UPDATE ON THE ROLE AND STATUS OF WOMEN CORRESPONDENTS IN TELEVISION NETWORK NEWS: A CONTENT ANALYSIS

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UPDATE ON THE ROLE AND STATUS OF WOMEN CORRESPONDENTS IN TELEVISION NETWORK NEWS: A CONTENT ANALYSIS

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A content analysis of the evening news broadcasts of the American Broadcasting Company (ABC), Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) and National Broadcasting Company (NBC) was conducted to determine whether gender bias exists in the story assignments made to network television reporters. The study was a follow-up to two previous gender bias studies conducted by Singleton and Cook (1982) and Ziegler and White (1990). Abstracts of 10 randomly selected week-long evening news broadcasts on the three networks were used to conduct the content analysis. Results showed significant difference at the .001 level in the story assignments made to male and female reporters in four categories, and significant differences in the .05 level or below in six other categories. Women correspondents were significantly less likely to deliver reports in the priority, or top three, positions of the newscast. The data shows these differences exist at all three broadcast networks. NBC has the highest number of total reports filed by female correspondents, and the least number of categories in which significant
differences in story assignments is found. Despite still being underrepresented on the evening news programs offered by the three broadcast networks, the on-air presence of women has improved since the previous studies were reported.

Accepted by: 

John V. Marlowe, Chair

[Signature]

Joan F. Cox
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Chapter 1:
Introduction

**Star Wars**
In 1989, ABC lured Diane Sawyer away from CBS for nearly $2 million per year, setting off the biggest newscaster bidding war in television history. Each of the three network television news departments wanted its own "superstar" female news reporter (Zoglin, 1989). This demand for women reporters by the network news departments was seen as the shining moment in the 40-year battle women have fought to gain equality in network news (p. 70).

**Window Dressing**
However, there are many in the journalism field who think the "Star Wars" Zoglin described are just "window dressing," and that women are being promoted because of their looks and appeal to the general public. Young (1990) claims that for all the advancement women are making in getting on-air jobs, the stories they are assigned have not changed. In fact, Young asserts it appears there is a trend toward returning to the "old days" of broadcast television when women covered "female issues" and men handled the serious news stories (p. 12). Television executives are "waging a war" to capitalize on the women reporter craze, and are increasing their promotion of female reporters, even going so far as to give coveted special programs to their female reporters (p. 12). However, the bulk of these special projects are for "female oriented" programs dealing with women's issues, such as "working moms versus moms that stay at home." Men are not being offered these assignments, Young claims (p. 12).
Differences Exist

Past studies support Young's claims. Singleton and Cook (1982) and Ziegler and White (1990) used content analysis of network television news broadcasts to determine whether there was a difference in the type of stories reported by men and women. Both studies found that women were more likely to report on domestic issues, social problems, women's issues, and news about the environment. Their male counterparts were more likely to be assigned stories on foreign affairs, the economy, disasters, crime, court proceedings, science and sports (Singleton and Cook, p. 490; Ziegler and White, p. 219).

Singleton and Cook, in the most detailed study of gender bias on network news broadcasts, also include an analysis of the position in the newscast in which stories by men and women reporters were aired. Their research indicated that women "filed 16.2 percent of the lead-off, or number one stories, 15.5 percent of the number two stories, and 18.2 percent of the third-place reports" (p. 490).

All in all, "the network news media are still falling short in terms of the number of women and minorities represented," and "women and minorities have not gained a recognized social status in the general society," Singleton and Cook conclude (pp. 221-222).

Gender bias is not new. Deming (1990) reports women have long been banished from the arts (including television), because those in control -- mostly men -- believed women capable of only frivolous or "inferior" work. "Out of the public sphere, really until the present century, women and their art were relegated to the domestic and the decorative, the sensual and the trivial" (p. 38).
Gender Bias

Using data drawn from the 1974-75 television season, the United States Commission on Civil Rights issued a report in 1977 titled, "Window Dressing On The Set," which notes that "minorities and women -- again, particularly minority women -- are underrepresented on network dramatic television programs and on the network news. When they do appear they are frequently seen in token or stereotyped roles" (p. 3).

Changing Status

The situation faced by female newscasters has changed considerably over the past 20 years (Beasley and Gibbons, 1993; Sanders, 1993; Wilson, 1989; Zoglin, 1989). Then again, the television news industry has changed considerably, too. Schneider (1985/1986) points out that "During the last 30 years television has become the major source of national and international news in the minds of the American public" (p. 1). Fang (1972) reports that television replaced newspapers as the most believable source of news in 1961, and became the number one source of news for Americans in 1964 (p. 13).

Historically, network news has been an area dominated by men. According to Gelfman (1976), "Traditionally, television news broadcasting has been a male occupation" (p. 1). In fact, until the mid-1960s, Pauline Frederick was the only female network news correspondent (Gelfman, 1976; Marzolf, 1977; Sanders and Rock, 1988). Gelfman states "the major news of the world, events that concern men and women equally, has long been assumed to be a masculine prerogative" (p. 1).
This changed during the 1960s and 1970s with the arrival of the women's liberation movement (Beasley and Gibbons, 1993; Beasley and Theus, 1988; Gatlin, 1987; Sanders, 1993).

According to Tuchman (1978), the number of women in the work force has grown tremendously in the past 50 years, from about 24 percent in 1920 to over 50 percent of all women in the 1970s. This influx of women into the work force, especially during the women's movement of the 1960s and 1970s, has had many social effects, for both women and men. Women and their families were forced to make adjustments as women entered the work force, while men in factories and the office increasingly encountered "economically productive women" who insisted on "the abandonment of old prejudices and discriminatory behaviors" (p. 4).

Because of these social changes, Tuchman asserts, "the portrayal of sex roles in the mass media is a topic of great social, political and economic importance" (p. 4). Little research about the mass media and women was conducted prior to the women's movement of the 1960s and 1970s, Tuchman reported, adding, "until then, psychology, sociology, economics and history were mainly written by men, about men, and for men" (p. 4).

According to Tuchman, "to say television is the dominant medium in American life is a vast understatement" (p. 90). Because of television's importance in American society, Tuchman asserts it is important to study the treatment and representation of women in the media, because a lack of women in on-air positions "tells viewers that women don't matter much in American society" (p. 11).

Women now make up over 33 percent of the network news staffs, compared to less than one percent in 1960 (Wilson, 1990). Much of the problem women have faced in
gaining admittance into the television news reporting field has been with their credibility perception, both among viewers and news producers (Hutchinson, 1982; Marzolf, 1977; Sanders and Rock, 1988; Stone, 1974; Whittaker and Whittaker, 1976).

Television news is now a changing industry, partly caused by a drop in viewer ratings. In 1981, Walter Cronkite's last year as anchor of the CBS Evening News, 3 out of 4 American households watched a network evening news broadcast. Today, only about 57 percent watch (Bernstein, 1993). The situation has deteriorated to the point that one network news official, Steve Friedman, executive producer of the NBC Nightly News with Tom Brokaw, predicted that at least one of the three network evening news broadcasts will disappear from the airwaves within the next five years (Sukow, 1991).

Now it appears television is turning to women to save the sinking network ship (Andersen, 1993; McClellan, 1994a). Driven by reports from media analysts, the networks are now using tactics such as the "star system" (Diamond, 1991; Frank, 1994; McCall, 1985/1986; Reibstein, 1994), and target marketing techniques to regain viewers (Dennis, 1991; Epstein, 1981; Katz, 1993; Massey, 1994; McManus, 1994).

According to Schneider (1985/1986), the concept of changing tactics in an effort to pacify the wants of viewers is not new in network television, nor should it be considered unusual. Network news is a form of communication, and as such, is subject to the classic communication model that includes the sender, the message and the receiver, as well as feedback and adjustment (p. 5; see also Frey, Botan, Friedman and Kreps, 1992, pp. 62-63). This notion is supported by Bluhm (1982), who states that "in television news programs the newscaster functions as an instrument to the communication process, because much of the credibility of news reports depends upon
how the image the newscaster projects via the television camera impresses viewers" (p. 3).

Carstens (1994) comments that "news organizations today operate in a very competitive environment. Everyone is doing the news. Nowhere is it easier to see this than in television news" (1). For example, Carstens points out, "There are 24-hour news networks, business news networks, network news magazine shows, tabloid news shows, special news reports, weekend news, news throughout the night, and the old stand-by, the evening news" (1). "Television news is everywhere," Carstens concludes (p. 1).

Gender Debates

The debate over the role women have in network news is also not new. According to van Zoonen (1994), "the media have always been at the centre of feminist critique" (p. 11). However, most studies have centered on how the media treats women as objects. There have been few projects that attempt to study the role of women who participate in the media (p. 7). But, van Zoonen points out, "in spite of the marginal position of feminist media studies in the discipline as a whole, there are at least two themes taken up and/or revitalized by feminist communication scholars which have gained a more habitual importance: 1) Stereotypes and gender socialization, and 2) ideology" (p. 15).

Media Studies

Johnstone, Slawski and Bowman (1976) stated broadcast news studies are important because of the power those in the broadcast industry have in the American society. People in the news use their backgrounds, and built-in biases, to determine what is
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reported, and what "news" the American people are given. "It is significant, for example, that (broadcast) journalists are predominantly male, emanate from the middle-classes of American society, and are disproportionately concentrated within large urban places and in the Northeast" (185). Given this situation, it is inevitable that the "news" offered to the American public will be items of interest to people of similar background, and not representative of the people as a whole (p. 185). "Who and where the people are who gather and assemble the news, in other words, can significantly influence what is portrayed as newsworthy by the media," Johnstone, et al., conclude (p. 185).

The studies by Singleton and Cook (1982) and Ziegler and White (1990) illustrate the significant differences that exist in the number of male and female newscasters, as well as the difference in the story assignments made to reporters of either sex. Recent studies provide evidence that little has changed as far as the difference in the number of male and female reporters. However, there are conflicting conclusions about the apparent gender bias shown in making story assignments to correspondents.

Mixed Results

Smith, Fredin and Ferguson (1988), in a study of sex discrimination in earnings and story assignments among reporters at the local television station level, conducted research under the assumption that:"other things being equal, female reporters may be assigned different stories than males, and the stories assigned to women may have lower status. Discrimination may also appear in the number of lead stories a reporter covers" (p. 5). This is a logical assumption, Smith, et al., conclude, since "If female reporters, like female lawyers and physicians, do less prestigious work than their male
peers, stories reported by women would appear less often in the important 'lead position' in television newscasts" (p. 5).

However, the results of the study conducted by Smith, et al., showed something quite different, with the researchers stating "the initial analyses here indicate that there is virtually no evidence for discrimination in story assignments" (p. 11). Their research did show female correspondents were slightly more likely to be assigned stories related to education, health, medicine, science, consumer news and courts, and their male counterparts were somewhat more likely to be assigned stories regarding government, labor, business, the economy, disaster, accidents and spot news. However, none of the differences in story assignments were different to a degree of significance, indicating the difference in story assignments made to male and female reporters was more likely caused by chance than by deliberate decisions made by the news director.

Different findings were reported by Carstens (1994). In a series of interviews with news employees at several local television stations in the midwestern United States, Carstens found there is a perceived difference in the story assignments given to male and female reporters. "Females feel that they do not often get the assignments that result in recognition and status in the organization and in the industry" (pp. 60-61). Carstens also reports that male reporters were more likely to be assigned more "hard" news assignments, while the female reporters were more likely to be assigned "soft" news stories (p. 61).

"Even those women who feel that they do get good assignments often find that when it comes to promotions, they are passed over in favor of inexperienced males or younger women hired from outside their own organizations," Carstens states (p. 61).
Carstens reports that story assignments were often made based on criteria other than a reporter's skills. "Many reporters commented that gender was often a factor in deciding which reporters covered which stories," Carstens states (p. 149). Comments from some of the women Carstens interviewed include:

Newsrooms often have one or two tough males who dominate the reporting staff. These males will get all the tough stories -- all the hard news. The fires, the murders...

It's getting better. A couple of years ago (I worked with) a reporter who was seen as a strong male figurehead. He got all the stories. They just wanted to give a male those stories (p. 149).

Carstens points out that much of the influence for news directors making these types of story assignments is information supplied by marketing consultants and media analysts. Often the story assignments are made to maintain an image created or established by a certain reporter. Carstens states "some males have images or profiles as 'tough guys.' In order to maintain those profiles, these males will be assigned the 'tough-guy' stories" (p. 150).

If a reporter maintains a certain image, then the audience will, over time, begin to feel they know the reporter personally, and will be more likely to watch for those reporters, Carstens reports (p. 150).

According to Carstens, women are also assigned stories based on the image the audience wants. However, this is usually not on an individual reporter basis, but rather on a gender-basis. Women are more likely to be assigned "emotional" stories, because "females can generate more sympathy. They have more empathy. They can display the 'Gee, I'm really sorry' emotion," Carstens states (p. 151). One female reporter said in an interview with Carstens, "Yeah, I can see that some story assignments are based on
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gender. There are the obvious ones -- health stories. If there's a female available, a female will do it. They are thought to have more credibility -- even on men's health issues" (pp. 150-151).

In summarizing the statements made by the reporters she interviewed, Carstens recounts that "reporters said that it is very difficult to determine if some story assignments are really based on reporters' skills or if gender factors come into play" (p. 151).

Gender bias is more obvious in the assignments made for a series of stories. According to a survey of reporters, Carstens points out males are likely to be given story series assignments in topics like crime, fires, violence, and other hard news topics, while females are likely to get series assignments for topics such as families, health, infidelity, and "fuzzy, feel-good stuff" (p. 155).

Both male and female reporters pointed out their role in the decision making process is limited when it comes to determining which reporter will be assigned a specific story. "Many will identify topics they would like to cover, but ultimately the news director decides what they will do" (p. 155).

Finally, in a pilot study by Flora, Woods, Darlan, Ensign and Menoher (1995), an update of the Singleton and Cook study using a two-week sample showed the situation for women newscasters has changed since the previous study, but that significant gender bias still exists in story assignments, the number of reports made by male newscasters as compared to those by women, and the sequence in the newscast that stories reported by male and female newscasters are likely to appear (Appendix 1). According to Flora, et al., male reporters delivered nearly three times as many reports
as did their female coworkers. Of the 199 total stories coded, 146 were reported by men, while 53 were reported by women (Appendix 1).

When the subjects of story assignments were analyzed, the differences were less severe than those reported by Singleton and Cook (1982). Flora, et al., reported there were only four categories in which the difference in story assignments to male and female reporters were significant: Features, social problems, sports and politics. The only significant category from Singleton and Cook that was reported significant by Flora, et al., is social problems. Female reporters were found to be twice as likely to report on social problems as male reporters.

The sex of the reporter delivering the first three non-anchor news reports was also analyzed. Flora, et al., found that male reporters were more than twice as likely as women to deliver reports in the top three positions of the newscast. Women delivered about 1 in 5 (20 percent) of the lead, or number one stories, 37 percent of the number two stories, and 1 in 3 (33 percent) of the number three stories. Overall, women correspondents delivered 30 percent of the first three stories, which is in contrast to the findings reported by Singleton and Cook (1982).

**Research Question**

The studies by Smith, Fredin and Ferguson (1988) and Carstens (1994) offer conflicting reports of the situation now faced by women in the broadcast news industry. The study by Flora, et al. (1995), while providing an interesting glimpse into the state of gender bias in network news, studied only two weeks of network news broadcasts, a sample size adequate for a pilot study, but too small to provide anything more than background information for a more in-depth study.
With the aforementioned information in mind, a replication of the Singleton and Cook (1982) study was completed using an updated sample of network evening news broadcasts. The replication study expanded on Singleton and Cook to also include an individual network break-down of story assignments, story placement, and total reports delivered by male and female reporters, but retained the sample method and categories developed by Singleton and Cook. This allowed a more accurate analysis of the degree of change in gender bias exhibited toward female news reporters -- when contrasted with the results by Singleton and Cook -- than would a study conducted with a different method of sample selection and categories not consistent with those used by Singleton and Cook.

This study attempted to update the work of Singleton and Cook, and answer three research questions. 1) Are there significant differences in the topics of stories assigned to male and female network news correspondents? 2) Is there a significant difference in the position in the newscast of stories assigned to male and female network news correspondents? 3) Is there a difference in the topics and placement of stories reported by women network news correspondents today as compared to the results of the last intensive study of the topic reported in 1982?

Review of Relevant Literature

History of Women in Broadcast News

The network evening news broadcast as we know it today began in September 1963, when both CBS and NBC expanded their news broadcasts from 15 minutes to 30 minutes (Barnouw, 1970; Hallin, 1986; Sanders and Rock, 1988). ABC followed in 1967 when it expanded its news broadcast to a half-hour format (Hallin, p. 23). Now,
Hallin says, "Television news is widely believed to be the most powerful force in journalism" (p. 13), a sentiment echoed by Fang (1972) and Schneider (1985/1986).

Network television news broadcasts have been male dominated since the inception of the format. Only recently have women gained a significant role in television network news (Wilson, 1989). Carstens (1994) points out that "women have been working in news in one capacity or another for many years. Female workers are not new to the newsroom. What is new in newsrooms is the increased number of women" (p. 55).

Radio and Newspapers. When it comes to news broadcasting, women started out behind and have been playing catch-up ever since. According to Sanders and Rock (1988), the problems currently faced by female news reporters on television actually began in radio and newspapers, in the years before television. Prior to World War II, women had gained access to the print journalism field. Beasley and Theus (1988) report "On a national level the number of women employed in (print) reporting and editing jobs doubled in the 1920s" (p. 13). Figures from the 1920s show 12,000 women worked in reporting and editing positions in the print media, about 24 percent in that category, which was "an increase of 7.2 percent from 1920 to 1930" (p. 13).

Despite this growth, considerable gender bias still existed in the story assignments given to women. "Many of these women worked on women's pages for women's magazines or in other areas considered appropriate for their sex. Even though women had been given the right to vote in 1920, the number of women who covered straight news or politics on newspapers remained small" (p. 13).

Of course, there were exceptions. "Occasionally women made it to general assignment status if they were willing to be 'sob sisters.' This was one of the terms
given female writers who wrote lurid, adjective-laden stories that exploited women's presumed predisposition to emotional outbursts" (p. 13).

The new and growing field of radio held possibilities for women in the late 1920s and 1930s. But women often found access to the new medium difficult. According to Beasley and Gibbons, "As for broadcasting, women fared as poorly, if not more so, as on newspapers. Most women's voices were considered too high and nonauthoritative for news work. Some women gave household hints on the radio, and in the early days of television, but most women's programs consisted of soap operas. Prejudices against women on newspapers carried over into the electronic media" (p. 18).

**World War II.** That situation began to change in the late 1930s as America was drawn into World War II. In 1939, Mary Marvin Breckinridge became the first female network news reporter when she was hired by CBS Radio News' European Director Edward R. Murrow to cover the events in Europe that eventually led to World War II (Sanders and Rock, p. 6; Beasley and Gibbons, p. 166). Beasley and Gibbons report "In the tense days before World War II broke out in Europe, Edward R. Murrow hired an old friend, photojournalist Mary Marvin Breckinridge, to broadcast over his CBS World News Roundup. Breckinridge made about 50 broadcasts from seven countries, including Nazi Germany, in 1939 and 1940" (p. 166).

Breckinridge had much in her favor. She was fluent in several languages, including German, and according to Beasley and Gibbons, Breckinridge "possessed a strong, low voice" (p. 166). The low voice was important, because of the perception among her superiors at CBS that women's voices lacked authority (Sanders and Rock, 1988). In fact, the only piece of advice she received from Murrow before she began her reporting duties was "to keep her voice low" (p. 6).
Gender Bias

Even with her knowledge of languages and her low voice, Sanders and Rock report Breckinridge received the radio reporting job for two reasons: She had experience as a reporter, and no men were available because they either didn't want the assignment, or they were themselves preparing for war (p. 6).

Once she began working for CBS, Breckinridge earned the respect of CBS European Director Edward R. Murrow, who, commenting on Breckinridge's work, said he was "pleased. New York is pleased, and so far as I know the listeners are pleased. If they aren't, to hell with them" (p. 6).

Breckinridge's promising career ended in 1940, when she married Jefferson Patterson, an American diplomat stationed in Germany (Sanders and Rock, p. 6; Beasley and Gibbons, p. 166). According to Beasley and Gibbons, "The U.S. State Department would not allow her to continue broadcasting because of her husband's post at the U.S. Embassy in Berlin" (p. 166).

Breckinridge was the first of a handful of women who gained positions in radio news during the 1940s. According to Beasley and Gibbons, women were called on to fill many jobs, including that of journalist and broadcaster, when World War II began. "As men were drafted, employers had no choice except to hire women" (p. 15).

Even after getting jobs as radio newscasters, women faced problems. Beasley and Gibbons report women reporter's biggest problem was actually getting to the places they needed to be to do their reporting.

"Women journalists, like their male counterparts, tried to get overseas to the "big story" of the war itself, although both the State Department, which issued passports, and War Department, which accredited correspondents, discouraged them" (p. 15).
Another Murrow correspondent, Mary Wason, was in the right place at the right time when she began her stint as a war correspondent for CBS. According to Sanders and Rock, Wason was in Norway when the Germans invaded, and phoned in her reports to Murrow. Wason was fired after the invasion ended, though, after receiving a call from CBS officials telling her that her "voice wasn't coming through, that it was too young and feminine for war news, and that the public was objecting to it" (p. 7).

This was the reaction faced by most female newscasters at this time. Beasley and Gibbons report "Even though the war created an ideology that supported women's work outside the home to help the military effort, women journalists did not receive the respect accorded men" (p. 15). News directors in both the print and broadcast media saw women as "either too innocent to cover the unsavory elements of hard news or lacking the physical and mental ability of men" (p. 15).

Another woman who happened to be in Europe stumbled into a job at NBC. According to Sanders and Rock, "In 1940, Helen Hiett was reporting for a small Illinois newspaper. She had been sending stories back since the late 1930s, and used some of that material and her fluency in four languages to land a job with NBC" (p. 7). Hiett broadcast from Paris when the Nazis invaded the French capital, then when the city fell, she moved on to Switzerland and continued to report. She eventually moved on to Spain, where she barely managed to escape while reporting on the bombing of Gibraltar. That coverage impressed her colleagues enough that she was honored with the National Headliners Club award, making her the first woman ever honored with the award. Hiett returned to the United States and became a regular news commentator for NBC for a year and a half before returning to academia and finally to print journalism (p. 7).
Breckinridge, Wason and Hiett were just a few exceptions to the otherwise all-male reporter rule, although Sanders and Rock report that Murrow tried to hire another female correspondent, Helen Kirkpatrick, one of the best newspaper reporters stationed in London. Murrow’s wish was not granted by the network executives in New York, who told Murrow that his staff already had enough women reporters with Breckinridge and Wason as free-lancers (p. 9).

Sanders and Rock conclude, "During World War II, women were used on the airwaves to promote the war effort. But newscasting remained a field 'for men only' well into the era of television that caught on in the 1950s" (p. 166).

**Beginning of Television.** After World War II ended, women nearly disappeared from broadcasting, especially in the newly emerging field of television news (Sanders and Rock, 1988). Women were not encouraged to continue their careers in broadcasting, and most early women reporters returned to the print media, academia or government work after the war ended (p. 5).

But not all women deserted the broadcast news field. Marzolf (1977) reports most women believed television seemed like a promising field for women immediately after World War II. Many women had moved from radio to television, where they found jobs at the networks or station levels as editors, producers, directors, engineers and even announcers (p. 157).

Still, few women were able to gain on-air reporter positions. According to Carstens (1994), in the early years of television news, "the common belief among news managers was that audiences would not perceive women as authoritative enough to deliver the news. Most women therefore functioned in minor roles in beats such as
fashion, homemaking, or society, areas traditionally considered as feminine. Women might work in news, but they were not to be seen or heard in hard news" (p. 56).

There were exceptions. During this time a few women were able to gain reporter positions with the television networks. Beasley and Gibbons report "In 1946, Pauline Frederick was hired by ABC (Radio), even though she received regular news assignments only if men were not available" (p. 166).

In a 1974 interview with journalism student Gioia Diliberto, Frederick recounted the early days of her broadcasting career:

I had to make my own opportunity to cover real news. I was told by my editor that there was great objection to a woman being on the air for serious issues, and he had orders not to use me. But he said if by chance, I got an exclusive, he'd have to use me, adding 'Though I'll slit your throat if you tell anyone I gave you this advice.' (p. 166; see also Klever, 1975, pp. 124-125).

Frederick kept quiet, and, according to Beasley and Gibbons, "worked very hard to get exclusive stories at the United Nations. After covering a foreign minister's conference, she asked her chief for regular news assignments. He turned her down. Frederick told Diliberto: "He said, 'It isn't that you haven't proved yourself, but when listeners hear a woman's voice, they'll turn off their radios, because a woman's voice just doesn't carry authority. '" (p. 166).

Frederick persevered in spite of the prejudice, and eventually became the first female television news correspondent in 1948, when she covered the political conventions for ABC (Sanders and Rock, 1988; Beasley and Gibbons, 1993; Marzolf, 1977). Frederick wasn't hired to cover the conventions themselves, though. That responsibility was given to her male colleagues. Instead, Frederick's assignments included interviewing the wives of major candidates — including doing their make-up before they went on camera (p. 10).
Frederick was the only on-air female network news reporter until the 1960s (Sanders and Rock, 1988; Beasley and Gibbons, 1993; Marzolf, 1977). For the most part, women in the early days of broadcasting were limited to programs about food, cooking or household duties (p. 169).

Ruth Crane Schaefer was one of the first women to gain a foothold in the male-dominated broadcasting field. Schaefer began working in radio in the late 1920s, and became a television broadcaster in 1946 in Washington, D.C. She also served as president of the National Association of Women Broadcasters in the late 1940s (p. 169).

In an oral history interview given Nov. 18, 1975, to Pat Mower of the Washington D.C. Chapter of American Women in Radio and Television, Schaefer said food and household hints programs were all most women broadcasters were given the opportunity to do in the 1950s. "Each station usually had one woman personality on the air and at that time few of us had invaded the news or sports or other fields. You know, a man's voice was supposed to denote authority and knowledge, and not very many of the women did interviews even. This, too, was a man's field" (Beasley and Gibbons, pp. 169-170).

Marzolf reports that by the mid-1950s, "despite terrific growth in stations and audience, it was evident that the top jobs for women were limited to heading local women's programs for the most part...The familiar prewar pattern had resumed. There was at least one woman on the staff of every television studio, large or small, to 'handle the woman's angle'" (p. 157).

Beasley and Gibbons support this, stating in the 1950s some women were "promoted" to the title of Women's Director, or Director of Women's Programming.
Even then these women did not receive the respect of their male colleagues. Schaefer told Mower:

The lowest branch on the organization tree was usually that of the woman who did foods, children's programs, women's activities and so on, no matter how well sponsored and notwithstanding this woman in almost all cases was also her own complete staff — writer, program director, producer, public relations, innovator, outside speaker, often saleswoman for her own sponsors, radio or TV, and sometimes both (Beasley and Gibbons, p. 171).

Marzolf (1977) writes that "a few women worked their way up from secretary to production assistant, field producer, researcher or writer during the 1950s. For a woman bent on television news, commentary or intelligent talk about the interests of the day, the future looked dim indeed" (p. 164).

Infant Industry. At this time the network news was still in its infancy. None of the news divisions at the three networks was profitable until the mid-1960s. There were two main reasons why the networks even aired news programs. According to Davis (1992), "network television possessed a news component from the very beginning. However, television, unlike newspapers, was primarily an entertainment medium. News was a distinctly secondary function in terms of time allocation, financial resources, and profitability" (p. 97). This is one reason why, prior to 1963, none of the networks aired anything longer than a 15-minute evening newscast. And the networks were practically forced to air even that much news. Davis writes that the news departments were not profitable in the 1950s, but were maintained in part to "satisfy Federal Communications Commission standards for public service and as a showcase of the network's social responsibility" (p. 97).

Pressure from the FCC may have forced the networks to air news programs, but other factors influenced the networks' decision to expand their news departments.
Davis (1992) reports that CBS and NBC expanded their evening news broadcasts to a half-hour format in 1963 when the news departments began showing slight profits (p. 97).

There was a second reason for promoting news programs. According to Hallin (1986), network evening news shows were started primarily to restore the tarnished image of the networks caused by the quiz show scandal of 1959 and in response to FCC chairman Newton Minow's claim that TV was a "vast wasteland" (p. 23). Hallin writes, "the news was initially seen as a 'loss leader' whose function was more to restore prestige than to make money" (p. 23).

Breakthrough Years. Sanders and Rock report that the 1960s brought some change and growth for women in the television news industry. Several women even began showing up on network news shows doing actual "news" stories, as compared to the women-oriented stories they were routinely given. Notable women who got their start in the 1960s include Marlene Sanders, Lisa Howard, Barbara Walters, Liz Trotta and Nancy Dickerson. In 1963 Dickerson became the first woman to host her own network news show, "Nancy Dickerson with the News," on NBC (Marzolf, p. 166).

The big breakthrough came in 1960 when each of the networks sent women reporters to cover the republican and democratic national conventions (Marzolf, 1977). "Each of the networks did send three or four women to cover the political conventions of 1960 -- a sign of changes in store for the decade to come when about two dozen women would emerge in network-level jobs as reporters, correspondents, producers or assistant producers" (p. 164).
"Aside from Pauline Frederick," Marzolf writes, "women generally did not appear on network television news until after their introduction at the 1960 political conventions" (p. 164).

Progress was still slow for women, mainly because of the lack of opportunities in the small network news divisions. According to Barnouw (1975), despite being called the "golden age of television," the early 1960s were not a golden age for television news. "The network news divisions -- which had jurisdiction over the network documentary activity -- were aware of their second-class citizenship. Network news, at this critical juncture of American history, still had as its main achievement an early-evening 15-minute telecast of news-film items threaded by one or more anchor-men" (p. 285).

News Expands. The quiz show scandal and slowly rising profitability of news programming joined with a national tragedy to push the networks to expand their news departments. Barnouw (1970) reports the exposure given to television news by the death of President John F. Kennedy helped the young news medium gain national respectability, and acted as the final push in persuading the networks to expand their news departments.

The decision to expand the evening network news on CBS and NBC from 15 to 30 minutes created more opportunities for many reporters, including women. Marzolf (1977) reports that by the early 1960s, "it was occasionally possible to see Aline Mosby reporting from Moscow, Phillis Hepp from Turkey and Athens, and Lee Hall from Cairo and Havana" (p. 165).

Sanders became the second woman correspondent at ABC news when she was hired in 1964. At that time, CBS and NBC also had one or two women in their
correspondents corps of about 50 (Sanders, 1993). Sanders also accomplished a notable first on Dec. 3, 1964, when she became the first woman to anchor a network news telecast when she filled in for Ron Cochran as host of the *ABC Evening News* (Sanders and Rock, p. 49).

For all their successes, women were still under attack from their male counterparts, who began accusing the women of getting air time only because they were pretty — not because of their reporting skills. To this, Dickerson replied, "There's a notion around that a woman can function successfully as a reporter simply by being feminine and pretty. It's not so. The truth is that men make it so difficult for women to break into the field that the ones who do get in are really very good at their work. I suspect they are far better than most of the men" (Marzolf, p. 167).

Dickerson was one of the best reporters -- male or female -- in the network news field in the 1960s, and was seldom beaten on a story, Marzolf writes (p. 165). According to Marzolf, Dickerson "turned in prized scoops, including Senator Eugene McCarthy's plans to challenge President Johnson over his Vietnam policy and the details from President Johnson on his selection of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey as his running mate" (p. 165).

Dickerson was also one of the first female reporters to be guaranteed by a network that she would never have to cover traditional "women's" news, a move that prompted one displeased network executive to ask Dickerson, in a moment of spite, "not to giggle on the air" (p. 166).

Dickerson worked for six years as a radio news reporter and TV news documentary producer at CBS before being promoted to TV news reporter in 1960, when she was assigned to cover events at the national capital (Bluhm, 1982). In 1963 Dickerson
joined NBC and was a frequent reporter for the *Today* show and the *Huntley-Brinkley Report*. That year she also became the only woman to have a daily network television news program, *Nancy Dickerson with the News*, and the first woman in television to report from the floor of a national political convention (Marzolf, 1977).

In 1963 Barbara Walters became another female reporter to earn national attention and praise. Walters covered the funeral of President John F. Kennedy for NBC in 1963, then was given more responsibilities including researching, writing and editing her own special reports and interviewing such big name public figures as Prince Philip, President Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger. In fact, Marzolf reports Walters "was one of three women reporters on Nixon's 1972 China visit" (p. 170).

Sanders and Rock (1988) report that by the mid-1960s the status of women in television news was changing quickly. In the mid-1960s "there was no longer the prejudice against a woman's voice but rather a paternalism that was hard to break through. Traditional male management was reluctant to send women into danger zones" (p. 59).

**Traditional Views.** Much of this reluctance was caused by news directors' stereotypical views of male and female reporters. "There had been fights over assigning women to cover riots and domestic trouble spots, as well as late-night assignments with no specific threats attached. The men in charge regarded women on staff protectively, much as they would their wives or daughters" (p. 59).

Bluhm (1982) agrees that, when compared with their male counterparts, early women television reporters were often at a disadvantage in getting assignments. They were often barred from interviews with news sources, were not given hard news assignments because news directors and producers were not confident in the abilities of
women reporters, and were overlooked for stories that were in dangerous situations such as war zones and riots, because news directors feared a woman would be more likely to get hurt than a male reporter in the same situation (p. 144).

**New Frontiers.** Despite the best efforts of news directors to "protect" their female reporters, there were so many newsworthy events occurring in so many places that soon news directors were forced to begin sending women reporters to cover stories previously assigned only to men.

Marlene Sanders, the first woman to anchor a network evening news broadcast, became the first woman to achieve a reporting position in Vietnam when she was temporarily assigned there by ABC in 1966. In that time, Sanders filed mostly human interest stories and other feature-type reports, and was not allowed into the most dangerous war zones (Sanders and Rock, 1988).

Liz Trotta became the first woman to earn the title of "foreign correspondent" in 1968, when she was sent to cover the Vietnam War. Working for NBC, Trotta served three "tours of duty" in Vietnam, from 1968 to 1973 (p. 66).

Marzolf (1977) reports that in the late 1960s and early 1970s, "The networks were actually beginning to go out looking for capable women" (p. 170). The inroads made by women such as Sanders, Trotta, Walters, Dickerson, and most notably, Frederick, were beginning to help other women.

By the end of the 1960s, a handful of women reporters had regular assignments on the evening news. Marzolf reports that Liz Trotta was covering the Vietnam War, Catherine (Cassie) Mackin had joined NBC News, Ponchita Pierce joined CBS as a special correspondent, and Joan Richman produced the coverage of the Apollo 11 moon shot for CBS (p. 171).
Winds of Change. Despite the best efforts by these talented women, Marzolf writes, "the truth was that men still thought women were more suited to the lighter topics and prone to be subjective and unauthoritative" (p. 171).

According to Marzolf, part of this thinking can be attributed to resentment on the part of male reporters losing prized assignments to an increasing number of women. An event that helped fuel the resentment was the women's liberation movement, which traces its history to the civil rights and student movements of the early and mid-1960s, and which was helped by the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

According to Stone (1974), at about the same time the network news departments were increasing the size of their staffs, women were given a boost in their employment-seeking efforts in the broadcast news field. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 acted as "a signal for change" in the hiring practices of businesses all across the country, particularly after the amendment of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act was passed which prohibited "discrimination by sex as well as by race, color, creed or national origin" (p. 50).

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 created a groundswell of activism on behalf of women's rights. Gatlin (1987) reports the Women's Movement of the 1960s and 1970s had its roots in the Black Civil Rights Movement and the New Left of the 1960s. "Women's participation in these political experiences, radical ideas about themselves and society, opportunities to create alternative institutions, and finally, an awareness of the discrepancy between articulated and egalitarian ideals and unquestioned sexist practices" (p. 75).
The Women's Movement

Journalism was not alone in the leap in women's employment experienced during World War II. According to Gatlin (1987), from 1920 to 1940, there was only a one percent increase of women in the labor force, from 24 to 25 percent. During World War II (1941-1945) the number of women in the labor force jumped to 36 percent of the total labor force (p. 1). Much of this was due to the attitudes American men and women held about women in the work force. "In the 1930s, 75 percent of American men and women were opposed to married women working. Public opinion shifted dramatically during the Second World War, so that 60 percent of both sexes approved of married women's employment, at least as an emergency wartime measure" (p. 1).

According to Gatlin, "increasing numbers of women entered the labor force after 1945" (p. 24). While wartime propaganda stressed the temporary nature of women's work, and one out of four women lost their job after the war ended, women remained in the work force after World War II by accepting jobs in clerical and service fields. After women in the work force dropped to 29 percent in 1947, the percentage jumped to 37.7 percent in 1960 (p. 25).

According to Beasley and Gibbons (1993), "The Women's Movement grew out of the conflicts that American women experienced in their lives following World War II. During the war the government encouraged them to work at paid jobs to aid the military effort. When peace came, women were told to go home and give their jobs back to returning servicemen" (p. 4).

In the years directly after the end of World War II, Gatlin reported "family responsibilities limited women's employment opportunities, while sex discrimination in
hiring, promotion and earnings was justified in terms of women's supportive and subordinate position in the family” (p. 24).

According to Gatlin (1987), in the 1950s women began a move toward increasing their education and getting "professional" jobs. These were mostly in teaching, where about one in three professional women were employed, and in nursing, where 98 percent were women (pp. 35-36).

Sex Segregation. Writing about this period, when the groundwork in the battle over gender role in American society was being laid, Reskin and Hartmann (1986) state "The consequences of sex segregation in the workplace extend beyond the symbolic fact of its existence. Society, the economy, and individuals all lose when workers are allocated to jobs on the basis of characteristics such as gender, race, or age rather than on their ability to perform the work” (p. 9).

According to Reskin and Hartmann, segregation of jobs based on gender restrict an individual's chance for self-fulfillment. "When jobs are classified as men's work or women's work, neither men nor women are free to do the jobs that might best suit them" (p. 9).

Even though job segregation affects both men and women, Reskin and Hartmann state the effects are more harmful to women, "primarily because the occupations held predominantly by women are less desirable on various dimensions than those held predominantly by men" (p. 9).

The reasons people give for segregating jobs according to male or female characteristics are based on beliefs that can date back thousands of years. These beliefs are the basis for our ideas and assumptions about gender roles, and play an integral role in shaping the rules of society. Often, Reskin and Hartmann point out, "these
assumptions are so much a part of our world view that we do not consciously think about them" (p. 38). Consequently, our beliefs about the roles of men and women are so transparent to us that we don't notice them (p. 38).

Discrimination Studies. Adams and Uleha (1971) point out social science researchers have spent much time studying discrimination and bias (p. 34). This analysis of the discrimination process has not been found to be an "all-or-nothing matter" (p. 35). In fact, discrimination tends to occur in degrees "and may be obscured by a subject's bias toward one or another of the available stimulus alternatives" (p. 35). Thus, Adams and Uleha point out, job discrimination is often not intentional, but a result of subconscious sex role stereotyping in which men and women are given different job roles.

In an article in the May 10, 1995 edition of the Lexington Herald-Leader, "Riddle shows how bias works," cognition researcher Douglas Hofstadter gives an example of how deep-rooted and unconscious a person's sex role stereotypes may be:

A father and son are en route to a baseball game when their car stalls on the railroad tracks. The father can't restart the car. An oncoming train hits the car. The father dies. An ambulance rushes the boy to a nearby hospital. In the emergency room, the surgeon takes one look and says: "I can't operate on this child; he's my son."

As Hofstadter pointed out, even intelligent, broad-minded people go out of their way to invent bizarre scenarios -- sometimes involving extraterrestrials -- in order to solve this riddle. What prevents most people from seeing that the surgeon is the boy's mother is the reliance of the brain on the "default assumption" that a surgeon is a man (p. A-3).

In the few instances when people do stop to question and possibly revise certain of these beliefs, such as when people realize some of their beliefs and attitudes are prejudicial toward women, Reskin and Hartmann (1986) state "the implicit assumptions
that engendered them remain intact and can serve as the foundation for future, perhaps somewhat altered, sex stereotypes" (p. 38).

Gender expectations and biases developed in the Western culture tend to define women's roles based on three categories: "Those related to women's role in the home, those related to male-female relationships, and those related to innate differences between the sexes" (p. 38).

Reskin and Hartmann define the first category as "those assumptions that hold that women's 'natural' place is in the home" (p. 38). This category also assumes that women are naturally more knowledgeable about anything related to the home.

The second category of beliefs "includes those about gender differences that are relevant in male-female relationships" (p. 39). This category suggests women are more emotional and less capable of logical reasoning than are men. Reskin and Hartmann state "This line of thought offers a logical basis for assuming 'natural' male dominance and underlies social values that men should not be subordinate to women" (p. 39).

Finally, Reskin and Hartmann report "A third category of beliefs that shape women's occupational outcomes are those that assume innate differences between the sexes" (p. 41). Besides being more emotional and less rational than men, women are also thought to lack aggressiveness, strength, endurance and a capacity for abstract thought (p. 41). However, women are also seen as having a higher moral code than are men, which leads to women being accepted in roles dealing with child care, families, and social issues such as helping the needy (p. 41).

**Media Images.** Prior to the women's movement, the traditional images of women were supported by the media, which failed to recognize the growing importance of women in the work force. Beasley and Theus (1988) report the media portrayed
American women "as affluent housewives, fulfilled by their husbands, homes and children, although 36 percent of all women worked for pay" (p. 38). Barnouw (1970) points out that before the social movements of the 1960s, minority images, including those dealing with women, could not be projected in the important roles of television programming because broadcasters believed that if they presented minority group members in these roles, viewing audiences would reject their programs and advertisers would not buy program time (pp. 34-35).

Women in all forms of media were in the same situation as other women in the work force. According to Beasley and Gibbons (1993), "Aside from those on women's pages, women journalists of the pre-women's liberation era found themselves in a cultural bind symbolized by a 1956 painting by Dean Cornwell titled 'No Place for a Nice Girl,' which pictures a frightened young woman in a smoke-filled, littered city news room dominated by 10 disreputable-looking newsmen who appear to resent her presence. The painting posed the question of whether a 'nice girl' could be an aggressive, 'superwoman' capable of competing in journalism" (p. 20). However, "Within a decade after Cornwell portrayed the plight of the young woman who wanted to be a reporter, shifts in political and social pressures challenged the concept of newsrooms as a male-only preserve" (p. 20).

**Political Watershed** Beasley and Gibbons report that in 1961, Esther Peterson, assistant Secretary of Labor, convinced President John F. Kennedy to appoint a Presidential Commission on the Status of Women. This was the first government-sponsored group to bring together representatives of a cross-section of American women. Gatlin (1987) writes "The President's Commission on the Status of Women
marked a political watershed despite its conservatism, for women became the subject of serious political discourse" (p. 45)

Beasley and Gibbons (1993) state the Commission's report, American Women, appeared in 1963. It paid tribute to women's achievements in the home and applauded their progress in a democratic society; but also documented widespread discrimination against women in government, education and employment, and recommended ways of changing the trend in the future. The report did not receive widespread attention in the press, though, and most stories about the report were relegated to the women's pages of newspapers (p. 5).

Not surprisingly, Beasley and Gibbons report "The women's liberation movement and its accompanying political developments caught the media unaware" (p. 20). The women's movement did not fall into any of the standard categories used by the media for story assignments, such as politics, education, business, labor, police and courts (p. 20).

Civil Rights. Another historical phenomenon that helped the women's movement gain momentum was the civil rights movement by black Americans. According to Beasley and Gibbons (1993), "It was the civil rights movement that directly fueled women's liberation" (p. 6).

Beasley and Theus (1988) concur, stating, "As an outgrowth of the civil rights struggle for black Americans, women became increasingly politicized. Linked to the New Left, which opposed the Vietnam War, women's groups waged their own fight for equality. An odd coalition of feminists, who sought passage, and Southerners, who wanted to ridicule the bill to death, were behind the 1964 civil rights legislation that outlawed sex discrimination, under Title VII, the equal employment section of the
measure. When the bill took effect in 1965, it became illegal to discriminate against women in hiring and promotions" (p. 38).

But the inclusion of women as a protected minority basically happened by mistake. Beasley and Gibbons report "In 1964 a conservative Virginia congressman, 81-year-old Howard W. Smith, sought to stop passage of major civil rights legislation. He added the word 'sex' to Title VII of the pending Civil Rights Act of 1964, which outlawed employment discrimination on the basis of 'race, color, religion, or national origin.' Women had not been considered by President Kennedy when he sent his civil rights package to Congress the previous year. By including them, Smith hoped to ridicule the proposed legislation, but his joke backfired" (p. 6).

The inclusion of "sex" in the anti-discrimination bill did not gain immediate attention. Beasley and Gibbons state that "The head of the Equal Economic Opportunities Commission (EEOC), the agency set up to enforce Title VII, called the inclusion of sex 'a fluke...conceived out of wedlock.' Yet, in the decade to follow, women brought more complaints under EEOC than any other group" (p. 6).

Media Pressure. Beasley and Gibbons point out that the women's movement came at a time when an increasing number of women were pursuing paid employment in all areas of American life, including the media. "From its beginnings the women's movement revolved around the mass media" (p. 2). Also, "No institution of American life came under greater criticism during the women's liberation movement of the 1960s and the 1970s than the mass media" (p. 1).

According to Beasley and Gibbons (1993), "Through various means, including legal actions, monitoring projects, license renewal challenges, pressure on advertisers, and group consciousness-raising sessions, the movement demanded that the media be
more receptive to women’s issues. It viewed the media as central to efforts to liberate
women from traditional roles that made them inferior to men" (p. 1). So while women
outside the media fought for increased rights, women in the media "pressed internally
for greater equality" (p. 1).

As Smith (1978) states, "Women and minorities in communication generally lack
power and adequate pay, but not put-downs" (p. 65). Women and minorities,
however, throughout society shared such problems and feminists, specifically, banded
together to change media practices that they believed were unfair to women and
minorities in communication, as well as to women and minorities in general (p. 65).

The women’s movement was led by a wide variety of people, from radical
separatists to moderate liberals. But, according to Beasley and Gibbons (1993), all
agreed that "The mass media were unfair to women, who made up more than half the
population" (p. 1).

Beasley and Gibbons report the women’s movement was also perceived differently,
even by women involved. "For women in the mainstream media, the women’s
movement served to make them look at themselves and the roles they played within
organizational structures. With their consciousness raised, women did not like what
they saw. Widespread dissatisfaction caused groups of women within news
organizations to band together to fight sex discrimination. They fought for the hiring
and promotion of women and they worked to integrate women into newsrooms on an
equal basis with men" (p. 3).

During the 1960s there were still few opportunities for women in any branch of the
media. In the print media, male editors reflected commonly held views of women as a
whole in society, which was that women represented potentially disturbing elements
"who called for special treatment within the office settings" (p. 3). Beasley and Gibbons continue, stating, "Differences in attitudes toward news aimed at men and women carried over into the way the two sexes performed within news organizations" (p. 3).

Inequality for women was just as obvious in other forms of media. "Women working for wire services generally were limited to copy for women's pages. At news magazines, women researched articles written and edited exclusively by men. In the general magazine field, women rarely ascended to top editorships, even on publications aimed at millions of women" (pp. 3-4).

Driven by the emotion of the civil rights movement and anti-war protests, women finally began fighting for their own rights in the late 1960s and early 1970s. According to Gatlin, "During the 1960s women became politically active, first on behalf of others, and then for themselves" (p. 77). Gatlin continues that reports by the Commission on the Status of Women, the Equal Pay Act and the 1964 Civil Rights Act gave women some legal weapons against discrimination (p. 77).

**Media Responses.** Bluhm (1982) reports that "Although broadcasters were mainly concerned with profitable operations of their businesses, they were hardly able to escape the repercussions of social movements as widespread as those of blacks and women in the 1960s. Since television is so pervasive a medium, it was a prime target for groups seeking public support. It was inevitable that such groups would attempt to pressure television broadcasters in order to make that medium a vehicle for their ends" (p. 58).

Bluhm states broadcasters had four possible responses when faced by the force of the social movements. According to Bluhm, the broadcaster's response could be either
accepting, conflicting, co-opting, or rejecting (p. 62). The accepting and co-opting responses are considered positive responses, while the conflicting and rejecting responses are considered negative responses (p. 62).

Bluhm states that "in the 'accepting' response, it is assumed that the broadcaster under pressure will adopt the recommended changes. Because the movement is capable of producing considerable strength, it is likely to face a minimum of opposition from the broadcaster as the desired changes also benefit him. Trends that produce a social movement affect the market situation as well. Broadcasters, like other businessmen whose profits and survival require meeting fluid market conditions with flexibility, are not averse to innovations offering better ratings" (p. 62).

Bluhm labels the first negative response as the "conflicting" response. "The movement espousing change which the broadcaster perceives as having negative economic value, as when the broadcaster fears a change will result in lower program ratings, encounters a 'conflicting' response, with the achievement of change reflecting the use of diverse strategies by the opposing parties" (p. 63).

The second positive response, the "co-opting" response, "occurs when the ideas advanced by the activist groups, lacking sufficient force to impel change, are taken up voluntarily by the broadcaster to be used as competitive weapons in the ratings struggle" (p. 63).

Finally, the second negative response, the 'rejecting' response, "is produced by a weak social movement advocating changes that the broadcaster perceives as having no value. With nothing to force change, this allows a continuance of the status quo" (p. 63).
The social movement is only one of several factors broadcasters use to determine changes in their programming. Bluhm states that other factors include the "tastes and prejudices of sponsors and advertisers, audience ratings, regulatory obligations, ethics and profits" (p. 64). With these factors in mind, Bluhm advanced the following five principles regarding decision making in broadcasting:

1. Decisions by broadcasters to present members of minority groups as newscasters are made only when considered useful to the economic goals of their companies;

2. Broadcasters who willingly employ minority newscasters in compliance with the demands of a social movement do so because they perceive that these changes favor their businesses;

3. Broadcasters who are confronted with a powerful social movement but resist hiring minorities as newscasters perceive negative consequences for their operations if minorities are placed in on-camera positions;

4. When a weak social movement attempts to persuade a broadcaster who does not want to employ minority group members as newscasters, the changes sought by activists will not occur;

5. Large, expanding television news organizations are more likely to integrate their newscaster staffs than stations with small, stable staffs (pp. 64-66).

According to Bluhm (1982), "The depiction of minorities in television has been a troublesome matter to minority groups ever since television became a popular medium" (p. 67). The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) had been attempting to reduce discriminatory broadcasting practices in the 1950s. These efforts were intensified by this group and others as the civil rights movement came to the forefront of national attention in the 1960s. Most of these efforts were "primarily on behalf of blacks and were elements of the black movement" in the early years of the movement (p. 67). Later, Bluhm states, other groups that were also under-represented
on television began pressuring for equality. "When the women's movement developed, sex bias as well as racial bias in television became an issue" (p. 67).

**Activist Groups.** A major step towards combining the power of women into a political force took place in 1966, when the National Organization for Women (NOW) was founded (Gatlin, 1987; Beasley and Gibbons, 1993). Gatlin states "NOW's initial concern was legal equality for women, and it called upon the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) to treat sex discrimination as seriously as it did race discrimination. In other words, NOW demanded that the federal government enforce Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act" (p. 115).

According to Beasley and Gibbons (1993), "Activist groups like NOW and other organizations undertook to monitor sex stereotyping in broadcasting, which was considered more detrimental to women than the print media because of the extent of television watching and the power of television imagery. Broadcast monitoring projects carried an implied threat: That women's groups would seek to block renewals of station licenses by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), which requires that stations operate in the public interest. In raising the specter of license challenges, women's groups followed the example of civil rights coalitions that had complained to the FCC about racist programming" (p. 23).

According to van Zoonen (1994), many of these early legal complaints, called "petitions to deny," were unsuccessful, but did raise the awareness of broadcasters in the on-air treatment of women (p. 11). "Representation has always been an important battleground for contemporary feminism," van Zoonen stated, adding, the women's movement was not only engaged in a material struggle about equal rights and
opportunities for women, but "also in a symbolic conflict about definitions of femininity (and by omission, masculinity)" (p. 12).

Bluhm (1982) reports "this struggle (for equality in on-air positions) was not easily resolved and continued over a number of years before any substantial change was introduced. Although many minority group members believe that the desired goal, full equality on the television screen, is still to be realized," the improvements following the women's movement of the 1960s and 1970s is "nonetheless dramatic" (pp. 67-68).

Effective Tactics. Sanders (1993) reports that while it was still a lonely time for women in network news during the 1960s and early 1970s, things were getting better. "By the 1970s," Sanders stated, "the women's movement came along, and women were organizing at the newspapers, news magazines, and at the networks. The network groups were mostly made up of women from other departments, of non-newswomen, since there were so few of us" (p. 168).

But the American media was beginning to change its stance by the early 1970s. Marzolf (1977) reports one example stands out as an illustration of how far the American news networks had come in their attitudes toward women. The Today show marked the 50th anniversary in 1970 of the 19th amendment to the Constitution, which gave women the right to vote, by devoting its two-hour broadcast to women, and featuring an all-woman cast featuring NBC newswomen Barbara Walters, Pauline Frederick, Aline Saarinen, Liz Trotta and Nancy Dickerson (p. 173).

In the early 1970s women were encouraged by yet another decision passed down as law by the federal government. According to Beasley and Gibbons (1993), "A ruling by the Federal Communications Commission in 1971 aided the women's cause immeasurably. Previously it had held that minorities should be given equal
opportunities in hiring. When it extended that provision to women, it opened the way for their employment on network and local news staffs" (p. 26).

As the women's movement continued to grow, Beasley and Theus (1988) report "women became more assertive in demanding different treatment both as consumers of media and as working journalists" (p. 41). This assertiveness led to the founding of feminist publications such as Ms. magazine, as well as an increase in the number of lawsuits and legal challenges to television station license renewals (p. 42).

Beasley and Gibbons (1993) report that in 1972, NOW took its biggest step in ending sex discrimination and bias by petitioning the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to deny the license renewal of WABC-TV in New York on the basis of sexual discrimination toward women. "NOW charged the station with deficiencies in three areas: 1) ascertainment of women's opinions on community issues, 2) news and programming about women's concerns, and 3) employment of women. In support of its petition, NOW cited instances of WABC-TV's failure to carry news items on the congressional passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. It also referred to four prime-time editorials against the women's movement in a six-week period, including one by commentator Howard K. Smith, who declared that discrimination against women was too inconsequential for federal action" (p. 24).

The NOW petition served as a warning to other television stations, most of which began changing their policies in regard to women (Beasley and Gibbons, 1993; Marzolf, 1977). According to Beasley and Gibbons, "In 1974, the Los Angeles Women's Coalition for Better Broadcasting, made up of seven women's organizations, signed agreements with the two network-owned stations. As a result, stations
established women's advisory councils and took other steps to improve their treatment of women" (p. 24).

Beasley and Theus (1988) report that "after the National Organization for Women challenged a license renewal for WABC-TV in New York in 1972 on grounds the station discriminated against women, feminist groups obtained agreements from stations in Pennsylvania, Colorado, New York, Tennessee and California. These contained promises to improve employment opportunities for women, and to take women's groups into account in programming" (p. 42).

Smith (1978) points out that as a result of license renewal challenges in 1974, the FCC required 24 licensees owning over 30 stations in Florida "to submit a list of local minority and women's organizations, agencies, community groups, schools and colleges, with which the licensee will maintain systematic communication each time there is a job opening" (pp. 75-76). The licensees were also "expected to submit with annual employment reports a detailed statement of affirmative action steps taken when job openings occurred" (p. 76).

**Woman's Year** The women's movement that had grown in size and power for over a decade reached its high point in the mid-1970s when it was announced that 1975 would be designated International Women's Year (Beasley and Silver, 1977). In 1975, the National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year was appointed by President Gerald R. Ford to evaluate the role of women in the media. As a result, the commission compiled a list of guidelines aimed at improving the way women were represented and treated in the media (p. 167). This list appears in Table 1. The guidelines called for equal employment and pay for women in the media, an expansion of the way news is defined to allow more coverage of events of interest to the female
population, an end to story assignments in the news media based on the sex of the reporter, and that women should no longer be used by the media as token symbols, but instead be treated as equals with their male co-workers (pp. 167-169).

"The politicalization of gender has been one of the major contributions of the women's movement," states Gatlin (1987). "Feminists have not only included women's values and needs in public policy formation, but they have also transformed formerly 'private' and 'personal' areas of life into social concerns" (pp. 75-76).
Table 1

Ten Guidelines for the Treatment of Women in the Media

(Developed by the National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year, 1975)

1. The media should establish as an ultimate goal the employment of women in policy making positions in proportion to their participation in the labor force. The media should make special efforts to employ women who are knowledgeable about and sensitive to women's changing roles.

2. Women in media should be employed at all job levels -- and, in accordance with the law, should be paid equally for work of equal value and be given equal opportunity for training and promotion.

3. The present definition of news should be expanded to include more coverage of women's activities locally, nationally, and internationally. In addition, general news stories should be reported to show their effect on women. For example, the impact of foreign aid of women in recipient countries is often overlooked, as is the effect of public transportation on women's mobility, safety, and ability to take jobs.

4. The media should make special, sustained efforts to seek out news of women. Women now figure in less than 10 percent of the stories currently defined as news.

5. Placement of news should be decided by subject matter, not by sex. The practice of segregating material thought to be of interest to women only into certain sections of a newspaper or broadcast implies that news, when no longer segregated, is not covered at all. Wherever news of women is placed, it should be treated with the
Table 1 (cont.)

same dignity, scope and accuracy as is news of men. Women's activities should not be located in the last 30-60 seconds of a broadcast or used as fillers in certain sections or back pages of a newspaper or magazine.

6. Women's bodies should not be used in an exploitative way to add irrelevant sexual interest in any medium. This includes news and feature coverage by both the press and television, movie and movie promotion, "skin" magazines and advertising messages of all sorts. The public violation of women's physical privacy tends to violate the individual integrity of all women.

7. The presentation of personal details when irrelevant to a story -- sex, sexual preference, religious or political orientation -- should be eliminated for both women and men.

8. It is to be hoped that one day all titles will be unnecessary. But in the meantime, a person's right to determine her (or his) own title should be respected without slurs or innuendos. If men are called Doctor or Reverend, the same titles should be used for women. And a woman should be able to choose Ms., Miss, or Mrs.

9. Gender designations are a rapidly changing area of the language, and a decision to use or not to use a specific word should be subject to periodic review. Terms incorporating gender reference should be avoided. Use firefighter instead of fireman, business executive instead of businessman, letter carrier instead of mailman. In addition, women, at least from age 16, should be called women, not girls. And at no time should a female be referred to as "broad," "chick," or the like.
10. Women's activities and organizations should be treated with the same respect accorded men's activities and organizations. The women's movement should be reported as seriously as any other civil rights movement; it should not be made fun of, ridiculed, or belittled. Just as the terms "black libbers" or "Palestine libbers" are not used, the term "women's libbers" should not be used. Just as jokes at the expense of blacks are no longer made, jokes should not be made at women's expense. The news of women should not be sensationalized. Too often news media have reported conflict among women and ignored unity. Coverage of women's conferences is often limited solely to so-called "splits" or fights. These same disputes at conferences attended by men would be considered serious policy debates.

Gelfman (1976) reports that after the passage of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, as well as the resulting lawsuits and legal challenges to television station licenses, "a growing group of women reporters began to appear on television news" (p. 2).

But the path to on-air positions, while wider and more clear for women, was not without obstacles. "For women to be fully integrated into the broadcasting profession, deep-rooted ideas about sexual role behavior" had to be changed (Gelfman, p. 3). "The working world is reflective of the world as a whole," Gelfman writes, adding "The sexes are assigned their respective roles in society: The man is the leader and provider, the woman the supporter. While a man's social status stems from his job, that of a woman, generally, is determined by her husband's position" (p. 3).

Frye (1983) commented on the adverse conditions facing women trying to gain equality with men in the work force. "The boundary that sets apart women's sphere is maintained and promoted by men generally for the benefit of men, and men generally do benefit from its existence, even the man who bumps into it and complains of the inconvenience" (p. 13). This barrier between men and women's roles protects man's classification and status as being greater than the status and classification of women (p. 13).

Social Demands. Society demands that there be obvious differences between the sexes, both in appearance and actions. Therefore, Frye states, people "with the power to do so actually construct a world in which men are men and women are women and there is nothing in between and nothing ambiguous." It's just the way things are (p. 25). Even just being physically "normal" for one's assigned sex is not enough. "One
must be female or male, actively," Frye asserts (p. 26). This includes dressing and acting the role of either male or female.

Ellerbee (1986) claims there was great opposition from men in the industry toward hiring women after equal opportunity and affirmative action mandates were handed down in the early 1970s. According to Ellerbee:

Women had no place on the front line. Certainly, they were too frail to carry those big cameras. They would faint at the sight of a little blood. They would blush at the language of your average camera crew. They would complain about spending hours standing outside the courthouse, waiting. They would trip over their high heels chasing some fellow who didn't want his picture taken. They would giggle, shriek, wimper, fall, bitch, flirt, screw up (and around), blow the story, blow the boss and take jobs from men. In short, putting the broads in broadcasting would flat out ruin the party (pp. 100-101).

Changing Market. van Zoonen (1994) states that in the early 1970s it was easier for women to break into careers in some areas of media than in others. For example, it appears that magazine publishing in industrialized countries has traditionally offered jobs for women at all levels, including senior management (p. 50).

Part of this was caused by the changing job market and prestige associated with some media positions. "One of the factors explaining why some areas of communication provide more opportunities for women than others is the status of the medium, which can differ from country to country. Radio is a good case in point. In many western countries national radio has lost its audience to television and as a news medium it has been overtaken by television as well. The resulting loss of prestige may have decreased male competition for job openings, enabling women to fill the gaps" (p. 50).

Another reason, van Zoonen points out, is the idea that once a woman gets a job, those jobs lose status and men no longer want them. Fields like public relations and
advertising are said to have become "velvet" or "pink collar" jobs because of the number of women who now work in those fields (p. 50).

Creedon (1989) notes that an increase in the number of women in media production "does not translate into superior power or influence for women; instead, it has been translated to mean a decline in salaries and status for the field" (p. 17). van Zoonen (1994) writes that "the most important barrier within the organization comes from the attitudes of male colleagues and decision makers" (p. 52).

According to Beasley and Gibbons (1993), even during the heart of the women's movement in the 1970s, women were underrepresented in the newsrooms of most television stations. A survey conducted of 609 commercial television stations reported "75 percent of the women were engaged in office tasks. Eighteen percent of the stations had no women in upper-level positions, and over 50 percent had no women in management" (p. 25).

Women began making tremendous headway into on-air or upper-level jobs in the early 1970s as a result of class-action sex discrimination complaints and suits filed against such news organizations as the New York Times, Washington Post, Associated Press, Newsday, Readers Digest and NBC (Beasley and Gibbons, 1993).

"A ruling by the FCC in 1971 aided the women's cause immeasurably. Previously it had been held that minorities should be given equal opportunities in hiring. When it (FCC) extended that provision to women, it opened the way for their employment on network and local news staffs" (p. 26).

The FCC ruling and continued pressure by NOW opened the door for many women newscasters. Ellerbee (1986) claimed one reason television stations began hiring women in on-air positions was so they could point to the TV screen and say, "See, we
do so hire women" (p. 102). This hid the fact that, off-camera, there were very few women hired (p. 102).

More Bias. Bluhm (1982) states "the long standing restrictions that had been placed upon women in television still prevailed at the beginning of the seventies. If women conducted talk shows or reported news, it was mainly for the female audience during daytime hours" (p. 335).

Also, in the early 1970s there was continued resistance to giving women reporters certain story assignments because, Bluhm said, "many executives still believed women could not appropriately report many kinds of news stories or be sent out on certain assignments" simply because they were women" (p. 336).

More Women. By the mid-1970s, Stone (1974) claimed that "to see a woman reporting news on television is no longer a novelty. Lesley Stahl, Catherine Mackin, Virginia Sherwood, and other newswomen appear regularly as reporters on network television" (p. 49). "But," Stone continued, "this has been a recent development. Only a few years ago, most news operations advertised for and hired newsmen almost exclusively" (p. 49).

By 1972, Fang (1972) reports that 45 percent of all television stations had at least one woman reporter. Fang reported that in a survey conducted among television news directors in 1972, 94 percent said they would hire a woman as a reporter. Those replying in the negative cited the heavy equipment the woman would have to carry as the main reason for not hiring a woman (p. 406).

ABC hired its first female foreign news correspondent in 1974 when it successfully recruited Hillary Brown from CBS Radio (Sanders and Rock, 1988). Brown, a former Canadian reporter on public radio and television, was working with her husband, BBC
television correspondent John Bierman, in Iran and Israel when wars broke out in those countries. Her coverage of those events caught the attention of ABC (p. 67).

After joining ABC, Brown was kept overseas but not assigned to war zones. "At first, the network was afraid to send her to a war zone, pulling her back at the last minute from covering the Portuguese revolution. But by 1974, when the war of attrition was underway in Israel, she insisted on going. She did well, and after that ABC was perfectly willing to let her risk her life along with the guys" (p. 67).

Sanders and Rock report Brown moved from ABC to NBC in 1977 for more on-air opportunities. At NBC, Brown was on the Nightly News three nights a week, and on the Today show almost daily. This was considerably more than she was appearing on ABC broadcasts, especially with the growing ego of European chief correspondent Peter Jennings. (p. 68).

At the time, Jennings was growing in stature among correspondents, and had an increasing habit of showing up late for reports, then stealing the work of other reporters and airing it as his own. "One day," Sanders and Rock recount, "after Brown had covered a story all day in Paris, Jennings arrived and, with a, 'Here, hold my trench coat,' gesture, did the story" (p. 68).

For Brown, the decision to leave ABC wasn't so much an ego trip as it was a matter of professional pride. According to Sanders and Rock, "When you're out there covering a story, you want to be the one who reports it. Besides, the measure of correspondent productivity consisted of counting how often you got on the air" (p. 68).

Sanders and Rock report that CBS was the last of the three networks to appoint a female foreign correspondent when they hired Susan Peterson to their London bureau.
in 1974. "Until then," Sanders and Rock assert, "the London posting was a reward to male reporters who had been to Vietnam" (p. 69).

Peterson did not have an easy time in her new position. Neither of the other two correspondents, John Laurence and Bob Simon, would speak to her, and resented her hiring. Both questioned her qualifications. The bureau chief would not even give her an office or file cabinet. She was placed at a desk in the hall with other secretaries, and was constantly bothered by delivery men and other messengers who assumed she was a receptionist (p. 69).

Sanders and Rock report that Peterson persevered, though, by succeeding at the secondary stories assigned to her, and finally won the respect of her colleagues and earned her own office, desk, and file cabinet. By the early 1980s, when she decided to leave network news, Peterson had covered the Iranian revolution, the installation of two popes, and the South Molluccan hostage crisis (p. 70).

Almost Equal. Barbara Walters was one of the first women to be promoted to near-equal status with her male colleagues when she was named co-host of NBC's Today show in 1973 (Marzolf, 1977). Walters did so well in her role as co-anchor that she was hired away from NBC by ABC with a five-year contract to co-anchor the evening news with Harry Reasoner. She became America's first full-time evening anchorwoman and television's highest paid journalist at $1 million per year (p. 188).

Despite her accomplishments and achievements, and respect she had earned in her years in broadcast journalism, Walters' promotion to network news anchor was criticized as nothing more than a ratings ploy by the third place network. At the root of the controversy surrounding Walters' hiring was the size of her paycheck, and her

Powers reports that Walters had spent the previous 12 years as co-host of the *Today* show on NBC before jumping to ABC for $1 million per year (p. 163). But, Powers states, "Her position (as the first regular anchorwoman in the history of network television), her salary ($1 million a year under a five-year contract), and her public image as a celebrity-in-her-own-right (highest rated substitute host of the *Tonight Show Starring Johnny Carson*, sometime luncheon partner of Henry Kissinger), all blended into a single and powerful symbol of TV news's drift toward entertainment" (p. 163).

The reaction from the network establishment was not good. Powers recounts, "The brotherhood's most sagacious chieftains themselves beheld the symbol, and were sore afraid" (p. 163). This included Walter Cronkite, who commented after Walters was hired, "There was at first a wave of nausea, the sickening sensation we were going under, that all of our efforts to hold network television news aloof from show business had failed" (p. 163). Cronkite later softened his stance, and "pronounced Ms. Walters' qualifications as 'not all that lacking -- it is not as if ABC had hired a singer, dancer or ventriloquist to share the *Evening News* duties with Harry (Reasoner) . . . She is an aggressive, hard-hitting interviewer. She does her homework" (p. 164).

Lewis and Lewis (1976) point out that Walters became a "superstar in a medium that depends largely on theatrical qualities -- that show business flare -- to attract an audience" (p. 2). She also accomplished this "in an area of television that was considered least likely to develop superstars -- the news section" (p. 2).
Powers (1977) adds that Cronkite's reservations about Walters' hiring had less to do with her sex or salary "than with her credentials for admission to electronic journalism's Olympus" (p. 164). Cronkite also clarified his position on Walters' salary, stating, "If salaries alone are the criterion, we in television news have been in show business a long time" (p. 164).

Still, the Walters experiment ultimately turned out to be a disaster. According to McClellan (1993), Walters and Reasoner "never found the right chemistry, and the format was pulled in less than two years" (p. 7). McClellan's version of the experiment is kind. Waters and Rogers (1993) declare that the teaming of Walters and Reasoner was a match that "proved only slightly more congenial than the J.R. Ewings," in reference to the fighting and feuding associated with the Dallas television series popular at that time (p. 60).

Greater Access. Walters' move to ABC was just one of many instances of women gaining greater access to on-air, high-profile positions in television news. By the late 1970s, Powers says, "In every major American television market, local anchor positions were suddenly being offered to women on an unprecedented scale" (p. 166).

Challenges to television station licenses and affirmative action programs, as well as "the advent of the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, and women's heightened self-awareness generally . . . sped the dissolution of the all-male enclave in broadcast journalism" (p. 167).

This opened the door for many women to get into television news, including Melba Tolliver and Norma Quarels in New York; Jane Pauley, Terry Murphy and Susan Anderson in Chicago; and Sandy Hill, Christine Lund and Diana Lewis in Los Angeles (p. 167). These women were met by harsh criticism, Powers says, both by media
critics and their male colleagues. In fact, many critics reacted "as though the very presence of a woman on a newscast constitutes a sellout to show business" (p. 168).

When Pauley was hired, Powers states, one Chicago critic said Pauley had the IQ of a cantaloupe. Other times anchorwomen were presented with bouquets of flowers by "weathermen-clowns seeking to make a baggy-pants comics' point about femininity" (p. 168).

Other women reporters surfaced in the 1970s and helped remove all doubt that women were as capable as men at reporting news on television. According to Marzolf (1977), these women included Lesley Stahl, who covered the Watergate scandal for CBS (p. 189), Connie Chung (p. 191), who was assigned to cover Vice-President Nelson Rockefeller in the mid-1970s, Diane Sawyer, Andrea Mitchell and Mary Alice Williams (Sanders and Rock, p. 153).

In 1976, Catherine Mackin and Linda Ellerbee became the first women to host a network news program anchored by two women -- and no men (Ellerbee, 1986). The news program on NBC was to introduce the new members of Congress and was hosted by the network's Senate and House correspondents, which, for the first time, were both females (p. 104).

Ellerbee says NBC was apprehensive about an all-female anchor team, and toyed with the idea of using a male anchor who would introduce Ellerbee and Mackin. "In the end, NBC News did the courageous, right thing," Ellerbee says. "They allowed the two women to anchor the program by themselves. Then they put the program on at dawn one Sunday morning, so nobody but my mom and Cassie's ever saw it" (p. 104).
Jessica Savitch commented on the logic male news directors used in the 1970s to avoid promoting women reporters. Savitch said many male news directors used the "We tried it once" excuse. "You have somebody you think might be a good anchor, say, a Joe Smith. Joe Smith bombs out. He doesn't cut it. He doesn't look good. He isn't warm. So they say, 'Joe Smith didn't make it. Let's get Harry Jones.' But suppose that a Jane Smith gets in there. She isn't exactly right. She isn't warm. She doesn't sound good. Then, they say, 'Women are no good. Get her out of here.' What kind of logic is that?" (Klever, 1975, pg. 96).

Different Assignments. A study, Window Dressing on the Set, conducted in 1974-75 by the United States Commission on Civil Rights, investigated the sex stereotyping that existed in the network news. A composite week of evening news broadcasts of the three commercial networks -- ABC, CBS and NBC -- was analyzed for this study. The news broadcasts were shown on five widely scattered dates, randomly selected from March 1974 to February 1975. Abstracts of the broadcasts were obtained from the Vanderbilt University Television News Archives, and were used for determining each program's constituent stories. Among the items coded were story topic and sex of the correspondent delivering each story. In all, 230 news stories were broadcast on the 15 programs analyzed (p. 49).

A total of 85 correspondents were used to deliver the stories. Of this, 10 were women (11.8 percent) and 75 (88.2 percent) were men (p. 51). "The stories receiving the greatest attention on all three networks were rarely reported by minority and female correspondents. One measure of a story's importance is its position in the program lineup. The first three stories are considered the most important and receive greatest emphasis in terms of length and visuals" (p. 50). The study showed that in the sample
studied, only one of the 45 stories that appeared first, second or third in the broadcasts was delivered by a woman (p. 50).

The study also found that minority and women correspondents were likely to report "on issues pertinent to minorities and women" (p. 50), and that typical topics for women and minorities to report on included health, education, and welfare or housing problems, and other domestic problems (p. 51).

This is unfortunate, Ellerbee (1986) points out, since women are as capable as men at covering various story assignments, including areas that are traditionally male-dominated, such as the Middle East, where, as Ellerbee says, "some men still believe men are men, women are cattle and goats are fun" (p. 106).

Because of the difference in culture, a woman reporter may earn the same reputation as that given to a "whore," but the men there will ultimately talk to her and give her the information she needs for her report. "In fact," Ellerbee says, "it's hard to think of a situation today in which, all other things being equal, a woman cannot do as well as or better than a man" (p. 106). "It seems clear to me that women have proved themselves on the job, time and time again," Ellerbee writes, adding, "We're still here, and resentment of us has receded somewhat" (p. 112).

**Improved Visibility.** By the mid-1980s women were firmly established in the news departments at the three networks, as well as the new Cable News Network, which offers 24-hour news programming (Carstens, 1994; Ellerbee, 1986; Sanders and Rock, 1987). Ellerbee (1986) states "the work of women such as Lesley Stahl at CBS, Mary Alice Williams, not only an anchor but a vice president at CNN, Lynn Sherr at ABC, Sylvia Chase at ABC, Diane Sawyer at CBS and Jane Pauley at NBC, to name but a
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few -- all of whom happen to be good-looking blondes -- has shown anyone who cared to notice that women know a thing or two" (p. 112).

The role of women in the broadcast news media is still a topic of much discussion, with the status of women in the industry at the forefront of the debate. This is exemplified in a survey of news executives conducted by Broadcasting & Cable magazine, in an article titled, "If it bleeds it leads" (1993). The news executives were asked to list good and bad trends in their industry. Their answers relating to women in the industry were both good and bad.

Under "good," news directors listed "Newsrooms are becoming more gender and ethnically diverse from top down," and "The increasing visibility of women and minorities in key, on-air roles." Strangely, those two "goods" were also listed under "bad": "All or nearly all women in television news are pretty faces rather than bona fide journalists," and "Intense pressure for minority hiring, which can lead to the less-qualified rather than the best-qualified getting on air" (p. 48).

Stone (1988) reports that more women are being hired and recruited in the network television news industry. "National surveys of minorities and women in broadcast news, conducted by the author in most of the past several years...have tended to show progress for women" (p. 289). But little has changed since the 1977 U.S. Commission on Civil Rights report that stated minorities and women were still too often "window dressing on the set" (p. 288).

Wilson (1989) writes that "Women in broadcasting, as in daily newspapers, hold a large majority in the proto-typical 'women's jobs.' Women are a majority of employees in the business office, data processing, community service, administrative workers, continuity, and traffic" (p. 164). Wilson continues, stating "Women, like minorities,
are — in employment and coverage — largely peripheral in the news business" (p. 167).

**Current Situation.**

Employment opportunities for women in broadcast television news showed a decline in the late 1980s, before the bidding wars for the superstar women reporters began. Stone (1988) reports that "In television news, the increased employment of minorities which had begun in the 1960s, continued through the 1970s, leveled off in the early 1980s and turned into decreasing employment in the mid-1980s" (p. 289). The total percentage of female television news employees grew 12.1 percent in 10 years, from 19.6 percent in 1976 to 31.7 percent in 1986 (p. 290), to which Stone commented "Though the progress by women was impressive, their share of the broadcast news work force remained well under the roughly half of the nation's professionals that women comprised when teaching and health-related occupations were included. The female proportion for broadcast journalism was similar to the one for college faculties, which were about a third female in 1986" (p. 291).

A survey published in *Editor & Publisher* (1990), "Media women poll: 1980s not a decade of progress," indicates women think little has changed for them when it comes to opportunities in television news.

Danzig and Wells (1993) report that most women still feel the "old boys network" still exists, and that a "glass ceiling" exists when it comes to promotions available to women (p. 40).

Beasley and Gibbons (1993) report "In 1989 the Women, Men and Media Conference, cosponsored by the Gannett Foundation and the University of Southern
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California, looked at the status of women in the print and broadcast media" (p. 31). Some of the findings reported include:

"* Women still were confined to lower-paying jobs, with media women earning 64 cents in comparison to media men's $1;

* Women were still under-represented in broadcast news. The percentage of women news correspondents shown on nightly network newscasts increased only six percentage points — from 9.9 percent to 15.8 percent from 1975 to 1989. (A February 1989 study showed the following percentage of stories filed by women: CBS, 22.2 percent; NBC, 14.4 percent; and ABC, 10.5 percent. During that month, women were the focus of interviews on 13.7 percent of the ABC newscasts, 10.2 percent of the CBS newscasts, and 8.9 percent of the NBC newscasts)" (p. 31).

Sanders (1993) cites an analysis of the three broadcast news programs in February, 1992, in which men delivered 86 percent of the broadcast news stories on the three networks. Meanwhile, "the number of women correspondents reporting the news overall dropped from 16 percent (in 1989) to 14 percent" (p. 167). Another study conducted by Editor and Publisher magazine showed that, "Despite the hype about 1992 being the 'Year of the Woman,' for the fifth year in a row women were found to be significantly underrepresented in American newspapers and on the network news programs" (Gersh, 1993, p. 20).

Women now make up about 50 percent of all broadcasting jobs (Beasley and Gibbons, 1993; Conant, 1990), and the numbers in the news departments are increasing as well. According to Beasley and Gibbons (1993), 33 percent of all TV news staffs are women, while 44 percent of new hires are female (p. 268). However,
women reporters still haven't made it in the networks' top ranks (Conant, 1990), where only four of the top 50 reporters are women (p. 59).

Women broadcasters acknowledge that some improvements have been made. "Women have made tremendous strides in TV news. We are making our way through the ranks at a good and legitimate pace," said Rita Braver, senior law correspondent for CBS News (Conant, p. 60). Sandra Gin, a Chinese-American who is executive producer at WGGT-TV in Greensboro, N.C., reports things have improved considerably since she first began working in the broadcast news industry (Stein, 1993). At her first job in television, Gin was reportedly asked by a male boss if she knew how to cook Chinese food. Now the station manager where she works has a female general manager, station manager, and sales manager (p. 13).

Still, many people feel the on-air news assignments are still subject to gender bias. Beasley and Gibbons (1993) assert that "Twentieth-century editorial tradition has held that women were unsuited for some assignments. News beats dominated by males, or expected to generate reports for predominantly male audiences, usually were closed to women. This narrowed women's chances for varied reporting experience, thus affecting their prospects for advancement and, of course, for higher pay. Among these beats have been business, sports, and foreign/war correspondence" (pp. 274-275).

**War Stories.** This situation still faced female journalists at the start of the Persian Gulf War. About 10 percent of the pool of war correspondents during the conflict were female (Beasley and Gibbons, 1993, p. 281). These women, besides having the same burden as their male counterparts in dealing with the shared pool of information provided by the military, also faced the impediment of working in a society where
women were not allowed to drive motor vehicles, and were "required to keep their entire bodies covered, even in the blistering Gulf heat" (p. 281).

The small number of female correspondents assigned to cover the Persian Gulf War "reflects the traditional gender patterns of overseas assignments" (p. 281).

CNN correspondent Christine Amanpour discussed her experience covering the Gulf War while speaking at an International Women's Media Foundation and National Press Club panel discussion in March, 1991. "As for being a woman, at no time did it ever come up, at least with, you know, my editors. They never - it was never an issue. I was just the first person who was available (to go to Saudi Arabia). And I went. And even in Saudi Arabia I would not say that I was treated any - that I was hindered at all by being a woman" (Beasley and Gibbons, 1993, p. 282).

Amanpour had a female crew -- female camera woman and sound woman. Being women actually helped them gather news, Amanpour said, especially when it came to getting information from the Saudi people. "The Saudis, particularly, were very taken aback; they're not at all used to dealing with women. And I think most often they sort of said yes, because they didn't know how to say no" (p. 282).

Personal Appeal. Astor (1993) indicates women journalists are now heavily recruited both for target marketing to gain female viewers, and also because of their skill (p. 26).

That target marketing includes the attention given to women's personal lives, such as the heavy promoting Jane Pauley received when she was pregnant, had her babies, then came back to work. "The public has an insatiable curiosity about how they (women broadcasters) are coping with their careers and marriages because their stories mirror the changes that are taking place in their audience's own lives. It's why
everyone wants to know how motherhood affected Pauley's performance, while no one inquired about how Tom Brokaw fared after his kids were born. It's unfair, but it's a fact of life" (Conant, p. 61).

The gender issue in network news reached a new level in 1993 when CBS announced that veteran news reporter Connie Chung would join Dan Rather as host of the CBS Evening News (Landler, 1993; Levitt and Carswell, 1993; Lieberman, 1993; McClellan, 1993; Waters and Rogers, 1993). In explaining Chung's promotion, CBS officials said the move was "a bold attempt to propel the Evening News ahead of its rivals" (Landler, 1993, p. 33), would give Rather a chance to get out of the studio and do more field reporting (Lieberman, 1993, p. 41), and give CBS "a new look for its once dominant newscast" (Waters and Rogers, 1993, p. 60).

At the time of her promotion, Chung had been a network correspondent for 22 years and won three Emmy awards for newscasting (Marin, 1993). Still, the move was seen by most as nothing more than an attempt by CBS to boost its sagging ratings. According to Lieberman (1993), "CBS moved Chung in to jolt the second-place newscast's ratings, redefine its image, and steal some of the thunder that's expected soon from third-place NBC Nightly News" (p. 41), which was also expected to expand its anchor desk by one person with the addition of Jane Pauley or Katie Couric to join Tom Brokaw (Lieberman, 1993; Waters and Rogers, 1993).

Levitt and Carswell (1993) claim that "though Chung has been a TV news reporter for more than two decades and has won three Emmy awards, her ascent to the nightly anchoring seat is seen by many as more of a ploy to goose the ratings of Rather's stagnant, second-ranked news hour than the just deserts of a top-flight journalist" (p. 60).
The criticism leveled at Chung at this time sounded much like the criticism faced by Barbara Walters in 1976. Marin (1993) points out that Chung's resume is "tainted with fluff" (p. 10). Programs she hosted while at NBC, "Life in the Fat Lane" and "Stressed to Kill," while earning high ratings, are considered "journalistically 'lite'" (p. 10). After she moved to CBS, her reputation was sullied further by shows such as Saturday Night with Connie Chung, in which dramatic events were often recreated for dramatic effect, and the celebrity interview show, Face to Face with Connie Chung (p. 10).

Most of the criticism stemmed from the belief of those in the news media that the evening news should not be glamorized or based on star appeal. Media consultant Roger Ailes commented that "CBS is beginning to catch on that life is about stars, not topics or formats" (Lieberman, 1993, p. 41). "That," Lieberman continues, "would explain why CBS anointed the popular political reporter and interviewer instead of a more traditional and experienced hard-news veteran, such as Lesley Stahl or Ed Bradley" (p. 41). Waters and Rogers (1993) point out that Chung's "scores on popularity tests rank among the highest in TV news and, CBS hopes, her natural warmth will soften her partner's edges" (p. 60).

Anchor's Away. The pairing was short-lived, though. The first signs that there was trouble between Rather and Chung came just over a month after they assumed co-anchor status on June 1, 1993. Fink (1993) reports that Rather and Chung were already arguing over who would get to have the last word on the broadcast and deliver the program's sign-off (p. 31).

The union officially ended May 20, 1995 -- just two weeks short of Chung's second full year as co-anchor (Carter, 1995; Reibstein, 1995). In an interview just a few months prior to the decision, CBS News President Eric Ober commented that the
ratings for the "Dan and Connie Show" (Waters and Rogers, 1993, p. 60), were "flat" (McClellan, 1994b), and that changes in the show were being considered.

CBS officials commented very little about Chung's demotion. However, Chung contends that the decision was made in part because of Rather's jealousy and behind-the-scenes work, as well as sexism (Carter, 1995; Reibstein, 1995). Reibstein states the original idea behind promoting Chung, "to spur ratings," didn't happen (p. 64). In fact, "Newscast ratings have fallen from second to last" since Chung was promoted (p. 64).

Says Carter (1995): "Ms. Chung was being blamed for the drop in the newscast's ratings, and Ms. Chung believed her demotion would be 'a very significant setback for women in television' " (p. A-30).

Reibstein (1995) also reports that after her demotion, Chung "issued a statement playing the sexism card, saying that it's 'inappropriate for the only woman on the three major network programs to have anything less than full and equal status" (p. 64).

CBS issued a statement denying Chung's allegations. Carter (1995) reports "Several CBS News executives rejected any suggestion yesterday that the decision about Ms. Chung's future was a sexism issue. They also disputed the contention that Ms. Chung was being made a scapegoat for the newscast's poor ratings. They said that the co-anchor situation with Mr. Rather simply had not worked out" (p. A-30).

Reibstein (1995) concludes that "The only thing everyone agreed on was that CBS's idea to couple the two was probably the most ill-considered decision since Barbara Walters was teamed with Harry Reasoner in 1976" (p. 64).

Unless promotions or decisions about which reporters will receive on-air assignments are based on more than a reporter's "star status," it is unlikely Chung will
be the last reporter to be put in this situation. According to media critic Jon Katz, "As long as anchorwomen are in front of the camera because network honchos believe sex is a better selling point than serious journalism, the acid appraisal of their celebrity and credibility will continue. For the situation to improve, the men in suits who run the networks will have to believe that it is in their best interest to project a different image to the public" (Conant, p. 61).

Recent Trends

Target Marketing. "It was a bad move to pair Rather with Connie Chung," states media critic Jon Katz (1993), adding the move was "an illustration of how the networks' fascination with market research has helped paralyze their news shows" (p. 44).

According to Gatlin (1987), television programming has been target marketed since its inception as a mass medium in the 1950s. Much of this marketing has been gender based, Gatlin claims. "While daytime television was designed for women and their children, evening 'prime time' programs catered to male interests and were filled with male characters" (p. 15).

Ellerbee (1986) asserts that television news is not about journalism, "it's about money. It always was, but as long as the news made no money, it remained throwaway, basically something done to keep a station's or a network's license" (p. 94). In fact, Ellerbee claims television news is nothing more than a vehicle designed to deliver a product to advertisers. "In television the product is not the program; the product is the audience and the consumer of that product is the advertisers. The advertiser does not 'buy' a news program. He buys an audience. The manufacturer
(network) that gets the highest price for its product is the one that produces the most product (audience)” (p. 95).

An editorial in the Aug. 28, 1978 edition of Broadcasting, ”The news about the news,” comments on the market analysis trend. "Cosmetics have occasionally been championed over content as television journalists struggled to develop their new craft," the magazine's editors state. "Appearances still count and always will. The competition for audience will not be won by a shabby set or an anchorman with gravy on his necktie." The editorial continues: "Advertisers go where the audience is and will pay premium rates for an interested audience" (p. 114). "If audience ratings fall," Fang (1972) warns, "the newscaster is likely to be blamed and may be replaced" (p. 57).

Market Theory, McManus (1994) states that "Newsrooms have begun to reflect the direction of managers with MBAs rather than green eyeshades. The reader or viewer is now a 'customer.' The news is a 'product.' The circulation or signal area is now a 'market'" (p. 1). McManus points out there is a market theory that is firmly established in the field of journalism -- both print and broadcast, and like all markets, the journalism market theory contains six related characteristics:

* Quality and value are defined by consumers, rather than producers or government;

* Responsiveness to consumers -- Rational consumers will reward producers for providing the products consumers value most highly by purchasing those products;

* Self-correction -- If the market doesn't offer what consumes want, new products will be developed and offered to satisfy consumer wants;

* Constant motivation to excel -- Competition will force producers to offer new and improved products at lower prices to expand market share;
* Efficient allocation of society's resources -- More successful producers will gain a greater percentage of the materials needed to maintain production;

* Freedom of choice -- Consumers have the option of which product to choose. No one can force a consumer to choose a particular product (pp. 4-5).

McManus concludes by saying the broadcast news field is especially suited for operation in the market setting, since the news media trades in four markets at the same time: The market for audience, the stock market, the advertising market, and the market for sources (p. 5).

**Target Audiences.** Epstein (1981) adds that "the daily agenda of reports produced by the media and called 'news' is not the inevitable product of chance events; it is the result of decisions made within a news division" (p. 119).

All decisions concerning the news, including the definition of news and the determination of which reporter will be assigned to a story, are handled by news executives -- not the reporters. "In making such basic decisions, news organizations must consider their own requirements for surviving in a competitive environment," Epstein states, adding, "A news organization cannot advance the career of journalists who undermine its basic values" (p. 120). These basic values include any factor that will help support the organization's success. Executives make decisions with the needs of the organization in mind. If a certain option will not help the organization, no matter how ethically right it is, it will not be chosen (p. 120).

News organizations determine which "options" are best for their success by conducting audience analysis. This analysis helps the news organizations develop target marketing techniques. News organizations then offer information aimed at specific
"targets," such as reporting sports scores or the Wall Street stock reports to lure certain types of audiences (p. 121).

Epstein continues: "News organizations may also preselect targets which are necessary to cover to maintain their credibility. The television networks, for example, have a policy of covering presidential announcements and press conferences" (p. 124).

It is in the final stage of broadcast journalism -- presenting the news -- that the news organizations exercise their greatest control over their product. "In controlling the news product, the network organizations attempt to satisfy certain basic requirements that will allow them to continue as viable businesses. They must maintain a national audience for their advertisers, a need which, in turn, requires that the news programs be accepted by the affiliated stations around the country" (p. 126).

Audience maintenance is the second most important factor -- behind time constraints -- news organizations use when designing a news broadcast. Epstein states "It is assumed by network executives that if the stories on a news program are unclear, confusing, or visually uninteresting, a portion of the audience will switch the channel to another network. Such a loss of audience would not only lessen the advertising revenues from the news program, it would -- even more important -- lessen the revenues from all the network programs that follow, since the news program is regarded as a 'lead-in' for the network's evening of entertainment programs" (pp. 127-128).

Gender Concerns. With the heavy-handed influence of target marketing so prevalent, reporter gender is now one of the most important program variables considered by news departments. According to Waters and Rogers (1993), there are more media options now than ever, and the competition faced by the three network
news departments has never been more fierce. Waters and Rogers report that "Thanks to satellite technology, local stations can now put together their own national and international roundups -- and feed them to viewers first. Add to that the competition from CNN, the syndicated tabloid shows, all-news radio and regional cable news channels like New York 1 and you have the makings of a fatal erosion of the networks' franchise" (p. 60).

According to Beasley and Gibbons (1993), "At a time when there are more media to choose from than ever before, and as the mass media struggle with reinventing themselves to appeal to more sophisticated, discriminating audiences, diversity of gender, age, and race in news and entertainment employment and portrayal are essential" (p. 267).

The network news audience has slowly deteriorated over the past decade (Andersen, 1993). Getting viewers to return to the evening news programs is a main priority of the networks. Andersen reports that "from the season before (Walter) Cronkite left through the season after, the network-news-watching majority withered abruptly, from 77 percent to 68 percent in just two years, and not because of CNN, which barely existed. Instead it was simply the moment in which the nation, released by Cronkite's passing and Reagan's ignorance-is-bliss-ism, started abandoning the nightly-news ritual. Today one in two Americans over 50 still tunes in one of the network shows. But among adults under 35, barely one in 13 watches Brokaw or Jennings or Rather" (p. 71).

Female Emphasis The deteriorating television viewer market is one reason women viewers are being targeted. Soon after CBS lost the rights to televise National Football League games, officials at the network announced their programming for the vacated
Sunday afternoon and evening schedule would be geared toward women (McClellan, 1994a, p. 10). Possible programs included cooking shows or a news magazine targeted toward women viewers (p. 71). Carstens (1993/1994) states that "females are used to improve the appearance of the news shows" and "as a way of improving ratings" (pp. 53-54). This is also one reason why Chung was hired as Dan Rather's co-anchor, and Ed Bradley was not (Lieberman, 1993).

According to Nightingale (1990), "The experience of reading about women as audience is reminiscent of reading anthropology. 'Women' are objectifiable, somehow a unified whole, a group. The qualities that divide women, like class, ethnicity, age, education, are always of less significance than the unifying qualities attributed to women, such as the inability to know or say what they want, the preoccupation with romance and relationships, the ability to care for, to nurture, others" (p. 25). Nightingale continues, stating "The certainty of generalization about women seems to assume mythic proportions -- most usually the Oedipus myth, a myth which leaves nothing to explain about men, and everything unexplained about women" (p. 25).

Nightingale cites a study conducted in 1987 of target marketing used by two Australian television stations to gain female viewers. One of the channels, Channel Seven, intended to target women age 25-39 by providing more "family" viewing, while Channel Ten intended to target women age 18-39 by airing films designed to attract female viewers (p. 27).

Much of the programming emphasis to attract women viewers dealt with "family issues," Nightingale contends. "Women are considered obsessed with the family and caught in its web of emotions -- emotions spun by a male psyche, dominated by the enigmas of masculine imagination. For the television executive, the context 'family'
defines woman, her interests and her concerns, as well as her continuing subordinate status within the family" (p. 29).

This influence of ratings and audience targeting is referred to by Hallin (1986) as "populism," which means the news is not determined by the importance of the news, but by the popularity of the news with viewers. That is, will this story make the viewers watch our news show? "This is so because of the intensely competitive nature of the television industry, in which the three networks compete head-to-head for a mass national audience. Television worries about pleasing and entertaining the ordinary citizen in a way that the New York Times does not" (p. 15). The effect is that now the network evening news "is journalism set within an entertainment medium" (p. 14). McDonald and Reese (1987) support this assertion, stating there are now two main reasons why people watch television news: News information, and/or entertainment (p. 768).

According to Carstens (1993/1994), "News shows are designed to attract, to capture, and to command the attention of viewers -- sometimes at the expense of professional news standards" (p. 4).

**Personnel Challenges.** Few elements of television news have been as affected by these marketing changes as the on-air personnel. Carstens claims that "as news programs became profitable, news managers began recognizing the importance of the anchors and hosts of their programs -- the television personalities. News managers recognized the on-air personalities of television anchors and reporters could be promoted and used to attract loyal viewers" (p. 3). The networks and individual stations called in consultants to reshape their newscasts, as well as their newscasters (p. 3).
Rosenfeld (1977) states that "broadcast journalists are still refining their profession. Some are trained news people with expertise in electronic media. Others are former announcers or show business veterans who know how to make a story 'punchy' and interesting" (p. 41). Rosenfeld asserts reporters are hired for their looks, "their skin color, or their sex appeal" (p. 41). There is also "continual debate among broadcast journalists -- particularly women -- about whether people are hired for their good looks and mellifluous voice or for their journalistic skill. Since women have only recently been accepted as reporters, few of them have been around long enough to know whether they will be fired as soon as they start getting wrinkles and gray hair" (pp. 41-42).

The television news business is about looks, and on-camera personalities must have a certain "look" if they are to be given a chance to succeed on television news. This is even more true for women journalists (pp. 9-10). While men also are judged on their looks, female television journalists are not only judged by their appearance, but also whether that appearance "matches the image standards of the organization" (p. 10).

Hennessee (1992) asserts that each network has a different image to maintain, and different appearance standards are used to maintain those images. She identifies CBS's female journalist image as "young and energetic," ABC's as "Classic Park Avenue," and NBC's as "conspicuously corn-fed. When NBC hired Deborah Norville to fill Jane Pauley's anchor position on the Today show, the show fell apart because Norville lacked the corn-fed look. According to Hennessee, female correspondents are expected to conform to organizationally dictated images.

Himmelstein (1984) asserts news consultants conduct surveys and audience polls, then "tailor the news and the news personalities to fit the viewers' desires" (p. 214).
The use of news consultants has had negative effects for women, Himmelstein states, especially since most consultants judge newscasters on cosmetic appeal rather than reporting ability. "The revolving door approach to news talent resulted, as Kansas City anchorwoman Christine Craft of KMBZ discovered to her dismay and anger in 1981" (p. 214). Beasley and Gibbons (1993) write that Craft "ran smack into a wall of preconceived notions about how a female anchor should look and dress" while working at the Kansas City station. "Craft was axed as a news anchor by the station after management received a consultants' report that said the viewing audience thought she was 'too old, too unattractive and not sufficiently deferential to men'" (p. 269). Beasley and Gibbons quote Craft as saying her supervisor told her "I know it's silly, but you don't hide your intelligence to make the guys look smarter" (p. 269). This was in 1981. Craft was 37 years old (p. 269).

**Reporter Qualities.** Fang (1972) states there are four qualities a television reporter needs to have a chance at success: Toughness, sympathy, awareness and gall (p. 96). Fang describes toughness as having a thick hide -- someone who can take the heat when a news source, such as a politician, gives him or her a hard time (p. 96). That toughness should be "leavened" with sympathy, Fang states. The reporter should be tough, but not cold and insensitive (p. 97).

Fang defines awareness as the ability to spot what is news, get all the facts, then deliver the news in a way that everyone can understand (p. 97). Finally, gall allows the reporter to bluff his or her way into interviews, or get the story no matter what obstacles are thrown in his or her way (p. 99).

According to Fang, good reporters should also develop their own individual style of reporting, not copy the style of a well-known reporter (p. 101), get the proper
educational background (p. 102), and "add a dash of humility" to their work, realizing that they are not the purpose for the news show, but merely the people who deliver the news to others (p. 112).

**Personalities Preferred.** Fang's advice seems optimistic, especially when contrasted with an analysis of the industry by Green (1969) three years earlier. Green states the "early" days of television news -- when professional standards were strictly adhered to -- came to an end when station managers realized the public preferred definite or particular types of newscasters and newscasts over others. This gave rise to television news "personalities" who were able to draw larger audiences, higher ratings, and, thus, greater advertising revenue (p. 4). According to Green:

This trend toward emphasis on personality was predictable to those who viewed television news as both information and entertainment, but the station managers who took this view in the earliest days of television were rare. To most of them, news was one thing, entertainment another. The truth is that they cannot be completely separated. This truth is still unpalatable to many television newsmen and to many critics of television news, but their tastes do not determine the facts. The public's tastes do (p. 4).

This "cult of personality," as Green labels it, was firmly established at the local station level by the late 1950s, but was slower catching on at the networks, which tended to be more careful and responsible in designing their newscasts (p. 4).

Shosteck (1973-74) completed one of the first studies concerning the appeal of television news personalities. He concludes that "virtually all bits of viewer response to television personalities can be classified into four broad categories: Appearance, personal appeal, voice and speech, and professional attributes" (p. 65). Shosteck's study also shows:

1. There is a clear relationship between recognition of a TV news personality and the rating accorded him;
2. TV News personalities may not have the same appeal for different segments of the audience;

3. To gain prominent audience appeal, a TV news personality must be more than just "good," he must possess some distinctive characteristic that sets him apart from other equally "good" personalities;

4. Voice quality and manner of speech of a TV news personality are of central importance (pp. 66-68).

By the late 1970s, station managers were making considerable use of the talents of media consultants and marketing research. As a result, television news was thriving. In the article, "Running out of gimmicks, knuckling down to basics" in the Aug. 28, 1978 edition of Broadcasting, the author states that "the use of news personalities . . . is a trend that was at the heart of TV news's great awakening. As stations learned that viewers tuned in to see their favorite news celebrity, the trade in anchorpeople especially became frenetic, with the biggest prizes -- big city markets and high salaries -- going to the anchors with the best combination of personality and good looks" (p. 38).

This was especially noticeable at the local television level, where, as Sanders and Rock (1988) point out, "local anchor teams look as though they had been picked by casting directors: One young blonde woman, co-starring with an attractive older man, an image not unlike many men's second marriages" (p. 197).

Star System. Sanders and Rock report that another practice had begun by the 1980s which hindered the progress of women news correspondents: Favoritism. In 1980, when Susan Petersen left CBS's London Bureau, the network promoted Martha Teichner to fill the "woman's" slot, while John Blackstone was promoted to fill the vacant "man's" slot, which received considerably more on-air assignments (p. 72).
This policy of favoritism also led to greater use of what is called the "star" system. Sanders and Rock describe the "star" correspondents as the featured correspondents of the newscast, with the other reporters assigned in the area, or assigned to cover a specific event, providing material the "star" will report on-air (p. 72).

This practice damaged women's chances for advancement, especially to the upper ranks of broadcast journalism such as the anchor position. Sanders and Rock state that "(Dan) Rather and (Peter) Jennings both developed their reputations as star journalists overseas" (p. 73). Thus, Sanders and Rock assert, the decisions by bureau chiefs and network officials to use women as secondary or tertiary reporters was hurting their chances for advancement.

The use of the "star" system to promote news broadcasts has been criticized by some in the news industry from the start. In a speech made at the Elmer Davis Memorial Lecture, Feb. 15, 1966, David Brinkley called for an end to what he called the "star" system for news reporters (Skornia, 1968). In his speech, Brinkley said "Journalism, well-practiced, requires time for reading, thought, reflection and study. It requires time to get about, to see, to listen, to talk to people, and then to reflect on what has been said and heard. It cannot successfully be combined with the time-consuming, taxing and fatiguing trappings of the star system" (Skornia, pp. 39-40).

Sanders and Rock (1988) state that consultants continue to control the news, and newscasters, today. "Consultants continue to take surveys, measure audience pulse rates, weigh their reactions with buzzers and bells, and come up with the combination they hope will work. Supposedly, this didn't happen at the networks, although some of the women who have anchored the weekend editions of the evening newscasts have not
Those short on experience always make up for it with their good looks" (p. 197).

The current generation of television news producers has taken to the "star" system and other buzzers and whistles prescribed by media analysts to boost ratings (Leo, 1993). "The old guard has disappeared from TV news, and the business is now in the hands of a new generation whose members don't think of themselves as reporters or producers, but as filmmakers, with little interest in words and heavy interest in dramatic effect," said Richard Reeves, a syndicated columnist interviewed by Leo (p. 24).

Female Stars. For whatever reason -- whether looks or skill -- the "star" system is no longer confined to male anchors and reporters. Ellerbee (1986) states that "the women coming into television news today, pretty or not, bright or not, are at least secure there is a place for women; if they can do the job, they won't be laughed out of the job" (p. 103).

Diamond (1991) states that the influence of ratings is now accepted in the broadcast news industry. "No one at ABC, CBS or NBC seriously debates whether network news operations should be cost-conscious. The journalists have acquiesced to the new owners' notion that news programs must pay their own way rather than be supported by profits generated by the entertainment schedule" (p. 12). After ratings, and profits, slipped during the mid-1980s -- amid increased competition from local news programs, independent stations and cable networks -- changes became inevitable in network news (p. 13).

The decision made by the networks was to increase the role of "star" reporters and anchors, and cut back on the total number of on-air talent they used. This would allow the networks to cut costs, since on-air personnel are more expensive than off-camera
support personnel. The "stars" that were kept, as designated by the networks, were the more popular reporters who would each get more time on-air delivering their stories. Each would also be assisted by two or three off-air, younger news writers/reporters who would generate the news copy and video footage that the "star" would use in his or her report (pp. 16-17).

During this time, Bluhm (1982) writes an additional element television news producers used to brighten their shows was adding a good looking newscaster with sex appeal. "As greater numbers of women became newscasters some news departments made a point of finding very pretty, attractive women" (p. 125).

A number of women who met the criteria of good looks and talent were promoted to "star" status at this time, among them Connie Chung, Mary Alice Williams, Maria Shriver and Diane Sawyer, (Nash, 1989).

Suddenly, women were in demand, and the emergence of these women as stars set off a bidding war between the networks, each of whom wanted its own female star or stars (p. 242). Nash reports when Sawyer was lured from CBS to join ABC in 1989 "for an astonishing $1.6 million, she unwittingly set off a high-stakes game of network musical chairs" (p. 242). CBS, after losing Sawyer, lured Chung away from NBC for $1.5 million per year.

Then NBC, without a female star of its own, promoted reporter Maria Shriver to "star" status, raising her annual salary to $700,000, then "snapped up Mary Alice Williams from CNN (salary: $500,000), betting on her to be a big-time ratings winner" (p. 242).
More Window Dressing. While some saw the promotions as positive steps for women in television news, others complained that the broadcast networks were once again selling their principles short for the sake of ratings.

"It's window dressing," TV critic Howard Rosenberg said at the time, adding "Any time you see women in positions of authority on television, that's healthy. But beyond that, the moves don't have anything to do with what's going to go on in the news business" (Nash, p. 244). Even Linda Ellerbee, a former network news correspondent, was skeptical about the newly-imparted status of her female colleagues. "This is not a step forward for women. It is a step forward for those few women" (Nash, p. 244).

In fact, some in the news industry claim the influx of women into the field has weakened the news product offered. Nash quotes an unidentified former NBC Nightly News producer as saying the more women move into TV news, the more "soft" and fewer "hard" news stories appear. "Things are being done differently, and I don't have a lot of respect for it," the man said (Nash, p. 312).

Barbara Matusow, media critic for The Washingtonian magazine, voiced concern that the networks were using "shortsighted" techniques to "manufacture" women stars, rather than give the women the proper training and grooming for success that the networks have traditionally given male reporters (Nash, 1989). Matusow claims "network executives have not been trying to identify young women with potential, putting them in positions where they could learn the craft and making sure that when it was their time they were ready to succeed" (pp. 313-314).

Nash points out that all three current network anchors went through the "grooming" process before assuming the anchor position. "Tom Brokaw, for example, served as NBC's chief White House correspondent during Watergate, then as the Today show
cohost and co-anchor of *NBC Nightly News* before taking over the solo chair in 1983. No female correspondent is receiving the same kind of nurturing" (p. 314).

Nash warns that the hype surrounding the bidding wars for the female reporters overshadows the fact that almost all the people with the power to make key decisions in network news are still male. Those men are not likely to give up any of their power to women in the future, Nash states (p. 244).

Even Chung was not sure how far the new inroads would take women. In an interview with Nash, Chung said she "didn't expect to see a woman anchoring the network news within her lifetime" (p. 314). Chung added that "until the networks need the publicity, no one in power will take the chance of putting a woman in the chair. Some executives still think the public wants its hard news read by a man" (p. 314).

Chung was mistaken, at least partially. She was promoted to the co-anchor chair with Rather on June 1, 1993, making her only the second woman to ever be a full-time anchor of a network evening news program (Marin, 1993; Waters and Rogers, 1993). However, she was correct when she said it would take the need for major publicity to give management the courage or need to promote a woman (Lieberman, 1993; McClellan, 1993). Her tenure didn't last long. Ratings were stagnant, even in the first month she was teamed with Dan Rather (Jensen, 1993). After nearly two years in which the ratings for the *CBS Evening News* remained flat, Chung was removed from her co-anchor position (Carter, 1995).

**Major Stars.** Still, networks are committed to their "star" system, even if Chung didn't provide the expected ratings increase for CBS. Diane Sawyer, who started the bidding frenzy for female reporters in 1989, recently led the network hounds on another chase for her services. Sawyer, the Glasgow, Ky. native who gained her
entrance into television news as the "Weather Maid" on WLKY-TV in Louisville in the late 1960s (Nash, 1989 p. 243), finally decided to remain with ABC for a reported $7 million per year (Marin, 1994; McClellan, 1994c), turning down a reported $10 million offer from Fox Broadcasting (Bernstein, 1994).

Reibstein (1994) states that "Sawyer, along with the likes of Peter Jennings, Tom Brokaw, Dan Rather and Ted Koppel, had long ago jumped out of the status of mere reporter and into the realm of superstar draw" (p. 58). Frank (1994) claims that one reason for Sawyer's success is that she is now a "brand name" (p. 21). Frank states that, "According to surveys, viewers remember her. In today's news, that matters most" (p. 21).

Television news is "in a field of public performance," Frank states, adding that in this type of business, "a practitioner is paid by how he or she draws at the box office. There is no reason a television news anchor should be paid less than a basketball player or a stock finagler or Arnold Schwarzenegger" (p. 20).

Marin (1994) states that "breathless media coverage of the five-year contract pointed out that Sawyer will be making $19,000 a day. But everyone who knows her says that this much-publicized contract was not about money. It was about stature" (p. 10).

There can be no doubt about Sawyer's stature in the media industry. Schwed (1995a) points out that Sawyers and Barbara Walters are the only women listed in TV Guide's list of America's 10 most powerful stars. Walters and Sawyers tied for 6th place on the list, behind entertainment celebrities Tim Allen, David Letterman, Oprah Winfrey, Roseanne, and Jerry Seinfeld (pp. 12-15). No other members of the broadcast media were mentioned in the TV Guide list.
According to Frank (1994), Sawyer is only the latest pursuit in a bidding war that began in 1976 when ABC lured Barbara Walters from NBC. But, Reibstein (1994) adds, "If Barbara Walters started it all, Diane Sawyer won't end it. NBC is reportedly seeking to place Today's Katie Couric with a more generous contract. At the risk of irking lesser stars and draining resources, the networks will continue the care and feeding of its brand names, just like soap and toothpaste. The question remains whether these brand names perform as journalists -- or products" (p. 58).

Previous Studies

Credibility Studies. One of the reasons news producers cite most often for not promoting female newscasters is the credibility women have with viewers (Marzolf, 1977; Sanders, 1993; Sanders and Rock, 1988; Beasley and Gibbons, 1993; Beasley and Theus, 1988).

In the early 1970s, even with pressure from the government, networks didn't readily change their hiring practices with regards to women. Marzolf (1977) lists a quote from then-NBC News President Reuven Frank in Newsweek magazine, in which Frank said "I have the strong feeling that audiences are less prepared to accept news from a woman's voice than a man's" (p. 175).

The perception of the credibility and acceptance of women reporters has been the focus of several studies in the past 20 years. Stone (1974) conducted the first study of this issue, and is the basis of all research done since. Stone's study focused on the difference in perception of women reporters by news directors and the viewing public. According to Stone, news directors thought the audience wanted a male reporter or preferred a male voice to report the news. However, Stone reported the surprising
findings that there was no preference for sex of the reporter among viewers except in the area of sports broadcasting. Male reporters were still favored in that area, by both male and female viewers. Still, the main reason people listed for preferring a man was tradition, or "it's just what I've gotten used to" (p. 58).

Whittaker and Whittaker (1976) conducted a follow-up study to Stone's 1974 report. They found "the hypothesis that there would not be a statistically significant difference in the perceived acceptance, believability, or effectiveness between two professional male newscasters and two professional female newscasters is supported" (p. 183).

Nearly a decade after Stone's pilot study, Hutchinson (1982) again proved there was no difference in audience perceptions of male and female newscasters among viewers. Hutchinson reported that men and women newscasters have equal credibility among television viewers (p. 465), and that the voice or vocal quality of the newscaster showed no statistical significance in the believability or effectiveness of the news report (p. 466). However, Hutchinson also found that people "are more apt to accept news from 'pretty' or 'handsome' television news broadcasters" (p. 466). Male and female newscasters were both subject to judging by viewers on their appearance, Hutchinson continued.

Applbaum and Anatol (1972) found there were four variables of credibility that public speakers must have: Trustworthiness, expertness, dynamism and objectivity (pp. 216-222).
Speakers develop credibility after being judged by the audience on several factors (Sproule, 1991). These factors include:

1. Vocal clarity, which includes articulation, fluency, voice and rhetorical impressions, vocal quality, pronunciation and dialect (pp. 306-312);

2. Vocal variety, which includes rate of speech, voice volume, vocal pitch, phrasing, and emphasis (pp. 314-319); and,

3. Posture and body action, which includes gestures, facial expression, eye contact, and personal appearance (pp. 321-326).

In television news broadcasting, Cohler (1985) states the most "desirable" voice qualities are those in the lower two registers, both for men and women (p. 182). However, Cohler adds that "the days are long gone when 'golden tonsils' or a booming basso profundo were required of anyone who wished to get on the air. Broadcasters, especially news departments, have of late relaxed some of the old strictures, including some of the silly ones" (p. 182). This includes the belief "that people would not accept women as newscasters or reporters, since they didn't sound 'authoritative' or 'in charge.' This has, of course, proved to be utter nonsense, with the result that performance standards have altered for men as well as women" (p. 182).

Newspaper Credibility. Two separate reports published in 1990 (Andsager; Burkhart and Sigelman) found no evidence that gender played a role in the perceived credibility of those in the news media. Andsager (1990) asserts that women have traditionally been relegated to areas in which they were believed to have greater expertise than men, such as the Lifestyle sections of newspapers, while men maintain positions in news, business and editorial departments (p. 485).

Much of this is because of the belief that women did not have credibility among readers. Burkhart and Sigelman (1990) state "communication theorists have long
recognized that who says something can be as influential as what is said in shaping audience reactions to a message" (p. 492). The two add that "it has also long been recognized that source credibility depends on more than a communicator's expertise and trustworthiness with respect to the topic at hand. It can also be influenced by source characteristics such as race and gender that should be largely irrelevant to judging the effectiveness of a message" (p. 492).

In their study, though, Burkhart and Sigelman report that "audiences judged stories similarly regardless of whether the byline was by a male or female" (p. 492). In fact, the only difference in the ratings newspaper readers gave to the writers shows that "women tended to be evaluated somewhat higher on such variables as 'trustworthiness,' 'writing style,' and 'accuracy'" (p. 492).

In a study of newspaper editorial writers, Andsager (1990) reports similar findings. Andsager states that "bylines made no significant difference overall in the subjects' perceptions of credibility... Overall, subjects did not find any significant differences in the columns with regard to fairness, accuracy or trustworthiness" (pp. 488-489).

Silverman-Watkins, Levi and Klein (1986) found similar results in a study of credibility of television news reporters. The study, which gauged the way television news help shape sex roles among children, found that broadcast news reporters serve a parallel function to school teachers, in that they provide "information about an outside world which is complex and with which the child has had scant direct experience" (p. 4). Silverman-Watkins, et al., report that television news viewers expect some stories to be reported by reporters of a certain sex. According to Silverman-Watkins, et al., "We can't imagine Julia Child covering the Olympics, but we'd believe her report of a state dinner at the White House" (p. 9).
A recent survey reported by Schwed (1995b) shows female and male newscasters are equally credible among adults. A PeP (profile and evaluation poll) conducted in February showed that Walter Cronkite is the most trusted person in television news, even though he has been retired from the CBS Evening News anchor desk for over a decade (p. 39). However, most television viewers think Connie Chung is smarter than Dan Rather, but not as trustworthy (p. 39). Four women earned top 20 finishes in the PeP "most trusted" category (out of 144 news personalities listed). Katie Couric, 11th, Diane Sawyer, 13th, Connie Chung, 19th, and Lesley Stahl, 20th. Rather was not listed in the top 20 (p. 39).

Television Credibility. Cathcart (1969) reports that gender is not a factor when it comes to satisfying the wants of television news viewers. Among the top 10 qualities or characteristics desired from news broadcasters by the viewing public, gender is not listed (p. 60). Cathcart's "Ten Qualities or Characteristics Most Describing the Television Newscasting Preferences of Ideal Viewer Type A" appear in Table 2.

In a related study, Pope (1992) found no gender preference among television viewers in their perception of television weathercasters. In a 1992 study concerning attributes television viewers wanted in a television weathercaster, gender of the weathercaster was the least important factor (p. 154). According to Pope, 76 percent of the survey respondents listed gender of the weathercaster as being the "least important" factor in whether or not to watch a particular station's weather report (p. 161).

Factors reported by survey respondents as being more important than the weathercaster's gender include the type of meteorological equipment used (p. 161), a Seal of Approval, or endorsement, from a professional meteorological association (p. 171), and the length of time the weathercaster had lived in the viewing area (p. 171).
Newscaster Appeal. In an early study of newscaster attributes most sought by television viewers, Lynch and Sassenrath (1965) point out that "one of various notions which has gained widespread acceptance in television news reporting is that personality associations or 'images' are of major value to the professional television newscaster" (p. 33).

Their research included a series of viewer surveys of various news broadcasting qualities perceived to be used by the four network anchors at that time, Walter Cronkite on CBS, David Brinkley and Chet Huntley on NBC, and Harry Reasoner on ABC. Lynch and Sassenrath conclude that the newscasters had five common dimensions -- presentation, appearance, humanism, force, and libertarianism -- while each had four unique factors -- deliberation, courtesy, excitement and complexity.

Sanders and Pritchett (1971) state "attempting to explain a newscaster's appeal has been of more than passing interest ever since the early days of television -- when many popular radio announcers were shocked to find that the audiences that had accepted them so readily on radio rejected them on television" (p. 293). The difference is that television is a visual medium, and "brought with it a whole new set of visual criteria by which the audience could judge newscasters" (p. 293).

According to Sanders and Pritchett, "the ideal newscaster composites appear to be partly the result of what viewers were accustomed to seeing in their newsmen" (p. 299). Specifically, Sanders and Pritchett describe the ideal newscaster as "white, clean-shaven, 31-55 years old and would wear a dark coat and a white shirt" (p. 299).
Table 2

Ten Qualities or Characteristics Most Describing the Television Newscasting Preferences of Ideal Viewer Type A

1. Knowledgeable and experienced news authority
2. More than a reader, he knows the news he delivers
3. Speaks with conviction (believes what he says)
4. An unbiased approach to news items
5. Honesty and trustworthiness
6. Presents a factual rather than a commentary report
7. Makes difficult information understandable for the average viewer
8. Dedicated to informing and not to entertaining
9. Smooth, sophisticated manner
10. Seldom makes errors in grammar or diction

However, Sanders and Pritchett point out that in the city where their surveys were taken, none of the four newscasters at the most popular television station matched that description. In fact, one of the newscasters was a woman (p. 299). Sanders and Pritchett conclude that "the content of the news, the familiarity of the audience with the newscaster (and the newscaster with the market), the other staff members seen 'on-air' during the program, 'lead-in' programming, and similar factors" were of more importance than the appearance or sex of the newscaster (p. 300).

Like most communication studies conducted prior to 1970 (van Zoonen, 1994), Lynch and Sassenrath (1965) and Sanders and Pritchett (1971) did not study gender as a possible direct factor in newscaster appeal.

Carstens (1993/1994) states that "many researchers conducted their newsmaking studies at a time when women played less significant roles than they do today. Other researchers have studied newsworkers without regard to potential gender differences. These studies probably reflect the realities of the majority -- the male newsworkers -- more than the realities of the minority -- the female newsworkers" (pp. 54-55).

Baggaley, Ferguson and Brooks (1980) conducted one of the first studies to analyze the affects of newscaster gender on audience acceptance. In an audience attitude study, Baggaley, et al., report male viewers give higher marks to female newscasters than do female viewers (p. 143).

"In general," Baggaley, et al., report, "she (the female newsreader) was regarded as significantly more popular and dependable by male subjects than by female subjects" (p. 143). Overall, male respondents gave the female newsreader higher marks at the .05 significance level in categories labeled "interesting," "popular," "precise," "stable,"
"gentle," and "simple," and were more favorable at the .01 level in categories labeled "friendly," "fair," "dependable," "humorous/serious," and "meaningful" (p. 145).

However, in a follow-up study conducted, Baggaley, et al., report male respondents had an equally favorable response to a male newsreader as opposed to the response given by female respondents (p. 152). Baggaley, et al., report that as in the previous experiment, "the newsreader was more favourably rated by the male viewers (i.e., significantly more humane, pleasant, friendly, kind, sharp, wise, strong and vigorous), a result precluding the possibility that sex of viewers and newsreader interact with respect to simple preference" (p. 152).

Hutchinson (1982) writes "the major potential for differences among newscasts concerns the newscaster's characteristics. Comparisons between individual newscasters reveal differences in appearance, gender and delivery" (p. 457). However, these differences do not translate into a significant difference in the response by viewers. Only in the area of physical attraction is there a significant difference between male and female newscaster, with male newscasters judged more favorably than their female counterparts (p. 465). Hutchinson concludes "newscaster gender showed no statistically significant differences for measures of task and social factors of interpersonal attraction" (p. 465).

Viewer Differences. Recent studies indicate that males seem more likely than females to watch or take an interest in news programming. Seal-Wanner (1984/1985) reports that in a survey of high school students, there is "a striking sex difference in the adolescents' use of the news media as well as in their preference for certain types of news content" (p. 76).
Seal-Wanner writes that "boys appear to consume more current events information from the news media than girls do, and seem to have a higher interest level for hard news stories" (p. 77). Meanwhile, "girls are enthusiastic consumers of news stories told from a human interest point of view" (p. 77).

Boys have a greater appetite for news programming than do girls, Seal-Wanner asserts. Boys depend on television news nearly twice as much as girls do. "Almost all of the boys (81 percent), compared to less than half of the girls (42 percent), rely on television as their primary news source" (p. 77). Also, boys watch television news programs more often than girls do. "Boys watch more of every type of television news program, but the significant differences show up in the viewing of nightly national and local news programs" (p. 77).

Seal-Wanner comments these findings are interesting, especially since girls watch an average of one hour more television per night than boys -- five hours per night for girls, compared to four hours per night for boys (p. 77).

However, Seal-Wanner reports there are no significant differences between boys' and girls' interest in news stories about "hard" news topics such as world, national, local or economic events (p. 89). There was a difference, though, in the format the boys and girls preferred the news to be shown. News story formats were described by Seal-Wanner as "hard," "hard news with a human interest aspect," or "human interest" (p. 89).

"Generally, boys tend to favor 'hard' news content and girls tend to prefer news stories which have 'human interest aspects'" (p. 89). "Put another way," Seal-Wanner continues, "if boys' and girls' preferences were plotted on a 'hardness' to 'softness' news content dimension, most girls would be on the 'soft' news end of the continuum
Gender Bias

This may help explain why boys report watching nightly news broadcasts nearly 50 percent more than girls. "This highly significant sex difference is interesting because it occurs in viewing news programs which most closely fit the description of 'hard news'" (p. 91).

Seal-Wanner states the nightly news programs on the three major broadcast networks tend to focus on hard news such as international and national events, economic reports, disasters and crime, and usually only show one or two human interest type reports per program (p. 91).

In contrast, an equal percentage of boys and girls reported watching "hard news" magazine shows such as 60 Minutes and 20/20. This is primarily due to the extended report format used by these shows. Seal-Wanner contends that these television news magazine programs present news events "with considerable background information -- personalized (and often sensationalized) details and a detailed narrative account of the relevant happenings and implications" (p. 98).

According to Seal-Wanner, this finding "leads us to the interesting speculation that while girls generally appear to like 'hard news' stories less than boys do, this sex difference seems to depend on factors other than simply liking or disliking 'hard' news" (p. 98). That is, "if 'hard' news is presented with a human interest orientation, girls appear to become more engaged and active news consumers" (p. 98).

Gender Bias Studies. There have been only a handful of studies conducted to assess the difference in story assignments made to male and female broadcast reporters. The United States Commission on Civil Rights, in preparing its 1977 report, Window Dressing on the Set, investigated the sex stereotyping that existed in the network news. A composite week of evening news broadcasts of the three commercial networks --
ABC, CBS and NBC -- was analyzed for this study. The news broadcasts were shown on five widely scattered dates, randomly selected from March 1974 to February 1975. Abstracts of the broadcasts were obtained from the Vanderbilt University Television News Archives, and were used to analyze the types of stories reported on the broadcasts. Among the items coded for were topic of the story, and sex of the correspondent delivering each story. In all, 230 news stories were broadcast on the 15 programs analyzed (p. 49).

A total of 85 correspondents were used to deliver the stories. Of this, 10 were women (11.8 percent) and 75 (88.2 percent) were men (p. 51). "The stories receiving the greatest attention on all three networks were rarely reported by minority and female correspondents. One measure of a story's importance is its position in the program. The first three stories are considered the most important and receive greatest emphasis in terms of length and visuals" (p. 50). However, the study points out that in the sample studied, only one of the 45 stories that appeared first, second or third in the broadcasts was delivered by a woman (p. 50).

The government study also found that minority and women correspondents were likely to report "on issues pertinent to minorities and women" (p. 50), and that typical topics for women and minorities to report on included health, education, and welfare or housing problems, and other domestic problems (p. 51).

**Canadian Broadcasting.** In a pilot study conducted in March 1977, Robinson (1978) found considerable bias in the number and type of stories reported by men and women newscasters. A content analysis of two weeks of evening news broadcasts on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) and Canadian Television Network
(CTV) showed that male reporters delivered 392 reports, compared to 77 reports delivered by female correspondents (p. 95).

The male reporters were more likely to deliver "hard news" stories involving government, business, police, justice and labor, while female reporters were more likely to report stories classified as "women's content" (p. 95). In Robinson's study, "women's content" was defined as stories dealing with medicine and health, education, ecology, organization and association, women's employment and rights, social welfare and consumer affairs (p. 95). These categories were based on a list compiled by Guenin (1975) that identified the following categories as "women's categories:" adolescence, aging, community improvement, consumerism, economics, education, employment, equality movement, hobbies, housing, humor, legal problems, marriage, medicine, mental health, population control, single life, transportation and volunteer services (p. 67).

According to Robinson (1978), 20 percent of the stories delivered by women newscasters dealt with subjects in the "women's content" categories, compared to only eight percent for male reporters (p. 95).

In her analysis of the pilot study, Robinson states "female reporters, it appears, never cover a lead story and are more likely to be associated with the reporting of women's content areas. Whether the fact that female reporters tend to cover the less important events is a result of choice, inclination or organizational processes is as yet impossible to tell" (p. 96).

However, Robinson adds, "we do know that sex-stereotyped professions such as journalism, wherein 80 percent of the personnel are men, tend to funnel minorities into restricted work areas, such as the women's desk. These then become devalued because
they do not provide the requisite experience for promotion up the professional or managerial tracks" (pp. 96-97).

Robinson concludes by encouraging younger female reporters "to branch out of the stereotypical beats in both print and broadcasting to obtain greater visibility and prestige as well as the relevant experience necessary for eventual promotion" (p. 97).

American Broadcasting. Two major gender bias studies have been conducted since the Window Dressings report in regard to American network news broadcasters: Singleton and Cook (1982) and Ziegler and White (1990).

Singleton and Cook conducted a content analysis of the three network newscasts using a systematic probability sample of 10 weeks in 1979. "The unit of analysis was the news report, that is, any report filed by a single correspondent. In the case of a multi-part report each segment reported by a single correspondent was coded separately" (p. 488).


After compiling the results of the content analysis, "A test for the significance of the difference between two proportions was applied to each topic to compare the percentage of all male-reported stories falling under that topic with the percentage of all female-reported stories" (p. 489). The statistical method used for the analysis was the method prescribed by Bruning and Kintz (1968).
Singleton and Cook's results showed "Stories dealing with foreign affairs, the federal government and the economy predominated" (p. 489). Further analysis showed "There were several topics for which the proportions of male and female reports were significantly different at the .05 level or below: Women reported proportionately less foreign affairs, economy, disaster and feature stories than male reporters. In contrast, women were significantly over-assigned stories dealing with U.S. government, environment and social problems" (p. 489).

In conclusion, Singleton and Cook point out "Generally, the results suggest that, compared to male reporters, females are assigned more U.S. government stories, more 'women's issues' and fewer stereotypically male-associated topics such as business and sports" (p. 489). Men also delivered 83 percent of the stories, compared to 17 percent for female reporters (p. 490).

Singleton and Cook also studied "the relative importance of stories reported by female correspondents" (p. 489). "The positioning of a report in a network television newscast is a useful indicator of that story's perceived importance or news value" (p. 489). Women were "well-represented in coverage of lead stories in the newscast sample" (p. 489). Women "filed 16.2 percent of the lead-off or number one stories, 15.5 percent of the number two stories, and 18.2 percent of the third-place stories. In all, females reported 16.1 percent of stories appearing either first, second or third. This compares favorably with their numerical representation in the sample" (p. 490).

Singleton and Cook conclude "a measurable differential still exists in the overall coverage responsibilities of male and female reporters" (p. 491).

Ziegler and White (1990) conducted a similar study using a three week sample randomly selected from 1987 to 1989. The sample consisted of 45 newscasts from the
three commercial networks (p. 217). Ziegler and White also charted each story by type of story and sex of the newscaster, as well as the newscaster's race, and the sex and race of those who were the "newsmakers" during the newscasts. As in the Singleton and Cook study, Ziegler and White coded only stories reported by correspondents. Also, "If more than one correspondent covered the same topic (e.g., the Iran Contra Affair), each correspondent reporting the story was coded" (p. 217).

Ziegler and White report that of the 335 individual stories coded, 296 stories were covered by males, while 39 were reported by female correspondents (p. 218). Like Singleton and Cook's results, Ziegler and White's study showed male reporters were significantly more likely to report on foreign affairs, business, crime, and science, while women were more likely to report on the U.S. government, social problems, and health care. These results led Ziegler and White to conclude the network news media still fall short in terms of the number of women represented (p. 221).
Chapter 2:
Methodology

About Studies

According to Rakow (1992), "academic research on media content seemed to pick up momentum through the 1970s. Content analyses of the representation of women in media content and documentation of women's employment status appeared regularly in journalism and mass communication journals" (p. 192).

However, most of the beginning assumptions used by mass communication researchers sustained "a system of communication that is detrimental to women" (p. 192). These assumptions include:

* A definition of news that ensures that men and their activities will be made known and defined as normal and that women and their activities and concerns will be invisible or denigrated if outside the boundaries of acceptability for women;

* An unquestioned United States belief in the rightness of using the First Amendment to preserve the speaking rights of those who already have them, without being the least troubled by the legal and social sanctions against women speaking or having access to the means to reproduce speech;

* A Western faith in the "free market" of technology and information that leads to media imperialism in much of the rest of the world and threatens the economic and social standing of women in many cultures;

* An acceptance of the media's construction of "woman" as a happy domestic consumer or a heterosexual sex object, white, and middle class. Marketing research, long a mainstay of mass communication research, has been most interested in finding out how to best construct an image of women that will fit their own profit interests while maintaining male dominance;

* A major blindspot about who owns and controls the media, ignoring the fact that our media structure permits a few large corporations to make enormous profits telling the major stories in the culture while denying that opportunity to most people, in particular white women and people of color;
A concern about media "effects" based on a concern about the moral behavior of the "masses" (that is, does the media make "them" violent, lazy, and politically apathetic, over-stimulated, lowbrow?). It is interesting that despite several decades worth of research concerned about the media's effect on making "people" violent, researchers did not concern themselves with how and why men become violent toward women (p. 193).

Rakow continues that "these basic tenets are being challenged with great difficulty. Despite feminist research that has demonstrated the arbitrariness and injustice of these assumptions, the media remains essentially unchanged and academic educators and researchers have changed little about what they do and believe" (p. 193).

**Current Study**

This study is a replication of Singleton and Cook (1982), using an updated sample of broadcast news programs. To make this an accurate replication, the sampling method and coding categories used by Singleton and Cook were retained. However, additional analysis was conducted on the sample to expand the results reported. While Singleton and Cook combined the results of their analysis of the three broadcast networks, the current study also presents an analysis of each individual network, as well as a combined analysis of the network news programs.

**About Content Analyses**

Content analysis is a favored method of research used by those investigating the role of women in the media (van Zoonen, 1994). This statement is based on the conclusion by Berelson (1952) that "In the communication process a central position is occupied by the content" (p. 13).
Berelson states that "in the classic sentence identifying the process of communication -- 'who, says what, to whom, how, and with what effect' -- communication content is the 'what'" (p. 13). The actual process of content analysis is defined by Berger (1982) as "a research technique based upon measuring (counting) the amount of something (violence, percentages of Blacks, women, professional types, or whatever) in a sampling of some form of communication (such as comics, sitcoms, soap operas, news shows)" (p. 107).

Krippendorff (1980) writes that the purpose of content analysis is "to provide knowledge, new insights, a representation of 'facts,' and a practical guide to action" (p. 21). Frey, Botan, Friedman and Kreps (1992) add that content analysis is used by researchers to "identify, enumerate, and analyze occurrences of specific messages and message characteristics embedded in communication texts" (p. 194).

According to Berger (1982), there are five advantages of using content analysis as compared to other research methods:

* It is inexpensive;
* It is usually relatively easy to get material;
* It is unobtrusive (and thus doesn't influence people);
* It yields data that can be quantified;
* It can deal with current events or past events, or both;
* It is replicable (p. 107).

Budd, Thorpe and Donohew (1967) write that "content analysis allows the investigator to observe a communicator's public messages at times and places of the investigator's own choosing. The procedure also allows him to carry out his
observation without fear that the attention will bias the communicator, something that
would be more difficult if the analyst were trying to watch at the scene" (p. 2).

Berelson (1952) lists three assumptions that are made when dealing with content
analysis. They are:

1. Content analysis assumes that inferences about the relationship between intent
   and content or between content and effect can validly be made, or the actual
   relationships established;

2. Content analysis assumes that study of the manifest content is meaningful to the
   content, by assigning it to certain categories, correspond to the "meanings"
   intended by the communicator and/or understood by the audience; and,

3. Content analysis assumes that the quantitative description of communication
   content is meaningful. This assumption implies that the frequency of occurrence
   of various characteristics of the content is itself an important factor in the
   communication process, under specific conditions (pp. 18-20).

Berger (1991) states that all research must answer basic questions such as who,
why, how, what, when, which and where (pp. 4-6). However, it is not necessary that
research answer all seven questions (p. 4). An overview of the seven questions listed
by Berger, as well as their application in this study, includes:

* The "who" question involves who is being studied (p. 4). In the current
  study, the "who" are the evening news programs presented by the three major
  American broadcast networks – ABC, CBS and NBC;

* The "why" question asks why a certain phenomenon occurs, or why something
  happens (p. 5). This research project does not attempt to directly answer this
  question, but offers some possible causes or circumstances in the review of
  literature that can be used as a basis for future research;

* The "how" question is concerned with how a process works, how we solve a
  certain problem, or how a certain situation developed (p. 5). This research
  project does not deal directly with this question, but does provide an overview
  of the history of the problem in the review of literature;

* The "what" question is used when the researcher wants to get specific
  information, usually "quantitative data about various phenomena" (p. 5). Often,
  the "what" question is phrased as a "what is the extent of" question (p. 5). This
  question is answered in this study;
* The "when" question deals with time and "the way time affects some process or sequence of activities or behaviors" (p. 6). "When" questions often try to trace the beginning of a problem so steps can be taken to prevent future problems using proactive measures (p. 6). This question is not directly answered by this study. However, the question is addressed in the review of literature.

* The "which" question is used "to decide which factor or element in some group of factors or elements is significant or most important" (p. 6). In this study, the "which" is the group of subject categories in which male and/or female correspondents are significantly more likely to make reports than are the opposite sex.

* The "where" question involves location, specifically, the location where a certain phenomenon is more likely to occur (p. 6). In this study, the "where" question deals with which network is more likely to have illustrated examples of gender bias in story assignment as compared to other networks.

Berger adds that the questions mentioned above are often "all mixed up together. It is frequently impossible to isolate just one element in the puzzle; you have to figure out how to estimate the weight to be given" to each of the questions (pp. 6-7).

Berger continues that research is a product of "curiosity, accuracy, honesty and ingenuity" (p. 7). Good research is based on observation, objectivity, attention to details, and interpretation. Budd, et al., (1967) point out that content analysis is a form of systematic research which includes all these characteristics (p. 14).

Budd, et al., continue that there are six stages of development for content analysis:

1. Formulate research question;
2. Select the sample and define categories;
3. Read, listen to or watch the sample, then code the content according to objectives;
4. Scale items or "in some way arrive at scores;"
5. Compare the scores with measurements of other variables or scores; and
6. Interpret the findings (p. 6).
The research questions, as stated in the introduction to this research paper, are: Do significant differences remain in the topics of stories assigned to male and female network news correspondents? Is there a significant difference in the position in the newscast of stories assigned to male and female network news correspondents? And, has the on-air situation of female network news correspondents changed since the last intensive study of the topic (Singleton and Cook) was reported in 1982?

Sample Selection

According to Krippendorff (1980), systematic sampling is the favored form when analyzing publications or broadcasts of a recurring nature [those appearing regularly at structured intervals] (p. 67). However, there is no set answer to the question of how large a sample size should be (p. 69). Berger (1991) warns that sampling error is one problem associated with content analysis, since a sample that is too small will yield results that are not representative of the population. "To get around this problem, content analysts often study a sizable amount of material" (p. 29).

This study maintained the sample size and population selected by Singleton and Cook (1982). A 10-week sample taken from a one year (52 week) population of the evening news programs on the three major broadcast networks was analyzed. Abstracts of the 10 week-long samples were obtained from the TV News Archives at Vanderbilt University for use in the analysis. To make the study as up-to-date as possible, the week of June 5-9, 1995, was selected as the starting point for this proposed study, randomly chosen from the four weeks in June -- the last full month of abstracts available from Vanderbilt when the analysis portion of this study was begun. Additional sample weeks were then selected by choosing every fifth week, which
resulted in 10 week-long samples selected within a 12 month (52 week) period. The sample period contained a possibility of 50 days for each network (10 weeks multiplied by five days each week). However, abstracts for two days in the sample period, Feb. 21, 1995 and March 30, 1995, were not available. Thus, abstracts for 48 days were obtained and used in this study.

Categories Defined
Berelson (1952) writes that "content analysis stands or falls by its categories. Particular studies have been productive to the extent that the categories were clearly formulated and well adapted to the problem and to the content" (p. 147). Berelson further states "the categories of analysis should be defined so precisely that different analysts can apply them to the same body of content and secure the same results" (p. 13).

Berger (1991) adds that a pre-determined and well operationalized set of categories and measurable units will provide the researcher with a uniform standard measure that is easily quantified (p. 28). "The crucial decision we must make is which categories to examine" (p. 27). When setting up categories, Berger asserts that precise definitions of what material is to be included in each category must be made, so that coders will know what material should be placed in each different category (p. 27).

Berelson (1952) states that "although competent performance in other parts of the analytic process is also necessary, the formulation and the definition of appropriate categories take on central importance. Since the categories contain the substance of the investigation, a content analysis can be no better than its system of categories" (p. 147).

To conduct a content analysis, Berelson writes it is necessary to select a unit of measuring the desired content. This "unit" can be as small as a single word, a phrase,
or item. In some instances, such as dealing with the mass media, the measurement unit labeled "space-and-time measures" is best (pp. 135-142). "Thus," Berelson claims, "a news story containing two subject matters may be assigned to the dominant one under item analysis" (p. 142). Berelson continued that "word counts and large units (items and space-time measures) are most appropriate for studies of straight subject-matter emphases" (p. 146), which is the type of content analysis proposed for this study.

Subject matter categories are "perhaps the most general category used in content analysis studies," Berelson states (p. 149). This type of category is often used in trend studies, with the same categories analyzed at different points in time (p. 149). Subject matter categories are labeled "theme" categories by Budd, et al. (1967), as a type of category often used to describe the general purpose or theme of the communication (p. 47).

Finally, Frey, et al. (1992), assert that content categories must be "mutually exclusive, equivalent and exhaustive" (p. 196). The categories used in this study meet the three criteria.

Singleton and Cook (1982) listed the following content categories for their study: U.S. government, science, disaster/accident, standard weather report, crime, labor/economy/business, sports, human interest/people/feature, foreign affairs, consumer protection, social problems, entertainment/culture/arts, institutions, environment, transportation, energy, religion, courts, women's issues, and other (pp. 488-489).
These categories were retained for the current study, with the following definitions, as compiled by Guenin (1975, p. 67), Graber (1978, p. 17), and Schneider (1985/1986, pp. C1-C4):

* U.S. Government: News about actions taken by the United States government, including the House of Representatives, Senate, President, or any other division of the national government. Specifically, news in which the United States government is the primary actor or causal agent of the transaction, event, or issue. Includes decisions by the U.S. Supreme Court. May also include activities at the state or municipal level that have national significance.

* Science: News of activities, events, or issues involving the physical, bio-engineering and other sciences. Includes news of technological breakthroughs and advances in areas such as healthcare or medical research, genetic research, computer and robotic research and production, and space/aeronautical events. Does not include news involved with the economic side to science, but does include news in areas involving the U.S. government as a primary actor or causal agent.

* Disaster/Accident: News concerning accidents resulting in the injury or death of people, damage to property by man-caused accidents or natural disasters; reports of floods, landslides and abnormal weather conditions causing property or personal damage. Does not include situations in which the U.S. government is the primary actor or causal agent involved.

* Standard Weather Report: News including the forecast of weather or current conditions of weather, and includes reports of storms or significant weather conditions, except when those events are so severe as to be included in another category, such as disaster/accident, transportation, environment, etc.

* Crime: News of criminal and/or policing activities including acts of crime, police work and arrests, police statistics. Does not include accident reports.

* Labor/Economy/Business: News of business, industry, commerce, banking, finance, trade, price and stock activities and quotations, and taxation occurring in the private sector. News of activities of organized labor and management relations; including strikes, anticipated strikes, labor disputes, contract negotiations and grievances. Includes news of farming, farm organizations, food production, and the technical and business aspects of farming, farm production and prices, land redistribution and reform plans, farmer and landowner relationships, reports of activities related to the fishing industry when reported as "business." Does not include these items if theme of report is the environmental impact of these activities.
* Sports: News about every kind of sport and game, including reports about exceptional accomplishments of teams and individuals in the sports arena. Does not include reports about the lifestyles or non-sporting activities of sports individuals.

* Human Interest/People/Feature: News about births, deaths, weddings, funerals (except when presented as having national political or social significance), fashions, society news, lifestyle feature and reports about well-known or not-well-known persons and their accomplishments, accounts of functions or happenings where the guests or people were the main source of interest.

* Foreign Affairs: News about external transactions, events or issues involving any two or more foreign governments - other than the United States Government. Includes activities by any representatives or officials of foreign governments and/or organizations, including the United Nations. Does not include situations in which the U.S. Government is "alleged" to be involved, such as in covert aid to support a foreign government against another foreign government.

* Consumer Protection: Includes news about safety problems associated with retail products (automobiles, drugs, etc.), steps by manufacturers to correct product problems, undercover investigations of businesses alleged to be involved in schemes to cheat their customers.

* Social Problems: News about social welfare and safety, originating or caused by non-U.S. government actors (agencies, departments, etc.); reports about social problems and the human condition, such as diseases, epidemics, drug and alcohol abuse, civil rights, housing and poverty, family-related problems and activities.

* Entertainment/Culture/Arts: News of "high" and "low" cultural activities, including reports about theatre, film, arts and television happenings, including reports about the activities and lifestyles of those involved in these fields; also includes news involving literature, painting, drama, architecture, languages and museums. Does not include government actions to control the arts, such as cutting funding to the arts.

* Institutions: News about educational institutions, programs, trends. Includes news about private and public schools, colleges, universities and all teacher institutions of any kind; research in the humanities and the sciences (not health); general educational programs and activities, academic standards and methods, includes regional, state and municipal departments of education, tuition fees. Does not include reports about government funding of education, court challenges to educational practices.
* Environment: News relating to the condition of the Earth and its resources. Includes volcanic eruptions and their effects, pollution, affects of agriculture and related products on land, water and wildlife.

* Transportation: News about modes of travel, including airplanes, boats, automobiles, trains, bicycles, etc., as well as roadways, ticket prices, new vehicles (such as new car models, electric cars, etc.), airports, waterways. Does not include gasoline or fuel prices (labeled as energy), government action against car, automobile, boat, manufacturers, or any area dealing with American government's control over transportation (i.e., national speed limit).

* Energy: Transactions, events, and issues related to the energy field, including nuclear energy protests, pricing, availability and construction of plants, dams, pipelines, refineries and drilling sites, and others.

* Religion: News concerning religious groups around the world as pertaining to issues of theology, beliefs, or stances on moral issues. Includes announcements by religious groups of changes in doctrine or policy, conventions, impact on people's lives, and religious movements into areas including politics at levels other than the U.S. Government. Does not include deaths of religious leaders, religious movements when related to foreign affairs.

* Courts: News of criminal proceedings involving the legal system, criminal courts, appointments of judges. Does not include activities in which the Judiciary branch(es) of the U.S. Government (Supreme Court) is the primary actor or causal agent.

* Women's Issues: News about rape, child abuse, marriage, single life, family welfare, job/pay/workplace equality, pregnancy, health problems. Does not include reports in which U.S. government is primary or causal agent.

* Other: Any report that does not fall into one of the preceding categories.

Other working definitions to be used in this study include:

* Anchorman/anchorperson: The main studio reporter who threads the newscast together, introducing stories and reports by correspondents, then resumes his responsibilities on-air after individual correspondents complete their reports (Green, 1969, p. 17)

* Correspondent/Reporter: Any non-anchor, on-air person who reports news stories on tape, voice over tape/film, or in the studio, either live or via satellite (Fang, 1972, p. 59)
Coding

Berger (1991) states that researchers must develop a "measurable unit" for analysis (p. 27). Budd, et al. (1967) state that "measurement in the behavioral sciences is the key to validity" (p. 31). The numeric weights attributed to the objects being measured in the study must accurately reflect real-world weights or relationships (p. 31). Budd, et al., report four levels of measurement are used in content analysis: Nominal, ordinal, interval and ratio (p. 31).

Nominal is the lowest level of measurement. At this level, "numbers of other symbols are used simply as a form of identifying an individual, object, or characteristic" (p. 31). The name or label attached to the category states only that the content classified within that category differs from content placed in other categories (p. 32). Budd, et al., continue that the nominal form of measurement allows researchers to describe certain group characteristics by counting "the frequency of assignment of the category label to individuals or objects" (p. 32). The nominal level was used in this study. The unit of measurement used in the current content analysis was the individual report given by each non-anchor news reporter.

The researcher conducted the initial coding of the news reports. For reliability purposes, his results were then compared with the coding results of six graduate students, each of whom coded a three-day sample of individual broadcast news reports for each network.

"Reliability" is defined by Budd, et al. (1967) as "repeatability with consistency of results" (p. 66). To prove reliability, investigators using the same techniques on the same material must get substantially the same results (p. 66).
Budd, et al., state that one preferred method of proving reliability is the test-retest method, in which "the same test is used twice on the same population," with one test made by the researcher, and the retest made by other researchers or coders "using the same instructions to classify the same material" (p. 67).

Graduate students were chosen as coders because, as Krippendorff (1980) states, coders should be familiar with the type of material to be recorded, "but also capable of handling the categories and terms of the data language reliably" (p. 72).

To help ensure a high level of reliability, Krippendorff states the coders should be given training about how the coding is to be conducted, the categories and their definitions, and the content to be coded. After this training, Krippendorff states individual coders should be able to conduct their coding with the coding instructions as their sole guide (p. 74).

The coders used in this study were given an oral overview of the study, a list of terms and categories used in the study, definitions of those terms and categories, sample coding forms, and sample abstracts for practice coding.

Frey, et al. (1992) state that "the correlation between the coders' sorting decisions measures the degree of agreement among them . . . The higher their agreement in coding the units, the higher the level of intercoder (or interobserver) reliability" (p. 198). Bowers and Courtright (1984) state intercoder reliability must be at least .70 before the coding procedure is considered reliable. Krippendorff (1980), meanwhile asserts that general guidelines for reliability are that the reliability level be at least .67, but preferably .80 or higher. The reliability level achieved by Singleton and Cook (1982) in their original study was .79. Using the reliability test forwarded by Holsti (1988), reliability was established at 71.9 percent. This ranged from a high of 81.7
percent, to a low of 64.3 percent. Overall, coders were in agreement with the researcher on 289 out of 402 reports. The category list, definitions and coding sheet used in this study, which both the researcher and individual coders used, appear in Tables 3, 4 and 5.
Table 3

*Content Categories: Evening Network News Broadcasts*

1. U.S. Government
2. Science
3. Disaster/Accident
5. Crime
6. Labor/Economy/Business
7. Sports
8. Human Interest/People/Feature
9. Foreign Affairs
10. Consumer Protection
11. Social Problems
12. Entertainment/Culture/Arts
13. Institutions
14. Environment
15. Transportation
16. Energy
17. Religion
18. Courts
19. Women's Issues
20. Other
Table 4

List of Definitions: Content Categories

**U.S. Government**: News about actions taken by the United States government, including the House of Representatives, Senate, President, or any other division of the national government. Specifically, news in which the United States government is the primary actor or causal agent of the transaction, event, or issue. Includes decisions by the U.S. Supreme Court. May also include activities at the state or municipal level that have national significance.

**Science**: News of activities, events, or issues involving the physical, bioengineering and other sciences. Includes news of technological breakthroughs and advances in areas such as health care and medical research, genetic research, computer and robotic research and production, and space/aeronautical events. Does not include news involved with the economic aspect science, but does include news in areas involving the U.S. government as a primary participant.

**Disaster/Accident**: News concerning accidents resulting in the injury or death of people, damage to property by man-caused accidents or natural disasters, reports of floods, landslides and abnormal weather conditions causing property or personal damage. Does not include situations in which the U.S. government is the primary actor or causal agent involved.

**Standard Weather Report**: News including the forecast of weather or current conditions of weather, and includes reports of storms or significant weather conditions, except when those events are so severe as to be included in another category, such as disaster/accident, transportation, environment, etc.

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**Labor/Economy/Business**: News of business, industry, commerce, banking, finance, trade, price and stock activities and quotations, and taxation occurring in the private sector. News of activities of organized labor and management relations; including strikes, anticipated strikes, labor disputes, contract negotiations and grievances. Includes news of farming, farm organizations, food production, and the technical and business aspects of farming, farm production and prices, land redistribution and reform plans, farmer and landowner relationships, reports of activities related to the fishing industry when reported as "business." Does not include these items if theme of report is the environmental impact of these activities.
Table 4 (cont.)

Sports: News about every kind of sport and game, including reports about exceptional accomplishments of teams and individuals in the sports arena. Includes scores, trades, injury reports. Does not include reports about the lifestyles or non-sporting activities of sports individuals.

Human Interest/People/Feature: News about births, deaths, weddings, funerals (except when presented as having national political or social significance), fashions, society news, lifestyle feature and reports about well-known or not-well-known persons and their accomplishments, accounts of functions or happenings where the guests or people were the main source of interest.

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Consumer Protection: Includes news about safety problems associated with retail products (automobiles, drugs, etc.), steps by manufacturers to correct product problems, undercover investigations of businesses alleged to be involved in schemes to cheat their customers.

Social Problems: News about social welfare and safety, originating or caused by factions other than the U.S. government (agencies, departments, etc.). Includes reports about social problems and the human condition, such as diseases, epidemics, drug and alcohol abuse, civil rights, housing and poverty.

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Institutions: News about educational institutions, programs, trends. Includes news about private and public schools, colleges, universities and all teacher institutions of any kind; research in the humanities and the sciences (not health); general educational programs and activities, academic standards and methods, includes regional, state and municipal departments of education, tuition fees. Does not include reports about government funding of education, court challenges to educational practices.
Table 4 (cont.)

Environment: News relating to the condition of the Earth and its resources. Includes volcanic eruptions and their effects, pollution, affects of agriculture and related products on land, water and wildlife.

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Women's Issues: News about rape, child abuse, marriage, single life, family welfare, job/pay/workplace equality, pregnancy, health problems. Does not include reports in which U.S. government is primary or causal agent.

Other: Any report that does not fall into one of the preceding categories.
Table 5

Coding Sheet

Coder ID: 

Date of Program: 

Network: 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Report #</th>
<th>Gender of Reporter (M/F)</th>
<th>Subject (Category)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
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<td>11</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 3:
Results

Overview
A total of 1,058 reports were analyzed in the 10-week sample. Of this amount, CBS aired the highest total number of individual reports with 363, followed by ABC with 357 reports and NBC with 339 individual reports. These individual reports were delivered predominantly by male correspondents by nearly a 3-to-1 margin. This was true at all three networks, where the difference in percentages of stories delivered by male and female reporters did not differ by more than one percent at any individual network. As in the Singleton and Cook (1982) research, the data from this research was then subjected to a z test for differences in proportions (Bruning and Kintz, 1968, p. 199). Overall, there have been changes in the story assignments given to male and female correspondents when compared with the results reported by Singleton and Cook (1982). Evidence of gender bias continues to exist, although to a lesser extent overall, and in different subject categories at each network.

The research provided a surprising result in that CBS, the network with the only full-time female evening news anchor during the sample time, had the greatest disparity between the number of reports delivered by male and female correspondents, and had the highest number of categories showing significant difference in story assignments made to male and female correspondents. NBC, meanwhile, had the least difference in the number of stories assigned to male and female correspondents, and had only one category in which there was significant difference in the story assignments made to reporters of either sex.
The overall percentage of stories reported by male and female correspondents was maintained when the first three reports of each newscast were analyzed. Despite having the lowest percentage of stories reported by female correspondents, CBS had the highest percentage of female reported stories in the top three positions of the newscast, especially the first, or lead, story, when compared to the other two broadcast networks. ABC, meanwhile, had the fewest stories reported by females in the top three positions of the newscast, and was nearly 10 percent lower than CBS in the number of first, or lead, position stories reported by women.

**Combined Results**

Of the 1,058 individual reports aired on the three evening news broadcasts in the 10-week sample, 823 reports (77.8 percent) were delivered by male correspondents, while 235 (22.2 percent) were delivered by female correspondents. This shows an improvement for women correspondents when compared with the results reported by Singleton and Cook, which showed male correspondents delivered 85 percent (961) of 1,130 individual reports, while women reported 14.9 percent (169) of the total individual reports.

In the combined results, stories dealing with the United States government, foreign affairs, and the court system dominated the news. Table 6 compares the distribution of report category topics for male correspondents with the distribution for female correspondents. There were several category topics in the combined results that showed significant difference at the .001 level in story assignments made to male and female correspondents. Women reported significantly more stories concerning the United States government, including the political candidates for federal offices, and women's
Gender Bias

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stories, while male correspondents were significantly more likely to report stories concerning the economy/business and news concerning the court system. Six other categories were significant to at least the .05 level or below: Foreign affairs, science, consumer protection, environment, energy and religion. The foreign affairs category, significant to .012, and science category, significant to .043, are the only two of the five categories listed in which the sample size was adequate for acceptance. The small total number of stories involved in the other four categories listed, as well as the presence of zeroes by female correspondents in two of the categories, reduce the utility of those categories.
Table 6
News Report Distribution by Reporter Sex – Combined Results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Report Topic</th>
<th>Male-reported (percent of male stories)</th>
<th>Female-reported (percent of female stories)</th>
<th>z</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Government</td>
<td>256 (31.1%)</td>
<td>99 (42.1%)</td>
<td>5.24</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Affairs</td>
<td>106 (12.9)</td>
<td>22 (9.4)</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>.012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courts</td>
<td>97 (11.8)</td>
<td>9 (3.8)</td>
<td>6.67</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime</td>
<td>79 (9.6)</td>
<td>20 (8.5)</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>.358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Int./Feature</td>
<td>64 (7.8)</td>
<td>15 (6.4)</td>
<td>1.27</td>
<td>.204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women's Issues</td>
<td>39 (4.7)</td>
<td>27 (11.5)</td>
<td>5.67</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economy/Business</td>
<td>44 (5.3)</td>
<td>5 (2.1)</td>
<td>3.90</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disaster/Accident</td>
<td>37 (4.5)</td>
<td>12 (5.1)</td>
<td>0.67</td>
<td>.503</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Probs.</td>
<td>33 (4.0)</td>
<td>9 (3.8)</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>.803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td>15 (1.8)</td>
<td>2 (0.8)</td>
<td>2.02</td>
<td>.043</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>12 (1.6)</td>
<td>5 (2.1)</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>.395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environment</td>
<td>7 (0.9)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>3.10</td>
<td>.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment/Arts</td>
<td>6 (0.7)</td>
<td>1 (0.4)</td>
<td>0.94</td>
<td>.347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutions</td>
<td>4 (0.5)</td>
<td>3 (1.3)</td>
<td>1.95</td>
<td>.051</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>4 (0.5)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>2.27</td>
<td>.023</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer Protection</td>
<td>1 (0.1)</td>
<td>2 (0.8)</td>
<td>2.33</td>
<td>.019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weather Report</td>
<td>2 (0.1)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>.267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>1 (0.1)</td>
<td>1 (0.4)</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>.134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Energy</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>1 (0.4)</td>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>.035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>16 (1.9)</td>
<td>2 (0.8)</td>
<td>2.18</td>
<td>.029</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>823</td>
<td>235</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Overall, the results suggest that, when compared to male correspondents, females are assigned more stories dealing with the United States government and less concerning foreign affairs, more likely to report traditional women's issues and less likely to report court activities, and less likely to be assigned traditionally male-associated topics such as the economy, business, and science.

The four categories in which significance is found is an improvement, at least on the surface, from the results reported by Singleton and Cook (1982), who found significance in six topic categories. Only two of the categories found to be significant at the .001 level by Singleton and Cook, United States government and women's issues, remain significant at .001 after analysis in the updated study. The foreign affairs, environment and "other" categories listed as significant at .001 by Singleton and Cook are now significant only at the .05 level. The final category listed as significant at .001 by Singleton and Cook, social problems, was not found to be significant after analysis in the updated study.

Women correspondents also made gains in the number of reports given in the top three positions of the newscast, when compared to the results reported by Singleton and Cook. In the updated study, female correspondents delivered 32 out of 144 lead stories (22.2 percent), 33 of 144 second stories (22.9 percent), and 34 of 144 third stories (23.6 percent). Overall, females delivered 99 of 432 stories in the top three positions of the newscast (22.9 percent), while their male counterparts reported 333 of the 432 top stories (77.1 percent). This is an improvement from the 1982 results reported by Singleton and Cook, when "females filed 16.2 percent of the lead-off or number one stories, 15.5 percent of the number two stories and 18.2 percent of the third-place reports" (p. 490). When the top three positions were combined in the 1982
Gender Bias

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report, Singleton and Cook report women correspondents filed 16.1 percent of the top stories, while men reported 83.9 percent of those stories.

ABC Results

A total of 357 individual reports were filed by correspondents on ABC during the 10-week sample period. Of those, women filed 81 reports (22.6 percent), while men made 276 (77.3 percent) of those reports. Table 7 compares the distribution of report category topics for male correspondents with the distribution for female correspondents. Significant difference in the story topics reported by male and female correspondents was found at the .001 level in four categories: Science, labor/economy/business, courts, and women's issues. Significant difference was found at the .05 level or below in five other categories: United States government, disaster/accident, human interest/feature, consumer protection, and entertainment/arts.
Table 7

News Report Distribution by Reporter Sex – ABC Results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Report Topic</th>
<th>Male-reported (percent of male stories)</th>
<th>Female-reported (percent of female stories)</th>
<th>z</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Government</td>
<td>106 (38.4%)</td>
<td>24 (29.6%)</td>
<td>2.51</td>
<td>.012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Affairs</td>
<td>38 (13.8)</td>
<td>10 (12.3)</td>
<td>0.59</td>
<td>.555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courts</td>
<td>31 (11.2)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>12.65</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime</td>
<td>25 (9.1)</td>
<td>5 (6.2)</td>
<td>1.46</td>
<td>.144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Int./Feature</td>
<td>18 (6.5)</td>
<td>9 (11.1)</td>
<td>2.17</td>
<td>.030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women's Issues</td>
<td>9 (3.3)</td>
<td>14 (17.3)</td>
<td>6.36</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economy/Business</td>
<td>9 (3.3)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>3.49</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disaster/Accident</td>
<td>9 (3.3)</td>
<td>6 (7.4)</td>
<td>2.46</td>
<td>.014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Probs.</td>
<td>10 (3.6)</td>
<td>5 (6.2)</td>
<td>1.63</td>
<td>.103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td>8 (2.9)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>3.26</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>4 (1.4)</td>
<td>3 (3.7)</td>
<td>1.95</td>
<td>.051</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environment</td>
<td>2 (0.7)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>1.59</td>
<td>.112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment/Arts</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>1 (1.2)</td>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>.035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutions</td>
<td>1 (0.4)</td>
<td>1 (1.2)</td>
<td>1.19</td>
<td>.234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>1 (0.4)</td>
<td>1 (1.2)</td>
<td>1.19</td>
<td>.234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer Protection</td>
<td>1 (0.4)</td>
<td>2 (2.5)</td>
<td>2.36</td>
<td>.018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weather Report</td>
<td>1 (0.4)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>1.21</td>
<td>.226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>1 (0.1)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>1.21</td>
<td>.226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Energy</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2 (0.7)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>1.59</td>
<td>.112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>81</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Overall, women were more likely to be assigned stories relating to the United States government, women's issues, disasters or accidents, human interest or features, consumer protection, and entertainment, while men were more likely to be assigned stories concerning science, labor/economy/business, and the court system.

Women were also significantly less likely than men to deliver one of the top three stories of each newscast. Table 8 lists the breakdown of top three reports delivered by male and female correspondents. Female correspondents reported nine of the 48 lead stories in the sample period (18.8 percent), 10 of 48 second stories (20.8 percent), and 11 of 48 third place stories (22.9 percent). Overall on ABC, women delivered 30 of the 144 stories in the top three positions on the newscasts (20.8 percent), while men filed 114 of the 144 stories (79.2 percent).
Table 8

Priority Story Assessment: ABC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Report Number</th>
<th>Male (Percent)</th>
<th>Female (Percent)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>39 (81.3%)</td>
<td>9 (18.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>38 (79.2)</td>
<td>10 (20.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>37 (77.1)</td>
<td>11 (22.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>114 (79.2%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>30 (20.8%)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CBS Results

CBS correspondents filed a total of 363 individual reports in the 10-week sample period. Of those, women filed 77 reports (21.2 percent) while men filed 286 (78.8 percent). Table 9 compares the distribution of report category topics for male correspondents with the distribution for female correspondents. Significant difference in the story topics reported by male and female correspondents was found at the .001 level in four categories: United States government, labor/economy/business, foreign affairs and courts. Significant difference was found at the .05 level or below in five other categories: Sports, human interest/feature, environment, energy and women's issues. Overall, women were more likely to be assigned stories relating to the United
States government and women's issues, while men were more likely to be assigned stories concerning labor/economy/business, the environment, and the court system.

Women were also significantly less likely than men to deliver one of the top three stories of each newscast. Table 10 lists the breakdown of top three reports delivered by male and female correspondents. Female correspondents reported 13 of the 48 lead stories in the sample period (27.1 percent), 11 of 48 second stories (22.9 percent), and 12 of 48 third place stories (25.0 percent). Overall on ABC, women delivered 36 of the 144 stories in the top three positions on the newscasts (25.0 percent), while men filed 108 of the 144 stories (75.0 percent).
Table 9

News Report Distribution by Reporter Sex – CBS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Report Topic</th>
<th>Male-reported (percent of male stories)</th>
<th>Female-reported (percent of female stories)</th>
<th>z</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Government</td>
<td>86 (30.1%)</td>
<td>38 (49.3%)</td>
<td>5.41</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Affairs</td>
<td>43 (15.0)</td>
<td>2 (2.6)</td>
<td>5.91</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courts</td>
<td>35 (12.2)</td>
<td>4 (5.2)</td>
<td>3.38</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime</td>
<td>26 (9.1)</td>
<td>10 (12.9)</td>
<td>1.65</td>
<td>.099</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Int./Feature</td>
<td>25 (8.7)</td>
<td>3 (3.9)</td>
<td>2.68</td>
<td>.007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s Issues</td>
<td>12 (4.2)</td>
<td>7 (9.1)</td>
<td>2.66</td>
<td>.008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economy/Business</td>
<td>17 (5.9)</td>
<td>1 (1.3)</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disaster/Accident</td>
<td>13 (4.5)</td>
<td>3 (3.9)</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td>.682</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Probs.</td>
<td>12 (4.2)</td>
<td>3 (3.9)</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>.834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td>3 (1.1)</td>
<td>1 (1.3)</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>.803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>1 (0.3)</td>
<td>1 (1.3)</td>
<td>1.52</td>
<td>.129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environment</td>
<td>3 (1.1)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>2.01</td>
<td>.044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment/Arts</td>
<td>2 (0.7)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>1.63</td>
<td>.103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutions</td>
<td>1 (0.3)</td>
<td>1 (1.3)</td>
<td>1.52</td>
<td>.129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer Protection</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weather Report</td>
<td>1 (0.3)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>1.07</td>
<td>.285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>1 (1.3)</td>
<td>2.20</td>
<td>.028</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Energy</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>1 (1.3)</td>
<td>2.20</td>
<td>.028</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6 (2.1)</td>
<td>1 (1.3)</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td>.407</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>77</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 10

Priority Story Assessment: CBS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Report Number</th>
<th>Male (Percent)</th>
<th>Female (Percent)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>35 (72.9%)</td>
<td>13 (27.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>37 (77.1%)</td>
<td>11 (22.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>36 (75.0%)</td>
<td>12 (25.0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total |

108 (75.0%) | 36 (25.0%)

NBC Results

In the 10-week sample period NBC correspondents combined to report a total of 339 individual stories. Of these, female reporters filed 78 stories (23.0 percent), while their male counterparts delivered 261 reports (76.9 percent). Table 11 compares the distribution of report category topics for male correspondents with the distribution for female correspondents. Significant difference in the story topics reported by male and female correspondents was found at the .001 level in only one category: United States government. Significant difference was found at the .05 level or below in six other categories: Crime, human interest/feature, social problems, entertainment/arts, religion and courts. Overall, women were more likely to be assigned stories relating to the United States government, while men were more likely to be assigned stories concerning crime, human interest or feature, social problems, and the court system.
Women were also significantly less likely than men to deliver one of the top three stories of each newscast. Table 12 lists the breakdown of top three reports delivered by male and female correspondents. Female correspondents reported 10 of the 48 lead stories in the sample period (20.8 percent), 12 of 48 second stories (25.0 percent), and 11 of 48 third place stories (22.9 percent). Overall on ABC, women delivered 33 of the 144 stories in the top three positions on the newscasts (22.9 percent), while men filed 111 of the 144 stories (77.1 percent).
### Table 11

**News Report Distribution by Reporter Sex – NBC**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Report Topic</th>
<th>Male-reported (percent of male stories)</th>
<th>Female-reported (percent of female stories)</th>
<th>z</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Government</td>
<td>.64 (24.5)</td>
<td>37 (47.4)</td>
<td>6.39</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Affairs</td>
<td>25 (9.6)</td>
<td>10 (12.8)</td>
<td>1.32</td>
<td>.187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courts</td>
<td>31 (11.9)</td>
<td>5 (6.4)</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>.012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime</td>
<td>28 (10.7)</td>
<td>5 (5.4)</td>
<td>2.05</td>
<td>.040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Int./Feature</td>
<td>21 (8.1)</td>
<td>3 (3.8)</td>
<td>2.39</td>
<td>.017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women's Issues</td>
<td>18 (6.9)</td>
<td>6 (7.7)</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>.689</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economy/Business</td>
<td>18 (6.9)</td>
<td>4 (5.1)</td>
<td>0.99</td>
<td>.322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disaster/Accident</td>
<td>15 (5.7)</td>
<td>3 (3.8)</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>.246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Probs.</td>
<td>11 (4.2)</td>
<td>1 (1.3)</td>
<td>2.32</td>
<td>.020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td>4 (1.5)</td>
<td>1 (1.3)</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>.829</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>7 (2.7)</td>
<td>1 (1.3)</td>
<td>1.31</td>
<td>.190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environment</td>
<td>2 (0.8)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>.095</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment/Arts</td>
<td>4 (1.5)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>2.27</td>
<td>.023</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutions</td>
<td>2 (0.8)</td>
<td>1 (1.3)</td>
<td>0.63</td>
<td>.529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>3 (1.1)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>1.96</td>
<td>.050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer Protection</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weather Report</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Energy</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>8 (3.1)</td>
<td>1 (1.3)</td>
<td>1.59</td>
<td>.112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>261</td>
<td>78</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 12

Priority Story Assessment: NBC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Report Number</th>
<th>Male (Percent)</th>
<th>Female (Percent)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>38 (79.2%)</td>
<td>10 (20.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>36 (75.0)</td>
<td>12 (25.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>37 (77.1)</td>
<td>11 (22.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>111 (77.1%)</td>
<td>33 (22.9%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Discussion

These results are noteworthy in light of the charges made by some female reporters that women are still being assigned certain stories on the basis of gender rather than skills (Carstens, 1994/1993), and that despite the increased presence of women in network news departments, those women who appear on the evening broadcast news program are, as TV critic Howard Rosenberg commented, mere "window dressing" (Nash, 1989, p. 244).

When compared to the results issued by Singleton and Cook (1982), it is apparent that women have made progress in the total number of reports filed, the types of stories assigned, and the position the female-reported story is placed in the newscast. However, the research indicates there remains a great disparity in total numbers and percentages. This study was not concerned with the cause of this difference. However,
it is suggested that this study be used as a basis for future research delving into the question of why these differences exist. Is it, as Rosenberg asserts (Nash, 1989, p. 244), still a male-dominated profession in which all the key decision makers are male make the newsroom environment more accepting of males, and consequently lock out talented females? Variables, such as educational experience, professional background, career vs. family choices, reporter story preference and others offer possibilities into why more men than women achieve on-air status on the network news.

Another consideration is the increase in the number of news-magazine shows produced by each network. Perhaps these programs offer increased opportunities for female reporters to the extent that there is a converse disparity among males and females, so that the number of reports filed by females is greater than the number filed by male reporters. This, too, is an area for future research, as is an analysis of the Cable News Network to search for similar gender bias in story assignments.

As for the study just completed, the author must conclude that there is evidence that gender is a factor in the determination of story assignments, at least in some areas, at the network television level.
References


Appendix 1

Pilot Study

"Gender Bias in the News: A Content Analysis of Story Assignments on Evening Network News Broadcasts"

By Travis Flora, Natasha Woods, Damayanti Darlan, Ernest Ensign and Tim Menoher

Spring 1995

Morehead State University

Morehead, KY
Introduction

A content analysis of the evening news broadcasts of the American Broadcasting Company (ABC), Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) and National Broadcasting Company (NBC) was conducted to determine whether gender bias existed in the story assignments made to network television reporters. The study was conducted as a follow-up to two other gender bias studies conducted by Singleton and Cook (1982) and Ziegler and White (1990). Two randomly selected week-long evening news broadcasts on the three networks were used to conduct the content analysis. The analysis showed while the situation has improved for female reporters since the previous studies, significant gender bias still exists in story assignments, number of reports by male newscasters compared to those by women, and the sequence in the newscast that stories reported by male and female newscasters are likely to appear.

Procedure

This study was a replication test of Singleton and Cook (1982), in that a content analysis was conducted on a sample selected from the three network news broadcasts. The Cable News Network and its sister cable television station, CNN Headline News, were considered to be included in this content analysis. However, because both stations report news 24 hours a day, neither CNN nor CNN Headline News has an evening news broadcast that is similar to that used by the three networks, and a meaningful comparison cannot be made.

For the replication test, a two week sample was randomly selected from the CBS Evening News, NBC Evening News, and ABC World News Tonight. The original
categories used by Singleton and Cook were maintained, with the addition of Health Care and Politics categories which were developed by the coders while analyzing the news broadcasts. The addition of these two categories was caused primarily from the increased coverage of health care issues such as AIDS and cancer, as well as the presidential campaign underway in 1995.

A group of four coders — two male and two female graduate students — viewed taped copies of the newscasts, then reached a consensus on how each report was to be coded. The results of the coding group were compared to an individual coder's results, to establish a coder reliability rating of 91 percent. Table 2 illustrates an analysis of coder reliability by network newscast and category. This compares favorably with the method used by Singleton and Cook, in which a panel of six graduate students and one independent coder was used to achieve 79 percent reliability (Singleton and Cook, p. 489).

Results

The results of the coder group were then subjected to a z test for significance between two proportions (Singleton and Cook, p. 489). The results of this content analysis show men still report nearly three times as many stories as do women correspondents. Of the 199 total reports given, men covered 146, while women covered 53, which is significant at .01.

Women have made improvements in the topics of stories they are assigned, as compared to past studies. There is no longer a significant difference between men and women reporters in story assignments concerning foreign affairs, U.S. government, the economy, crime, court proceedings, or women's issues. The current study shows
only four categories in which significance can be determined at .05: Feature, social problems, sports and politics. This shows progress from Singleton and Cook, when significance was found in six categories at .001.

The only significant category from Singleton and Cook that remains significant is social problems. Women are still twice as likely to report about social problems than are men. Women are also nearly three times as likely to report on politics than are men. Stories associated with politics and social problems are among nine categories women are more likely than men to report on, but are the only categories in which significance can be found. Results of the content analysis appear in Table A-1. A network by network breakdown of the content analysis appears in Tables A-2, A-3 and A-4.

The perceived importance of stories was also analyzed with an examination of the sex of the correspondent who reported the first three non-anchor reported stories of each newscast (Singleton and Cook, p. 489). Male reporters are over twice as likely as women to deliver reports in the top three position of the newscast, which is significant at .05. Women delivered 20 percent of the lead, or number one stories, 37 percent of the number two stories, and 33 percent of the number three stories. Overall, women correspondents delivered 30 percent of the top three stories, while men reported the remaining 70 percent. Results of this analysis appear in Table A-5. This again shows an improvement over the results reported by Singleton and Cook (1982).

Discussion
These results are noteworthy in light of Young's assessment that there is a trend toward returning to the "old days" of broadcast news when women covered "female issues" and men handled the serious news stories (p. 12), as well as Singleton and Cook's
assessments that "a measurable differential still exists in the overall coverage responsibilities of male and female reporters" (p. 491).

Causes for the decrease in the differential between story assignments given to male and female correspondents is an area that can be explored by future research. The increase in educational opportunities and professional experience has no doubt played an important role in tearing down the walls of gender bias, as has the slow growth women have made into management positions in the television industries.

A further analysis could be made concerning the remaining disparity that exists in the number of reports filed by men and women correspondents. One possible explanation that can be examined by future research is the growing number of news-oriented programs on prime time television (e.g., 60 Minutes, Dateline, 48 Hours), which may be the locations networks are featuring their "star" women news personalities.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Report Topic</th>
<th>Male-reported (percent of male stories)</th>
<th>Female-reported (percent of female stories)</th>
<th>z</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Affairs</td>
<td>23 (15.8%)</td>
<td>6 (11.3%)</td>
<td>1.32</td>
<td>.187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Government</td>
<td>24 (16.4)</td>
<td>11 (20.8)</td>
<td>-1.13</td>
<td>.258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economy</td>
<td>5 (3.4)</td>
<td>4 (7.5)</td>
<td>-1.78</td>
<td>.075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disaster</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Energy</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feature</td>
<td>3 (2.1)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2.10</td>
<td>.036*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environment</td>
<td>3 (2.1)</td>
<td>1 (1.9)</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>.889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime</td>
<td>15 (10.3)</td>
<td>4 (7.5)</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>.317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Probs.</td>
<td>11 (7.5)</td>
<td>8 (15.1)</td>
<td>-2.45</td>
<td>.014*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>7 (4.8)</td>
<td>1 (1.9)</td>
<td>1.61</td>
<td>.107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courts</td>
<td>24 (16.4)</td>
<td>6 (11.3)</td>
<td>1.46</td>
<td>.144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td>2 (1.4)</td>
<td>1 (1.9)</td>
<td>-0.38</td>
<td>.704</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>3 (2.1)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2.10</td>
<td>.036*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>2 (1.4)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.75</td>
<td>.080</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women's</td>
<td>1 (0.6)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.20</td>
<td>.230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weather Report</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer</td>
<td>2 (1.4)</td>
<td>1 (1.9)</td>
<td>-0.38</td>
<td>.704</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutions</td>
<td>2 (1.4)</td>
<td>1 (1.9)</td>
<td>-0.38</td>
<td>.704</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>7 (4.8)</td>
<td>6 (11.3)</td>
<td>-2.44</td>
<td>.015*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Care</td>
<td>8 (5.4)</td>
<td>2 (3.8)</td>
<td>0.76</td>
<td>.447</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4 (2.7)</td>
<td>1 (1.9)</td>
<td>0.53</td>
<td>.596</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>146 (100.0)</td>
<td>53 (100.0)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Significant at .05 level
### Table A-2

**Number and Percent of Topics Covered by Correspondents, by Sex: ABC**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Report Topic</th>
<th>Male-reported (percent of male stories)</th>
<th>Female-reported (percent of female stories)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Affairs</td>
<td>5 (10.5%)</td>
<td>2 (15.4%)</td>
<td>7 (11.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Government</td>
<td>8 (17.0)</td>
<td>4 (30.8)</td>
<td>12 (20.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economy</td>
<td>4 (8.5)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>4 (6.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disaster</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Energy</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feature</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environment</td>
<td>2 (4.3)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>2 (3.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime</td>
<td>5 (10.6)</td>
<td>1 (7.7)</td>
<td>6 (8.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Probs.</td>
<td>2 (4.3)</td>
<td>2 (15.4)</td>
<td>4 (6.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>2 (4.3)</td>
<td>1 (7.7)</td>
<td>3 (5.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courts</td>
<td>8 (17.0)</td>
<td>1 (7.7)</td>
<td>9 (15.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>2 (4.3)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>2 (3.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>1 (2.1)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>1 (1.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weather Report</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer</td>
<td>1 (2.1)</td>
<td>1 (7.7)</td>
<td>2 (3.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutions</td>
<td>1 (2.1)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>1 (1.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>4 (8.5)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>4 (6.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Care</td>
<td>1 (2.1)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>1 (1.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1 (2.1)</td>
<td>1 (7.7)</td>
<td>2 (3.3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 47 Male-reported, 13 Female-reported, 60 Total
Table A-3

Number and Percent of Topics Covered by Correspondents, by Sex: CBS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Report Topic</th>
<th>Male-reported (percent of male stories)</th>
<th>Female-reported (percent of female stories)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Affairs</td>
<td>10 (20.8%)</td>
<td>1 (4.3%)</td>
<td>11 (15.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Government</td>
<td>10 (20.8)</td>
<td>4 (17.4)</td>
<td>14 (19.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economy</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>2 (8.7)</td>
<td>2 (2.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disaster</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Energy</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feature</td>
<td>1 (2.1)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>1 (1.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environment</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>1 (4.3)</td>
<td>1 (1.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime</td>
<td>6 (12.5)</td>
<td>2 (8.7)</td>
<td>8 (11.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Probs.</td>
<td>6 (12.5)</td>
<td>4 (17.4)</td>
<td>10 (14.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>1 (2.1)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>1 (1.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courts</td>
<td>3 (6.2)</td>
<td>5 (21.7)</td>
<td>8 (11.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td>1 (2.1)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>1 (1.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>1 (2.1)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>1 (1.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women's</td>
<td>1 (2.1)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>1 (1.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weather Report</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer</td>
<td>1 (2.1)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>1 (1.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutions</td>
<td>1 (2.1)</td>
<td>1 (4.3)</td>
<td>2 (2.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>3 (6.2)</td>
<td>1 (4.3)</td>
<td>4 (5.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Care</td>
<td>2 (4.1)</td>
<td>2 (8.7)</td>
<td>4 (5.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1 (2.1)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>1 (1.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table A-4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Report Topic</th>
<th>Male-reported (percent of male stories)</th>
<th>Female-reported (percent of female stories)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Affairs</td>
<td>8 (15.7%)</td>
<td>3 (17.6%)</td>
<td>11 (16.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Government</td>
<td>6 (11.8)</td>
<td>3 (17.6)</td>
<td>9 (13.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economy</td>
<td>1 (1.9)</td>
<td>2 (11.8)</td>
<td>3 (4.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disaster</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Energy</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feature</td>
<td>2 (3.9)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>2 (2.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environment</td>
<td>1 (1.9)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>1 (1.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime</td>
<td>4 (7.8)</td>
<td>1 (5.9)</td>
<td>5 (7.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Probs.</td>
<td>3 (5.9)</td>
<td>2 (11.8)</td>
<td>5 (7.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>4 (7.8)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>4 (5.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courts</td>
<td>13 (25.4)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>13 (19.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td>1 (1.9)</td>
<td>1 (5.9)</td>
<td>2 (2.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>1 (1.9)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>1 (1.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women's</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weather Report</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutions</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>5 (29.4)</td>
<td>5 (7.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Care</td>
<td>5 (9.8)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>5 (7.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2 (3.9)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>2 (2.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>51</strong></td>
<td><strong>17</strong></td>
<td><strong>68</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table A-5

**Correspondent Gender Analysis: First Three Reports on Network Television News**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Report Number</th>
<th>Male (Percent)</th>
<th>Female (Percent)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>24 (80.0%)</td>
<td>6 (20.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>19 (63.3)</td>
<td>11 (36.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>20 (66.7)</td>
<td>10 (33.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>63 (70.0%)</td>
<td>27 (30.0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>