomes of less than \$10,000 a year, while 69.9% of men earned more than that figure.

A more recent and comprehensive study of women's participation in Canadian news media done by Robinson and Saint-Jean (1997) revealed that Television journalists made up a greater proportion of journalistic staff (37%), than their counterparts in the print media. This was because more television newsrooms were bound by equity policies than newspapers, suggesting that women had more equitable work situations in broadcasting than in the daily print medium. Interestingly, the Robinson & Saint-Jean findings indicate that gender no longer implied exclusion from all management positions. In 1974, most women were in the lower management ranks, however by 1994 they had not only reached proportional representation in middle management, but "had also pushed the glass ceiling beyond the assistant managing editors level" (1997:9). Only the top of the professional hierarchy remained out of reach. Comparisons with the United States indicate that Canadian women have reached the top faster than their US counterparts where in 1989 only 10% of the assistant managers positions were female.

Beat reporting was no longer found to be an important criterion for

professional status as in print journalism. However television beat assignments were still much more gender- typed than in print. Though women have access to over 60% of the story areas, men were found to represent 100% of the science reporters and outdoor reporters and 75% of all ecology reporters. In contrast, women were found to make up 100% of the 'soft' news categories such as education, social welfare, health, consumer affairs and travel (Robinson and Saint Jean, 1997). A significant theory which Robinson and Saint-Jean were able to posit from their research was in the area of the social profile, indicating that even though the participation rates for women had increased in the labour force, they were still perceived as different at work. Their minority status still placed them into a dominant/subordinate cast system, which meant that the interpersonal relations at work function differently for women and for men and affect their personal/private space differently as well. The demanding nature and long hours impacted on women's ability to combine their working lives with their private lives, where childcare and housework were still the women's domain. These were borne out by the figures which showed that only 65% of Canadian female journalists are married or live with a partner whilst 81% of men are married. Fifty nine percent of women have no children, while only 31% of males have no children.

Pat Armstrong (1993) makes a similar argument about women in Canadian film and television, whom she says, are segregated into women's jobs in the least powerful positions of the occupational hierarchy. However, one of the most significant areas of this inquiry is brought to the fore by the Canadian studies (KPMG 1990 Statistical Profile) and the follow up work by the Toronto Film

Women in Television and Film¹ which point to the exaggerated instances of segregation between public and private sector and the dilemma women faced when they work part time as opposed to full time. In Canada, 38 percent of the professionals in private television were women; however, a third of them are either temporary or part time. This was the case for only 15 percent of the male professionals. Not only do men dominate the key creative occupations, but in the private sector this area has the highest proportion of men. Meanwhile, half the women in broadcasting in the private sector do clerical work, so most of the women in the private sector are "not doing what we associate with broadcasting work" (Armstrong, 1991:14).

To what extent is there more segregation in the private sector as opposed to the public sector and are they concentrated in areas where they are least likely to be in creative or influential positions? The data unearthed by Weaver and Wilhoit in the US and by the Statistical Profile in Canada clearly demonstrate that parity is not yet a reality, that women are not receiving equal or equitable treatment as workers in the media, in employment opportunities and in access to influential and powerful positions in the professions be it in the public or private sector. These inequities confronting women in television "mirror women's employment problems everywhere in the working world", (Dranoff, 1991), so it is reasonable to suggest that the same factors that restrict women in one field exist in others; and as will be demonstrated in Chapters III and IV also exist in other places such as the

1 KPMG Peat Marwick Stevenson & Kellogg. (1990) Project Report: A Statistical Profile of Women in the Canadian Film and Television Industry.
 Changing Focus: The future for Women in the Canadian Film and Television Industry. Toronto women in film and Television : Toronot, univerisyt of Toronto Press.

Anglophone Caribbean.

It is also important to note on the other side of the spectrum that political affiliations and perspectives in the Caribbean region, may have a significant impact on women's access to opportunities, remunerative benefits and mobility within the organization. This is most likely to be so in the public organizations where patronage and nepotism are the order of the day. As will be shown, this is quintessential particularly in the one-on-one discussions with both men and women in the public sector TV stations.

VI. Institutional Barriers within Organizations

Early social science research on the professions, shed light on the exclusion of women when it found that elite occupations included like-minded people because as Goode (1957) points out their shared backgrounds fostered camaraderie and trust. Hughes (1962) notes that the "social and moral solidarity" of practitioners, make it difficult for persons not equipped with appropriate statuses to enter the exclusive society, to participate in its informal interactions, to understand the unstated norms, and to be included in the casual exchanges. Epstein (1970b), Kanter (1977) and Martin (1980) suggest that gender becomes salient for the male occupants within an organization who may subject the women to remarks calculated to "put them in their place". These may take the form of profanity, off-colour jokes, anecdotes about male prowess, gossip about the women's personal lives, and unwarranted intimacy toward them. Kanter further points out that men in corporate settings often try to fit women into a small set of stereotyped personalities that are familiar and non-

threatening to them- "mom", or "kid sister" stereotypes that prevent the women from participating in the group as full members.

Epstein posits that these practices that maintain sex segregation are "so embedded in institutions that we no longer know how they were initiated or who or what is responsible for them" (Epstein, 1988:158). They are so much a part of our lives, they seem "natural" and "real" (Bourque & Warren, 1981). Kanter and Epstein's works provide useful insights for the study of the Caribbean to assess women's professional careers and the interplay between formal and informal relationships, the way sex-typing, sex status and the gender ideology of the practitioners in the television industry affect all aspects of women's careers within the organization.

Typical of many professions, including journalism, is the protégé or mentoring system which operates to both train personnel in certain specialties and to ensure continuity. In mentoring there is an interplay between formal and informal relationships of the practitioners. In short, experienced senior people act as mentors, informing their protégé of crucial trade secrets and helping them make important contacts. Epstein's 1970 work of women's access to professional careers showed conclusively that women were disadvantaged as newcomers in fields in which men predominated because few of the men were willing to teach them critical trade secrets and help them advance (Epstein, 1988). The study identified the sponsor-protégé system as important both for learning and for placement on an upward track:

Women's special problems arose because sponsors in the professions were unwilling to take them on for a number of reasons, including doubts that they could become appropriate disciples who could carry on their work, the belief that they were not committed to work because they were not motivated by financial concerns and might marry, or fears that others

might suspect the relationship was sexual as well as professional (Epstein, 1988:160).

Pat Armstrong (1991) commenting on the numbers of women in the Canadian film and television industry notes that mentors and networks are critical in gaining access, receiving on-the-job training, and moving up the hierarchy. She confirms that the male dominated structure makes it not only more difficult for women to get in, but also more difficult to function once they were actually in the industry. In Television, the problem is exaggerated because "so many of the jobs have traditionally been done by men while none of them have been exclusively done by women"(Armstrong, 1991:26). She states that many women have to continually be pioneers and to work alone with other men in a male culture. Similarly, Bernard's (1964) study of women academics revealed that they had less contact with fellow scientists than male academics did, and they were less likely to attend professional meetings or to be on regular mailing lists for reprints of research findings. In short "they were not members of the highly visible "invisible colleges"- the networks of associations that professionals depend on for intellectual and career growth."(Epstein, 1988:162).

In the Caribbean, where communities are small and familial ties form integral parts of employment networks, this is a crucial area I was able to assess: whether the mentoring process had been useful for women's success or lack thereof. Chapter IV shows that the mentoring-protégé relationships are indeed key elements of the Caribbean social structure within the institutional setting; and the help of strategically placed people in it as well as how this interplays with personal

attributes such as talent, qualification and drive. Since professions depend on the continual associations of their members and their affinity of interest, it could be predicted that "outsiders" would have a difficult time performing at the same level as those regarded as "insiders" (Epstein, 1988). Have women with all the right personal qualities been shut out of the inner circles of occupational life in broadcasting in the region, why, and with what short and long term consequences?

VII. The Phenomenon of 'tokenism'

The debate about '*tokenism*' and the '*glass ceiling*' effect are further organizational issues into which this work delves to further explicate the gendered relations within the professions. "Highly skewed sex ratios or numerical dominance by members of one sex and a "lone" or nearly alone member of the other sex; makes sex status as important for interaction as occupational status (Epstein. 1970:152). Many North American and European theorists have written ad nauseum on the subject. One of the strongest proponents of this subject is Rosabeth Moss Kanter (quoted elsewhere in this chapter) who suggests that tokenism, as a powerless status contributes to dysfunctional individual behaviour because of the role ambiguity and role conflict the token suffers. Thus the powerlessness of the token is detrimental not only to the token herself and to her career, but also to those who report to her and to the organization. According to Kanter's '*Homosocial Reproduction Hypothesis*', individuals who share the same values, background, friends and gender are viewed as more trustworthy and easier to communicate with than those who are different. Hence elites tend to reproduce themselves in their own image, a process

called '*homosocial reproduction*', which is in effect systemic discrimination, since every decision to fill a position with someone who is socially similar to the current top management is a converse decision to exclude those who are different (Kanter, 1977). In her study of the Industrial Supply Corporation (Indsco), Kanter noted that the life of women in the corporation was influenced by the proportions in which they found themselves; and those women who were few in number among male peers and often had "only woman" status became tokens: symbols of "how-women-can-do, stand-ins for all women." (Kanter, 1977:210). They often face the loneliness of the outsider, and many became self-estranged in the process of assimilation. The failure rate of tokens tend to be much higher than those of men in entry and early grade positions and resembled the experiences of women in politics, medicine, law, management and other professions. Kanter suggests that skewed sex ratios often lead to "mistaken identity", or to incorrect attributions. Lone women in male settings are sometimes initially misperceived as a result of their statistical rarity. The men with whom they interact may make a judgment about what a woman is doing in that particular situation, and may act toward her accordingly.

According to Kanter's theory the proportional rarity of tokens is associated with three perceptual tendencies: *visibility, contrast and assimilation*.

- i) Tokens tend to get attention, hence they have a higher visibility than dominants looked at alone;
- ii) Contrast or exaggeration of differences is the second perceptual tendency.

There is a tendency to exaggerate or polarize the extent of the differences between tokens and dominants. Both dominants and tokens become more

aware of both their commonalities and their differences; and dominants try to keep the token slightly outside, to offer a boundary for themselves.

iii) Assimilation is the third perceptual tendency which involves the use of stereotypes or familiar generalizations about a person's social type. The characteristics of the token are distorted to fit the generalization. It is often easier for tokens to conform to pre-existing stereotypes, hence they are not permitted their own unique individuality.

Kanter suggests that visibility tends to create 'performance pressures' on the token. Contrast leads to heightening of 'dominant culture boundaries', including isolation of the token; and assimilation results in the token's 'role encapsulation' (Kanter, 1977).

Field observations by Kanter of lone women in male dominated groups (business meetings, academic conferences, sales training program and post professional groups) have distinguished four kinds of roles attributed to women in male groups: "mother"; "sex object" or "seductress" "pet" or "group mascot"; and "iron maiden" (Kanter, 1975). The attributed roles affect both what men in the group expect of the woman and how they interpret what she does. For the woman she is forced to confine her behavior to the limits of the role, whether or not it accurately expresses her competence. It may even take her longer to establish her competency when she is a statistical rarity. "When a person is a statistical rarity, it may take her/him more time to untangle mistaken identities and establish a competence-based working relationship, particularly with members of the numerically dominant category (Ibid.: 57).

Epstein similarly argues that "status discrepancies make continuous role

definition necessary during interactions that should be routine (1970:194). Isolation and invisibility, self as well as group-imposed, are other consequences of status as a lone women in an all male setting. Epstein suggests that team membership may be harder for the lone woman among male professional peers than for a man, pointing to institutionalized isolation, as well as interactional isolation. She proposes that as a consequence, women have been less likely to be successful in fields that require participation on a team of peers as opposed to individual activity (Epstein, 1970:175). Kanter agrees, stating further that tokens may reinforce their own isolation by a series of accommodative strategies, such as taking a low profile, dressing carefully and quietly to avoid attracting attention, not taking credit for accomplishments or letting someone else take credit (Lynch, 1973); Epstein (1970:145) supports this finding pointing out that in general or elite levels women "have less visible jobs than men, promote themselves less often, feel the need to make fewer mistakes and try to be unobtrusive."

Tokenism sets up a dynamic that can make tokens afraid of being too outstanding in performance on group events and tasks. However public humiliation is likely if the token "shows up" a dominant. So paradoxically, while token women feel they have to do better than anyone else in order to be seen as competent, in many cases they felt their success would not be rewarded and should be kept to themselves: "they need to toe the fine line between doing just well enough and too well" (Kanter, 1977:217). The focus on appearance and other non-ability traits is an almost direct consequence of the presence of very few women in a male dominated organization. The choices for those in token positions are to a) overachieve and

carefully construct a public performance that minimizes organizational and peer concerns, b) to try to turn notoriety of publicity to their advantage; or c) to find ways to become socially invisible.

In another context Sarason (1973)¹ has argued that members of minority groups who have succeeded may try to limit the visibility of that success in fear of reprisals from the majority-dominant group, which might not be aware of the minority's success and might take action against it if known. Kanter concludes that a re-examination be done of the "fear of success in women" hypothesis; replacing it more accurately with "fear of visibility".

Carol Agocs' (1989) telling work on organizational structures point to processes and practices which represent the institutionalization of power and privilege, and which constitute a system of gender relations which underlies the specific barriers that hinder women who aspire to the role of senior manager. Using Kanter's concept of tokenism, Agocs posits that *power, opportunity¹ and numbers* indicate the structural barriers or patterns of systematic discrimination that limit the representation of women in senior management and constrain their possibilities of exercising the role behaviour normative for top executives. Agocs' Ontario survey examined the level and nature of corporate employment equity and management development activity as well as characteristics of members of top management. The findings revealed that 50 out of 634 managers or 7.9% were women. About two

¹Sarason, Seymour B. "Jewishness, Blackishness and the Nature-Nurture Controversy", *American Psychologist* 28, November 1973: pp. 926-971. His work was among Jews in elite colleges such as Yale who wished not to report their educational achievements.

¹ In Kanter's organizational model, power is the ability to mobilize resources of money, materials, time, information and support and to use these to accomplish one's goals. Opportunity is defined as access to personal growth and development esp. career development and mobility.

thirds of the companies had no women on their boards of directors and the same proportion had no women in senior management. Thirty percent of the total workforce employed in the sample of companies were women and two thirds of these employees worked in clerical jobs. Of the 282 executives whose gender was given, 50 or 18 % were women. The women were likely to be younger than the men and were twice as likely to have joined the firm more recently than the men. Men were promoted from within, whilst the women tended to have come to their present position from outside the company (Ibid., 1989).

Agocs' survey found conclusive evidence that the women in senior management were indeed *powerless token members* rather than core members of the executive echelon. They had formal positions and authority of senior managers, but they were *not perceived* as being among the powerful members of that group in most instances. The women were marginal members unable to perform their role as decision makers, they were not the equals or peers of their male colleagues. To what extent is tokenism entrenched in the TV networks of the Caribbean region and how different is the treatment in the region to her North American counterparts? Chapter III assesses this phenomenon more fulsomely.

D. Feminist scholarship in the Caribbean

Caribbean men and women first appeared on the research agenda after the Report of the West Indian Royal Commission in 1945. The Commission investigated social and economic conditions in the British Caribbean in an effort to devise and

implement reform policies to prevent a recurrence of the 1930s riots.¹ An integral focus of the Commission was on black family life which was denounced as 'abnormal' and 'dysfunctional'. Families were labeled as "*matrifocal*"; however the reality of women's lives was much distorted by stereotypes of wives and mothers, confined to home, "fully occupied with domesticity and child care, submissive to their husbands and conforming to mainstream cultural prescriptions for social acceptance and mobility" (Barrow, 1998:89). After the Commission's report there was a period of lull in which very little was done to address the inequities and unequal position of women in the labour market in the region. However, the United Nations Decade for Women (1975-85) became the catalyst for Caribbean feminist scholarship and much stimulus came from European, American and African feminist studies. During this period, the advent of the regional Women in Caribbean Project (WICP) in 1979 saw the emergence of women and gender as part of Caribbean scholarly discourse.

The WICP is to date the most extensive project of its kind addressing gender matters in the region. According to one of its leading advocates, Joycelyn Massiah, it was designed "to fill a knowledge gap in the social realities of Caribbean women's lives, to devise a theoretical framework for the analysis of women's roles; to develop guidelines for a cohesive social policy for women; to identify appropriate mechanisms for the dissemination of research results and to train a cadre of women in self-confidence and 'female-centered' research skills to make a meaningful contribution to Caribbean development" (Massiah, 1986:1-2). Based at the Institute

¹ General unrest and social upheaval as the people of the region experienced severe economic hardship.

of Social and Economic Research at the University of the West Indies in Barbados, the project gathered together a multi-disciplinary team of over 25 researchers and numerous interviewers and conducted research in several Caribbean countries. The research project included issues such as ethnicity, race and class (Massiah 1986:12), but operated within the discourse of Women's Studies and it was specifically designed to make women visible. The project generated a large volume of documented evidence and provided the impetus for the formulation of the Women and Development Studies group, which later became the Gender and Development Studies Group located at the three campuses of the University of the West Indies at Cavehill, Barbados, St. Augustine, Trinidad and Mona, Jamaica.

The approach taken by the research team was to *"let Caribbean women speak for themselves"*, thereby ridding the analysis of premature allegiance to prevailing Eurocentric and androcentric theoretical perspectives (Anderson 1986:291; Massiah 1986:1). The general aim was not to *"stir in"* Caribbean women, but by "a thorough epistemological reconstruction, to create a truly indigenous understanding of their lives" (Ibid. 3). The project questioned imported formulations of race and class, redefined several concepts such as work and employment in the lives of Caribbean women, refuted models which conceptualized women's place as private or domestic and explored theoretical perspectives through concepts such as 'invisibility', 'autonomy' and 'equality' (Massiah 1986:11, 22; Safa 1986). According to some leading scholars (Barriteau 1992: 8; Reddock 1993:45-46; Safa 1986:4) the project retrieved Caribbean women from the periphery of intellectual discourse, but ultimately, did not fulfill its theoretical goals.

The WICP project generated a set of findings which were labeled 'contradictory', 'ambiguous' and 'inconsistent' (Anderson 1986:315-318; Le Franc, 1983; Safa 1986:16). These were interpreted as evidence of theoretical newness, pointing to the "need to push the theoretical analysis further" and implying that "a complete integration of the findings will depend on the next phase of analysis" (Anderson 1986:292). The findings of this dissertation build on the early beginnings of the WICP foundation in gender research by bringing to the fore the hitherto unexplored issue of women in the professions.

E. The Anglophone Caribbean Context

Margaret Gallagher contends that analysis of women's status is inseparable from analysis of the socio-economic structure as a whole. Engels first proposed the nature of this relationship. The link between women's disadvantaged status, on the one hand and the growth of private property and economic classes, on the other, was in Engel's view the emergence of the individual family as an independent economic unit. As such, it is apropos to assess the Caribbean socio-economic context in discussing this issue. Over the past four centuries, the islands of the Caribbean have been fought over and prized as colonies by various Western European nations. For centuries the Anglophone region had been dominated by the British colonial presence.

Among slaves, women and men worked at the same tasks in the fields, but women were also likely to be retained for domestic duties while only men rose to supervisory positions in sugar production (Moreno Fraginals, 1976). Women

depended on their own labour to provide for themselves and their children and could expect little help from men, who were often sold off separately regardless of their family ties. Thus black slave women did not develop a tradition of dependency on men as did women of the white elite (Safa, 1995). The residual impact of colonization on the position of women in Caribbean societies cannot be overemphasized. The ultimate goal of colonization was economic exploitation of both sexes. Colonialism, by its very nature, was based upon parasitic and oppressive relationships. In the region, it produced great material rewards for the colonizer, "but was based upon bankrupt ethics" (Thompson, 1997). Colonial rule was achieved and maintained, through the dominance of an expatriate elite whose main goal was to obtain wealth as quickly as possible and at the expense of the colonized. In Paulo Friere's view, "the essential element in oppression is domination: the oppressors seek to dominate everything around them: earth, property, production, the creations of men, and men and women themselves" (Friere, 1972:19).

This is significant and relevant in the region's historiography since as Gallagher points out "colonization explains only part of the global picture of women's subordination" (1981:14). Similarly, Millet (1970) states that there is another sense in which all women have been subject to a form of 'interior colonization', resulting from the birthright priority whereby males rule females. There is a level of interplay between these two types of colonization for women in countries which have been subject to politico-economic colonization and is referred to as '*dual colonization*' (Pala, 1977). This notion of dual colonization suggests that there are stark differences in the struggles of women in developing countries and

their counterparts in the industrialized world.

The abolition of slavery in the Caribbean in 1838 resulted in a complete social transformation. With the departure of the British, the United States began to invest in the Caribbean in the second half of the 19th century, pumping money into fruit plantations, shipping, oil enterprises, infrastructural and construction operations. The modernization of the economies and societies of the Caribbean after abolition had a profound effect on the labour and lives of men and women (Smith, 1996). An important development was economic diversification from plantation to mixed economies, with the addition of tourism and manufacturing and the expansion of the service sectors. Men and women began to take full advantage of a wider range of occupational opportunities. However sex stereotyping persisted.

Today, women predominate in traditionally female jobs such as nursing, teaching, secretarial, dressmaking and domestic servants. Anderson (WICP 1984) contends that while the nature of female employment may have changed over the last century, as economic production has shifted from the canefields to the cities, the quality of work available to most women is still characterized by excessive drudgery. Caribbean women have a high rate of participation in the regional labour force and there are indications that this is increasing but this has not translated into less subordination, greater promotability or equity in remuneration levels.

A particularly striking trend, Senior (1991) notes, has been the decline of women agricultural labourers. Throughout the Caribbean, agriculture has ceased to be a major employer of labour, declining overall from around 30% in 1946 to just under 10% in 1980. In the WICP survey the highest female worker rate recorded for

agriculture (Barbados) was 10%. The shift away from agriculture has also been accelerated by the advent of new options, represented by jobs in manufacturing and other 'modern' sectors. Women constitute a large proportion of professionals- just under 47%, but the majority are in low paid semi-professions which have come to be regarded as mainly 'female', such as teaching and nursing. While women are increasingly breaking into the older professions such as medicine and law, they are still highly underrepresented. "Women are still such a novelty in some fields that Caribbean newspapers still feature as 'firsts' women breaking into traditionally 'male' occupations such as engineering, architecture, surveying or motor mechanics"(Senior, 1991:124).

Nearly half of those classified as technical and sales workers are also women. In most territories this category embraces women who function as 'hawkers' or 'higglers'¹, occupations traditionally associated with females. Analysis of both census data and WICP data confirms that despite the post-war breakthroughs and despite individual achievements, the regional labour force still remains highly sex-stratified and females are still concentrated in marginalized low-paid jobs and there is still a minuscule percentage of women within the professions generally.

The current economic agenda in the Caribbean is described as one of reform which has been framed by globalization and the concurrent changes that have been occurring since the 1970s (Payne and Sutton, 1990). In the wake of economic upheavals initiated by the oil crises in the 1970s and 1980s, economic growth slowed in most countries of the region. These global factors alongside domestic

1 A local expression for peddlers or street vendors.

weaknesses in fiscal management and production, resulted in an unfavorable economic environment (Bourne, 1988). For most of the countries, recovery efforts meant increased external borrowing and the introduction of structural adjustment measures. In recent times, Caribbean countries have also had to grapple with an international economic environment characterized by the dismantling of trade barriers and the relaxation of restrictions on the movement of international capital. Many have been forced to adopt an export-oriented, private sector model as the principle vehicle for economic growth. The strategy is consistent with the structural adjustment process in many of the countries.

Adjustment policies coincided with women's entry into the labour force in unprecedented numbers. Between 1970 and 1990, women's economic activity rates increased in all countries (Buvine and Lycette, 1994). Statistical data for most Caribbean countries confirm women's advance, but there is still persistent discrimination against women in employment, occupational status and remuneration (Barrow, 1998). The Caricom Secretariat reports (1995) that apart from aggravating their economic disadvantage as lower income earners, structural adjustment policies have forced women to compensate for income shortfalls in their homes by finding ways of sustaining themselves and their families; and by providing volunteer labour in their communities to compensate for the deterioration of services and infrastructure" (CS, 1995:21).

I. Ethnic considerations

Within the Caribbean, there is a rich cultural and ethnic diversity. The majority are of African origin, however in Trinidad and Tobago and Guyana, there are large East Indian communities. East Indians are present in smaller numbers in other countries and in all of the countries, there is a rich admixture of other racial and ethnic groups such as Chinese, Caucasian, Portuguese, Syrian and Lebanese as well as a large number of mixed racial groups. The personal status, relationships and conduct of the members of these groups are significantly influenced by gender, race and cultural/sub-cultural practice (Leo-Rhynie, 1997). There is in the region "a scale of colour values at the extremes of which the 'white' or European complex is given positive value, and the 'black' or Negro complex is given negative value, and this serves as a basis for the hierarchical ranking of persons, and groups of persons according to the colour characteristics ascribed to them" (Smith, 1996:32).

Under the system of plantation slavery around which the Caribbean societies were organized from the mid-seventeenth to mid-nineteenth centuries, gender roles were modified by race and class. Colonial society was stratified into white, brown and black, which corresponded to the social and economic power structure. European women on the plantations were restricted to conjugal and maternal roles since they had many black domestic slaves at their disposal for child-rearing and domestic chores. White women of other classes functioned as independent proprietors of small plantations and businesses. In the middle of the colour class system were the mulatto or coloured women born of miscegenation between the races. Despite changes and more open attitudes, both skin colour and ethnicity; and

peoples' perceptions of the roles these play in power and status in Caribbean societies are still of tremendous importance. Miller's 1969 and 1973 studies of self-concept and self-identity among young people in Jamaica for instance show that the Caucasian ideal or a close approximation is still operative. To what extent have racial considerations impacted on hiring decisions in television, the most visual of the media; and once they have a foot in the door, do women face the dual burden of racism and sexism in these organizations? The racial and ethnic composition of both men and women and how this impacts on a primary or secondary level alongside gender were included in the questionnaire as they are important variables in any sociological study of the region. This discussion is advanced further in Chapter IV.

According to Christine Barrow (1998) Caribbean *gender ideologies* articulate with others such as imperialism, capitalism or racism. 'Gender ideologies' are patterns of ideas which shape beliefs and attitudes about appropriate identities and behaviour of men and women. They also explain and legitimate these identities within the cultural milieu of particular societies."When Afro-Caribbean or Indo-Caribbean women challenge received femininity, they conform to triple subordination of race, class and sex. Their menfolk may maintain domestic patriarchy on essential grounds, but they face race and class barriers, and are relegated to the periphery by a masculine ideology which is not their own" (1998:20).

II. Educational considerations

Any attempt to look at women's media careers must of necessity assess and compare the educational achievements of men and women in the region. In the Caribbean, as in many parts of the developing world, education is the principal vehicle for achieving greater social mobility and equilibrium in the society. Educational credentials are the principal route to high status positions for men and women in society. Whether one conceives of education as improving productivity as the human capital school of economics purports or merely as performing a screening or credential-providing role, as others maintain, the importance of education in attaining high status occupations is widely recognized in both the developed and the developing world. Jacobs (1989:76) posits that education at once offers "an ideological justification for inequality and a set of institutional mechanisms for maintaining it."

Indeed, education has been hailed as a reason for inequality; that some are entitled to earn more than others. Therefore let's examine the facts: Total student registration by gender at the University of the West Indies, indicates a downward trend in male enrollment, with women in 1994/95 making up 61 percent of all students. Some of the difference in registration by gender at UWI is due to the fact that females are outperforming males in secondary school and therefore have higher admission rates. De Albuquerque & Ruark (1998) suggest that a major reason for the gender difference in academic performance in secondary school is that young males are more likely to opt for wage/salary jobs or enter business for themselves upon

leaving school. They therefore do just enough to pass a few CXC¹ subjects and view university education as a postponement of their potential to earn the income necessary to purchase stylish clothes, jewelry, consumer durables, and the much sought after automobile (de Albuquerque and Ruark, 1998:34). The suggestion is that the social capital offered by a university education is less appealing to Caribbean males.

Despite this, census data show that many Caribbean female university graduates are underemployed, in positions requiring lower qualifications. On the political front, "female parliamentarians and ministers of government are more likely to be expected to have higher educational qualifications to enter this male arena" (de Albuquerque and Ruark, 1998:11). It is indeed telling that there are not many Caribbean women in high level political positions who are not well educated, while there are many men with minimal (often only a High school diploma) educational qualifications in these positions. The lack of congruence between women's educational attainment and occupational prestige is more pronounced at the University of the West Indies. In 1993/94, only 19% of the full time academic staff was female (7% of the Professors and 8% of the Senior Lecturers) the proportion of females among senior administrative staff was slightly better: 27% (UWI, 1995). Caribbean women as a group, are as well, if not better educated than their male counterparts, but are "significantly under-represented as large business proprietors and managers, as university professors, in trade unions, parliaments, the judiciary and other bastions of power" (Barrow, 1998:12).

1 Caribbean Examination Council, which is equivalent to the GCE O'level exam.

Hence we can safely assume that educational differences simply are not responsible for the bulk of occupational segregation by sex. Given the similarity and the exceptional performances in educational attainment by the region's women, restricting access to high status occupations on the basis of educational credentials would fail as a strategy for defending men's privileged positions in the professions. Here the human capital perspective would have trouble explaining the extent of women's investment in education in terms of women's expected lifetime economic payoff.

Conclusion

Television has long been a male bastion. This work attempts to determine how women have fared in this male dominated occupation. Do female reporters earn as much as their male counterparts? Do they receive the same kinds of story assignments? Do their stories make the prestigious lead positions in the news cast and if so how often do they? Are they likely to aspire to management positions? To what degree do sexist attitudes and behaviors exist among Caribbean reporters and their supervisors? How does morale differ between male and female staff? Because sex discrimination can occur in many different ways, I have used four criteria for assessing it: (i) earnings; (ii) news beats and assignments; (iii) mobility, promotions and authority; and (iv) morale and reactions to a newsroom scenario with discrimination and other cultural values. Pay and story assignment are two general means of judging sexism, however discriminatory attitudes may be expressed through morale within the organization. Morale would be affected by two general

characteristics of the job: the amount of autonomy the reporter thinks he or she has, and the extent to which the reporter thinks pay raises and promotions in her or his particular news department are fair (Smith, Fredin and Nardone, 1989).

Morale could also be influenced by attitudes of reporters towards day to day news decisions, such as when to use "live" coverage and toward the effectiveness of television as a medium for conveying certain stories. Both kinds of attitudes surface during day to day work decisions about what and how to cover stories, providing endless ways in which general attitudes about news can be expressed. In the case of these attitudes, as in other traits, the effect on morale for men are different from that of women so by observing the day-to-day operations and interviewing staff informally, I was able to ascertain morale levels and attitudes and perceptions, to get into their heads to see what they are thinking and feeling about their status within the organization. Personal traits such as awards, the level of interpersonal communication between management and staff and the daily feedback on work were also observed or gleaned from the in-depth interviews.

From a 60-item questionnaire sent to all reporters a broad range of evidence was garnered to include the following:

1. Length of time individual has worked in the organization;
2. Educational background;
3. Vision of future in the media;
4. Views on pay, fringe benefits, and job security;
5. Editorial policies of the organization;
6. Opportunities to develop a specialty;

7. amount of autonomy she/he has and perception of chances to get ahead in the organization; chances to influence people and chances to influence public affairs;
8. Job satisfaction;
9. Level of feedback/comments on job performance;
10. Perceptions of role of women and men within the organization;
11. Level of feedback/comments from viewers;
12. Amount of influence the individual has in decision making; in hiring and firing on news and editorial decisions; and
13. Amount of editing or processing of other peoples' work she/he has; and
14. Prevalence of verbal, physical and psychological harassment.

While there has been a dramatic increase in the number of women securing jobs in journalism, white middle class men continue to occupy the vast majority of positions of power within the profession in Europe and North America. Women are still not being promoted to senior decision-making positions in proportion to the overall role they play in the profession. They are not paid equally for the equal tasks they perform with men, and they are often sidelined into "feminine" beats and assignments. In many countries the glass ceiling is still firmly in place and a few token women have managed to push it higher.

This debate about women in journalism is relevant to my region because of the particular tasks and requirements of journalism in democratic societies, one of which is believed to be the production and distribution of balanced and fair information. As such, it has often been said that the minority status of women in

journalism affects the quality of the news and programming product of television. Because the news is largely made by men, it is thought to reflect the interests and the values of men too, and therefore news cannot properly serve the needs of half of the population, namely women.

What follows in Chapter II is a detailed historiographical analysis which delves into the political, social and economic background of the Commonwealth Caribbean, tracing the birth of the communications industries, structure, ownership, operations and control. It develops a tri-partite schema for analyzing the broadcast profession, its primary emphasis being to identify the major formative developmental influences on Caribbean Television. In addition Chapter II frames the discussion for subsequent chapters.

Chapter II

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF CARIBBEAN TELEVISION

A. Social and Economic Conditions in the Three Groups of Caribbean Countries

The Commonwealth Caribbean is made up of a collection of small islands of the two archipelagos which straddle the Caribbean Sea between the main continental landmarks of Florida in the north to Venezuela in the south, and including the mainland territories of Guyana on the shoulder of South America and Belize in Central America. Though there are great disparities in size and population, on an objective scale, most countries are small. They range from St. Kitts with a population of 46,500 in a land area of 269 km² to Guyana with an area of 214,970 km² and a population of 765,796, to Jamaica with a population of 2.4 million in an area of 10,991 km². Clarke (1991) points out that a major feature of Caribbean societies is this smallness and insularity which abounds. He suggests that these two related characteristics facilitated the "early annexation and Balkanization of the Caribbean by distant seaborne empires, but they also help to explain the long period of colonialism, and the piecemeal nature of decolonization" (Clarke, 1991:1).

Table 2.1 demonstrates that for purposes of this study, I have grouped the countries into three categories: large, medium and small based on GDP and level of development, which in turn affect size and type of broadcasting system which emerged. John Lent (1977) posits that the population sizes of countries have determined the degree of development of mass communications channels; and proximity to the United States has influenced the adoption of US television

technological standards and programming. The large group comprises the more developed countries of the Caribbean Common Market, CARICOM: the Bahamas, Barbados, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago.

Table 2.1: Statistical data on the Commonwealth Caribbean Countries						
Country	Capital	Population	Size (kilometers)	GDP per capita (US\$)	Date of independence	Start of TV
<i>Large</i>			13,935sq			
The Bahamas	Nassau	234, 000	kilometers	11, 317	1973	1930
Barbados	Bridge-town	254, 000	430 sq. kilometers	4, 233	1966	1964
Jamaica	Kingston	2.4 million	10, 991 sq. kilometers	3, 639	1962	1963
Trinidad & Tobago	Port of Spain	1.2 million	5, 128 sq. kilometers	5, 510	1962	1962
<i>Medium</i>			442 sq.			
Antigua & Barbuda	St. John's	81, 000	kilometers	3, 399	1981	1965
Dominica	Roseau	81, 200	751 sq. kilometers	1, 550	1978	1983
Grenada	St. George's	103, 400	344 sq. kilometers	1, 346	1974	1974
St. Kitts & Nevis	Basseterre	46, 500	269 sq. kilometers	2, 119	1983	1965
St. Lucia	Castries	142, 400	616 sq. kilometers	1, 400	1979	1966
St. Vincent & the Grenadines	Kingstown	112, 600	389 sq. kilometers	1, 358	1979	1979
<i>Small</i>	Belmopan	185, 000	22, 963 sq. kilometers	1, 149	1981	1981
Belize						
Guyana	George-town	765, 796	214, 970 sq. kilometers	680	1966	1988

Sources: Phil Gunson, Greg Chamberlain and Andrew Thompson, (1991) The Dictionary of Contemporary Politics on Central America and the Caribbean, London: Routledge and Lent, John Mass Communications in the Caribbean, (1990). Iowa. Iowa State University Press.

In the second group are the six island members of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States, OECS: Antigua and Barbuda, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts & Nevis, St. Lucia and St. Vincent and the Grenadines. The third group comprises the two countries which are not islands, but sit on the mainland of Central America and South America; Belize and Guyana respectively. It is significant that the two largest countries in terms of geographical size, Belize and Guyana, are grouped in the "small" category, due to their per capita income and their infrastructural and human development indices. Belize's GDP was only US\$1,149 and Guyana's US\$680.

All of the Caribbean countries gained their independence only in the latter half of the twentieth century, and are now parliamentary democracies. Three countries from the large group are older democracies: Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago which gained their independence from Britain in 1962; they were followed by Barbados and Guyana in 1966. Most of the middle sized countries, among them the Bahamas, Dominica, Grenada, St. Vincent and the Grenadines as well as St. Lucia did not gain their independence until the 1970s; while Antigua and Barbuda, Belize and St. Kitts and Nevis had to wait until the 1980s.

The Caribbean is extremely diverse in terms of race, ethnicity, population numbers and density, religion and political orientation. Most of the population in the three groups of countries are primarily black or mulatto with small white minorities. For the "large" groups of countries, among them, Trinidad and Tobago and Guyana, 45-50% of the population is of Indian descent, which is not the case in Jamaica with its population of 2.4 million. The OECS countries in the "medium"

group all have populations of less than 103, 000; Grenada being the most populated (103,400) and St. Kitts the least populated (46,500).

The region has had fluctuating fortunes and GDP per capita figures indicate a relatively diverse mix ranging from the wealthy Bahamas with a GDP per capita of US\$11,317 to medium scaled Antigua and Barbuda with a GDP of US\$3,399, to poverty-stricken Guyana with a GDP per capita of US\$680. The countries of the large group have per capita GDPs of between US\$3,600 and US\$11,300; whilst the countries of the medium group have GDPs of between US\$1,358 and US\$3,399. The GDPs of the small category are below US\$1,150. For most countries, television preceded independence largely because television was introduced by the former colonizers or their interests and then were eventually handed over to governments of the newly independent states.

Table 2.2 demonstrates that the region's average birth rate in 2001 was 18.0 births for each 1,000 residents, which is much lower than the world rate of 21.4 per 1,000 and the 26.0 per 1,000 average for the developing countries (CIA 2001; UNDP, 2000). In 2001 the average fertility rate for the Caribbean was 2.2 children per woman, significantly lower than the 2.7 average rate per woman around the world and the higher 3.2 average for the group of developing countries (CIA 2001; UNDP 200). In terms of the death rate and the infant mortality rate, the Caribbean shows some advantage over world averages. These figures indicate women's ability to balance work and domestic responsibilities and impact on their longevity within the professional work environment.

Table 2.2 Demographic Profile 2001					
<i>Country</i>	<i>Population growth rate(%)</i>	<i>Fertility rate per woman</i>	<i>Birth rate per 1000</i>	<i>Death rate per 1,000</i>	<i>Infant mortality per 1,000 live births</i>
<i>Large</i>	0.9	2.30	19.10	7.7	17.03
Bahamas					
Barbados	0.46	1.64	13.47	8.53	12.04
Jamaica	0.51	2.08	18.12	5.48	14.16
Trinidad & Tobago	-0.51	1.81	13.73	8.82	24.98
<i>Medium</i>	0.74	2.31	19.5	5.87	22.33
Antigua& Barbuda					
Dominica	-0.98	2.03	17.81	7.19	16.54
Grenada	0.06	2.54	23.12	7.82	14.63
St. Kitts & Nevis	0.11	2.41	18.78	9.21	16.28
St. Lucia	1.23	2.38	21.8	5.36	15.22
St. Vincent & the Grenadines	0.4	2.06	17.91	6.16	16.61
<i>Small</i>	3.4	3.4	23.8	3.8	32.8
Belize					
Guyana	0.4	2.5	56	5.1	56

Source: CIA 2001; <http://www.development.gateway.org>

Of the thirteen Caribbean countries included in the Human Development Report 2000, two from our large group are listed among the world's nations having the highest levels of human development. Barbados and the Bahamas share their level of human development with the most industrialized economies in the world. Among the countries classified as having high levels of human development, Canada, Norway and the United States occupy the top three positions. The rankings of Barbados, and the Bahamas are numbers thirty and thirty-three respectively. The remaining ten countries are classified as having medium levels of human development: St. Kitts and Nevis (47), Trinidad and Tobago (50), Dominica (51), Grenada (54), St. Vincent and the Grenadines (79), St. Lucia (88), Jamaica (83)

Guyana (103) and Belize (58).

Life expectancy in the Caribbean is still far from the ideal goal of eighty-five years adopted by the UNDP. However the trend in human development has been significant in the two top ranked Caribbean countries. The life expectancy ranges from 76.5 years in Barbados to 70 years in St. Lucia. The education index is derived from a weighted average of the adult literacy rate and the combined gross enrollment ratio for primary, secondary and tertiary education. The literacy rates for the top two Caribbean countries, Barbados and the Bahamas, are on par with the world average. The average of the combined gross enrollment ratio, which is the second component of the education index is equal to 90 percent in countries with high levels of human development. Among the Caribbean countries the ratio extends from a low of 58 percent in St. Vincent and the Grenadines to a high of 80 percent in Barbados for high level countries, giving an average ratio of combined enrollment of 77.3 percent, which is below the average for all countries with high levels of human development. A population that is highly educated is more likely to make good media personnel.

The large economies of Barbados, Jamaica, Trinidad and the Bahamas have diversified economies with manufacturing, agriculture, tourism and financial services playing important roles in the economic structure. In Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica oil refining and mining are important. Jamaica's natural resources include bauxite, gypsum and limestone, while available natural resources in Trinidad include petroleum, natural gas and asphalt. Indeed, Trinidad is the foremost oil-producing country in the Caribbean. In 1995 close to 30 percent of its

GDP originated in this sector, followed in significance by tourism and financial services. Although the Bahamas produces salt, aragonite and timber, the domestic economy is heavily dependent on tourism and offshore financial services.

The economies of all seven countries in the medium grouping are structured similarly. In all of them, service activities- government operations, tourism, financial services and communication and transport activities- contribute well over half of the total GDP. In 1998 government services were the largest component of the GDP for Dominica and Grenada. Tourism is also an important economic sector in all the countries of this group but especially so for Antigua and Barbuda and St. Lucia contributing 41 percent and 11 percent to GDP respectively (Gray, 2001). Agriculture is the main economic activity for Dominica contributing more than 23 percent to its GDP in 1998. For Grenada, St. Lucia and St. Vincent and the Grenadines it contributed 12 percent that same year. Dominica, Grenada, St. Lucia and St. Vincent and the Grenadines all produce bananas for export. In addition St. Vincent exports arrowroot; and Grenada exports nutmeg, mace and cocoa to international markets. Manufacturing (mainly of beverages, clothing, food, soaps and cosmetics) is relatively insignificant. All countries in this group depend heavily on taxes on international transactions. Thus, customs duties and fees, consumption taxes and value-added taxes constitute a significant portion of government revenue.

In the small group, Guyana is rich in lands and natural resources of gold, diamonds, iron ores and fertile agricultural lands, but autocratic policies, and economic mismanagement during the Forbes Burnham regime (1972-1985) condemned Guyana to one of the leading pariah states in the region. During

Burnham's rule and subsequently thousands of Guyanese fled the country leaving analysts to surmise that there are more Guyanese living outside of Guyana than currently in the country. Belize's economy is based on agricultural production and manufacturing with limited tourism development.

In fact, tourism is the most significant economic activity throughout much of the Caribbean and it continues to grow in importance. This sector is now far more important than agriculture or manufacturing in most Caribbean countries. Income from tourism has grown rapidly since the 1950s. According to data emanating from the Caribbean Tourism Organization, CTO in 1959 the Caribbean was visited by 1.3 million tourists; by 1979 that number had increased to 6.5 million. By 1994 the Caribbean Tourism Organization estimated that the number of visitors to the region had reached 13.7 million and in 1999 the number had increased to more than 23.7 million with hotel rooms exceeding 160,000. Revenue from tourism has similarly increased in recent years reaching more than \$12.3 billion at the end of the 1990s.

As politicians proclaimed it "the engine of growth", tourism became part of the socio-economic landscape of all Caribbean countries. There are "footprints of tourism" (Pattulo, 1996:8) in nearly every territory, which vary in shape, size, form and style. The countries which have highly developed tourism products from the large group are: the Bahamas, Barbados and Jamaica; and from the medium group: Antigua and Barbuda and St. Lucia. Tourism overtook sugar as the major foreign-exchange earner in the late 1950s. For the more mature tourism economies such as the Bahamas, Jamaica and Barbados, this began with the introduction of regular non-stop international jet services in the early 1960s.

The larger territories and the two medium territories, St. Lucia and Antigua boast sprawling hotel properties, developed infrastructures such as marinas, casinos, and international airports to accommodate wide-bodied jets. The small territories and the remaining medium countries' natural features and geography tend to focus on eco-tourism showcasing their mountain wildernesses and rain forests. This is particularly true for Dominica, St. Vincent, Grenada and Guyana. Jean Holder, former Secretary-General of the Caribbean Tourism Organization explains: "what is unique about the Caribbean is that it is more dependent on tourism than any other region in the world. Tourism receipts are 25 percent of our total exports; there is a great deal riding on it" (Gray, 2001:42). Five Caribbean countries earned more from tourism in 1992 as a share of exports than they did from all other sectors put together: two from the "large" group: the Bahamas (72%), and Barbados (59%), and three from the "medium" group: Antigua (65%), Grenada (54%), and St. Kitts-Nevis (58%) (Pattulo, 1996).

In the more diversified economy of Jamaica, tourism also made a significant contribution to export earning. Other "medium" countries such as Belize, Grenada and St. Lucia also earned more from tourism than from banana exports. Pattulo(1992) suggests that this classic reversal of fortunes from agriculturally-dependent to tourism-dependent, is now also true for the old sugar-based economies such as Barbados, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago where "tourists have become more valuable than sugar" (Pattulo, 1996:13). In some cases rapid hotel development has created what some economists refer to as a lopsided industry where too many rooms chase too few tourists, especially in the slow summer

season. Both the Bahamas and Barbados were described by the Economist Intelligence Unit in 1993 as "having clearly overdeveloped; and are failing to attract sufficient visitors to fill their available accommodation."¹ Low occupancy rates and the seasonal nature of tourism have a particularly negative impact in the Caribbean where high hotel construction and operation costs, high food import bills and relatively high pay rolls all contribute to low profit margins. The fact that tourism has replaced agriculture is indicative of the shift in the economy and standard of living and the thrust towards a more metropolitan lifestyle and outlook. This is important for the types of services, including broadcasting institutions which the countries offer. It is also significant in the type of programming which the television stations offer, because serious consideration is given by management to programmes designed for an American and European audience at the expense of local more nationally or regionally oriented programming.

As Table 2.3 indicates, the Bahamian dollar (US\$1.00=BSD0.99) is the strongest currency followed by the Belizean dollar (US\$1=BZD\$1.97), the Barbadian dollar (US\$1.00=BBDS1.99), then the Eastern Caribbean dollar (US\$1.00=XCD\$2.67) which serves the seven OECS islands. The Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaican and Guyanese dollars fluctuate frequently, with the Guyanese dollar now valued at a whopping US\$1= GYD\$178.01; the Jamaican valued at US\$1.00=JMD\$54.65 and the Trinidad dollar values at US\$1.00=TTD\$6.13.

¹ Economist Intelligence Unit, Tourism in the Caribbean: Special Report, London, 1993.

Table 2.3 Currency conversion for Caribbean, 2003		
<i>Country</i>	<i>Currency used</i>	<i>Exchange rate (USD\$)</i>
<i>Large</i>		
Bahamas	BSD (Bahamian dollar)	US\$1.00=BSD\$0.99
Barbados	BBD (Barbadian dollar)	US\$1.00=BBD\$1.99
Jamaica	JMD (Jamaican dollar)	US\$1.00=JMD\$54.65
Trinidad & Tobago	TTD (Trinidadian dollar)	US\$1.00=TTD\$6.13
<i>Medium</i>		
Antigua & Barbuda	XCD (Eastern Caribbean dollar)	US\$1.00=XCD\$2.67
Dominica	Same as above	Same as above
Grenada	Same as above	Same as above
St. Kitts	Same as above	Same as above
St. Lucia	Same as above	Same as above
St. Vincent & the Grenadines	Same as above	Same as above
<i>Small</i>		
Belize	BZD (Belizean dollar)	US\$1.00=BZD\$1.97
Guyana	GYD (Guyanese dollar)	US\$1.00=GYD\$178.1

The countries of the OECS, those in our medium category, share a common currency called the Eastern Caribbean dollar which exchanges at the fixed rate of EC\$2.67 to one US dollar, whilst all the other countries in the large and small groupings have their own currencies which tend to fluctuate with the economic situation of the day. The Eastern Caribbean Central Bank (ECCB) the central bank of the seven territories of the OECS is one of only three multi-state central banks in the world.

The countries in the large group have all had a longer history of broadcasting and their communications infrastructures are far more developed and in line with international standards. Their employment practices and policies tend to

be more liberal and in keeping with democratic practices. The countries of the medium group are still struggling to extricate themselves from the tentacles of government control. They thrive on government subsidies and are therefore subject to maneuverings of the political elites in power. Infrastructurally, they are less developed in terms of equipment, technological know-how; and their human resource training and professionalism tend to be weak. The two countries of the small group are in the primitive stages of broadcasting with small one camera operations, very little staff and little or no supporting communications policies and programmes initiated by the government. In these two countries television was introduced in the 1980s initiated by businessmen who sought only the profit motive offering cable and satellite services, with very little consideration given to broad national cultural objectives. Their objective was simply the profits to be gained from offering American programming, largely entertainment, to audiences eager to view the "green grass" on the other side of the world.

Previous Scholarship

Very few Caribbean or international scholars have devoted time to the study of the Anglophone Caribbean, hence there is a chronic dearth of empirical information on which to build serious scholarship on Caribbean television. The research in the Caribbean falls into three major categories:

1. historical and bibliographical aspects of Caribbean mass communications to include individual country studies.
2. Caribbean media institutions, the discourse of cultural imperialism and the broad impacts of mass media and generalized audience analysis.
3. New technologies and the impact of globalization on Caribbean media.
4. Studies of women in Caribbean media.

The bulk of the research in the region falls into the first two categories overshadowing contemporary discourses in other relevant domains. For this work; the studies of Frank Cundall, writers for the American Antiquarian Society; McCulloch (1921); Rodney (1918) were for me useful beginnings in documenting the existence of periodicals and newspapers; presenting narrative histories of mass communications' early birth. However these early writers concentrated much of their work on the press since broadcasting institutions were slow to take root in the Commonwealth Caribbean and much of the early communication history began with the press. The later historical works of Erwin Thomas (1978) who presented research on the culmination of broadcasting in Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago; and more latterly Lent, have informed this research and proffered useful insights into the types of communications infrastructures in the

Commonwealth Caribbean.

Along with Lent, two other scholars, Aggrey Brown, and Marlene Cuthbert stand out as the leading writers on the historiography of broadcasting in the region. Utilizing a series of national seminars in twelve countries of the English speaking Caribbean in early 1985, Brown and Sanatan compiled data which served as a starting point for discussions on the media. In their book, *"Talking With Whom"*, they found that much of the media in the region were foreign owned or government owned and that there was large-scale cultural imperialism. Advertising and public relations operations "were largely either foreign owned and even when locally owned, contained large inputs of foreign value-added elements"(1987:7).

Within their study Brown and Sanatan made broad comparisons in the areas of ownership and control, professionalism, alternative communication, cultural penetration and infrastructural resources. They found that there was a lot of governmental power in the media in the region, that the level of training and professionalism within the media was limited, that there was a high level of "alternative communications" through popular theatre, calypso and oral traditions; and that there was concern amongst communications professionals about the impact of United States television programming through satellite and cable. Brown and Sanatan's work is significant since it informs and bears out the tri-stage historiographical theory of media development in the region and clearly shows the level of autocratic and dictatorial control which governments of the region exercised over the media in the formative years of broadcasting.

In several countries, Brown and Sanatan found that there was real and

perceived fear on the part of journalists about how they report national issues. There existed also an antagonistic relationship between politicians and journalists. Politicians often viewed the journalists' role as being destructive and disruptive. This study, though comprehensive for the range of viewpoints it was able to pull together of media workers in the mid 1980s, falls short in that it is largely anecdotal and descriptive with no theoretical underpinnings. It does not delve into the issue of gender equity nor does it assess the perceptions of the journalists studied.

John Lent is perhaps the most prolific writer on communications in the Caribbean. His major work in this domain: *"Third World Mass Media and the Search for Modernity: The Case of the Commonwealth Caribbean, 1717-1976"* (1977) was the very first comprehensive treatment of historical and contemporary perspectives of British West Indian mass communications. An extension of his 1972 doctoral dissertation, Lent interviewed more than one hundred media managers, conducted historical studies and analyzed the content of various media of the Commonwealth Caribbean. *"Mass Communication in the Caribbean"* which began in 1968 and is a follow up to his previous work, attempts to document the changes in mass communication over a twenty year period, showing how geographical, political and socioeconomic factors fostered the types of communications infrastructures and practices found in the Caribbean region. He traces the birth of the media in the Caribbean with their colonial vestiges, their struggle for nationalism and the overriding European and US influences which persist today. The work employs both "historical and contemporary approaches as well as

overviews and case studies of the print and electronic media in the countries of the region" (1977:45). All of Lent's work in the region provide a useful resource for this dissertation.

The second group of authors, focus on the period of Caribbean history when the debate on the New World Information and Communication Order was being debated in the United Nations in 1980. They focus on the period when the Caribbean began to be concerned with modernization and national consolidation. Much of this writing is concerned with documenting the imbalanced news flows between developing countries and the so-called First World of Europe and North America. It contains studies investigating the supposed impacts of foreign content and cultural imperialism generally. Charles (1981) conducted a study on satellite use in the Caribbean; and Cuthbert (1979) and Burke(1981) did comprehensive studies of the role of the Caribbean News Agency, CANA in regional development. CANA played a crucial role in charting a new vision for Caribbean media as a quintessential institution designed to create a regional cultural product, separate and distinct from the North American program overflows which were blanketing the Caribbean countries.

The international influences on Caribbean media and the discourse of cultural imperialism has occupied the minds of many scholars, including Surlin(1990) who looked at cultural identification and media imperialism; Brown (1990) who analyzed the effects of the New World Information Order on the Caribbean media; and Cuthbert (1990) who discussed the effects of laissez-faire policies in relation to the introduction of videocassette recorder technology in

Barbados and Grenada and the perceived impact on local identity. Belizean television has been the subject of a number of studies in the 1980s with scholars such as Barry (1984), Lapper (1984) Oliviera (1986) and Roser et al (1986) all analyzing the country's dependency on the United States for its programming content. Similarly Skinner (1984) has discussed foreign television in Trinidad and Tobago.

The fourth category of writers are concerned with the role of women in the Caribbean media. Here, the only major work on gender equity from which one may extrapolate is Marlene Cuthbert's (1984) study of Caribbean women, self reliance and the Information industry. This work stands out amongst a body of work which she has conducted in the region. In it, she suggests that Caribbean women are "much closer to occupying equal status with men than are women in many other countries" (1984:50). This point is borne out by the following: as many women as men graduate from high school and 46 percent of the graduates of the University of the West Indies are female. She argues that many women are in professions of law and medicine, and increasingly politics. Despite this, Cuthbert discovers that women are poorly represented in the 24 member states of the Caribbean Broadcasting Union, the 35 member Caribbean Publishers and Broadcasters' Association, CPBA which employs few women as reporters/stringers at the Caribbean News Agency. Beyond that, she found that the boards of directors in media organizations were almost all male and women were not well represented at the management level. Based on a 1980 survey of Jamaican broadcast media, Cuthbert found that women constituted 28 percent of employees in media-related

posts; 6% of management positions and 14% in technical positions. The data presented in the next chapter bears out this stark reality and clearly shows that the region mirrors the North American situation studied by Wilhoit and Weaver (1979) in the United States and Robinson and St. Jean (1997) in Canada. Cuthbert's survey, had a major limitation however in that it was done only of Jamaican media and therefore cannot be said to be representative of the entire Anglophone Caribbean region.

Marjan deBruin (1995) also conducted limited research on Women and Caribbean media in which she found that in most Caribbean media organizations women form between 34% and 45% of the total permanent staff. The number of women however declined in middle management and were even less in senior management. She found sales and marketing, advertising, accounts, administration and personnel to be favorite ghettos for women. These were either headed by a woman or had a high concentration of women among their staff. In most media organizations the lower echelons- service and support- were mainly staffed by women: telephone, typing, clerical work; and the lowest concentration of women was in engineering and in operations.

Be that as it may, most of the aforementioned works were written prior to the 1990s and therefore very little scholarship with recent currency is available. Due to the relatively early studies done of the region by these scholars, (most of them conducted in the early 70s and 80s) there are significant gaps in the research, in that telecommunications infrastructures have significantly improved, using digitalization, fibre optics and satellites. Most Television stations today in the

"large" and "medium" groups of states, are modern, highly sophisticated and are staffed with highly trained personnel. There is a diminished role of foreign media owners such as Rediffusion, King, or the Thomson Group. However there is still a great dependence upon outsiders for equipment and programming, and continuing government control in countries such as Antigua, Guyana, and Grenada.

Lent laments that mass communication research is being done on an *ad hoc* basis, done by a few individuals doing studies they favour: "virtually no cooperative, concerted and longitudinal projects of relevance and use to larger population segments" are available (Lent, 1990:310). This author concurs and will attempt to fill the gaps and provide a more comprehensive analysis of media development and change in the Commonwealth Caribbean through the lens of a gendered perspective.

Stages in Caribbean Broadcast Development: Theoretical Overview

The history of Caribbean broadcasting is the history of the slow and systematic development of national thought, the growth of public opinion, and the struggle for Caribbean independence. The press and broadcasting have exercised a beneficent influence upon the social and political life of the region and as a consequence, television in the Caribbean has gone through several phases from total foreign ownership and control to government ownership and control; to privatization and modernization. The Caribbean may be regarded as a late bloomer in that broadcasting never came to the region until shortly after World War II, when Britain began to release her colonies in the 1950s.

Mass media in the Commonwealth Caribbean have been almost entirely dependent upon foreign sources for their programming, ownership, resources and technology. John Lent has characterized the problems in the region as those of "emerging nations in a hurry to become modernized." These problems, he states, relate to one central point: "developing nations need those resources that they can least afford and that are often times least indigenous to their cultures" (Lent, 1990:43). The history of Caribbean broadcasting can thus be divided into three distinct periods:

- I. Decolonization and Independence (1950-1969)
- II. Nationalism and Media Consolidation (1970-1989)
- III. Slow Movement Toward Media Independence (1990-2003)

TABLE 2.4: Media Theory and Organization of Caribbean Television by historic periods.			
	<i>Period I: Decolonization and Independence (1950-1969)</i>	<i>Period II: Nationalism and Media Consolidation (1970-1989)</i>	<i>Period III: Slow Movement Toward Media Independence (1990-2003)</i>
Type of Financing	British and US companies	Government owned with limited private sector sponsorship	New private sector companies, publicly traded companies
Form of Media Control	Private with government backing. Foreign owners in control; very little local say in organization	Semi-autonomous but still part of civil service. Move to regional integration (birth of CANA and CBU) Government Minister rules; centralized decision-making, management appointed by government Cabinet	Forging links outside the region; semi-autonomous, statutory bodies, boards Move toward more professional approach, more trained personnel taking over management
Content/Product and audiences	Primarily news about the "mother country" or north American news and weather suited to British settlers and North American tourists.	Government information propaganda; govt. speeches, interviews and national policy issues. Large American content in other programming: soap operas, movies, sitcoms	Balance being brought to bear on news and current affairs programming. Mix of government information, specialized beats and competition between stations. Foreign content still problematic
Television technological Growth	Black and white; PAL format, small studio, two camera operations	Cable companies burst onto the scene, private satellite dish owners, NTSC format, upgraded studios; number of VCRs and video tape outlets escalate	Continued growth: TV stations upgrade equipment, move towards BETA; Japanese equipment, some on par with North America

In discussing the genesis of the media in the Caribbean, Table 2.4 shows a similar type of format employed by Siebert et al in *"Four Theories of the Press"* outlining the kind of media theory, type of financing, organization, management style and

content found at varying broad periods in the media's evolution. Through the prism of Siebert, Peterson and Schramm's (1956) *"Four Theories of the Press"*, and McConnell and Becker's (2002) four stages of media democratization, this chapter attempts to interpret the Caribbean reality, and to reconstruct and describe the three periods and their characteristic broadcast institutions. It begins with the *Decolonization and Independence period* (1950- 1969) in which a strict authoritarian-type media set-up prevailed, embodied in the colonial structure, ownership and management of the press. Media development then moves into a stage where the debate on the New World Information and Communication Order affected the role of Caribbean broadcast institutions (1970-1989) which I refer to as the period of *Nationalism and Media Consolidation*. This period saw the take over of the broadcast media by governments or indigenous elites; and their use for national development purposes. Finally, I examine the contemporary period (1990-2003) when issues of globalization and technological innovation become paramount; and when varying versions of social responsibility or what I would call "development-oriented" media are beginning to emerge and attempts are made to introduce more democratic relations between the government and the media. This period is one of *Slow Movement towards Media Independence*.

Siebert, Peterson and Schramm (1956) in *"Four Theories of the Press"* argue that the press and by extension all media "take the form and coloration of the social and political structures within which [they] operate" (:1). They claim that all government press relations can be subsumed under four theoretical forms. They are: *the Authoritarian, the Libertarian, the Social Responsibility and the Soviet*

Communist theories. Since the latter is not relevant to the Caribbean situation, it will be dropped from the discussion.

Much like the Caribbean's Colonial Dependency theory, in the Authoritarian theory, truth was conceived to be the product of "a few wise men who were in a position to guide and direct" (Ibid.: 2) the masses. As a consequence, the press functioned "from the top down." The rulers used the press to inform the people selectively, based on what they felt the masses should know and the policies which they felt they should support. The units of communication served the state and the government was responsible for their content. "It is a theory under which the press, as an institution, is controlled in its functions and operation by organized society through another institution- government" (Ibid. 10). The theory developed the proposition that the state was the highest expression of group organization and therefore superseded the individual. The individual was dependent on the state for achieving an advanced civilization: in and through the state man achieves his ends; and without the state man remains a primitive being. Through systems of state monopolies, censorship, licensing and legal control, the authoritarian state employed a range of tactics to ensure that the press followed the lines of government policies.

Schramm et al argue that treason and sedition were the two traditional areas of the law which were used as the basis for prosecution of persons accused or suspected of disseminating information or opinions inimical to the authorities. The publisher of a newspaper which attacked the government could be accused of "activities which might lead to the overthrow of the state."

In stark contrast, within the Libertarian theory, truth was not viewed as being the property of the government or those in power, but the pursuit of truth was an inalienable natural right of man. The press within this theory became "a partner in the search for truth." The press therefore had to be free from government control and influence; and there must be "a free market-place of ideas and information" (Schramm et al, 1956:3-4). The *Libertarian theory* proposes that the state is an instrument, a common agent whose function is to preserve the rights of the individuals against depredation by each other, and it must not itself encroach on those rights. Within this framework, the right to think, speak and publish freely are important elements of the more general freedom to pursue one's ends. Kelly and Donway (1990) argue that the liberals recognized that freedom of speech and freedom of the press had an important political role, since "a press that is free to publicize the actions of government can perform the watchdog function of protecting against the tendency of the state to aggrandize its power and abuse the right of its citizens" (:70). It can also perform the democratic function of providing information to the electorate and fostering debate on the issues of the day. The Libertarian theory as "Four Theories" constructs it, assumes that in the absence of state control, the media are free, that deregulation coincides with liberty and that the state is the main source of obstruction to media operation.

The *Social responsibility theory* was formulated at a time when the United States was coming to terms with what scholars refer to as "late capitalism." It retains a liberal notion of healthy public discourse and it adheres to the notion of "a marketplace of ideas" but acknowledged that that marketplace must be represented

inside a medium. It was a gradual shift away from pure libertarianism. Social responsibility theory's major premise is that "freedom carries concomitant obligations; and the press which enjoys a privileged position under government is obliged to be responsible to society for carrying out certain essential functions of mass communication in contemporary society (Schramm, Siebert & Peterson, 1956:74). The functions of the press under the Social Responsibility theory are the same as under Libertarianism: (i) servicing the political system by providing information, discussion and debate on public affairs; (ii) enlightening the public; (iii) safeguarding the rights of individuals by serving as a watchdog against government; (iv) servicing the economic system through advertising; (v) providing entertainment; and (vi) maintaining financial independence in order to be free of special interest pressures.

Nerone, Berry, Braman et al (1995) have criticized the "Four Theories" as giving an incorrect impression that any press system will be defined by one coherent theory of the press. They suggest that while this is a useful assumption for abstract discussion of press operation, it is not especially helpful for "discussing specific historical situations in which theories always overlap and in which the various actors are often motivated by quite different notions" (:20). They postulate that the assumption of "Four Theories", like the assumption of classical liberalism, is that freedom of the press is "a political thing". They point out, however, that the communication system in capitalist societies is not simply political but also and perhaps primarily economic and that what liberals call freedom is not meaningful without another kind of freedom. "A truly free press would be free not just of state

intervention but also of market forces and ownership ties and a host of other material bonds" (Nerone, Berry, Braman et al 1995: 22). They ask the pertinent question: How can the media be completely free from control and domination when it is part of the business system and driven by the same kinds of economic concerns and motives that drive other businesses? "The press cannot logically be free from capital because it *is* capital in form and use" (:54). Just as the press, regulated by the state, cannot be free and "ever vigilant to spot and expose any arbitrary or authoritarian practice" (Schramm et al, 1956), so too, "the press driven by capital cannot be expected to provide a thorough critique of the economic system or to offer alternatives because it is not free from control or domination by capital" (Nerone, Berry, Braman et al 1995:28).

Another useful theoretical model for this dissertation is proffered by McConnell and Becker (2002) who characterize the four stages of media practice in the democratization process as: i) *the pretransition*, ii) *primary transition*, iii) *consolidation* and iv) *stable or mature stages*. Unlike Siebert et al's four theories, they point out that these stages are not mutually exclusive, but that they appear on a continuum in the movement toward democratization: the process is not linear; there are interventions, ruptures and reversals along the way. In the first stage, *the pretransition stage*, which corresponds with Siebert et al's Authoritarian phase, the media model is one of strict government control to achieve objectives set by self-elected, unaccountable political elites who exercise unconstrained power over the media systems in their country" (McConnell & Becker, 2002: 9).

In the *primary transition stage*, the media work towards consolidating

democracy. Linz and Stepan argue that during this period political parties are formed and open, fairly contested elections are held, a constitution is drafted and new political institutions are established (Linz and Stepan, 1996). Thus nationalistic appeals are the norm, and the media in this environment are asked to educate the public, promote political and social cooperation and present in a fair manner competing political messages. In the *consolidation phase*, Diamond (1999) states that the structures of democracy become more liberal, accountable, representative and accessible. Political behaviour becomes more routinized and predictable toward common rules and procedures of democratic political competition and action; and successive regimes both politicians and journalists participate in training seminars to explain and clarify the new institutional and legal order. It is during this phase that networks of media professionals begin to develop; and journalists begin receiving training in news skills of investigative and responsible journalism. (McConnell & Becker, 2002). In the final stage, *the late or mature stage*, McConnell and Becker posit that legal and institutional questions are resolved; and educational opportunities for journalists are well established. These theoretical constructs provide interesting and critical parallels for further analysis of Caribbean broadcasting development and will be used along with Siebert et al to analyze the Caribbean broadcasting scenario.

In reconstructing Caribbean media history the period 1950-69 of decolonization and moves towards independence can best be explained in terms of what Siebert et al. call the "*Authoritarian theory*" and McConnell and Becker characterize as the *pre-transition stage*. During the period British and American

media transnationals established media in the large territories of the Caribbean primarily to serve their own interests. With the government's backing, foreign owners dictated the policy and programming output with very little local input. News was largely about the "mother country" or North America in the cases of North American owned media. The second Period, I have dubbed *Nationalism and Media Consolidation* (1970-89). The media became instruments for the state to aid them in their quest for national independence, and this equates with McConnell and Becker's *Primary transition stage*. However many of the governments which began to buy out or acquire the formerly foreign owned stations equated a nationalist agenda with toe-ing the political line or conforming to the government-issued propagandistic directives. Government owned and controlled stations mainly from the large group were operated as part of the civil service or as government information units. This period saw stricter and tighter controls on journalistic output as governments fought to set the agendas and have reporters assess those agendas from the governments' perspectives only.

When stations were not playing government information releases, speeches or current affairs interviews with government ministers, they filled the broadcast hours with pirated American content, soap operas, movies and situation comedies. This Period was the zenith of polemic on cultural imperialism, media domination, recolonization and foreign invasion. Largely through UNESCO, island governments began to question the inordinate foreign content on their media; expunging themselves from culpability and blaming the West for what they perceived as the undermining of indigenous cultures. The influx of cable companies

and satellite dishes supposedly bore testimony to this; though the state apparatus aimed at a strict top-down governance of broadcasting in the service of national development. Period III begins in 1990 and tracks the current era when greater professionalization, UNESCO support and regional alliances lay the groundwork for a more independent media regime. In this period, new private sector companies were established in the large, medium and small groups. Here, parallels can be made with McConnell and Beckers's *Consolidation phase*. Here there is a blurring between the transition towards greater democratic practices as journalists and citizens enjoy new found freedom and political leaders begin to build legitimacy for the democratic process. Additionally, in the older companies, governments began to take an arms length approach to the media and its professional operations and administration; and there developed a corps of highly qualified, better trained personnel. Through programmes offered by the University of the West Indies, UNESCO and other international agencies, there was more access to professionalization and certification of media personnel. In programming, through regional exchanges via CANA and the CBU, the stations had access to content of Caribbean relevance in larger quantities and at greater frequencies. Through professional organizations and unions, journalists began to demand their rights to report freely and objectively.

Table 2.5 Historical Establishment of TV stations by Periods and Groups		
<i>Country</i>	<i>Period Established</i>	<i>Year</i>
Large		
The Bahamas	Prior to Independence, during colonial rule	1930
Barbados	Period I: Decolonization and Independence (1950-1969)	1964
Jamaica	Period I: Decolonization and Independence (1950-1969)	1963
Trinidad and Tobago	Period I: Decolonization and Independence (1950-1969)	1962
Medium	Period I: Decolonization and Independence (1950-1969)	
Antigua & Barbuda		1965
St. Kitts & Nevis	Period I: Decolonization and Independence (1950-1969)	1965
St. Lucia	Period I: Decolonization and Independence (1950-1969)	1966
Grenada	Period II: Nationalism and Media Consolidation (1970-1989)	1974
St. Vincent & the Grenadines	Period II: Nationalism and Media Consolidation (1970-1989)	1979
Dominica	Period II: Nationalism and Media Consolidation (1970-1989)	1983
Small	Period II: Nationalism and Media Consolidation (1970-1989)	
Belize		1981
Guyana	Period II: Nationalism and Media Consolidation (1970-1989)	1988

Table 2.5 documents the various stations and the periods in which they were established. It is noteworthy that all the stations were established within Periods I and II and are now currently undergoing the third Period of slow movement towards media independence. There were no new stations established during Period III.

Period I: Decolonization and Independence (1950-1969)

I. Politico-economic setting

It is critical to point out that media systems are "microcosms of power and control in society" (Cuthbert, 1984:51) therefore any study of women's status and equity within such organizations, must of necessity be defined within the context of the political, social and economic conditions of the societies. To appreciate the true nature of national awakening in the Caribbean, one must reflect on the socio-political movements that preceded the political awakening. These movements were largely responsible for the growth of newspapers in the Caribbean and by extension the broadcast media. In fact, the world over, the development of the press has been intimately linked with the emergence of socio-political awareness. The press has often led the nation to reach its socio-political goals and at the same time, national aspirations have wielded tremendous influence on its policies. Thus, both have helped and strengthened each other.

The nature of Caribbean politics reflects many of the features, problems, possibilities, and potentials of exercising authority and managing power within political communities that are even smaller than most cities and towns in large industrial societies. John Lent points out that unlike Asian and African colonies, the Anglophone Caribbean upon receiving independence had no previous culture with which they could identify. When the European explorers came to the islands, they superimposed their institutions and values on those of the indigenous peoples: Caribs and Arawaks. As the plantation system developed in the colonies, millions of Africans were transplanted from Africa into the islands as slaves (Ayearst, 1960: 14,

Sherlock 1966, 13). In the process they too were stripped of their cultural identities. The result as Lewis (1968: 393) clearly states, is that the Caribbean man is a "schizoid person...peau noi, masque blanc: a little black, white mask, the possessor of a pseudo-European culture in an Afro-Asian environment."

This argument is supported by Michael Horowitz (1971:5) who notes that "West Indian nationalism, as it emerged after the Second World War differed from Arab lands, and the contemporary nationalism of Africa and other parts of Asia. The metropolitan colonial country remains the model of intellectual excellence in the Caribbean." Similarly, Nobel Laureate, V.S Naipaul (1972:311) also holds that "nothing was generated locally; dependence became a habit;" while David Lowenthal (1972) suggests that West Indians are "lacking in self-confidence". There is a pervasive view that the collective consciousness of Caribbean peoples is "insecurely founded" (Safa, 2001:248).

The birth of television in the Commonwealth Caribbean has been linked to the popular movements for trade unionism and nationalism. Unionism and nationalism were the primary stimulators of media development as they have been credited with developing a West Indian cultural identity, which found outlets in various new media, such as the trade and labour newspapers, newsmagazines, television and radio stations (Lent, 1990). The colonial government had put most of its emphasis on the production of sugar, but sugar was not doing well after emancipation.

The Second World War further disrupted the already weak economies, although there was no fighting in the region itself. The Atlantic trade routes to

Europe were blocked and ships were frequently attacked. In addition to that, the European nations could no longer afford to import non-essential goods such as sugar and bananas. The islands were cut off from traditional markets and could not import much needed goods from Europe (Ferguson, 1990). Economic conditions worsened and hardships increased during this period adding to the already existing problems of the lack of local industries, unplanned agriculture, inadequate education and health facilities, poor housing and widespread unemployment. (Moyné Commission Report, 1945). In the face of worsening conditions, the main solution proffered by the British administrators was, not developing the region's resources for domestic use, but by attracting foreign aid and investment and by exporting abroad. In short, the Colonial Office proposed that the British colonies in the Caribbean should continue to depend upon foreign interests rather than work towards self-sufficiency. It was in this climate of dependence, which underscored the colonial attitudes towards the region, that many of the first broadcasting stations were born out of Rediffusion services and initiated by foreign investors.

Newspapers, radio and TV stations were established for the sole purpose of propagating their views to the masses and therefore had no real commercial interest in them. Their main objective was to communicate ideas that would lead to the emergence of a national consciousness. As such, the progress of journalism in the Caribbean was accelerated by the socio-political movements that swept the countries of the region. It is therefore quintessential within this discourse to discuss the major socio-economic and political maneuverings and their implications for defining the Caribbean and West Indian ethos. These have shaped the national and

regional cultural consciousness in which our media industries are intrinsically bound up. The political systems emanating from the colonial experience produced two groups in the British West Indies. The first identified closely with the British system, particularly with the Fabian society of radical thinkers in the British Labour Party. The second group represented a mix of populists, independent intellectuals and African nationalists. In addition, there was also a number of men who had served abroad in World War I whose experiences left them critical of the British government and British society, and they began to agitate for political reforms to bring self-government to the Caribbean (Stone, 1989). Political agitation by these groups laid the foundation for the Union leaders and politicians who fought to decolonize the Caribbean: From our large group of countries: Norman Manley and Alexander Bustamante in Jamaica, Grantley Adams in Barbados and Uriah Butler and Eric Williams in Trinidad (1960-1985); from our medium group, Robert Bradshaw (1968-1980) in St. Kitts, Vere Bird Sr., (1968-1994) in Antigua, and Eric Gairy in Grenada.

As a result, the 1950s saw an upsurge of nationalist political aspirations in the Caribbean region. This was most evident in Jamaica, Barbados, Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago. Through their People's National Movement and People's National Party respectively, nationalists such as Williams in Trinidad and Manley in Jamaica were preaching the common political and social gospel that "*massa day done*." Viewed as saviors from colonialism, their message "had stirring appeal" (Gooding, 1981). By 1958 "*massa day done*" had become the battle cry of the Trinidad and Jamaican masses; meaning: no more would their countries be

dominated economically and socially by a small white and creole elite, no more would the wealth of the countries be possessed by the few but would be redistributed among the masses. Eric Williams described this period as "a political awakening and a social revolution" (Williams, 1961:pp.15).¹

The Second World War had already weakened colonialist ties; and faced with nationalistic demands in many parts of the British Empire alongside pressure from the US government to decolonize, Britain was forced to consider decolonization of her colonies in the Caribbean region (Hart, 1998). It was within this climate that two options were considered: that of federation of the colonies or constitutional concessions to individual colonies, and ultimately the policy of complete decolonization (Williams, 1961:18). Therefore, with growing nationalist sentiment nipping at the heels of the Colonial Office, they drafted a memorandum for submission to the Cabinet Colonial Policy Committee in April 1961 which clearly illustrated the growing sentiment that Britain should divest itself of its responsibilities in the Caribbean area:

The Caribbean is an area of the world where there are no vital United Kingdom interests and few strategic considerations, and where our fundamental aim in the area since 1945, has been political disengagement.(pp:68).¹

In 1959, full internal self government was conceded to Jamaica followed by similar concessions to Trinidad and Tobago and Guyana in 1961. In 1962 Jamaica and Trinidad & Tobago became fully independent. Barbados and Guyana (formerly

¹ Williams, Eric (1961) *Massa Day Done*, Trinidad

¹ PRO: CO 1031/4274, No.5, quoted in S. Ashton and D. Killingray, **The West Indian Federation: Decolonization in the British Caribbean** - a seminar paper presented at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, London University, 12 March, 1998

British Guiana) became independent in 1966 and the Bahamas in 1973. The British government reached the conclusion that there was nothing to be gained from holding on to the remaining islands; so starting with Grenada in 1974, independence was conceded to the colonies which requested independence. The last to be granted independence were Antigua & Barbuda, St. Kitts & Nevis and Belize (formerly British Honduras) in 1981.

Like most developing countries that achieved independence in the period following World War II, the Caribbean inherited constitutions of the Western European type, (mostly the British Westminster-Whitehall brand of parliamentary democracy), with provision for elected governments, parliamentary representation, competitive political parties and liberal-democratic political and juridical traditions. The impact of the nationalist movement, first apparent in the political sphere, also manifested itself in the economic sphere, signaling the islands' rejection of the imposed role of staple producer for the British metropole (Henry, 1983).

This rejection culminated in attempts at industrialization and the opening up of the region to other foreign investors, most of whom were American. So, politically speaking, the societies moved from Crown Colony governance to formal independence or Associated Statehood, and economically they rejected agricultural staple economies for the production of oil, bauxite and tourism. Despite the optimism of the newly independent nations, their economic options remained limited even as they were free to choose their own governments, draw up their own policies and trade with whichever countries they wished. The achievement of independence created expectations by the people that economic improvements

would follow. Governments were thus put under significant pressure to deliver material benefits such as jobs, welfare and advanced living standards, in order to continue to win elections. Most governments across the board from the large, medium and small groups, sought to modernize by diversifying the national economy and by overcoming the traditional problems of dependence on monoculture.

As a means of providing the necessary new employment, the region promoted manufacturing. Puerto Rico¹ had been the pioneer in this sector. Its policy labeled "*Operation Bootstrap*," tried to attract foreign companies to establish manufacturing plants on the island by offering tax and investment incentives. During the 1950s, this strategy of "industrialization by invitation"² was copied first by Jamaica and Trinidad and subsequently by almost all of the Anglophone Caribbean. It saw the flow of foreign capital flooding the Caribbean in substantial amounts, bringing with it a number of highly visible manufacturing industries. In this economic climate, it was not difficult to get foreign conglomerates to invest in the islands' media, especially radio and television. Lent (1990) remarks that all the Commonwealth Caribbean nations had to do was "flirt with the idea of television and foreign investors would come courting (pp; 45)." Consequently, all the television stations in the region were developed with generous amounts of American and/or British currency. According to him, many had so many offers that

1 A United States outpost, but geographically part of the Caribbean region. (See Map)

2 The phrase was coined by a group of New World economists formed during the 1960s at the University of the West Indies. Expounded in Girvan, Norman and Jefferson, Owen, eds., Readings in the Political economy of the Caribbean. Kingston: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies, 1971, 1

they first had to decide which foreign offer of assistance to accept, a task which was hindered by the lack of trained communications personnel who would be able to guide national planning. The leaders found it difficult to break the cycle of dependency and most of the region strengthened their links with the major foreign powers relying on them for investment and infrastructural development.

II. Broadcast Development

Table 2.6: Period I: 1950-1969 Colonial/Authoritarian Media					
Country	Call name	Start	Ownership	Content	Management
Large	VIBAX	1930-1931	C. Ravenhill Smith	American news, war reports	Smith and his associates
Bahamas					
Barbados	Caribbean Broadcasting Corporation, CBC	1964	Rediffusion and government-appointed Board	Local news, foreign news and programmes	Board of Directors and Minister of Information
Jamaica	Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation, JBC	1963	Government Statutory and Rediffusion-London	BBC dispatches, hurricane warnings, local news	Board of directors
Trinidad	Trinidad and Tobago Television, TTT	1962	Thomson Television International Rediffusion Columbia Broadcasting-USA and TT Government	BBC, CBS news, and weather reports, local news	Foreign 'experts' from TTI and Columbia
Medium	ZAL-TV	1965	Rediffusion Columbia Broadcasting Bermuda TV	America news, BBC tapes, foreign programmes	Foreign expatriates
Antigua					
St. Kitts	ZIZ-TV	1965	Rediffusion, Columbia Ridgewood international	American news, BBC tapes, foreign programmes	Foreign expatriates
St. Lucia	SLTV	1966	Rediffusion	American news	private

Sources:

Brown, Aggrey & Sanatan, Roderick. (1987) Talking With Whom? A Report on the State of the Media in the Caribbean.
 Lent, John (1990) Mass Media in the Leeward Islands in Surlin, Stuart & Soderland.(eds.) (1990) Mass Media and the Caribbean. New York, Gordon and Breach Science Publishers.
 ———, Mass Communications in the Caribbean. (1990). Iowa. Iowa State University Press.

As Table 2.6 shows, four large and three medium TV stations were established during Period I, the era of decolonization and during the fledgling stages

of independence. They are CBC in Barbados, JBC in Jamaica, TTT in Trinidad and Tobago, ABS in Antigua and Barbuda, ZIZ in St. Kitts and Nevis and SLTV in St. Lucia. All the other stations with the exception of ZNS in the Bahamas, were established in Period II. They are Marpin TV in Dominica, GTV in Grenada, SVGTV in St. Vincent and the Grenadines, GBS in Guyana and GBP in Belize. The Bahamas has the longest history of television starting in 1930, a full forty years before independence and thirty years before any of the other eleven countries. Grenada and Guyana have the most recent history of television (1983 and 1988 respectively) and as will be shown, are the countries on record as the most repressive in the relationship between government and media; have chalked up the most hideous abuses of journalistic rights and have had checkered histories which threatened democracy, freedom and justice.

Table 2.6 also shows that the Bahamas has the distinction of being the birthplace of television in the Anglo-phone Caribbean. It began as an experimental station, "VIBAX" that was established in late 1930 and early 1931, which is prior to the post-independence establishments of most of the other stations. VIBAX was started by C. Ravenhill-Smith, who arrived in the Bahamas from Florida (Pactor, 1988). Later the Broadcasting Corporation of the Bahamas was governed by the Broadcasting and Television Act of 1965. The next country to introduce television broadcasting was Jamaica in 1959. The then Peoples National Party (PNP) government of Norman Manley established the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation with a specific mandate to be a vehicle for Jamaican creative cultural expression (Brown, 1990). Manley felt that "a society moving toward political

independence should have a collective sense of self and that radio and television could play a vibrant role in nurturing a national self image" (Ibid.: 18). The JBC, was begun as a government owned statutory corporation and in 1963 a year following the attainment of political independence a television license was granted for JBC TV. As a statutory corporation, the JBC was run by a government appointed Board of Directors with a General Manager as chief executive. The Corporation was subsidized by the government up until 1983 when the JLP government, led by Edward Seaga, removed the subsidy, leaving the Corporation to pay its way entirely from advertising revenue. Brown (1990) notes that "the corporation has had over 15 General Managers in less than thirty years," a direct consequence of political partisanship in its operations.

Trinidad and Tobago Television, TTT was inaugurated on November 1, 1962 as a private organization transmitting about 30 hours weekly. Initially a consortium of investors controlled TTT. The Trinidad and Tobago government and the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) of the United States each controlled 10%, and Thomson and Rediffusion both of the United Kingdom each controlled 40% of company shares (Skinner, 1990). The Trinidad and Tobago government took over majority shareholding in the station in 1969 by purchasing the Thomson and Rediffusion shares of TTT, leaving CBS as the only minority shareholder with 10%.

The next country to follow was Barbados. The Caribbean Broadcasting Corporation, CBC, Barbados' first and only Television station was established in 1964. In this period, three stations from our medium category were also established:

ABS in Antigua and Barbuda, ZIZ in St. Kitts and Nevis and SLTV in St. Lucia.

ABS began telecasting in 1965 as ZAL TV. The latter was owned by a private company and served Antigua on Channel 10; Montserrat on Channel 7 and St. Kitts on Channel 10. The station was run largely by expatriate management staff and was affiliated with a TV station in Bermuda. (Lent, 1990). In 1970 the station was bought by the government of Antigua and renamed Antigua Broadcasting service. The programming content was largely BBC tapes and American commercial programming pirated via satellite and re-broadcast; and its management was largely foreign expatriates.

ZIZ Television began as part of the Leeward Islands Network, ZAL, and shared programming with Antigua, Montserrat (a British dependency) and Dominica. In 1965, a Broadcasting Corporation was established which initiated ZIZ Television. ZIZ is operated as a government statutory body with a Board of Directors administering its affairs. The national television system of St. Kitts-Nevis took a protectionist stance in an agreement with the US firm, Ridgewood industries, to introduce cable television. The government and ZIZ-TV received twenty percent equity and another twenty percent was made available for public shares (Lent, 1990). In this period St. Lucia was the last, beginning in 1966. The St. Lucia Television station (SLTV) started as a relay station for programmes from the neighbouring Caribbean Broadcasting Corporation in Barbados. SLTV was privately owned and had minimal local say about the programs being relayed.

III. Forms of Media Control and Financing

There is not much distinction between the large and medium stations which were established during this period, for their ownership and financial arrangements were similar, and their programming output, largely re-broadcasts of British or American programming, were also identical. Rediffusion was perhaps the largest foreign conglomerate which held broadcast rights in the Commonwealth Caribbean. By the early 1950s, the London-based organization controlled radio stations in the three larger territories: Jamaica, Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago (Lent, 1990). Rediffusion was also a partner in the consortia that owned Trinidad and Tobago Television and Leeward Islands Television Service of Antigua (Central Rediffusion 1956, 14-15).

The three most significant foreign owners establishing Commonwealth Caribbean media have been British entrepreneurs, Roy Thomson and Cecil King and the British company Rediffusion Ltd. Thomson was also a shareholder of the *Voice of St. Lucia*, the *Antigua Star*, the *Trinidad Mirror* and the *Barbados Daily News*, and with broadcasting units on Trinidad, Jamaica, and Barbados. Thomson Television International (TTI) was a partner to a consortium of investors. For example in Trinidad & Tobago, the consortium partners of TTI were Rediffusion, the Columbia Broadcasting System, and the Trinidad and Tobago government (Lent, 1990).

The medium was used to mainly relay war news and hurricane warnings to isolated British West Indians (Lent, 1990). Like the rest of the developing world, World War II was the backdrop against which military and political colonialism

was subsiding alongside socio-cultural colonialism. John Lent (1975) contends that societies which could not afford sophisticated electronic media were at the mercy of "cultural colonizers such as the United States, and the United Kingdom" (pp.23). All the stations in the large group and the three from the medium group which were established during this period, depended on these powers to provide capital for investments in media and they also relied on them for much of the media content. In the early days of broadcasting, much of the training was done in those two countries, and so while emerging nations of the Caribbean region were seemingly developing their own national media systems, there are serious questions as to whether they were truly "national." From the vantage point of today, they must more correctly be viewed as outposts of English and American media.

Colonial rulers extended mass media technology to the islands to facilitate administrative and expatriate linkages. According to Skinner (1990:32) the media were important "only as technology in the service of the colonial apparatus." Similarly, Frantz Fanon and other nationalist writers have indicated that the colonial newspapers and broadcasting stations in their nations were there solely to "keep colonists in touch with themselves and with civilization, *their* civilization back in Europe or the United States" (Fanon, 1969). Cuthbert (1982) goes a bit further claiming that the major reason for Britain's concern about international communication links was "the desire to project the British image abroad, especially in light of competition from other countries whose news agencies were threatening British supremacy in the field" (:124). Clearly, the expansion of channels of information followed the sort of territorial and economic expansion of the colonial

power, starting in the large group and then trickling down to the medium and small groups.

At the end of the Second World War, the major foreign power, the United States, whose shores had not been bombed or invaded, became the most powerful industrial country in the world. As a consequence, this country which had not had any colonies of its own, viewed the Caribbean, which was geographically close, as its "backyard" (President Jimmy Carter) an area which it, and not the European countries, was entitled to control (Ferguson, 1990). Ferguson summarizes the control as taking two forms. Primarily, economic control by US companies and corporations, which invested heavily in the Caribbean economies, but repatriated their profits to their home country. Secondly, there was political and military control by US governments, supporting those which it approved and opposing those which it disapproved.¹ The main priority for successive US administrations was to maintain stability in the Caribbean and to protect their economic interests. For many US companies, this meant a clear way of increasing business and profits, because not only did the Caribbean countries need products which they did not manufacture for themselves, but they also had resources of their own which could be exploited, particularly oil in Trinidad and bauxite in Jamaica. The 1950s and 60s saw the infiltration of US companies selling their products and buying crops and raw materials in exchange, in the latter instance extracting them for themselves, and paying pitiable sums to Caribbean governments for the right to do so.

¹ During the 1960's the US government launched a virulent anti-Cuban crusade which included severing all diplomatic ties, organizing the Bay of Pigs invasion, instituting an economic blockade of the island and attempting on several occasions to assassinate Castro.

As was discussed in Chapter I, outside of manufacturing, the other new industry into which the Caribbean moved in a major way in the postwar era was tourism. In many territories this was heralded, more so than manufacturing, as "the road to prosperity" (Payne and Sutton, 1993:11). Again the governments turned to foreign investors, mostly Americans, to develop beach front properties, build four and five-star luxury resorts and develop the infrastructure for the largely affluent North American and European visitor. These attempts to diversify the Caribbean economy were generally successful in the 1950s and 1960s in that they engendered economic growth. As tourism developed so too did the thrust for American-type programming to suit the palates of the large hordes of American tourists who were now visiting the islands. Many of the stations established in this period therefore simply re-broadcast feeds drawn from the American networks and obtained illegally from the footprints of American satellites.

Besides the US and British media concerns, the Canadian government was also interested in developing electronic media in the islands in the mid-1960s. At the request of the Canadian government, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation conducted a feasibility study in 1965 of the possibility of establishing a radio network to service the Commonwealth countries. Emanating from that study the Canadian government offered US\$4 million to create the Canada-Caribbean Broadcasting Centre. This offer was not accepted because it was generally felt that individual countries should negotiate and set up their own stations rather than have a single Canada-Caribbean arrangement (Advertising Age, October 31, 1966: 94).

In this initial period, the emphasis on profits led the media in the region to

underscore entertainment aspects of journalism rather than the educational, developmental or informational issues, which were quintessential to the very nationalist sentiment, of newly independent nation states. It was argued that the presence of overseas owners of indigenous media, the flow of advertising controlled by foreign agencies, the dependence on foreign equipment and the importation of foreign mass entertainment material could not respond to indigenous needs and therefore undermined the nation-building efforts. Critics argued that "the whole outlook of a nation's media- including the training of its writers, producers, salesmen, actors, cameramen- takes place in the context of a foreign culture" (Smith, 1980:46). Many suggested that it was extremely difficult for fledgling societies to practice free flow of media and enjoy a national culture at the same time. The seven stations in the large and medium Groups which established stations were clearly not in a position to dictate the kinds of media practices; and as part of the foreign owned conglomerates, they were not allowed to promote national sovereignty or national culture.

IV. Conclusion

In many respects the post-independence period which coincided with the post-war period, represented what even CARICOM described as "a continuation of the centuries-old pattern of West Indian economy: growth without development; growth accompanied by imbalances and distortions; growth generated from outside rather than within."¹ It is clear that during this period of decolonization and fledgling independence, the Caribbean states faced a dilemma, in that they were forced to either rely upon foreign countries and companies to provide their imports and market their exports; or they could attempt to develop and restructure their own economies by themselves.

The first option was clearly an easier option, but it meant that even as they talked of nationalism and independence, the situation was similar to the pre-independence colonialism and they were merely replacing one set of foreign investors for others from another part of the world. Nevertheless as Payne and Sutton (1993) point out, the process of decolonization was not as smooth as planned. For instance in 1953, in British Guiana¹ the first popularly elected government was removed from office after a mere 133 days; on the grounds that its leader, Dr. Cheddi Jagan, had embarked on the creation of "a monolithic communist state". (Payne and Sutton, 1993:7). Also in 1962, just four years after its birth, the West Indies Federation, which had brought together all the British possessions in the region in an attempt to forge a unitary West Indian state, was

¹ Commonwealth Caribbean Regional Secretariat, From CARIFTA to Caribbean Community: Georgetown: Commonwealth Caribbean Regional Secretariat, 1972: 14

¹ British Guiana as opposed to French Guiana. Now called Guyana.

dissolved, thwarted by inter-island bickering and nationalistic tendencies as opposed to regionalism. What emerged from the complex pattern of Caribbean decolonization was a political landscape marked by fragmentation, leading Gordon Lewis to describe it as a "crazy patchwork quilt"(1985:225).

The inherited colonial traditions have determined government-media relations in all of the countries. British laws of libel and slander and citizens' right to information, which defied the parameters of free speech in England, were the prevailing laws within which the media operated in the Caribbean (Brown, 1990). But despite this, governments and owners had a big influence on the content of the newly formed stations, reflective in the authoritarian nature of the media enterprises of the largest group and the three stations of the medium group which were set up in the early Independence period. During the early post-colonial period, because management of the TV institutions were either government appointed officers or foreign expatriates, there was little concern for journalistic freedom. They were clearly under the dictates of their owners and managers and often stations were so small that managers doubled as reporters of the news.

The news was largely foreign dispatches from the BBC, Voice of America. Beyond that, there were locally produced weather reports and government releases outlining plans, and policies as well as national development programmes and news from American and British stations, designed for expatriates and tourists. In the period after independence government leaders in the seven countries discussed above from both the large and medium groups, claimed that in developing nations, "unusual powers were sometimes necessary to force decisions that benefit the

people" (Williams, 1962:38). This writer agrees with Lent (1990) who suggests that nationalist leaders acted as "benevolent dictators" asking the media to show restraint in criticizing government and at the same time to promote national goals and identities. These leaders tended to have "authoritarian personalities even though they were often the same individuals who rebelled against colonial oppression" (Lent, 1990:68).

As in Schramm, Siebert and Peterson's formulation of the authoritarian control system, the units of communication in the post colonial period were forced "to support and advance the policies of the government in power so that the government could achieve its objectives" (Schramm, 1956:18). The mass media were assigned a specific role and were subjected to controls in order not to interfere with achieving state ends. In Schramm et al's authoritarian formulation of the press, the state is exalted at the expense of individuals and government owned and party-directed press is concerned with and dedicated to furthering the government's social and economic policies. In *"Four Theories of the Press"*, the authors outline the characteristic means utilized to control the press under authoritarian governments; clearly evident during Period I in the Anglophone Caribbean:

- i) the state actively participated in the communication process and utilized the mass media as one of the important instruments for accomplishing its purposes.
- ii) Granting of special 'permits' or 'patents' to selected individuals to engage in communication processes which were sympathetic to the government's cause.
- iii) Devising a licensing system for media houses to keep privately owned

establishments under official control.

iv) Prosecution before the courts for violation of accepted or established legal rules of behaviour. Through the use of laws of treason and sedition, persons accused or suspected of disseminating information or opinions against the authorities were prosecuted.

v) Control of the press under authoritarian governments was also facilitated by introducing a system of special taxes designed to limit both the circulation and profit in printed matter, particularly for newspapers seeking a mass audience.

In the Caribbean's early development, two traditional areas of law- treason and sedition formed the basis for prosecutions of persons accused or suspected of disseminating information or opinions critical of the authorities. These laws were not utilized as much in the early period since most media outfits toe-ed the line and the dictatorial mode of operation remained in tact in the early media period, though the situation changed dramatically in the 1970s and 80s.

Similarly this Period corresponds with McConnell and Becker's characterization of the *pre-transition stage* in which political elites believed the media to be important in shaping the views of the public; and therefore developed policies to suit their economic, social and political purposes. The fact that all the stations established during this period were used to transmit specific messages aimed at expatriates living in the islands or weather reports and re-cycled newscasts from the US or Britain; without any concern for national interests, underscores the dependency/authoritarian theory of this era. McConnell and Becker refer to the

"tight controls on information to the public" and the "control of the presentation of information as well as repression of freedom of journalists: (McConnell and Becker, 2002:9). However this was even more acute in the Caribbean, because as Table 2.6 shows, the very management and staffing arrangements for all these early stations from the large and medium groups, were American or British expatriates who were serving their own self interests.

Period II: Media Modernization and Consolidation (1970-1989)

I. Politico-economic setting

The 1970s was a period in which important changes in the character of political regimes occurred throughout the region as governing coalitions and political leaders experienced increasing difficulty in sustaining adequate levels of political support. The 1970s marked a new phase in Caribbean economic and politico-social development, and this period has often been referred to by scholars as "years of crisis" or "the lost decade" (Payne and Sutton, 1993; Stone 1990; Lewis, 1980).

The decline in the world economy had proved a major obstacle for the region creating such problems as environmental degradation, debt and widespread poverty. These problems obliged governments to concentrate on worker efficiency, productivity and balance of payments deficits in national accounts. The task of bringing infrastructural and economic development to the underdeveloped societies had meant large-scale borrowing and fiscal arrangements at interest rates which were often exorbitant and exploitative. Governments therefore turned to structural adjustment programmes dictated by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The hardships were further exacerbated by four devastating hurricanes which swept away many of the gains in tourism, agriculture, housing and infrastructural development.

As the decade unfolded several countries in the region began to search for "new strategies of development and new models of political organization" (Payne and Sutton, 1993:13). There was some amount of rejection of the traditional order,

but no clear pattern or precise direction emerged. For example, in Guyana in 1970, the Forbes Burnham government declared itself a "cooperative socialist" government. The regime converted that country into a virtual police state with rigged elections, judicial and political harassment of opponents (including the murder of young radical historian, Walter Rodney) elimination of the independent free press and the construction of a monolithic one party state (Payne and Sutton, 1993). Guyana was one of the later entrants to television broadcasting in 1988. The reason forwarded by the government of Forbes Burnham was that all the major developments in the country were taking place in the cities, and in order to serve the entire country with television services, it would have been a mammoth financial undertaking which his government was not prepared to undertake at that time.

The reason which political observers forward for Guyana's late entrance into television broadcasting was that Burnham's totalitarian regime did not wish to have any new media which would open the "windows on the world" and present new avenues and sources of information to the Guyanese people. The way news was disseminated in Guyana under Burnham's regime was via news reels on film produced by the Government Information services. These were then broadcast in large cinemas in Georgetown, the country's capital, prior to the broadcast of Hollywood films. Thus, Burnham was able to manipulate and control information, spreading his brand of socialist propaganda, without having to contend with the financial and other demands for a democratic, objective and non-partisan media as well as broadcasting legislation required, had he opted for television.

In Jamaica, in 1974, the Michael Manley administration began to espouse the principles of "democratic socialism." The 1980 election in Jamaica was the most violent ever as high levels of tension and political partisanship created clashes between supporters of the Peoples National Party and the Jamaica Labour Party. Between February and October some 600 people were killed in political conflict (Payne, 1991). In June of that year, it was revealed that there was also an attempted plot against the PNP government by some officers of the Jamaica Defence Force. During this time, again the press was under severe scrutiny as both government and opposition forces harassed and pressured the press through libel and slander suits and the withdrawal of advertisements. Following the change of government in October 1980, the Board of directors of the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation, JBC arbitrarily fired 13 members of the station's newsroom¹ whom they felt were opposed to the government (Brown, 1984).

In the Eastern Caribbean, nationalist leaders began to reject the British government's notion of Associated Statehood and a renewed process of decolonization was initiated by the granting of independence to Grenada in 1974, Dominica in 1978, St. Lucia and St. Vincent in 1979; Antigua in 1981 and St. Kitts in 1983. The most significant development in this period however, was the March 1979 coup d'etat which toppled the corrupt regime of Eric Gairy in Grenada, and gave ascendance to the People's Revolutionary Government led by Maurice Bishop. This revolution by force, fueled by popular acclaim, constituted the first successful revolution in the history of the Commonwealth Caribbean and ushered in a new

¹ The Workers' Union subsequently sued the Corporation and obtained an out-of-court settlement for the workers a year later.

level of press repression.

During his tenure in office, Eric Gairy had been the stereotypical dictator: his regime was repressive, marked by the infamous Mongoose Gangs (secret police, styled after the 'Tonton Macoutes' of Haiti) who terrorized opponents whilst Gairy projected himself as a demi-god. Lent (1990) states that broadcasting was so unbalanced in Grenada that during parliamentary debates, only the government arguments were aired and opposition party advertisements and announcements were censored out. Fear and distrust permeated government-media relationships, marked by Gairy's systematic repression of the press. He used libel laws to intimidate domestic and foreign media and censored, threatened and fined the press. In addition he dominated radio and television with press releases expounding the goodness of his government and decrying the opposition and civil society organizations who dared to oppose him.

It all came to a head in July, 1975 when Kenrick Radix, a leader with Maurice Bishop whose newspaper "*New Jewel*" constantly attacked Gairy's policies; was beaten and shot while attempting to photograph scenes of a riot. Three years later, Gairy was removed from office on March 13, 1979, when Maurice Bishop and his New Jewel Movement staged a bloodless coup. After Bishop set up the Peoples Revolutionary Government, PRG, however, he too, promptly began suppressing the media and closing media houses which were critical of the revolutionary government. The PRG gradually changed mass communications along socialist lines, reorganizing and renaming older media as well as developing new ones run by unions, workers' organizations and mass

movements (Lent, 1990). *Television Free Grenada*, which grew out of Grenada Television was purchased by the PRG in 1981. Before then the station was poorly equipped, had a weak signal, and was almost devoid of local programming. The PRG ruled without elections and also threatened and instituted libel and slander laws on journalists, just as under his predecessor, Eric Gairy. The press opposing the revolution were dubbed "CIA agents and exploiters of the people." Two news editors, Alister Hughes¹ of the *Grenada Newsletter* and Leslie Pierre of the *Grenadian Voice* were imprisoned. Hughes' vehicle was also seized and his home was cut off from telephone service.

Maurice Bishop's coup did not last however, as the experiment ended abruptly in confusion, his cold-blooded assassination at the hands of individuals within his Cabinet inner circle; and the military occupation of Grenada by US troops in October 1983 (Knight and Palmer, 1989). The US supervised elections which returned parliamentary government; however the mass media apparatus was disbanded; and Governor Sir Paul Scoon "claimed the power to censor the media and all freedoms of speech, press and assembly were limited by the emergency declaration in effect for an unspecified time" (Lent, 1990:110).

Relatedly, over in Barbados the government revoked the work permit of Guyanese editor, Rickey Singh of the Barbados-based regional newspaper, *Caribbean Contact* following the 1983 US led invasion of Grenada, because the editor's position ran *ultra vires* to the government's. Two years earlier, Singh was forced to leave his home country Guyana because his hard hitting investigative

¹ Hughes was the editor of the mimeographed *Grenada Newsletter* and Leslie Pierre was the editor and publisher of the *Grenadian Voice*.

reporting and political commentary conflicted with the Burnham regime (Lent, 1979). In fact, on one occasion Desmond Hoyte, then Finance minister under Forbes Burnham, physically assaulted Singh, slapping him across the face after he asked a question which Hoyte felt was particularly pointed and embarrassing to the government.

The economic woes of the 1980s had forced most Caribbean politicians to focus upon the basic themes of the nationalist era: political development, economic development and international relations. However, a new element was introduced: "the extent to which the options open to Caribbean states in all these spheres were overlaid, almost overwhelmed by the the interests and actions of the United States" (Payne & Sutton, 1993:17). The Reagan administration, which held office in Washington between 1981 and 1989 treated the Caribbean and Central America as constituent parts of the newly designated "Caribbean Basin." Payne and Sutton (1993) contend that under Reagan, the United States "progressively succeeded in reshaping the agenda of Caribbean politics to the point where, in almost every arena it was able to lay down the parameters of what could be done and even what could be thought" (Ibid.:18).

The new themes that dominated the development in the 1980s were "democracy" in the political sphere, "structural adjustment" on the economic front and "security" in international relations. The focus therefore shifted during this decade from the previous occupation with status to the actual substance of political life in the post-independence era; and it can be accurately described as a "period of deepening democratic experience and growth" (Abrams, 1989) in the Commonwealth

Caribbean. This was also a period of greater modernization of the old, outdated broadcasting outfits which were initially set up in the 1960s and the birth of television in five additional countries: Grenada, Belize, Dominica, St. Vincent and the Grenadines and Guyana.

Communication in small developing nations such as the Caribbean is constrained by economic, educational and demographic factors. Due to the scarce financial resources, government ownership of news media is the rule. Low literacy rates are also common- rates of 25 percent to 30 percent are considered "high." Low levels of literacy mean that broadcast media are of greater importance for reaching the population than is the printed word (Davison, 1965:133, Schramm, 1964). Governments then found that they could use the media to rally popular support for national political movements (Davison, 1965:149). This was the case in Guyana and in Grenada, which remained strongly authoritarian throughout this period as opposed to the more liberal private sector established outlets in Belize, St. Vincent, St. Lucia and Dominica.

In the 1980s structural adjustment problems, rising interest rates and declining oil prices and exchange rates severely depressed the standard of living indices in the region. Even though the countries enjoyed preferential access to Europe under the Lomé Convention, to the United States under the Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI) and to Canada under CARIBCAN, their principal commodity exports- sugar and bananas- did not grow significantly. With the removal of traditional protections in the mid-1990s the region began to face open competition with producers who were more market efficient. The large countries have more

efficient and developed systems, but generally high transportation costs, inadequate port facilities, poor roads and inadequate shipping services have contributed to the stagnation in export competitiveness.

With this litany of constraints, Brown argues that the majority of media workers in the region began to impose a form of self-censorship on themselves that tended to "emasculate their capacity to inform and educate their audiences with respect to the tasks of national development" (Brown, 1984:30). To draw on Zellizer's (1993) interpretation reporters began to see the Grenada revolution as "suggesting new practices of sourcing or news-gathering" which had implications on the larger discourse about the state of Caribbean journalism.

It was therefore within this turbulent political milieu that Caribbean media began to take shape and to assert their growing nationalism, and the thrust for regional cooperation between states and elements of what I refer to as *Nationalism and Media Consolidation* began to emerge. Journalists also began to fight for freedom of information rights entrenched in their constitutions. It was a period of inward searching, even as there were attempts made to modernize broadcasting equipment, resources, technology, training and media content. However, theorists (Brown, (1979) Lent,(1990) Cuthbert, (1982)) have proffered the view that the constraints imposed on the media forced them to focus on entertainment and to equate "national development" with whatever the government information service had to say.

Whereas in colonial times and the early post independence era, the Caribbean media were designed with the colonists in mind, by the mid-1980s they

were being aimed specifically at the tourists. The Caribbean Broadcasting Corporation in Barbados and many of the other island TV stations which were nurturing their tourism industries began televising a preponderance of United States, Canadian and European programming during peak tourist months, for the benefit of tourists who represented the buying power to which advertisers directed their messages. Major US sporting events such as the Super Bowl, basketball tournaments and boxing bouts which had no direct impact on Caribbean peoples consumed precious media hours which could have been devoted to development issues, Caribbean culture and education.

The foreign influences had a serious impact on the content and news flow in the Caribbean region. The broadcasting stations were largely dependent upon foreign agencies for information both from abroad and from neighboring islands. The major agencies utilized in the mid-1970s were Reuters, Associated Press, United Press International and foreign broadcasting services, such as the BBC, CBS, the Voice of America, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, CBC, Visnews and the Central Office of Information in London.

Lent (1975) reports that at that time only Reuters attempted regionalization of news through its Caribbean Desk in Barbados. The Reuters operation included re-editing the London-to South American Editing service for Caribbean consumption and reception; as well as editing and re-transmitting messages from stringers in thirteen island territories. AP and UPI did not provide regional bureaus but transmitted news for the Caribbean by radio teletype from New York. Roppa and Clarke (1969) conducted a survey which concluded that 40 percent of all news

presentations on Caribbean radio and by extension television originated from foreign studios, with very few items dealing with Caribbean peoples.

II. Broadcast Development

Table 2.7: Period II: 1970-1989 Nationalism and Media Consolidation					
<i>Country</i>	<i>Call name</i>	<i>Start</i>	<i>Ownership</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Management</i>
Medium	Grenada Broadcasting Network, GBN	1974	Shares: Joseph Pitt, Ralph Alves-St. Vincent Glen Evans-Grenada	Relays from TTT in Trinidad; Govt. press releases	Government appointed Board of Directors
St. Vincent	St. Vincent and the Grenadines, SVG-TV	1979	Ralph Alves and private sector interests	Relays from TTT; govt. information	Independent/Private Sector Board of Directors
Dominica	Marpin TV	1983	Ronald Abraham-minority shares to Dominicans	American satellite prog, local productions	Independent/Private Sector Board of Directors
St. Lucia	HTS	1981	Private ownership: Linford Fevrier	American satellite prog. Local productions	Independent/Private Sector Board of Directors
Small	Great Belize Productions, GBP	1981	Private	American prog. Free to report news from all political parties	Independent/Private Sector Board of Directors
Belize					
Guyana	Guyana Television, GTV	1988	Government	Government press releases, propaganda	Government Minister of information in control
<i>Organization</i>	<i>Call name</i>	<i>Start</i>	<i>Ownership</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Management</i>
Caribbean Broadcasting Union	CBU	1970	Regional body owned by 24 stations	Regional news exchanges and regional programmes	Board of Directors from member stations
Caribbean News Agency	CANA	1976	15 shareholders from Caribbean Publishers and Broadcasters Association	Regional news	Board of Directors

Table 2.7 shows that in Period II, six Television stations were established, four medium sized ones: GBN in Grenada, SVGTV in St. Vincent and Marpin Television in Dominica and two small stations: Great Belize Productions in Belize and GTV in Guyana. This period also saw the birth of various cooperative regional initiatives such as the Caribbean Broadcasting Union and the Caribbean News Agency, two organizations that were a direct result of the UNESCO sponsored debates on the New World Information and Communication Order.

Table 2.7 also demonstrates that the Grenada Television Co. Ltd. was incorporated as a private company on May 27, 1974 with 1,000 shares each worth EC\$250. Of 420 shares issued by 1977, 268 were held by the family of Station Manager Joseph Pitt, 80 by Trinidadian businessman, Ralph Alves of St. Vincent and 72 by another business associate, Glen Evans of Grenada, with the government owning 30% of the shares (Lent, 1990). Most programs were relays from Trinidad and Tobago Television; however this station weathered many changes under the Eric Gairy regime, the People's Revolutionary Government of Maurice Bishop and the U.S occupation of Grenada. After the US government left Grenada, the station reverted to government control, and it was renamed Grenada Broadcasting Network. A statutory board was put in place to run the administrative affairs, but the long arm of government still wielded power in filling board positions with pliable individuals and political hacks. In the turbulent political history of Grenada the reporters who served there have been the most challenged, pressured and censored as successive authoritarian regimes, of varying political ideologies, have created many strong, fearless and devoted practitioners.

Television broadcasting in St. Vincent began as a relay service by a Trinidadian businessman, Ralph Alves, who five years earlier had been instrumental in setting up the Grenadian station. Initially set up to relay programmes from CBC Barbados, the company changed hands twice, eventually being sold to St. Vincent and the Grenadines Broadcasting Corporation. This corporation represented a group of Vincentians, who obtained new equipment and began local programming three nights a week. SVG TV obtained satellite receiving equipment and so began mixing their local productions with American commercial fare. SVG TV was given a percentage of the licenses on television sets in the country. In an agreement with the government, SVGTV received a percentage (undetermined) of the annual license paid for television sets per year per television.

In the medium group, Table 2.7 indicates that another private company was established in Dominica when Marpin TV company Ltd. came on stream in 1983 as a cable service. Set up as a limited liability company owned by local shareholders, the company bought two TV antennas and a single satellite dish, receivers and modulators for relaying eight channels. At peak periods, Marpin presents 480 channels. Marpin broadcasts approximately 88 hours per week, providing a 24-hour service on weekends. Local programmes include educational programmes, light comedy, religious and sports programmes and news. Like GBP in Belize, reporters working at Marpin were free to report, but often found themselves at odds with the government which were unable to manipulate them as in the case of the government appointed statutory bodies in other countries.

Television did not come to Belize until 1981. However spill-over from US

satellites could easily be retrieved and rebroadcast within the country, thus by accident this spill-over made television available to Belizeans (Lent, 1990). The existing television service is composed of seven privately owned re-broadcasting stations dispersed throughout mainland (Corozal town, Belmopan, San Ignacio, Dangriga and Belize City) and two in the keys (San Pedro and Key Corker) (Oliveira, 1990). Great Belize Productions, the main television station in this survey broadcasts news, action shows, movies, sports and soap operas. "CNN news has gradually supplanted the BBC and Voice of America's previous hegemony" (Oliveira, 1990:124).

In Guyana, the first experimental television station was established on January 1, 1988 with a transmitter acquired from Edmonton, Canada (Thomas, 1990). This local TV channel provided for a few hours of limited programming. Its overall impact was insignificant though, in comparison to the large quantity of US originated programs which were being re-broadcast via satellite dishes. The government of Desmond Hoyte, who took over upon the death of Forbes Burnham in 1985, did what most other governments in the region did at that time, and put the broadcasting services firmly under the control of the Ministry of Information. According to Lent (1979) Guyanese officials expressed the right to own sectors of the mass media and "to be the final arbiter to form media policy (Lent, 1979:55). Minister of State Kit Nascimento was on record to have said "If a developing country is to make full use of modern communications, it cannot leave matters such as ownership of media and indeed, media content to chance because the media must become a vital, instructive information link between the people and the

governed" (Lent, 1989:57). Guyana represents a classic case in that with the absence of a broadcasting policy, scores of TV stations sprang up in the 1980s and 1990s with entrepreneurs who could afford a satellite dish merely setting up shop and transmitting to households for a fee. The government had simply put in place a "luxury tax" on Television, a higher tax on a TV set with a dish and an even higher tax for a license to transmit pictures. So any businessman who could afford the cost of the license could, for all intents and purposes, own a TV station. But the government became the sole shareholder, owner and controller of the national television service, GTV.

In 1981, Helen Television Service (HTS) was established in St. Lucia adding to the previously established SLTV which was fully under government control. US network programming, received via satellite and rebroadcast to local audiences, was the mainstay of this broadcast entity (Day, 1990); however as a private station HTS added a new and fresh voice to broadcasting in St. Lucia offering more objectivity and variety in the population's news sources. HTS as a private entity from its inception espoused libertarian principles and journalists were uninhibited in their reportage.

III. Forms of Media Control and Financing

The connections between news agencies, and national formations are profound and have had a substantial impact on the history of the Caribbean broadcasting. News agencies have long been identified as agents of globalization, within UNESCO's discourse of the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO). The news agencies are of considerable significance as being among the first of the world's transnational or multinational corporations. They were among the world's first organizations "to operate, not only globally, but to operate globally in the production and distribution of "consciousness", through the commodification of news, in ways which had very significant implications for our understanding or appreciation of time and of space" (Boyd-Barett & Rantanen, 1998: 5). Agencies were among the range of institutions which new nation states came to feel they had to establish in order to be seen to be credible as nations; and as sources of information about their development aims.

The concept of "cultural imperialism" came to prominence in the late 1960s and 1970s within the context of this call by the developing world for the New World Information and Communication Order. This notion was fueled by the failure of the 1960's approaches to modernization and development through the rapid adoption of western media technologies by developing nations, and by the all-pervasiveness of primarily American media in the marketplace. As early as 1973 at a conference in Algiers, the leaders of the Non-aligned movement-mostly countries from Asia, Africa and Latin America- issued a strong statement to that effect:

It is an established fact that the activities of imperialism are not confined solely to the political and economic fields but also cover the cultural and social fields, thus imposing an alien ideological domination over the peoples of the developing world."¹

The debate is generally identified with Herbert Schiller (1971) Mattlelart (1979) Varis (1973) and McPhail (1987) who argue the rather extreme view that the dominance of mass media, culture and information systems is in fact a new form of colonialism, replacing classical 19th century European imperialism and post-war American political and military hegemony aimed at maintaining exploitative control over the developing world against their will. They focus on the operation of transnational corporations and transnational media industries and their role in the structuring and flow of media products at the international level. Bullock and Stallybrass define cultural imperialism as "the use of political and economic power to exalt and spread the values and habits of a foreign culture at the expense of native culture"(1989:23).

For Tunstall cultural imperialism claims that "the authentic, traditional and local culture in many parts of the world is being battered out of existence by the indiscriminate dumping of large quantities of slick commercial and media products, mainly from the United States"(1977:57). He further argues that the dominance of the Western news agencies goes back to the turn of the century when international news was produced by the Germans, British (Reuters) and French (Agence France Presse); when the developing world was dependent on three main characteristics of modern systems: politics, business and technology. The US was a late comer in the

¹ A.W Singham and Tran Van Dinh, *From Bandung to Colombo: Conferences of the Non-Aligned Countries, 1955-1975*. New York: Third Press Reviw, 1976:161

30s. Against this background, Tapio Varis (1984) documented the global flow of television programmes which showed that Latin America and the Caribbean and parts of Africa and Asia had the highest levels of imported media content. The lowest imported was the United States (2%). Western Europe imported approximately 30% and Canada 38%. However, he proffered no evidence about how it is locally interpreted and/or redefined.

Two studies conducted in the Caribbean by Hosein and Brown respectively in the mid- 70s and 80s revealed that an average of over 70% of television programmes transmitted in the region originated from outside the region. In some countries it is more pronounced than others. Research done by Hosein (1976) revealed that were it not for the highly popular news-weather-sports programme, the percentage of locally originated material would be dismally low." The major reason for this is that at the time the television facilities were being established no one seriously considered the production aspects of broadcasting. However TV is only one of a range of leisure activities which compete for time. That study by Brown and Hosein also revealed that people in one Caribbean island are likely to know more about events in New York and Washington than about those in neighbouring countries.

Another study done by Lashley (1995) on the Americanization of Trinidad and Tobago youth revealed that forty-nine percent of the respondents agreed that American programmes influenced the youths' style of speaking. Another 83 percent agreed that the programmes influenced the way the youth dress and fifty three percent agreed that these programmes influenced the youths' preference for certain

aspects of American popular culture; primarily clothes, fast foods, and music.

The long and short of the issue is that there *is in fact* a large amount of vicarious learning and adopting of Western lifestyles through large exposures of imported media content. As has been previously outlined, television stations were set up by international consortiums or multinational corporations, organizations whose primary interest was making a profitable return on their investments. The result was that television systems were installed with the barest of facilities and second hand equipment in some situations. Production facilities were kept to a minimum, since most of the stations were built with a single television studio capable of limited production and minimal training was provided for staff.

Instead of assuming a direct relationship between available media content and people's acceptance of this content as Schiller, McPhail and Varis argue, Tomlinson points out that the concept is "ambiguous and must be assembled out of its discourse"(1991:3). He argues that "the practice of watching television cannot be deemed to be straightforwardly imposed, that the intention of the broadcasters may not be directly "to exalt and spread values and habits, and that the notion of the process being at the expense of native culture"(1991:3) is false. It is in this vein of independence and recognition of the viewer as an *active participant* and not a passive sponge that Hamelink (1978) notes that countries have the right to protect their message-creating capabilities. He includes in this the determination of what constitutes "important information and the development of human and technical networks to meet the demands of the local environment, using indigenous or appropriate resources and frames of reference.

Tomlinson (1991) further points out that the political independence for the small developing countries "did not mean economic independence or anything like global political power" (:15). These countries he argues "remained economically dependent on the developed nations, in many cases their former colonizing power....and therefore their access to discourse is linked to material meaning, in a capitalist global order, economic- power" (Tomlinson, 1991:16). Fejes (1982) supports this argument that there are questions of 'cultural impact' which Schiller and other theorists have ignored in their "unexamined assumption" of the manipulative effects of media products:

Generally, a perception of the cultural consequences of the control of various media products is based on a view of the mass media as primarily manipulative agents capable of having direct, unmediated effects on the audience's behaviour and world view (Fejes, 1982:187).

Fejes suggests that we need to examine the way in which media texts are interpreted and how these interpretation may be mediated in different cultural contexts. In similar vein and contrasting with Schiller and McPhail are Dorfman and Mattelart (1975) who offer an 'oppositional reading' of Disney in their study:

"How To Read Donald Duck: Imperialist Ideology in the Disney Comic." Their analysis "illuminates a global situation" in which media texts of western origin are present in large numbers and frequency in other cultures. But the important issue is, does this presence represent cultural imperialism. Indeed, the *mere presence alone* does not. Katz and Liebes (1985) in an empirical cross cultural study of the impact of Dallas, comparing different ethnic groups in Israel with a group of American viewers, have confirmed the growing perspective in media research which sees the

audience as active and the process of meaning construction as one of 'negotiation' with the text in a particular cultural context. They argue that the consumption of American television programmes described by other theorists as cultural imperialism "presumes first, that there is an American message in the content and form; second that this message is somehow perceived by viewers and third, that it is perceived in the same way by viewers in different cultures" (:190). Their study questions the way in which the media imperialism argument has been presented by its adherents:

Since the effects attributed to a T.V programme are often inferred from content analysis alone, it is of particular interest to examine the extent to which members of the audience absorb, explicitly or implicitly, the messages which critics and scholars allege they are receiving (Katz and Liebes, 1985:190).

From their study, these researchers found that different ethnic groups brought their own values to a judgment of the programme's values. All cultures generate their own set of basic attitudes on issues. Katz and Liebes believe in the *active* social process of viewing and a high level of discursive interpretation of ordinary people. In the words of Tomlinson, "audiences are more *active and critical*, their responses are more complex and their cultural values more resistant to manipulation and 'invasion' than many critical media theorists have assumed" (191:49).

Indeed, the power to make decisions regarding content and programming policies was, upon independence, in the hands of the local elites and the governments. What did the governments of the region do? *Nothing*. Cees Hamelink (1978) argues that rather than being a 'political construct, the debates about NWICO

should be analytical. He proffers three criteria for such construction: "economic and cultural dissociation from the major world information powers, the right of each country to protect its message-creating capabilities, including the determination of what constitutes 'important' information, and the development of human and technical networks capable of satisfying local needs using indigenous resources and frames of reference" (Robinson, 1982: 3).

The discussions in UNESCO about these very global inequalities in information flows were important for the development of two important regional initiatives: the Caribbean Broadcasting Union and the Caribbean News Agency, CANA. Born in 1970, the CBU provided locally produced programming, training opportunities to upgrade professionalism; technical set ups for news exchanges between nations and the formation of a professional association. Article 2 of the Charter stated its objectives as: "to encourage through broadcasting, the fuller involvement of the peoples of the region in their common aspiration" and "to encourage the exchange of regional news and programming between member stations and to coordinate such exchange"(Cholmondeley, 1974:17).

The CBU hosted many training programmes which trained scores of young journalists, producers and technical operators. In addition, several signature programmes are household names around the region: "*Caribscope*", a half hour current affairs programme featuring stories from the various countries as reported by staff in those countries; and "*Caribvision*", a news exchange programme which offered daily news from the different countries as reported by the journalists of the countries. These efforts by CBU led to a keener awareness by the media personnel

of issues from a regional perspective and underscored the importance of cooperation.

The other initiative was the Caribbean News Agency, CANA which was established on January 7, 1976. The Caribbean governments had made the call for a regional news agency as early as 1967 because of their concern about the success of regional institutions, and the one-sided flow of news. The initial feasibility studies were conducted by UNESCO which also managed to get an agreement by governments to stay out of controlling the news agency. Reuters news agency also facilitated CANA's formation by making its Caribbean technological facilities available to the regional institution (Cuthbert, 1990). According to Cuthbert (1990:8) CANA was considered a "model regional news agency" since it was an autonomous limited liability company owned by 15 shareholders from among members of the Caribbean Publishers and Broadcasters' Association, CPBA. The fifteen shareholders represented all of the television stations in the three groups of this study. Fifty-four percent of its shares were privately owned and 46 percent by the public media. According to Cuthbert (1990) the intention was to retain ownership of the company among the original members as far as possible. All the members of CANA were asked to sign a Deed of Trust which stipulated:

- a) that CANA shall at no time pass into the hands of any one interest group or faction;
- b) that its integrity, independence and freedom from bias shall at all times be fully preserved and that it will operate in accordance with the highest traditions of well researched and objective reporting;

c) that its business shall be so administered that it shall supply an unbiased and reliable news service to subscribers in the Caribbean and elsewhere...(Deed of Trust).

CANA was specifically formed to address the imbalance of news flow into and out of the region, the issue which was at the heart of the NWICO debates and for which UNESCO fought so fiercely. The chief purpose for its formation was increasing the regional information flow "between the countries and territories of the Caribbean region and between the region and the rest of the world." The concept was to make available news written from a Caribbean perspective within the framework of objectivity and professionalism. Its overall objectives were:

- a) to provide members with an efficient and independent News Service;
- b) to assist the information media to serve the public, promote the public welfare and contribute to development by offering a fair, comprehensive, accurate and impartial report on events and developments in the Caribbean and elsewhere including the views of members of the public;
- c) to gather or purchase and offer a comprehensive, reliable and impartial report on general events and developments outside the Caribbean with special reference to public interest in the Caribbean;
- d) to promote by the exchange or sale abroad of its news and other services a greater flow of information about the Caribbean in other parts of the world; " (Memorandum of Association).

In addition to developing cross national media cooperation, through the CBU and CANA, the Caribbean media have relied on UNESCO produced training programmes for its staff. A lot of emphasis was placed on international support for research into methods for transferring technology from North to South, and for promoting social change through communication. There have been limited opportunities for employment in mass media organizations (both private and public), although there is a high turn over of staff generally, with the smaller stations having a more youthful core of journalists and the larger ones created in the early post independence era, tending to have much older and seasoned journalists who remain within these organizations for longer periods.

In keeping with McConnell and Becker's characterization of the transition phase, Caribbean government began to place more emphasis on media professionalism and nationalistic appeals became more attractive. The government of Jamaica's concern over this level of media professionalism led to the establishment, in collaboration with UNESCO, of the Caribbean Institute of Media and Communication, CARIMAC (Brown, 1990). CARIMAC was established in 1974 and is based at the University of the West Indies, Mona campus. It began with a one year diploma programme "to upgrade the skills of media practitioners in the region, persons who had had work experience but no formal training" (Hosein, 1975:8). The Diploma curriculum consists of a broad liberal educational base with emphasis on Caribbean history, sociology, economics, culture and politics alongside the technical media production skills. In 1977, the Institute added a three year entry-level Degree programme. In the late 1980s a Masters programme was added and in

1992, a Ph.D. graduate research programme was also initiated. Today, there are hundreds of CARIMAC graduates representing all CARICOM countries in the region and hundreds too with Bachelors degrees. In addition to its intramural programme CARIMAC also has an outreach programme which includes research, in-service training, the hosting of seminars, workshops and symposia as well as short term courses.

Within this Period a number of professional media organizations sprung up, chief of which are the Caribbean Media Workers Association, CAMWORK, a federation of national journalist associations in the region, formed in November 1986, and the Caribbean Telecommunications Union, CTU, which was formed a year later in 1987. CTU represents the telecommunications administration of the region and deals primarily with international regulatory and technical matters that fall under the purview of the International Telecommunications Union, ITU (Brown, 1990). These two organizations joined the Caribbean Publishers and Broadcasters Association, CPBA which was formed in 1962 to represent the interests of regional media owners and managers.

Be that as it may, the question needs to be asked, *was the Caribbean too late?* Had there been a need for stronger measures in the individual stations to do as Hamelink suggests to 'dissociate' from the major world information powers and protect their message-creating capabilities? The Canadian media scenario provides a good example of the kind of leadership and vision required. Robinson (1982) contends that Canada's information policies were based on "dissociation criteria" in an effort to stem US media overflow. The Canadian regulatory agencies tempered

the free flow doctrine with the positive concept of "cultural sovereignty." Most importantly, they introduced Canadian content requirements to protect the right of English Canadians to participate in the message-creating activities. In order to obtain information parity, Caribbean leaders now need to draw from the Canadian experience, which also dealt with such problems as geographical proximity, technological superiority of the US, a common language, and open information borders. As Robinson (1982) postulates "such parity is not acquired or guaranteed unless a country defines its cultural and information goals in the light of its own needs" (1982:3).

IV. Conclusion

The hallmark of Period II is the new emphasis and thrust that began to be placed on professionalism and the efforts at transcending the dependence on Western sources for news. Through institutions like CANA and the CBU, Caribbean media began to take an introspective look at themselves and began to claim the medium as their own. Period II epitomizes McConnell and Becker's transition stage aptly, in that the goal was then working towards a consolidated democracy: "The media are quickly secured as an ally by various parties in an attempt to gain strength of voice and therefore support and legitimacy. New sources of media proliferate, while established sources many times have to remake themselves" (McConnell and Becker, 2002:10).

Because the Caribbean News Agency was fully owned and controlled by the Caribbean mass media and was therefore independent of direct governmental

control, and foreign news agencies economically, managerially and editorially (Cuthbert, 1982;129); CANA established a track record of independent news production. West Indians who previously were fed a diet of news from the BBC, Reuters and other established foreign news media, began to accept CANA as being a reliable Caribbean news provider. This indigenous service located in Bridgetown Barbados reduced the cost and speed of distributing Caribbean news and information regionally. A UNESCO sponsored programme, CARIBVISION, based on the European version EUROVISION also provided a news and programme exchange throughout the region. This regional television news exchange programme between the larger territories of Trinidad, Jamaica and Barbados, began in early 1988. Caribvision was intended to provide all of the region's television services with news and information about regional events from a regional perspective as well as to reverse the flow of news to the international community. Four years later the service was expanded to include Antigua & Barbuda, St. Kitts & Nevis, Grenada and St. Vincent and the Grenadines.

The births of CANA and the CBU were therefore seminal moments in Caribbean media history because through their high standards of professionalism, objectivity, and impartiality, many journalists and governments were forced to adopt more liberal principles and to give up their political practices of media censorship, which were established during the nationalist period. Prior to the formation of the CBU and CANA, there was no regional interest group representing mass media professionals in the Caribbean. These new institutions brought some hope to the region that at last here was an institution which would foster the new

nationalism and strengthen the regional integration process as well as address fulsomely the problems of the one way flow of information.

The evolution of channels for news more reflective of the public interest in the Caribbean became very significant during this period. After more than eighty years of news which virtually ignored the region, followed by almost a decade of news written primarily for a foreign audience and relayed to the region, CANA and the CBU provided channels capable of providing multi-directional, regional information flow and began to address the training and technical needs of broadcasters (Cuthbert,1982).

The new themes that dominated the development in Period II were "democracy" in the political sphere, "structural adjustment" on the economic front and "security" in international relations. The emphasis was therefore on the "deepening of democratic experience and growth"(Abrams,1989: 7) in the Commonwealth Caribbean. Five Television stations were established during this period, three medium sized ones: GBN in Grenada, SVGTV in St. Vincent and Marpin Television in Dominica; and two small stations: Great Belize Productions in Belize and GTV in Guyana. It is significant that only two of those stations were privately owned, while the other three were government concerns, indicative of the kind of fervour for national institutions to promote the nationalist and development agenda of the 1970s and 80s.

Although this period was consumed with the discourse of cultural imperialism fueled by the prevailing debates at UNESCO, Caribbean leaders were less than proactive in protecting their national borders by limiting foreign content.

They must be held accountable and culpable for what is now seen by many pundits as the proliferation of foreign media content and symbolic annihilation.

Period III: Slow Movement Towards Media Independence (1990-2003)

I. Politico-economic setting

Period III is marked by the fact that all of the countries in the three Groups embraced Western economic and political norms, despite Jamaica, Guyana and Grenada's flirtations with socialism in Periods I and II. Payne and Sutton (1993) argue that the continuing problem for the Caribbean is the role the region can play in the world economic order. Economists agreed that despite progress in certain directions, the Commonwealth Caribbean failed to develop a vibrant economy which could meet the challenges of the 1990s and beyond. This is so despite the presence of a highly literate and resourceful people. Ramsaran (1989) laments that the political institutions conceived with the view to preserving and developing democratic tradition, have in some cases been manipulated with the aim of stifling expression and creativity.

The 1990s were characterized by what Payne and Sutton refer to as the consolidation of the neo-liberal revolution, tempered only by the realization that more attention had to be paid to human resources, if the the new technological imperatives of a globalizing economy were not to pass the region by" (Payne and Sutton, 2001:21). There is no doubt that over the last decade globalization has shaped both the practice and theory of Caribbean development. In a lecture given in 1996, prime minister of Barbados, Owen Arthur made this summation:

Generally, the strategy has to accept the reality of the globalization of economic forces rather than hanker after a less complicated but impoverished past. The strategy must also recognize that the Caribbean countries, singly and as a group, must make the transition from the old age of preferences to a new age of reciprocity in its international economic relationships. In so doing, it must be designed to minimize the costs and dislocations associated with the transition, and to put in place mechanisms that can allow the region to exploit the market opportunities which are being created by the international liberalization of trade and the formation of mega blocks.¹

The countries of the Caribbean, particularly those reliant on agriculture such as Jamaica, Trinidad, Guyana, Dominica, Grenada, St. Lucia and St. Vincent and the Grenadines relied on preferential trading arrangements and adroit economic diplomacy to shore up increasingly uncompetitive exports. "The smaller countries particularly have found themselves "disadvantaged, marginalized in the development policy debate, side-lined in the corridors of power and handicapped by small size and economic dependence. This acute vulnerability is easily overlooked or brushed aside in the search for the supposedly greater good of global free trade" (Payne and Sutton, 2001:271).

Faced with World Trade Organization opposition to their traditional preferential markets, the option of joining the FTAA, declining benefits under the Lomé Agreement, the economic prospects of the region at the start of the 90s appeared dismal to say the least. Clive Thomas notes that "a region which had a fairly homogenous level of underdevelopment in the mid-1960s, now finds itself at the end of the twentieth century with such sharp differences in development

¹ Owen Arthur, "The new realities of Caribbean international economic relations," lecture in the Distinguished Lecture series, Institute of International Relations, University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, Trinidad, mimeo, 15 April 1996: 47-48.

levels that Barbados (25), Bahamas (26) and Belize (29) are in the top quintile of the listing of 174 countries in the UNDP's 1995 human development index, while there are others such as Guyana (105) close to the bottom" (Thomas, 1996:227). The broad picture across the region reveals endemically high unemployment, severe poverty amidst wealth and good living for some, social decay, growing amounts of crime and worrying levels of environmental deterioration (Payne and Sutton, 2001). The pockets of prosperity that do exist do not generally extend to whole countries, but are based on some sectors or districts which are set apart from the rest of the Caribbean.

Hilbourne Watson (1994) posits that the decade of the 90s saw a decline in the fortunes of the people of Guyana, Barbados, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, the most populous of the territories, three of which are in our large group. The decline in personal wealth has been made more onerous by the reduction in government services, given the high levels of public expenditures that prevailed and the need to earmark large portions of public resources for debt repayment (Watson, 1994). Jobs have also been lost and for the employed, standards of living have fallen. The most readily available sign of the decline in these countries has been the steady depreciation of the currency which has a great impact on all sectors. Guyana, Trinidad and Jamaica have all had to devalue their currencies and have had to subject their economies to the bitter pill of structural adjustment policies administered by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

McConnell and Becker (2001) have argued that the consolidation stage is a difficult one, for even as political behaviour becomes routinized, and as the

transition process moves towards consolidation, the media as well as the public can become more cynical, particularly in the face of continued political wrangling and a struggling economy. "Successive regimes must produce positive outcomes to build legitimacy for the democratic process" (McConnell and Becker, 2001:8). This *consolidation* phase which corresponds with the Caribbean's *slow movement toward media independence* period is the point where Caribbean broadcasters now find themselves in 2003. The five part structure which Rozumilowicz (2002) outlines as essential to the consolidation phase are also present in the Caribbean region today. They are:

- i) A media structure that is moving towards freedom of interference from government, business or dominant social group.
- ii) Free and independent media which buttress the societal objectives of democracy, the economic structure, greater cultural understanding and general human development.
- iii) Free and independent media allowing individuals to find a public forum in which to express opinions, beliefs and viewpoints to their fellow citizens.
- iv) Free and independent media provide the expression of options so meaningful decisions can be made.
- v) Free and independent media guarantee access to the less privileged in society, giving them voice.¹

¹ As quoted in McConnell, P and Becker, L.B. *The Role of the Media in Democratization*. Paper presented to the International Mass Communication Training and Research Conference, Barcelona, July 2002:pp.45.

II. Broadcast Development

Table 2.8: Period III:1990-2003. Slow Movement Toward Media Independence					
<i>Country</i>	<i>Call name</i>	<i>Start</i>	<i>Ownership</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Management</i>
<i>Large</i>	CVM	1990	Private/share-holders	Local production, free/independent news	Private Board of Directors
Jamaica					
Trinidad	TV6	1992	Public company traded on Stock of exchange	Local, free/independent news	Private Board of Directors
<i>Small</i>	VCT	1994	Anthony Viera and family Guyanese	Local/free independent	Private Board of Directors
Guyana					
Guyana	Prime	2000	Independent/Private	Local/free independent	Private Board of Directors

During this period serious attempts were made by the various countries to move towards a more democratic and libertarian model of communications. Firstly new licenses were granted by some governments to set up additional broadcasting outlets and to liberalize access to different source of information. As Table 2.8 shows, a second Television service was established in Jamaica. CVM Television Limited began operation in 1990 as an independent privately owned entity, offering competition to the JBC and offering a wider range of local production. With the upgrading of studio equipment, TTT in Trinidad underwent a name change in 1999. It is now called the National Broadcasting Network Limited, NBN. Another Television station TV6, was established in 1992. A public company traded on the Stock Exchange, TV6 began rivaling NBN for viewership in Trinidad; and has

today surpassed it in the amount of local content, and the quality of its output. TV6 was set up after the government began to relax legislation on procedural arrangements for licenses to private sector interests. As a private company its journalists are free to report and are not aligned to the government or opposition politically.

An interesting phenomenon developed in Guyana in the mid 1990s in that some experimental TV stations which had been set up to only transmit satellite feeds began to align themselves with local production companies and to broadcast the news and current affairs programs of these companies. So for instance, "Prime News" which is a loosely formed group of journalists produces a nightly new package and sells this to a TV channel. This is also done on Channel 28 and Channel 4; so these channels would have only the news as their local programme, while broadcasting 23 hours of American television. In 1994, Viera Communication Television was established in Guyana offering local production and a more independent diet of news and current affairs commentaries. This company set up by private businessman, Anthony Viera began to provide an alternative to the government owned and controlled GTV.

The 1990s saw a new thrust for technological proficiency in the Caribbean as almost all the stations were retrofitted with sophisticated new equipment, began sharing training and human resources and agitation for greater press freedom was voiced by professionals as well as opposition parties. It is significant that in this period all the stations were privately owned or publicly traded, indicative that the governments of Trinidad, Jamaica and Guyana were no longer exercising

hegemonic control over the broadcast media, but were relaxing this stranglehold and allowing licenses for private ownership and ultimately for voices other than government controlled sources.

In the 1990s the Caribbean began spending millions of dollars in importing new communication technology from countries such as the United States, Britain, Germany and Japan. It is well known in the region that the adoption of a particular technology has more to do with political, economic and socio-cultural forces in the environment and their interaction, than with the technical advantages and cost-effectiveness that the innovation promises. Many of these small economies incurred high foreign debts in the bid to acquire the latest communication technologies. Mody and Borrego (1991) have attributed some of the inducement for developing countries to import foreign communication technology to "pressure from domestic elites seeking the newest technology to put them on par with their New York counterparts, 'nationalist' interest groups pushing for disassociation from the world business system, foreign universities and philanthropic foundations urging the use of new technologies for education and development and superpower propaganda agencies" (:152).

For example, the decision by the stations in the region to adopt the American NTSC standard for broadcasting bypassing the European PAL or SECAM system was fiscally expedient for the governments because of the close proximity to the USA, the easy accessibility of large amounts of programming content which the stations were ill-prepared to produce, but readily utilized to fill precious broadcast hours. Jamaica initially used the PAL format but experienced great difficulty

financially and logistically in obtaining programming content since tapes had to be shipped back and forth between Kingston and London. The use of PAL slowed Jamaica's pace in the adoption of colour TV and prevented any kind of meaningful news or programme exchanges between Jamaica and sister stations in the region; and Jamaica was forced to switch to the NTSC format.

When the adoption of sophisticated communication technologies is initiated by dominant domestic powers who have no national vision to change power relations, they must be held culpable for the consequences. The end result is normally reinforcement of the internal and external dependency status quo. Clearly the problem is not in the technology, but "in the foreign conditioned economic political alliance in the adopting nation that perpetuates the dependency relationship- because of history, lack of national will to change history, and domestic corporate self-interest" (Mody and Borrego, 1991:164).

The prevailing sentiment was that new technologies held promise for advancement in education, economic growth and other forms of social change. Many leaders eager to bring about changes in the standard of living of their people were relying on the new technologies for solutions to the problems of autocracy and economic stagnation in the previous decades. While one cannot doubt that communication technology contributes to social change, these changes depend on the ways in which they are implemented by a given government. As Boafo (1991: 25) points out, "some apparent impacts of the importation of foreign technology on many Third World (sic) countries are increased debt and more dependency on developed nations."

Brown (1987) reports that the entire region is witnessing the phenomenon of modern electronic consumerism in the form of individual ownership and dishes, video and television sets and corporate arrangements for dish erection and rental video parlors- with the consequent demise of the cinema. Described by Raymond Williams as "simple transmission", the Caribbean has used cable television with impunity at the expense of television production. Cable relays are generally privately owned in the region, and they depend on foreign programme content. In Antigua, St. Kitts, St. Vincent, Grenada, St. Lucia, Guyana and Belize local advertisers pay for their advertisements during prime time when the foreign advertisements are substituted in pirated foreign programmes (Brown, 1987).

Since the 1970s, satellite technology had made cable television ubiquitous throughout the Caribbean, but they became even more prevalent in the 1990s. Of the twelve countries under review, Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica introduced cable services much later in their development, so their national television services did not have to face competition from largely privately owned cable relay services, as was the case in the Eastern Caribbean. However competition in Jamaica came in the form of the high prevalence of privately owned satellite dishes, "the highest concentration... in the Anglophone Caribbean" (Brown, 1990:257). This translates into literally the same kind of competition which local television faced from cable in the other islands. At the beginning of 1986, Jamaica, with a population of 2.3 million, had "seven thousand dishes in the hands of the economic, political and technocratic elites who pirate US Television" (Lent, 1990: 283).

Satellites have had perhaps the greatest impact on broadcasting in the region

largely because as Williams(1990) suggests, they are used "to penetrate or circumvent existing national broadcasting systems, in the name of 'internationalism', but in reality in the service of one or two dominant cultures." In the Caribbean many of the television stations started as foreign owned and later became national or para-national corporations, and set up satellite receivers, thereby offering cheap television which almost wholly originates from outside of the region. This has had significant political and cultural effects as the Caribbean lies in the US satellite footprint and TV stations both private and government have chosen to utilize the media content offered often with impunity and to the detriment of national and regional culture. Unlike the Canadian broadcasting scene, where serious attempts were made to regulate foreign content, the nationalist governments in the region often operated broadcasting establishments at the expense of nationalist goals. With more sophisticated technological capabilities allowing for less expensive and quicker transmission, "the region is inundated with foreign programming mostly from the United States" (Lent, 1990: 280).

Six Commonwealth countries have satellite ground stations linked to INTELSAT. Other countries have given private entrepreneurs the right to set up relay stations to re-transmit material directly from satellite through cable or VHF channels. In St. Kitts and Antigua, private companies have been allowed to compete directly with national systems with comprehensive cable systems. In Belize, Dominica, St. Lucia, Guyana, and St. Vincent cable hook ups via satellite dominate the mediascape.

Due to the close proximity to Florida and the US mainland, the Bahamas has

been pinpointed as the country suffering the most from domination and penetration of foreign media, than any other culture in the Caribbean; evident in the obvious American lifestyle and culture adopted by most Bahamians. It is difficult sometimes to ascertain whether Bahamians consider themselves to be American or Caribbean, as there is a closer attachment and identification with the United States. Direct broadcast satellites and cable have infiltrated the Bahamas at such a rate that it led Leonard Archer, then President of the Caribbean Congress of Labour to lament "at any given moment of the day or night, many more Bahamians listen to foreign radio or watch foreign television, than listen to Bahamian radio and television" (Archer, 1987; pp. 67).¹

A new thrust, which began in the late 1980s towards "development communication", was solidified in the 1990s. Governments used development journalism to promulgate their political ideologies and campaigns, but Lent suggests that term was transformed into 'commitment journalism systematically applied to a nation's problems' (Lent, 1979:67). Defined as the "use of the media in support of development" (Campbell, 1984), development communication did not have a definable methodology. It came to be seen as "the art and science of human communications applied to the speedy transformation of a country from poverty to a dynamic state of economic growth that makes possible greater economic social equality and the larger fulfillment of the human population" (Quebral, 1973:25).

Despite good intentions, journalists are still subject to governmental manipulation in those territories where governments were still firmly in control

¹ As quoted in Sanatan Roderick & Brown, Aggrey (1987) Talking With Whom? A Report on the State of the Media in the Caribbean. Jamaica: UWI School of Printing.

such as Antigua, Guyana, and Grenada. However, the various regional meetings organized (Caricom, the OECS, UWI and UNESCO) to discuss the social responsibility of the media are indicative of the measure of commitment which reporters and media managers had to ensuring freedom of the press.

III. Forms of Media Control and Financing

As Table 2.9 shows, of the large countries, there are now two private stations, one in Trinidad (TV6) and the other in Jamaica (CVM). This means that out of 6 stations or 32.4% of the large stations are private, whilst 4 out of 6 or 64.5% of large stations still have some form of government control. In the 4 stations the management is largely by government appointed boards in arms-length relationships. The four stations are run by statutory corporations with semi-autonomous decision-making and management.

In the medium category two out of four stations or 32.5% of the stations are private bodies; and 4 out of 6 or 64.5% are government entities. One station, ABS in Antigua is 100% government owned and controlled, operating as an arm of the governing political party, Antigua Labour Party. ABS employs known political hacks to key positions and imposes strict and rigid censorship rules on news and current affairs programming. The nightly news is well known on the island to be the major propaganda outlet for the Lester Bird administration. Journalists have been harassed, pressured and dismissed for not toe-ing the party line and reporters have had their work destroyed, re-written or dropped entirely from the Newscast, if they depart from the touted government line on an issue. The three other government

Table 2.9: Current status of all stations in the Anglophone Caribbean by Groups				
<i>Country/station</i>	<i>Present Ownership</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Level of Freedom*</i>	<i>Type of Management</i>
Large	Statutory Corporation	Free from govt. control	3-2-3=8F	Govt. appointed Board of Directors
Bahamas, ZNS				
Barbados, CBC	Statutory Corporation	Free from govt. control	1-4-11=16F	Board of Directors
Jamaica, JBC	Statutory Corporation	Partially Free from govt. control	3-8-6=17F	Govt. appointed Board
Jamaica, CVM	Private	Free from govt. control	Same as above	Private Board of Directors
Trinidad & Tobago, NBN	Statutory Corporation	Partially free from govt. control	4-17-9=30F	Govt. appointed board
Trinidad & Tobago, TV6	Private	Free from govt. control	Same as above	Private board of Directors
Medium	100% government	News strictly controlled by govt.	12-6-6=44PF	Government ministry/civil service
Antigua and Barbuda, ABS				
Dominica, Marpin-TV	Private	Free from govt. control	0-6-10=16F	Private Board of Directors
Grenada, GBN	Statutory Corporation	Partially free	5-5-13=23F	Board of Directors
St. Kitts & Nevis, ZIZ	Statutory Corporation	Partially free from govt. control	4-6-8=18F	Govt. appointed board
St. Lucia, Helen TV	Private	Free from govt. control	0-4-7=11F	Private Board of Directors
St. Vincent & the Grenadines, SVG-TV	Statutory Corporation	Partially free govt. control	2-7-7=16F	Govt. appointed board
Small	Private	Free from govt. control	Same as above	Private Board of Directors
Guyana, VCT				
Belize, GBP	Private	Free from govt. control	11-8-5=24F	Private Board of Directors
Guyana	GTV	Government controlled		Government ministry/Civil service

*Source: <http://www.worldaudit.org/press>.

stations are run by statutory corporations with boards appointed by the government;

but they lean towards more professional and democratic practices.

In the small category, two out of three stations or 66% are private entities whilst one out of three or 33% are government owned. Like Antigua, the lone government TV station in Guyana is ruled by a strong government Minister of Information who dictates the policies of the station and rules in an autocratic fashion. The Guyanese population however have alternative sources of news and information in the form of the two independent stations, VCT and Prime. Antigua has no such luxury. Overall, six out of fifteen stations or 39% are private entities, whilst 58.5% or 9 out of 15 are government run organizations. In an effort to further assess the level of freedom of journalists working in the Caribbean let us now look at the 2001 Freedom house Report on political/journalistic freedom.

The figures in column four of Table 2.9, sourced from Freedom House Report and World Audit Organization can be explained as follows: The first number (0-30) is concerned with the structure of news delivery, the systems as functioning under the country's laws and administrative decisions as well as their influence on the content of the print and broadcast media. The second number (0-40) represents political power: the degree of political influence over the content of news media; access to information, censorship, intimidation of journalists. The third number (0-30) represents the economic influence on media content including pressure by government funding, corruption, withholding government advertising, bias in licensing. The final number is a total of the three categories. Countries that have a rating of 0-30 are considered Free; 31-60 partly free and 61-100, not free.

According to Freedom House, Canada has a rating of 16F; the USA 16F and the UK 18F. According to Freedom House, two countries in the Anglophone Caribbean have ratings of "Partly Free". They are Antigua (44) and Guyana (39). All of the countries of the large group are considered to have relatively good levels of press freedom. The Bahamas has the best rating of 8, followed by Barbados with 16 and Jamaica with 17. It is significant that the Bahamas has had the longest tradition of broadcasting, having established TV prior to independence in 1930. It is significant too that the Bahamas has a better freedom rating than Canada, the USA and the U.K whilst Barbados and Jamaica are deemed to be on par with these Western powers.

Trinidad got a rating of 30 which is borderline. This rating is not consistent with those of the large territories because successive Trinidadian governments were known to have manipulated the TTT as the sole television outlet for many years prior to the birth of TV6 in 1992. In 1997, then Prime Minister of Trinidad, Basdeo Panday had had several virulent confrontations with sections of the press and had called on the private sector to boycott the media by withholding advertisements. Several reporters and media owners were also named in law suits which Panday took to the courts, including TV6 founder, businessman Ken Gordon.

Table 2.9 also shows that in the medium category, St. Lucia has the best freedom rating at 11, which rates higher than Trinidad, Barbados and Jamaica in the large category and higher than the US, Canada and the U.K. St. Vincent with a rating of 16 is on par with the large territories, except the Bahamas. St. Kitts has a rating of 18 and Grenada, 23. As mentioned Antigua is considered to be partly free

with the highest rating of all countries of 44. In the small group, Belize has a rating of 24 and Guyana 39. It is clear that there is a direct correlation between level of press freedom and ownership of the media, as clearly those countries with independent private entities, tend to lean towards a more libertarian model than those hemmed in by the stranglehold of authoritarian governments.

As further evidence of the new resolve to effect more collaborative approaches to media, in September, 1999 CANA and the CBU formed a joint venture called Caribbean Media Corporation. The CMC operated under a not-for-profit model and was a merger of the business operations of the CBU and all of the operations of CANA. The model was chosen "in order to provide for collective decision making through a process where financial strength, geography, population and size of advertising markets would not impede efforts to increase regional programming, while enhancing the skills of personnel of state-owned systems" (Caricom Report, 2002:4). The major weakness of the model is that it never addressed the responsibility for providing capital investment by its owners, since there was no provision for a return on these investments. It was an ambitious project and plans for training and nurturing the human resource potential of the region with its focus on professional regional development were creditable.

However, 17 months after its operational establishment in January 2002, the CMC was forced to announce that it would temporarily cease operations. After 30 years of providing news exchanges, the regional institution made up of the merged CANA and CBU was floundering. At a special Emergency Meeting of Ministers responsible for Information held on January 28, 2002, the main reasons for the

closure of the CMC were disclosed as:

- i) the negative effects experienced from the global recession, which exacerbated by the events of September 11,
- ii) reduced advertising base from outside the region
- iii) inability to broadcast the Kenyan and Sri Lankan Cricket tours by the Indian Cricket team thereby reducing cash flow.
- iv) The end of the partnership with Reuters International News service on October 1, 2002, and the fact that Reuters became a competitor in the market with the termination of this partnership (Special Emergency Caricom Meeting, 2001)

Despite an injection of US\$250,000 by some of the privately-owned media subscribers, the organization was forced to close. This clearly exposes the structural limitations of the CMC since a serious and continuing problem for CANA had been the cost of news transmission due to the high cost of telecommunications circuits. Emanating from that emergency meeting held in Antigua, Caricom governments agreed to provide urgent interim financing of US\$1.5 million to CMC to facilitate the immediate resumption of programming services by the corporation and the settlement of all staff obligations" (Conference Resolution(i) Caricom Emergency Meeting, 2002). The jury is still out on whether this institution will be able to survive this test.

The shift from a Euro-centric orientation in most things in life (education, defense, culture, recreation, commerce) to a United States centered one has meant that all the perceptions and definitions of the United States of its vital interests,

became integral concerns of the small states of the Anglophone Caribbean region, to the detriment of our own developmental concerns. That near total dependence of the Caribbean media on North American cultural products is described by Lent (1991) thus:

The dependency in technology and the resultant cultural domination not only persists they have greatly magnified the extent that indigenous cultural forms are acceptable to the region unless they have been North Americanized. In fact, foreign domination has reached a crisis point, with most efforts to avert the problem being too halting, too unsure and too minor in scope to seriously challenge the "tentacles" which CNN, cable TV, video, radio, film, Coca-Cola, designer jeans and musical fads have wrapped around our cultures (:66).

This author concurs with Held (1993) that global realities are increasingly problematizing traditional conceptions of political boundaries and entities, and the challenge that this implies for how we are to view the structures and processes of democracy. In the increasing thrust towards globalization, some of the traditional structures, functions and *raison d'être* of the national state are being eclipsed by transnational processes, regional developments and local decentralization, and this is evident in the deepening and widening of organizations such as CARICOM, the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States and the Association of Caribbean States.

IV. Conclusion

The issue of programming content is one which has been debated since the inception of television in the Caribbean region. It was one of the leading issues in the 1950s when British and American companies owned and controlled most of the stations using those stations for their citizens living in the Caribbean region to remain in touch with the "mother country." It was an issue in the 1960s when nationalist leaders sought to change the imbalance of media content and linked local media output to nationalism. It was again a raging issue in the 1970s when the international community debated cultural imperialism and demanded a New World Information and Communication Order. In the 1980s, 90s and today, the issue of media content still remains a major issue on the Caribbean media agenda as not very much has changed in terms of the amount of foreign as opposed to national or regional content. Unlike the CBC in Canada, most media and communication policies in the region are silent on the regulation of content.

While capitalist democracies favoured private ownership and freedom of the press, the media in the Caribbean generally reflected the authoritarian philosophies of the governments in the early periods of their development. Media practitioners often functioned as civil servants, and had to be loyal to the government. Freedom of expression and the view of the press as the "fourth estate" of the political realm was alien to them. In their view, the media existed to promote the government agenda of nation building. The media therefore saw themselves as allies of the government in the promotion of guided social change. This meant that Caribbean media were not only constrained by lack of infrastructure, they were hampered by a

hostile political atmosphere. Retrogressive laws and policies were employed to arrest, detain and jail journalists who expressed opinions considered unfavorable towards the government. However, as has been shown the media are fast changing from a predominantly governmental to private ownership pattern. This is a reflection of the general economic and political trends. Although in some countries the governments still cling to the national television services, privately owned media are increasing. Individuals and organizations willing to establish their own media or statutory corporations are given permission to do so.

Whereas in the past "the monopoly mentality of government media stifled creativity on the part of journalists" (Musa and Okoli, 1991:174) competition and changes in the global community have brought about a change of attitude. The availability of options has helped to improve the quality of media products and allowed for increased access. The wide plethora of media organizations in the Anglophone Caribbean is indicative of the importance of these industries to the development of the nation state and to regionalism. Television which began as a strategic colonial decision in the interest of the planter class, moved into the hands of nationalist governments with the assistance of mainly American and British conglomerates. However the drive to nationalize broadcasting stations was not fully sustained as many stations fell prey to replacing one group of colonizers with a new group.

As we have seen, in Groups I, II and III, the organization of local resources such as broadcasting, in foreign interests continued unabated in many cases and was even intensified in some cases, so that control over the dynamic and path of

development of the media per se have been retained abroad or in the hands of mainly men. Testimony to this is the extensive cultural and psychological colonization which still marks the contemporary Caribbean. The cultural absorption of the Caribbean into the "one-world" of the giant American multinationals is obviously not unique to the region; but the ease of communication, the proximity to North America, "the lack of language barriers, and the absence of any rooted resistant traditional culture all mean that the cultural penetration of the Caribbean can proceed even faster and more thoroughly than in most other underdeveloped regions" (Farrell, 1983:11).

The ongoing debate about our intrinsic dependence has in essence caused many to deflect scrutiny from the government-owned media, for "in heaping blame upon the Western media, these governments have constructed fake justification for their own domestic repression of journalism" (Smith, 1980:15). Our pernicious preoccupation with the (admittedly) important issues of media content and neo-imperialism via American programming and satellite over-spill, have precluded and overshadowed any serious or sustained debate about the actual operations within these Television stations. The more profound issues of training, professionalism by journalists, the status of women and men within these organizations and general notions of equity have not come under the microscope. Even as we struggle with the almost losing battle of controlling content, very little is being done to formulate concrete and practical communication policies which will address the development problems of the region and which will shine the spotlight on equal opportunities for 51% of the 5.8 million souls in the Anglophone

Caribbean. Cuthbert (1984) sums it up aptly: "their struggle should not be separated from the total struggle to create a just social order."

Clearly, the Caribbean's television broadcasting development cannot be pigeon-holed into distinct theoretical models. This chapter has had to use the variables of decolonization and the thrust for independence, political culture and economic development as well as the Caribbean's chronic dependence on the West even after it attained sovereignty. All of these variables enjoyed a symbiotic relationship with broadcasting and severely impacted the mass media's institutional growth and development. Robinson (1997:34) aptly points out that media growth "follows a pattern very similar to the S-curves familiar from population, epidemiology and innovation studies."

The Caribbean broadcast development has clearly exhibited the slow initial growth, followed by rapid acceleration which are now tapering off, a progression highlighted in Siebert, Schramm et al's *"Four Theories"* and McConnell and Becker's *"Media in Democratization."* The Caribbean region coming out of the stranglehold of colonialism inherited the colonial media in the first period. This era was marked by authoritarian organizations. Nationalism enabled many television organizations to equate independence with "possessing" communication capabilities, but not in reality "owning" such organizations.

In Period I; the Bahamas stands out as being the birth-place of Television in the Caribbean. The large territories of Barbados, Jamaica, and Trinidad then followed suit just prior to independence. All of these stations were however set up by British or American investors seeking to keep their nationals living as expatriate

in these countries or for entertainment and information of tourists vacationing in these countries. Because of the length of broadcasting traditions, the size and economic growth, these countries tend to have more developed media systems and are now more libertarian in outlook and management than those of the medium or small groups. Two stations from the medium group (ZIZ-St. Kitts and ABS, Antigua) were also established during this period. They were owned by Rediffusion which had quite a monopoly on Caribbean TV in the period 1950-69. These stations in Period I were run by foreign expatriates who were sent in by the parent companies to run the organization since there was a lack of human resource capability on the islands.

The second period, 1970-89 saw a redefinition of media ownership and management as many of the governments purchased the broadcast facilities and set up statutory corporations. There was increased organizational autonomy in the privately owned stations. This period also marked the heated debates on cultural imperialism and the United Nation's thrust for a New World Information and Communication Order which spawned the CBU and CANA. Despite the economic and political turbulence in Guyana, Jamaica, and Grenada and the hard line stance on press liberty, others in the region were moving towards a more nationalist model of communication. The regional institutions were facilitating this through their independence from government control, independence from foreign news agencies and independence economically, managerially and editorially. The capacity for broadcast training by the regional institution, University of the West Indies lent the necessary human resources for the media outfits throughout the region as more and

more journalists benefited from the training offered at the Caribbean Institute of Media and Communication. Period II saw the birth of six new stations in Grenada, St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Lucia, Belize and Guyana- the first four from our medium Group and the last two from our small group. All four of the medium group (GBN, SVGTV, Marpin and HTS) were private entities, whilst in Belize GBP was private and in Guyana the government established GTV.

Globalization and the shrinking of national borders in the current period, 1990-2003 has seen the move towards modernity, greater professionalism within organizations and a hands off approach by the governments allowing for greater freedom of the press and moves towards the Libertarian model. However the regional institutions-CANA and the CBU- so instrumental in assisting in press freedom- are teetering on financial collapse. There are suggestions that without the financial assistance of foreign investment, atypical of many indigenous organizations, this could spell continued domination. The birth of four new stations in this period, two in the large group and two in the small, is indicative of the steady growth of broadcasting, which Schramm et al forward as a sign of expansion towards libertarianism; and which McConnell and Becker refer to as the consolidation stage. Even more encouraging is the fact that all four (100%) of these stations are private entities offering competition and challenge to the older more politically entrenched stations found in Periods I and II. However, this latter period also symbolizes a greater struggle for autonomy on the part of journalists and a more socially responsible corps of reporters is emerging. Journalists have begun to extricate themselves from the tentacles of governments to provide mixed, politically

balanced reports with a commitment to social responsibility.

Television stations are social institutions which maintain their existence because, as Robinson(1977:3) succinctly states "the people who work there share similar interpretations about common goals and functions; consequently the media content produced is influenced by what journalists perceive to be commonly accepted ways of viewing reality. Expressing, transmitting and maintaining these constructions is then a major social function of a country's mass communication system."

Though there were many changes over the fifty year period, many of these were largely superficial; modernization saw the introduction of sophisticated Japanese and American equipment, but the substantial changes to the news content and structure of media organizations remain elusive and tangible changes have not materialized over half a century. Foreign influences upon the media have persisted despite the best intentions of the media managers of the region and to the detriment of the large mass of Caribbean viewers. The key theme of the fifty year history is that television (and radio) helped to "democratize the relationship between government and governed" (Curran,1991:44). The growth of broadcasting, like that of the press, was an emancipatory force that empowered the Anglophone Caribbean.

Chapter III

A. THE ENGLISH CARIBBEAN BROADCASTING CORPS: STRUCTURAL AND HUMAN FRAMEWORK

The professional and working profile of female and male journalists have long been a subject of study for the United States, Europe and Canada. No comprehensive study of the Caribbean of this magnitude has ever been done. This chapter provides perhaps the very first snapshot of how this profession is structured and whether women are succeeding in moving up the ranks. It looks at the structural and human framework within the journalism profession, assessing how culture and sex schemas or sex-typing of various beats and tasks interfere with women's progress into management positions as well as high paying prestigious news assignments.

In looking at journalism as a profession, it also assesses the journalists in the Caribbean as a community (Goode, 1956). Robert Merton (1957) refers to them as "subcultures" and Barbie Zelizer (1993) refers to them as "interpretive communities". They tend toward homogeneity and exercise exclusionary practices which deter the participation of persons or groups who do not possess characteristics defined as appropriate. They are characterized by shared norms and attitudes, which make for and perpetuate informal relationships.

For purposes of making cross comparisons and because this is the first empirical analysis of television news departments in the Caribbean, we did not use a sampling procedure, but distributed Survey I to all television newsrooms to be completed by the Station Managers. Survey I drew on similar surveys done by Robinson (1974); and Saint-Jean and Robinson (1997) of female journalists in

Canadian media; as well as Wilhoit and Weaver's (1986) study of the American journalist. Many of the same questions were used in order to make cross comparisons between the Caribbean and Canadian situation.

I. Population

In this chapter, we are concerned with journalists who work for private and public broadcast outlets, specifically television news departments engaged in the daily production of news broadcasts. The universe is all salaried full-time personnel employed in the news departments of television stations in the English-speaking Caribbean. The list of stations was constructed from two sources: the Caribbean Yellow Pages and the Caribbean Broadcasting Union's List of Members, (1997). The list was not a selective one based on my personal judgment, but one which utilized all the stations listed. A detailed questionnaire was sent via mail and fax to all the Station Managers which then became part of the population of 16 stations. The total number of journalists in Caribbean TV was calculated from the figures provided by the Station Managers in Survey I as well as from on site visits to six of the 16 stations. All the Station Managers in the 13 English-speaking Caribbean countries responded.

II. Definition of journalists

Utilizing Wilhoit and Weaver's (1986) definition, journalists are defined as :

Those who have editorial responsibilities for the preparation or transmission of news stories or other information- all full-time reporters, writers, correspondents, columnists, newsmen and editors. ...only editorial staff in news and public affairs were included. Our definition...does not include photographers who are not also reporters,

librarians, camera operators and audio technicians...People defined as journalists should have direct editorial responsibility for the information they communicate. Because full-time photographers, librarians, camera operators and technicians are usually directed by reporters and editors (or assist them in carrying out their work), we did not classify them as journalists (Weaver and Wilhoit, 1986:168-169).

The TV stations have been subdivided into two groups, large and small, which is a slight deviation from the groupings in Chapter 2, where the countries were subdivided into three categories, large, medium and small. In Chapter 2, the sub-divisions were based on the economic and social development characteristics; i.e. the GDP per capita income and the Human Development Index, HDI. In this chapter the two main categories are based on the size of the television station; i.e. the number of full time journalists employed at the station. Due to the fact that there were no discernible differences between broadcast journalists in medium and small country stations, the two categories were merged into one.

B. The Gender Status in Caribbean TV Organizations

Table 3.1 <i>Proportional Representation of Stations by Country, Number of Journalists, Size and Gender</i>			
<i>Over 10 Journalists</i>		<i>Below 10 Journalists</i>	
<i>Large</i>	<i>Total #</i>	<i>Small</i>	<i>Total</i>
ABS, Antigua	17	GBN, Grenada	10
CBC, Barbados	16	GBP, Belize	5
CVM, Jamaica	14	HTS, St. Lucia	5
GTV, Guyana	21	Marpin, Dominica	6
NBN, Trinidad	11	Prime, Guyana	6
TVJ, Jamaica	11	SVG, St. Vincent	7
TV6, Trinidad	19	VCT, Guyana	6
ZNS, Bahamas	31	ZIZ, St. Kitts	5
Total	140	Total	50

Table 3.1 shows this break down: The large group is made up of stations which employ more than 10 journalists; whilst the small stations employ less than ten journalists. One of the three TV stations in Guyana, GTV has moved up to the large category with a complement of 21 reporters; along with ABS in Antigua and Barbuda which is also in the large group with 17 reporters. Barbados, Jamaica, Trinidad and the Bahamas remain in the large group as they were in the categorization in Chapter II. Table 3.1 indicates that in 2002 eight TV stations had over 10 reporters and were categorized as large. These are ABS, Antigua (17 journalists); CBC, Barbados (16 journalists); CVM, Jamaica (14 journalists); GTV, Guyana (21 journalists); NBN, Trinidad (11 journalists); TVJ, Jamaica (11 journalists); TV6, Trinidad (19 journalists) and ZNS, Bahamas (31 journalists). An equal number of TV stations (8)

were categorized as being small. These are GBN, Grenada (10 journalists); GBP, Belize (5 journalists); HTS, St. Lucia (5 journalists); Marpin, Dominica (6 journalists); Prime, Guyana (6 journalists); SVG, St. Vincent (7 journalists); VCT, Guyana (6 journalists) and ZIZ, St. Kitts (5 journalists). Of the large group, the Bahamas is the largest station with 31 journalists. We may recall from Chapter II that television in the Caribbean had its birth in the Bahamas, it being the oldest station set up in 1930, a full thirty years prior to the independence movement in the Caribbean region and during the period of British colonialism. GTV, Guyana has the second largest journalistic workforce with 21 full-time journalists employed, followed by TV6 in Trinidad (19 journalists) and ABS in Antigua (17 journalists). Of the small stations, GBN, Grenada has the largest journalistic workforce with 10 journalists, followed by St. Vincent with 7, then VCT and Prime in Guyana and Marpin, Dominica with 6 journalists each. Table 3.1 also indicates that in 2002, a total of 50 persons were working as full time journalists in the eight small TV stations, whilst a total of 140 persons were employed full time in the eight large TV stations.

<i>Table 3.2: Full Time Journalistic Staff in Caribbean Television by Station Group and Gender</i>					
<i>Size</i>	<i># of Men</i>	<i>% of Total</i>	<i># of women</i>	<i>% of Total</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Large</i>	71	51	69	49	140
<i>Small</i>	18	36	32	64	50
<i>Total</i>	<i>89</i>	<i>47</i>	<i>101</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>190</i>

Table 3.2 reveals that there was a total of 190 persons employed in Caribbean Television in 2002; 89 of whom were males and 101 were females. The males

represent 47% of the total number of journalists whilst the females make up 53% of the total number of journalists in Caribbean TV. In the break-down by groups, we find that in the large stations the numbers of males and females are almost equal, 71 males or 51% of large stations' personnel and 69 women or 49% of the total of 140 journalists. In the small stations, females outnumber males almost two to one. Thirty-two out of 50 journalists in small stations were females, representing 64% of journalists in small stations; whilst 18 out of 50 journalists were males; translating to 36% of the total.

<p>Table 3.3 <i>Full Time Journalistic Staff in Caribbean and Canadian TV stations</i></p>				
Gender	<i>Caribbean Television Staff (2002)</i>		<i>Canadian Television Staff (1995)</i> (Robinson and Saint-Jean, 1997:15)	
	<i>Total #</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Total #</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Men</i>	89	47	819	63
<i>Women</i>	101	53	486	37
<i>Total</i>	190	100	1305	100

Table 3.3 compares the Caribbean journalistic workforce with the Canadian journalistic workforce breaking it down by gender. This table reveals that the Caribbean television stations have a larger percentage of females (53%) in the workforce than their Canadian counterparts (37%). In 2002, not quite half (47%) of the Caribbean journalistic workforce were males, as compared to Canada's overwhelming two-thirds (63%) of the journalistic workforce. Gender distribution within the

Caribbean is thus virtually balanced with only five to six percentage points difference between the total female and male labour pool. The difference in the Canadian journalistic workforce is a 30% spread between males and females. It must be noted that the figures for the Canadian workforce represent a 1995 survey and may be somewhat higher in 2002, though media concentration has closed small stations.

<div>Table 3.4</div> <div>Proportional Representation of Caribbean Female TV Journalists</div> <div>by Station Group and Country</div>							
Large Stations				Small Stations			
Station	# F	Total	%	Station	# F	Total	%
ABS, Antigua	12	17	71	GBN, Grenada	8	10	80
CBC, Barbados				GBP, Belize	4	5	80
CVM, Jamaica	4	16	25	HTS, St. Lucia	2	5	40
GTV, Guyana	3	14	21	Marpin, Dominica	3	6	50
NBN, Trinidad	13	21	62	Prime, Guyana	4	6	67
TVJ, Jamaica	7	11	64	SVG, St. Vincent	5	7	71
TV6, Trinidad	7	11	64	VCT, Guyana	3	6	50
ZNS, Bahamas	4	19	21	ZIZ, St. Kitts	3	5	60
	19	31	61				

Table 3.4 indicates that women had the best chances of employment in small stations in small markets. Grenada and Belize rank at the top with 80% of their journalistic workforce being women; followed closely by St. Vincent with 71% and Antigua from the large group with 71% of their journalists being women. All of the small stations, with the exception of St. Lucia employ 50% females or more than half of their journalists. This is not the case for the large stations. Five of the large stations, ABS,

Antigua, GTV Guyana, NBN, Trinidad, TVJ, Jamaica and ZNS, Bahamas employ over 60% female journalists. However three of the large stations provide some striking data: CBC, Barbados, CVM, Jamaica and TV6, Trinidad all have less than a quarter of their journalistic staff being female. CBC had 4 females out of 16 or 25%; CVM had 3 females out of 14 or 21% and TV6 had 4 females out of a total of 19 or 21%. These three countries represent pioneers, which had been in the vanguard of the independence and nationalist movements. They attained independence the earliest and have had longer traditions of parliamentary democracy. One reason which could be forwarded for this aberration from what appears to be the norm in the Caribbean of employing equal or more numbers of women; is the fact that as part of the early nationalist movement, these countries have also not fully given up their old authoritarian, paternalistic and traditionally male-centered approach to work.

Robinson (2004) in her study of women in the media in Europe, notes that many of the older democracies also exhibited similar tendencies as the "old boy's" networks and the oligarchs who were instrumental in the nationalist movement kept their own sex-based and gender-skewed networks in tact and were slow to relinquish power to women. If this is the case in these three territories, then the question may be asked why does the Bahamas with the longest tradition of broadcasting not fall into this group? The Bahamas with nearly two-thirds (61%) of its journalistic workforce being women provides a stark contrast to CVM, Jamaica, CBC, Barbados and TV6 Trinidad. This researcher proffers the view that the geographical and socio-economic proximity of the Bahamas to the United States may have influenced their equity traditions and their preference for more democratic and gender-neutral organizations.

The Bahamas is 500 miles/800 km from the south east coast of Florida and as was suggested in Chapter II; Bahamians tend to adopt and adapt a more North American lifestyle and culture than the rest of the Caribbean countries; and many consider themselves more "American" than "Caribbean." It must be noted too that the Bahamas has the best rating of all Caribbean countries by Freedom House for freedom of the press, with a score of 8F. This score is even superior to Canada with 16F; the USA 16F and the UK 18F. It is likely therefore that with perhaps the most Libertarian form of media in the region, the Bahamas would also put in place organizational equity policies which reflect this thrust.

<p align="center">Table 3.5 <i>Type of Ownership of Caribbean TV Stations by Group N= 16</i></p>			
<i>Type of Ownership</i>	<i>Large</i>	<i>Small</i>	<i>Combined % of total</i>
Government owned	3	0	19
Independent/Private	1	6	44
Corporation/Statutory body	3	2	31
Public Company/Group owned	1	0	6
Total	8	8	100

Table 3.5 indicates that in 2002, 44% of television stations were privately owned or independent. This percentage represents 7 of the 16 TV stations; and the important point to be made is that 6 of those 7 stations are from the small group. Thirty-one percent of the stations are statutory bodies or corporations and 19% are still government owned. A distinction must be made here about statutory bodies in the Caribbean. They are unlike statutory boards which operate in Canada and the US

where there is an arms-length approach by government and the boards are relatively independent. In the Caribbean, the norm has been for governments to fill statutory boards with political party appointees and individuals who are viewed as pliable and willing to toe the official government/party line on crucial matters. Therefore the composition of these boards reflect the same or similar governing principles outwardly and organizationally, as those officially run by the respective Ministries of Information.

Having said that, it is logical to conclude that if we combine the figures of the statutory corporations (31%) and the government owned organizations (19%); that 50% or half of the stations have close affiliation to the governments of the Caribbean. Similarly, if we combine the total of private stations (44%) and public or group owned stations (6%) it is logical to conclude that 50% or half of Caribbean TV stations are privately owned and independent. One caveat must be forwarded in that 'independent' from government does not necessarily mean that the station is independent from the influence of big business or from the pressures which governments may be able to bring to bear on these organizations. Some private TV stations have been known to align themselves to one or the other political party or to the government in power.

It is significant that the smaller stations which were created in the 1980s and 90s are the private ones; which were established during the nationalist era and during the period when debates about freedom of the press and the global flow of information in the New World Information and Communication Order were at their peak. Governments were beginning to relax their hold on the communication processes and began granting licenses to private sector interests which allowed for a greater number

of women and men to be employed. It is significant that in these private stations, the women employed outnumber the men, (as indicated in Table 3.22: 18 men; 32 women or 64% of all staff).

I. The Professional Status of Female and Male staff

Status in the media can be defined in two ways, "either professionally through the kinds of news one covers, or hierarchically through the positions one occupies in the organization" (Robinson and Saint-Jean, 1997:7). In assessing the professional status of Caribbean male and female journalists, we begin first with their positions in the organizations. Tables 3.6, 3.7 and 3.8 indicate the proportion of women to men occupying a range of positions within the journalistic hierarchy. Utilizing the categories which the Robinson and Saint-Jean (1997) Canadian study used, we surveyed the seven most common positions in the newsroom, ranging from researchers/ documentalists which is classified at the bottom rung of the ladder or the beginning stages of the journalistic career; to Chief Editors, Executive Producers and Information Directors considered to be the top rungs in senior management.

Table 3.6 indicates that in large TV stations in 2002, all the positions at the bottom tier of the ladder were filled by females. One hundred percent or 8 women held positions as Researchers and Documentalists. There were no male researchers and documentalists. On the next tier, the personnel was still overwhelmingly female, fifteen of the 17 News Writers were female, constituting 88% of the personnel in this rank; only two were male. It is only at the third level of the hierarchy that the female/male ratio is more equal. Here 32 out of the total 60 reporters are female

Table 3.6 Position Distribution of TV Journalists by Gender (Large Stations) N=140				
Position	Women		Men	
	N#	%	N#	%
Bottom range				
Researchers & Documentalists	8	100	0	0
News Writers	15	88	2	14
Reporters (On Air)	32	54	27	47
Correspondents	5	50	5	50
Middle range				
Heads of Div.; Assign. Editors, Asst. Prod., Asst. Directors	4	21	15	79
Producers & Directors	4	25	12	75
Top range				
Chief Editors; Executive Producers & Info. Directors	1	10	10	91

(53%) and 28 are male (47%). The Correspondents category also achieved equal status, in that 50% of the Correspondents employed in large stations were women and 50% were men. It must be noted here that in many of the stations journalists double up as News Writers, Correspondents and On air Reporters. Very often the On Air Reporter is the News Writer of the story she/he presents. As we move further up the ladder, there is a significant drop in the number of women in middle management and senior management positions. In the positions of Heads of Division, Assignment Editors, Assistant Producers and Assistant Directors, four out of 19 journalists or 21% were women. The men represented 15 of the 19 individuals in those positions or

79% of the total. The situation is quite similar with Producers and Directors, where females represent a mere 25% of persons in those positions. Like the statistics for Canada and most of the globe, the very top of the ladder is virtually shut off for women as they hold 10% of Chief Editor, Executive Producer and Information Director positions; whilst the men hold 90% of those positions.

<p align="center">Table 3.7 Position Distribution of TV Journalists by Gender (Small Stations) N=50</p>				
Position	Women		Men	
	#N	%	#N	%
Researchers & Documentalists	4	80	1	20
News Writers	3	75	1	25
Reporters (On Air)	20	83	4	17
Correspondents	0	-	-	-
Heads of Div.; Assign. Editors, Asst. Prod., Asst. Directors	1	25	3	75
Producers & Directors	2	40	3	60
Chief Editors; Exec Producers & Info. Directors	2	25	6	75

Table 3.7 shows the positions of women in small stations. Here the situation for women is quite similar; however women stand a better chance of moving into middle management positions than in the large stations. In the Producers and Directors jobs one rung below the Chief Editors, Executive Producers and Information Directors; women hold 40% of the positions and men 60%. There are also a greater number of women in the top positions: Chief Editors, Executive Producers and Information Directors as women hold 25% of those jobs and men 75%.

As is the case in large stations, there is a large concentration of women at the bottom of the hierarchy with 80% of the Researchers and Documentalists positions held by females; and 75% of the News Writers being females. Interestingly, the middle level positions of Heads of Divisions; Assignment Editors and Assistant Producers and Directors offer women, who constitute one quarter (25%), the same chances of promotion as in large stations. The position where women really stand out in the small stations is that of On air Reporter where they hold 83% of all positions to the males' 17%. Clearly there is a major discrepancy between *visual presence and power* in the hierarchy. This researcher characterizes this phenomenon as a form of window-dressing which gives a *false symbolic representation* of the true situation of women in broadcasting in the Caribbean. By trotting out women on Television, visually in this domain it gives the appearance that women are well represented in the top echelons of the profession; when this is clearly not the case as is evident in Table 3.6 in positions such as Chief Editors, Executive Producers and Information Directors. Anderson (1994:10) supports this view when she suggests that "news programmes have women presenters solely for decorative purposes...all women newsreaders are attractive and well presented, and very often younger than their male colleagues sitting behind the desk beside them."

Table 3.8						
<i>Proportional Distribution of Female TV Journalists by Outlet Size</i>						
<i>Position</i>	<i>Small TV Stations</i>			<i>Large TV Stations</i>		
	<i># of women</i>	<i>Total #</i>	<i>Prop. of women %</i>	<i># of women</i>	<i>Total #</i>	<i>Prop. of women %</i>
Researchers and Documentalists	4	5	80	8	8	100
News Writers	3	4	75	15	17	88
Reporters (On Air)	20	24	83	32	59	54
Correspondents	0	1	0	5	10	50
Head of Div.; Assign. Editors, Asst. Prods; Asst. Directors	1	4	25	4	19	21
Producers & Directors	2	5	40	4	16	25
Chief Editors; Exec Prods. & Info Directs.	2	8	25	1	11	9
Total	32	50	64	69	140	45

Table 3. 8 provides a more detailed picture of the effects of station size on female employment opportunities. The table demonstrates that women's promotional opportunities are better in small stations than in large ones. For instance where two out of five (40%) Producers and Directors in small stations are female; only four out of 16 (25%) producers and directors in large stations are female. Where 2 out of 8 (25%) Chief Editors, Information Directors and Executive producers in small stations are female; a mere one of 11 (9%) such positions are held by women in large stations. It is possible that the size of stations and the smaller resource pool from which talent can be drawn may have an impact on the greater opportunities for women in small outlets.

The evidence suggests that in 2002, Caribbean women began their climb into the media professions from a lower starting point on the labour ladder at the Researcher/Documentalist position, where 86% of the women started out. Men, however started out close to the middle as On Air Reporters. The most significant factor is that the bulk of the women in Caribbean media are concentrated in low paying, low prestige jobs such as Researchers, Documentalists and News Writers. As On Air Reporters and Correspondents, females have good proportional representation but as they move up the hierarchical ladder women become fewer and fewer, representing 23% of the Heads of Divisions, Assignment Editors, Assistant Producers and Assistant Directors; 29% of Producers and Directors and 16 % at the Chief Editor, Executive Producer and Information Director position. The distribution of power numbers assigned to men in positions where there are no women in senior management is very similar to the distribution for men in positions having at least one woman, so having women in senior management does not necessarily alter men's power patterns.

Table 3.9 presents comparative data on the position of women in Caribbean and Canadian Television. There are some striking similarities. Most significant being the almost equal number of women who hold Chief Editor and Executive Producer positions, in the Caribbean 16% and in Canada 18%. There is a significantly higher percentage of women employed as Producers and Directors in Canada (41%) compared to the Caribbean's 29%. There is a 6-7 percentage difference between Canada and the Caribbean at the level of Heads of Divisions; the Caribbean with 23% and Canada with 31%. The Caribbean has a higher proportion of women in the

Table 3.9 Position Distribution in Caribbean and Canadian TV stations				
Position	Caribbean women 2002		Canadian women, 1995 <i>Robinson and Saint-Jean, 1997:17</i>	
	N#	Prop. %	N#	Prop. %
News writers	18	86	24	34
Reporters	52	63	305	41
Correspondents	5	45	12	33
Heads of Divisions	5	23	49	31
Producers & Directors	6	29	79	41
Exec. Producers/Chief Eds.	3	16	17	18
Total	101		486	

"window dressing" positions of On Air reporters with 63% to Canada's 41%. Another important distinction between the Caribbean and Canadian broadcast stations is at the level of News Writers where there is a high percentage of women clustered in the Caribbean stations (86%). This is starkly not so in the Canadian stations where the proportion of women is 34%. It must be noted that the Saint-Jean and Robinson (1997) study did not include the positions of Researchers and Documentalists where most of the Caribbean women tend to proliferate and begin their journalism careers. For the top three levels (Executive Producer and Chief Editor, Producers and Directors and Heads of Divisions) the Canadian proportions are higher than the Caribbean situation whilst the women in the Caribbean have better representation in the bottom three levels (News Writer, Reporter and Correspondent). As will be discussed in Chapter V, women in Canadian broadcasting have managed to move up into the middle level positions such as Producers and Directors, largely because of the

national equity legislation and broadcasting organizational policies provided under Canadian broadcasting laws; which are strictly enforced and to which Canadian TV stations adhere. Conversely, the lack of any organizational policies or legislation dealing specifically with gender equity in the Caribbean may be a major reason for the slow ascent of women into these positions.

II. Remuneration

<i>Table 3.10</i> <i>Comparative Mean Weekly salaries of Caribbean TV Journalists by</i> <i>Outlet Size and Position</i>		
<i>Position</i>	<i>Large- Over 10</i> <i>Journalists US\$</i>	<i>Small- Under 10</i> <i>Journalists US\$</i>
Researchers & Documentalists	Less than 300	Less than 300
News Writers	300-500	Less than 300
Reporters (On Air)	500-700	300-500
Correspondents	300-500	300-500
Heads of Div; Assign. Eds.; Asst. Prods. & Asst. Dir.	700-900	500-700
Producers & Directors	700-900	500-700
Chief Editors; Exec Producers & Info. Directors	1300-1500	500-700

From the Survey I questionnaires which were sent to and completed by the station managers in all the countries, we were able to ascertain the mean weekly salaries for the positions identified. The remuneration women and men receive for

work of equal value is perhaps the best indicator of professional progress. Table 3.10 gives a break-down of the weekly salaries of journalists according to their positions. It is here that one is better able to assess the magnitude of the discrimination against women and the degree of inequity in TV remuneration. There are great disparities in the salaries for large and small stations and this can be attributed to the economic milieu in which the organizations operate. The salaries in the Bahamas with a GDP of US\$11,317 cannot possibly be the same or similar to salaries in Guyana with a GDP of US\$680. So whereas in large stations, reporters earn US\$500 - 700 a week, this is the top salary for Chief Editors, Executive Producers and Information Directors in the small group. The Heads of Division, Assignment Editors; Assistant Producers and Assistant Directors in the large group earn a full \$200 more than those in the small group. This is also the case for Producers and Directors. The disparity is greatest however at the Chief Editor, Executive Producer and Information Director level where they earn \$1300-\$1500 in the large group compared to US\$500-\$700 in the small group.

It is also significant to note that the areas where the salaries are lowest are in the positions where women are concentrated and vice versa; positions where men are concentrated command the highest pay. So that in positions such as Researchers and Documentalists, News Writers, Reporters and Correspondents where the majority of Caribbean women journalists work, they earn between US\$300 to 500 dollars, with the exception of Reporters in the large group who earn US\$500 to \$700. The only place where women and men earn equitable salaries is on the lower rungs of the media ladder; where males are however least represented. Because there are so few

women at the top rungs, the median pay, where 50% of the personnel are above and below the value, are skewed against female personnel. It is noteworthy that the 1997 Robinson/Saint-Jean Canadian study has shown that although the "glass ceiling" had shifted up the occupational ladder in Canada, there were less than 7% females in the top positions of Managing Editor and Editor. It also indicated that there was "very slow movement toward salary equity for work of equal value, with women in editorial positions on average being paid \$0.81 for every \$1.00 earned by their Canadian male colleagues in spite of union contracts"(Robinson & Saint-Jean, 1996:5). The figures obtained from Survey II in which journalists were asked to give their salary ranges indicate that the Caribbean females in editorial positions on average earn \$0.69 for every \$1.00 earned by their Caribbean male colleagues. This underscores the further disparity in remuneration in a region riddled with broadcast institutions that have done little to redress the professional status of females.

III. Beats

A third broad area, outside of positions and salaries, to assess status in a news organization is through the beats a reporter covers. Reporters can be sub-divided into two categories: *generalists* who are assigned by editors to cover the news of the day and *beat* reporters or *specialists* who are assigned to either a geographic area, a particular topic or an institution (Gans, 1980; Fishman, 1980). From the first questionnaire completed by the Station Managers, most indicated that all reporters were required to cover local and regional news. In all the stations international news is taken from one of the American or British networks, NBC, CBS, ABC, CNN or the

BBC. None of the Caribbean stations can afford correspondents located in foreign countries so this is the major reason for utilizing the already packaged reports from major news agencies. In this study, to assess whether beat assignments were gender-typed, we utilized a 19 beat breakdown derived from Canadian (Robinson and Saint-Jean, 1997) and US (Bowman, 1974) investigations, adding some new ones which were not used by either study and leaving out others which were not relevant in the Caribbean context. The Station Managers were asked to assign each journalist to one of the 19 beats; and from this, I was able to ascertain what proportion of females and males cover a particular beat. Any beat with more than 50% male or female participation is designated as a gendered beat.

Table 3.11 records the proportion of females and males in the large and small groups of stations and the kinds of beats to which they are assigned. The picture is almost identical in both groups in that five beats are predominantly covered by men. They are (i) Government and Politics; (ii) Business and Finance; (iii) Economics and Consumer affairs; (iv) Sports; and (v) Weather. In the large stations however females stood a better chance of covering these male gendered beats than females in the small stations. Whereas in the small stations there were no females assigned to Government and politics, Economics and Consumer Affairs, Sports or Weather; in the large stations 20% of the women covered government and Politics; 25% covered economics and consumer affairs; 15 % covered sports and 20% covered the Weather. These figures are still too low for the females to make any significant impact on the beat or on the group.

Table 3.11						
Proportional Distribution of Caribbean TV Journalists by Gender and Beats						
Beats	Large Stations			Small Stations		
	# F	#M	Prop. F/M	#F	#M	Prop. F/M
Government and Politics	3	12	20/80	0	5	0/100
Business & Finance	0	9	0/100	0	3	0/100
Economics & Consumer Affairs	3	9	25/75	1	2	20/80
Agriculture	0	1	0/100	4	1	80/20
Health & Medicine	9	1	90/10	4	0	100/0
Science & Technology	0	4	0/100	1	1	50/50
Education	7	1	87/13	2	0	100/0
Social Welfare	5	0	100/0	3	0	100/0
Police & Courts	2	5	28/72	1	1	50/50
Personalities	8	0	100/0	4	0	100/0
Human Interest	9	0	100/0	4	0	100/0
Sports	3	16	15/85	0	2	0/100
Weather	2	8	20/80	0	2	0/100
Tourism	4	3	57/43	2	1	60/40
Fashion, cooking & Décor	11	0	100/0	4	0	100/0
Culture	3	2	60/40	2	0	100/0
Total	69	71	100	100	32	100

In the large stations the highest percentage of males (100%) covered Business and Finance, Agriculture and Science and Technology, whilst in the small stations the largest percentage of males (100%) covered Sports, Government and Politics, Business and Finance, Sports and Weather. These two areas are domains about which Caribbean men are passionate; and in their homes and societies these are seen as

male spheres. Women have made inroads into tourism, culture and education where they stand on par with their male counterparts; however this is only consistent in small stations. In large stations females are still not represented in the science and technology beat and just a little over quarter (28%) of females cover the Police and Courts beat. The fact that the females have been shut out of the prestigious science and technology, economics, government and politics, and sports beats, is indicative of the machismo still associated with these beats, particularly so in large stations.

Table 3.11 also shows that the seven most common beats predominantly covered by females in both large and small stations are (i) Fashion, Cooking and Decorating; (ii) Human Interest; (iii) Personalities; (iv) Health and Medicine, (v) Culture and (vi) Education and (vii) Social Welfare. In small stations all of the journalists (100%) who cover Health and Medicine, Education, Social welfare, Personalities, Human Interest, Fashion and cooking and Culture are female. In the large stations there are only four such beats where all the journalists are female; these are Social Welfare, Personalities, Human Interest and Fashion and Cooking. Women are confined to the soft beats largely because they carry less prestige, less opportunities for promotion and most importantly less remuneration.

Tourism had almost equal coverage from males and females in both large and small stations; 60% females and 40% males in small stations; and 57% females and 43% males in small stations. Although Tourism is seen as part of the service sector, and integral to the economic livelihood of most Caribbean countries, the subjects covered are not always viewed as "hard" news and may be the reason for so many women covering that beat. In Canada, Robinson and St. Jean (1997) record that males

were attracted to the "indirect benefits" in Tourism assignments, largely for the perquisites and opportunities such as free travel and hotel accommodation which the beat afforded. In small stations, two beats stand out as having 50:50 representation by male and female journalists. These are Police and Courts and Science and Technology. In contrast, there are no females covering Science and Technology in large stations; however 28% of females and 72% of males in large stations, cover Police and Courts. One of the reasons for the high numbers of females covering Police and Courts could be that many of the cases range from domestic disputes to maintenance rights, and sexual offenses; all of which are stereotypically regarded as being within the purview of female journalists.

Beat assignments in the Caribbean are clearly heavily gender-typed: women are segregated into 'soft news' beats such as fashion, cooking, personalities, human interest and health and men into 'hard news' beats such as Government, Politics, Economics and Science and Technology. In 2002, 6 of the 16 beats were predominantly male-gendered. These are: (i) Government and politics; (i) Business and Finance; (iii) Economics and Consumer Affairs; (iv) Science and Technology; (v) Sports and (vi) Weather. Seven beats were female-gendered: (i) Health and Medicine, (ii) Education, (iii) Social Welfare (iv) Personalities, (v) Human Interest, (vi) Fashion, Cooking and Décor; and (viii) Culture. Two beats were found to be degendered: Tourism and Police and Courts, however as shown in Table 3.11, whereas females in small stations have achieved equity in both these beats, males still dominate in this latter beat in large stations (72:28). Although women had a wider range of subject areas to cover, it is significant to note that the male-gendered beats

are considered the 'hard news' beats and the stories emanating from those beats would be the lead stories in the news presentations, which would get wider coverage, longer coverage in terms of air time and would likely have follow up stories in subsequent news packages. They can therefore be regarded as the more prestigious and influential beats. The question must be asked as to whether the beats which are female-gendered can be used as stepping stones or ladders to build women's professional careers. The answer: the male gendered beats are the ones which would carry sound-bites from heads of governments, top ranking officials, international and community leaders and information regarded as critical to the political and economic livelihood of the countries; therefore the reporters presenting such stories would stand a greater chance of interacting with management and business leaders; and of gaining the approval of management for their coverage.

It is most telling that of the seven female gendered beats, there are five low prestige female reporting 'ghettos'. One way of defining a 'ghetto' might be a *low prestige, low paying, low visibility* beat where 80-100% of reporters are of one gender. These can further be referred to as *double ghettos* since they symbolize that not only are women segregated from men but they are overwhelmingly separated and men are not even considered to be assigned such beats. The ghetto beats include Social Welfare (100% females, 0% males), Human Interest (100% females; 0% males); Fashion, Cooking and Décor (100% females; 0% males); and Health and Medicine (100% females; 0% males). Tourism and Police and Courts are the two other beats which are relatively mixed. Conversely, "*elite beats*" remain the exclusive domain of men; systematically excluding women's access to those beats. The elite

beats are Government and Politics (85% males; 15% females); Business and Finance (100% males; 0% females) Sports 85% males; 15% females); and Weather (83% males and 17% females). There is one beat (business and finance) where there are absolutely no women; while there are five beats where men do not wish to be assigned. The five beats are: Social Welfare, Personalities, Human Interest, Fashion, Cooking and Décor and Culture. Research has shown that the most consistently undervalued jobs are those characterized as "women's jobs" particularly where "a gendered job was one which capitalizes on the qualities and capabilities a women gained by virtue of having lived her life as a woman" (Davies and Roser, 1986a:25).

In comparing the Caribbean scenario with Canada, Robinson & Saint-Jean (1997) have shown that gender acts as a marker in beat assignments, though to a lesser extent than was the case twenty years ago. In Canada, they found that women covered "the less prestigious domains of Education, the Environment and Entertainment, rather than the more important news topics of Economics and International relations which begin the news program" (Robinson, 1997:5).

Have the most prestigious beats been dominated by men with male bosses active contrivance? How has the gendered beat system been perpetuated and allowed to flourish? Reskin and Roos (1990) have argued that male workers' monopoly over the most desirable positions stem from a tacit coalition with male employers. Gender solidarity and loyalty, they suggest, is likely among bosses who share a similar background with their male workers, who previously held those male jobs at risk of integration, and who currently work alongside their former coworkers. In addition, employers and managers have a personal stake in excluding women from jobs that are

labeled as male because sex differentiation maintains sex stratification (Reskin, 1988), or because women in lower-level male jobs might eventually threaten those of the males higher in the hierarchy.

Table 3.12 <i>Presence of Collective Agreements and Equity policy</i> <i>by Group and Outlet Size</i>						
<i>Outlet Size</i>	<i>Collective Agreement/ Union</i>			<i>Pay Equity Organizational Policy</i>		
	<i>#No. with</i>	<i>Total #No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>#No. with</i>	<i>Total #No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Large	5	8	63	7	8	86
Small	2	8	25	6	8	75
Total	7	16	44	13	16	81

Although normally a sensitive issue, we were able to get useful information on unionized versus non-unionized television stations. As Table 3.12 indicates, of the large stations 63% (5 out of 8 stations) were unionized and were bound by collective agreements. Of the 8 large stations 7 claimed to have organization policies with regard to job equity. This represents 86 % of those stations. These figures are lower for small stations. Only 2 of the 8 small stations (25%) were unionized; however 6 out of 8 or 75% claimed to have organizational policies regarding job equity. Despite these claims, this researcher is yet to see a written organizational policy from any of the stations. Some station managers explained that salaries were based on the grade of the reporter; on a system of meritocracy, or on the civil service scales. Unions in the Caribbean are often not welcome in arbitrating for employees and can often lead to

divisive relations with management. Many of the broadcast workers have not organized themselves formally, it is therefore not surprising that so few unions exist; and workers are thus left to the whims of management to work in their interest.

B. The Gendering of Caribbean Television: How and Why

Attempts at analyzing the gendering of professions is comparatively recent (Ferguson, 1984; Acker, 1990; Mills and Tancred, 1992; Tancred-Sheriff and Campbell, 1992). According to Acker, a major reason for this is that despite feminist recognition that hierarchical organizations are an important location of male dominance, most feminist writing about organizations have assumed that organizational structure was gender neutral. Such neutrality is given expression in what she terms as "organizational logic" which refer to the underlying assumptions and practices that construct most contemporary work organizations. Four interacting sets of processes are identified which form part of the 'same reality' (Acker, 1990). These are (i) the construction of gender divisions among men and women, with men almost always in the highest positions of organizational power; (ii) the construction of symbols and images that explain, express, reinforce or sometimes oppose those divisions such as language, dress and media image; (iii) interactions among and between women and men; and (iv) the gendered components of individual identity and presentation of self, described as "the internal mental work of individuals" as they consciously construct their own conceptualization of the organization's gendered structures, including persona and the demands for gender-appropriate behaviour and attitudes.

A fundamental gendered substructure (Mills and Tancred, 1992) characterizes the broadcast organizations of the Caribbean, thus creating and reproducing horizontal and vertical segregation by gender within these organizations. This results in a complex process described by Padmore and Spencer (1986) whereby females (and males) may 'prefer' and/or be 'pressured' into working within specific occupations/beats within the various news rooms. MacEwen Scott, (1994) and Sinclair (1991) argue that gender segmentation has proved to be one of the most profound dimensions of labour market inequality and the most enduring. Occupational segregation by sex has proven that the labour market is not a gender neutral context into which females and males are integrated, rather it is "permeated by an implicit gender ideology activated through the practices of management, unions, male workers and women themselves" (Sinclair, 1991:11). Females are not judged and rewarded based on their capacities to perform but the policies, beliefs and norms of the largely male-dominated organizational hierarchy which dictate their positions, beats and pay. The Barbadian Head of News and Current Affairs who said "we can't afford to have our women out in the hot sun covering a football or cricket match," clearly has a generalized stereotype of what women can or cannot do; and therefore enforces this type of gendered practice in his beat assignments.

Assumptions about innate difference between the sexes are also crucial to shaping the structural milieu for females and males in organizations. In the Caribbean, as in North America and Western Europe, females are still regarded as innately less rational and more emotional, a view that has been used to justify excluding them from positions of authority. In addition, Reskin and Hartman (1986) argue that females

have variously been thought to lack aggressiveness, strength, endurance and a capacity for abstract thought; and to possess more tolerance for tedium and natural morality than males. This accounts for the high numbers of females in Table 3.11 assigned to Social Welfare, Health and Medicine and Human Interest beats and the 'more serious, less emotive' beats such as the Economy and Government being assigned to males.

The social expectations that women should uphold moral standards and care about the needy, perhaps because of their innate nurturance, limit their occupational opportunities; and therefore almost serve as a passport to such gendered beats as Health and Medicine, Education, Social Welfare and Human Interest. Conversely men's lack of emotionality, rationality and tough mindedness qualify them in the newsroom managers' minds for higher-level positions and beats such as Politics, Economics, and Business and Finance. Therefore it is patently clear that despite women's increasing participation in the journalism profession, many of the traditional sex stereotypes which lead to occupational segregation and beliefs about women's innate traits and their natural roles, persist in Caribbean society and media institutions. Goode (1956) suggests that in its bid for respect from the larger society, the professional community must justify each provision in its code of ethics or etiquette by invoking ethical notions that are also accepted by the larger society, even when certain provisions seem to the lay eye at least potentially exploitative.

I. Sex labels and sex-role socialization

Oppenheimer (1968) has argued that the individual decisions of workers and employers are reinforced by historical processes through which most occupations

have come to be labeled as women's work or men's work; and hence reserved for members of the appropriate sex. She contends that sex labeling reflects employers' beliefs that certain occupations required attributes that were characteristic of one sex or the other. For women, there was the additional assumption that certain types of work represented an extension of the domestic sphere.

The division of beat assignments in the Caribbean can rightfully be said to be sex-labeled as women are streamed into domesticated, nurturing beats such as Cooking, Fashion, Social Welfare, and Health; whilst men are assigned such beats as Sports, Weather, Government Politics and Economics. The related concept of sex-typing implies "both that an occupation employs a disproportionate number of workers of one sex and the normative expectation that this is as it should be" (Merton, in Epstein, 1970:152). Occupations that have been defined as male often provide an inhospitable context for women; and women who enter them in violation of their sex labels are regarded as deviant and may face suspicion regarding their motives, hostility, or other sanctions (Reskin & Hartmann, 1986). Men who are unaccustomed to working with women may be uncertain about how to behave. Kanter (1977) states that when work groups are integrated, gender becomes salient for the male occupants, who may subject the women to remarks calculated to "put them in their place" by emphasizing their deviant gender status. These may take the form of profanity, off-color jokes, anecdotes about their own sexual prowess, gossip about the women's personal lives and un-warranted intimacy toward them (Kanter, 1977; Martin, 1980).

There are a number of formal structures which would point to some of the institutionalized barriers in the workplace. For example the personnel practices, job

descriptions, mobility ladders and the organization of tasks. These institutional barriers according to Reskin and Hartmann (1986) may have had their origin in prejudice or may be the by-products of administrative rules and procedures that were established for other reasons (such as seniority systems). However once they are incorporated in an organization's structure they persist regardless of the lack of any discriminatory intent.

These barriers may stem from sex-role socialization, which in my estimation is the case in the Caribbean. The life-long process through which expectations about how each gender should behave are transmitted through Caribbean families, the educational systems and the very mass media in which individuals work. Sex role socialization has generated the sex-typical occupational outcomes in the media organizations in two ways:

- a) directly by creating sex-typed occupational aspirations; and
- b) indirectly by developing in females and males tastes and characteristics that are compatible with occupations that have been labeled appropriate for their sex.

It would be interesting to find out how many of the women who have been streamed into ghetto beats or who have watched their male counterparts rise to managerial positions have actually questioned the inequities of the media institutions in which they work. My rationale for placing much of the culpability on the Caribbean socialization systems stems from the fact that the acquisition of gender identity is the result of a process of individual and collective interaction with culture. Recent research on the environments of children and youth in the Caribbean has revealed significant findings about the underlying beliefs of the persons who provide them with

care and the attitudes, values, and behaviours to which they are exposed. A 1995 study¹ conducted by Janet Brown of the Caribbean Child Development Centre and Barry Chevannes of the Department of Sociology and Social Work of the University of the West Indies, explored the processes relating to the origins and expressions of gender related behavior; and their findings are significant to underscore my own views about Caribbean socialization.

The study found that the division of socialization and labour in the Caribbean along gender lines is rooted in strong beliefs about masculinity and femininity, manhood and womanhood; based to some extent on religious teachings as well as on traditional cultural values. As was previously alluded to in Chapter I, Brown and Chevannes (1995) reveal expressions, recorded in the Caribbean vernacular, about male/female roles in society, and the assertion of male supremacy and dominance which suggest biological determinism: "a man is tough", "he is the provider, the head of the house" are supported by statements such as "God made us to control the world, animals, women, everybody"; "no woman can [be] brilliant like a man, because once you is a man you is king- a women is *only* a queen"; "a woman no suppose to be head a nutten, as long as man involve in a it- a so the earth set up." These kinds of remarks point to traditional values which help in the construction of concepts relating to manhood and womanhood and reflect the general Caribbean gender polarization and sex role stereotypes. Elsa Leo Rhynie suggests that gender polarization is also quite evident in attitudes to sexual behaviour. "Men are expected to take the initiative in

¹ This study was undertaken between 1993 and 1995 and was funded by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). Entitled "The Gender Socialization Project", it focussed on children and youth in three Caribbean countries: Dominica, Guyana and Jamaica.

sexual approaches and women are still treated as victims and/or property- subject to rape, abuse, violence and abandonment" (Leo-Rhynie,1998:243). Brown and Chevannes (1995) also report that both men and women consider that man/woman violence is deserved when a woman does not adequately fulfill her expected role in terms of domestic duties and sexual fidelity. There is the assertion, strongly supported that "uman fi get lik" (women are to be beaten) (Brown and Chevannes, 1995:42).

Through a process identification through the relationships they share with their parents in early childhood, the role models which are available for their observation and imitation, the active interaction and learning of various aspects of the cultural belief systems; these experiences are all powerful social and cultural forces which influence the gender identities which Caribbean youth and by extension, adults develop. Chodorow (1995) contends that social and cultural forces create gender ideologies which are internalized in psyches and that these psyches also produce social/cultural forces which create gender identity. These are taken into the workplace and in social interactions later on in life. Massiah (1978) also supports this view that the traditional attitudes toward women in the Caribbean as being that of "possession, object, non-worker, non-person are so entrenched and so unconscious that persons who determine their working conditions- male employers, male trade union officials, male government officers- do not recognize the discrimination that they are in fact exercising and change therefore will not be achieved" (Massiah, 1978; 7-8).

The status of women is one which is clearly culturally and traditionally determined in the Caribbean. However I hasten to add that this is not unique to the

Caribbean: it was not until mid October 1977, that, by a Court ruling all women in Switzerland were granted pay equal to men for doing the same job. In Canada it was not until after the Abella Commission in 1980 and the UN International Women's Year in 1985 that a significant gender agenda was initiated. Until very recently, the status of women in the Caribbean was also not a matter to which anyone paid very much attention or accorded very much priority. According to a 1977 Women in Development Report commissioned by CARICOM, women themselves, except in isolated and individual instances, seemed to acquiesce and accept their position; and there was no reason to examine the myths surrounding their perceived natural inferiority, need to be dominated; inability to handle business matters, to manage; to understand science and mathematics; to reason abstractly; to think logically; and to control their emotions (WID, report, 1977).

II. Theories to Discuss Caribbean Television Structure

One of the earliest models of organizations was the "masculine ethic" of rationality and reason identified in the early image of managers. This ethic elevated the traits assumed to belong to men with educational advantages to necessities for effective organizations. These traits included: a tough-minded approach to problems, analytic abilities to abstract and plan; a capacity to set aside personal, emotional considerations in the interests of task accomplishment; and a cognitive superiority in problem-solving and decision-making (Kanter, 1975).

Early organizational theory developed rationality as the central theme of formal organizations and hierarchy as the pivotal structural principle. According to

Kanter, "organizations were considered tools for generating rational decisions and plans; and the effectiveness of the organization was seen to lie in the efforts of management to design the best way for individuals to fit together in an overall scheme"(1975:44). In the rational model, the design of the organization was oriented towards, and assumed to be capable of suppressing irrationality, personality and emotionality, and people who had these "unfortunate characteristics were devalued and kept from influencing the otherwise flawless machine" (Kanter, 1975:45).

The human relations model of the 1930s and 40s emanating from the Harvard Business School emphasized the importance of informal relations among workers for maximum productivity. It began to include the emotional, non-rational and sentimental aspects of human behaviour in organizations, and the ties and loyalties that affected workers. The human relations model assumed that people were motivated by social as well as economic rewards and that their behavior and attitudes were a function of group membership. The model emphasized the roles of participation, communication patterns and leadership style in effecting organizational outcomes (Kanter, 1975). The irony of this model however is that though it introduced "non-rational elements into the organizational behaviour, in practice it turned out to support the rational bias of the formal system.

Kanter points out that even though the human relations school's metaphor was the family rather than the machine of classical models, the organization in the human relations model was still thought to require a rational controller at its head. A consequence of this perspective was a simplified version which saw the successful manager as the *man* who could control his emotions, whereas workers could not

(Kanter, 1975). Both the early rational and human relations models supported the "masculine ethic" viewpoint which translated into nearly exclusive occupancy of the careers in management and administration by men. The focus on managerial rationality justifies the absence of women (the bearers of emotion) from power. A more eclectic and integrated model which examines the structural issues in organizations and their consequences for behaviour is the structuralist perspective theory.

A structuralist perspective views the organization as a large complex social unit in which many groups interact. These groups are defined both by their formal and informal connections and differentiations. The relative number and power of such organizational groupings, their tasks and the ways in which they come into contact shape the nature of the organization (Kanter, 1975). Individuals are viewed as members of groups outside as well as inside of the organization, which both help to place them within the organization, give them status, define their involvement with it and may or may not articulate with the organization's interests.

Doeringer and Piore's (1971) concept of an "internal labour market" fits into this structuralist model, in that when women enter an organization, they are placed not only in jobs but in an opportunity structure. Internal allocation of personnel is governed by hiring, promotion and layoff rules within each structure as well as by "suitability" as defined by the customs of each separate workplace. Doeringer and Piore suggest that women participate in a different labour market than men, even within the same organization. "Their typical jobs in the office carry with them not only sex-role demands but also placement in a class and hierarchy that itself limits

mobility into positions of power" (1971:5). Women are therefore part of a class rewarded for routine service, while men compose a class rewarded for decision-making rationality and visible leadership. Sex therefore becomes an important variable affecting the lives of groups, given the significant differences in the positions and power of women and men in society and in organizations.

If we were to assess the Caribbean scenario based on these three models, one would conclude that the structural framework of most TV stations fit neatly into all three models, that of the rational, human relations and the structural models. All appear to be male-centered and derive from the "masculine ethic" which pervades the newsrooms of the region. The fact that in small stations where women outnumber men almost 2:1, but yet hold less prestigious positions; are assigned to less prominent and influential "hard news" beats; and command lower salaries, are indicative of the "masculine ethic" of all three models. It is also quite pronounced in large stations where there are almost equal numbers of men to women; and yet women have been marginalized into covering the soft news, feminine beats with alarming regularity, shut out from covering the high profile beats such as Government and Politics, Economics, Business and Finance, Sports and Weather. These areas are the quintessential substance of life in the Caribbean; all other beats with the exception of Education and Tourism being merely peripheral areas.

D. Conclusion

This chapter has shown empirically and conclusively that even though there is relative equality in terms of the numbers of women in news organizations in the Caribbean, and in the case of small stations women even outnumber men; that through the positions which women hold, the kinds of beats they cover and the level of remuneration they command, women face a wide range of formidable structural barriers to upward mobility. There is firmly in place a structural system of inequity in the journalism profession in all Caribbean television stations.

Ledwith and Colgan (1996) suggest that the strategies women develop to survive and progress in gendered organizational life will depend in the first instance on their consciousness and awareness of gender politics within the organization. The degree to which Caribbean women accept, conform to or challenge gendered patterns of occupational segregation and gender politics within their organizations "will depend on a balance between their consciousness of discrimination and career barriers; their reading of organizational politics and their willingness to adopt individualist, collectivist and/or separatist strategies"(Ledwith and Colgan,1996:23).

The data provide some support for an interpretation linking women's access to power roles to structural characteristics of Television organizations. The fact that only 16% of the top newsroom bosses are female means that women in the Caribbean lack control over content, policy, money and direction. Men determine what is news and define how it is reported. In short the news in the Caribbean pass through a male filter.

Women outnumber men in the newsroom in three places: on the bottom rungs

of the position ladder as Researchers and Documentalists (88%); News-Writers (86%) and On Air Reporters (63%). This evidence supports the Canadian data that "power and prestige are distributed unevenly in the working world and that even when women have risen to the top managerial positions, the power and responsibilities inherent in their jobs become redefined" (Robinson and Saint-Jean, 1997:6).

The evidence also shows that while some women hold traditionally male positions and cover traditionally male beats, this is not the norm. Women and men both tend to be segregated into same sex ghettos. Women cover "women's beats" or "soft news"; while men cover high profile prestigious "hard news" stories which are often the leads of the news packages. This clearly shows that the place for women in the Caribbean newsroom in 2002 generally mirrors those jobs which historically were in the home: caretaker, not decision maker.

This Chapter has also proven that women suffer from a severed "pay and power gap" (Warren, 1989). Women in the Caribbean hold about 23% of mid-level management positions therefore confirming Wilson's (1988) view that this "contradicts the premise that large numbers of women are far enough up the career ladder that they are ready to break through to the top." It is in fact tantamount to "symbolic annihilation" (Tuchman, 1978) as men determine what constitutes news. At the top men continue to rule. Women constitute 16% of Chief Editors, Executive Producers and information directors; men 84%. The words of Jean Gaddy Wilson ring true: "as long as men manage message machines, we get only a partial picture of what is there." It follows that the ways in which women are presented and under-represented in the television newscasts will strongly affect the attitudes of people,

including women, about women's place, role and function in Caribbean society.

I am suggesting that along with some of the evidence in Chapter II on the socio-economic history, we must consider the position of women in the organizational structure of Caribbean TV not only in the context of male-female social power relations, but also within the context of the historic marginality of women to the system and structure of economic power and the management of that power. The rationale for postulating this is based on the following: the Caribbean female population is estimated at 51% of the total adult population (Caricom, 1999). Despite this however, the positions of leadership within major political parties, the trade unions, the security forces (police and military) the civil service and major economic industrial and financial sectors are held by men (Gordon, 1981).

I have noted elsewhere that the management committee, which is the policy making body within the Caribbean Broadcasting Union, which comprises 24 broadcasting organizations from 16 countries, reaching an audience population of over 5.8 million; does not include a woman. Neither does the governing board of the 35-member Caribbean Publishers and Broadcasters' Association. Gordon (1989) referred to Caribbean women as "the invisible majority" and this is borne out fulsomely in this chapter with the diminished influence impact and command of pay and prestige of Caribbean media women.

Most importantly we have linked the structural and human barriers to the prevailing patriarchal and traditional views which pervade Caribbean societies. These include notions about women's social role as primarily that of wife and mother in charge of family needs and child rearing. Men's social role is seen as being "the boss"

and the provider. These one dimensional roles are ultimately transmitted into the workplace and circumscribe women's pay, the beats they are assigned and their job ladders.

Chapter IV

A. The Social Profile of Caribbean Media Professionals

Theorists have argued that feminism embodies two simultaneous processes: a consciousness of the subordinate position in which women are viewed in society; and the actions which those who regard themselves as feminists take to redefine this unequal position. In assessing these processes, one must of necessity probe the gender systems of the societies to determine the social roles assigned to men and women, the cultural definition of masculinity and femininity; the sexual division of labour within organizations, the rules regarding marriage and kinship behaviour between the sexes; the social significance of women's identification with the family; and women's position relative to men in economic life.

North American feminists have long promulgated the view that gender operates on three distinct levels, which are interconnected in myriad ways. Gender functions as a classificatory system, as a structuring structure and as an ideology. As a classificatory system, it has been found that "women and men prepare for and negotiate traditionally male-dominated professional settings, such as journalism" (Robinson & St. Jean, 1997) in different ways. Women are still perceived as "different" despite the increase in participation rates in the profession.

Their unequal status in organizations place them into a "dominant/subordinate" cast system, giving distinctly different types of interpersonal relations to their male counterparts. As was discussed in Chapter III; beat specialization, job ghettos, wide variations in salaries and the "glass ceiling" are testimony of gender functioning as a classificatory system.

This chapter offers a full discussion and analysis of the complex relationships between ideology, structure and classification, the realities of gender and culture within the process of Caribbean media development. It also examines the social level of women and men in Caribbean television, analyzing such factors as age, marital status, and educational difference. It also probes female and male professional outlooks, their different conceptions about media roles and professional practices in democratic societies; and ultimately it attempts to make broad comparisons between small and large outlets as well as make cross comparisons with Caribbean and Canadian data obtained from the Robinson and Saint-Jean (1997) study of Canadian journalists.

The data in this chapter was obtained from a total sample of female and male journalists working in television stations in 13 English-speaking Caribbean countries. In March 2002 a comparative questionnaire was sent to all the journalists working in Caribbean newsrooms based on the numbers obtained from the Station Managers in Survey I. In four of the countries, (Antigua and Barbuda, St. Kitts and Nevis, Trinidad and Tobago, and Guyana) the questionnaires were administered in a formal interview format and the responses recorded. This researcher was therefore able to obtain qualifying asides and nuances relevant in enriching the texture of the data.

Of the 190 questionnaires sent out, 137 were returned; for a response rate of 72%. Seventy nine of the respondents were women and 58 men. The response rate was higher in small stations (78%) with more than three quarters (39 of 50) journalists responding. The response rate in large stations was 70% (98 of 140) a

little less than three quarters of the journalistic staff. The 20-page, 60-item questionnaire used in this phase had five sections. The first section dealt with respondents' demographic data (age, marital status, ethnicity etc.) and career path. The second section assessed professional conceptions, values, roles and ethics. The third section examined professional ideals; the fourth looked at the working environment and the fifth obtained respondents' evaluation of the progress of Caribbean women journalists over the last two and a half decades.

I. Profile of Respondents

Table 4. 1									
<i>Age of Respondents by Outlet Size and Gender</i>									
Years	Large stations			Small stations			All Caribbean		
	W%	M%	Tot%	W%	M%	Tot%	W%	M%	Tot%
20-29	64	15	42	58	31	49	62	19	44
30-39	26	26	27	36	38	38	29	29	29
40-49	8	33	19	8	15	10	8	29	17
50-59	2	18	8	0	15	5	1	17	8
60-plus	0	4	2	0	0	0	0	3	1

The first factor worthy of note is that Caribbean female journalists like those in Canada, the US and in Europe are younger than their male colleagues averaging 29 years for women and 42 years for men. Table 4.1 demonstrates that because they were recruited later into the profession, a full 90% of women are under the age of 40, while only 48% of men are in that group. In all Caribbean stations, a mere 1% of

females are over 50 and there are no women in their sixties. Twenty-nine percent of males are between 40 and 49 years and 17% between 50 and 59 years. The figures are similar for small and large stations where a full 90% of females are between the ages 20-39 in small stations, compared with 41% of males within the ages 20-39. Sixty-four percent are under the age of 30. In large stations 94% are under 40 years compared with 41% of men. As in small stations, 58% of the females employed are under 30 years. The average years of experience for females is five years whilst the median male has on average 9 years' experience.

Table 4.2						
Comparative Age of Respondents by Gender for Canadian and Caribbean TV						
Years	Canada			Caribbean		
	<i>*(Robinson & Saint-Jean 1997)</i>			Women %	Men %	Totals %
	Women %	Men %	Totals %			
20-29	20	10	14	62	19	44
30-39	49	35	40	40	29	29
40-49	27	35	32	32	8	17
50-59	4	19	13	13	1	8
60 plus	0	1	1	1	0	1
Mean Age	36 years	41 years	39 years	29 Years	42 years	33 years
Median Age	34 years	40.5 years	38 years	26 years	40 years	35.5 years

Table 4.2 indicates that Caribbean female journalists are younger on average than their Canadian counterparts. Sixty-two percent of females in Caribbean stations are under 30 years compared to 20% in Canadian stations. Forty-nine

percent of Canadian females and 35% of males are under 40 years, compared to 29% of Caribbean female journalists and 29% of males. The figures are similar for both Canada and the Caribbean in the age category over 50 years; 4% of Canadian women are 50 years and over and 1% of Caribbean females; whilst 20 % of Canadian males fall into the 50 plus age group with an equal number (20%) of Caribbean males in the 50 plus age group. The average age of the Caribbean female journalist (29 yrs) is seven years younger than the average Canadian female (36 yrs), whilst the average age of the Canadian male (41 yrs) and Caribbean male (42 yrs) is separated by a year.

It is generally known in broadcasting that age is as likely as gender to disadvantage older women, and in many instances older women face discriminatory conduct on account of both age and sex. In an industry where youth and beauty are highly valued on camera, older women, but not men, are held to a standard of attractiveness equated with youth. In broadcasting, many women live with the "fear that they will not be allowed to *gray* on the air as their male counterparts do" (Hosley and Yamada, 1987: 19). This may well be the case in the Caribbean; as so few women remain in the profession beyond 40-45 years of age; so few have more than 20 years experience; and so many are clustered in the 20-29 age category.

The newsroom is a hectic and demanding place to work with long hours and severe time constraints; and women's ability to combine work and household duties impact on their ability to perform. Women in the Caribbean, like their Canadian and American counterparts are disproportionately assigned to childcare and housework within the home. In the newsroom, these disproportionate social expectations,

referred to as the "dual role strain" are evidenced in two sets of data: rates of marriage and total number of children.

Table 4.3			
<i>Number of children by Gender in all Caribbean TV stations</i>			
Number of children	Women %	Men %	Total %
No children	43	16	31
1 child	34	34	34
2 children	14	24	18
3 children and more	9	26	16

Childcare is a problem for women workers everywhere. In countries where specialized nurseries for small children are few or non-existent; and where they do exist, they are prohibitive in cost for many working women; children must be looked after at home by grandmothers, maids, aunts, neighbours and sometimes older children. When this help is not available women experience undue interference of child-care in their professional lives. Perhaps this is the reason why; as Table 4.3 demonstrated; 43% of all female journalists have no children, while only one-fifth of the males (20%) are childless. When journalistic personnel do have children, an equal number of women and men (34%) have one. However, the figures drop precipitously after that, vis-a-vis their male colleagues. Only 14% of females have 2 children in comparison to one third (33%) of the males; and only a minuscule 9% of females versus 26% of male professionals have three children. When comparing the Canadian and Caribbean situation, a higher percentage of Canadian women

(59%) are childless compared to Caribbean women (43%); whilst a higher percentage of Caribbean men (84%) have one or more children than Canadian men (69%).

One of the major reasons for this may be that in the Caribbean, child-bearing is worn as a badge of honour for both males and females in and out of wedlock; fertility is praised in women as a rite of passage to womanhood and fulfilling the reproductive function is crucial to Caribbean women who acquire status within their communities when they become mothers (Leo-Rhynie, 1998). Many women have their first child early in life so as to establish the fact of their fertility. Powell (1986) posits that 50 percent of Caribbean women have their first child while still an adolescent, and only about 25% of the children in the Caribbean were born into a married union. The other 75% grow up in family situations where there may be no resident male. Masculinity is firmly centered in virility (Barrow, 1998) and it is common for men to sire children with multiple partners, even while living in a common law relationship or a marriage. Caribbean men therefore tend to have more children than do Caribbean women; and by extension more than Canadian men.

Women sometimes encourage the double standard both at home and in the work place; for in the Caribbean many mothers try to curb their daughters' but not their sons' sexual activities. If there is a premarital pregnancy, in most cases it is the girl, not the boy, who is blamed for engaging in sexual intercourse and for failing to use contraceptives; and who is expected to assume social and economic responsibility for the child. The children of boys however are often cared for by the grandparents and not the boy who fathered the child. In many households children's

chores are still assigned in terms of gender rather than ability or interest or on a rotating basis (Leo Rhynie, 1998; Barrow, 1998).

Table 4.4						
<i>Number of Children by Outlet size and Gender</i>						
Number of children	Large Stations			Small stations		
	Women %	Men %	Totals %	Women %	Men %	Totals %
No children	45	11	30	38	31	36
1 child	32	38	35	38	23	33
2 children	13	24	18	15	23	18
3 children or more	9	27	17	8	23	13

Table 4.4 demonstrates that women in large stations were more likely to be childless (45%) than women in small stations (38%); however the figures are similar in both groups for women with one child; 32% in large stations and 38% in small outlets. A larger percentage of men in small stations tend to be childless (31%) compared to 11% in large stations. The percentages (24% and 23% respectively) are quite similar for men with two or more children in large and small outlets and the number of males with three or more children (27% in large stations and 23% in small stations) is three times that of women in both large and small outlets. Although men in 2003, are now more likely than in the past to assume a larger share of family and child-rearing responsibilities, women remain the primary caregivers in the home; therefore many working mothers must fulfill their family responsibilities while employed in a work environment designed by men with far fewer family

obligations.

Spain and Bianchi (1996) support the view that employed women and men face different dilemmas when juggling home and work responsibilities. They argue that women's family roles tend to intrude on their work roles, whereas men's work roles tend to intrude on their family time. For example when a child in day care becomes sick, the wife is more likely than the husband to leave work; however, when an overnight business trip is required, the husband is more likely than the wife to have the job that demands it (1996:171). Pleck (1985) concurs that husbands can "*take work home*" in ways that advance their careers, while taking "*home to work*" limits women's career development. For as long as men have fewer family responsibilities and women have many more, the potential exists for women to choose or accept lower occupational status and earnings, which in turn affect their bargaining positions within organizations.

A little more than a quarter (28%) of female Caribbean journalists are married or live in a common law union; while a little less than two thirds (60%) of men are married. This contrasts sharply with the Canadian data which indicates that two-thirds (65%) of female Canadian journalists are married or live with a partner while four fifths of men (81%) are married. In Wilhoit & Weaver's (1992) study of the American journalist, women were also less likely to be married (48%) than men (65%) and were much less likely to have children living with them (28%) than men (44%). This strengthens the point that in the Caribbean scenario women are entering the journalistic profession at a younger age, therefore not yet married and men are already settled in some form of union when they enter the profession at an older

more mature age.

<i>Table 4.5</i>		
<i>Respondents' Work Stoppage by Gender</i>		
Reasons for stoppage	Women %	Men%
Worked continuously	44	74
Birth of children	47	0
Studies/Professional Dev.	26	33
Family	18	3
Relocation/travel	4	34
Job loss	3	5
Spouse's projects	10	0

To reconcile professional and domestic life is a major challenge for any woman worker. It requires the woman not only to be well balanced but also to be able to plan flexibly in both areas, and have the skill to sift and channel the information needed to maintain operational control of two institutions: home and work. Table 4.5 demonstrates the ways in which women have to deal with family and career, indicating the extent of work interruptions. Almost three quarters of men (74%) worked continuously whilst only 44% of women did so. A stunning factor is given in the reasons for work stoppages; for women, the largest percentage (47%) of their interruptions were caused by the birth of a child. Men never interrupted their work for the birth of a child nor did they interrupt work for their spouse's projects. Ten percent of the work stoppages for females were caused by spouse's projects and 18% for family reasons compared to 3% for males. This is all the more

stunning because the larger percentage of males have one or more children and it begs the question that the wives or partners of these men are perhaps also taking time off from their jobs for childbirth and for family reasons.

The ^{ambunx} number of times which women take time off from work also underscores the scope of this problem. Nearly half (48%) of females took one to five times off, for 6 months or more duration; whilst only one quarter (24%) of males took time off 1 to 5 times of 6 months or more duration. While 11% of females took over six times off, only 3% of men took over six times off. Clearly, this domestic burden is very difficult for women, many of whom may be passed over for promotion opportunities while they are at home bearing children. Gallagher (1981) points to the fact that assumptions are often made about women's ability to cope after interruptions to work: "if women return to work quickly, it is assumed that their domestic responsibilities are too great for them to cope with the increased demands of a higher grade job. Even if they have no children and never intend to, there is a tendency for employers to pass them over on the assumption that they will soon be leaving" (Gallagher, 1981:94). Additionally, it is well documented (Kanter, 1978, Epstein, 1984, Gregory, 2003) that when women return to the workplace after a lapse of several months or years, they often discover that their employers perceive them differently from workers without career interruptions. These interruptions can therefore bear serious implications on women's promotability and ultimately access to higher echelons and higher salaries.

Benokraitis and Feagin (1986) further suggest that in the home, "many women experience guilt feelings because they are not living up to traditional sex

role expectations and they accept as inevitable the fact that "women bear the main brunt of child care and domestic organization," because this is what a woman's supposed to do"(Benokraitis and Feagin, 1986:210). They want to avoid conflict because "the wife perceives that her husband's preference is for her to stay at home when an infant is [sick], and they are anxious about current and prospective criticism from friends, peers and relatives that disengagement from domestic duties reflects a neglect of husband and childcare.

Table 4.6 <i>Respondents' level of Difficulty to reconcile work and family life by Gender and Age</i>			
Variable	Age	Women %	Men %
Easy/Relatively easy	20-39	28	43
	40-59	1	41
	60 plus	0	3
Difficult/Rel. Diffi.	20-39	62	3
	40-59	9	9
	60 plus	0	0

The public arena continues to be defined as 'male space' into which women do not move easily. The respondents' difficulty of reconciling work with family responsibilities is illustrated in Table 4.6. A far greater proportion of women (71%) had great difficulty in balancing work and home duties whilst a little more than one-tenth of the men (12%) expressed such difficulties. As expected younger men find it easier to reconcile work and home(43%) than younger women (28%). In the

Caribbean there are formal and informal socialization practices which underscore and maintain the sexual division of labour in the home and society. The practices make the life of married women or women with children, a precarious balancing act as the burden of home obligations and childcare arrangements are left squarely on women's shoulders.

Income generation is "integral to their identities as mothers; and their very survival and that of their children has always depended on their ability to juggle multiple roles at home and at work" (Reddock, 1998 xxxiii). What this demonstrates is that since men have traditionally relied on their wives to take on most child-rearing and other family responsibilities, they are able to structure a work environment that demands nearly total commitment to the job, ignoring the impact of such commitment on their families. The same cannot be said for women. A married woman with children or a single parent mother cannot adequately fulfill her responsibilities at home while working in such a hectic male-centric and male structured environment.

Table 4.7
Respondents' Ethnicity by Gender and Outlet Size

Ethnicity	Large Stations			Small Stations			C'bean combined		
	Women %	Men %	Total s%	Women %	Men %	Total s%	Women %	Men %	Total s%
African	62	49	56	77	69	74	67	54	61
Indian	9	24	16	4	8	5	8	21	13
Caucasian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mixed	25	20	22	15	23	17	22	21	21
Native peoples	4	7	5	4	0	3	4	5	4

Table 4.7 details the ethnicity of the Caribbean journalistic workforce. Nearly two-thirds (61%) of Caribbean journalists are of African descent, whilst almost a fifth (21%) are of mixed race and a bit more than ten percent (13%) are of Indian origin. In 2003, there are no Caucasians working in the journalistic workforce, neither are there Chinese, Portuguese or Syrian/Lebanese (the other races prevalent in the Caribbean). However native people make up an infinitesimal 4% of the staff. There are more Indians (16%) in large outlets than in small (5%) and there are more Indian men (21%) than Indian women (8%). This finding may have to do with the fact that the right of Indian women to physical mobility and working outside of the home is severely constrained by cultural, religious and traditional beliefs. Also historically, after the abolition of slavery, the countries to which large numbers of Indian indentured labourers migrated, were Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago, two countries in the large group. Today the population of Guyana is 50% Indian; and in Trinidad, Indians make up approximately 48% of the population. The composition of the Caribbean journalistic staff is therefore reflective of the complex ethnic mix of the region. This is divided between 'whites', 'browns' and 'blacks' representing the African majority, Indians, the second largest group, and Europeans, Chinese, Portuguese and Syrian/Lebanese in third place.

The profession of journalism in the Caribbean is dominated by persons of African origin with Indians and persons of mixed blood, increasing in numbers. Caucasians, many of whom were investors or offsprings of investors; or part of the plantocrat class, have never found this profession an attractive employment option. Chinese in the Caribbean are noted for their entrepreneurial skills and have stayed

largely in shop-keeping and trading. So too have the Syrian/Lebanese community who have dominated the dry goods and electrical retail trades, as well as the automobile dealerships and hotel industry. Most of their offspring tend to look towards entrepreneurial types of businesses, rather than seeking employment in other professions.

It will be recalled from Chapter II, that Caribbean economies for the most part depend upon intensive foreign investment in order to exploit their most precious resources, such as bauxite in Jamaica and oil in Trinidad. Thus there is a ruling class in many of these societies, that is largely removed from the internal class structure of the islands, which are mainly made up of peoples other than Africans. The predominance of Africans in the broadcasting profession is indicative of the notion posited by other Caribbean researchers (Cole, 1997; Nettleford, 1994, Leo-Rhynie, 1997) that "occupational status and money (for blacks) are gained far more from civil service careers and the professions than from ownership of the means of production"(Cole, 1997:7).

In 2002, 63% of all Caribbean journalists were college graduates and 45% majored in journalism. Wilhoit and Weaver (1991) point out that although there is no single set of requirements for becoming a journalist, it is more and more necessary for one to have at least a bachelor's degree from a college or university. Table 4.8 indicates that Caribbean female journalists are more highly educated than male journalists. In large outlets, males and females are equally well educated: 47% of females have an undergraduate degree compared with 45% of men. In small stations 42% of women have an undergraduate degree compared to 31% of men.

Table 4.8
Respondents' Education Level by Outlet Size and Gender

Highest Grade completed	Large Stations			Small Stations			Entire Caribbean		
	W %	M %	Tot %	W%	M%	Tot%	W%	M%	Tot%
High school	9	6	8	15	46	26	11	16	13
College	19	16	17	23	15	21	20	16	18
Undergraduate	47	45	47	42	31	38	46	43	45
Masters	11	17	13	12	0	8	11	12	12
Certificate/Diploma	13	16	14	8	8	8	12	14	12
Doctorate	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Thus, the size of the news organization, and by extension the size of the country are not significant predictors of holding a college degree in journalism in the Caribbean. However, it is at the graduate level that women have shone in the small stations, for while no man has a Master's degree in small stations, 12% of the females employed have attained a Master's degree. In large stations, 11% of women have Masters degrees, while 17% of males have Masters degrees; however, almost all (92%) of the women with Master's degrees majored in journalism/communication studies; whilst 95% of the males with graduate degrees majored in Management, Business, Economics or Political Science. A larger percentage of females (62%) indicated that they had undergraduate or diploma/certificate journalism training compared to 51% of men. More detailed analysis revealed that older men, especially those 45 years and over, were likely to have only a high school education, while younger men and women had the bulk of

the undergraduate degrees. This clearly indicates that female journalists, like other professional minorities, continue to have to validate their status with high scholarly certification. These figures further underscore the statistics by other researchers (Reddock, Barrow, W.I Commission) that there appears to be emerging throughout the region a trend towards non-performance among male students at the secondary and tertiary levels of education.

The Canadian statistics are similar to those of the Caribbean in that 56% of Canadian female journalists have an undergraduate degree compared to 55% of men. It is 10% lower in the Caribbean with 46% of females holding an undergraduate degree and 43% of males. At the Master's level the figures are virtually the same for Canadian and Caribbean women (11%) with a slightly higher percentage of Caribbean men (12%) holding Master's degrees than Canadian males (10%). There are no journalists with doctorate degrees in the Caribbean and only a tiny 1% of Canadian journalists, all men, who hold doctorate degrees. This implies that unlike other professions such as law, medicine, academia and architecture, high or continued certification is not necessarily a prerequisite for practicing journalism or for success and promotability within the profession.

Table 4.9			
<i>Respondents' region of choice for Journalism training by Gender</i>			
Place of training	Women %	Men %	Totals%
North America	27	34	30
Caribbean	62	51	57
Britain	12	15	13
Europe	0	0	0

Table 4.9 indicates that the institutions in which Caribbean journalists studied are stratified by gender. More women opted for a Caribbean education (62%); while a higher proportion of males studied abroad, in North America (34%) and Britain (15%). This pattern however may be related to the fact that males come into the journalism profession at an older age and may not have viewed the University of the West Indies as an educational option. At the time that they were pursuing studies, the Journalism programme at the UWI was not yet established since it is 29 years old.¹

Most of the females who studied in the Caribbean listed this Caribbean Institute of Media and Communication at the University of the West Indies as their place of study. Ninety-two percent of both men and women also listed CARIMAC as the place of study for the diploma certification. It is interesting to note that more than half of Caribbean males (58%) in comparison to only one fifth (21%) of females, have relatives or friends connected with journalism. These include parents, siblings, or other relatives, thereby signaling that there is a close correlation between professional choice and family socialization patterns. These patterns also provide a mentor/protégé link and 'a-foot-in-the-door' within the organization, indicating an important gendered advantage for males, but not in the same degree for females.

Women's exclusion from informal networks in which information is shared and alliances develop; has implications for their learning and performing their jobs and their chances for advancement. Reskin argues that successful occupational performance is not always sufficient to gain admission to informal networks. These

¹ The Caribbean Institute of Media and Communication was established as the Journalism school of the University of the West Indies in 1974.

networks become important for advancement and promotion within the organization, since it is argued, that one must have the active support from an individual who is already established in one's field. This phenomenon known as "*sponsorship*" is common at the upper echelons of most professions (Epstein, 1970a). Sponsors provide introductions through which an individual becomes established in the profession, socialize their protégés to the values and behaviour that are appropriate to the work culture, and often provide vital instruction in the technical aspects of the job (Epstein, 1970a; Reskin & Hartmann, 1986). Walsh (1977) argues that as outsiders, women may need male endorsements to be taken seriously and thus may rely more than men on having a sponsor for advancement.

<i>Table 4.10</i>						
<i>Respondents' Years of Experience by Outlet Size and Gender</i>						
No. of years experience	Large Stations		Small Stations		All Caribbean	
	Women %	Men%	Women %	Men%	Women %	Men%
1-10 years	65	62	77	27	73	34
11- 20 years	35	23	17	40	23	36
21 + years	0	15	6	33	4	29

The number of years experience in the journalism profession was yet another indicator of gendered differences in Caribbean newsrooms. Almost three quarters (73%) of the females worked in journalism for less than 10 years, whilst only one third 34% of males worked for less than ten years. Small stations had the highest

percentage of "green" reporters (77%); whilst an almost equal number of males and females in large stations were working for less than 10 years. Most men had over 11 years of journalistic working experience and while 15% of males in large stations had over 21 years experience, No women in large outlets had worked for more than 21 years. This supports Wilhoit and Weaver's claim that women not only enter journalism at an early age but they are more likely to leave the profession before their male colleagues. The Caribbean statistics also present similarities with the Canadian data, in that more than half of all Canadian female journalists (52%) had ten or less years of experience, while nearly half of all males (48%) had double that, between ten and twenty years of experience (Robinson and St. Jean, 1997). Weaver and Wilhoit suggest that women tend to leave journalism before their mid-30s and return in later years, resulting in fewer years of experience than men, who tend to stay on the job without taking a leave.

Table 4.11									
<i>Membership in Professional Journalism Associations by Outlet size and Gender</i>									
Membership	Large Stations			Small Stations			All Caribbean		
	W%	M%	Tot%	W%	M%	Tot%	W%	M%	T %
Yes	21	73	45	12	62	28	18	71	40
No	79	27	55	88	38	72	82	29	60

Membership in professional associations is another indicator of the gendered relations in Caribbean newsrooms and the way informal networks effectively shut out women. Table 4.11 reveals that 71% of males are members of

professional journalism associations, making many of these Clubs and Associations virtual "Old Boys' Clubs." A little less than a fifth (18%) of female personnel are members of such associations. Women in large outlets are twice as likely (21%) to be members of journalism associations than women in small outlets (12%) and men in large outlets are 11 percentage points more likely (73%) to be members of journalism associations than men in small outlets (62%). Among the clubs and associations listed by men of which they are members is a regional one, the Barbados-based Caribbean Media Workers Association, CAMWORK, which brings together media workers from across the English, French, Dutch and Spanish speaking Caribbean.

Another interesting secondary phenomenon from our data is the fact that 85% of the men who listed themselves as being members of professional organizations were between the ages 39 and 60. Older women were also more likely to be members of associations than younger women. Clearly, membership in these associations provide "windows of opportunity" and links to management, to which women do not have access because they are viewed as outsiders. Kanter and Epstein contend that many *negotiations, deals, crucial friendships, alliances and contacts* are made in these informal settings which ultimately impact on what goes on in the newsroom (Epstein, 1970).

<p align="center">Table 4.12 Percentage of Respondents who hold Management Positions by Outlet Size and Gender</p>						
Mgt. Position	Large stations		Small Stations		All Caribbean	
	Women %	Men %	Women %	Men %	Women %	Men %
Yes	17	40	23	38	19	40
No	83	60	77	62	84	60

In 2002, almost three quarters (72%) of females had a male as her supervisor, compared to 46% of males who had a female supervisor. The percentage of males who had women supervisors is significantly higher in small stations (49% in small stations and 28% in large stations). Table 4.12 indicates that only 19% of Caribbean female professionals hold management positions; while 40% of males are in management. In small stations about one fifth (23%) of females hold management positions while less than one fifth (17%) are in management in large outlets. Interestingly, about the same proportion of males hold management positions in small stations (38%) and in large stations (40%). Unlike the Canadian media where women journalists fared better in large media outlets, it appears that there is a positive correlation between female journalists' supervisory positions and small media outlets. The reason for this may be that there is greater recognition and less gender divisions when staff is small.

A mere 2% of females have turned down management positions, while 18% of males claimed to have passed up management positions. Some of the reasons given by the females who had turned down management positions were "*didn't want*

to accept a lateral move which would give me more work and no salary increase" and "more responsibility but no adjustment in salary". Men however stated "position not attractive enough"; "wanted to stay in substantive position" and "not commensurate with my qualifications and experience."

Table 4.13						
<i>Respondents' Desire to Hold a Management Position by Outlet Size and Gender</i>						
Time Period	Large Stations		Small Stations		Entire Caribbean	
	Women %	Men %	Women %	Men %	Women %	Men %
Within a Year	74	67	30	69	59	67
Within 5 years	47	24	50	31	48	26
Within 10 years	17	20	12	0	15	16
Eventually	71.00%	28	75	15	74	14

Another indicator that the playing field is not level in the journalistic workforce is documented in Table 4.13, which indicates the level of eagerness of women to be promoted to management positions; which contrasts sharply with what is actually happening on the ground as reported in the previous Table. Although almost half (48%) of all females would like to be promoted to management within 5 years, only a quarter (26%) of males have the same ambition. Surprisingly, however two thirds (67%) of all males in comparison to more than half (59%) of all females would like to be promoted within a year. This contrasts significantly with the Canadian data which indicates that 40% of females as against 26% of males looked forward to holding a management position within a year.

Female professionals in large stations tend to have a greater desire (74%) to attain management status in a year than do females (30%) in small outlets. This may be related to the fact that there are more women *already* in middle management (40%) in small outlets, than there are in large outlets. The overarching desire on the part of female journalists in large stations to move up the ladder is due to the fact that as Chapter III shows, more than three quarters (75%) of females there continue to occupy positions on the bottom rungs of the occupational ladder, and are looking for more responsibility than they have as Researchers, Documentalists, News Writers, Reporters and Correspondents.

Table 4.13 also demonstrates that even though females were tentative about their desire to move into management within one to 10 years, approximately three quarters of the females surveyed (74%), compared to only about one fifth of the males (14%), were interested in a management position *eventually* in their career. This could be as a result of two factors; primarily that women enter the profession at a younger age and have not as yet made up their minds about remaining in the profession or they are not yet confident enough to assume a management position. Secondly, as suggested in the Canadian study the "organizational setting tends to accommodate male ambitions more successfully than those of females" (Robinson and St. Jean, 1997:25). This is underscored by the fact that more than half (53%) of all female respondents were anticipating a change in their job classification in the coming five years, while more than a third (38%) of the male respondents expected the opposite, to remain in their current job description.

When asked how they felt about their current job, females in Caribbean

journalism were less optimistic (59%) than males (83%). Table 4.14 bears out the level of despondency among females in the journalistic workforce. It shows that nearly one half (42%) of all women are disenchanted by their current job situation as compared to less than a fifth (14%) of the males. This finding is particularly critical because it clearly shows that males in Caribbean broadcasting are enthusiastic (79%), satisfied (74%) and optimistic (83%), while females are less enthused (61%) about their progress in the profession and the kinds of contributions they feel they are able to make, with a full 42% of females being disenchanted, versus only a tiny 14% of the males holding that opinion.

<p>Table 4.14</p> <p><i>Respondents' overall feelings about Current job by Gender</i></p>			
Sentiment	Women %	Men %	Totals %
Enthusiastic	61	79	69
Satisfied	57	74	64
Optimistic	59	83	69
Neutral	51	26	40
Pessimistic	34	14	26
Disenchanted	42	14	30

This interview question when administered in the stations which this researcher visited, elicited a plethora of responses bordering on disgust, defenselessness, and pessimism. One 35 year old Guyanese woman remarked that waking up to go to work felt like "*marking time and playing a stuck record.*" A 29 year old Antiguan woman stated that she felt that she was "*overworked and*

underpaid." This level of despair may be attributed to the fact that female journalists receive less pay, are less likely than males to hold management positions, are more likely than males to be stuck in job and beat ghettos; and are more likely than males to have great difficulty in carrying the "double burden" of reconciling work and home responsibilities.

II. Professional Values, Roles and Ethics

As has been discussed extensively in Chapter III, the beat-related gender divisions are critical in determining one's access to higher prestige and higher paying positions. In Caribbean television, though women have access to 75% of the story areas, males occupy the majority of the "hard news" categories: 98% of *sports* reporters, 100% of *weather* reporters, 82% of *government and politics* reporters; 77% of *economics and consumer affairs* reporters and 73% of *science and technology* reporters. In contrast Caribbean female professionals are present in large number in such "soft news" beats, as *fashion, cooking and decoration* (97%); *health and medicine* (91%); *education* (88%); and *lifestyles* (78%). The *hotels and tourism* beat which is the main industry and revenue earner in many of the Caribbean territories is about equally covered by male (63%) and female (61%) reporters, although tourism spans the economy and politics to a large degree. When further quizzed about the beats they "*preferred*" to cover, the top choices for males were almost identical to the beats the majority of them now cover: *government and politics, sports, economics and consumer affairs, business and finance and police and courts*. With the exception of *sports*, females chose a similar mix of beats, but

they were ordered differently. The most preferred beat for female practitioners is *economics and consumer affairs*, followed by *government and politics*, *tourism*, *police and courts* and finally, *business and finance*. The reasons females gave for their ordering of choices included, *"these are normally the critical news of the day"*; *"if you want to make headlines, these are where its at"*, and *"these are the beats which mean the most and impact on people"*. On the other hand, males reasoned: *"these are the hard news beats"*; *this is where the action is;"* and *"these are the hard core stories which I have devoted my career to, why cover anything else?"* From the responses, it is evident that both males and females recognize that some beats are more important on the impact, value and prestige scale than others.

Male professionals are pragmatic about sticking to those "hard core" beats, which lead the news broadcasts, while females although aware of the significance of hard news, express some desire to cover "soft news." This is evident in the 38% of females who chose beats such as *arts and entertainment*, *personalities*, *lifestyles*, *human interest* as their top preferences. One 35 year old St. Lucian woman may have summed up the feelings of these women when she says; *"these beats are more relaxing and give me more time for myself from the horse track in the other beats."* These types of responses are again based on gendered notions that females are more sensitive and artistic.

Table 4.15
Respondents' Ratings of Task Importance by Outlet Size and Gender

Importance of Task	Large Stations			Small Stations			All Caribbean		
	W%	M%	Tot%	W%	M%	Tot%	W%	M%	Tot%
Report events	100	100	100	81	92	85	94	98	96
Comment of events	68	67	67	35	38	36	57	60	58
Explain events	66	78	71	50	77	59	61	78	61
Critique events	26	42	34	19	31	23	12	39	31
Raise controversy	11	13	12	27	8	21	16	36	15
Arbitrate social conflicts	32	21	30	25	18	25	23	15	11
Give background information	26	33	30	54	46	51	35	36	36
Investigate	75	63	66	69	62	67	73	40	58
Explain in simple terms	55	33	45	58	31	49	56	33	46
Educate	49	24	38	77	62	72	58	33	47
Favor new ideas	8	4	6	0	8	3	5	5	5
Play watchdog role	81	89	85	85	85	85	82	89	85
Condemn wrongdoing	2	9	5	12	15	13	5	10	7
Help sell	2	2	2	0	0	0	1	2	1

Another major way in which female and male professional perspectives are differentiated is through their evaluation of the various tasks involved in news gathering and reporting. In Table 4.15, respondents were asked to rank in order of importance, the tasks journalists should perform. The five top choices were *report events*, *investigate*, *comment on events*, *explain events*, and *play a watchdog role*. Both men and women ranked *reporting events* (96%) as the most important role. The second highest ranked response was *playing watchdog role*; 82% of females

selected this and 89% of males. An interesting set of secondary choices also demonstrate the differences between male and female approaches to work. Women were more likely to list *explaining in simple terms* and the *educational* aspects of journalism than men. In small stations, 77% of women listed their role in *educating* as a very important role, compared to 62% of men. Men placed a higher value on *investigative reporting* and *critiquing events*.

Women and men in Caribbean journalism were attracted to journalism for very different reasons. As Table 4.16 shows, the social aspects of the profession are more important to women, while influence, control and freedom are more important for male journalists. When asked "what attracted **you** to journalism", a large majority of females chose *calling attention to social problems*, *wanting to express self*, *fostering new ideas* and *interest in news work*. Their male colleagues, on the other hand valued the *freedom that the job allowed*, *the opportunity to influence people*, *interest in newswork* and *wanting to be where it's happening* as their top reasons. Both women and men of the Caribbean chose: *wanted an exciting job* as their fifth choice. These gender variations in attractions to the profession, are distinctly different from those of Canadian journalists, who tend to lean towards a more action-oriented and individualist definition of journalism. Canadian female professionals valued *excitement*, *interest in newswork* and *expressiveness*; while their male counterparts placed *interest in news work* before *excitement* and *expressiveness*. Where Caribbean female journalists place heavy emphasis on *calling attention to social problems* and *fostering new ideas* as their first and third variables respectively, Canadian female journalists placed these variables as their

<p align="center">Table 4.16 <i>What Attracted Respondents to a Career in Journalism by Outlet Size and Gender</i></p>									
Reason	Large Stations			Small Stations			All Caribbean		
	W%	M%	Tot%	W%	M%	Tot%	W%	M%	Tot%
Because of freedom	19	93	53	38	92	64	25	98	56
Have always liked to express myself	83	33	60	69	62	67	78	40	62
Interest in newswork	45	58	51	81	38	67	57	53	55
Wanted an exciting job	40	49	44	31	38	60	49	47	48
Because job is not 9 to 5	8	11	9	31	23	28	15	14	15
To call attention to social problems	81	27	56	77	46	67	80	48	66
Opportunity to influence people	32	84	56	62	85	77	42	90	62
Had friends/family that were journalists	8	9	8	15	15	15	10	10	10
Wanted to be "where it's happening"	19	49	33	31	46	36	23	48	34
Didn't want long theoretical education	8	9	8	23	23	23	13	12	12
Wanted to foster new ideas	66	20	45	58	46	51	63	26	47

fifth and sixth choices respectively. Where Canadian males viewed *freedom* and *being where its happening* as their fourth and fifth reasons for going into journalism, Caribbean males chose *freedom* as the most important professional incentive and *being where its happening* as the fourth such variable. The national differences in

professional outlook could be explained by the fact that the Caribbean is still in the developmental stage of its politico-economic and broadcasting institutions and therefore just emerging from nationalistic and social oriented phases, whereas the Canadians have a longer tradition of liberal democracy in which the educational dimensions of the profession have been in practice for a longer period. In addition it has been noted that, there is a tendency for "women more than men, to value the educative and explicatory opportunities offered by the profession"(Robinson and St. Jean, 1997:30); and this is borne out remarkably by the Caribbean data.

All professions have particular ethical frameworks. Journalism is no exception and it has been found that there are substantial differences between nations on these issues. Following Robinson and Saint-Jean's (1997) criteria to assess ethical differences, Table 4.17 asks respondents about questionable ways to handle stories. Approval ratings on a five point scale for seven practices were sought; and offered some *interesting gender differentiated findings*. The question: "*Given an important story, which of the following methods do you think may be justified and which would you not approve under any circumstances?*" was put to respondents; and the two highest response categories were tallied. Like their Canadian counterparts, Caribbean journalists deplored *claiming to be somebody else and agreeing to protect confidentiality and not doing so*. There are significant gender differences in the response to the practice of *paying people for confidential information* where more than three quarters (76%) of males approved this practice, but less than a third (27%) of females gave their approval. A great majority of males (78%) were also prepared to *badger unwilling informants to get their story*,

Table 4.17
Justification of journalistic Methods by Outlet size and Gender

Method	Large Stations			Small Stations			All Caribbean		
	W%	M%	Tot %	W%	M%	Tot %	W%	M%	Tot %
Paying people for confidential info.	25	73	47	31	77	41	27	76	47
Using confidential docs without authorization	6	18	11	27	69	41	13	29	20
Claiming to be somebody else	0	27	12	0	23	8	0	26	11
Agreeing to protect confidentiality and not doing so	0	9	4	0	23	8	0	12	5
Badgering unwilling informants to get story	36	78	47	31	77	46	28	78	49
Making use of personal docs without permission	11	42	26	15	54	28	13	44	26
Getting employed in firm/org. To gain inside info.	49	93	69	38	69	49	46	88	64

as opposed to only a quarter (28%) of females. Similarly male practitioners were not averse (88%) to getting employed in a firm or organization to gain inside information. This practice, the mildest on the ethical scale, had the highest approval rating from women with almost half (46%) consenting. It is noteworthy that all seven practices were generally rejected by women and as such no practice received more than a 46% approval rating. No female in both large or small outlets

was prepared to claim to be somebody else or to break confidentiality with sources; while more than quarter of the males (26%) and 29%, respectively approved such practices. Löffgren-Nillson (1994) suggests that gender differences manifest themselves in this tendency for women to be compliant to authority more than their male counterparts. Robinson and St. Jean further argue that females' "socialization patterns, which stress cooperation, consequently lead them to reject actions which are legally or morally questionable" (Robinson and St. Jean, 1997:29).

Like other empirical disciplines and professions, journalism aims to be objective; to be free from values and ideology. Accordingly, journalists attempt to practice value exclusion, and it was discovered that both male and female journalists have quite similar views about objectivity. In an open-ended question, respondents were asked to define objectivity. The responses ranged from the cynical answer of a 20 year old St. Lucian man "subduing your own ideas, feeling and opinions"; to the cryptic response of a 26 year old Guyanese woman, "no conflict of interest or favor in any particular direction;" to the well-intentioned response of a 35 year old Jamaican woman, "straight hard facts, the truth and nothing but the truth."; to the practical response of a 52-year old Barbadian man: "looking at all sides of an issue and doing a fair and balanced assessment and reporting it impartially."

Table 4.18			
<i>Respondents' Beliefs About Objectivity by Gender</i>			
Objectivity	Women %	Men %	Totals %
Easily possible	10	34	20
Possible with difficulty	76	47	63
Not possible at all	13	14	13
No opinion	3	5	4

A related item which the survey inquired into and which provided gendered differences in the responses was *"Can a journalist who has strong beliefs about an issue report objectively about that issue?"* Table 4.18 demonstrates that where three quarters (76%) of females felt objectivity was possible with difficulty, less than half of the males (47%) were of this view. More males were optimistic about objectivity, 34% claiming that it was easily possible, compared to only one tenth (10%) of female practitioners. Sixty-five percent of males and females were of the view that about the right amount of emphasis is being placed on objectivity by members of the profession. However, 40% felt that too little emphasis was being placed on objectivity. Very few journalists (4%) felt that there was too much emphasis on objectivity in Caribbean news organizations.

III. Journalistic Ideals

There has been much debate within the Caribbean about the role of the journalist, particularly as it relates to the emerging democracies in the aftermath of

colonialism and in the new thrust towards globalization. As Chapter II has shown, the media in the Caribbean went through an evolutionary process from *authoritarian decolonization* to *nationalistic and media consolidation* to *slow transition to media independence*. In an effort to examine gender differences in how media personnel view themselves, this item of the survey adapted Weaver and Wilhoit's (1991) five-point scale to determine whether female and male professionals have different views about the role of the media in emerging democracies.

Table 4.19
The Social Role of Journalists by Gender and Outlet Size

Characterization	Large Stations			Small Stations			Entire Caribbean		
	W%	M%	Tot%	W%	M%	Tot%	W%	M%	Tot%
Agents of change	60	49	55	81	77	87	67	55	62
Intellectual elite	23	18	20	23	8	15	23	16	20
Neutral witnesses	36	42	39	31	46	36	34	43	38
Uninvolved convey-ors of information	9	40	23	35	31	33	18	38	26
Bureaucrats	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Stars	4	4	4	0	0	0	3	4	3
Craftpersons	13	16	14	12	14	11	14	26	19
Entertainers	4	2	3	15	61	31	3	2	2

Table 4.19 records the top two responses on the five-point scale. The the top five choices for both men and women were: *agents of change*, *neutral witnesses*, *uninvolved conveyors of information*, *craftspersons* and *intellectual elite*. As

Table 4.19 indicates, in both large and small outlets, both male and female practitioners see themselves first and foremost as *agents of change* (67% and 55%) then as *neutral witnesses* (34% and 43%). A higher percentage of females see themselves as *intellectual elites* (23%) to the male's (16%); perhaps because women in broadcasting in the region tend to have higher educational qualification than men, and because they emphasize their educational role in the profession. Almost twice as many males (26%) as females (14%) value themselves as *craftspersons* and again twice as many males (38%) view themselves as *uninvolved conveyors of information* as females (18%). While the data are similar for large and small stations, no one in the small stations views themselves as a *craftsperson*, compared to 13% of women and 16% of men in large stations who affirm this role definition. The differences in the Caribbean tell the tale of a more socially conscious female journalistic workforce working towards bringing about change in the region; whilst male professionals, particularly those in large stations, are more focussed on being *neutral witnesses* and *uninvolved conveyors of information*.

Like the Caribbean scenario, Table 4.20 shows that Canadian journalists also interpret their social roles as *agents of change* (45%), *neutral witnesses* (50%), *uninvolved conveyors of information* (37%) and *craftspersons* (44%). However more than half of Caribbean journalists (20%) view themselves as an *intellectual elite* as compared to Canadian journalists where only a small minority of 8% chose this role. Interestingly, twice as many Canadian journalists view their social role as *craftspersons* (44%) and entertainers (19%) to the Caribbean's 19% and 2% respectively.

Table 4. 20 <i>The Social role of Journalists by Gender for Canadian and Caribbean Journalists</i>						
Characterization	Canada (Robinson and St-Jean 1997:25)			Caribbean		
	W %	M%	Tot %	W %	M %	Tot%
Agents of change	55	39	45	67	55	62
Intellectual elite	9	7	8	23	16	20
Neutral witnesses	47	51	50	34	43	38
Uninvolved conveyors of information	36	37	37	18	38	26
Bureaucrats	0	3	2	0	0	0
Stars	7	6	6	3	4	3
Craftspersons	36	50	44	14	26	19
Entertainers	11	24	19	3	2	2

Differences in female and male professional perspectives can be traced to the types of ideals which the two groups associate with their professional behaviour. Respondents were asked: *"In your opinion, how important are the following in relation to a journalist's behaviour?"*. Table 4.21 indicates that the five top values for Caribbean journalists are professionalism, objectivity, integrity, accuracy and fairness. Both male and female practitioners place high currency on professionalism (100%) but females place integrity second (95%) whilst males regard objectivity as their second value (95%). Accuracy is more critical to males (86%) than females (77%); but fairness ranks more highly with women (67%) than with men (59%). Though there are hardly any distinctions among the two genders on these core

Table 4.21
Importance of Ideals in Journalistic practice by Gender for all Caribbean stations

Ideal	Women%	Men %	Totals %
Integrity	92	95	93
Accuracy	77	86	81
Objectivity	95	90	80
Independence	38	48	46
Fairness	67	59	64
Curiosity	42	43	42
Openness	32	38	34
Social Consciousness	48	36	43
Commitment	34	26	31
Professionalism	100	100	100
Emotional Distance	23	40	31

values, there are gendered differences in women and men's evaluation of secondary values. Females in the Caribbean place a high value on *social consciousness* (48%) and *commitment* (34%); while males espouse *independence* (48%) and *emotional distance* (40%). These value differences suggest that male personnel are less engaged with their sources and view their work with a more distanced, "determined detachment." Wilhoit and Weaver (1991) have described this as an attitude of "disinterestedness: getting the story without fear or favor." Females, in contrast, are more socially connected and want to make a more considered and permanent social contribution. Beyond that they are prone to empathize with their subjects and with their sources of information. This could be explained by the nurturing, caring

considerate socialization to which females are likely to be exposed.

Cranny, Smith et al (1992) in their work, "Job Satisfaction: How People Feel about Their Job and How It Affects Their Performance" postulate that the elements of job satisfaction are numerous, complex and difficult to measure. In an attempt to gauge the gendered differences in job satisfaction, respondents were asked to rate the importance of twelve factors in their work environment. Table 4.22 indicates that *Pay*, *Job security*, *Chances to get ahead*, and *chances to excel* were ranked by journalists as very important. *Pay* seemed to be most important for males in small stations (92%) whilst a *chance to get ahead* was most important for females in both large and small stations (92% and 88%). *Job security* was critical for men in both large and small stations (76%) but not very high on the radar for female practitioners (29%). Males valued *freedom from supervision* more highly (64%) than females (16)%. This factor was critical especially for males in large outlets. Three quarters (73%) of males ranked this as very important compared to only 15% of females. Similarly, twice as many males (40%) as females (20%) rated *amounts of autonomy* as being important to them. In small outlets an equal amount (85%) of males and females were eager for a chance to get ahead. This urge for independence on the part of males may be linked once again to the socialization of the Caribbean man who is brought up in a spirit of freedom and is allowed to roam free without the many rules and restrictions that are placed on the Caribbean girl.

Table 4.22									
<i>Respondents' Ranking of Factors of Job Satisfaction by Gender and Outlet Size</i>									
Variables	Large Stations			Small Stations			All Caribbean		
	W%	M%	Tot%	W%	M%	Tot%	W%	M%	Tot%
Pay	87	82	85	85	92	87	86	84	61
Fringe Benefits	34	69	46	31	69	44	33	69	48
Freedom from Supervision	15	73	42	19	31	23	16	64	36
Chance to help others	77	64	71	65	38	56	73	59	67
Job security	25	73	47	38	77	56	29	76	49
Develop Specialization	85	44	66	31	54	51	67	47	58
Amounts of autonomy	17	44	30	27	23	26	20	40	28
Chance to get ahead	68	29	51	85	85	85	75	41	61
Editorial policies	19	33	26	31	31	31	23	33	27
Chance to excel	92	40	68	88	62	79	91	45	72
Variety and stimulation	32	53	42	19	23	21	28	47	36
Level of stress	21	16	18	15	23	18	19	17	18

IV. Newsroom Climate

Smith and Grenier(1982) define power as a combination of the ability to influence others, determine other's behaviour and the potential to achieve goals. So a powerful person may directly as well as indirectly influence others through structural avenues, such as decision channels or resource control. Ultimately, the structural context of the organization will shape and be shaped by the behaviour of the personnel themselves and therefore structure and behavior together determine

power. In professions which are gender stereotyped like journalism, the law and medicine, for instance, male practitioners will have a built-in advantage concerning their reservoir of power.

<p>Table 4.23 <i>Respondents' freedom in Story Selection, Emphasis, and Stories Written by Others by Gender</i></p>												
	Freedom in Story Selection				Freedom in deciding Story Emphasis				Freedom in deciding how others' stories are used			
	AC	GD	S	N	AC	GD	S	N	AC	GD	S	N
Women	19	22	33	27	18	25	44	13	8	14	20	58
Men	47	24	24	5	45	29	21	5	40	16	12	33

(AC- Almost complete freedom; GD A Great deal of freedom; S- Some freedom and N- None at all.)

In an attempt to assess the kind of power which males and females hold within news organizations, respondents were asked to indicate on a four level scale, the amount of freedom they had in *story selection*, *story emphasis* and how *stories written by others are used in broadcasts*. Table 4.23 demonstrates that over a third (33%) of Caribbean female journalists had *some freedom* in story selection, while almost half (47%) of Caribbean male journalists had *almost complete freedom*. In deciding what aspects of a story to emphasize, nearly half of all males (45%) state that they have *almost complete freedom*; while about a third (29%) had a *great deal of freedom* and one fifth (21%) have *some freedom*. Stuningly these cumulative totals cover almost all of the males. In contrast a mere fifth (18%) of females have *almost complete freedom*, a quarter (25%) have a *great deal of freedom*, while almost one-half (44%) are of the opinion that they have *some*

freedom in story production. In deciding how other journalists' stories are used in broadcasts, well over half of female journalists have *no freedom at all*, compared to 40% of males, who have *almost complete freedom*. The point to be made here is that even if in reality males do not have as much freedom as they *say* they have, males still *assume* that freedom and their perception of that assumption is significant to how they function and carry out their duties within the organization. The inverse is true of female journalists: if women feel weak and powerless, and lack the confidence to grasp the reins, this perception may hold sway in the newsroom even if in actuality, females may have greater power.

The newsroom setting is largely reflective of the behaviours, values, norms and beliefs within the society and the ways in which both genders are socialized within that society. The survey requested female and male journalists to rate various aspects of the newsroom climate. Table 4.24 assesses gender differences between seven indices related to the impact of the male power hierarchy on newsroom relations. The most significant rating is the fact that almost all (95%) females find the newsroom to be *very stressful*, compared to only half (45%) of the males who are of this opinion. Beyond that females in large stations find their newsrooms to be four percentage points more stressful (96%) than females in small stations (92%), a difference which may however not be significant.

Table 4.24
Respondents' Ratings of Newsroom Climate by Outlet Size and Gender

Statement	Large stations			Small stations			All Caribbean		
	W%	M%	Tot%	W%	M%	Tot%	W%	M%	Tot%
Very stressful relations	96	49	74	92	31	72	95	45	74
Strict operations control from mgt.	75	64	70	77	62	72	76	64	71
Good communication and relations among workers	62	78	69	38	85	54	56	79	66
Tough competition between some indiv.	42	69	54	73	54	67	52	66	58
Shared values about imp prof. matters	49	64	56	73	54	67	57	62	59
Good opportunities for advancement	21	89	52	26	92	49	23	90	51
Diff. to get support for one's ideas	96	15	58	87	24	69	90	22	61

The great majority of males in Caribbean stations, both large (90%) and small (96%) believe that *opportunities for advancement are good*. Among the female personnel, who as we have seen in Chapter III, occupy the lowest rungs of the profession, there is no such optimism. Only one-quarter (23%) of females believe that the opportunities for advancement are good. Three-quarters of females (76%) believe there is *strict operational control by management* as compared to only two-thirds 64% of males. A majority of males (79%) furthermore say that there is *good communication and relations among workers* with only about half (56%) of the females sharing this opinion.

Most females feel that its *difficult to get support for their ideas* (90%) and those in large stations (96%) feel this difficulty more acutely than those in small stations (87%). Both males and females tend to agree that the newsroom is a tough competitive place (66% males and 52% males). These figures are similar to those for Canadian newsrooms (57% of females and 58% of males) in which Robinson and Saint-Jean (1997) surmised that newsroom competition may interfere with less stressful reporting practices.

Table 4.25									
<i>Respondents' characterization of Newsroom by Outlet Size and Gender</i>									
Characterization	Large Stations			Small Stations			All Caribbean		
	W %	M%	Tot%	W%	M%	Tot%	W%	M%	Tot%
A Family	75	16	48	88	23	67	80	17	53
A Team	87	56	72	77	69	74	84	59	73
Colleagues	91	87	89	73	85	77	85	86	85
Competitors	28	67	46	15	69	33	24	67	42
Rivals	19	44	31	12	54	26	16	47	29

To further define newsroom climate, respondents were also asked to describe how they would characterize the functioning of the newsrooms in which they work. Once again there are striking differences for females and males as well as for small and large outlets. Table 4.25 demonstrates that more than three quarters (80%) of females described their newsroom as an extension of the private sphere as a *family*, while only half (59%) of the males gave it this description. Both males and females believed it was best described as a group of *colleagues*. While women

embraced their colleagues as a *team*, men were more likely to see their fellow journalists as *competitors* and *rivals*. Perhaps due to the small total size of journalistic staff, in small stations the majority of females (88%) likened their work situation as being *familial*. On the other hand, an equally large majority of females (87%) in large stations with more personnel described their work interactions as that of a *team*. In both large and small stations women repudiated referring to their peers as *rivals* or as *competitors*. These two characterizations were chosen by only a quarter (24%) and even less (16%) of female personnel. This must be inextricably linked to the previous item in Table 4.24 where 95% of females found the work environment to be stressful. Women often see competitive environments as being stressful; therefore one way of trying to come to terms with something they don't like is their endorsement of the *familial and team* environments and rejection of *competitive rivalry*. This is clearly indicative of females' repudiation of male aggressiveness. In contrast, males are socialized to be competitive especially through such activities as sports.

How do women in Caribbean news organizations cope with male dominated structures and with patriarchal traditions and views? Table 4.26 probed respondents views on whether "women had to do more because they were women." When the four possible answers are summed into two categories, a little less than three quarters (71%) of all females compared to a mere third (33%) of the males responded "Yes" to the question. Younger journalists, (39 years and under) tended to agree that women have to do more, than older journalists. Women in small stations in the 20-39 age group were three percentage points (73%) more likely than

Table 4.26 <i>Extent To Which Respondents Believe Women Have to do More Because They Are Women by Outlet Size, Gender and Age</i>							
Variable	Age	Large Stations		Small Stations		All Caribbean	
Somewhat/Totally Agree		W %	M %	W %	M %	W %	M %
	20-39	70	33	73	31	71	33
	40-59	6	27	4	23	5	26
	60 plus	0	5	0	0	0	3
Somewhat/Totally Disagree	20-39	20	13	23	38	21	19
	40-59	4	22	0	7	3	19
	60 plus	0	0	0	0	0	0

women in large stations (70%) in the same age bracket; to agree that they had to do more. The figures are similar for women over 40 years old in both large and small stations. The following table 4.27 details the domains in which female personnel believe they have to do more than their male counterparts.

Table 4.27 <i>Tasks Which Respondents Feel women Perform More than Men at Work by Outlet Size and Gender</i>									
Task	Large stations			Small Stations			All Caribbean		
	W%	M%	Tot%	W%	M%	Tot%	W%	M%	Tot%
Pick up after others	42	20	32	27	23	26	37	21	30
Answer the phone	85	76	81	77	77	77	82	76	80
Look for docs	53	58	55	23	31	26	43	52	47
Comfort colleagues	89	93	91	85	92	87	87	93	90
Be lightning rod	40	31	36	12	8	10	30	26	28
Make or get coffee	57	60	58	58	15	44	57	50	54

Table 4.27 indicates that females more frequently perform three tasks: *comfort colleagues* (90%), *answer the phone* (80%) and *make or get coffee* (54%). These activities are integral to the communication and interpersonal relations within the newsroom, but they represent the traditional nurturing, care-giving, domestic role which women perform in the home. Clearly, the newsrooms of the region are highly gendered and tasks are gender-skewed, since only one group is saddled with the time and energy-consuming burdens of comforting colleagues, answering the telephone and making coffee.

As intimated, the tasks which women perform more frequently at work are reflective of the traditional matriarchal role being extended into the public domain and even house-keeping functions such as *coffee-making* and waiting on others, have fallen to the task of female professionals. Another significant task listed by both females and males in large stations was that of *looking for documents* which half (55%) of the personnel assigned to the female group. This is another throwback to the division of labour in the household which is carried forward into the public domain of professional work, where it should be shared by both genders. When these figures are compared to the Canadian data, the choices prove to be relatively similar on two items, that of *comforting colleagues* and *answering the phone*, although the percentages are higher for the Caribbean than the Canadian newsrooms. There is however one significant difference between the Caribbean and Canadian professional settings in that two-fifths (91%) of Canadian female professionals feel they have to *be a lightning rod* while only a third (30%) of Caribbean females are of this opinion. In contrast more than half (57%) of

Caribbean women still have to *make or get coffee* a practice which has mercifully stopped among their Canadian counterparts (6%). Clearly, the Caribbean still has a long way to go for this latter task to become degendered, a process that has already happened in Canada.

Table 4.28									
<i>Respondents' Feelings of Discrimination on the Job by Outlet Size and Gender</i>									
Sources of Discrimination	Large stations			Small Stations			All Caribbean		
	W%	M%	Tot%	W%	M%	Tot%	W%	M%	Tot%
In Assignments	79	18	51	38	54	44	66	26	50
Sources Preferences	19	11	15	19	15	18	19	12	16
Sitting on C'tees	53	7	32	15	15	15	41	9	27
Management's Attit.	89	13	54	77	38	64	85	19	57
Male Cols' Attitude	96	11	57	96	0	64	96	9	59
Female Cols' Attit.	21	44	32	23	31	26	22	41	30
Public's attitude	30	7	19	38	15	31	33	7	23

In Table 4.28, the organizations' attitudes and practices are compared in an attempt to assess the extent to which gender as an ideology structures the journalistic working situation. In the seven potentially discriminatory scenarios, respondents were asked whether they were being discriminated against. Females had a litany of areas in which they felt they were being discriminated. The five most common forms of discrimination recorded by females are: *male colleagues attitudes* (96%), *management's attitude* (85%), *discrimination in assignments* (66%), *sitting on committees* (41%)and *the public's attitude* (33%). There are distinctions

between large and small stations as more females in large stations have a problem with *discrimination in assignments* (79%) as compared to 38% of females in the small grouping. In fact more males in small stations (54%) find they are being discriminated against in assignments. The exact same percentage (96%) of females in small and large stations find *male colleagues* to be discriminatory in their attitudes towards them. Males, however, were blithely unaware of their own discriminatory practices, beliefs and attitudes in the newsroom. In small stations, all the males noted that *they* were not a problem, whilst 11% of males in large stations were aware of their own discriminatory tendencies. In large stations, a little more than half (57%) of the females have difficulty in gaining access to *sitting on committees* as opposed to only 7% of males who were in the same situation. This is not the case in small stations where the same percentage of males and females record (15%) that they have little access to committee participation. Canadian female journalists voice very similar discriminatory attitudinal experiences in the newsroom, though they do not mention *discrimination in assignments* as their Caribbean colleagues do. Female personnel in both Canada and the Caribbean select the same attitudinal clusters as inhibiting their work. They are: *male colleagues' attitude* (47%), *management's attitude* (47%) and the *public's attitude* (41%). Canadian males like their Caribbean counterparts have buried their heads in the sand to their own discriminatory workplace attitudes. Only 4% of Canadian males compared to 47% of females "are aware that the workplace is imbued with, and functions according to, male norms" (Robinson & Saint-Jean, 1997:33). Strangely, despite this litany of discriminatory practices against women in the Caribbean, 75%

of females stated that they would be very reluctant to accept a position under an Equal Opportunity Program. Perhaps, this is due to the stigma which these types of programs have had in North America, where women and minorities feel they are merely filling quotas and have not been hired on the basis of merit, experience and qualification. A similar number of males (78%) also claimed they would be reluctant to accept a position under an Equal Opportunity Program. These are prejudices no longer held in the Canadian field, but were also held when first introduced in Canada.

<p align="center">Table 4.29 <i>Percentage of Respondents who were asked questions about family and Personal Responsibilities by Outlet Size and Gender</i></p>									
Response	Large Stations			Small Stations			All Caribbean Stations		
	W%	M%	Tot%	W%	M%	Tot%	W%	M%	Tot%
Yes	83	20	58	81	23	61	82	21	56
No	17	80	42	17	80	46	18	79	44

Another area in which gender as a discriminatory ideology structures the workplace is in the hiring rituals of organizations. When asked the question: *"During broadcasting job interviews, were you ever asked questions about your family and personal responsibilities?"* 82% of females responded "Yes" whilst a mere 21% of males were so quizzed. There is not too much distinction between large and small outlets; only two percentage points (83%) separates females in large stations and those in small stations (81%). In both large and small stations

80% of males were not quizzed about family and personal responsibilities. Margaret Gallagher points out that the disproportion of women being asked about family and personal responsibilities lies in the "belief that women are primarily home-oriented, child-centred, emotional, intellectually inferior if not incompetent" (Gallagher, 1981:101); which underlies the unease which employers around the world display in recruiting and employing women. She argues that most interviews for media jobs are invariably carried out by men, who are more prevalent in management positions, but also seem to harbor a number of stereotypical notions about working women.

<p align="center">Table 4.30 <i>Respondents' Feelings about Equal Chances for Women to reach Management Positions by Outlet size and Gender</i></p>									
Response	Large Stations			Small Stations			All Caribbean stations		
	W%	M%	Tot%	W%	M%	Tot%	W%	M%	Tot%
Yes	15	40	27	50	62	54	27	45	34
No	77	42	61	35	38	36	63	41	54
Maybe	8	18	12	15	0	10	10	14	12

Among these stereotypical notions of managers are the level of female ambitions vis-a-vis their professional careers. When asked whether they thought women broadcasters had as much ambition as male broadcasters, 98% of Caribbean females responded in the affirmative, whilst only 68% of their male colleagues agreed. Clearly the 32% of males who believed women did not have as much ambition, are testimony to the vestiges of chauvinism and patriarchal thinking which

still pervade Caribbean society. Moreover, as Table 4.30 demonstrates, there are significant gendered distinctions in beliefs about women's equal chances to reach management in Caribbean stations. Sixty-three percent of females as opposed to 41% of males feel that women do not have equal chances to reach management positions. There are real distinctions in the estimation of promotion chances between the small and large station groups possibly because of the more "family" like atmosphere in the workplace which was noted above. As a result half of the women in small private stations (50%) believe they do have equal access to management positions; while merely 15% of females in large stations are of this opinion. Only about one-third (35%) of females in small stations believe that equal access is lacking, a figure which is very similar to their male colleagues (38%) opinion on the situation. These figures, along with previous data, indicate that there is more of a level playing field in small stations than there is in large outlets. This is also reflected in earlier responses where women in small outlets are less disillusioned, less pessimistic, and have more autonomy in beat assignments, story selection than their counterparts in large outlets.

Another indication of male blind spots concerning their female colleagues is revealed in the answers to the open-ended question: *"In your opinion, what do you think female broadcasters contribute to the profession?"* One 27 year old St. Kitts man stated "a more sensitive approach to certain topics." A 36 year old Vincentian woman claimed women brought "good judgment, style, flair and emotion." A moving response came from a 29 year old Antiguan female who was of the view that females' contribution was "the same as males: they succeed, we succeed too,

they fail and we fail, we are all human;" while a 38-year old Trinidadian male remarked that women bring, "a freshness, sensitivity, softer approach and higher ethical standards" to the journalism profession. The general view was that women bring a modicum of sensitivity, ethics, different perspective and good judgment, but the emphasis by many males was on the emotional qualities which women possess other than their reporting or interviewing strengths.

The second open-ended question asked respondents to define women's topics and once again the perspectives differ significantly along gender lines. Females were more likely to say that all topics are neutral, and can be handled from a female or a male, or a "human" point of view. Males on the other hand were more likely to proffer that topics such as "cooking, fashion, health, decorating, lifestyles, human interest and family were women's domain." One 45 year old Guyanese man stated women's issues were "the stuff that has to do with family and the soft side of life." A 55- year old Bahamian man suggests that "rape, marital abuse, discrimination, welfare and pregnancy" were women's issues. However, a 40- year old Grenadian woman remarked that women's issues were "the same as men's issues;" while a 29 year old St. Lucian women sarcastically suggests that " topics that have to do with the economy, politics, tourism, health and everything that affects our life in this world."

The responses in this particular item, when juxtaposed with the open-ended responses to the question: *What do you define as hard news?*" provide yet more insight into the socialization and gender ideologies which reign supreme in the Caribbean journalistic workplace. Males were more likely to define hard news as

"topics related to the economy, government and politics" and "stories which lead the broadcast such as natural disasters, wars, accidents and unusual events." Females defined hard news similarly, but a common theme running through most of the female practitioners' definitions was the more *personal and human* side of news. For example, "news that affect peoples' livelihood"; "news that interest people"; or "news that grip people and make them sit up and think."

Table 4.31									
<i>Respondents' choice of whom they prefer to work with by Outlet Size and Gender</i>									
Preference	Large Stations			Small Stations			All Caribbean		
	W%	M%	Tot%	W%	M%	Tot%	W%	M%	Tot%
Males	45	58	51	42	46	44	44	55	49
Females	28	15	22	11	8	10	23	14	19
No preference	27	27	27	45	46	46	33	31	32

In a society where females are attempting to find entry into male dominated spheres like the profession of journalism, one would think females would prefer to work for a female boss. Leo-Rhynie (1998) contends that the learning of gender roles occurs through a very complex socialization process which can be defined as the process of shaping and/or modifying behaviour, through the interactions with others and that it usually results in a certain degree of conformity to the behavioural expectations of gender, race and social class within a given society. As has been suggested in Chapter II, gender polarization is evident in Caribbean social structure and socialization patterns and stereotypes of the dominant public, male and the

accommodating, private female continue to persist. It is not surprising therefore that 44% of Caribbean female journalists prefer to work with males rather than with their own females as indicated in Table 4.31. Underscoring the "boys club" nature of the workplace, 55% of males reported that they preferred to work with males, while only 19% preferred working with females. In small outlets, a large percentage (45%) of females had no preference, again pointing to the fact that there is more semblance of equity and de-gendering in the smaller outlets. In large outlets, only about a quarter (27%) of the personnel reported having no preference. This finding underscores the fact that within the media, women are forced to cope not only with the discriminatory beliefs and preconceptions of their male colleagues and superiors, but also with *their own* feelings of inferiority and inadequacy. This is a realistic response by female personnel, because it is the males that have the power, so females may feel it is better for their careers to associate with males. In Joshi's (1987) study of Indian broadcasting, she found that "some women fall into the traditional mold of submission to men and competition with other women: *"it is easier to work with men"* *"women gossip too much"*; *"with men we must maintain a certain reserve and distance"* (Joshi, 1987:55). These kinds of comments and the responses from the Caribbean data indicate that even though at an intellectual level women recognize the qualities of other women, they were taught at an emotional or psychological level to rely and to depend on men. "At the first difficulty, or reprimand by the female boss, resentment surges dangerously. The same does not happen with the male boss: it is his traditional role to command, to approve, to reprimand, to punish. And, of course, to judge performance and promote or dismiss

staff" (Ibid.;;55). Adding further weight to this argument, a survey conducted by the International Women's Media Foundation at the UN Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, found that the second most common obstacle to women succeeding as media practitioners was the lack of role models for women journalists (Women in the Media, 1996:10). The survey report pointed out that related to the question of role models is that of mentoring:

Mentoring between women journalists often facilitates the exchange of professional information, reduces feelings of isolation and exclusion within the profession and creates an informal network of women in the field. Journalists responded that they believe women are sometimes enemies of themselves by inadvertently keeping each other down. Faced with intense competition, women journalists can sometimes see mentoring as a diversion (Women in the Media, 1996:11).

Nigerian media activist Sandra Ladi Adamu described this phenomenon in her country thus: "when women have struggled to climb the ladder, they kick it down once they are at the top so that no other woman can follow" (Adamu, 1998 as qtd in Pandian, 1999). In local Caribbean parlance, this is known as the "*crab barrel*" mentality.

V. Sexual Harassment

Table 4. 32 Percentage of Respondents Who Have been Victims of Sexual Harassment by Outlet Size and Gender										
Type of Harassment	Respondent's Answers	Large stations			Small Stations			All Caribbean		
		W%	M%	Tot%	W%	M%	Tot %	W%	M%	Tot%
Verbal Harassment	Often/A few/Once	58	27	44	54	8	38	57	24	42
	Never	42	73	56	46	92	62	43	76	58
Psycho. harassment	Often/A Few/Once	58	29	36	54	8	33	43	24	35
	Never	45	71	64	50	92	67	57	76	65
Physical harassment	Often/A few/Once	45	16	32	50	0	33	47	12	32
	Never	55	84	68	50	100	67	53	88	68

One of the most prominent areas in which gender as a discriminatory ideology in Caribbean societies can be documented is via assessment of the prevalence of sexual harassment. Sexual harassment generally reflects an unequal relationship between a male and a subordinate female employee, which creates a hostile or offensive work environment for the woman. It denies equality and conveys the message that a woman is not regarded as a respected colleague and a valuable asset, but rather as a sexual object. Twelve different questions relating to

this issue were put to respondents in three broad categories: verbal harassment, psychological harassment and physical harassment. The data revealed that two-thirds (62%) of females and but only one-fifth (21%) of males responded "Yes" to the query; *"Is sexual harassment a problem for women journalists?"* Twenty-two percent of females and 49% of males responded "Maybe." Only a small minority (16%) of females and a full one-third (30%) of males answered "No," that sexual harassment was not a problem. When asked the reverse, whether sexual harassment was a problem for male journalists, both women and men agreed that it was not: 90% of females and 89% of males responded "No"; while 6% of females and 9% of males responded "Maybe"; 4% of females and 2% of males answered "Yes".

Table 4.32 pinpoints actual incidences of sexual harassment for respondents. They were asked, *Have you been sexually harassed in your work environment?* **Shockingly**, over *half* of women in Caribbean stations reported being the victim of verbal harassment, the most insidious and pervasive of the three types of harassment. Physical harassment was the second most rampant form of harassment with slightly less than half, (47%) of women experiencing it either once, a few times or often. In contrast, one-quarter (24%) of all males experienced both verbal and psychological harassment, while 12 % of men were victims of physical harassment. The comparative data indicate that physical harassment is a more serious problem for females in small stations (50%), than in large stations (45%); but higher percentages of females in large stations were the victims of verbal harassment (58%) and psychological harassment (58%). Again when cross comparisons are made with the Canadian data, the evidence presents similarities, but with one major

difference: Canadian women are more prone to verbal (60%) and psychological harassment (43%), but only 20% of females were victims of physical harassment as opposed to 50% of Caribbean women. Clearly the policies implemented and adhered to in the Canadian environment have been effective in stamping out overt physical harassment; *men see and speak, but don't touch*. The same cannot be said for the Caribbean, which still has a way to go with effecting and enforcing strict guidelines for the elimination of physical harassment.

Surprisingly, more males claim to be *witnesses of physical harassment*, when the follow up question was asked "*Have you ever witnessed cases of sexual harassment?*" One-half of all male respondents (52%) answered "Often, A few times or Once" to verbal harassment, while a full three-fourths (76%) of all female journalists responded in the affirmative. The percentages of females and males witnessing verbal harassment were just about equal at 40% for the former and 45% for the latter. Psychological harassment was witnessed by almost half (48%) of female personnel but only a small 15% of males. The differences may be attributed to the fact that it is difficult for anyone, male or female to recognize what may properly be termed "psychological harassment" of another individual, but if such harassment has been previously experienced by the observer, then one may recognize it for what it is. From our evidence, women are in a better position to empathize and recognize psychological harassment of other females. When asked whether formal complaints of sexual harassment had been made in their news organization, almost three quarters of men (72%) claimed not to know, while two-thirds 62% of females answered "Often/ A few Times or Once." When given the

options, *colleague, supervisor, source, viewer, or other employee*; the most commonly mentioned harasser (43%) was the *supervisor*; and 89% of the times the harasser was a man. Two-thirds (65%) of both males and females reported that the incidents of sexual harassment were reported to an *immediate supervisor*, while 32% reported them to a *high level supervisor*. The responses to the reports of sexual harassment from employers, present an interesting picture: fully one-third (31%) claim the *report was ignored*; another third (28%) claim there was *discussion among upper-level staff* and a *reprimand was issued*. The final third of management responses broke down into three different actions which were initiated. These included that: a *forum was held* and a *reprimand was issued* (21%); a *committee took action* (18%) and a *policy was developed* (15%). This researcher was unsuccessful in receiving a written document purporting to be a policy on sexual harassment in *any* of the Caribbean stations.

Two further questions were probed on the issue of sexual harassment which offer rather revealing insights. When asked "*What were the responses of male colleagues?*" to the reports of sexual harassment and employers' response; the overwhelming majority (83%) of female Caribbean respondents and a third (31%) of male personnel answered "*negative attitude*." When asked "*What were the responses of female colleagues?*" two-thirds (62%) of females and almost as many (57%) males stated that the females were empathetic and congenial and that there were *feelings of overall support*. If these figures are reliable, it is evident that reports were *ignored* because the sexual harassment incidents were being perpetrated mostly by *supervisors*; and since the onus is normally placed on the supervisor to

take action to ensure that the employee is protected; action may be stymied if the sexual harassment *begins and ends* with the supervisor. It is noteworthy that only the Bahamas has enacted legislation pertaining to sexual harassment and although CARICOM has designed and formulated model legislation on sexual harassment since 1997, none of the other Caribbean territories have actually implemented it, at the national level, nor at the organizational level.

Mona Harrington (1995) notes in her book, *Women Lawyers: Rewriting the Rules* " that "sexual harassment of females by male co-workers expresses the ancient rule that women *should* be sexually available to men. And at the same time, it reminds the professional woman especially, that while she appears in the workplace as the supposed equal of her male colleagues, she is not really an equal. It tells her that although she is gaining some economic independence...she is still subject to an old order in which she is ultimately subordinate to men; ultimately and naturally defined by her body as a male possession" (1995, 45).

B. Increased Participation of Women in Journalism

<p align="center">Table 4.33 <i>Respondent's Evaluation of the Progress Made By Caribbean Female Journalists Over the Past 25 Years by Outlet Size and Gender</i></p>									
Aspect	Large Stations			Small stations			All Caribbean		
	W %	M %	Tot%	W%	M %	Tot%	W %	M %	Tot%
Number of women journalists	92	96	67	85	85	85	90	93	91
Number of women in mgt. positions	32	38	25	27	38	31	30	38	34
Work Schedule	17	36	18	19	31	23	18	34	25
Daycare facilities at work	0	9	3	0	15	5	0	10	4
Equal promotion opportunities	21	16	13	38	46	41	22	27	25
Salary range	32	20	18	31	46	36	32	26	29
Value of life experiences	23	22	16	35	38	36	27	26	26
Importance given to women's topics	83	87	61	69	77	72	78	84	81
Autonomy in choice of topics and angles	15	20	12	35	31	33	22	22	22

The lengthy questionnaires ended with an inquiry into the perceived progress females had made in the broadcast profession. Table 4.33 indicates that a large majority of both females (90%) and males (93%) believe that the most important progress in the past twenty-five years has been in the *increased number of women*

journalists working in the Caribbean. As a direct result of this increase, 78% of female respondents and 84% of males felt that the other area of progress was in the *importance given to women's topics*. A higher percentage (though still arguably low) of male respondents were of the view that women had progressed in *management positions* (38%), and that there were *equal promotion opportunities for women* (27%). Although the data are generally similar for large and small stations, it is significant that almost half (46%) of female respondents in small stations as opposed to only one-fifth (21%) in large stations believe that women have *equal opportunities for promotion*. The same percentage (46%) of females in small stations, compared to only one-third (32%) in large stations, felt that the playing field had been leveled considerably in *salary ranges*.

Reskin and Padavic (2002) concur with Kanter that when it comes to exercising authority on the job, women still fare worse than men. They do not often have "legitimate power" to mobilize people, to get their cooperation, and to secure the resources to do the job. Job authority is defined by Kanter as the person who makes decisions about organizational goals, budgets, production and subordinates; who determines who is hired; the levels of pay and decides on work schedules. They argue that even where women have achieved managerial positions, they still have less decision making authority than men. A study of decision making among women done by Reskin and Roos (1992) found that women managers "participated in decision making by gathering information and making recommendations, but that men usually made the final decisions. Men often had the authority to make decisions about bread and butter issues such as hiring, firing, promoting and giving raises, and

they were more likely to have had a say in decisions that affected other units" (Reskin and Roos, 1992:34).

What appears odd in Table 4.33 is that 10% of males claimed there had been progress made in offering *daycare facilities at work*, whilst no woman seemed to be aware of these facilities. My on site visits to seven (7) television stations in Guyana (Prime, GTV, and VCT), Trinidad and Tobago (TV6 and NBN), St. Kitts and Nevis (ZIZ) and Antigua and Barbuda (ABS) provided no evidence of daycare facilities on the properties or arrangements with such facilities at other venues. The situation is much the same in the other stations. This means that the female journalist in the Caribbean is still expected to make private arrangements for daycare, when in fact this is a social responsibility to make the workplace more equally accessible to both genders. More will be said about this issue in the concluding chapter.

When asked in greater detail to indicate areas in which "changes brought about by women journalists were most visible" both female and male respondents, Table 4.34 indicates, selected the same order of choices. These include: *greater sensitivity towards sexism* (95% women, 97% men); *different angles of coverage* (78% women, 93% men); and *wider range of topics covered* (70% women, 84% men). Interestingly, Canadian journalists made the same set of choices, but Canadians also listed *increased range of experience* as one of their top choices. Beyond that female respondents provided four additional changes that they had brought about. Among these were: *a higher degree of professionalism* (65%), *better writing style* (59%), *improved newsroom climate* (46%) and *greater emphasis on*

<p align="center">Table 4.34 <i>Changes Attributed to Females in the Profession by Outlet size and Gender</i></p>									
Aspect	Large Stations			Small Stations			All Caribbean		
	W %	M %	Tot %	W %	M %	Tot %	W %	M %	Tot %
Higher degree of professionalism	60	29	46	73	31	59	65	29	50
Wider range of topics covered	64	84	73	81	85	82	70	84	76
Different angles of coverage	77	93	85	81	93	85	78	93	85
Greater emphasis on ethics	36	27	32	54	15	41	42	24	34
Increased range of experience	25	18	21	31	8	23	34	16	22
Greater level of initiative	34	18	27	35	38	36	29	22	29
Increased educational level	34	20	28	38	8	28	35	17	28
Increased emphasis on cooperation by mgt.	32	18	26	23	8	18	29	16	23
Increased competition	34	27	31	38	46	41	35	31	34
Improved newsroom climate	53	29	42	31	8	23	46	24	36
Improvement in sources' attitudes	30	13	22	27	8	18	29	12	22
Better writing style	60	22	43	58	31	49	59	17	42
Greater sensitivity towards sexism	92	96	94	100	100	100	95	97	96

ethics (42%). However these positive contributions which women felt they were making, were not perceived as such by their male counterparts. Karen Anderson

(1994) discovered in her research that when women were asked about the roles of women in news and current affairs, "they fell into two camps: those who believed that the presence of women in newsrooms could change the face of what was actually reported, and those who thought it made no difference at all- 'news is news', it has no gender" (1994:7). This latter view is also supported by Van Zoonen who is of the view that news output does not necessarily change when there are more women journalists employed. She posits:

If we start from the assumption that an increase in the number of women journalists would mean a transformation of news content, we implicitly assume that women do not hold "neutral" professional values (1988:39).

Despite Van Zoonen's pronouncements there is empirical evidence that women's contribution to the news agenda "*does inevitably change it*" (Anderson, 1994: 10), and such a perspective whether it is singular or integrational creates a balance in what is fed to the audience.

Some rather interesting responses were proffered in an open-ended session, discussing: "how do you define feminism?" The discussion underscored the hostility which some Caribbean males feel towards equity issues and the feminism domain generally. One 54 year old Barbadian man described feminism as "*women trying to overthrow men and God's order of the universe.*" A 30 year old Vincentian man states: "*the struggle for recognition of equality for women.*" A 39-year- old St. Lucian man explains that feminism is "*ranting and raving about women's right.*" A 56-year old Guyanese man posits, "*the case where being a women is all that matters and supersedes any other aspect of a shared environment.*" A 35 year old Bahamian

woman says it is *"being sensitive about both sexes and their role and position in society"* while a 52 year old Trinidadian man believes feminism is *"women trying to unbalance the will of God that man is head of the house and ruler of the world."* A 42 year old Jamaican man caustically claims that feminism is *"man-women¹ and bra-burners carrying on about equality."*

Older men tended to be more negative and hostile towards feminism, than younger males, while female professionals were generally more positive and complimentary. However, one 22 year old Antiguan woman claimed feminists *"think more highly of women; one who tries her endeavour best to retard men and try to bring them down."* When further asked whether they considered themselves feminists, 76% of Caribbean females answered "Yes"; and 35% of males said they were pro-feminist. A higher percentage of males in small stations claimed to be pro-feminist (43%) than in large stations (31%).

Table 4.35									
<i>Respondents' thoughts on the competence of women by Outlet Size and Gender</i>									
Competence	Large Stations			Small Stations			All Caribbean		
	W%	M%	Tot%	W%	M%	Tot%	W%	M%	Tot%
Yes	87	49	69	96	54	82	90	50	73
No	4	31	17	0	31	10	3	31	15
Maybe	9	20	14	4	15	8	8	19	12

Table 4.35 gives insight into respondents' beliefs about the competence or incompetence of women in management positions. In the Caribbean in 2002, 90%

¹ A derogatory Caribbean expression meaning lesbian.

of females believe they are as competent as men in management positions; however only one-half (50%) of the males in the Caribbean agree with them. Thirty-one percent of males state that women are not as competent as men; and 19% are not sure, and say women *may be* as competent as men. In small stations, women are more confident of their skills, abilities and competencies than in large stations. An overwhelming 96% of females in small stations say they are just as competent as men, in the newsroom with females in large stations being nearly as convinced of their competence (86%) as their sisters.

Interestingly, around one-half of male colleagues (54%) in small stations as in large stations (49%) believe that females are equally competent, yet in both small and large stations there is a hard core of 31% of males, who are convinced that females are not as competent as males in management positions. This lack of confidence in female professionals was expressed largely by the older males and when linked to their boisterous opposition to feminism, indicates the deep levels of chauvinism still prevalent in Caribbean newsrooms. Joshi (1987) in her study of Indian broadcasting, previously referred to, posits that in the Indian system, a large number of men consider women officers to be "more autocratic, slow at reaching decisions, incapable of independent decision making, and unlikely to have their decisions implemented (Joshi, 1987:23)." In the Indian systems men also believed that organizational efficiency would suffer if there were more women executives. Male officers were considered; particularly by men, but also by a considerable number of women; to be more knowledgeable about rules and regulations. On the other hand women tended to believe that an increase in the number of women

employees would result in a more democratic system" (Ibid.;24).

C. Conclusion:

Workplace discrimination is rampant in Caribbean broadcasting despite the higher percentages of women employed in news organizations. Many women in broadcasting have assumed a *"don't rock the boat, won't upset the apple-cart"* attitude, consciously deciding to endure the adverse conditions of their employment. Women and men in the Caribbean have distinctly variant views on a wide range of workplace behaviours, practices and values and these are brought to bear on the working relationships and news production environment. Women in Caribbean broadcasting are younger, more highly educated and more likely to be single than their male counterparts. Women, particularly those in large stations, have little *real or perceived* power.

Though men tend to have more children, there is a persistent attitude that housework and children are women's rather than men's responsibility and men's domain is the economy, government, sports and politics, reflective in the types of beats to which most males are assigned. The double burden for working women affects not only their real ability to compete on an equal basis with men in Caribbean media organizations, but the data have shown that they are required to divide their time among a greater number of tasks, than do most of their male counterparts. Continuity of service is a problem for most women, who have had more frequent home and family related work stoppages for longer periods of time. To date no Caribbean station has seen fit to establish daycare facilities to alleviate

this particular problem for women, although Caribbean men and women bear, on average, more children than their Canadian counterparts.

The situation of working women within broadcasting reflects the fact that the working news world is a male-dominated world, both in terms of the perceptions, beliefs, and values of men and women; and in terms of the practices and behaviours within those organizations. Women's negotiation possibilities and opportunities are fewer, which leads them to be more socially-conscious. They therefore view their roles as educational and social change-oriented. Women are still at a distinct disadvantage in beat assignments and ultimately in anchoring a lead story, when compared with their male counterparts. All of this, despite the fact that there is an increased presence of women in news production. Women are no better positioned in the profession to foster new thinking and to vary the angle and perspective of news reporting in terms of issues covered.

From the data, it is reasonable to conclude that it is not women per se who are blocking their development in the broadcasting profession, but largely *attitudes* about what women can and cannot do. This researcher agrees with Cole (1997) that as long as Caribbean societies operate on the assumption that the male half of their populations are more rational, smarter, and less capable of nurturing and caring than the other half, then the potential of the other female portion of the profession will continue to be stifled. We have also seen in this chapter that gender biased attitudes and views are not the sole possession of males, particularly when it appears that females prefer to work with men. We must also recall that in the Caribbean women are the major socializers of children, and that includes being the major

teachers and moulders of what is "proper" behaviour for men and women. Therefore views about gender roles are perpetuated by women themselves and passed on to Caribbean boys and girls.

The evidence amassed here from our female and male professionals has enabled a deeper analysis of the Caribbean broadcasting scenario. They indicate that the employment challenges of Caribbean women in 2002 are many: they are faced with high incidences of verbal, physical and psychological harassment, negative attitudes from males in response to reports of such harassment; and with open hostility from males if they dare to have feminist views. The evidence also highlights that *in spite of and because of* shared training, cultural values and socialization, women and men hold quintessentially different journalistic values and outlooks. These differences arise from women's continued minority status in news organizations, which place them in a subordinate cast position. Despite the larger number of women in the journalistic workforce, Caribbean women are still further behind their Canadian counterparts in all areas of organizational development; however there is some consolation that women in small stations (as we may recall the privately owned stations) have better chances and operate on a more level playing field, than their compatriots in the large stations.

Chapter V

A. Equity: Ameliorating the Conditions of Women in Caribbean Media

In this final chapter, an attempt is made to answer the perennial question: what can be done to ameliorate the conditions of female broadcasters in the Caribbean? In doing so, the various theories of equity are captured, setting a frame for discourse on equal opportunity through legislative action and collective agreements within Caribbean media organizations. The major areas of concern here are: access to the journalism profession, progress in the profession through promotion, breaking into management, shifting or shattering the glass ceiling and commanding equal pay for work of equal value. The legal systems within countries often include combinations of national statutory law, customary or traditional law, religious law and commitments to ratified international conventions. The various parts of this legal framework reflect and codify societal norms and customs about gender roles and relations; and specify how society should operate along the principle of equality. In this they serve as instruments for societal reform.

Gender equality in rights is an important development goal for the Caribbean region. Legal, social and economic rights provide an enabling environment in which women and men can participate productively in society, and attain a basic quality of life. However, greater equality in rights is also consistently and systematically associated with greater gender equality in education, life expectancy and political participation. We have seen in previous chapters that women outnumber men in the broadcasting profession but have not yet been able to attain *real or perceived power* in decision-making; or impact significantly on changing the professional climate and the

gender and communication policies of the stations in the various countries.

Whether or not Caribbean women in their large numbers do make a difference in existing news agendas seems not to be the panacea for their struggle, but it will boil down to the *qualitative differences* which Caribbean women can make to the deeply patriarchal organizations in which they work. Liesbet van Zoonen in analyzing the term gender explained that for media output to change as a result of the presence of women in the profession, one must be convinced that female communicators share the same perspective, approach, preferences or style that distinguish them as a group from their male colleagues.

One must not assume 'femininity', however defined, as a feature of female journalists and 'masculinity' as that of male journalists...Gender should not be seen as a fixed property of individuals but as part of a continuing process by which subjects '*work*' on a sense of self. Human identity...should be seen as fragmented and dynamic...If we conceive gender as such, we shall not expect that female communicators will have enough in common to produce a radically different type of media output (van Zoonen, 1994:63).

Other theorists have maintained that male dominance has led to the promotion of male professional values and news gathering techniques, and only a critical mass of around one-third women in management positions will begin to make perceptible changes.

According to Epstein, this is supposedly 25%-30% of the staff. David Croteau and William Hoynes (qtd in Craig, 1992) suggest that such male values include the search for objectivity, which values the abstract knowledge of experts and devalues the concrete experience of individuals. It furthermore relies upon official voices of those in power rather than those who are involved. It verifies facts by turning to powerful institutions with large public relations departments rather than a broad spectrum of

knowledgeable individuals. It finally relies on dramatic conflict to make a story interesting. Byerly (1995) suggests that this traditional '*male*' approach to news is less process-centered and more event-and-personality-centered. Therefore "crime and 'personalities' (largely male) are generally considered newsworthy, while everyday news that "people can use" is inferior to controversy, violence or strife. She further maintains that "any improvement in women's treatment in news will require not simply more coverage of women's news or more women journalists, but a fundamental change in news as a narrative form" (1995:109). Carol Agocs (1985) suggests that whenever there are women in top management, firms are more likely to have an employment equity program; or to be starting a program, more likely to have an equal opportunity policy statement or having a Chief Executive Officer supportive of employment equity.

I. Equality as a Concept: What is Equity?

Equity has been a central normative concept for the modern women's movement all over the world. Experience in devising policies, evaluating them and using litigation to secure their implementation has led to extensive debates about the meaning of equality and related concepts like equal rights and equal opportunities. With the renewed attention on the issues of equity, Meehan and Sevenhuijsen pose the complex question of "whether equality implies the same treatment for men and women or whether different treatment is needed to ensure equal freedom for both sexes" (1991:1). This dilemma stems from the fact that equity may denote a moral belief, a rationalist precept, an *a priori* principle, a right, a means to an end, or an end in itself. As Caribbean policy makers are faced with such a wide range of possibilities, some

sort of coalescence of interest and commitment are required to halt what clearly from the previous chapters, have shown to be unbalanced, inequitous working conditions in Caribbean broadcasting. Equality is neither an absolute principle nor a firm standard, but a "relational concept" (Brown and Cooper, 2001:7). It expresses a relationship between two objects, people or conditions and determines the respect in which they are to be viewed as equal. Equality presupposes that the objects, people and conditions being compared are different from each other. Gender has often highlighted the perceived differences that exist between men and women (e.g. Mind/body, reason/emotion, public/private). These differences are also conceived as oppositional, asymmetric dualisms on a hierarchical, binary and absolute scale. In this scale the female is defined in terms of her biological attributes, and is considered inferior to her male counterpart, who is assumed to stand for the universal "mankind" since the Renaissance. The female is usually the lesser side of the dualistic pairs and 'male' has been characterized as her superior opposite, 'naturally' incorporating and embodying the greater of these dualisms.

In modern western political thought, equality has been viewed as the dualistic opposite of this difference and domination. Feminists have hoped that extending equality to women will provide the solution for gender-based relations of domination (Flax, 1992). Weiner and Gunderson state that equity is "designed to address a kind of systemic discrimination... found in employment systems" (1990:5). Perhaps the best and simplest definition which captures equity in all its variations is one posited by Abrahamsson. He states that equality means that "women and men enjoy the same rights, bear the same responsibilities and have the same opportunities to have jobs that

afford economic independence, care for their homes and families and take part in politics, union activities and other forms of civic life" (Abrahamsson, 1990:23).

The goal is a society in which women and men share equally and are accorded equal status. Individuals need not feel confined or restrained by the 'traditional' conceptions of what is "*fitting*" for females and males, respectively in a given society. When we talk of equality or lack thereof, we are talking about the issue of power; and in the Caribbean context, power in the newsroom means having a say in what the public views as the major news of the day. It is having a say in the beats one covers and determining the kind of personal space one has in the office. Power is formal and informal authority within the newsroom setting. Ideas about the equality of women have been based on two predominant perspectives.

One perspective stresses human characteristics common to both sexes: women and men are of equal value and therefore women should have the same rights and equal opportunities as men. The second perspective stresses the differences between the sexes, albeit the differences are described differently by different people over time. The two perspectives have been labeled the "*likeness*" and "*singularity*" perspectives respectively (Hirdman, 1983; Fredrikson, 1987). The goal of the likeness perspective which is the more accepted model, implies likeness between men and women in a number of respects: the same rights, obligations and opportunities.

Neo-classical theories have tended to consider the labor market as a single commodity market in which the value of employees is set by their productivity. Labor as a commodity conforms to the laws of supply and demand. The principal notion of this approach is that workers are paid according to their productivity and therefore the

wage paid to a worker in the free market is the best measure of that worker's productivity. To explain away the earnings differential, neoclassical theorists argue that the "*queue theory*" is at work; in that workers are ranked according to what employers see as their potential productivity and their wage rates. Employers then select the workers they prefer to fill the best jobs and leave those at the end of the queue to occupy the less desirable jobs or to be unemployed. Another approach using the competitive market idea assumes that differences in worker productivity derive from differences in "human capital": training, education, experience, work history etc. which may affect productivity.

Employment equity as an objective or goal covers all job experiences which might be considered to enhance or delay the progress of target groups in the workplace. 'Affirmative Action', 'Positive Action', 'Targeting' and 'Pay Equity' are mechanisms which assist in achieving employment equity. According to Tancred-Sheriff (1988:5), employment equity is a "very elevated definition guaranteed to pull at the heart strings" as the disadvantaged groups move towards complete equality with the superprivileged smaller percentage of populations. "Equality means that some people will lose their advantages." Bayes (1988) suggests that the pay equity movement rests on two basic assumptions; the first being that discrimination by gender in the world of work and pay ought to be (and in the North America) is illegal; and secondly that equal access to all jobs and equal pay for equal work is a constitutional right of all citizens.

According to Annie de Wiest, who was one of the original drafters of Section J, in the First World Conference on Women in 1975, some countries have taken

legislative measures in the name of gender equality, however, many discriminations still exist, and there is a great distance between law and deed (De Wiest, 1998:5 as qtd in Pandian, 1999). It was for this reason along with freedom of expression, that Section J recommended "voluntary codes of good professional conduct rather than a means of regulation thought to be too authoritarian" (Ibid.;5). De Wiest also posits that Section J is proactive rather than reactive, calling for women to be allowed better and greater expression in the media.

II. Pay Equity legislation in the Caribbean

Weiner and Gunderson describe pay equity as "ensuring that pay is based on the content of the job and not on the gender of the employees who traditionally perform the job" (1990:1). Pay equity addresses the undervaluation of women's work, compensating female jobs at the same level as male jobs of equal or comparable value." Often referred to as "equal pay for work of equal value;" pay equity ensures that internal equity exists between jobs within an organization, rather than between female and male jobs. Morley and Gunderson posit that it is the unintended by-product of "seemingly neutral policies and practices; however these policies and practices, may well result in an adverse or disparate impact on one group vis-a-vis another" (1990:5).

Equal pay for equal work legislation aims "to level the playing field" for women and men in labour markets by requiring employers to provide equal pay for workers performing the same job with equal efficiency, regardless of gender. The policy has been successful in such countries as Australia, Canada, and New Zealand,

where female pay has been typically prescribed in collective agreements as a percentage of the male wage for a similar task, or when centralized wage setting mechanisms are in place (Tzannatos, 1999). One of the major means of determining the levels of equity within organizations is through comparative analyses of the earning power of males and females within organizations. Pay equity combines equity and economics; it addresses equity in a specific domain; that women's jobs be paid fairly vis-a-vis men's jobs of equal value.

Table 5.1
Respondents' Annual Salary Range by Outlet Size and Gender

Salary	Large stations			Small Stations			All Caribbean		
	W%	M%	Tot%	W%	M%	Tot%	W%	M%	Tot%
Under 40,000	57	24	42	44	38	42	49	28	40
Between 40,000-80,000	34	55	39	53	54	53	32	36	36
Over 80,000	9	21	19	3	8	5	19	36	24

It is widely known that the best indicator for professional progress is obtained from the remuneration women and men receive for work of equal value; therefore in an attempt to assess pay equity in Caribbean news organizations, respondents were asked in Survey II, to indicate their annual salary ranges for the year 2002. Table 5.1 which combines gender and outlet size with annual salary figures for our sample of women and men, demonstrates that almost half (49%) of the women in Caribbean journalism had annual salaries below \$40,000; whereas just over a quarter of men (28%) are found in this salary range. In the middle salary range an almost equal

amount of female (32%) and male (36%) professionals earn between \$40,000 and \$80,000. Men outnumber women by only four percentage points. In contrast however male practitioners dominate the top salary ranges with 36% earning over \$80,000 compared with only 19% of female professionals.

It is significant that though the salary scales are lower in small stations, women in the small outlets tend to fare better financially, than women in the large group. More than half of the females in small stations (53%) earn between \$40,000 and \$80,000, a number which approximates the males (54%) in small stations as well as the males in large stations (55%). However there are three times as many women in large stations (8%) earning over \$80,000 as women in small outlets (3%); similarly more than twice as many males (21%) in large stations earn over \$80,000 compared to males in small outlets (8%).

This disparity may be linked to the socio-economic status of the various countries. As was outlined in Chapter II, many of the larger territories, endowed with natural resources, such as bauxite, gold, aluminum, iron and oil, have had to implement IMF stabilization policies to assist with their huge debt burdens, and flailing economies; whilst the smaller territories with not as many natural resources and smaller populations, and more efficient fiscal and political management, have not had the same kind of economic woes. Also, the salary disparity may be linked to the fact that most of the small stations are privately owned and have union agreements, while the large ones do not have these agreements.

Why are Caribbean women earning less than their male counterparts? Some theorists (Furchtgott-Roth and Stolba, 1999) contend that linking male-female pay gaps

to workplace discrimination ignores the "pipeline theory." They observe that senior management positions typically require twenty-five or more years of service, and most women have not been in the pipeline long enough to qualify. In the pipeline theory, women will achieve pay parity in due course. But these theorists ignore an aspect of the pipeline theory that works against women, particularly those in broadcasting; i.e. the critical career paths for senior management positions begin with coverage of "hard news" beats. Since women are bundled into covering "soft news" and congregate in large numbers in job ghettos at the bottom of the job hierarchy; women are less likely during the course of their careers to be assigned to pipeline positions that lead to senior management. The pipeline theory therefore actually perpetuates the barriers that have traditionally kept women from moving up the corporate news ladder.

Chapter IV showed that a large portion of the wage gap in Caribbean television can be explained by the sexual division of labour. In Caribbean broadcasting, as elsewhere, women are routed into female-dominated job ghettos and less prestigious 'soft news' beats. The remainder of the gap may be related to the differences in seniority, experience, and degree of unionization between men and women. Education may not be factored in here because Chapter IV has clearly shown that the Caribbean female journalistic workforce is more highly educated than their male counterparts. What can be said however is that highly educated female journalists do not receive the same remunerational advantages for this qualification as do males. Our study has shown that male professionals with only high school diplomas are earning about the same as women with college degrees and commanding higher positions in the occupational hierarchy.

When this is added to the fact that almost three quarters of all Caribbean female practitioners (73%) had ten or less years of experience, while two-thirds of all men (66%) had double that; between ten and twenty years experience; one must conclude that women have worked less in the profession and therefore have fewer opportunities for advancement, less experience, and seniority and ultimately less access to high prestige positions and more high profile news beats. Women are proscribed and boxed in at all turns in the occupational hierarchy in the Caribbean.

Researchers (Bayes, 1988) do agree that the concentration of women into occupations different from those of men plays a crucial role in accounting for male-female earning differentials. Sue Lafky (1989) suggests that there is a fear that the increasing participation of women in the journalistic work force and in other areas of mass communication, such as public relations, could lead to lower earnings for everyone in those fields. Lafky also points out that there is documented evidence that women have made less money than men in their chosen occupation. For example, when Johnstone et al. conducted their study of US journalists in 1971, they found that women in journalism made an average of 64 cents for each dollar earned by the average man in the field. Two decades later, one of the most significant findings of the Weaver and Wilhoit (1981) study was that the disparity had lessened considerably with women earning an average of 71% of what men in journalism made in 1981. In 1996, Weaver and Wilhoit stated that "salaries improved slightly between 1982 and 1992, enabling journalists to recover some of the buying power lost during the inflation of the late 1970s....considerable progress was made toward parity of male and female salaries as well" (1996:121). In Canada, Robinson and Sanint-Jean (1997) report that

"though salaries for both women and men more than tripled between 1974 and 1994, as a group, women journalists still received between 71% and 78% of the salaries received by men (Statistics Canada, 1997:95-96, as qtd. in Robinson and St. Jean, 1995). Women therefore continue to be treated unequally in Canadian broadcasting, as in the Caribbean and in most broadcasting outfits around the world.

Scholars have disagreed as to why the wage gap between men and women exists. One explanation involves applying the human capital model, which posits that since women do not anticipate working for as many years, they therefore invest less in acquiring labour market skills. Economists Jacob Mincer and Stanley Polacheck have argued that when women leave the labour force to rear children, their job skills become stale and they suffer a wage penalty when they reenter. They argue that employers may invest less in women employees, because they believe that women may take time out of their careers to have children and that, as employers, they will not enjoy the same return on their investment that they will with male employees (Mincer & Polachek, 1974: 76-108). In this sense the human capital explanation is a supply-side model focussing on variation in job preferences and qualifications that men and women bring to the job market.

Chapter IV has shown that women in Caribbean broadcasting have thrice as many work interruptions for longer periods, than their male counterparts. The human capital theory may well explain the wage differential but it is insufficient to make sweeping generalizations since Chapter II has also shown that such a large proportion of females (43%) as compared to only 16% of males have no children because the profession is so time consuming. The data also demonstrate that few females (28%)

compared to 60% of Caribbean males are married. This indicates that the "double" role burden of work in journalism cannot be combined with marriage and child-bearing. This is a heavy sacrifice which only one gender is required to make in the profession. This indicates that the old patriarchal theory of "the male breadwinner" seems to be behind the way in which the gendered wage disparity is constructed.

B. Newsroom Influence in Caribbean Television

<p align="center">Table 5.2 <i>Respondents' Influence on Hiring and Firing of Editorial Employees by Outlet size and Gender</i></p>						
Area of influence	Large Stations		Small Stations		All Caribbean	
	Women %	Men %	Women %	Men %	Women %	Men %
Hiring	15	53	15	38	15	50
Firing	13	38	15	38	14	38

Another critical area where one may assess gender equity is determined by the amount of *real power* females and males have within the organization. In the comparative survey respondents were asked to indicate on a five-point scale the amount of influence they have on hiring and firing of editorial staff. A full half of the males(50%) in Caribbean stations reported having some influence on hiring, while 38% have influence in firing. These figures sharply contrast with the females, only 15% of whom have influence in hiring and 14% have influence in firing. There is not much difference between females' influence in large and small stations; but a larger

percentage of males (53%) in large stations have more influence than do men in small stations. An equal number (38%) of males in large and small stations reported having influence in firing. Kanter (1975) suggests that even when women have formal authority, they are often not necessarily able to exercise it over reluctant subordinates; in addition she further posits that women tend to assume visible leadership reluctantly, particularly when the subordinate is male (Kanter, 1975:61-62).

When asked whether they have supervisory responsibilities, 19% of Caribbean female journalists responded "Yes"; compared to 32% of males. A larger percentage of females in small stations (17%) compared to females in large stations (12%) have supervisory responsibilities. Some legal researchers argue that the personal choices made by women outside work have important implications for earnings and promotions in the work environment, and that these personal choice, not workplace discrimination, account for the persistent income gaps and management deficits (Gregory, 2003). This argument relies upon the human capital premise, mentioned earlier, that opportunities for promotion may not be as great for women who choose to leave work for extended periods to take care of their children. These theorists also contend that women who interrupt their careers to bear children would need greater job flexibility, less responsibilities and therefore less compensation. Our evidence has indicated that this is not the case in the Caribbean since only a very few female journalists opt to have children. Yet inspite of this sacrifice they have not been able to move up the occupational and beat ladders in large enough numbers to matter.

Robinson and St. Jean in their study of Canadian broadcasting found that obtaining information about unionized versus non-unionized television stations was

"very sensitive subject." In the Caribbean, not only was it regarded as sensitive but management staff felt they were perpetrating the worst kind of betrayal of their organization should they proffer any information on unions and agreements.

Table 5.3 <i>Presence of Collective Agreements and Equity policy by Group and Outlet Size</i>						
<i>Outlet Size</i>	<i>Collective Agreement/ Union</i>			<i>Pay Equity Organizational Policy</i>		
	<i>#No. with</i>	<i>Total #No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>#No. with</i>	<i>Total #No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Large	5	8	63	7	8	86
Small	2	8	25	6	8	75
Total	7	16	44	13	16	81

Despite lacking tangible documentary evidence in the form of actual contracts or agreements; 81% of Caribbean television stations claimed to have organizational policies which adequately handled equity issues; while 44% claimed to have collective agreements with unions which dealt with such matters. As Table 5.3 indicates; in the large stations, there even seems to be both union agreements as well as equity policies. Sixty-three percent of large stations had a union agreement and 86% have organizational policies. Within the small stations only two stations (25%) have collective agreements while 6 stations (75%) have organizational policies dealing with equity matters. In Chapter III it was pointed out that 6 of the 8 small stations were private and 2 were statutory corporations (Table 3.5 in Chapter III). One may make an obvious correlation here that the private stations tend not to have unionized workers

and prefer instead to opt for organizational policies which set standards, while the converse can be imputed for the large stations, six of which (75%) are government owned and whose employees are likely forced into joining unions to get their due.

Prejudice and limited access to information networks may also help to explain why Caribbean media women are overwhelmingly underrepresented in managerial and administrative positions in the broadcasting institutions. Hiring and promotion practices, management hierarchies and information networks constitute the internal culture which tend to sideline women professionals. In addition, discriminatory attitudes have raised invisible barriers, as outlined in Chapter III, to promotions for women, keeping them from top management positions. This internal culture reflects norms and customs in the broader Caribbean society. These invisible barriers create a "glass ceiling" that bars women from top management positions and more prestigious news beat assignments. Clearly women's career paths block progress to top positions because they are stuck in non-strategic positions. As was suggested in Chapter III, even women who break through glass ceilings in Caribbean broadcasting, often encounter traditional preconceptions and biases that keep them out of the "old boys' club" of senior managers and away from decision-making.

One only has to look at the larger Caribbean context within which these broadcast organizations operate. Living in societies with few natural or financial resources as pointed out in Chapter II, women face the problems of poverty, of dependency on industrialized countries and of being part of an International Economic Order and local economic order in which the odds are heavily stacked against them. Chapter I has shown that several other factors have contributed to the present position

of Caribbean women. These include the historical heritage of economic and political dependence on England during slavery and colonialism; increasing North American influence in the post-independence decades (1960s-1990s); and the socialization and culture of the region. Moreover, Chapter III has shown the internal segmentations of labour markets within TV organizations, with shorter job ladders for promotability, gendered beat assignments, sex-typing and the creation of ghetto-ized positions in the hierarchical structure. These have all converged to construct structural, human, and socio-economic barriers against women in Caribbean broadcasting.

I. Regional Anti-Discrimination Conventions

A number of regional initiatives have been undertaken to move gender equity onto the radar screens of Caribbean peoples and onto the Caribbean socio-economic agenda. As early as 1980, the CARICOM¹ Secretariat initiated consultations with governments aimed at reviewing and revising legislation in compliance with the general guidelines contained in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) which was established in 1979. This convention is regarded as the international bill of rights for women. It prohibits any distinction, exclusion or restriction on the basis of gender that impairs or nullifies women's human rights and fundamental freedoms. (Articles 6). A country is obliged to report on its efforts to meet CEDAW's goals within one year of signing the convention

¹ CARICOM is the regional economic grouping, Caribbean Community, that brings together Heads of Government and Ministers of the 13 English speaking Caribbean countries, French speaking Haiti, Dutch speaking Suriname, and Spanish speaking Cuba and the Dominican Republic. Caricom collaborates on all areas of regional integration: education, health, finance, legislation, sports, agriculture, illegal drugs, tourism, the environment and research and development. Members are committed to integration and cooperation, styled along the same mandate, program and policies as the European Union.

and every four years thereafter. As of early 2000, 165 United Nations member countries, including the Commonwealth Caribbean had ratified the conventions. Signatory governments are obligated to bring their laws, policies and practices in line with the provisions of the ratified treaty, but many countries have not followed through (UN, 1997).

Following the Second meeting of Ministers responsible for Women's Affairs in 1983, a research project was launched on the status of legislation affecting women in the English-speaking Caribbean. The research and subsequent consultations with governments and NGOs was the basis for drafting "model legislation" in eight areas: sexual harassment, sexual offenses, domestic violence, inheritance, citizenship, equal pay for work of equal value, equal opportunity and treatment in employment; and maintenance and the enforcement of maintenance orders. The model legislation, recommended to governments by CARICOM, was to guide governments in revising laws that discriminated against women, and in introducing constitutional changes to protect women and their families (Massiah, 1990).

The review of the status of legislation however revealed some shortcomings that put women at a disadvantage. For instance the Caribbean region is yet to resolve labour laws regarding maternity leave, equal pay for equal work and occupational health and safety to protect vulnerable workers. Only two countries, Grenada and Jamaica, have enacted specific legislation providing for maternity leave. For the majority of countries, maternity leave is provided under social security and national insurance schemes (Mondesire & Dunn, 1995). A wide range of legislation protect the rights of all workers and all countries in the Caribbean have accepted the concept of

equal pay for equal work, though Forde (1990) is of the view that the application of this requires persistent monitoring.

All the countries in our study are signatories to the Convention. Having signed the Convention, countries were required to reconcile their provisions with those in their own constitutions. For example in the Bahamas the Convention was ratified with reservations because of the incompatibility between the Convention and its constitution. In Grenada, specific changes were made with respect to Family Law, including the Status of Children Act; and criminal law including rape. According to the CARICOM Secretariat, the model legislation has been the subject of workshops and educational programs sponsored by Women's Bureaus and NGOs in the region. The Secretariat has reported that a number of Caricom countries have implemented the model legislation concerning Equal Pay. This means that most Caricom member states have agreed to take steps to ensure that their legal systems adopt the standard set by the Convention to achieve equal justice for all and equal rights for women.

The Broadcasting Acts of Caribbean television stations are silent on the issue of employment and workplace equity, although they generally prohibit "any matter in contravention of the laws." Moreover, the constitutions of all Caribbean countries guarantee rights and freedoms to all citizens regardless of gender. National constitutions affirm the principle of basic human rights. In principle all of them also contain an explicit reference to non-discrimination between men and women with respect to these rights. For example most of the constitutions of the English-speaking Caribbean state:

no law shall make any provision that is discriminatory either of itself

or in its effect...Subject to the provisions of subsections (6), (7) and (8) of this section, no person shall be treated in a discriminatory manner by any person acting by virtue of any law or in the performance of the functions of any public office or any public authority....discriminatory means affording different treatment to different persons, attributable wholly or mainly to their respective descriptions by race, place of origin, political opinions or affiliations, colour, creed, or sex...¹

Despite this constitutional provision, national constitutions are neither automatically nor necessarily effective. For example, many constitutions around the globe give women and men the right to vote and to be elected to public office, but gender disparities in literacy and access to information still limit women's participation in political forums. The World Bank posits that failure to consider the impact of gender stratification and inequalities on the practice of basic rights, weakens the power of constitutional mandates (World Bank Policy Research Report, 2001).

An important influence on national law especially on human rights is international law. International law has framed gender equality as part of a larger global concern about human rights and basic freedoms. All of the Caribbean countries under review recognize at least in principle, the international standards set by the general human rights instruments of the United Nations, starting with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted in 1948, and international laws and the conventions that have developed norms to address gender discrimination.

Most of the independent countries in the region have national machineries, the earliest being set up in Jamaica, Antigua, Barbados and Grenada between 1974 and 1979. The other countries established their machineries in the 1980s. There are a variety of models: women's desks, advisory committees, "space" in government

¹ Antigua and Barbuda Constitution Order 1981; Sec. 14, No (1) (2) and (3)

ministries and bureaus. All reflect significant changes in their designation and location within the government. The level of resources available to these initiatives vary from country to country, and the terms used to describe them might be misleading. For example "unit" might mean one person operating within a ministry or department. The tendency has been to place equity initiatives in the "caring" and welfare ministries such as Community development, Youth and Welfare or Human resources. Only two countries have ever established full Ministries of Women's Affairs: they are Grenada and St. Kitts and Nevis in 1984.

Throughout the region, under-resourcing is the norm in all national initiatives on behalf of women. Reports from the CARICOM Secretariat show that in many countries there was no additional allocation for women's ministries and neither did any country's ministry represent a line item in the national budget. Jamaica recorded the highest allocation of US\$60,600 per annum, followed by St. Lucia (US\$53,000), St. Kitts and Nevis (US\$9,259) and Antigua and Barbuda (US\$2,700) (Mondesire & Dunn, 1990). According to the Secretariat most machineries reported being heavily dependent on project funds from overseas agencies, which has important implications for their level of autonomy and their ability to secure funding for their own priorities.

A 1993 research report study undertaken by Rowena-Campbell on behalf of CARICOM examined the functions of the various national women's ministries and departments in the Caribbean, and made recommendations to improve their strategic role. The major findings, published in a Commonwealth Secretariat publication called *"Ladies in Limbo"*, were that:

1. Their objectives and functions were not clear,

2. They had responsibility without authority.
3. While they had some core budget and programme allocation from governments, in general they lacked human and financial resources to function effectively.
4. There was general agreement to mainstream their functions.
5. Their human resource allocation included project staff as opposed to policy staff, but training was limited and staff were not being used effectively. The ministries were therefore unable to meet demand adequately, if at all (Rowena-Campbell, 1993:23).

The most recent review of the situation in the Caribbean in 1994, pointed to reduced government allocation to national equity initiatives and increased dependence on overseas funding agencies for programme and project funding; less mainstreaming of women's issues; less skilled staff and a general absence of policy and gender analysis skills. The review also found that there were ineffective inter-ministerial committees and other focal points, which were either not working, or not working effectively; and although many countries had mandates and policy statements, there was an absence of prioritizing strategic objectives, and measurable objectives were largely non-existent. There was tendency to focus on meeting women's practical needs; and there was limited implementation of policy objectives although the majority had been accepted and approved at the highest levels. The analysis indicated that while there was a need "to move from a national to a more integrated approach, the national women's offices lacked legitimate power" (Mondesire and Dunn, 1995:18). They were not working effectively because a lack of ownership at a political level was often

responsible for failure to transform policies into reality. National policies needed acceptance not only by governments but also by parliaments. Parliamentary acceptance would require government and opposition to monitor and debate issues relating to policy. Further, some offices were weakened as a result of not being sufficiently interactive; they excluded, rather than included, groups which should have been brought to the table to develop, implement and review broad policy goals over time—not just for the duration of a government's term of office (Mondesire and Dunn, 1995).

Individual countries have gone ahead and implemented policies aimed at leveling the gender playing field. For example in 1987, Jamaica implemented a National Policy on Women, one of its major goals being pay equity:

"Recognizing that many areas of employment in which women predominate are also those which receive low remuneration and have poor working conditions, the government will take special policy measures to improve the pay and conditions of women's work and to promote the diversification of women's employment opportunities."(National Policy Statement, 1990:5).

The policy is also committed to identifying the areas in which reforms are required to eliminate discrimination against women in accordance with the UN convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

All Caribbean countries have NGOs involved in a variety of their activities. NGOs have given invaluable assistance with research and advocacy on a range of women's issues, including violence, employment, legislation, family and reproductive rights issues. At the regional level, the Women and Development Unit (WAND) has been instrumental in establishing and supporting several national women's organizations. WAND houses the Secretariat of DAWN (Development Alternatives

with Women for a New Era) and provides an important link between the Caribbean and the international community. Some of the joint programme activities undertaken by women's bureaus and NGOs include the organization of public education events, health and welfare service delivery programmes, advocacy and lobbying on legal reform, training in personal development and employment creation, support to agricultural programmes, networking, operation of women's crisis centre and rape crisis units in response to rising rates of violence against women, and a Women's political caucus which provides training and support to women aspiring to political office.

It must be recalled that over two fifths of Caribbean households depend on the income of women for their survival, yet commitment to women and development remains token and under-resourced. The setting up of a Bureau of Women's Affairs within a government ministry, serves only to acknowledge that adjustments are necessary. The 1992 West Indian Commission notes that what has been achieved has been the mere recognition that gender is a key issue to be factored into the development thinking, policy and programmes; however "this recognition has not been translated into adequately resourced programmes which genuinely improve the position of women in West Indian societies" (W.I Commission, 1992:335).

Other channels for action have arisen on the campuses of the University of the West Indies. In the early 1980s women's study groups were established at Mona, Jamaica; St. Augustine, Trinidad; and Cavehill, Barbados. Alongside the Institute of Social and Economic Studies these groups began the Women in Caribbean Project which conducted research, and began publishing books on topics such as women and

the law, family, politics, education, work and development (Cuthbert, 1989).

Hannah Pandian (1991) suggests that a possible reason for the tardiness in including gender concerns in communication policy is that governments in developing countries tend to favour "development news processes". Byerly (1995) supports this argument stating that with its focus on economic, political and social development, and the impact of historical and other factors; development news has tended to ignore women through the years (1991:109). Byerly rightfully suggests that traditional Western news tends to focus on singular events and oddities, and is less meaningful than news that can forge a coherent and relevant picture of a particular nation and its relations to other nations. The informational and educational needs of the news audience, emphasis on self reliant development and advances in socio-economic structures are therefore the major issues of development news (Byerly, 1995:110). Pandian further argues that with this type of outlook, development news *"does not often work toward correcting sexist perceptions* and therefore does not often challenge traditional patriarchal attitudes in society" (1999:467). The passive support of such traditional attitudes often forms the core of much media inequity against women.

We have seen in Chapter II, that the Caribbean media moved from strictly authoritarian to nationalist to a more development oriented media outlook and organization. It is therefore not difficult to characterize this "quasi-governmental attempt to promote certain values for the alleged stability and general good" of their nations, as being male centred, patriarchal and steeped in the "untrammelled maleness" (Erikson, 1960) that pervades all sectors and life in general in Caribbean societies. Pandian states "governments in these developing countries are loathe to heed feminist

principles engendered in Western societies or generally considered western" (1991:467). The fact is that the media in the Caribbean play a very different role from the traditional Western view of "journalism as the fourth estate" operating under freedom of speech convictions, protected by the First Amendment in the United States and similar legislation elsewhere.

C. How have Equal opportunity initiatives worked in Canada and the United States?

The Canadian gender and media policy model "is arguably the best developed gender communication policy system today" (Pandian,1999:474). Guidelines and recommendations on self-regulation exist at several levels, both judiciary and voluntary, and in different areas of the communications industry." The major reason for the Canadian success is that gender and communications policies emanate from a broad "*national preoccupation*" with preservation of cultural identity and the real concern with being marginalized by the cultural products of the USA, a phenomenon similar to the plight of the Caribbean peoples.

The first initiative by Canada to study the position of women in employment was in 1967 when a Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada was established by the Federal Government under the chairmanship of Florence Bird, a writer and commentator for CBC radio. In 1970 the Commission submitted its report which documented the inferior position of Canadian women in the workforce. Crown corporations, including the CBC were severely criticized for their poor record and challenged to "encourage women to move out of traditional female occupations,

emphasizing in all recruiting programmes that all occupations are equally open to men and women."¹ Emanating from the report, the CBC set up a task Force headed by Kay MacIver, Director of Radio for the English language network in Quebec. The MacIver report, published in 1975, found widespread dissatisfactions in the CBC, and a feeling that women were second class citizens. The main conclusion of the MacIver Task Force was the recognition that a very major problem existed at the CBC and that the position of women was unfairly affected by "the systemic and attitudinal discrimination". The Task Force recommended that a long term policy to rectify organizational practices and regulations, the adoption of an equal-opportunity hiring and promotion policy, the establishment of an Office of Equal Opportunity; in short an overall policy of affirmative action for women be set up (Crean, 1987). In late 1975, the Office of Equal Opportunity, OEO was set up at CBC's Ottawa head office, with the mandate to "ensure all CBC employees enjoy equality of opportunity without regard to sex, religion, age, marital status or national origin, in all areas of employment within the Corporation."

The Office of Equal Opportunity's main goals were to increase the representation of women within the CBC to approximate more closely the proportion of women in the general Canadian labour force and to increase the number of women in management, production and other key positions so as to parallel more closely the proportion of women on staff. The personnel policies and practices were examined and subsequently modified. In 1979, the OEO proposed an affirmative action approach aimed at breaking down job segregation by sex in all hiring, promotion and transfers.

¹ CBC Equal Opportunity Programme. Report to the Commission of Inquiry on Equality of Employment, 1983.

In 1971 the Federal government appointed a Cabinet Minister with special responsibility for the advancement of women; the first such appointment devoted to women's issues and status. The role of the Federal Minister responsible for the Status of Women is to act as an adviser and advocate within Cabinet to ensure that women's concerns are an integral part of Cabinet discussions. The Minister "provides leadership on issues of concern to women and participates in the strategic planning and priority-setting activities of the federal government and provides other Ministers with an assessment of the impact on women of policy and program proposals" (Status of Women Canada, 1993: 3-4).

In that same year the Status of Women Canada office was established with a mandate to "provide overall policy coordination and monitoring within the government and to offer policy advice to the minister responsible for the Status of Women and to other departments on all matters within federal jurisdiction that affect women in Canada" (Status of Women Canada, 1993:4). The Agency works collaboratively with the federal departments and agencies, provincial and territorial governments and cooperates as well with local governments and non-governmental organizations. This is accomplished in a number of ways:

- i) initiating and coordinating the development of policies that advance women's equality.
- ii) analyzing legislation, policies and programs for their impact on women.
- iii) recommending changes to ensure that government decisions are of benefit to women.
- iv) meeting with women's organizations across the country and monitoring their

positions on issues.

- v) informing women in Canada of federal initiatives of interest to them; and
- vi) chairing an intergovernmental department meeting of senior policy makers within the federal government to provide a forum for information exchange on issues related to the advancement of women.¹

The Agency's mandate was extended to include the Canadian public service and the Canadian Human Rights Commission, and they were given the power to monitor and enforce compliance targets in government departments and broadcasting institutions, as well as in federally regulated private sectors such as banks, airlines and railways (Robinson, 2004). The third element of Canada's national machinery is the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women. This Council was established in response to one of the recommendations of the Royal Commission. The Council is an independent organization funded by the government but outside of the government structure. The mandate of the Advisory Council is threefold:

1. to bring before the government and the public, matters of interest and concern to women;
2. to advise the Minister Responsible for the Status of Women on such matters relating to the status of women as the Minister may refer to the Council or as the Council may deem appropriate; and
3. to conduct research and disseminate information on women's concerns.

Status of Women Canada therefore works *within* the government to achieve change for the advancement of women; while the advisory Council operates at *arm's length from*

¹ As qtd in Canada's National Machinery for the advancement of Women, a Case Study; prepared by Status of Women Canada, May 1993.

the government. The Council is free to determine its own research agenda and may appear before Parliamentary Committees. The three elements: (i) Cabinet responsibility, (ii) a government department and (iii) an independent advisory council, have come to be recognized as *Canada's national machinery for the advancement of women*. It is significant that each province and territory has established status of women mechanisms similar to those already described for the federal level, although the mandates and methods of operation of these mechanisms vary according to the unique needs and circumstances of each jurisdiction.

Since 1982, federal, provincial and territorial Ministers for the Status of Women have been meeting at least once a year to discuss matters of mutual concern. On several occasions, the 13 Ministers responsible for the Status of Women have also held meetings with their sectoral counterparts to discuss specific issues; e.g. education for girls and women, and labour market issues. Working groups of federal, provincial and territorial officials have also been formed to study such issues as the harmonization of work and family responsibilities and gender equality in the justice system.

One of the early Federal government initiatives that led to employment equity legislation was the 1982 Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which constitutionally affirmed each individual's right to equality in employment. In 1983, a Royal Commission on employment opportunities for groups and individuals was created. Chaired by Judge Rosalie Abella, it coined the phrase "employment equity" and provided the philosophical rationale and intellectual infrastructure for employment equity initiatives and legislation across Canada. The government established this

Royal Commission on the Status of Women to inquire into the situation of women across Canada. The Commission spent three years examining virtually every aspect of the lives of Canadian women, issues such as labour standards, abortion, homeworkers, divorce, housing, education, pensions, native women, employment, volunteer experience and sexual stereotyping.

Emanating from the Abella Commission was Bill C-62, which mandated that the CBC as well as other Crown corporations and federally regulated employers, were required to submit to the Treasury Board a comprehensive workforce profile with an employment equity action plan, and subsequently an annual progress report. This required all contractors with bids of \$200,000 or more to create and submit an employment equity plan. In addition, under the Federal Employment Equity legislation and the Federal Contractors Program- four historically disadvantaged groups were accorded redress and accommodation measures: i) women, ii) Aboriginal peoples, iii) persons with disabilities and iv) visible minorities. These groups were found to have a long-standing pattern of high unemployment, lower than average pay rates and a concentration in lower status jobs. The organizations covered under the Federal Employment Equity Act and the Federal Contractors Program were banks, transportation and communications companies, the Canadian Forces, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the Federal public services and companies bidding for federal contracts of \$200,000 or more. The organizations were required to file an employment equity plan which must include both quantitative and qualitative components.

Quantitatively a snapshot had to be provided of workers, identifying not only

total number of workers in each occupational category, but also the number of designated group members in each occupation. Employment opportunities predicted within the next three years had to be provided, including numerical goals set to increase the number of designated group members in each occupation. Qualitatively, the Employment Equity Plan had to identify employment policies, practices and procedures that act as barriers to the designated groups and replace these barriers with positive policies, practices and reasonable accommodations to ensure a working environment where everyone had full access to all employment benefits and opportunities.

Reed states that both pieces of legislation were successful in persuading employers to embrace employment equity programs, however these programs were designed and controlled by individual employers and each employer was accountable only for demonstrating *good faith* efforts in achieving their goals, not necessarily for *actually* achieving them. Reed points out that the emphasis on good faith and employer control is both a strength and a weakness; "a strength because it has avoided a power struggle with business and a weakness because the programs have a very circumscribed ability to impose sanctions. They have no teeth." (Reed, 1995-96:47). The new legislation held employers accountable for the numerical goals they set not just "good faith" efforts to reach those goals. It imposed sanctions of up to \$50,000 for those who fell short of their goals. It set out mandatory, detailed procedures for designing equity plans and it gave much power and responsibility to unions as well as employees to produce those plans.

The Employment Equity Act was essentially a monitoring device for firms of

over 100 employees under federal jurisdiction. Employers were required to report annually on the situation of target groups in their firms, by occupational group, salary range and according to the number hired, terminated or promoted over the past year or be liable for a fine not exceeding \$50,000. Working groups of federal, provincial and territorial officials were also formed to study such issues as the harmonization of work and family responsibilities and gender equality in the justice system. The Federal Minister responsible for the Status of Women advises and advocates her cabinet colleagues to ensure that women's concerns are integrated into policy proposals and cabinet discussions. She meets with representatives from a variety of women's organizations across the country and she is supported by the previously mentioned Status of Women Canada department.

I. Integration Policies

In February 1976, the federal government introduced a policy of integration of status of women concerns. Each federal department and agency was required to designate a senior level *implementation mechanism or focal point* with a mandate to provide direct input into policy and program development. A small number of departments assigned specific responsibilities to the designated focal point, however many departments confused the personnel administrative function of equal opportunities for women employees. Since the 1980s greater attention has been given to strengthening the application of the integration policy. An integral step was the Interdepartmental committee (IDC) on the status of Women integration Mechanisms. This committee consisted of senior policy makers from key departments involved with

domestic and global status of women issues. Their work included:

- (i) sharing, coordinating and updating information about departmental policies and developments concerning the status of women;
 - (ii) discussing trends and issues of importance to Canadian women;
 - (iii) communicating information from IDC meetings to departmental colleagues;
 - (iv) acting as advisors to SWC on issues of shared concerns; and
- forming an extensive network of experts on status of women issues by facilitating communication, cooperation and coordination between government departments and agencies.

In the Canadian system, there is clearly a healthy relationship between the different regulatory bodies which allow for self-regulation by broadcasters, rather than the Canadian authorities having to practice authoritarian censorship. The Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunication Commission, CRTC which was set up as an independent agency vested with administrative and quasi-judicial authority, operating at *'arm's length'* from government and reporting directly to Parliament; is responsible for implementing policy under the Broadcasting Act, which among other things, addresses the issue of the roles of women in broadcasting. Ann Mainville-Neeson (1998) posits that many non-governmental organizations come together to assist the full implementation of Canada's broadcasting policy, even though the CRTC is cited in the Broadcasting Act as the sole body responsible for broadcast standards. One of those organizations is the Canadian Broadcast Standards Council (CBSC) a self regulatory body created by the Canadian Association of Broadcasters (the lobby

organization for Canada's private radio and television broadcasters). The CBSC plays an intermediate role in the regulatory process since it is neither a quasi-judicial nor a censorship body (Pandian, 1999). Over 90% of Canada's private broadcasters are members of the CBSC, which has five regional councils, each comprising six individuals: three representing the public, and three representing the council. The council deals with complaints regarding programming content, encouraging and promoting voluntary action by its members.

In order to address the number of women in the technological occupations, the CBC implemented a number of "outreach" activities to ensure that a pool of qualified women and minorities were available for future employment (Robinson, 2004). The corporation also implemented an applicant tracking system so that female applicants would be recommended for technical job openings. In addition, a \$400,000 "Help Fund" was set up to assist apprenticeships, workplace accommodation and advanced training for women in technical positions. Staffing policies in the technical and maintenance sectors were also revised to attract women and minorities; and journalism schools and colleges were contacted to encourage women and minorities to participate in internships and work-study programmes.

Canada's commitment to equality at the domestic level is also reflected in its foreign policy objectives. SWC represents Canada at meetings of international bodies such as the UN Commission on the Status of Women, the Commonwealth Women's Affairs Ministers, the OECD's Working Party on the role of women in the Economy and the Inter-American Commission of Women of OAS. Also an Inter-departmental Steering Group for International Women's Programs (ISG/IWP) has been established,

its function being to ensure that global equality is pursued in all of Canada's international relations. SWC and its provincial counterparts are also involved in bilateral relations with other countries to discuss ways to address status of women concerns.

In 1981 the Canadian government ratified the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)- providing an international legal standard by which progress on equality for women could be measured. As a member of the Commonwealth, Canada is also committed to the implementation of the Commonwealth Plan of Action on Women and Development and reports regularly to Commonwealth Heads of Government on measures taken to implement the plan. Women's organizations have also served as effective lobby groups for government action on a range of issues. For example calling for the Royal Commission on the Status of Women and subsequently monitoring government's progress in implementing those recommendations. The Women's Program created in 1973 and further made permanent in 1993 is the primary federal mechanism for funding women's work to improve the socio-economic and legal status of women at home, in the workplace and in the community. The Program provides financial and technical support to activities designed to improve the status of women. Its objectives include:

- increasing public understanding in order to encourage action on women's equality issues;
- promoting the organizational development of women's organizations in order to increase their effectiveness in working towards equality for women; and

- promoting actions by institutions to incorporate women's equality issues into their decision making structures, policies and programs.

Clearly Canada has a detailed code of conduct on gender portrayal and a very effective set of mechanisms for their implementation. Backed by a *strong culture of public participation* in policy development of all kinds, Canadian citizens are exceptionally well positioned to advocate fair and balanced media content and employment practices. The Canadian scenario has shown that "gender and communication policy needs to be embedded in a larger national drive to preserve, engender or promote certain values, or it will fail, either to be developed or to work if and when developed" (Pandian, 1999:477). In Canada, the onus is put squarely on the broadcasters; but to be successful gender and communication policies must fit into a larger policy of national development. "When national development and gender interests are not completely in line with one another, engendering policy appears to be virtually impossible" (Ibid.:478).

In contrast to the Canadian equity legislation landscape, in the USA pay equity is mandated by the 1963 Equal Pay Act, required by Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and is supported by a 1980 Presidential Executive Order and a 1981 US Supreme Court ruling. Pay equity defends such sources of wage differences as merit, seniority and quality or quantity of production while prohibiting pay disparities based on sex and race (Kelly & Bayes, 1988). Pay equity for women in the US rests on two basic assumptions; the first is that discrimination by gender in the workplace and pay ought to be, and is, in the United States, illegal; and that secondly, equal access to all jobs and equal pay for equal work is a constitutional right of all citizens. Title VII was

heralded as the most comprehensive employment discrimination statute since it includes a wide range of activities- hiring, training, referral, promotion, discharge, wages, and salary, fringe benefits. The broad coverage under the 1972 amendment to Title VII includes state and local government, educational institutions, as well as employers with fifteen or more employees. "Congress chose neither to enumerate specific discriminatory practices nor to elucidate *in extenso* the parameters of such nefarious activities."¹ Therefore the determination of what constitutes a violation was left to the courts, with guidance from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission,(EEOC). The US Congress created this Commission to administer Title VII and to process race, national origin, religious and sex discrimination claims filed pursuant to the statute (Gregory, 2003). The wording of Title VII suggests that violations have not been limited to an employer's discriminatory hiring or firing or rates of pay. Media employees have argued with some success that their employers acted in discriminatory manner by assigning them inferior office space, forcing them to perform clerical duties not required of other similarly-situated employees and requiring them to enroll in speech and diction classes not mandatory for other workers (Stevens, 1985:2)

In the United States, the onus is on the employees to bring charges against their employers and on the Courts to prosecute. Courts therefore have considerable discretion in deciding what remedy to impose if the plaintiff is successful. Among the remedies available are injunctions to stop a discriminatory practice, mandating the hiring or reinstatement of the plaintiff and any other equitable relief that the court

¹ Rogers v. EEOC, 454 F. 2d 234, 238 (5th Cir. 1971) as qtd in Stevens, George, E. Journalism Monographs: Discrimination in the Newsroom: Title VII and the Journalist. September, 1985.

deems appropriate. Stevens (1985) points out that Title VII is not a shield against harsh treatment at the workplace. Therefore, it is not a violation of Title VII when an employer pays low salaries to *all* newsroom employees, provides *all* editors with inadequate office space and supplies, *neutrally* enforces a prohibition relating to the employment of "close relatives", or even requires *all* secretaries (regardless of sex) to make coffee for their supervisors"(Stevens, 1985:3). He posits that though Title VII is designed to eliminate discrimination, it does not require that unqualified persons be hired, retained or promoted. In fact under Title VII a media employer may fire a qualified employee to hire an even better one; if the employer's behaviour is not motivated by animosity toward a protected group or its members. He or she may even fire a well-qualified worker to hire one with questionable qualifications; and considerable discretion is allowed an employer in deciding who is a qualified person. For instance he or she may place more value on work experience than on a journalism degree, or vice versa in making employment decisions.

It is clear that Title VII as constituted under the Civil Rights Act in the USA provides little direct help to many minorities and female job applicants. Unlike in the Canadian system where the onus is firmly placed on the employer, in the US, an employer need not give preference to minorities and women; but may choose among qualified candidates as long as unlawful criteria are not used. The obvious benefit of Title VII to female communicators is that they cannot legally be paid less than males if they are similarly qualified and perform comparable work. The rigid checks and balances and ultimately the political climate and national effort are absent from the U.S gender equity scenario. The kinds of many-layered, multi-dimensional gender and

communication policies found in Canada are not present in the US; where Courts and employees themselves are left to bring charges against employers who violate Title VII, in the Canadian scenario, sanctions, monitoring and regulations are in place to place the burden squarely on the employers.

D. A Global Overview of the UN 'national machinery' guidelines

The last three decades have seen a change in strategy from integrating women into development to empowering women to contribute to the development process and ensuring gender equity. Prior to the 1985 Nairobi Conference, the emphasis in academia had been on deepening the understanding of women's role in history, literature, and economics. In the public and private sectors, this was translated into numerical gains for women in secondary and tertiary institutions, in senior and middle management and in low wage jobs. However the decade from 1986 to 1995 brought greater realization that the need for participation, justice and equity were largely still unmet. Most governments worked towards improving and redefining existing legislative bodies to guarantee human rights and ensure justice for all, rather than for a select few.

Direct discrimination against women is now globally recognized as unacceptable and illegal. In the late 1960s United Nations member countries began dialogue on setting up special structures and mechanisms to "coordinate policy and make recommendations for improving the situation of women in the respective countries." Emanating from International Women's Year (1975) and the subsequent United Nations decade for Women (1976-1985) most countries have established what

the U.N defines as a national machinery: "a single body or complex organized system of bodies, often under different authorities, but recognized by the government as the institution dealing with the promotion of the status of women."¹ The UN guidelines focussed on "appropriate governmental machinery...to be established at a high level and endowed with adequate resources, commitment and authority to advise on the impact on women of all government policies." To be effective, the UN admonished that such machinery "should disseminate information to women on their rights and entitlements, collaborate with various ministries and other government agencies and with non-governmental organizations."

The UN has identified as areas of concern women's participation in parliamentary assemblies, in government at the highest level, in foreign affairs, in local representative bodies, as employers and own account workers, as administrative and managerial workers and as business proprietors. One of the key avenues for eliminating discrimination of women has come through the European Community's legislation called the EC Recommendation on Positive Action which explicitly encourages positive measures to eliminate inequalities which affect working women. "Positive Action" is aimed at firstly removing barriers that keep women from reaching the starting point in the competition for jobs; and secondly creating opportunities that allow women to 'catch up' with men. Positive action initiatives range from providing special training for women, inviting women to apply for particular jobs, setting targets for the appointment or promotion of women, giving women the edge in a 'tie-break' situation, particularly in senior management appointments.

¹ 1988 Report of the Secretary General on National Machinery for Monitoring and Improving the Status of Women, October, 1987

Prior to the efforts initiated in Europe, Margaret Gallagher had found a wide range of gender inequities in broadcasting organizations across Europe. Her research found that most of the broadcasting organizations in Western Europe have public service obligations and duties laid down in their charters and operating conditions in the mode of the BBC's Reithian model. Gallagher(1986) suggests that there was a "romantic" and idealistic view of public service broadcasting and terms such as "objectivity", 'balance', 'professionalism', 'responsibility' etc. were in fact highly abstract and pretty well indefinable"(1986:202). However the power to decide what constitutes balance or accountability always rested with a narrow range of individuals primarily white middle-class, middle-aged males living in large capital cities.

According to her research on television organizations in eleven European countries, women account for about 30% of the television workforce in most countries, but these women tend to be concentrated in a narrow range of jobs, most of which are relatively poorly paid. For example, in the administrative sector 60% of all women were found here but a mere 2% of women were in the top two tiers of administration; 20% of the men were in the top two tiers. In the technical field only 4% of posts were filled by women; there were almost no women in technical maintenance or in transmission control; only 2 women in lighting in France and women accounted for less than 1% of technical staff.

About a fifth of TV producers and directors were women, but they were concentrated in two main programme areas: education and children's programs, compared with 5% of all men. Conversely women were underrepresented in the more prestigious departments, such as news (14%) and current affairs, light entertainment

(16%) and sports (6%). The potential of women to influence policy or to direct change in TV was negligible, because in the three grades of senior management, only 6% of posts were held by women. Almost all of the women who were in senior management were on the lowest of the top three steps. Women's earnings in TV amounted to about 75% of men's, a figure similar to the North American statistics.

There was also the issue of the relative rates at which women and men progress through the same salary range. Gallagher found that over time a higher proportion of women were left behind in the lower level, lower paid jobs than men. Across all the organizations studied the average woman was at a disadvantage compared with the average man right from recruitment. She was appointed to a lower level job in a lower salary band. The other issue which emerged from Gallagher's retrospective analysis was that the tightest structural break on women's career development in television was their concentration in the administrative sector. She concludes that there was little indication of progress in the area of senior management. Only 6% of top management posts were held by women across 22 organizations, and there was no real sign that a younger generation of women was making their way into top management.

Through the interviews, Gallagher found that "trite and traditional assumptions and stereotypes about women still persist" and were voiced in personnel and other key departments within many of Europe's television firms. The myth that absenteeism was much higher among female than male employees was not empirically confirmed. In fact, in one case in Germany, men had a higher average rate of absenteeism than women. Gallagher aptly states that in many of the organizations there is a misconception that "the recognition and the solution to the problem [of inequity] are

one and the same thing." (Gallagher, 1986:215).

I. European Gender Equity Initiatives

In Europe, a number of steps have been taken to promote the goal of equity in broadcasting and in this segment we herald some of those initiatives. As early as 1976 the EC established its Directive on Equal Treatment, in which employers would be regarded as guilty of indirect discrimination if they created requirements or conditions which adversely affect a greater proportion of women than men. Indirect discrimination included such examples as excluding women with childcare responsibilities as being unworthy candidates for promotion; excluding part time workers from training opportunities; and imposing unnecessary age limits or mobility requirements on certain jobs.

Since 1976 a number of initiatives have been implemented in Europe to address the gender imbalance in broadcasting: in 1983, the European Commission funded research which led to the establishment of a Steering Committee for Equal Opportunities in Broadcasting. One year later, (1984) the Council of Europe adopted a Recommendation on Equality between women and men in the Media. In 1987 the European Parliament passed a Resolution on the Depiction and Position of Women in the Media. In 1988 the European Commission instituted the Prix NIKI, aimed at promoting a better image of women in television programs. In 1990 the European Commission and the European Broadcasting Union, with the assistance of the Greek national broadcasting company ERT, cooperated in the organization of a Conference entitled "Women and Men in Broadcasting: Equality in the 90s." In Europe most

broadcasting organizations have incorporated "positive action" into their equal opportunities policies in an attempt to "achieve results, by promoting and managing change." Many of these organizations have seen the need to develop a comprehensive, clearly articulated policy which is endorsed by senior management and which is aimed at changing the organizational atmosphere and the *ingrained attitudes and perceptions* of staff. For instance at West deutscher Rundfunk in Germany specific guidelines are set out for achieving equality:

" in terms of personnel policy this involves an undertaking to work towards an equal representation of women and men in all professional areas, in all salary groups and at all hierarchical levels. Effective immediately and until this goal has been reached these measures to be implemented in filling vacancies, further education and training and the relevant results are to be described in an annual report."

An Equality Officer is also employed to implement the objectives of the plan for the Promotion of women. The point to be made here is that though most European organizations have a general goal to reduce inequalities in the workplace, some have gone even further and *set explicit targets* for women's appointment in certain jobs or at a certain level to be achieved over a stated time scale, and against which progress can be measured. This is absolutely essential in making change for without targets and monitoring the situation remains the same. It must however be pointed out that a target is not a quota, because it respects the principle of appointing or promoting the best person for the job.

E. Creating an Equitable Environment in Caribbean News Organizations

Given the history and culture of the Caribbean region one of the very first measures which must be taken is the implementation of broad national and regional legislation which would address directly the problem of equity nationally first and then within organizations, such as the television networks. Clear policies which address the systemic discrimination found in broadcasting stations *must be entrenched in the various Broadcasting Acts*. It is agreed that the most difficult task in realizing equality in organizations is changing the attitudes, beliefs and perceptions which foster inequities between men and women. Chapter IV has shown that men have deeply ingrained preconceptions about women's ability to manage and about *their own* discriminatory behavior within the newsroom. Even women are tentative about their own skills and competencies to manage and have expressed a preference for working with male rather than female superiors.

The European Community's *Guide to Good Practice* suggests that a comprehensive, clearly communicated policy which is unambiguously and repeatedly endorsed by senior management "can go a long way in changing the organizational atmosphere and attitude of key staff". Effective policy, they posit "is not just the written word on the printed page, it is a strategic course of action, intended to promote change and not to camouflage inaction" (EEC Guide, 1989:4). Any new policies designed for the Caribbean news organizations must be *specific, realistic and comprehensive*. Caribbean news organizations with newly designed equal opportunities policies must create general *goals* to reduce inequalities within the newsrooms; but, as has been shown, some European news organizations have gone

further and set *explicit targets* for women's appointment in certain jobs or at certain levels, to be achieved over a stated time scale, and against which progress is measured.

Target-setting has worked remarkably in broadcasting systems in Denmark and the UK. In her research, Egsmose (2001) discovered that the goal of the BBC was for the company to reflect the gender and ethnic composition of the nation. In 1991, the target was to have women in 30% of all senior management positions by 1996, and in 40% of the middle management positions. Since the late 1980s they set targets within each major department to increase women's share of top management jobs. Their aim was to increase the percentage of women in senior positions to between 30% and 40% over a five year period. The BBC also established a *Corporate Equal Opportunities Unit*, which worked in unison with the Directorates. The commitment of senior management at the Board level was integral to its success; and departments that renewed their procedures and were more positive towards women and ethnic minorities were rewarded economically.

Alternatively, departments which were slow, reluctant or even passive were met with ridicule. So in short, there was some amount of competition between departments and peer group pressure- which were used to change behaviors and procedures at the BBC. Annual status reports and action plans were to be submitted to the EO officer as well. On the other hand, the aim in DR was to bring about changes in attitudes to women at the workplace and the methods employed were primarily *enlightenment and discussion*. The official target set by the company aimed at an equal distribution of women and men so that the under-represented females would make up a proportion of at least 40%. No time limits or monitoring provisions were set. The

overall goal at DR in Denmark was the eventual balance of at least 40% of females in all job categories and at all levels. So in 1989, they set targets for certain jobs, for example technical positions and journalists, and then in 1990 again they set targets for all jobs. In target setting, managers establish their own specific objectives and work in collaboration with an *Equal Opportunities Adviser*, and their progress is subject for review annually.

The approaches in the BBC and DR differed greatly in that whereas *changing behaviour* was the goal in the BBC, the emphasis in Radio Denmark was to *change attitudes* of people in the organization. In Radio Denmark, the *participant model* (bottom up) was in use indicating collective decision making and collective responsibility while the *authority model* (top down) was the approach at the BBC. According to Rogers and Shoemaker (1971) changes occur faster when the authority model is employed. The policies were much more formalized in the BBC compared with the DR's informal and short term efforts. Money had been spent annually for initiatives in the EO area at the BBC, not so in the DR. Egsmose concludes that the liberal perspective employed in the UK involving the use of rules instead of quotas to establish equal conditions of competition is perhaps a better choice for gender equity to be attained.

According to the BBC and other European models, some of the key ways in which this commitment to target-setting is effected, are by:

- a) making gender equality a regular priority item on the agenda of Board meetings, and underscoring its importance to senior executives.

- b) including target setting statements and goals in management instructional literature, so that senior staff are aware of their role in executing the policy.
- c) publishing material on equal opportunities, and making these available to all staff. These materials should set out employees rights and explain the courses of action which the company is taking to promote its policy. This has been done by BRT (Belgium), by LWT, Thames TV and the BBC, and by the Dutch Broadcasting Emancipation Committee.
- d) featuring articles about the policy and specific aspects of equality in in-house publications.
- e) organizing events such as lunch-hour meetings, open days, evening talks, seminars, workshops, and lectures to raise awareness of and interest in gender issues.
- f) identifying the less motivated, less enthused staff members and convincing them of the benefits of equal opportunities.
- g) incorporating equity awareness in management training courses. This is done by many of the British and German companies, by DR (Denmark) RTE (Ireland), and RTP (Portugal)

The European experience has clearly shown that detailed planning, and *administrative commitment* is quintessential to move policy from mere paperwork to a practical reality. It cannot simply be "added on" to the existing policies and responsibilities of one staff member, but "detailed planning administration and coordination are needed

to put policy into practice across the organization as a whole (EC Guide to Good Practice, 1989:6). Most of the organizations earlier mentioned have been able to implement policies in creative ways and these are instructive for the Caribbean newsroom setting.

Some of the first initiatives for changing Caribbean institutions, which have proven effective in European broadcasting are:

- i) Putting a senior executive in charge of the policy, and making her/him fully accountable for its implementation and functioning.
- ii) The employment or appointment of an equality officer, who would devise actions to promote equality and put them into practice. This has worked remarkably well at Thames TV (U.K), BBC (UK), DR (Denmark), BRT (Belgium) and WDR (Germany); such appointments were made in 1981, 1986, 1988 and 1989 respectively. Large companies such as the BBC with over 29,000 staff employed eight equality officers, whilst small stations such as TV-AM (UK) with 400 staff, employed an equality consultant on a part time basis.
- iii) Setting up a group or committee to lend support and offer advice to the equality officer/s. BRT (Belgium) has a *Positive Action Committee* headed by the Director of Personnel, whose ten members represent management and trade unions and encompass all the main areas of work. The BBC has an *"Equal Opportunities Implementation Group"* comprising important decision makers and the Dutch Broadcasting system has an *Emancipation Committee*

which offers advice on policy.

- iv) A monitoring and reporting system is key to tracking progress; to collect statistics about the number of women and men in all job categories, salary bands and/or hierarchical levels. It would also monitor the number of women and men involved at each stage of recruitment-applications, interviews/tests, appointments- for all internally and externally advertised vacancies; and the number of women and men on internal and external training courses organized or financed by the company.

Other important initiatives taken by European broadcasters to level the playing field include assigning both men and women to selection and interviewing panels; providing guidance and training in fair selection methods; adopting methods that minimize subjectivity; using standardized practical tests or assessments. A useful tool for gender balancing proposes *positive action* in selection which include specifically inviting women to apply for positions in which they are minorities; such as is done in Belgium, Denmark and Germany.

Gallagher admits that influencing and changing policy require both stamina and strategic thinking, but if the people empowered to develop policy are not receptive or sympathetic towards the pursuit of gender sensitive standards, advocates face an almost impossible struggle. Support at the highest level will "make all the difference between certain failure and possible success. Strategic alliances and planning- knowing where, when and how to apply pressure- are crucial if lobbying is to bear fruit in terms of policy change" (Gallagher, 2001:41).

The experiences in Canada and Europe demonstrate that a number of factors are essential to the development and evolution of strong and effective national gender equity machinery. They include:

1. political commitment at the highest level;
2. senior organizational position at the policy level;
3. focused strategic approach;
4. government wide integration of status of women concerns;
5. monitoring of progress;
6. coordinated action across federal, provincial and territorial governments;
7. policy research and assessment of the impact of policies on women;
8. well informed and dynamic women's organizations; and
9. last but not least, target setting and positive action.

One of the arguments frequently encountered on the issue of employment equity is that the various related initiatives were being implemented at an 'unpropitious time'- a time when the system did not have the potential for transformation. This is a typical excuse found in all countries in response to the disenfranchising of privilege. Tancred-Sheriff tested this argument by comparing the efficacy of two Canadian university initiatives: Canadianization and Feminization of the faculty. In the early 1970s, more than a third (37%) of the total teaching positions were held by non-Canadian citizens. The proportions were even higher in the Humanities (42%) and in the Social Sciences (43%); where almost half of the staff in these culturally sensitive disciplines were non-Canadians. By the 1980s immigration laws changed, and drastically reduced this imbalance. In ten years non-Canadian staff

was reduced by 13% to a quarter (24%) of all faculty. With regard to feminization, the proportion of women on faculty was much less effective. It increased by a mere 3% over the same period, for a total of 15% of females in Canadian faculties by the early 1980s. According to Tancred-Sheriff (1988) this indicates that some programs for disestablishing privilege have been more successful than others. It also signifies that it is impossible to modify the representation of disadvantaged groups within bureaucracies without a *fundamental value change*, which needs to be aligned with a new understanding of self-interest. Self interest, she claims motivates companies to adhere to the EE Act, particularly for firms which depend on federal financing.

Tancred-Sheriff presents a very interesting argument which may be considered in creating gender reform in the Caribbean media. She believes that some form of clear preference system(as in the Dutch model) is a good strategy for improving employment equity. By this she means not affirmative action or quotas per se, but the "instigation of a preference system which says implicitly that those who are recruited do not have to respond to a dated value system. The preference system would also indicate that women are not integrated into the workplace as some form of disadvantaged recruit, but rather that they are positively valued for what they bring" (1988:18). These preference systems include a preference for a particular ethnic group in the recruitment process to the point where its presence outpaces the quota envisaged. This she refers to as a "*categorical favoritism*" which is accorded to an ethnic group or a gender, for increasing its representation. There should also be a change in the language of the system, and the *de facto* according of privileges to the previously disadvantaged group. These changes provide *concrete, visible modifications* to the presence of previously

under-represented groups. Tancred-Sheriff's formula for "disestablishing privilege" constitutes the "implementation of specific and progressive objectives which express the value change clearly. The system has to be forced to put a high value on innovative values and there must be rewards for moving at a cracking pace" (1988:18-19).

In similar vein, Margaret Gallagher(2001) suggests that monitoring and advocacy are important strategies in the United Nation's Platform for Action which aims at holding governments accountable to the commitments made at the Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in September, 1995. She states that a "monitoring culture" developed after that conference, through the UN's Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW) and the United Nations Fund for Women's development (UNIFEM) helped facilitate change. These organizations were instrumental in encouraging women's organizations to monitor, lobby and network to ensure implementation of the Beijing recommendations. This researcher suggests that similar vigilance is required within the Caribbean for equity to be fully realized within organizations and nationally to be fully realized. As such, an additional measure to monitor equity policies in the Caribbean is to allow CAMWORK, the Caribbean Media Workers Association some power and authority to sanction Caribbean broadcasters which do not properly implement equality measures to monitor equity policies in its individual television entities.

It is this researcher's considered opinion that the Broadcasting Acts of the various member stations in the Caribbean need to be *explicit regarding the mandate to enforce equity provisions*; and to ensure that there is *conformity, enforcement and judicial support*. To enforce adherence to the law, license renewals might become

dependent on implementation of employment equity provisions as Media Watch in Ottawa recommended in 1987. Primarily obligations must be imposed upon all licensees and must involve policies, practices and barriers which affect both employees and contract workers of licensees. Within the systems, there must be a properly designed employment equity program for employers which allow for the assessment of an employer's performance. Progress in gender equity must be *discussed, monitored and assessed* via record keeping by the licensees; and employment figures and practices must be reported to relevant governing bodies.

Finally, to improve the image of women in broadcasting, there must be an increase in the participation of women in decision-making and in leadership roles within Caribbean broadcast organizations and on governing boards. To move from a gender minority in management, to one of greater equity, a ten year mandate might be introduced, resulting in all Caribbean Boards and Commissions showing equal representation by 2013. This framework should apply particularly to national broadcasting organizations which are publicly funded and should therefore be representative of public interests. Additionally the criteria for appointment of both men and women would do well to include a demonstrated commitment to improving the status of women.

The human resource departments are generally charged with enforcing anti-discrimination policies, but Gregory (2003) suggests that often they are denied the power and authority to do so with vigor. Enforcement then becomes an *ad hoc* application of remedial measures generally insufficient to modify a hostile working environment or prevent future acts of discrimination. Gender equity may be sustained,

and validated by factors indigenous to a company's work environment. Working conditions adopted in male dominated companies reflect the work and lifestyles of men with limited child-caring and family responsibilities, and job structures in this type of work environment often impact negatively on female workers. Corporate policies and practices espoused by these companies also contribute to the continuing presence of gender inequities in the working environment. Caribbean broadcasting outfits require daycare facilities to help alleviate the different burdens which women carry for childcare and which affects females negatively moreso than males.

F. Conclusion

Gender inequality is deeply embedded in Caribbean culture and is therefore also manifested in professional organizations such as broadcasting. Both men and women in the region have deeply internalized a belief in the appropriateness of women's deference and subordination. The work structure in Caribbean news organizations, the community organizations and the governments support and encourage gender inequality and reinforce men's and women's beliefs about women's innate inferiority and responsibility to serve others, which is reinforced by the dearth of action, legislative or otherwise to change the gender balance in the workplace.

Legal reforms of the types discussed in this chapter have brought about substantial changes in the institutional fabric of North American and European societies- by mandating change that signals commitment to gender equality; by establishing incentives that make equality more appealing, and by imposing penalties that make discrimination more costly. As a consequence, targeted laws and regulations

have indeed improved the conditions for all workers in labour markets in the Western world. Legal reform is viewed as a necessary step in, and a foundation for improving gender equality in rights and in establishing a more supportive institutional environment. However, the chances of success may be higher when lobbying for policy change is at the media institutional level, particularly if allies can be found within the senior echelons of the organizations concerned, as in the Canadian system. As this chapter has shown, many aspects of the law in the Caribbean merely pay lip service to equal rights with important consequences for these women's autonomy, security, opportunities and sense of well being.

One lesson which the Caribbean may learn from the experience in wealthier countries is that the administrative responsibility associated with implementation and enforcement is quite heavy. In Canada, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom specialized intermediary or enforcement agencies are required to apply these policies. A second consideration is that the potential of applying these policies is largely limited to the formal sector; thus their relevance depends on the relative size of a country's formal and informal sectors (World Bank Research report, 2001). Another crucial concern is that equal pay laws can displace women from jobs, unless equal opportunity laws also ensure that women have access to new work opportunities. Therefore firms need to provide equal opportunities for female staff in such areas as recruitment, hiring, job placement, training and promotion. The World Bank suggests that while such laws lead to employment gains for women, they do not necessarily help women break into administrative and managerial positions. Neither does it improve their earnings relative to men's by as much as a their education and experience would

warrant, despite equal pay policies.

It has been proven that discriminatory workplace policies, ideologies and practices have adversely affected older women, younger women and women with children. Sexual harassment is rampant, if not the norm, accepted in the Caribbean; evidenced in the high percentage of women who have experienced it at some point in the their careers. Many women remain mired in lower level positions and experience substantial disparities between the compensation that is paid to men indicating that discrimination against women in the workplace continues to exist.

One ray of light is this relatively bleak picture is that Caribbean women are rapidly becoming better educated than their male counterparts in the newsroom. Already they have earned more than half of all bachelor's and masters degrees in both large and small television stations; even though they lag behind in the number of doctorates conferred. Women in news in the Caribbean are therefore better qualified than men to assume positions of authority. The hope is that better educated women will be less likely to accept career barriers created by the structural and human factors discussed in this thesis and that they will be more likely to recognize discrimination for what it is and act on the conviction that sex discrimination has no place in their lives. These women are also unlikely to accept employment policies which are predicated on the mistaken assumption that child-rearing responsibilities necessarily conflict with work responsibilities. Since these women are better educated than past generations, they are also more likely to appeal to the courts to obtain legal relief from employer-related discriminatory conduct, policies and practices. However, these legislative measures still need to be put in place, so that Caribbean women have access to legal

redress.

The media institutions, in the Caribbean *must* themselves play an important role in re-shaping their policies, in challenging stereotypes and changing preconceived ideas about family roles. The welfare of all people would benefit if there were greater sharing of family responsibilities between women and men. This could form the theme of a seminar on the Image of Women in the Caribbean Mass Media. This work has identified some of the problems that exist in Caribbean broadcasting, which would raise questions about work place concerns in the newsroom, about sexism in beat assignments and about the slow promotion of females to top administrative positions, which this thesis has documented. Further studies on women and men entering media work in the region would help to elaborate and extend the findings of this present research. It would also enable us to identify more precisely the difficulties encountered by young female communicators in achieving success in their chosen profession.

Like their Canadian counterparts three decades ago, the major obstacles to women's advancement in Caribbean broadcasting are largely of the invisible variety, having to do with attitudes, biases and presumptions about women by those in senior management, who make key personnel decisions. Our professional status study indicates that women have made significant inroads in the broadcasting profession in the Caribbean; they outnumber men, but they have not mounted the hilltop of *social equity* in the professional setting and have not even begun to make a dent to achieve the *legal equity* required to put them on par with their Canadian, American or European counterparts. Ameliorating the huge gender imbalances in Caribbean broadcasting will be greatly assisted by implementing the suggested initiatives which

have worked effectively in the European and Canadian settings. However it will probably take decades to attain the goal of equity as William Chafe (1976) notes "when people are raised with a set of attitudes and ideas as deeply embedded as those about sex roles, inequities rarely disappear quickly"(:34).

Bringing about equality will require very big changes which criss-cross the whole social fabric of Caribbean communities, therefore the basic requirement is first a politically all-embracing view of Caribbean society's social and economic development to underpin reforms that will guarantee equitable distribution between the sexes. This task cannot be accomplished without the use of the accountability criteria mentioned above. These accountability criteria need to be enshrined in legal agreements and rules that make coexistence and equity possible. Canada has already blazed a trail which the Caribbean would do well to follow.

EPILOGUE

This dissertation has revealed that surprisingly there are a lot of women in Caribbean broadcasting; women outnumber men in both large and small outlets. This is totally unusual in most other regions of the world. However despite their large numbers, there are still structural and workplace barriers and a high degree of sexism in Caribbean television. The major accomplishments of this work are the following three points:

1. It has provided a historical context in which the broadcasting development of 13 English Caribbean countries can be conceptualized as a group. This has never been done before. This historical overview also permits one to conceptualize Caribbean broadcasting in terms of group characteristics. It has made it possible to talk of the region as a unit and permits one to place the profession of journalism into a historical comparative setting.
2. The second major accomplishment is that one may now conceptualize the profession of journalism in terms of an overarching theory namely a gender theory, which helps to explain why women and minorities have little access, in terms of beats, promotions and pay discrimination in this prestige profession. Prestige professions are professions in which men dominate. Two detailed surveys have revealed data to indicate that women experience:
 - i) difficulty of access;
 - ii) assignment to 'soft' beats;
 - iii) long job ladders hence fewer promotions;
 - iv) verbal, physical and psychological harassment; and
 - iv) lower pay.

3. The third major accomplishment is that this work has used a Canadian comparison to assess the reality of Caribbean women in the broadcast profession. In a profession that has been undergoing change since World War II, the Caribbean is still in the early stages of development, lagging behind its Canadian counterparts. There are important equity concerns which have not yet been addressed in the Caribbean but have long been put to rest in Canada. The most obvious is the fact that there is no legislation in place to deal with equity issues. This will have to be introduced in individual stations and at a regional level. The comparison has also shown that women have to be involved in their own parity development: it was strong agitation by women's groups which led to greater leveling of the playing field in Canada; and women in the Caribbean will have to get involved likewise for this change to happen. It will not trickle down from the top or come from nowhere. There must be an enthusiastic and forceful constituency working for change to happen in the region.

This dissertation has clearly shown that the development of Caribbean television broadcasting cannot be pigeon-holed into distinct theoretical models; there is instead overlap and blurring of the stages because of the colonial past. Even though the focus on the search for independence was important in conceptualizing the political culture of the region, such linear analysis is misleading for understanding the media history. Chapter II showed that the large and small country groups responded to their own unique elites and the government media relationships designed by them. Robinson (1997:34) aptly points out that media growth "follows a pattern very similar to the S-curves familiar from population, epidemiology and innovation studies." This development went through

roughly three stages which I have called the *Decolonization, the Nationalist and the Media Democratizing/Independence* stages. Caribbean broadcast development started slowly, but was followed by rapid acceleration which is now tapering off. This type of progression is theorized by Siebert, Schramm et al's "*Four Theories of the Press*" and McConnell and Becker's "*Media in Democratization.*" The Caribbean region coming out of the stranglehold of colonialism inherited the colonial media in the first period. This era was marked by authoritarian organizations which were run by British and then U.S interests. Nationalism enabled many television organizations to equate independence with "re-possessing" communication capabilities, but not in reality "owning" these organizations. In Period I, the Bahamas stand out as being the birth-place of television in the Caribbean. The large territories of Barbados, Jamaica, and Trinidad then followed suit just prior to their independence. All of these stations were set up by colonial investors seeking to serve their ex-patriate nationals in these countries or for the entertainment and information needs of tourists vacationing in the region. Because of their longer history, their size and economic growth potentials, these four countries plus St. Kitts and Antigua tend to have more developed media systems today and are now more libertarian in outlook and management than those of the group of countries with less resources.

The second period, 1970-89 saw a redefinition of media ownership and management as many of the governments nationalized or purchased their local broadcast facilities and set up statutory corporations. This period was characterized by heated debates about cultural imperialism and the role of the United Nations in helping developing countries gain a voice in the New World Information and Communication

Order. These initiatives spawned the Caribbean Broadcasting Union, CBU and the Caribbean News Agency, CANA, which were set up to redress the imbalance in news and programming and to provide a Caribbean voice for events happening in the region. In the nationalist period, Guyana, Jamaica and Grenada rejected libertarian notions of freedom of the press for a more focused thrust on national development needs. These included journalistic training at the Caribbean Institute of Media and Communication at the University of the West Indies to develop human resources for media institutions. Period II saw the birth of six new stations in Grenada, St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Lucia, Belize and Guyana- the first four from our medium group and the last two from our small group. All four of the medium stations (GBN, SVGTV, Marpin and HTS) were private entities, whilst in Belize, GBP was private and in Guyana the government established GTV.

Globalization and the shrinking of national borders in the third period, (1990-2003) has seen the move towards modernity, greater professionalism within broadcast organizations and the introduction of arms-length agreements between the governments and the broadcasters. Slowly freedom of the press is increased and moves towards a Libertarian model are evident in most countries. However the regional institutions- CANA and the CBU- so instrumental in assisting in the development of press freedom- are under-financed and may collapse without foreign financial assistance. The birth of four new stations in this period, two in the large group and two in the small, is indicative of the steady growth of broadcast outlets, which Schramm et al interpret as a sign of growing libertarianism. Yet, McConnell and Becker are not as optimistic and view it instead as a consolidation stage. An encouraging sign is that all four of these stations are

private entities offering competition and challenge to the older stations with their more nationalist outlooks. Better educational levels have challenged journalists to become more autonomous and to challenge the governmental dictates. Journalists have begun to extricate themselves from the tentacles of governments to provide mixed, politically balanced reports with a commitment to social responsibility.

A. Social Profile

Caribbean female journalists like those in Canada, the US and in Europe are younger than their male colleagues averaging 29 years for women and 42 years for men. The average years of experience for females is five years whilst the median male has on average 9 years' experience. Forty three percent of all female journalists have no children, while only a quarter of the males (16%) are childless. A little more than a quarter (28%) of female Caribbean journalists are married or live in a common law union; while a little less than two thirds (60%) of men are married. This contrasts sharply with the Canadian data which indicate that two-thirds (65%) of female Canadian journalists are married or live with a partner while four fifths of men (81%) are married.

Nearly two-thirds (61%) of Caribbean journalists are of African descent, whilst almost a fifth (21%) are of mixed race and a bit more than ten percent (13%) are of Indian origin. In 2003, there are no Caucasians working in the journalistic workforce, neither are there Chinese, Portuguese or Syrian/Lebanese (the other races prevalent in the Caribbean). However native people make up an infinitesimal 4% of the staff. In 2002, 63% of all Caribbean journalists were college graduates and 45% majored in journalism.

A larger percentage of females (62%) indicated that they had undergraduate or

diploma/certificate journalism training compared to 51% of men. More detailed analysis revealed that older men, especially those 45 years and over, were likely to have only a high school education, while younger men and women had the bulk of the undergraduate degrees. This clearly indicates that female journalists, like other professional minorities, continue to have to validate their status with high scholarly certification. These figures further underscore the statistics by other researchers (Reddock, Barrow, W.I Commission) that there appears to be emerging, throughout the region, a trend towards non-performance among male students at the secondary and tertiary levels of education.

Almost three quarters (73%) of the females worked in journalism for less than 10 years, whilst only one third 34% of males worked for less than ten years. Small stations had the highest percentage of "green" reporters (77%); whilst an almost equal number of males and females in large stations were working for less than 10 years. Most men had over 11 years of journalistic working experience and while 15% of males in large stations had over 21 years experience, No woman in large outlets had worked for more than 21 years. This supports Wilhoit and Weaver's claim that women not only enter journalism at an early age, but they are more likely to leave the profession before their male colleagues (Wilhoit and Weaver, 1996).

B. Station Size and Ownership

Chapter III demonstrated that women had the best chances of employment in small stations in small markets. Grenada and Belize rank at the top with 80% of their journalistic workforce being women; followed closely by St. Vincent with 71% and

Antigua from the large group with 71% of their journalists being women. All of the small stations, with the exception of St. Lucia employ 50% females or more than half of their journalists. This is not the case for the large stations. Five of the large stations, ABS, Antigua, GTV Guyana, NBN, Trinidad, TVJ, Jamaica and ZNS, Bahamas employ over 60% female journalists. However three of the large stations provided an aberration: CBC, Barbados, CVM, Jamaica and TV6, Trinidad all have less than a quarter of their journalistic staff being female. CBC had 4 females out of 16 or 25%; CVM had 3 females out of 14 or 21% and TV6 had 4 females out of a total of 19 or 21%. These three countries represent pioneers, which had been in the vanguard of the nationalist and independence movements. They attained independence the earliest and thus have had longer traditions of parliamentary democracy, but inspite of this these large countries continue to cling to their old authoritarian, paternalistic and traditionally male-centered approach to journalistic work.

In Chapter III we also learnt that 44% of television stations were privately owned or independent. This percentage represents 7 of the 16 TV stations; and the important point to be made is that 6 of those 7 stations are from the small group. Thirty-one percent of the stations are statutory bodies or corporations and 19% are still government owned.

C. Newsroom Conditions

In 2002, almost three quarters (72%) of females had a male as her supervisor, compared to 46% of males who had a female supervisor. The percentage of males who had women supervisors is significantly higher in small stations (49% in small stations and 28% in large stations). Only 19% of Caribbean female professionals hold

management positions; while 40% of males are in management.

Females in Caribbean journalism were less optimistic (59%) than males (83%). The level of despondency among females in the journalistic workforce was demonstrated when nearly one half (42%) of all women claimed to be disenchanted by their current job situation as compared to less than a fifth (14%) of the males. This finding is particularly critical because it clearly shows that males in Caribbean broadcasting are enthusiastic (79%), satisfied (74%) and optimistic (83%), while females are less enthused (61%) about their progress in the profession and the kinds of contributions they feel they are able to make, with a full 42% of females being disenchanted, versus only a tiny 14% of the males holding that opinion. This level of despair may be attributed to the fact that female journalists receive less pay, are less likely than males to hold management positions, are more likely than males to be stuck in job and beat ghettos; and are more likely than males to have great difficulty in carrying the "double burden" of reconciling work and home responsibilities.

In the Caribbean in 2002, 90% of females believe they are as competent as men in management positions; however only one-half (50%) of the males in the Caribbean agree with them. Thirty-one percent of males state that women are not as competent as men; and 19% are not sure, and say women *may be* as competent as men. This lack of confidence in female professionals was expressed largely by the older males and when linked to their boisterous opposition to feminism, indicates the deep levels of chauvinism still prevalent in Caribbean newsrooms. Chapter IV has shown that men have deeply ingrained preconceptions about women's inability to manage and about *their own* discriminatory behavior within the newsroom. Even women are tentative about their own

skills and competencies to manage and have expressed a preference for working with male rather than female superiors.

The fact that only 16% of the top newsroom bosses are female means that women in the Caribbean lack control over content, policy, money and direction. Men determine what is news and define how it is reported. In short the news in the Caribbean passes through a male filter. Women outnumber men in the newsroom in three places: on the bottom rungs of the position ladder as Researchers and Documentalists (88%); News-Writers (86%) and On Air Reporters (63%).

Chapter IV also argued that Caribbean females more frequently perform three tasks: *comfort colleagues* (90%), *answer the phone* (80%) and *make or get coffee* (54%). These activities are integral to the communication and interpersonal relations within the newsroom, but they represent the traditional nurturing, care-giving, domestic role which women perform in the home. Clearly, the newsrooms of the region are highly gendered and tasks are gender-skewed, since only one group is saddled with the time and energy-consuming burdens of comforting colleagues, answering the telephone and making coffee.

D. Beats

In Caribbean television, though women have access to 75% of the story areas, males occupy the majority of the "hard news" categories: 98% of *sports* reporters, 100% of *weather* reporters, 82% of *government and politics* reporters; 77% of *economics and consumer affairs* reporters and 73% of *science and technology* reporters. In contrast Caribbean female professionals are present in large number in such "soft news" beats, as

fashion, cooking and decoration (97%); health and medicine (91%); education (88%); and lifestyles (78%). The evidence also shows that while some women hold traditionally male positions and cover traditionally male beats, this is not the norm. Women and men both tend to be segregated into same sex ghettos. Women cover "women's beats" or "soft news"; while men cover high profile prestigious "hard news" stories which are often the leads of the news packages. This clearly shows that the place for women in the Caribbean newsroom in 2002 generally mirrors those jobs which historically were in the home: caretaker, not decision maker. At the top men continue to rule. Women constitute 16% of Chief Editors, Executive Producers and information directors; men 84%.

Most importantly we have linked the structural and human barriers to the prevailing patriarchal and traditional views which pervade Caribbean societies. These include notions about women's social role as primarily that of wife and mother in charge of family needs and child rearing. Men's social role is seen as being "the boss" and the provider. These one dimensional roles are ultimately transmitted into the workplace and circumscribe women's pay, the beats they are assigned and their job ladders.

E. Sexual Harassment

The data provided in Chapter IV proves that sexual harassment is perhaps the most serious and rampant problem in Caribbean broadcasting. It was argued that sexual harassment generally reflects an unequal relationship between a male and a subordinate female employee, which creates a hostile or offensive work environment for the woman. It denies equality and conveys the message that a woman is not regarded as a respected colleague and a valuable asset, but rather as a sexual object. Over *half* of women in

Caribbean television stations reported being the victim of verbal harassment, the most insidious and pervasive of the three types of harassment. Physical harassment was the second most rampant form of harassment with slightly less than half, (47%) of women experiencing it either once, a few times or often. In contrast, one quarter (24%) of all males experienced both verbal and psychological harassment, while 12 % of men were victims of physical harassment. The comparative data indicate that physical harassment is a more serious problem for females in small stations (50%), than in large stations (45%); but higher percentages of females in large stations were the victims of verbal harassment (58%) and psychological harassment (58%).

Again when cross comparisons are made with the Canadian data, the evidence presents similarities, but with one major difference: Canadian women are more prone to verbal (60%) and psychological harassment (43%), but only 20% of females were victims of physical harassment as opposed to 50% of Caribbean women. Clearly the policies implemented and adhered to in the Canadian environment have been effective in stamping out overt physical harassment in Canada. The same cannot be said for the Caribbean, which is still far behind in effecting and enforcing strict guidelines for the elimination of physical harassment.

F. Remuneration

In Chapter V, we saw that almost half (49%) of the women in Caribbean journalism had annual salaries below \$40,000; whereas just over a quarter of men (28%) are found in this salary range. In the middle salary range an almost equal amount of female (32%) and male (36%) professionals earn between \$40,000 and \$80,000. Men

outnumber women by only four percentage points. In contrast however male practitioners dominate the top salary ranges with 36% earning over \$80,000 compared with only 19% of female professionals. It is significant that though the salary scales are lower in small stations, women in the small outlets tend to fare better financially, than women in the large group. More than half of the females in small stations (53%) earn between \$40,000 and \$80,000, a number which approximates the males(54%) in small stations as well as the males in large stations (55%). However there are three times as many women in large stations (8%) earning over \$80,000 as women in small outlets (3%); similarly more than twice as many males(21%) in large stations earn over \$80,000 compared to males in small outlets (8%).

It is noteworthy that the 1997 Robinson/Saint-Jean Canadian study has shown that although the "glass ceiling" had shifted up the occupational ladder in Canada, there were less than 7% females in the top positions of Managing Editor and Editor. It also indicated that there was "very slow movement toward salary equity for work of equal value, with women in editorial positions on average being paid \$0.81 for every \$1.00 earned by their Canadian male colleagues in spite of union contracts"(Robinson & Saint-Jean, 1997:5). In contrast, Caribbean females in editorial positions on average earn \$0.69 for every \$1.00 earned by their Caribbean male colleagues. This underscores the further disparity in remuneration in a region riddled with broadcast institutions that have done little to introduce equity legislation designed to redress the professional status of females.

Chapters IV and V showed that a large portion of the wage gap in Caribbean television can be explained by the sexual division of labour. In Caribbean broadcasting, as elsewhere, women are routed into female-dominated job ghettos and less prestigious

'soft news' beats. The remainder of the gap may be related to the differences in seniority, experience, and degree of unionization between men and women.

G. Equity

Workplace discrimination is rampant in Caribbean broadcasting despite the higher percentages of women employed in news organizations. Many women in broadcasting have assumed a reticent attitude, consciously deciding to endure the unequal conditions of their employment. Women and men in the Caribbean have distinctly variant views on a wide range of workplace behaviours, practices and values and these are brought to bear on the working relationships and news production environment. Even when women find superficial acceptance in predominantly male occupations, they are excluded in subtle ways that impair their ability to do their jobs or to move up the job ladder. Since male domination of top positions is a structural phenomenon, the same processes that tend to strengthen the fraternity of Caribbean male professionals, reinforce the exclusion of their female counterparts.

In Chapter V a detailed analysis of the policies and legislative action undertaken by Canada, the United States and Europe provided the basis for recommendations for broadcast equity in the Caribbean. In Chapter V it was argued that the Canadian gender and media policy model "is arguably the best developed gender communication policy system today" (Pandian, 1999:474). Guidelines and recommendations on self-regulation exist at several levels, both judiciary and voluntary, and in different areas of the communications industry." It was shown that the major reason for the Canadian success is that gender and communications policies emanate from a broad "*national*

preoccupation" with preservation of cultural identity and the real concern with being marginalized by the cultural products of the USA, a phenomenon similar to the plight of the Caribbean peoples.

This dissertation has argued that the first priority in the Caribbean is for the Broadcasting Acts of the various member stations to be *explicit regarding the mandate to enforce equity provisions*; and to ensure that there is *conformity, enforcement and judicial support*. It has also suggested that to enforce adherence to the law, license renewals should become dependent on implementation of employment equity provisions as Media Watch in Ottawa recommended in 1987. These obligations should be imposed upon all licensees and should involve remedies to remove barriers which affect both employees and contract workers. All broadcast institutions should develop properly designed employment equity programs for employers which allow for the assessment of an employer's performance. Progress in gender equity must be *discussed, monitored and assessed* via record keeping by the licensees; and employment figures and practices must be reported to relevant governing bodies.

The European Community's *Guide to Good Practice* suggests that a comprehensive, clearly communicated policy which is unambiguously and repeatedly endorsed by senior management "can go a long way in changing the organizational atmosphere and attitude of key staff". Any new policies designed for the Caribbean news organizations must be *specific, realistic and comprehensive*. Caribbean news organizations with newly designed equal opportunities policies must create general *goals* to reduce inequalities within the newsrooms; but, as has been shown, some European news organizations have gone further and set *explicit targets* for women's appointment in

certain jobs or at certain levels, to be achieved over a stated time scale, and against which progress is measured. Chapter V has shown that target-setting has worked remarkably well in broadcasting systems in Denmark and the UK. In her research, Egsmose (2001) discovered that the BBC set itself the goal to reflect the gender and ethnic composition of the nation. More specifically, in 1991, the target was to have women in 30% of all senior management positions, and in 40% of the middle management positions by the turn of the century. The BBC also established a *Corporate Equal Opportunities Unit*, which worked in unison with the Directorates. The commitment of senior management at the Board level was integral to its success; and departments that renewed their procedures and were more positive towards women and ethnic minorities, were rewarded economically.

Finally, to improve the image of women in broadcasting, this thesis has suggested that there must be an increase in the participation of women in decision-making and in leadership roles within Caribbean broadcast organizations and on governing boards. To move from a gender minority in management, to one of greater equity, it has been posited that a ten year mandate be introduced, resulting in all Caribbean Boards and Commissions showing equal representation by 2013.

H. Tokenism

Drawing on Kanter's (1977) definition of power as "the ability to get things done, to mobilize resources, to get and use whatever it is a person needs for the goals he or she is attempting to meet;" this dissertation was able to assess the phenomenon of the token or "only woman" status which is evident at the top echelons in Caribbean television.

Kanter suggests that any situation where proportions of significant types of people are highly skewed, tokenism is at work; thus *the rarity and scarcity of females, rather than their skills and knowledge*, shapes the environment for women who work in areas mostly populated by men. The three central concepts in Kanter's (1977,1980) model analyzing organizational structure are *power, opportunity and numbers* or relative gender concentrations, explain the type of structural barriers women will face in an organization. In Kanter's estimation, the first concept, power is the ability to mobilize resources of money, materials, time, information and support and to use these to accomplish one's goals. Power "is the ability *to do* in the classic physical usage of power as energy, and thus it means having access to whatever is needed for the doing" (Kanter, 1977:166). The second concept, "opportunity" is defined as access to personal growth and development, especially career development and mobility. These two attributes are linked to position in the organizational hierarchy. Opportunity and power increase as one climbs closer to the pinnacle of the organizational pyramid (Kanter, 1977). The third variable, "numbers" is critical to the issue of tokenism. Kanter defines a token as an isolated individual who is outside of the norm, unusual and therefore highly visible. This visibility is based on "difference" and this leads to "token" treatment by others regarding the person as a stereotype, rather than an individual. According to Kanter, tokenism in senior management symbolizes marginality and powerlessness.

The token status of female journalists is enhanced by assigning four traditional roles to lone women in male groups. They are "mother", "sex object" or seductress; "pet" (group mascot) and "iron maiden" (militant and unapproachable) (Kanter, 1975). These role expectations tend not only to prevent the women from participating in the

group as full members, but also limit how a female behaves in the heterosexual newsroom. It furthermore adds to the overt sexual innuendoes which females have to contend with in the Caribbean. When a person is a statistical rarity, "it may take her/him more time to untangle mistaken identities and establish a competence-based working relationship, particularly with members of the numerically dominant category" (Kanter, 1975:57).

H. Future Directions for Caribbean Media research

This dissertation has attempted to break new ground in an uncharted field outlining the historiography, social impacts and gender stereotypes and ideologies which have impacted on the professional status of women in Caribbean broadcasting. It has shown that these gender stereotypes and ideologies have had an enormous impact on the roles, perceptions, behaviours and practices within the broadcast institutions of the Caribbean. Further research is necessary to ascertain how these stereotypes impact on women and men's career choices. One of the findings of this study indicated that sexual harassment was a serious problem in the newsrooms of the region. I would have liked to explore this problem more fulsomely, since I am of the view that it is pervasive throughout many business establishments across the region. Many men and women do not recognize sexual harassment for what it is; and some women pass off verbal harassment as mere compliment or flattery. This may be a cultural phenomenon in the Caribbean where subtle and overt sexual innuendo is linked to almost everything. Future research may look at how adequate the local and regional laws are in addressing sexual harassment in the newsroom.

It has also been noted that women are outperforming males at the secondary and tertiary levels in the educational systems of the region; more research is required to determine whether there has been a corresponding increase of women in top managerial positions the journalism profession. Perhaps a tracking or longitudinal study to determine the career paths of women with higher educational certification would be able to ascertain at what point women leave the profession and what career options they choose once they leave the profession. Wilhoit and Weaver suggest that in the United States many women leave journalism and opt for public relations and marketing careers. A more detailed study of the short and long term consequences of women's shortened job ladders in journalism would also provide an interesting study for the region's practitioners. Finally, a follow up study is required to again make another empirical assessment of the professional status of women in Caribbean Television and perhaps to broaden this work to make cross comparisons with the Spanish-speaking and Francophone Caribbean, which have very different political and socio-economic conditions and cultural traditions from the Anglophone Caribbean.

McGill University

ETHICS REVIEW
ANNUAL STATUS REPORT/RENEWAL REQUEST/FINAL REPORT

Continuing review of human subjects research requires, at a minimum, the submission of an annual status report to the REB. This form must be completed to request renewal of ethics approval. If a renewal is not received before the expiry date, the project is considered no longer approved and no further research activity may be conducted. When a project has been completed, this form can also be used as a Final Report, which is required to properly close a file. To avoid expired approvals and, in the case of funded projects, the freezing of funds, this form should be returned at least 1 month before the current approval expires.

REB File #: 97-0602

Project Title: Women's Professional Status in Caribbean Television

Principal Investigator: Jackie Quinn-Leandro

Department/Phone/Email:

Faculty Supervisor (for student PI): Dr. G. Robinson

1. Were there any significant changes made to this research project that have any ethical implications?

Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, describe these changes and append any relevant documents that have been revised.

2. Are there any ethical concerns that arose during the course of this research? Yes ☐ No ☒ If yes, please describe.3. Have any subjects experienced any adverse events in connection with this research project? Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, please describe.

4. ☐ This is a request for renewal of ethics approval.5. ☒ This project is no longer active and ethics approval is no longer required.

6. List all current funding sources for this project and the corresponding project titles if not exactly the same as the project title above. Indicate the Principal Investigator of the award if not yourself.

Funding sources remain the same.

The interviews have been terminated and the thesis will be submitted by the beginning of July 03.
g.j.t

Principal Investigator Signature: Jackie Quinn-Leandro

Date: 11/06/03

Faculty Supervisor Signature: Gertrude J. Robinson
(for student PI)

Date: June 13, 03

For Administrative Use		REB	AGR	EDU	REB
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> REB-II	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> The closing report of this terminated project has been reviewed and accepted				
The continuing review for this project has been reviewed and approved		Expedited Review			
Full Review Signature of REB Chair or designate: <u>[Signature]</u>		Date: 18/06/03			
Approval Period: _____ to _____					

APPENDIX B: Cover letters

Dear Sir/Madam:

Greetings. I am a Ph.D. Candidate at McGill University in Montreal, Canada. I am currently embarking on research on women's professional status in Caribbean Television. My dissertation will be assessing 13 Anglophone Caribbean countries, all formerly governed by the British, which now form the major part of the economic and political group referred to as CARICOM. A considerable body of work on women's media careers exists in Europe and North America. There is however no study of the broadcast professions in the Caribbean. My dissertation is intended to fill this void.

The study of the CARICOM broadcast profession will be based on two surveys. Survey I. was sent to your Station manager and requested comparative statistics on professional positions, beats, length of service and remuneration for different categories of workers. SURVEY II. Is designed to probe whether there are gender differences in professional behaviour. It is being sent to all female and male journalists working in television newsrooms around the region.

Thanks advance for your cooperation in filling out the enclosed questionnaire and returning it to my Liaison person who will in turn return it to me. Please do not include your name on the Survey. I look forward to your participation in this important research project, which will benefit the broadcasting profession in the Caribbean region. Please rest assured that where possible, the outcome of this work will be shared with you and your broadcasting colleagues around the region.

Yours Sincerely,

.....
Jacqui Quinn-Leandro
Ph.D. Candidate
Graduate Program in Communications
McGill University

Dear Sir/Madam:

Greetings. Your name was given to me by your Station Manager as a trustworthy Liaison person to assist in administering the enclosed questionnaires. Survey I was completed by your Station Manager and Survey II needs to be completed by the reporters/producers in the newsroom of TVJ.

Could you kindly have the news staff complete the enclosed questionnaires and return them to you. I have enclosed a self addressed envelope and postage so you may, in turn, post them to me.

The questionnaires all have explanatory cover letters. I am working on a limited time frame so I would appreciate if you could expedite this process for me.

Thanks in advance for your kind cooperation in this matter.

Best regards,

.....
Jacqui Quinn-Leandro
Ph.D. Candidate
Graduate Program in Communication
McGill University

APPENDIX C: Questionnaire to Station Managers

Ph.D. Research Project Questionnaire
 Television in the Anglophone Caribbean
 McGill University
 Graduate Program in Communications

 Tel: (514)-276-6739/(268) 463-0862
 Fax: (514) 276-5844

1. What is the name of the television station?

2. What is the type of ownership?

- a) government owned
- b) independent/private
- c) corporation/government statutory body
- d) group

3. Name of town/city the station is located.

4. How many full time journalists* work at the station (include all positions listed in question 6) _____

b) How many of these are men _____

How many of these are women _____

5. How many part-time journalists work at the station? _____

b) How many are part-time employees? _____

How many are free lance _____

Others? Please specify _____

c) Of those part-time journalists, how many are men? _____

How many are women? _____

6. What is the breakdown of the full-time women and men journalists per category?

<i>Positions</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>
1. Researchers and Documentalist		
2. News Writers		
3. Reporters (on the air)		
4. Correspondents (Parliament, Court etc.)		
5. Head of Divisions, Assignment Editors, Assistant Producers and Directors		
6. Producers and Directors		

<i>Positions</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>
7. Chief Editor (s), Executive Producers and Information Director (s)		

7. Of the total number of full-time journalists, how many are assigned to a specific beat? _____
8. We have distinguished 27 beats. Please indicate how many full time journalists are assigned to each of the following. If a journalist covers more than one beat, please indicate only the area of primary responsibility. Please list each journalist only once.

<i>Beats</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>
1. Local News		
2. Regional News		
3. International News		
4. Government and Politics		
5. Business and Finance		
6. Economics and Consumer Affairs		
7. Labour		
8. Real Estate		
9. Agriculture		
10. Health and Medicine		
11. Environment		
12. Science and Technology		
13. Education		
14. Social Welfare		
15. Police and Courts		
16. Personalities		
17. Human Interest		
18. Lifestyles		
19. Religion and Ecclesiastical Affairs		
20. Sports		
21. Arts and Entertainment		
22. Travel		
23. Weather		
24. Tourism		
25. Fashion, Cooking and Decorating		
26. Culture		
27. Organizations and Associations		
Others (Please specify)		

<i>Beats</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>

9. Collective agreements indicate average weekly salary ranges for the following seven categories. Please indicate the weekly (gross) salary ranges for each of these positions at your station.

<i>Job description</i>	<i>Less than \$300</i>	<i>\$300 to \$500</i>	<i>\$500 to \$700</i>	<i>\$700 to \$900</i>	<i>\$900 to \$1100</i>	<i>\$1100 to \$1300</i>	<i>\$1300 to \$1500</i>	<i>Over \$1500</i>
Researchers and Documentalist								
News writers (regional and national)								
Reporters (on the air)								
Correspondents								
Head of Divisions, Assignment Editors, Asst. Producers, Asst. Directors								
Producers and Directors								
Chief Editor (s), Executive Producers, Information Directors								

10. How many people occupy the position of Chief Editor (s)/Executive Producers and Information Director? _____

b) How many are men? _____

How many are women? _____

<i>Please list names</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Age range</i>	<i>Position</i>
	<input type="checkbox"/> M <input type="checkbox"/> F	<input type="checkbox"/> 20-29 <input type="checkbox"/> 30-39 <input type="checkbox"/> 40-49 <input type="checkbox"/> 50-59 <input type="checkbox"/> 60 +	
	<input type="checkbox"/> M <input type="checkbox"/> F	<input type="checkbox"/> 20-29 <input type="checkbox"/> 30-39 <input type="checkbox"/> 40-49 <input type="checkbox"/> 50-59 <input type="checkbox"/> 60 +	
	<input type="checkbox"/> M <input type="checkbox"/> F	<input type="checkbox"/> 20-29 <input type="checkbox"/> 30-39 <input type="checkbox"/> 40-49 <input type="checkbox"/> 50-59 <input type="checkbox"/> 60 +	
	<input type="checkbox"/> M <input type="checkbox"/> F	<input type="checkbox"/> 20-29 <input type="checkbox"/> 30-39 <input type="checkbox"/> 40-49 <input type="checkbox"/> 50-59 <input type="checkbox"/> 60 +	

11. How many people occupy the positions of Producers/Directors at the station? _____

b) How many are men? _____

How many are women? _____

<i>Please list names</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Age range</i>	<i>Position</i>
	<input type="checkbox"/> M <input type="checkbox"/> F	<input type="checkbox"/> 20-29 <input type="checkbox"/> 30-39 <input type="checkbox"/> 40-49 <input type="checkbox"/> 50-59 <input type="checkbox"/> 60+	
	<input type="checkbox"/> M <input type="checkbox"/> F	<input type="checkbox"/> 20-29 <input type="checkbox"/> 30-39 <input type="checkbox"/> 40-49 <input type="checkbox"/> 50-59 <input type="checkbox"/> 60+	
	<input type="checkbox"/> M <input type="checkbox"/> F	<input type="checkbox"/> 20-29 <input type="checkbox"/> 30-39 <input type="checkbox"/> 40-49 <input type="checkbox"/> 50-59 <input type="checkbox"/> 60+	
	<input type="checkbox"/> M <input type="checkbox"/> F	<input type="checkbox"/> 20-29 <input type="checkbox"/> 30-39 <input type="checkbox"/> 40-49 <input type="checkbox"/> 50-59 <input type="checkbox"/> 60+	

12. Please indicate the name and position of one woman journalist at the station as a contact person.

Name: _____

Position: _____

Telephone#: _____

Fax #: _____

E-mail: _____

13. Does the station have a collective agreement with the journalists? Yes ☐ No ☐

b) If yes, is the union independent? Yes ☐ No ☐

c) If no, to what larger union is it affiliated?

14. If there is a collective agreement, are there provisions concerning

job/salary equity?

Yes

☐

No

☐

15. Is there an organization policy concerning job/salary equity?

Yes

☐

No

☐

b) If yes, please indicate what areas are covered?

APPENDIX D: Questionnaire to Journalists

Ph.D. Research Project Questionnaire
 Television in the Anglophone Caribbean
 McGill University

Tel: (514)-276-6739/ Cell: 514-772-6739 Fax: (514) 276-5844

A. Profile of Respondents

1. Age: 20-29 ☐ 30-39 ☐ 40-49 ☐ 50-59 ☐ 60 + ☐

2. Gender: M ☐ F ☐

3. Marital Status:

• Single ☐ Married or common law ☐ Separated or divorced ☐ Widowed ☐

4. Number of Children: _____

• Children's ages:

• 0-5 ☐ 6-12 ☐ 13-16 ☐ 17 or over ☐

• Are you planning to have more children?

• Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't know ☐

5. First Language (s)

English ☐ French ☐ Spanish ☐ Other(s) _____

Language(s) spoken:

English ☐ French ☐ Spanish ☐ Other(s) _____

Language(s) written:

English ☐ French ☐ Spanish ☐ Other(s) _____

6. Citizenship: _____

7. Country of birth: _____

8. Ethnicity:

African descent ☐ Indian ☐ Caucasian ☐ Chinese ☐ Mixed ☐ Native people ☐

9. What is the highest grade you completed in school?

Completed

Ongoing

Not completed

Elementary School

High School

College

Undergraduate

Certificate

Graduate (Masters)

Graduate (Doctorate)

What year did you obtain your last degree? Year: _____

10. If you graduated from college or more, what was the name of the institution?

11. What were your undergraduate major(s)?

12. What were your undergraduate minor(s)?

13. Did you get training in journalism?

Yes ☐

No ☐

14. If so, was your journalism training in:

North America ☐ Caribbean ☐ Britain ☐ Europe ☐ Other ☐

Name of Institution _____

15. What level of journalism training?

College

☐

Undergraduate ☐
 Graduate (Masters) ☐
 Graduate (Doctorate) ☐

16. Do you have training in other fields?
 Yes ☐ No ☐

17. If so, what kind of training?

18. Describe any other activity or experience pertinent to your work:

19. How many years of experience in broadcasting do you have? Number of years: _____

20. Please describe the various types of employment you have had throughout your career and the corresponding number of years for each:

TYPE OF EMPLOYMENT	CORRESPONDING NUMBER OF YEARS
Full-time	
Part-time	
Contract work	
Freelance	
Replacements	
Other	
	TOTAL:

21. Since your first job in broadcasting, have you worked continuously?
 Yes ☐ No ☐

If not, please indicate the reasons for stopping work, the number of times this was necessary and the duration of each leave:

REASONS FOR STOPPING WORK	NUMBER OF TIMES	DURATION
Birth of children		
Studies/Professional development		
Family		
Relocation or travel		
Job loss		
Spouse's projects/work		
Other (s) Please Specify		
	TOTAL:	TOTAL:

22. What is (are) your current job title(s)? Please indicate the number of years you have had this job.

Number of years:

Researcher/Documentalist
 News writer
 Rank and File Reporter
 News Anchor/Presenter
 Day or Night Editor
 Assistant Managing Editor
 Managing Editor
 Producer
 Director
 Information Director
 Chief Editor
 Executive Producer

23. Your immediate supervisor is:

A man ☐
 A woman ☐

24. What other position(s) have you held before your current position(s)? Please indicate the number of years for each:

Newspaper Magazine Radio TV No. of Years

Researcher/Documentalist
 News writer
 Rank and file reporter
 Columnist

Correspondent
 Anchor/Presenter
 Day or Night Editor
 Assistant Managing Editor
 Managing Editor
 Producer
 Director
 Information director
 Chief Editor
 Executive Producer
 Other: _____

25. What was your gross annual salary range for 2001?

Under \$10,000	<input type="checkbox"/>
From \$10,000 to \$19,999	<input type="checkbox"/>
From \$20,000 to \$39,999	<input type="checkbox"/>
From \$30,000 to \$49,999	<input type="checkbox"/>
From \$50,000 to \$59,999	<input type="checkbox"/>
From \$70,000 to \$79,999	<input type="checkbox"/>
From \$80,000 to \$89,999	<input type="checkbox"/>
Over \$90,000	<input type="checkbox"/>

26. Which "beats" do you cover? List the top five in order of importance.

Social Welfare	Economics & Consumer Affairs
Business and finance	Tourism
Police and Courts	Fashion, cooking and decoration
Government and Politics	Agriculture
Arts and entertainment	Personalities
Culture	Human Interest
Religion/Ecclesiastic Affairs	Lifestyles
Sports	Travel
Science and Technology	Weather
Education	Real Estate
Labour	Organizations and Associations
Health and Medicine	Environment

27. Do you presently hold a management position?

Yes ☐ No ☐

If so, please give the reasons why you accepted it.

28. Have you ever turned down a management position?

Yes ☐ No ☐

29. If so, please give the reasons why you turned it down:

30. 30. If you were offered a management position, would you consider it?

Yes No Maybe

Within a year
 Within 5 years
 Within 10 years
 Eventually

31. What are your professional aspirations for the next 5 to 10 years?

5 years 10 years

Stay in the same position in the same medium
 Hold another position in the same medium
 Hold a similar position in another medium
 Hold a different position in another medium

Hold a management position in the same medium

Hold a management position in another medium

Don't know

Change my professional orientation:

Please specify: _____

32. Are any members of your family connected with journalism? Please specify gender:

F

M

Parent(s)

Grand-parent(s)

Sibling (s)

Children

Cousin (s)

Aunt (s) and Uncle (s)

Friends of the family

None

33. Do you belong to any professional journalism association(s)?

Yes ☐

No ☐

34. If yes, please specify which ones?

35. B. Professional Values, Roles and Ethics

1. What attracted you to a career in journalism? (5 represents the most important reason, 1, the least)

Most important

Not important

5

4

3

2

1

Don't know

I wanted a job that gave me a

lot of freedom

I have always liked to express myself

I was interested in news work

I wanted an exciting job

I wanted a job that would let me call

attention to social problems

I wanted the opportunity to

influence people

I had friends/family members who

were journalists/media workers

I wanted to be "where it's happening"

I didn't want to go through a long theoretical education

I wanted to foster new ideas

2. What matters the most to you in your profession? (5 represents the highest importance, 1, the least)

Very important

Not important

5

4

3

2

1

Don't know

Pay

Fringe Benefits

Freedom from supervision

The chance to help other people

Job security

Chances to develop a specialization

Amount of autonomy

Chances to get ahead

in the organization

Editorial policies

Chances to excel

Variety and stimulation

Level of stress

3. In your day-to-day job, who or what influences your concept of newsworthiness? (5 represents the greatest influence, 1, the least)

Very influential

Not influential

5

4

3

2

1

Don't know

Your colleagues
 Your supervisors
 Your friends and acquaintances
 Your journalistic training
 Findings of viewers/ audience research
 News sources
 Local competing news media
 Budgets

4. Personally, which 'beats' do you prefer to cover. List your top five preferences in order of importance.

Social Welfare	Economics & Consumer Affairs
Business and finance	Tourism
Police and Courts	Fashion, cooking and decoration
Government and Politics	Agriculture
Arts and entertainment	Personalities
Culture	Human Interest
Religion/Ecclesiastic Affairs	Lifestyles
Sports	Travel
Science and Technology	Weather
Education	Real Estate
Labour	Organizations and Associations
Health and Medicine	Environment
International News	

5. Please give the reasons for your choices.

6. How often do you find that you disagree strongly with your organization's editorial stands?

Frequently
 Occasionally
 Seldom
 Never
 Not applicable

7. How much freedom do you usually have in selection the stories you work on?

Almost complete freedom ☐
 A great deal of freedom ☐
 Some freedom
 None at all

8. How much freedom do you usually have in deciding which aspects of a story should be emphasized?

Almost complete freedom
 A great deal of freedom
 Some freedom
 None at all

9. Do you have supervisory responsibilities?

Yes
 No

10. How many employees do you supervise? _____

11. How much influence do you have on decisions concerning hiring and firing of editorial employees? (5 represents the greatest influence, 1, the least)

	Much influence				No influence		
	5	4	3	2	1	Not applicable	
Hiring							
Firing							

12. How much freedom do you usually have in deciding how the stories written by others will be used in a broadcast?

Almost complete freedom
 A great deal of freedom

Some freedom
None at all

13. How often do you get reactions or comments from:

Often Sometimes Rarely Never Doesn't apply

Your supervisors
Your colleagues
Journalists from
other media
The public
Sources

In your opinion what tasks should broadcasters perform? List your top five preferences in order of importance.

Report events
Comment events
Explain events
Critique events
Raise controversy
Arbitrate social conflicts
Give background information on events
Investigate
Explain in simple terms
Educate
Favour new ideas
Play watchdog role
Condemn wrongdoing
Help sell

14. Is there a code of ethics in your organization? Yes No

15. How influential have the following been in shaping your ideas in matters of professional ethics? List the top five in order of importance.

High school teachers
University professors
Journalism teachers
Family upbringing
Religious training
Day-by-day newsroom learning
A senior reporter
A senior editor
A publisher or general manager
Workers or co-workers
Other: _____

16. In your opinion, can a journalist who has strong beliefs about an issue report objectively about that issue?

Easily possible
Possible with difficulty
Not possible at all
No opinion

17. How do you define objectivity?

18. In your opinion, is the right amount of emphasis being placed on objectivity by members of the profession?

Too much
Too little
About the right amount
No opinion

19. In your opinion, how important are the following principles in journalism? (5 represents the highest level of importance, 1, the

lowest)

Very important Not important
5 4 3 2 1 Don't know

Freedom of the press
Public's right to know

Social

responsibility of the media
Respect for private life
Respect for people's right
to equality
Freedom of speech
Freedom of thought
Search for truth
Individual responsibility as
a journalist

20. Journalists have to use various methods to get information. Given an important story, which of the following methods do you think may be justified and which would you not approve under any circumstances?

Justifiable Unacceptable
5 4 3 2 1 Don't know

Paying people for confidential
information
Using confidential business or government
documents without authorization
Claiming to be somebody else
agreeing to protect confidentiality
and not doing so
Badgering unwilling informants to
get a story
Making use of personal documents (letters
and photos) without permission
Getting employed in a firm or organization
to gain inside information

21. How do you define "hard news"?

22. What percentage of your work is related to topics that you would describe as "hard news"?

0% - 25% ☐
26% - 50% ☐
51% - 75% ☐
76% - 100% ☐

C. Journalistic Ideals

23. In your opinion, how important are the following in relation to a journalist's behaviour? List your top five choices in order of importance.

Integrity
Accuracy
Objectivity independence
Fairness
Curiosity
Openness
Social consciousness
Commitment
Professionalism
Emotional distance
Other(s)

24. As a professional group, how would you characterize the role of journalists in society? List your top five choices in order of importance.

Agents of change
Intellectual elite
Neutral witnesses
Uninvolved conveyors of information
Bureaucrats
Stars
Craftspersons
Entertainers

25. In your opinion, how important is it for your news medium to do the following: List your top five choices in order of importance.

Get information to the public as quickly as possible
Provide analysis and interpretation of complex problems
Investigate claims and statements made by the government
Stay away from stories where factual content cannot be verified
Concentrate on news which is of interest to the widest possible public
Discuss national policy while it is still being developed
Develop intellectual and cultural interests of the public

26. How do you think your news medium fulfills the following functions? List your top five choices in order of importance.

Get information to the public as quickly as possible
Provide analysis and interpretation of complex problems
Investigate claims and statements made by the government
Stay away from stories where factual content cannot be verified
Concentrate on news which is of interest to the widest possible public
Discuss national policy while it is still being developed
Develop intellectual and cultural interests of the public

27. In your opinion, what is the perceived social status of journalists in your country in terms of: (5 represents the highest level of importance, 1, the lowest)

	Very important				Not important	
	5	4	3	2	1	Don't know
Power						
Influence						
Visibility						
Respect						
Popularity						
Public's confidence						

D. Newsroom Climate

27. How do the following terms describe your professional environment (5 represents the highest level of agreement, 1, the lowest)

	Totally agree				Totally disagree
	5	4	3	2	1
A family					
A team					
A group of colleagues					
Competitors					
Rivals					

28. How would you rate the following statements concerning the climate of the newsroom in which you work? In our newsroom:
Often Sometimes Rarely Never Don't know

Very stressful work relations
Strict operational control
from management
Competitive
Good communication and relations
among workers
Shared values about important
professional matters
Good opportunities for advancement

29. In general, do you consider sexual harassment to be a problem for female broadcasters?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>
Maybe	<input type="checkbox"/>

Don't know

☐

30. In general, do you consider sexual harassment to be a problem for male broadcasters?

Yes ☐
 No ☐
 Maybe ☐
 Don't know ☐

31. Have you ever been sexually harassed in your work environment?

Often A few times Only once Never

Verbally
 Physically
 Psychologically

If so, who was/were the harasser(s)? (Please specify gender)

M F

Colleague
 Supervisor
 Source
 Viewer
 Other employee
 Other _____

32. Have you ever witnessed cases of sexual harassment at work?

Often A few times Only once Never

Verbal
 Physical
 Psychological

If so, who was (were) being harassed?

Women ☐ Men ☐

Who was (were) the harasser(s)? Please specify gender.

M F

Colleague
 Supervisor
 Source
 Viewer
 Other employee
 Other _____

33. In your opinion, has any formal complaint of sexual harassment ever been made in your news organization?

Often A few times Only once

Yes
 Maybe
 No
 Don't know

34. If so, who was (were) the harasser (s)? Please specify gender.

M F

Colleague
 Supervisor
 Source
 Viewer
 Other employee
 Other _____

35. To whom were the complaints referred?

M F

Colleague

Immediate Supervisor
 High level Supervisor
 Other _____

Don't know.....

36. What was the employer's response?

Ignored report
 Forum was held
 Discussion among upper-level staff
 Reprimand issued
 Committee took action
 An executive took action
 A policy was developed

37. What were the responses of male colleagues?

Negative attitude
 Feeling that policies are adequate
 Feeling of overall support
 Active support role

38. What were the responses of female colleagues?

Negative attitude
 Feeling that policies are adequate
 Feeling of overall support
 Active support role

E. Increased Participation of Women in Journalism

39. How do you feel about your job? List top 3 choices in order of importance.

Enthusiastic
 Satisfied
 Optimistic
 Neutral
 Pessimistic
 Disenchanted

40. How difficult is it for you to reconcile work and family life?

Easy
 Relatively easy
 Difficult
 Very difficult

41. How would you respond to the following statement: "women have to do more because they are women"?

Totally agree
 Somewhat agree
 Somewhat disagree
 Totally disagree
 Don't know

42. Do you feel women journalists have to do more of the following at work?

Often Sometimes Rarely Never Don't know

Make or get coffee
 Pick up after others
 Answer the phone
 Look for documents
 Comfort colleagues
 Be a lightning rod

43. If you are a woman, do you feel you have to do more of the following work?

Often Sometimes Rarely Never Don't know

Make or get coffee
 Pick up after others
 Answer the phone
 Look for documents
 Comfort colleagues
 Be a lightning rod

44. Do you feel you have been discriminated against in your present job?

Often Sometimes Rarely Never Don't know

In assignments
 Sources' preferences
 Sitting on committees
 Management's attitude
 Male colleagues' attitude
 Female colleagues' attitude
 Public's attitude

45. Do you think that women are being discriminated against in broadcasting today, with regards to the following:

Often Sometimes Rarely Never Don't know

In assignments
 Sources' preferences
 Sitting on committees
 Management's attitude
 Male colleagues' attitude
 Female colleagues' attitude
 Public's attitude

46. Do you think that men are being discriminated against in broadcasting today, with regards to the following:

Often Sometimes Rarely Never Don't know

In assignments
 Sources' preferences
 Sitting on committees
 Management's attitude
 Male colleagues' attitude
 Female colleagues' attitude
 Public's attitude

47. If you were discriminated against, would you file a complaint?

Yes, definitely
 Yes
 Maybe, I'm not sure
 No
 Don't know

48. Would you be reluctant to accept a position under an Equal Opportunity Program?

Very reluctant ☐
 Not reluctant ☐
 Don't know ☐
 Doesn't apply ☐

49. During broadcasting job interviews, were you ever asked questions about your family and personal responsibilities?

Often ☐ ☐ Never ☐
 Sometimes ☐ I don't remember ☐

50. In your opinion, what do you think female broadcasters contribute to the profession?

51. How do you define women's topics?

52. Do you think women broadcasters have as much ambition as male broadcasters?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	Maybe	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>

53. Do you think women have equal chances of reaching management positions?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	Maybe	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>

54. In your opinion, should media content actively promote equality for women?

Totally agree	<input type="checkbox"/>
Somewhat agree	<input type="checkbox"/>
Somewhat disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>
Totally disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>

55. Who do you personally prefer to work with?

Men	<input type="checkbox"/>
Women	<input type="checkbox"/>
No preference	<input type="checkbox"/>

56. Where would you say changes brought about by women broadcasters are most visible? (5 represents the highest rating, 1, the lowest)

	Very visible					Not visible
	5	4	3	2	1	Don't know
Higher degree of professionalism						
Wider range of topics covered						
Different angles of coverage						
Greater emphasis on ethics						
Increased range of experience						
Greater level of initiative						
Increased educational level						
Increased emphasis on cooperation by management						
Increased competition						
Improved newsroom climate						
Improvement in sources' attitudes						
Better writing style						
Greater sensitivity towards sexism						

57. Do you think women are as competent as men in management positions?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	Maybe	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>

58. How would you define "feminism?"

59. If you are a woman, do you consider yourself a feminist?

Yes, definitely	<input type="checkbox"/>	No, probably not	<input type="checkbox"/>	Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>
Yes, probably	<input type="checkbox"/>	No, definitely not	<input type="checkbox"/>		

60. If you are a man, do you consider yourself pro-feminist?

Yes, definitely	<input type="checkbox"/>	No, probably not	<input type="checkbox"/>	Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>
Yes, probably	<input type="checkbox"/>	No, definitely not	<input type="checkbox"/>		

61. How would you evaluate the progress made by Caribbean women broadcasters over the past 25 years?

	Very satisfying			Totally unsatisfying		
	5	4	3	2	1	Don't know
Number of women journalists						
Number of women holding management positions						
Work schedule						
Daycare facilities at worksite						
Equal promotion opportunities						
Salary range						
Value of life experience						
Importance given to women's topics						
Autonomy in choice of topics and angles						
Other _____						

APPENDIX E: METHODOLOGY

A. Methods and types of evidence collected

Research questions in the field of gender, and the journalism profession can be approached with a variety of methods and a range of data gathering and analysis techniques. In my work, a complete survey was conducted, with in-depth interviews to analyze the position and experiences of women working in the communication industries of the Caribbean. Van Zoonen (1994) points out that interpretive research does not rely on a single type of data but takes advantage of triangulation. Multiple methods of data collection and of data analysis resulting from the triangulation principle have helped to eliminate the weaknesses of each individual method and thus greatly enhance the quality and value of this interpretive research project.

This study looks at journalists and senior staff only, primarily those responsible for news policy, development, administration and management, news and programme output and decisions affecting programming. My major concerns are the role perceptions of the professionals working in Caribbean Television; the backgrounds and education of those working in the profession; professional attitudes, beliefs and values of practitioners; comparative remuneration and fringe benefits for women and men; structural and institutional barriers within the organization; career paths; assignments covered by men and women within the medium; and the ways in which individuals combine work with family life.

Like Weaver and Wilhoit's 1982 and 1991 study of the American Journalist, and Robinson and St. Jean's (1997) study of the Canadian journalist, this study of the Caribbean journalist utilized a three stage sampling plan:

1. The first step included compiling lists of all television stations in the 12 Anglophone countries taken from the Caribbean Yellow Pages and the Caribbean Broadcasting Union Media Directory. Questionnaire I was sent to all the Station Managers explaining the project and asking for the total number of all news or editorial people working in each organizations and other demographic details.
2. In the second stage a list of all full time journalists for all the organizations in the sample was compiled.
3. The third step involved sending the detailed questionnaire to individual journalists from the lists collected in Step 2;

A three stage interview process was utilized for data collection. The first contact was made via telephone to the Station managers. Copies of Questionnaire I were then sent to the Station Managers, and finally Questionnaire II was sent out to all journalists. These were self administered for seven stations and administered by this researcher in five of the stations. The questionnaires were designed to provide information comparable to the data collected by Robinson in Canada and Weaver and Wilhoit in the US, therefore most questions were of a similar nature to those surveys, with additional questions to address the peculiarities of the Caribbean region. The survey used gender as a key variable to explain the professional and interpretive setting in which women journalists work.

The analysis of the data collected with the survey instrument was done using SPSS statistical software. This software provides for very advanced statistical analyses in a most efficient manner. Finally, participant observation and group interviews in the on

site visits helped enrich the data. These qualitative methods were effective in gaining a sense of the newsrooms and administrative offices of Caribbean TV stations, allowed the participants to tell their own story in their own terms. These types of cross-over methods expanded on the quantitative aspect of my work. Indeed, the words of Van Zoonen (1994:127) were instructive in guiding my research approach: " the study of gender, culture and media is interdisciplinary in its theories and methods, since both communication and gender are discursive and social phenomenon at the same same time to be studied through an array of methods that find their origins in the humanities and the social sciences."

B. Obtaining the Data

A copy of the appropriate questionnaire along with a cover letter was mailed to each Station Manager. The cover letter gave the time and date of the call back. After a period of two weeks, I called the Station Managers referring to the letter sent previously; in many cases the original letter had been misplaced so another questionnaire and cover letter had to be faxed to them. Near the end of Survey I, Station Managers were asked for the name of a high ranking responsible woman journalist in the organization. That individual served as the liaison contacts for the second Questionnaire. In Survey II, I mailed copies of the detailed questionnaire and cover letter to the Liaison officers who were responsible for distributing the questionnaires to the journalists, collecting them when they were completed and mailing them back to me. This process consumed quite a lot of time, energy and finances since it required many follow up calls and faxes. I was told by many of my Liaison contacts that journalists like to ask questions but do not have

the time or the patience to respond to questions. This caused a major delay spanning over 10 months to collect the responses.

C. On site visits

In summer of 2002, I visited eight of the Television stations in the study: ABS in Antigua, ZIZ in St. Kitts, GTV, Prime News and VCT in Guyana; NBN and TV 6 in Trinidad and CBC in Barbados. At all of these stations I administered Survey II questionnaires to the journalists, had a tour of the newsroom facilities, observed journalists at work, went on an assignment with a news crew in Barbados; and had informal discussions with management and staff.

As was noted in the thesis, many of the same questions were used from the Weaver and Wilhoit (1986) study of the American journalist and Robinson and St. Jean (1997) study of the Canadian journalist for purposes of comparison. The results amassed within this dissertation will serve as a more comprehensive bench mark for future comparative research.

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