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# Women and Television in Europe



# WOMEN AND TELEVISION IN EUROPE

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# 1. THE CHANGING MEDIA ENVIRONMENT IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

'The twentieth century marks the onset of the communications revolution ... Networks of telephones, telex, radio and television have exponentially increased the density of human contact ... Television, now advanced by satellite, has become so ubiquitous as to be more environment than communications medium'.

(The Communications Revolution, Frederick Williams, Sage Publications, 1982, pp. 230-231)

# Importance and Influence of the Media

Throughout the 1980s, as a musical tempo the European broadcasting world has been agitato. Technological developments and commercial influences have been advancing at such a pace that writing about the 'current' state of broadcasting is like writing for yesterday's newspaper. By the end of the decade there will be an estimated 90 satellite and cable channels in the twelve member states of the European Community, in addition to the existing networks. A turning point was reached in 1982 when Rupert Murdoch's Sky Channel introduced commercial satellite television into Europe. By 1986 Sky Channel was reaching 5 million viewers in 12 countries, and a year later Super Channel was hard on its heels in the battle for audiences and advertising Viewers in densely cabled countries, such as Belgium revenue. and the Netherlands, already have access to twenty or so foreign and domestic channels. Elsewhere - for example, in France, Germany, the United Kingdom - heavy investment is currently going into the development of cable networks. With the introduction in many countries of 24-hour transmission and the rapid growth of ownership, television is infinitely available. common-place in waiting rooms, airport lounges, even metro stations, it seems truly ubiquitous. It does indeed threaten to become 'more environment than communications medium'.

Highly visible, major providers of information and entertainment, the media in Europe are undeniably a significant element in the network of influences which form public opinion, attitudes and perceptions. Television is now the main source of news for the majority of adults. It is the preferred medium of children, who are particularly heavy viewers. There are few people who can trace no piece of information or opinion to a source in the media, and a huge amount of money and effort is spent in directing media to achieve this. Conveying impressions about priorities, directing attention selectively among issues and problems, the media tell us who and what is important. The message is not a very encouraging one for women.

# Women and the Media Industries

A glance through the back numbers of <u>Women of Europe</u> is enough to show that 'the media' are frequently perceived as one of the most impenetrable obstacles to the achievement of equality between women and men. In its first year of publication alone (1978) the journal reported on separate actions taken by women in Belgium, France, Germany, Ireland and Italy to analyse and challenge the mass media's limited definitions of women and of women's place in society. Ten years later, the 'excessively traditional image of women' reflected in the media is still firmly on the agenda, with the 4th European Colloquy of Women's Associations citing the 'persistence of disturbing stereotypes' in media output as an important barrier to change (<u>Women of Europe</u>, No. 52, 1988).

In the course of a life-time the average European citizen will spend twice as long in front of the television screen as in the classroom. Media output is a life-long lesson in what to think, what to expect, what to dream. Not in a direct or propagandistic fashion, of course. But through its sheer familiarity, pervasiveness and the comfortable domesticity in which it is normally enjoyed, television in particular is able to create a kind of symbolic environment which - if not consciously challenged - defines and thus becomes reality.

Media practitioners routinely dispute the power attributed to their institutions and output, arguing that there is no scientific evidence of any link between media content and patterns of social behaviour, and that the media simply act as a 'mirror' of society. Yet assumptions about their power and effects are clearly evident in policies for control of the media, 'mirror' of society. and in decisions taken within the media themselves - for example, about the need to handle issues in a 'balanced' way, whether to publish or transmit a particular item and so on. Moreover despite (or even because of) their aspirations to neutrality and 'objectivity', the media generally serve - by action or by omission - to 'mirror', protect and advance the interests of those with greater economic and political power in society. Since in our societies gender is a fundamental determining factor in the definition of economic and political power, the media obviously reflect and advance a power structure in which women play a secondary role. This power structure is, of course, reproduced within media organisations themselves, adding yet another layer to the complex process through which the media inscribe and legitimate certain views of 'reality' and not others.

Women's strategies to counter what they perceive as the negative aspects of media influence have centred on three broad approaches. The first has been to develop autonomous, women-controlled media - magazines, audio and video production groups, even news or press agencies - with the aim of creating a sort of counter-culture. Most of these initiatives function primarily as a source of information and support to women themselves; offering an 'alternative' to the standard media

fare, they do not set out to challenge mass media practice in a direct way. A second approach is taken by groups such as the Stichting Vrouw en Media (Netherlands) or the Women's Media Action Group (U.K.) which, although independent of the mass media, purposely interface with them — for example, awarding prizes for 'good' or 'bad' output, or lobbying for change in the criteria, routines and procedures adopted by media professionals. Finally, there is the approach which aims to confront and challenge media practices from within — for example by creating either a women's action and lobby group, or a management-level policy or monitoring group inside the media organisation itself: some such mechanism now exists, for instance, in Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and the U.K.

Many women are sceptical about the likely success of this third approach, arguing that the structure and operation of the mass media do not favour fundamental change and that 'the interests of women' will simply be reinterpreted and coopted by the interests of the media themselves. While the undertaking is indisputably difficult and delicate, to dismiss it is surely to accept defeat. It is also to underestimate the sensitivity of the media to the climate of public opinion, and the extent to which that climate — in terms of attitudes to the position of women in society — has itself evolved over the past decade (see, for example, Women of Europe, Supplement 26: 'Men and Women of Europe in 1987'). While it is difficult to argue that the media are, on balance, a force for major change in society it is equally difficult to deny that insofar as the media must capture attention, audiences and revenue, they must also be roughly 'in step' with social developments.

There is a sense in which mass media systems - while deeply implicated in the creation of social images - are also involved in the parallel creation of images of themselves. Thus, the 'image' of public service broadcasting in Europe is bound up with notions such as professionalism, quality, pluralism, objectivity, responsibility and so on. These terms - although highly abstract and well-nigh indefinable - nevertheless play an important role in sustaining the media in their claims to be 'keepers of the national conscience'. Allied to its traditional mission to inform and educate (as well as to entertain) these ideals define the specificity of public service broadcasting - its earnestness, seriousness and accountability. It is precisely this nexus of guiding principles underlying its image of uniqueness - an image increasingly important to sustain in the face of unprecedented commercial competition - which requires public service television to respond to pressure from women. The nature of the response may be superficial, or it may be more considered. This will depend on the way in which the pressure is applied, where, and by whom. It is with such questions that this monograph is concerned.

#### Media Research and Action

Until relatively recently women's place in the media has not been considered a serious subject for research, by either the academic or the media communities in Europe. Academic careers have been made through studies of other media-related topics, such as television violence or news reporting, and the results of such research have frequently generated much debate within the media themselves. However, it was not until the early 1980s that 'women's studies' gained even partial acceptance — and then only in certain countries — as an respectable academic discipline. Before that, most studies of the portrayal and participation of women in the media were carried out by women activists, usually working on a voluntary basis or on a shoe-string budget. The two facets of the problem — the images created, and the media power structure — although inter-related, were generally looked at in isolation.

Compared with the relatively large number of studies of media portrayal of women, very little systematic research has documented the nature and extent of women's participation in media production. To some extent this imbalance reflects the historical context which gave rise to much of the early research: a context of social concern, of engagement, in which the studies were often carried out by, or on behalf of, women's groups and organisations. In such a context, critical analysis inevitably focussed on the artefact itself - media content. It is immediate and accessible, and - assuming one can get hold of a VCR - relatively cheap to research.

But analyses of content per se are weak in terms of suggesting or justifying proposals for change. Moreover, they tend to raise yet other questions for research, the most obvious being why is the content as it is? This throws the focus back squarely on the organizational context of production, the composition of the media workforce, and the relationship between the output and its producers. Here, however, the researcher faces problems of a different order. The first - often insurmountable - is to gain access to information which, far from being intended for public consumption, may well be regarded as private and confidential. Thus a sine qua non for research into this facet of the problem is the cooperation and confidence of the media organisations themselves.

It was against this background - the absence of any integrated research approach to the issue of women and media at the European level, set against persistent expressions of concern as to the nature of media influence on attitudes to equality between women and men - that in 1983 the Commission of the European Communities provided financial support for three Community-wide research studies. The overall project fell within the New Community Action Programme on the Promotion of Equal Opportunities for Women, 1982-1985. Based on the premise that 'evolution in public attitudes' is heavily dependent on the mass media, the studies were to follow three separate lines of investigation:

- \*an analysis of the images of women projected in popular television programmes;
- \*an assessment of 'alternative' programmes broadcast by mainstream television;
- \*a study of women's employment in television, and of positive actions taken by broadcasting organisations.

These studies constituted the first comparative survey of the portrayal and participation of women in the media of the - then - 10 countries of the European Community. Their results formed the basis for discussions at a European-wide seminar held at the free University of Brussels in June 1985. The seminar was to pave the way for the extension and continuation of this initial work. For example, the study of women's employment in television was up-dated and extended in 1986 to cover the new Member States of Portugal and Spain. However, the most important development was the establishment of a European-level mechanism to stimulate and pursue positive actions for women in and through television. More will be said of this later. First it may be useful to turn to the main research findings on the image and employment of women in the European media.

#### 2. HOW WOMEN ARE REPRESENTED IN THE EUROPEAN MEDIA

This chapter presents three separate sets of research findings on women's representation in the media. First there is a summary of the study of television content conducted in 1984 by Gabriel Thoveron of the Free University of Brussels. This is followed by a sort of coda, to introduce some research into the portrayal of women in the media of Portugal and Spain, countries not covered by the original Thoveron study. The final section summarises the 1984 study of alternative television programmes, conducted by Eliane Vogel-Polsky of the Free University of Brussels.

# Representation of Women in Three Types of Television Content

This study\* examined the main news programmes, series and serials, and advertising spots transmitted between 6 p.m. and midnight on 25 television channels across ten countries, over a 'composite' week (i.e. Monday of week one, Tuesday of week two, etc.). In effect this recreated the impression that travellers would receive if, touring Europe and spending a week in each country, they were to tune into television in their hotel bedroom every evening. Out of a total of 462 hours of recorded programming, the researchers selected for detailed study 480 advertising spots, 77 news programmes and 29 episodes of serials.

<sup>\*</sup>Place et Rôle de la Femme dans Certaines Emissions Diffusées dans les Pays de la CEE, by Gabriel Thoveron et al. Commission of the European Communities, V/751/85-FR.

# News Broadcasts

These contained 1236 items of news. Although new programmes do not appear to follow any European pattern — in terms of length, composition, style — one constant point everywhere was the severe under-representation of women among on-screen journalists. The average was one woman for every six men (14.5%). These women have a very specific image: on average younger than men, they all have short or medium-length hair worn in a conventional style, their make-up is discreet, their dress is sober, and none of them wears glasses (although 35% of male on-screen news staff do). Only 1.4% of the news dealt with specifically women's issues; even then, three-quarters of such items were presented by men. Only 16% of those interviewed were women. In video and film inserts used to illustrate news stories, women featured prominently only 6% of the time (men were in the forefront 75% of the time).

Nevertheless, on the whole - and in contrast to the findings of earlier surveys - women in the news are being shown more often in significant roles: in this sample, they were seen in work situations (41% of the time) and in socio-political activities (39%), rather than at leisure (7%) or in family settings (5%).

# Advertising

The analysis of advertising spots applied to only eight countries (there being no advertisments on Belgian and Danish television). Most of the ads were for food and drink (40%) or cleaning, hygiene and beauty products (27%). In all countries except Ireland (and to a lesser extent France), the advertisements were predominantly peopled by women (up to 68% in Germany and Greece). They demonstrated (22%), used or tasted (49%) , bought (8%) or listened. 'Voice-overs' - giving advice, summing up arguments, telling viewers what to do - are usually male (ranging from 94% in Ireland to 72% in Luxembourg). Men advise, women buy. Women are silent, or if they talk it is always to a man. Men, on the other hand, usually talk to each other.

Advertisments show women at home in 43% of their appearances, at work in only 18%. Most of the women at home are depicted as housewives (40%), as wives (19%) or as mothers (17%). They were adult (30%) or young adult (60%). Social class was used as an important link with the products advertised. Middle class (24%0 or upper-middle class women (16%) chiefly advertised personal hygiene and beauty products. Better-off working-class women were sometimes used to sell food products, but were rare. Advertising establishes a clear hierarchy of roles in terms of the products advertised: elegant or sophisticated women advertise beauty and personal hygiene products, cars, clothes and alcoholic drinks. Well-groomed women advertise non-alcoholic drinks, sweets, cleaning products and home accessories. The more reserved woman advertises products for babies and children, medical items, food and women's magazines.

# Series and Serials

The statistics obtained in this part of the study are only 'indicative' since the sample size (29 episodes, of which 15 originated in the United Kingdom) could not be regarded as fully representative. Female characters, although well-represented in these serials, were portrayed in entirely different situations from those in which male characters were seen. For example, the work context accounted for 45% of male but only 17% of female appearances. On the other hand although women were shown in an erotic context 34% of the time, this was true of only 7% of male appearances. In situations where people were communicating, 83% of male characters appeared to talk a lot compared with 59% of females. Women talk mainly to their partners, whereas men are shown talking mainly with their colleagues.

Female characters were identified with three main types of value: 'traditional' (acceptance of patriarchal authority; life revolving round the family unit; no desire for change); 'modern' (self-determination; openness to the outside world; lack of emotional dependence on partner); and 'new' values (search for self-fulfilment in love, at work and in political or cultural activities), with only rare examples of this last. Most young people were associated with 'modern' values, with the 'traditional' views being adopted by older female characters. One striking feature was that when characters were portrayed in 'normal' situations, 50.5% adopted 'modern' attitudes; but once they were shown in situations of conflict, 'traditional' attitudes came to the surface and characters with 'modern' values dropped to 41%.

Women portrayed in serials fell into three main types: 'traditional' (fully taken up with family life, dependent on a man); 'modern' (shown mainly in a family setting but independent vis-à-vis their male partner); and 'working' (notable because they go out to work in order to earn their living and to fulfil themselves). In this sample, 42% of female characters came into the 'traditional' category. Usually active in their household tasks, these women normally had two children (generally teen-agers), and were sometimes also portrayed in social activities or among friends. In this scheme of things the husband, because of his job, lives a public life while the woman's life, within her family, is private. Occasionally the woman escapes from her private domain for the space of one episode - for example, when she wins a competition or is spotted by a producer. It is rather like Mother's Day, after which life must go on again in the kitchen as usual.

The sample contained a predominance of female characters in the 'modern' category (55%). Rather younger than her traditional counterpart, the modern woman has a busy cultural or social life. She lives in a world where well-being and comfort are sought after. She would like to be a success socially, in her work, and even to some extent in marriage. To achieve her goals she depends on her charm (34%) and attractiveness (18%) rather

than on using her own initiative or professional ability. When trouble brews she is more likely to be on the side of men (17%) than of other women (11%). She supports modern (35%) rather than traditional (18%) values, although at times of conflict her views may swing away from the modern (29.5%) to support the traditional (19%).

Women's work, in this sample, was usually portrayed as being of very minor consequence. It was talked about only vaguely, or sometimes the woman was shown ready for work (behind a desk, carrying a brief-case). Female characters were in a subordinate (41.5%) than a senior position (29%). In nine cases out of ten where women were shown in a subordinate role, they were seen working for a man; on the other hand, female characters were rarely shown as having a man or group of men working under them. Having said this, in almost two-thirds of cases some form of intellectual work was involved, and the female characters in question were usually portrayed as doing their jobs well.

The study concludes that what we are offered on our television screens in Europe is not one, but several identikit portraits of women. Women are represented in a number of different ways. A multiple image is built up in the mind of the viewer, constructed of the similar and converging images conveyed in the three types of television content - news, advertising and fiction. However, the overall image of women is a fairly traditional one. It certainly cannot be claimed that television is helping women to climb out of their inferior roles or to find their voices.

# Images of Women in the Media of Portugal and Spain

# Portugal: Images in Advertising

Since its inception the Commission on the Status of Women (Comissão da Condição Feminina) in Portugal has taken a particular interest in the issue of women's representation in the media. As far back as 1976 it published a very detailed study of the image of women in the daily and weekly press (A Imagem de Mulher na Imprensa, by Maria Isabel Barreno). Over the past decade, however, the Commission has concentrated on the question of advertising. Various studies - of advertisements in newspapers, women's magazines, radio and television - have been carried out since 1978. In 1984 the Commission organised a seminar on the Image of Women in Advertising, pulling together the conclusions of the research. Simultaneously, the Advertising Council established in Portugal in October 1983 formally adopted a recommendation on the Image of Women in Advertising, drawing heavily on a text originally drafted by the Commission in 1979. Some of the principal findings of the Portuguese studies are summarised below. Where several studies of the same medium exist, the conclusions of the most recent are presented.

In the **daily and weekly press** (<u>As Imagens da Mulher na</u> <u>Publicidade dos Jornais</u>, Elisabeth França), all issues of every paper with a national circulation were scanned over a one-week period in 1982. This yielded 235 different advertisements for Overall, the advertising was directed primarily at men (who form the majority of readers), was sexist and machiste, with a predominantly denigratory image of women. As for women's magazines (A Publicidade nas Revistas Femininas, Liliana de Silva Araújo Simões), two types were analysed: low-priced. high-circulation small format weeklies, aimed at the lower end of the market; and more expensive, glossy magazines (mainly monthlies) aimed at the up-market reader. The products advertised in both were similar: cosmetics, household and baby products, slimming and other beauty aids, and wedding dresses. However, in the cheaper magazines, the image of the woman preparing for marriage is very important; in the more expensive glossies, sophisticated glamour - linked to social success - is highlighted. In both types, women are encouraged to adopt the role of sexual object.

Advertising on radio (A Imagem da Mulher na Publicidade Radiofónica, Isaura Vieira) was studied by taping the complete output of two channels over a one-week period. This gave 537 separate advertisements for analysis. The study points out the importance of radio as a medium of communication for women, particularly those who work at home. Yet a highly stereotyped polarisation was found: basically, man is presented as the producer, the decision-maker and the adviser; woman is the consumer, the helper and the passive listener. It is the man's voice which is used to guarantee the quality of the product, even those used exclusively by women (for example, sanitary tampons). The most damaging aspect of these ads was said to be the extremely limited horizons and areas of responsibility which they attributed to women. Only two (out of 537) presented positive female images: one in which a woman buys an apartment, and another - for a newspaper supplement - which is presented by a The study of television advertising (A Imagem da Mulher na Publicidade Televisiva, Cristina Perez Dominguez) dates back to 1978 and will not be covered in detail. However, it noted that equality between the sexes was more commonly depicted among young people. Among older characters - and particularly between married couples - the functions and roles attributed to women and men were more highly differentiated.

# Spain: Images in Advertising, Radio and Television

Representation of women in the media has also been a major concern of the Institute for Women (Istituto de le Mujer) in Spain. Four extensive studies have been funded by the Institute, covering advertising, radio and television, as well as the press. Since this monograph is particularly concerned with the electronic rather than the print media, the findings of the press study (Umbral de Presencia de las Mujeres en la Prensa Espanola, Concha Fagoaga and Petra Maria Secanella) will not be detailed.

However, the results inevitably echo to some extent those of the Thoveron study of television news: newspapers present a world of masculine images, made by men for men, reflecting an ordering of priorities (in terms of events and people) in which women are simply absent.

A quite different ordering of priorities, of course, is reflected in the world of advertising. This study (Mujer y Publicidad, Maria José Barral Gonzalez et al.) analysed a total of 1138 advertisements in the press, television and billboards, between September 1983 and October 1984. The overall picture which emerges is of a young woman (83% of cases), attractive (54%) and also soft and loving (23%). In 21% of the ads, the woman who is 'selling' the product is depicted in an erotic context. the male voice which gives credibility to the product, balancing the somewhat frivolous mood projected by the female. The woman in advertising is typically shown as satisfied with herself and her role (60% of the time), although she also finds satisfaction in pleasing others (23%). Her main aspiration is to be beautiful. Αn advertising typology of women emerges clearly: (1) the woman who is concerned with her body (by far the most common type, especially in print advertising); (2) the traditional housewife, most often portrayed in the kitchen, whose role is to love and care for others; (3) the modern housewife, more outgoing than her traditional counterpart, depicted as a good manager of the household budget; (4) the professional woman, shown in only 8% of ads, though still in stereotyped jobs (air hostess, secretary, nurse) and with a male boss; (5) the woman in social life, attractive to men, and most commonly portrayed in ads for alcohol and cars; (6) the adolescent (3%): active and interested in her future, she is more or less equal to (7) the little girl (6%), who is portrayed in males of her age; a very similar way to the adult woman: concerned with her appearance, helping in the kitchen, playing a 'little mother' role. The study concludes that advertising in fact presents the woman herself as a product, at the same time reinforcing traditional perceptions of women's place in life.

Turning to radio, a study of the output of five national medium-wave channels was made over a twenty-four hour period in July 1985 (<u>La Imagen de la Mujer en la Radio</u>, Amalia Lowy et al.). On average, two-thirds of the presenters, and almost 80% of the guests invited to speak in the programmes, were male. Five categories of programme content were analysed: advertisements, serials, phone-in programmes, and interviews. 'made the news' in this analysis. Presentation of advertisements frequently involved alternating male and female voices, with each commenting in some way on the product; these presentations always began and ended with the male voice. In radio serials, women's role is defined almost in moral terms as being limited to family life: if she strays from this, she will suffer dire consequences. There is little reflection, in these serials, of the changes which have taken place in family and social life. Women account for a high proportion of listeners who take part in phone-in programmes. These approach something closer to reality, revealing that women have at least as many (though not necessarily the same) problems as men, and reflecting to some extent women's very diverse attitudes and personalities. However, the study concludes that, taken as a whole, radio programmes reproduce and also reinforce the conventional image of women in society.

Finally, the study of television (La Imagen de la Mujer en IVE 1984, Beatriz Navarro et al.) analysed thirty-four hours of output (including advertisements) over a composite week in September-October 1984. This study found more female (55%) than male (45%) television presenters, although women were in the minority (29%) in news programmes. However, the female presenter is no longer simply a decorative object: she is clearly a professional. On the other hand, in programme content the female characters tend to fall into the usual categories. Three 'mythic types' of woman emerge from the totality of television output.
(1) Penelope (constantly waiting for her Ulysses, now a successful executive): loving mother and wife, her life revolves around the kitchen and the bedroom, which are both portrayed as central sites of her satisfaction. The hard and hum-drum reality of her daily work is glossed over. (2) Ariadne (preparing herself for dependency on and desertion by Theseus, in various disguises): the sweet little girl, eager to please and to serve the men in her life. (3) The Sphinx (enigmatic, inscrutable and seductive): the working woman, whose role in the work-place seems to have more to with attracting and 'catching' her man (by presenting herself as interestingly elusive) than with the pursuit of independence or professional success. The study concludes that these three mythic images are constantly reproduced in television output, which portrays women not as individual subjects but always in relation to men.

# Lessons Learned from Alternative Programmes

This study\* was based on existing documentation and on a series of meetings with women employed in television organisations in Belgium, France, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. The research established a surprising similarity between the questions, anxieties and prospects expressed in all these countries.

# Origins

Television programmes aimed at presenting an alternative to stereotyped images were initiated in the mid-1970s. They reflected both the growth of the women's movement and feminism.

<sup>\*</sup>Quelles Actions Positives? Quelles Strategies?: Bilan et Leçons à Tirer des Emissions 'Alternatives', by Eliane Vogel-Polsky et al. Commission of the European Communities. V/2062/84-FR.

and an awareness among certain women producers of the out-dated nature of most television programmes, especially those designed for women. The pressure exerted by these producers and the demand, from a fringe public, for a new kind of content were the two factors which led television management to give air-time to alternative programmes.

The topics dealt with in these new programmes fell into two broad categories. Firstly, programmes which dealt with the situation of women in society allowed previously taboo subjects to be tackled (female sexuality, contraception, abortion, divorce, unmarried mothers, women on their own, battered women, rape, job segregation, etc.). A very important opening up of information thus took place, and women previously condemned to silence were given an opportunity to speak. The very fact that these questions were raised at all represented progress in itself. Programmes in the second category were basically concerned with challenging accepted stereotypes of women. This was done either positively, through the representation of women in 'unusual' lifestyles or jobs; or negatively, by presenting 'ordinary' women's lives from a different perspective (for example, to reveal the monotony of household chores, the loneliness of housewives and pensioners, the stress of women's double role in paid employment and in the home, etc.).

In its assessment of these programmes, the study cites two opposing problems. On the one hand, the systematic attempt to shock or even to scandalize (e.g. by showing an actual abortion, or a stripper at work), could encourage an unintentional voyeurism among viewers which might distort the original intention. On the other, the determination to attract a wide audience could lead to a watering down of criticism to such an extent that producers might end up by blaming themselves. In fact, the best-known examples of this type of programming did achieve consistently high viewing figures. It is wrong to assume that they met with indifference from the general public, or that they appealed only to the already converted.

The composition of production teams often reflected women producers' concern to employ as many women as possible at all levels. Work was frequently organised along self-management lines. There was great enthusiasm for the innovative nature of the undertaking, and much emphasis on links with women in fields outside television itself. The major concern was with the issues and the critical perspective needed to tackle them. Form, technical mastery and aesthetic values often took a back seat.

# Difficulties and Crises

At the beginning of the 1980s, television authorities radically altered their attitude towards women's programmes. Some (for example, in Belgium, France and Italy) were simply cancelled. Others were subject to pressure of both a political and an administrative nature, and lived with the threat of

cancellation. In certain countries the study found women who had been relegated to 'dead-end' work and whose proposals for programmes were systematically rejected or ignored. Those responsible for television management justified such decisions by public lack of interest in this type of programme; budgetary dictates; the need to compete with private channels; and a preference for 'buying in' programmes from private producers.

The main reason that this type of argument was able to prevail was the falling off in activity of the women's movement and the audience it could deliver. The most obvious inequalities had with, at the legal and institutional levels. dealt Decision-makers cited these signs of progress to argue that the theme of women's emancipation should no longer be considered as a And too, the public seemed weary of programmes with major issue. All this called for a fundamental a militant or didactic tone. remodelling of such programmes in terms of subject-matter, form and objectives, based on an understanding of the expectations of a more demanding public (which was looking for something not necessarily more rigorous, but more subtle, combining humour with a more adult appeal). Although many women producers were aware of this necessity, given the contemporary hostility of management towards women's programmes, they were not given the opportunity to do anything about it.

Moreover, women producers themselves were experiencing growing contradictions and tensions in their personal and professional roles. Some felt their specialisation in women's issues had become a handicap to the pursuit of a professional career, since their work was seen by only a small section of the public. Many refused to be confined to a ghetto and decided to tackle other subjects within a different framework (for example, leaving television to work for radio, where institutional pressure is lighter); others put their careers first, if necessary abandoning their feminist principles in the process; still others had no choice and found themselves, whether they liked it or not, left to one side without the means to work effectively.

Another problem was the breakdown of the cooperative working methods of many of the women's production teams. Brought together primarily in the common aim of gaining access to television air-time, the women involved in these groups often had widely divergent principles and ideas. Radical feminists who believed that programmes should take a provocative stand were working side by side with women who favoured a modulated approach, which would appeal to a wider audience. Once the initial joint goal was achieved, these unresolved ideological differences began to develop into outright confrontation. The ensuing splits within the groups meant that there was no united defence in the face of management criticism and rejection of women's programmes.

# Ways to Renew Images of Women on Television

It is obvious that these difficulties and contradictions - this crisis - are linked in countless ways to the economic, social and cultural situation of the 1980s. But the survival of women's programmes has been pursued and realised in some countries, through two basic types of strategy. The first, tackled for example in the United Kingdom, revolves around the search by women producers for innovation in programme content. Despite the disappearance of major feminist programmes on Channel 4\* and Thames Television, some women producers are now handling a vast canvas of subjects which they present from a woman's point of view, offering a positive image of women. This is a very important innovation and a clear break with the traditional pattern of women's programmes. The underlying belief here is that programmes are not 'feminised' necessarily by covering 'female' subjects, but rather by applying a women's perspective regardless of the subject. The approach of these producers takes for granted the aims of women's emancipation. To this is added a search for concrete ways to bring out women's specificity in television programmes (for example being conscious of the effects - on the images produced - of the gender composition of the production team, or of the technical division of labour within it).

The stand strategy involves pushing for change in the institutional and professional environment of television, through the implementation of measures to improve women's situation in general (for example, as employees) and the image of women in particular. Such an approach calls for a wide range of actions in such disparate areas as equal pay and working conditions, job promotion, elimination of stereotypes, promotion of positive images; and for the support of an equally wide range of groups in the elaboration and implementation of such actions (for example, public authorities, specialised departments, external lobby groups, trades unions, unofficial women's groups, etc.).

In this context, the study cites three national situations of particular significance: Ireland, where following the report of a Working Party which examined the position of women in RTE\*\*, two women's programmes (one on radio, one on television) were introduced and a mechanism was created to develop and monitor actions aimed at equality; the United Kingdom, where various lobby groups - including the broadcasting trades unions - have taken up the issues surrounding women's representation and employment in the media; and the Netherlands, where - with the help of an official emancipation worker appointed to study the situation of women working in broadcasting - the women's groups

<sup>\*</sup>Following prolonged pressure from women producers and lobbyists, Channel 4 introduced a new women's current affairs programme, Women in View, in early 1988.

<sup>\*\*</sup>A list of broadcastings organisations mentioned, together with their abbreviated titles, is given at the end of the monograph.

in the broadcasting organisations held seminars to analyse and criticise samples of programmes. The idea was to promote self-criticism and awareness of unconscious patterns of sexist stereotyping in programme production.

In conclusion, the study distinguishes between images which degrade and debase women, and the ordinary stereotypes which convey current prejudices and devalue women in a much more subtle way. The first type of image is easier to deal with - either through recourse to anti-sexist legislation (where this exists) or the establishment of some sort of ethical monitoring body. As for the second type of image, the problem is to create conditions under which criticism will be effectively heard. The seminars organised by the women's groups in Dutch broadcasting, in which male producers participated, seem a particularly productive formula for exposing this kind of television stereotype. Only if women take collective responsibility of this sort will there be a change in the climate of working relations. The existence, or formation, of networks of women television workers anxious to ensure equal treatment is therefore an essential base for any positive action. For finally, although specific programmes for women are still necessary as a temporary measure, it is with the total working environment of television that positive action must be concerned.

# 3. EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN IN TELEVISION IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

The first stage of this research\*, carried out in 1984 by Margaret Gallagher of the City University of London, was extended and up-dated in 1986 and a further up-date is currently in progress (1988). The study is based primarily on first-hand data provided by some 30 television organisations in response to a specially designed information schedule and supplemented by personal visits to almost all of these companies. Discussions have been held with some 200 individuals including members of the personnel departments, senior management, trades unions and professional associations, women's groups and equality committees. What follows is a summary of the main findings, drawing on the most recently available data from the twelve Member States.

Two preliminary remarks, about comparability between the organisations. Firstly, the study deals only with employment in television. However, most of the organisations involved produce and transmit radio, as well as television programmes. This makes it extremely difficult, especially in the non-programme related occupations, to distinguish between 'television' and 'radio' employees. Although every effort has been made to ensure that

<sup>\*</sup>Employment and Positive Action for Women in the Television Organisations of the EEC Member States, by Margaret Gallagher. Commission of the European Communities. V/2025/84-EN.

organisations use similar criteria in making the distinction, this may not always be the case. Secondly, it is not really valid to make strict comparisons between the organisations - and certainly not between organisations in different countries - in the sense of suggesting that this one or that is 'better' or 'worse' than any other. The existing differences are attributable to, for example, resources, structure, policies - internal and external to the organisations themselves - as well as to traditional and cultural determinants. The purpose of the project is to analyse the various factors which influence the present situation and to propose some measures which could be taken to improve it.

# Patterns of Employment of Women in Television: 1984-1986

Across all 31 organisations for which information is available, women account for less than a third (29.7%) of the total workforce (Table 1). In the lower part of the range are the Spanish organisations (TVE, TV 3, Euskal and TV Galicia), NOS (Netherlands), BRT (Belgium) and RAI (Italy). Thames (U.K.) has the highest proportion of women, followed by DR (Denmark) and FR3 (France). In most cases there was a very slight increase in the proportion of women employed between 1984 and 1986.

However, these women tend to be concentrated in a comparatively narrow range of jobs, most of which are relatively poorly paid and offer little prospect of career development. Although the term 'women in television' invokes a mental image of women at work in the production gallery or on the studio floor, it is worth remembering that - in reality - the majority (60%) of women in television are actually in administrative jobs, often working as secretaries and clerical assistants. Only 2% of these women are in the top two tiers of the administrative hierarchy. By contrast, although only 15% of men who work in television are in administration, 20% of these men are in the top two tiers. In the technical area, which in many organisations houses the widest range of highly-paid jobs, only 4% of posts are filled by women. In the crafts sector, jobs which are dominated by women (for example, make-up and wardrobe) tend to be less well paid than jobs which are dominated by men (for instance, scene-painters and scene-hands). About a fifth of television producers and directors are women, but they are mainly concentrated in two production departments - education and children's programmes. production hierarchy only 8% of senior staff (senior journalists and producers, editors-in-chief, programme controllers, heads of production) are women. At the middle level (producers, directors, journalists, production and unit managers) 26% are women. However, at the junior level (assistant producers and directors, floor managers, production assistants) women account for 69% of all staff.

TABLE 1: WOMEN AS A PROPORTION OF THE FULL-TIME TELEVISION WORKFORCE IN 1986

Orgn.	Total wkg in TV	Total women in TV	% women in TV	% women in TV 1984
BRT RTBF*	2040 2701	539 851	26.4 31.5	(21.7)** 31.4
DR	2624	906	34.5	35.2
FR3	3900	1347	34.5	33.8
W D R Z D F	1870 3730	567 1190	30.3 31.9	29.4 31.2
ERT 1 ERT 2*	518 1023	153 317	29.5 31.0	30.6 33.5
RTE	1684	481	28.6	27.1
RAI	11637	3093	26.6	26.3
RTL	218	59	27.1	n/a
NOS (12 orgn	s) 2716	582	21.4	(29.0)**
RTP	2382	702	29.5	n/a
TVE TV3 Euskal TV Galicia	5234 641 201 146	1095 155 48 38	20.9 24.2 23.9 26.0	n/a n/a n/a n/a
BBC Central Thames	16868 1958 2503	5530 643 906	32.8 32.8 36.2	31.9 (35.0)** 35.6
All orgns	64594	19202	29.7%	

<sup>\*</sup> Figures for RTBF and ERT 2 include all employees (radio and television)

<sup>\*\*</sup> BRT figures calculated differently in 1984. NOS figures included radio employees in 1984. Central figures for 1984 were estimates only.

# Recruitment, Progress and Promotion

It would be comforting to suppose that this hierarchical distribution describes an evolutionary pattern: that as more women are recruited to television the imbalance at middle and senior management levels will gradually be eliminated; or that the high proportion of women currently in junior production jobs will in ten or fifteen years be reflected in women's share of jobs at the senior production level. Such simple assumptions are, of course, prescriptions for retention of the status quolif we look at recruitment and promotion trends it is clear that without concerted positive action - the employment profile of television organisations in fifteen years time will be pretty much as it is now.

In the first place, the proportion of women being recruited to television now is no higher than it was as far back as the early 1970s. Between 1983 and 1985 women's share of recruitment - i.e. the percentage of women among all recruits - increased in only four organisations: BRT (Belgium), DR (Denmark), ERT 2 (Greece) and Thames (U.K.). Secondly, in half of the organisations the percentage of women among new recruits in 1985 was actually lower than the percentage of women already employed. Thirdly, new recruitment is basically reinforcing rather than changing the existing segregated pattern of employment. For example, in 1985 the administrative sector claimed 63% of all new female (compared with 11% of male) recruits to television; moreover 90% of these women went into secretarial and clerical jobs. while 93% of the men went into middle or higher level administrative work. production sector claimed almost equal proportions of new female (15%) and male (17%) recruits. But while most of the women (71%) were hired into junior grades (production assistant level), 59% of the men were recruited to more senior jobs (director, producer or above). Although technical vacancies accounted for a quarter of all new recruitment in 1985, half of the organisations hired But there are some signs of movement in no women technicians. organisations which have equal opportunities policies. For example, in the BBC (U.K.) 7% of technical vacancies were filled by women (compared with 3% in 1983); and NOS (Netherlands) hired women to 15% of technical vacancies (compared with none in 1983).

Finally, looking at the success of women at various stages of the recruitment process (from application, through shortlisting, to final selection), it is clear that women often fare badly. Table 2 shows that in six organisations there is a negative difference between the percentage of women applying for jobs, and the percentage of women recruited. Where it is possible to compare the selection pattern of an organisation for 1983 and 1985, there is consistency in the direction (i.e. negative or positive) of the differential between application and selection ratios. There is not a single case in which an organisation which showed a negative difference in its 1983 recruitment (i.e. selected a lower proportion of women than might have been expected, in relation to the percentage of women applicants) shows a positive differential in 1985. Nor is there a single case of the

TABLE 2: WOMEN AS A PROPORTION OF APPLICANTS AND RECRUITS
TO TELEVISION IN 1985

Orgn.	Total	%	Total	%	Differ	rence
- <b>-</b>	applicants	women	recruits	women	1985	1983
BRT*	761	12.6	91**	5.5	<b>-</b> 7	-7
RTBF	1568	56.9	207**	51.2	-6	-14
DR	855	45.8	164	41.5	-5	n/a
WDR	351	19.9	123	23.9	+4	+4
RTE	3237	70.1	120**	48.3	-22	-33
excl. se	c. 1554	37.8	75**	28.7	-9	-9
RAI*	(6762)	(13.9)	491**	20.8	+7	n/a
NOS (10)	10305	32.4	248	37.9	+5	+6
RTP	214	47.2	7	57.0	+10	n/a
TVE	19942	30.5	733	19.6	-11	n/a
TV 3*	(260)	(16.9)	65	23.1	+6	n/a
Euskal*	1066	44.9	10	50.0	+5	n/a
BBC						
ex. sec.	11698	38.6	1402	37.0	<del>-</del> 2	n/a
sec. only		(73.6)	290	74.5	+1	n/a
eng. r&t	v 7825	6.4	212	6.1	-	n/a
Central	4834	42.8	191	53.4	+11	n/a
Thames	4041	36.3	197	48.2	+12	+7

<sup>\*</sup> Figures for BRT, RAI, TV 3 and Euskal refer to externally advertised vacancies only.

<sup>\*\*</sup> In the case of BRT, RTBF, RTE and RAI, figures for 'recruits' include successful applicants put on a panel or reserve list.

Figures in brackets (RAI, TV 3 and BBC secretarial/clerical applicants) refer to shortlisted candidates, rather than to all applicants.

reverse. The fact that the issue of equal opportunities for women has been under discussion for a number of years in the three organisations (WDR, NOS and Thames) which show a consistently positive differential for 1983 and 1985 may be related to the recruitment pattern which emerges for each.

patterns emerge. Certainly there is a lack of female Other applicants for many types of job, particularly in the technical When women do apply for 'non-traditional' jobs they are inevitably vastly outnumbered by men and it may not be if a single woman among many applicants is . But it seems that applications from such women surprising unsuccessful. may not be considered quite as fully as they might. example, a total of five women applied for four separate technical jobs in TVE (Spain). Only one of these five was interviewed (and, in fact, appointed). On the other hand, almost all (97%) of the 62 male applicants were interviewed, and 68% were appointed. The relative lack of success of female applicants may of course be explained by inferior qualifications or experience. But some organisations seem ready to give women the benefit of the doubt at least to the stage of shortlisting interviewing. In the BBC (U.K.), for instance, women accounted for 6% of applicants for engineering posts in 1985. But 10% of those called for a preliminary interview, and 8% of those who went on to a final selection board were female. Ultimately women accounted for 6% of successful candidates, reflecting the initial ratio of female to male applicants. specially careful consideration of all female applicants for 'non-traditional' jobs will be necessary if women are to have a chance of breaking through.

Certain assumptions about women's aptitudes and capacities may help explain why female applicants for 'non-traditional' jobs do not always find their way onto shortlists. Similar assumptions might help explain the fact that women are more likely to be successful when applying for junior than for senior jobs. In RTBF (Belgium), for example, 10% of female applicants for typists posts were successful, compared with 5% of males. But for the higher-level post of correspondence clerk just 8% of women who applied succeeded, as against 11% of men. In TVE (Spain) the same pattern applied to jobs in the production area. At the director level, 12% of male applicants - and no women - were appointed. For the assistant director posts, 11% of male and 13% of female applicants were successful. trainee positions, 30% of male and 43% of female applicants were successful. This hierarchical distribution of success was repeated for jobs at producer, assistant producer and junior assistant producer levels.

Another finding: the difference - in terms of job level and salary band - between the average man and the average woman at the time of recruitment increases over time. In seven out of ten organisations studied, the gap between women and men widened in the ten years following recruitment. Although the women in general made modest progress in their careers, none actually

TABLE 3: WOMEN IN THE TOP THREE MANAGEMENT GRADES
OF TELEVISION ORGANISATIONS: 1986

Orgn.	Total in top grades	Total women	% women	% all jobs
BRT	52	2	3.8	2.5
RTBF*	54	4	7.4	2.0
DR*	99	13	13.1	2.8
FR3	256	38	14.8	6.5
WDR	36	-	-	1.9
ERT 2*	22	7	31.8	2.1
RTE	83	5	6.0	4.9
RAI	394	16	4.1	3.3
NOS (12 or	gns) 97	4	4.1	3.6
RTP	119	9	7.6	5.0
TVE	109	6	5.5	2.1
TV3	35	2	5.7	5.5
BBC	327	22	6.7	1.8
Central	44	2	4.5	2.2
Thames	48	5	10.4	1.9
All orgns	1775	135	7.6	3.0

<sup>\*</sup>Figures for RTBF, DR and ERT 2 include all employees (radio and television).

'broke through' to the very top jobs as the men did. The tightest structural brake on women's career development in television is their concentration in the administrative sector. Even including the low-level clerical and secretarial functions, administration accounts for a smaller proportion of jobs (27% across twenty-four organisations studied) than the technical (32%) or the production and craft areas (30%). So in terms of sheer numbers, there are fewer opportunities in administration. And when it comes to top jobs, in most organisations the administrative sector furnishes a much smaller percentage of senior management staff than either the technical or -particularly - the production fields.

# Management and Decision-Making in Television

The potential of women to influence policy or to direct change in television is negligible (Table 3). In the top three grades of management, women occupy just 7.6% of the jobs across all of the organisations concerned. Generally these top three layers account for 2%-3% of all jobs. some cases, however, the percentage is higher: about 4% in NOS, 5% in RTE, RTP and TV 3, reaching 6.5% in FR 3. Clearly, the higher the percentage of <u>all</u> jobs at this level, the greater the chances of women being represented. Taking this factor into account, women occupy a relatively high proportion of top jobs in ERT 2, DR and - to a lesser extent - Thames; and a relatively low proportion in BRT, RTE, RAI, NOS and TV 3. WDR has no women at all at this Evidently, when looked at in relation to their level. total numbers, women are very poorly represented in top management. Out of every 26 male employees, one will be found in the three highest tiers. This compares with only one in every 125 women. And of course most of these women are to be found on the bottom of the three rungs. Women hold 7.5% of jobs in the bottom tier, but only 3.9% in the upper two tiers combined. In other words, 96% of the very top jobs in television are held by men.

This absence of women in policy-making positions is most clearly reflected in the composition of the organisations' internal management committees (Table 4). These are the boards of directors - or their equivalent - which control overall policy affecting programmes, budgets, contracts, personnel and so on. Only 7 (of which 4 are in the Netherlands) include a single woman. Women are somewhat better represented on external governing or advisory boards (Table 5). All of these, apart from FR 3 (France) and RTP (Portugal), include at least one woman and since 1984 half of the organisations have added women to their external boards. However, it must be remembered that - although influential - these bodies are not directly concerned with the day-to-day management of the organisations.

TABLE 4: WOMEN IN THE TOP MANAGEMENT COMMITTEES OF TELEVISION ORGANISATIONS

Orgn.	Total membership	No. of women	Change 1984-6
BRT RTBF	9 13	1 -	-
DR	7	-	-
WDR	9	2	+2
ERT 1* ERT 2	16 6	-	-1 -1
RTE	9	-	-
RAI**	16	-	<del>-</del>
NOS (11 orgns)	) 59	7	+2
NOS (only)*** AVRO TROS Teleac RVU	5 9 8 13 10	- 1 1 3 2	+1 +1 - n/a
RTP	8	-	n/a
TVE TV 3 Euskal	8 4 4	- - 1	n/a n/a n/a
BBC Central Thames	11 11 11	- - -	- n/a -
All orgns	201	11	

 <sup>\*</sup> Includes Planning Council (4) and Development Council (12).

<sup>\*\*</sup> RAI's Administrative Council (Consiglio di Amministrazione), although elected externally, functions as a full-time Board of Management.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup>Six other Dutch broadcasting organisations (KRO, NCRV, VARA, VPRO, EO and IKON) are covered by the preceding figures for NOS (11 organisations). They included no women in either 1984 or 1986, and are not individually listed here.

TABLE 5: WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION ON EXTERNAL GOVERNING BODIES

Orgn	Total membership	No. of women	Change 1984-6	
BRT	12	2	+1	
RTBF	13	3	+2	
DR	24	5	- 2	
FR 3	11	-	-2	
WDR	41	7	+6	
ERT 1	7	2	_	
ERT 2	4	ī	n/a	
RTE	9	2	+1	
NOS*	30	7	+3	
KRO	44	8	+1	
NCRV	22	7		
VARA	15	3	-2	
VPRO	9	1	+1	
ΕO	35	4	+4	
IKON	16	2		
RVU	10	5	n/a	
н٧	21	8	n/a	
RTP	5	-	n/a	
TVE	12	1	n/a	
TV 3	12	3	n/a	
Euskal	15	2	n/a	
ввс	12	3	-	
Central**		1	n/a	
Thames	10	1	-	
All orgns	404	78		

<sup>\*</sup> NOS has an additional board, composed of senior managers from the major Dutch broadcasting organisations, as well as external representatives. Of the 18 members, one is a woman.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Central also has two sub-regional boards. One of these has 16 members (including one woman), and the other has 15 members (including two women).

Is there any sign that a new generation of women is making its way into top management in television? The overall answer seems to be no. Looking at the age distribution of top management in 1984, eight (out of fifteen) organisations had senior managers below 35 years of age and all had senior managers under 45 (in fact staff under 45 filled 27% of all top jobs). But only three organisations - the BBC, STV and TSW (all in the U.K.) - had any women among their under 35 year-old senior managers. And only three others - Antenne 2 and TDF (France), and ZDF (Germany) - had any women among their under 45 year-olds. In fact, taking men and women of similar ages, men - in all age categories except the over-55s - are six times as likely as women to be in top management; and even among those over 55, men are three times as likely as women to be in the top jobs.

# Equal Opportunities and Positive Action

The imbalances detailed in this study will not be, in themselves, news to anyone - certainly not to women working in, or simply concerned about, the mass media. However, the systematic and static nature of the picture which emerges - across organisations very different in size, structure and tradition, across twelve separate countries - is a compelling challenge to those who assert that it is 'just a matter of time' until the balance - between the influence of women and men in television - changes. The obstacles to women's career development are partly structural and partly attitudinal, and though some of these problems have been addressed in many television organisations, their solution demands a commitment of time and energy which - if left, as they often are, to the voluntary goodwill of individual women - is almost impossible to sustain. Questions often emerge, and are dealt with (or not) in an ad hoc, episodic way in the broadcasting organisations. Women come and go, worn out by the job of keeping the issues on the agenda. What the study does show is that the dismantling of these barriers depends on a systematic, organisational approach built around a clear policy and that, when this is applied a certain amount of success can be A sketch of the 'state of the art' in television achieved. organisations throughout the Community is included in the final chapter of this monograph. First though, some general conclusions.

It is sobering to realise that trite and traditional assumptions and stereotypes about women are still prevalent - and are indeed voiced - in personnel divisions and other key departments within many European television organisations. The notion that women - as a collectivity - are not career conscious, have high rates of absenteeism, are not worth investing in because they will leave (to get married, have babies, relocate if their husband changes jobs), are not 'suited' to certain kinds of work: all these ideas were expressed - sometimes openly, sometimes in a more roundabout way - in interviews conducted during the study. Yet the data indicated absolutely no objective foundation for such preconceptions.

It was striking too how often media managers fall back on the concept of the media as a 'mirror of society' to explain why they could not - and should not - take positive action to improve the situation of women workers. In this view, it is not the job of a broadcasting organisation to set the pace for society as a whole. It is a point of view normally backed up with references to external difficulties such as the attitudes of the trades unions, or the economic situation. An additional important point of reference is 'professionalism'. Almost impossible to define, it nonetheless plays a powerful part in characterising the identity of media institutions. Bound up with other fundamental media concepts such as 'objectivity', it makes media people extremely nervous of anything which even hints at 'special treatment' or 'making allowances' - which might therefore result in a substandard or 'unprofessional' product.

At the same time, it would be unjust to conclude that there has been no movement or development in thinking about equal opportunities in television. The fact that in the early 1980s a number of organisations issued policy statements, or established equality committees, indicates that a problem has been recognised. But there is a sense in which - in the ideology of television - the recognition and solution of problems become confused. In television programming, important issues are aired so that 'something' can be done about them, without necessarily specifying what should be done, or by whom. The broadcaster, therefore, 'deals' with problems by the mere fact of recognising their existence. The nuclear arms race, world famine, AIDS: is up to someone else to carry on the discussion once 'this week's programme' is over. The broadcaster is already thinking about next week's topic. By the same token it is clear that - in the minds of many senior managers - equality of opportunity is also a kind of 'event' which has 'happened' or been dealt with once a statement has been issued or a committee created, rather than a long-term process calling for the implementation of special measures, wide-scale attitude change and the commitment of financial and human resources.

# 4. THE FUTURE FOR WOMEN AND THE MEDIA

'Communications revolution: developments ... which are hailed as the dawn of new eras in the nature of communication. But ... far from entering a brave new world, many woman find themselves in a false dawn, facing new and unfamiliar forms of old stereotypes ... and, as new fields develop, struggling not only to gain a foothold but even to hold their own.'

(A Feminist Dictionary, Cheris Kramarae and Paula Treichler, Pandora Press, 1985, p. 102)

# Initiatives of the Commission of the European Communities

The studies by Thoveron, Vogel and Gallagher, summarised in the preceding chapter, each presented a set of proposals and recommendations aimed at improving the situation. These formed the basis for discussions at a seminar in June 1985. Organised by the Free University of Brussels, with the support of the Commission of the European Communities, the seminar attracted some 200 participants, most of whom represented broadcasting organisations throughout the European Community.

# Seminar on Women and Television

Essentially intended to bring together senior decision-makers to discuss employment and programming policy in television, the seminar immediately pin-pointed a fundamental problem. Although invitations had been sent to television managing directors, personnel managers and other senior executives, only a tiny handful of those who attended - from DR (Denmark), RTE (Ireland), RAI (Italy), the BBC and Thames TV (U.K.) - were male. This reflected very clearly the difficulty of promoting debate and action on equal opportunities within broadcasting organisations. As long as it is regarded as a 'women's issue' - rather than something which concerns the organisation as a whole - the debate is largely confined to women themselves. In this way management tends to absolve itself of responsibility, this being handed over to women who in most cases are clearly in no position to revise policy or take action.

One of the themes of the seminar was thus the need to develop the idea that equal opportunities is a concept which affects organisational practice in its entirety; that it is therefore a question of organisational responsibility rather than the faddish concern of a few militant feminists; and that it involves profound institutional and attitudinal change in television. Concrete proposals for action focused on the desegregation of the television workforce. There was a general measure of agreement that changes in the image of women in television programmes will be dependent, first and foremost, on broadening the potential of women to influence policy and programming decisions. positive side, the seminar provided encouraging examples of policies and substantial measures already adopted by certain organisations. These - together with the recommendations proposed in the study of women's employment in television - could be a point of departure for continued activity. With this in view, the Commission was asked to provide some sort of forum or mechanism through which the entire issue of equal opportunities and positive action could be pursued more directly with senior management in television throughout the Community.

# Steering Committee on Women and Television

It was against this background that the Steering Committee on Women and Television met for the first time, under the auspices of the Commission of the European Communities, in February 1986. Composed of senior management representatives of the major European broadcasting organisations, the Committee's role is — on the basis of information and experiences exchanged between members — to stimulate debate, projects and other initiatives to improve the situation of women in television. To encourage this, the Commission is prepared to provide seed funding for innovative activities. The organisations represented on the Committee also provide data so that employment patterns and practices in television can be monitored on a regular basis.

The Steering Committee has now held three meetings, each focused on one major substantive topic. Themes considered so far have been the establishment of basic mechanisms to promote equality (February 1986); training and career development (January 1987); and working conditions and the working environment (December 1987). The topic of awareness and attitude change will be taken up at a fourth meeting, scheduled for October 1988. Each meeting has produced a series of recommendations, which have sent to the Directors General of the broadcasting organisations. As a mechanism, the Steering Committee has indeed proved a stimulus for initiatives in individual organisations. Some of these are outlined in section three of this chapter (Developments within the Broadcasting Organisations). With the financial support of the Commission, training projects for women are currently (spring 1988) underway in four national broadcasting systems - RTE (Ireland), NOS (Netherlands), the BBC (U.K.) and the British ITV companies; two of these projects involve cross-national collaboration - between the BBC and TVE (Spain), and between the ITV companies, DR (Denmark) and ET Two further proposals - from RTBF (Belgium) and RTP (Portugal) - are under consideration. In addition, the European Broadcasting Union (EBU) has agreed to carry forward two important projects proposed by the Steering Committee. The first is the development of a catalogue of existing television and video materials on women, and on equal opportunities in general. The second is the organisation of a workshop on equal opportunity programming and production, which may be hosted by the Greek broadcasting organisation in 1990.

While there is no doubt that the Steering Committee on Women and Television has helped to promote discussion and action in certain organisations, in others it has provoked hardly a flicker of reaction. The success of the Committee as a mechanism depends, to a large extent, on its individual members: not just on their level of commitment, but also on the authority and influence they exercise within their own organisations. There is also a sense in which the organisation's existing 'stand' on equal opportunities is reflected in the status of its representative (or whether it chooses to be represented at all). There is therefore a risk of circularity in the process, making the issue

of appropriate representation a delicate one which in some cases has yet to be satisfactorily resolved.

It is also true that much more needs to be done to publicise the work of the Steering Committee, to make a wider public aware of its existence and of the ways in which it can be used. direct representation is necessarily limited by logistics and practicalities (some thirty individuals represent twenty or so organisations), it is essential that the Committee should not One of the basic ideas is that the become a closed shop. Steering Committee should be a catalyst for wider discussion and action, and in theory its members should be in contact with other interested parties both inside and outside their own organisations. In practice this has so far happened systematically only in the U.K., whose representatives do organise regular meetings - in collaboration with the U.K. Equal Opportunities Commission - to inform, and be informed by, others concerned about equal opportunities in broadcasting. meetings are attended not simply by broadcasters (from companies not directly represented on the Steering Committee), but by trades unions, professional associations and women's lobby groups.

Such a system needs to be developed in other countries, and will be encouraged through discussion in the Steering Committee itself. However, it is important that interested individuals should make direct contact with the person/s representing the broadcasting organisation/s in their own country. This contact might be to find out more about what goes on within the Steering Committee, to provide information, to propose an action strategy, or even to discuss a possible project submission. The names of the Steering Committee representatives, and their organisations, are listed under each country in section 3 (Developments within the Broadcasting Organisations).

Further information about the Steering Committee on Women and Television may be obtained from:

Ms Odile Quintin,
Head of Office for Action Concerning Employment
and Equal Treatment for Women,
Directorate-General for Employment,
Social Affairs and Education,
Commission of the European Communities,
200 rue de la Loi,
B-1049 BRUSSELS.

or from the Coordinator of the Committee:

Ms Margaret Gallagher, 7 rue du Docteur Roux, 75015 PARIS.

# Other Media

Little over two years since its establishment, it is still too early to assess the impact of the Steering Committee on Women and Television. However, its existence provides a structure for monitoring trends over time, and a mechanism for sensitisation of television management. As such, it is a very concrete outcome of work begun under the Community's first Equal Opportunities Programme 1982-1985.

The Medium Term Community Programme 1986-1990, Equal Opportunities for Women, reiterates the Commission's concern with the general field of the mass media, and promises further analyses of media other than television. A study of the situation of women in radio is underway, and its results will be considered by the Steering Committee - with an appropriately expanded membership - in October 1988. The written press will also be the subject of analysis, so that actions can be developed in all branches of the media.

# The Role of the European Parliament

In October 1987 the European Parliament adopted a resolution on women and the media. Based on a report drawn up by MEP Marlene Lenz, whose conclusions strongly supported those of the three earlier studies carried out for the Commission by Thoveron, Vogel and Gallagher, the resolution won wide approval in the Parliament. Noting that the presence of more women in positions of responsibility in the media would transform both the way women are portrayed, and the content of news and information programmes, the resolution called for positive action measures in recruitment, training and working conditions in the media. In terms of accountability, it called on media organisations to publish regular reports on the implementation of equal opportunities measures, and advocated that the granting of public funds - including statutory licence fees - should be contingent on good practice in this field.

On the question of advertising, the report (<u>Depiction and Position of Women in the Media</u>) was particularly critical and the adopted resolution called on advertising agencies to develop self-regulatory codes to prevent discriminatory portrayal. Women's organisations and associations were urged to create a prize for the best portrayal of women in advertising. The Commission's already existing draft Directive concerning broadcasting activities will - if adopted - prohibit radio and television advertising which includes any discrimination based on race or sex.

Another important clause of the resolution called on the Commission of the European Communities to create a European prize for the television programme which presents the best image of today's women. This proposal has been accepted by the Commission, and rules and criteria to guide the award of the prize are currently being established.

# Developments within the Broadcasting Organisations

Clearly then, during the 1980s various European-level organisations have been taking stock - and pursuing actions - in the general area of women and the media. Apart from the institutions of the European Community itself - the Commission and the Parliament - others with a wider European mandate have turned their attention to the relationship and the problems it raises. In April 1983 the European Broadcasting Union (EBU) held a professional discussion on the question; in June of the same year the Council of Europe organised a seminar on the theme. But what has been happening at the level of the media themselves?

The rest of this section provides what are really no more than thumb-nail sketches of some of the main developments in the major European broadcasting organisations. Each sketch begins with a brief history of the development of policy, and a description of existing mechanisms, to promote equality. Then there are notes on any known provisions in recruitment, training or working conditions which particularly favour equal opportunities. The note 'EEC Project' refers to projects submitted to the Commission for funding, within the framework of the Steering Committee on Women and Television. Finally, the organisation's representative on the Steering Committee is named, to allow direct contact and follow-up.

#### BELGIUM

(a) BRT

Policy and Mechanisms. The issue was first taken up in 1983, when an internal report on programme content, programme policy and staffing was prepared. A regular link between women employees and the women members of the Administrative Board was instituted, so that issues and questions of concern could be discussed at Board level. In 1987, responding to a suggestion from the Secretary of State for Emancipation, BRT committed itself to a positive action programme. A committee, representing the various sectors of the organisation — as well as the trades unions — was established in early 1988. Headed by the Director of Personnel, the committee is to prepare an action plan, setting out a series of concrete measures to be implemented over an agreed time-scale.

Recruitment. No special measures.

Training. No special training for women.

Working Conditions. Flexi-time arrangements; on-site crèche since 1979.

EEC Project. None proposed.

Steering Committee: Ms Lea MARTEL, Managing Director, Educational Broadcasting; Mr Jan VAN HERREWEGHE, Director of Personnel.

(b) RTBF

Policy and Mechanisms. An external study of women's employment was made in cooperation with the organisation, by the Free University of Brussels in 1985. At the same time a mechanism was created - somewhat similar to that existing in BRT - to bring together women staff and female members of the Administrative Council. This committee has met on a semi-regular basis, though without developing a formal plan of action. In 1988 RTBF began to investigate the possibility of launching a more systematic approach - perhaps employing a advisory consultant, with outside funding - of the type recommended in the 1985 FUB study.

Recruitment. Panels and juries have equal male-female members,

where possible.

Training. No special training for women.

Working Conditions. Flexi-time arrangements; paid leave to care for sick child; unpaid parental leave included in length of service benefits; on-site crèche since 1981.

EEC Project. Experiment to extend crèche opening hours proposed.

Steering Committee: Mme Nadine SWOLFS, Responsable du Cabinet au Secrétariat de l'Administrateur Général.

#### DENMARK

Danmarks Radio

Policy and Mechanisms. Formal discussion about equal opportunities in DR dates back to 1977, when a member of the Board made a number of policy proposals aimed at promoting equality in employment. Following a seminar in 1978 an action plan recommended the establishment of an equality group or committee. Agreement on terms of reference for such a group proved difficult, and it was three more years before it was established - with a fairly general remit - in 1981. Little happened until 1983 when at the initiative of the - female - President of the Board a review seminar was held. This called for a target of 40% women in all jobs within ten years, and a budget was allocated for women's training. In 1986 a network of senior women managers was formed, to work with the existing Equal Status Committee. In early 1988 DR appointed a full-time Equality Adviser, for one year in the first instance, to implement a programme of action.

Recruitment. Women specifically invited to apply in certain cases.

Training. Management training, career development and confidence building courses exclusively for women.

Working Conditions. Comprehensive flexi-time; limited job-sharing; for staff with one year's service - 24 weeks paid maternity leave (cf. statutory provision: 18 weeks) and 2 weeks paternity leave on full pay (cf. statutory provision: part salary only); paid leave to care for sick child; on-site nursery since 1976, creche since 1981.

EEC Project. Participating in ITV management training course for women, organised in 1988.

Steering Committee: Ms Vibeke FRANK, Deputy Director of Personnel; Ms Anette STEEN PEDERSEN, Equal Opportunities Adviser.

#### FRANCE

There has been very little formal discussion of equality questions in the French broadcasting system as a whole. To comply with official policy on equal opportunities, all French organisations with more than fifty employees are expected to prepare an annual report setting out the relative situation of male and female staff. The preparation of data for such reports has apparently not sparked off any internal debate within the In 1982 the Ministry of Women's broadcasting organisations. Rights commissioned a report on the image and employment of women The results were not followed up with the in television. broadcasting organisations themselves, though another research study of the role of women in programme creation was later carried out (by the Service d'Observation des Programmes). only examples of internal initiatives are the SFP (the major production company in the French television system) where, at the instigation of one of the trades unions, a Women's Rights Committee existed - for a few months only - in 1980; and the TDF (the transmission organisation), where a Women's Commission prepared a report on the subject in 1983. The lack of policy discussion may be partly due to the unique structure of French broadcasting where specific tasks - administration, production, training, transmission - which in other countries are usually combined within a single organisation, are to some extent divided This makes for a pattern of employment in broadcasting organisations in France which is rather different from those of other countries. The following points cover the French organisations currently represented on the Steering Committee.

**Policy and Mechanisms.** None, other than adherence to national legislation on equality.

Recruitment. No special measures.

Training. No special training for women.

Working Conditions. No flexi-time or job-sharing; additional paid maternity leave for breast-feeding mothers; reduction of the working week during and after pregnancy; paid leave to care for sick child; unpaid parental leave included in length of service benefits; child allowance payment; financial assistance for child-care available to lower-paid staff.

EEC Project. None proposed.

Steering Committee:

- (a) TF 1: Mme Souné WADE, Delegue aux Affaires Internationales.
- (b) Antenne 2: Mme Annie BRENOT, Responsable de la Reglementation et de la Formation Professionelle.
- (c) FR 3: Mme Marie-Claire DALLET-HUM, Chef de Cabinet du Directeur Général.
- (d) CNCL: Mme Isabelle MARIANI, Secretaire Generale Adjointe.

#### GERMANY

Pressure for change in German broadcasting began in the late 1970s, when women's groups began to form within individual

organisations. Since 1978 these groups have come together each year in an annual conference to share experiences, develop projects, agree on lobbying strategies, and so on. Gradually, their efforts appear to be having some effect. Three organisations are represented on the Steering Committee.

(a) WDR

Policy and Mechanisms. An initial study was carried out in 1976 without follow-up. Concerned that the issue had been shelved, a group of women came together to develop another survey which - after lengthy consultations - WDR agreed to partly fund. The research, completed in 1981, threw up a large number of recommendations. After three more years of discussion with various management groups, agreement was reached in 1984 on a limited programme of action. A new plan for the further promotion of women was presented to the Broadcasting Council in 1987. Approval has been given for the appointment of a full-time Equality Officer from 1988.

Recruitment. For jobs in which women are under-represented, advertisements draw attention to this fact.

**Training.** Management training and personal development courses exclusively for women.

Working Conditions. Limited flexi-time; maternity grant; 3 days paternity leave (cf. no statutory provision); for employees with 3 years' service - unpaid parental leave, during which 50% social security contributions paid by employer; paid leave to care for sick child; child allowance payment.

EEC Project. None proposed.

Steering Committee: Mr Walter ODENTHAL, Director of Personnel; Ms Inge VON BOENNINGHAUSEN, Medicine and Society Programmes.

(b) SWF

Policy and Mechanisms. Following the 1986 annual meeting of media women's groups (see above), the SWF group - like a number of others - developed a plan of action which was discussed with management throughout 1987. In early 1988, the plan was formally adopted. This commits the organisation to an equality programme in a limited but binding fashion.

Recruitment. No special measures yet, but likely.

Training. No special training for women yet, but likely.

Working Conditions. No flexi-time or job-sharing; maternity grant; 3 days paternity leave (cf. no statutory provision); unpaid parental leave available; child allowance payment; company contributes to local nursery since 1972, and crèche since 1974.

EEC Project. None proposed.

**Steering Committee:** Ms Angelika BIERBAUM, Music Programme Department.

(c) ZDF

Policy and Mechanisms. Women from ZDF took part in the group set up in WDR in the late 1970s to plan the survey of attitudes and expectations of women staff (see above). The original idea had been to carry out the study in both organisations, but ZDF was not prepared to provide any financial backing for the

research. A limited inquiry into employment patterns was carried out in 1980. Despite continued discussion about the need for special measures to promote equality of opportunity, no agreement has ever been reached on a programme of action.

Recruitment. No special measures.

Training. Career development and confidence building courses for women.

Working Conditions. Company contributes to municipal crèche.

EEC Project. None proposed.

Steering Committee: Dr May-Britt RUTHS, Head of Social and Personnel Relations.

#### GREECE

Until late 1987 Greek broadcasting consisted of two separate organisations (ERT 1 and ERT 2), which have now been brought together into a single entity (ET) with two channels.

Policy and Mechanisms. The idea of developing a policy on equal opportunities, and establishing a mechanism to emplement it, was raised within the Administrative Board of what was then ERT 1 during 1986. There was initial opposition to the notion. Further discussion, backed up with information about the existence of similar mechanisms in other organisations, led to a greater degree of acceptance for the proposal. The reorganisation of the broadcasting system has caused a rupture in the debate. However, current indications are that the new management is willing to pursue the proposal further.

Recruitment. No special measures.

Training. No special training for women.

Working Conditions. Flexi-time arrangements; paid leave when a child is adopted; reduction of working week for mothers of children under four years; unpaid parental leave available; paid leave to care for sick child; child allowance payment; children's medical expenses paid; on-site crèche in preparation. EEC Project. Participating in ITV management training course for women, organised in 1988.

Steering Committee: Ms Heleni PATERA, Head of Programme Department.

#### **IRELAND**

RTE

Policy and Mechanisms. Serious consideration of the representation of women in RTE dates back to 1978, when various women's groups began to push for a review. In 1979 the - female - President of the RTE Authority was instrumental in setting up a Working Party to examine the situation. The report, in 1981, proposed recommendations covering both programme content and employment policy. An Equality Liaison Committee was established to monitor implementation of the proposals (not all of which were initially accepted by RTE management). The Committee's own proposal for the appointment of a full-time Equality Officer, has

so far not been adopted. Instead, in 1987 RTE designated six voluntary equality officers, in a range of departments, to handle complaints. Such complaints can be brought to the Board of Management. There are also plans to increase the effectiveness of the Equality Liaison Committee itself.

Recruitment. Job application forms revised; advertisements state that RTE is an equal opportunities employer; guidelines for interview boards developed; selection boards expected to give 'special consideration' to female candidates; a special report required on unsuccessful female candidates; where possible, selection boards include at least one female member; statistics on application and success rates kept.

Training. Introductory course in programme production (also open to men, but trainees are mainly women in secretarial and clerical grades); confidence building courses for women; training attachments scheme.

Working Conditions. Comprehensive flexi-time arrangements; job sharing; paid maternity leave for pensionable staff (cf. statutory provision: 80% normal salary); on-site crèche since 1987.

**EEC Project.** Management training course for women organised in 1988.

Steering Committee: Mr Bob COLLINS, Director of Television Programmes; Ms Clare DUIGNAN, Head of Television Features and Documentaries; Mr Feidhlim O'RAGHALLAIGH, Personnel Administration Manager.

# ITALY

#### RAI

Policy and Mechanisms. Women in RAI began to meet as a group for the first time in 1980. A report, based on interviews and personnel statistics, was produced by these women in 1981. It made a number of general recommendations, but did not command much attention from management and the women's group broke up. Under the 1987 collective agreements in Italy, all public enterprises undertook to adopt positive action measures to encourage the participation of women. As a public organisation, RAI has also committed itself to such a course. A working group is supposed to meet twice a year, and to prepare an annual report.

Recruitment. No special measures.

**Training.** Career development course for women in secretarial and clerical positions in 1986.

Working Conditions. Limited flexi-time arrangements; six months paid maternity leave at 83% of salary (cf. statutory provision of five months at 80%); additional six months at 30% of salary, or reduction in working week for mothers of children up to one year.

EEC Project. None proposed.

Steering Committee: Mme Elisa CALZAVARA, Segreteria del Consiglio d'Amministrazione.

#### LUXEMBOURG

RTL

Policy and Mechanisms. None, other than adherence to national legislation on equality.

Recruitment. No special measures.

Training. No special training for women.

Working Conditions. No flexi-time or other special arrangements reported.

EEC Project. None proposed.

Steering Committee: Mme Kit GRAAS, Chargée de Mission.

#### **NETHERLANDS**

Dutch Broadcasting Organisations

Policy and Mechanisms. A small study of women's employment in NOS - the largest of the Dutch broadcasting organisations - was begun in 1975. The report, produced in 1977, was shelved without follow-up. Later two women on the NOS Board got the Board's backing - after a year of discussion - for a project to develop equal opportunities. This was funded by the national Emancipation Commission, and in 1980 a full-time emancipation worker joined NOS with a brief to present proposals covering the whole of Dutch broadcasting. Government funds supported the emancipation worker until 1983, and NOS provided funding for another year in order to complete the project. In 1984 eight reports, and an emancipation policy plan, were presented to the various governing bodies in Dutch broadcasting. Emancipation policy programmes have subsequently been adopted by NOS and most other organisations. An Emancipation Committee, spanning the whole system, was established in 1986 to monitor implementation of these programmes and - when necessary - to make new Since 1987 the Committee has had a budget. A Working proposals. Group on the Image of women in Television was also set up and, with a government subsidy, in 1988 published a book (Vrouw in Beeld) listing over 1000 female experts who could contribute to television and radio programmes.

Recruitment. Women specifically invited to apply in certain cases (NOS); advertisements for male-dominated jobs state that - other things being equal - women will be given preference (KRO); a brochure setting out guidelines to prevent discrimination in recruitment has been prepared; staff who resign to look after a child treated as internal job applicants for 3 years; statistics on application and success rates kept.

**Training.** Career development and confidence building courses for women.

Working Conditions. Comprehensive flexi-time arrangements; paid leave to care for a sick child; part-time working arrangements available for parents of children up to 3 years; crèche established in 1987; policy, training and consultation mechanism to deal with sexual harassment.

EEC Project. Management training course for women in secretarial and clerical positions organised in 1988.

Steering Committee: Ms Martha HERING, Secretary of Dutch Broadcasting Emancipation Committee, Department of Labour Conditions, NOS.

#### **PORTUGAL**

RTP

Policy and Mechanisms. A working group was established in 1986 to consider development of equal opportunities in RTP. Headed by the Director of Personnel, the group includes six women with backgrounds in psychology, law, social services and also journalism. The group quickly drew up a plan of action, with a heavy emphasis on information, training and sensitisation — the latter to cover senior management as well as women throughout the organisation.

Recruitment. Proposal that women should be specifically invited to apply for certain jobs, currently under consideration.

**Training.** Awareness raising sessions for all staff, including senior management; development of a sensitisation module to be included in all training courses.

Working Conditions. Limited flexi-time arrangements; maternity grant; paid leave to care for a sick child; child allowance payment; children's medical expenses paid; crèche or baby-sitting scheme under consideration.

EEC Project. Technical training course for women in secretarial and clerical posts proposed.

Steering Committee. Mr Jorge BARBOSA, Director of Personnel; Ms Clara DE JESUS, Head of Sccial Services.

#### SPAIN

(a) TVE

**Policy and Mechanisms.** A working group was established in 1986 to consider possible actions to promote equality. It has been trying to collect information about job expectations. So far, no concrete programme of activity has been developed.

Recruitment. No special measures.

Training. No special measures.

Working Conditions. No flexi-time or job-sharing; 3 days paternity leave (cf. statutory provision 2 days); unpaid parental leave available; child allowance payment.

EEC Project. Participated in BBC training course for women in engineering in 1987. Follow-up currently under discussion.

Steering Committee: Mr Enrique SESENA, Director of Personnel; Ms Pilar VARELA, Head of Technical Cabinet.

(b) TV 3

Policy and Mechanisms. In 1986 a working group was established to consider how the question of equal opportunities could be pursued. A study of women employees was carried out, and a report containing a series of recommendations was presented to senior management at the end of 1987. At present, the report is still under discussion.

Recruitment. No special measures.

Training. No special training for women.

Working Conditions. Limited flexi-time arrangements; child allowance payment.

EEC Project. No project proposed.

Steering Committee: Ms Montserrat DURA, Head of Training and Recruitment.

#### UNITED KINGDOM

A very complex pattern of initiatives has, over the years, built up pressure for change in the situation of women in British broadcasting. The broadcasting trades unions (specifically the ACTI, BETA, and the NUJ) have been particularly active: in no other country in the Community do the unions have a similar record on this issue. Women's lobby groups have also been influential. The relative openness of Channel 4 - itself a very small employer, but nonetheless an important force in providing opportunities to independent producers - to the idea of women's 'space' on television has had its own impact. Perhaps a symbol of the extent to which equal opportunities is accepted on the media agenda, in 1987 the Independent Television Association (ITVA) set up a Joint Working Party on Equality whose aim is to promote equality actions throughout the independent television companies. Four British organisations are currently represented on the Steering Committee.

# (a) The BBC

Policy and Mechanisms. Debate stretches back to 1968 when an external study of women's careers in the BBC was carried out. The report, published in 1971, led to internal debate and as far back as 1973 the BBC committed itself to action to open up possibilities to women. In concrete terms not much happened until 1979 when, prompted by its main trade union the ABS (now BETA) the organisation set up a joint management-union discussion group on equality. In 1981 this was formalised into an Equal Opportunities Committee which met quarterly. With statistics indicating little or no change over the years, and under renewed pressure from the ABS, another internal study was prepared. The report, in 1985, recommended a series of actions including the appointment of an Equal Opportunities Officer. This appointment The initial task of the E00 was to devise a was made in 1986. plan for the structuring of authority and accountability for equal opportunities throughout the BBC (a vast organisation, The plan was accepted. employing some 30,000 staff). additional full-time Equal Opportunities Officers have been appointed to help implement it, through a system of informal networks and formal implementation groups, reporting up to Managing Directors who are finally accountable to the Director General.

Recruitment. Job application form has been redesigned; advertisements state that the BBC is an equal opportunities employer; engineering applicants no longer required to have prior qualification in engineering; video — with audio-cassette and print material — on interviewing and selection procedures; staff who resign to look after a child treated as internal job applicants for 5 years; statistics on application and success rates kept.

Training. Management training for women; operational awareness course (in engineering) for women; introductory film technique course for women; self-presentation skills for senior secretarial staff; assertiveness training for women; training attachments scheme.

Working Conditions. Comprehensive flexi-time arrangements; job-sharing; for employees with one year's service - 18 weeks maternity leave on full pay (cf. statutory provision of 6 weeks on full pay, remainder on lower flat rate, for employees with 2 years' service); 5 days paternity leave (cf. no statutory provision); career break scheme; on-site crèche in preparation; formal policy statement on sexual harassment.

EEC Project. Organised operational awareness course in engineering for women, with TVE participation, in 1987. Follow-up currently under discussion with TVE.

Steering Committee: Mr Bob NELSON, Head of Corporate Management Services; Ms Cherry EHRLICH, Equal Opportunities Officer.

(b) Central Independent Television

Policy and Mechanisms. The organisation was established in 1982. Following an in-house investigation which revealed typical blockages, a series of discussions with management was organised. Women's groups were formed at the organisation's two locations, and the company directors have taken part in meetings with the women's groups. Central's approach so far has been to encourage senior managers to recognise the existence of inequalities and to accept responsibility for their elimination, rather than to set up a formal mechanism or structure. However, a more formal approach is not ruled out for the future.

**Recruitment.** Job application form redesigned, with personal details detachable; application and success rates being monitored.

Training. Personal effectiveness courses for women; technical awareness days for women; 'work experience' days for women; information courses for women, on work-related issues; major project (with Aston University) on management training and sensitisation.

Working Conditions. Limited flexi-time and job-sharing arrangements; for employees with 18 months' service - 13 weeks maternity leave on full pay (cf. statutory provision of 6 weeks on full pay, remainder on lower flat rate, for employees with 2 years service); one month paid leave on adoption of a child; 2 days paternity leave (cf. no statutory provision).

days paternity leave (cf. no statutory provision). **EEC Project.** Participating in ITV management training course for women, organised in 1988.

Steering Committee. Mr Alan PANKHURST, Director of Personnel and Industrial Relations.

#### (c) Thames Television

Policy and Mechanisms. The first broadcasting organisation in the U.K. to declare a positive action project, Thames' initiative dates from 1980. The basis for the project was a study carried out by an external consultant. The conclusions and recommendations of her report, in 1981, were supported by senior management and a five-point positive action policy statement was issued. The project was scheduled to last for five years, under the overall authority of the Director of Personnel. A committee, with representatives from management, unions and the women's group, was formed to support the work. A member of the personnel

department was made responsible for day-to-day running of the project. It quickly became clear that this was a full-time job, and an Equal Opportunities Adviser was appointed to handle the work in early 1982. By and large, this structure is still in place.

Recruitment. A code of practice, covering job advertisements and interviewing, has been developed; statistics on application and success rates are kept;

Basic programme production courses (also open to Training. men), mainly attended by women in secretarial and clerical jobs; preparatory technical training courses (also open to men), mainly to give women a basic grounding in maths, physics and general training attachments scheme; equal opportunities science; covered in management training courses; seminars on equal opportunities; equal opportunities training for staff personal effectiveness courses for women; personnel division; careers conventions for school children to counteract stereotyping in career choices; counselling for staff who do not progress after training; training on management styles to be piloted in 1988.

Working Conditions. Comprehensive flexi-time arrangements; limited job-sharing; maternity leave and paid leave for adoption of a child as Central (above); three days paternity leave (cf. no statutory provision); company contributes to cost of municipal crèche; financial assistance for child-care available to lower-income employees.

EEC Project. Participation in ITV management training course for women, organised in 1988.

Steering Committee. Mr Ben MARR, Director of Personnel and Company Secretary; Ms Christine KERR, Equal Opportunities Adviser.

# (d) IBA

Policy and Mechanisms. As the licencing body for the fifteen independent (ITV) companies in the U.K., the IBA also has a policy on equal opportunities. This applies not just to its own recruitment and staffing procedures but to those of the companies which it regulates. During the award of company franchises in 1980, the IBA asked each group applying for a franchise to answer questions about its attitude towards the employment of women, the proposed representation of women among senior management staff, and the proposed number of female Board members. In its recent mid-term review, the IBA asked each company to report on any measures taken to recruit and promote women. These reports will be taken into account when the licences are considered for renewal.

Steering Committee: Ms Clare MULHOLLAND, Deputy Director of Television.

IBA

# ORGANISATIONS LISTED IN THE MONOGRAPH

1. Represented on Steering Committee on Women and Tel	<u>evision</u>
BELGIUM Belgische Radio en Teelevisie, Nederlandse uitzendingen: Radio-Television Belge de la Communaute francaise:	BRT RTBF
DENMARK Danmarks Radio:	DR
FRANCE Societe Nationale Television Francaise 1: Societe Nationale de Television en Couleur (Antenne 2): Societe Nationale de Programme France Regions (FR 3):	TF1 Antenne 2 FR3
GERMANY, FEDERAL REPUBLIC Sudwestfunk: Westdeutscher Rundfunk: Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen:	SWF WDR ZDF
GREECE Elliniki Radiophonia-Tileorassis 1: Elliniki Radiophonia-Tileorassis 2:	ERT 1 ERT 2
IRELAND Radio Telefis Eireann:	RTE
ITALY Radiotelevisione Italiana:	RAI
LUXEMBOURG Radio-Tele-Luxembourg:	RTL
NETHERLANDS Nederlandse Omroep Stichting:	NOS
PORTUGAL Radiotelevisao Portuguesa, E.P.:	RTP
SPAIN Television Espanola, S.A.: Televisio de Catalunya (TV 3):	TVE TV 3
UNITED KINGDOM British Broadcasting Corporation: Central Independent Television: Thames Television:	8BC Central Thames

Independent Broadcasting Authority

# 2. Observer Status on Steering Committee

European Advertising Tripartite: EAT EBU European Broadcasting Union:

3. Other Organisations Mentioned	
FRANCE Societe Francaise de Production et de Creation Audiovisu Telediffusion de France:	elles:SFP TDF
NETHERLANDS	
Algemene Omroepvereniging AVRO:	AVRO
Stichting Katholieke Radio Omroep:	KRO
Nederlandse Christelijke Radio Vereniging:	NCRV
Omroepvereniging VARA:	VARA
Omroepvereniging VPRO:	VPRO
Televisie Radio Omroep Stichting (TROS):	TROS
Stichting Evangelische Omroep:	EO
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