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**PERSPECTIVES OF MINORITIES AND WOMEN IN NETWORK
NEWS PUBLIC AFFAIRS REPORTING:
CBS REPORTS 1977-1982**

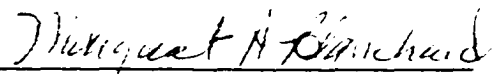
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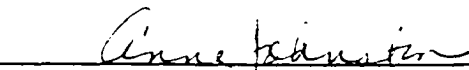
Teresa Jo Styles

A dissertation submitted to the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of doctorate in the School of Journalism and Mass Communication.

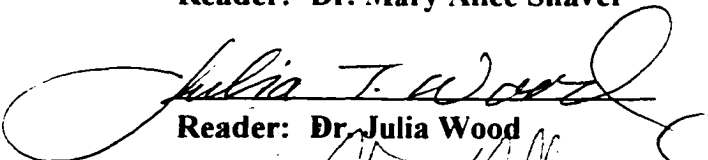
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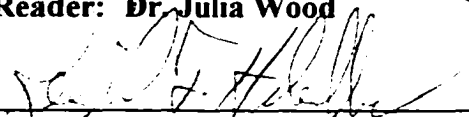
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ABSTRACT
Teresa Jo Styles
PERSPECTIVES OF MINORITIES AND WOMEN IN NETWORK
NEWS PUBLIC AFFAIRS BROADCASTING
(CBS REPORTS 1977-1982)
(UNDER the direction of Dr. Margaret Blanchard)

This dissertation examines the television documentary and the perceptions of the broadcast journalists who produced them in the late 1970s and early 1980s. This study explores the changing face of the production staff that creates the documentary. More importantly, this study seeks to explore the concepts of teamwork and group activities within a documentary unit at a time in the history of television news when executives began to bring diverse groups into their news organizations, primarily as a result of the Civil Rights and Women's Movements. The documentary unit of CBS News was surveyed because of its rich history of television documentaries. This study is only about the television documentary and its staff, not the networks themselves or even their entire news operations. If placed in this context, CBS News must dominate an examination of the television documentary from 1965 to 1975, and for the purposes of this research, 1977 through 1982. Despite deep inroads into CBS News's prestige and leadership by NBC and ABC, CBS News consistently aired a number of relevant and informative documentaries.

Dedication
In memory of Julian English Styles

Acknowledgments

This dissertation is dedicated to my father, the late Julian English Styles, an African American and the strong patriarch in my family. Without the support of Jennie Sims Styles, my mother, Dr. Gwenelle Styles O'Neal, my sister, Julian Hugh Styles and Marty Alan Styles, my brothers, this work would not have been possible, nor could the work have been done without the oral histories of those talented broadcast journalists whose names and perspectives appear throughout this dissertation.

Dr. Margaret Blanchard, the distinguished William Rand Kenan Jr. professor of Journalism and Mass Communication, deserves much praise. My committee members -- Dr. Anne Johnston, Dr. Reginald Hildebrand, Dr. Mary Alice Shaver, and Dr. Julia Wood -- provided invaluable assistance. The support of my interim dean, Dr. Ethel Taylor, and colleagues at North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University was greatly appreciated. Also, C. Sumner Stone, the African American journalist and professor, gave me encouragement.

Lastly, the work extends to the memory of Stephen Hubert Gayle, one of the first African American journalists involved with the National Association of Black Journalists in New York City, who merged with the universe the summer of 1982.

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Chapter I

Introduction

The documentary provides information that shapes the attitudes of many on the crucial issues of the day. The manner in which the information is presented by the men and women who produce documentaries influences the audience's attitudes toward various problems and consequently affects the way society deals with these problems of vital local, national, and international concern -- problems such as the nuclear arms race, pollution, overpopulation, and racism. Quite naturally, the documentary filmmakers and broadcast journalists who over the years have brought these issues to the motion picture and television screens have also brought their own sense of reality to their subjects.

This dissertation explores the television documentary and the changing face of the production staff that create the documentary. The study examines how those changes in staffing influenced the content of the documentary as well as the way in which the documentary unit worked. This investigation encompasses the success or failure of specific television documentaries and of the documentary unit itself that depended on the people who made the documentaries. The study reviews the possible changes in value systems of new employees that possibly could influence content.

The importance of content that has been shaped by the people who produce documentaries is significant because the documentary has influenced its viewers' perceptions of the world, their awareness of other people and cultures, and their knowledge of social injustice.² As Jean Rouch, a noted documentary filmmaker, stated years ago, "Documentary is current history because it deals with how people live, what they want, and how they try to get it."³

The documentary appeals either to reason or emotion for the widening of human knowledge and understanding and the introduction of problems and their solutions in the spheres of economics, culture, and human relations.⁴ These points lead to an appropriate and common definition of the documentary: "anthropology on film."⁵

The documentary is probably the most powerful form of television journalism -- the kind of films that are lumped together with adjectives such as "social" or "news."⁶ Even so, the difficulty in discussing the documentary is that no one knows precisely what the word "documentary" means. Everyone thinks the definition is apparent, but if pressed for a definition each retreats into phrases like "the creative treatment of actuality," which can mean everything or nothing.⁷ The best that can be said is that a documentary film is factual rather than fictional.⁸ A documentary must be constructed and contrived. Details must be included and excluded. The camera must be there to make the film and television documentary, and the camera's presence must affect the subject in all but the most desperate of circumstances, and yet the filmmaker and broadcast journalist are at pains to conceal this fact from the

audience. It is not that broadcast journalists or documentary filmmakers are dishonest. They are usually the most earnest and conscientious of men and women. It is the form itself that is flawed by its own internal contradictions.¹¹ It hopes to reveal reality, but what is seen sometimes is an illusion. Documentary filmmakers and broadcast journalists who produce television documentaries must be highly accurate in the concepts behind the documentaries they make. Their accuracy, in turn, affects the audience's thinking about how documentaries are made and who makes them. This dissertation examined the concepts behind the documentaries and how broadcast journalists who represent the changing face of the production unit influenced content. The study addressed issues that the production staff members found themselves confronting in a work environment that reflected what was going on in society at the time. What was learned revolved around the fact that documentaries are all team efforts, but that one person must dominate, if the end result is to be coherent.¹² Reporting for newspapers is an individual effort. Writing is a lonely craft.¹³ Their equivalents in television are group activities that make no sense in isolation. Each skill must be aware of the others and be complementary to them.¹³ The way that these skills were carried out in the midst of a changing production staff is the focal point of this study.

This dissertation examines the television documentary and the perceptions of the broadcast journalists who produced them in the late 1970s and early 1980s. More importantly, this study seeks to explore the concepts of team work and group activities

within a documentary unit at a time in the history of television news when executives began to bring diverse groups into their news organizations, primarily as a result of the Civil Rights and Women's Movements and various pieces of legislation that will be discussed later in this study

Because of the protests carried out first by African Americans and later women, news organizations employed these groups in greater numbers in the late 1960s and the 1970s than other minority groups such as Hispanics and Native Americans.¹⁴ The latter two groups, therefore, are excluded from this study because they did not become more visible in the broadcast and print industry until the 1980s.¹⁵ The success or failure of television documentaries during the time when minorities and women entered the documentary units of ABC, NBC, and CBS is important as diversity in the workplace in the United States increases due to the growing numbers of minorities and women in America.¹⁶ This period is significant because prior to the 1970s and the 1980s, the major television networks primarily employed white males to produce documentaries in the early years of television (the 1940s through the 1960s). This historical account of the interactions among the various diverse groups and the resulting impact on the product produced should assist news executives as they seek to employ more minorities and women in the new millennium.

In 1970, when much of this study began, there was a sharp growth in the population of racial minority groups.¹⁷ Overall, the population of the United States grew 9.8 percent from 1980 to 1990, with whites posting a growth rate of 6 percent and dropping from 83.1

percent to 80.3 percent of the population. In the same period Hispanics grew from 6.4 percent to 9.0 percent of the United States' population, a growth rate of 53 percent. Asians and Pacific Islanders grew from 1.5 percent to 2.9 percent, a growth rate of 107.8 percent. Blacks from 11.7 percent to 12.1 percent, a growth rate of 13.2 percent, and Native Americans from 0.6 percent to 0.8 percent, a growth rate of 37.9 percent, and "Other Races" from 3.0 percent to 3.9 percent, a growth rate of 45.1 percent.²⁰ When grouped together, the census data showed that Blacks, Asians, Native Americans, Hispanics, and Other populations grew from 23.2 percent of the population to 28.7 percent in 1990.²¹

Despite the overall growth rate of the population of the United States from 1980 to 1990, the rate for people of color may be less accurate. One reason is because the census bureau admittedly undercounted the nation's population.²⁰ The most undercounted areas were the inner cities where people of color are often likely to live.²¹ Another factor causing the growing racial and cultural diversity of the United States was the differences in the birthrate of whites and non-whites, with Blacks and Hispanics having more children than whites.²² In the early 1980s, white women averaged 1.76 children, whereas for Latinos the average was 2.6 children and for Blacks, 2.3 children.²³

The projected growth rate for people of color and its relationship to the employment of the white population are matters of constant debate among demographers.²⁴ Even so, *USA Today* headlined a front-page story on a 1992 census report. "Minorities are headed

toward the majority."²⁵ The census report projected population and demographic trends through the middle of the next century. It predicted that the non-Hispanic White percentage of the population will drop to 53 percent of the population and that in 2050 the 383 million residents of the United States will be 21 percent Hispanic, 15 percent Black, 10 percent Asian, and 1 percent Native American.²⁶ As a result, people of color will continue to increase their share of the national population and continue what has been called the "browning of America."²⁷

This dissertation focused on a period when women and diverse groups, for the first time in any substantial numbers had the potential to affect news content. The study explored how the documentary unit of a network news division operated. The study examined the close relationships between men, women, and minorities and how their cultural and racial backgrounds affected their work and news judgment in producing television documentaries during the late 1970s and early 1980s. Established feminist and intellectual theories were used to ascertain their relevancy to the work of the female and minority broadcast journalists during this time period.

The history of those journalists as revealed through interviews contributes to our understanding of the world of television documentaries and of how the interaction among men, women, and minorities affects what you see and the topics chosen for production. This dissertation sought insights into ways in which newsrooms might operate in the future as more

and more diverse groups become part of the news team

1.1 The Film and Television Documentary -- A Description

To understand "anthropology on film" and the television documentary in modern America, the origins of the film documentary must be considered because the techniques developed in the 1920s and 1930s not only are still used today but were the techniques used by broadcast journalists in the time period of this study. Media scholars attribute the development of the film documentary to the founder and leader of the British documentary movement, John Grierson. The films made under him were sponsored by the government and later, by private industry.

In the 1950s and early 1960s, American documentary filmmakers, such as Richard Leacock and Donn Pennebaker, introduced the concept of *cinema verite*. From the French term *verite*, meaning truth, evolved a philosophy of filmmaking that tried to preserve the reality of a story by keeping the subjects of the action unaware of the camera.²⁸

The importance of the camera's presence in establishing the truth of the event is a significant element to this study because it is the basic technique developed by the documentary filmmaker and used by the broadcast journalist who produces television documentaries. *Cinema verite* was an attempt to dispense with as much of the paraphernalia of filmmaking as possible while frankly admitting the camera's existence by the technique of using it as though it were an attachment to the eyeballs, following events spontaneously and without

worrying about exposure, focus, and composition. The naivete of the technique of *cinema verite* became apparent to many documentary filmmakers because the method led not to their ability to tell the truth with the use of the camera but chaos. The frame of the camera's viewfinder includes and excludes.³⁰ The camera changes the event.³¹ Yet, *cinema verite* had one useful by-product. Its successes encouraged filmmakers and broadcast journalists producing documentaries to be less narrow about technical rules and more willing to get in among the action with their cameras.³¹

With these points in mind, the documentary has set itself apart historically from the fiction film.³² Likewise, the fiction filmmaker has established himself differently from the documentary filmmaker by the use of among many techniques, *cinema verite*. Fiction ignored the world as it was in favor of fantasy and illusion; from a theoretical perspective, the documentary represented reality in that things were not changed.³³

The documentary offers access to a shared, historical construct.³⁴ Instead of *a* world, the audience is offered access to *the* world.³⁵ The documentary gives the audience photographic and aural representations or likenesses of the world. It stands for or represents the views of individuals, groups, or agencies from a solitary filmmaker like Robert Flaherty who produced *Nanook of the North*, one of the pioneers in the field of documentary filmmaking to CBS News or a state government.³⁶ The documentary also makes a representation, or a case, an argument, about the world explicitly or implicitly.³⁷ Documentary

filmmakers are searching for their version of truth³⁰ The documentary filmmaker arguably presents, distorts, or creates truths³¹ The documentary filmmaker or broadcast journalist does this through the use of camera and reporting techniques.

Edward R. Murrow, one of America's most outstanding broadcast journalists, understood the importance of the documentary and its purpose of seeking the truth He believed that broadcast journalism would finally find its rightful place in a profession where broadcasters were constantly criticized for relying on print journalism for news stories and for merely being "news readers"⁴⁰ Broadcast journalists in the era of Murrow would sometimes read verbatim from major newspapers.⁴¹ The broadcast journalists became personal with their audience, print journalists describe through words; television documentary journalists brought emotion aided by the use of visuals.⁴²

Edward R. Murrow is important because of his significant role in developing the television documentary on the network under study This investigation is only about the television documentary, and the people who made them, not the networks themselves, or even their entire news operations. If placed in this context, CBS News must dominate an examination of the television documentary from 1965 to 1975, and for the purposes of this research, 1977 through 1982. Despite deep inroads into CBS News's prestige and leadership by NBC and ABC, CBS News consistently aired a remarkably competent number of relevant and informative documentaries.⁴³

1.2 CBS Reports

In 1951 Edward R. Murrow and Fred W. Friendly at CBS brought the public the first in the *See It Now* series as a continuation of their *Hear It Now* radio documentaries. The public's response to such notable *See It Now* programs as "Guilt by Association" (1953) and "McCarthy" (1954) was remarkable. Friendly and Murrow are credited with inventing the television documentary as a program that ignores fantasy and fiction for facts by using clusters of edited film or videotape actualities to reflect, comment on, or interrelate current problems or realities.⁴⁴

Murrow and Friendly did for the documentary what the progenitors of earlier linkups between film and news failed to do: namely they reported not only what was happening through the use of cameras, as noted earlier, but they also reported what was wrong with what was happening.⁴⁵ Murrow and Friendly wanted to know why a given event occurs.⁴⁶ They also set up guidelines -- technical, creative, and moralistic -- that are still a part of the television documentary process today.⁴⁷

Although *See It Now* was the series that marked the beginning of the television documentary, Murrow spoke of the essence of broadcasting and the television documentary on September 29, 1947, when he stated in a weekday evening broadcast that television involved many people: "There's another thing that should be made clear at the outset. This is

not a one man show. It enjoys the support and active cooperation of the best news-gathering organization."⁴⁸ This dissertation is designed to test his statement in the context of race, class, and gender in network news in general and documentaries in particular.

CBS Reports made its debut on October 27, 1959, with "Biography of a Missile," a documentary about the space program. At the time of its beginning, conflict and confrontation between Murrow and Frank Stanton, the president of CBS, was occurring. The quiz scandals and Congress demanding the federal regulation of networks because of them were also key concerns of management in 1959.⁴⁹

Syndicated television columnist Steve Scheuer had first hinted that something was wrong with the big-money quiz shows, and *Time* and *Look* had alluded to the possibility of a hoax in the shows, but libel laws made exposure difficult.⁵⁰ Then one contestant convinced a congressional subcommittee that he had been forced to lose to Charles Van Doren on NBC's quiz program *Twenty One*, and the charade that had mesmerized a nation was over. All three networks had been warned; all three admitted that the quiz shows were beyond their control; now all three hastened to clean up the mess.⁵¹

One solution was the introduction of *CBS Reports* -- Frank Stanton's response to the public's outcry. From that day on, *CBS Reports* was composed of distinguished corps of correspondents, producers, editors, writers, and researchers who followed the Murrow/Friendly legacy of reporting not only what was happening but also of telling what

was wrong with what was happening. The Milo Radulovich story, "Guilt By Association" (1953), is a good example of the Murrow/Friendly approach at work. Murrow introduced the program as the story of a U.S. Air Force officer who was not a special hero. He went on to tell how Radulovich was threatened with dismissal from the Air Force as a security risk. A board of three colonels had recommended Radulovich be separated from the service because he had maintained a close relationship with his father and sister, persons suspected of Communist associations.⁵²

Murrow and reporter Joseph Wershba interviewed the Radulovich family and others from Radulovich's hometown, Dexter, Michigan. The father's union steward said he had known John Radulovich for years, had worked by his side, and never had heard a Communist word. This description of the Radulovich story illustrates the concept in the television documentary of revealing what was happening and through interviews showing what was wrong with the service dismissing Radulovich -- the film indicated that no one could prove that his relatives were Communists.⁵³ As a result of Murrow's journalism, five weeks later Air Force Secretary Harold E. Talbot announced he had overruled the colonels.⁵⁴

1.3 CBS News -- The Early Years

Whatever professional standards existed at CBS News in 1948, 1951, and for that matter today, have their roots in those early Murrow years. The standards are a reflection not only of Murrow but of the man who founded CBS, William Paley.⁵⁵ The value and

prestige of CBS News was recognized early by Paley. The men who ran the other networks allowed and even encouraged their own news departments to compete with CBS on the same sensible ground of requiring broadcast journalism excellence. Similar traditions of broadcast journalism evolved at NBC and ABC, but CBS set the standard.⁵⁶

The area of employment opportunities for women and minorities at CBS and the other networks, however, posed a greater challenge. Many women radio reporters got their start during World War II, but their acceptance was short lived. When the war ended, most of those early women reporters returned to print, academia, or government.⁵⁷ Women found neither encouragement nor the opportunity to pursue a career in broadcasting; of those who were employed in broadcasting, the majority were engaged in office tasks.⁵⁸ It was a male-dominated profession filled with a prejudice against women and minorities.⁵⁹

Edward R. Murrow was an exception to this all-male prejudice. He was the first to hire a woman abroad -- Mary Marvin Breckinridge during the war. She became the first woman correspondent on staff for CBS Radio News. Murrow liked her work, noting: "It was first rate, I am pleased. New York is pleased, and so far as I know the listeners are pleased. If they aren't to hell with them."⁶⁰ Breckinridge continued broadcasting from Paris until June 4, 1940, when the French government was abandoning the city. Her broadcasting career ended when she married a U.S. diplomat that summer. CBS policy prohibited her from broadcasting because of a perceived potential conflict of interest.

Murrow also hired Betty Wason, whose first broadcast was also the first report of the invasion of Norway.⁷¹ Sigrid Schultz did a few broadcasts for CBS but was wounded in 1941 and returned to the United States to recover.⁷² When Murrow returned to the United States from the war, he became a vice president of public affairs for CBS News. He then considered Pauline Frederick for an on-air position, but she was rejected, probably not by Murrow but because Ed Klauber, the CBS executive at the home office in New York who stopped her from being hired, reportedly had declared, "no more women."⁷³ Frederick was, however, hired by NBC and became the first woman to work full time on staff for a U S television network.⁷⁴

Ruth Ashton, Shirley Wershba, and Pauline Frederick were women who worked in broadcast journalism behind-the-scenes during the war, and then, continued in those roles of writers and producers after the war. Because of their off-air assignments, they fared a bit better than on-air talent.⁷⁵ They did not have to fight the prejudice against the unauthoritative sounding female voice, and since female expectations were limited, the women were grateful to be hired at any level. Thus, many women like Wershba and Ashton came into broadcasting at CBS News as writers and producers. Ashton was a recent graduate of Columbia when she was hired as a writer for the correspondent Bob Trout, who did a daily fifteen-minute radio news broadcast. She produced radio specials and also did science reporting for Murrow when he returned from London.⁷⁶

Marlene Sanders was another pioneer in television broadcasting as a writer and producer. Although she started at ABC, she moved to *CBS Reports*, and her work was examined in this study. At ABC, she worked as a writer and producer as well as a correspondent. Sanders' war was Vietnam. Unlike World War II when women had to be on the scene in Europe to get hired, by the time of the Vietnam War in the 1960s, the picture had changed somewhat. News executives no longer displayed prejudice against a woman's voice, but a paternalism on behalf of men was still hard to break through. "That is why I was so surprised by ABC executive Zousmer's request that I go to Vietnam," Sanders wrote. "But daily reports of the war were included on my daytime newscasts and the network was anxious to publicize its anchors, even a woman."⁷ Sanders acknowledged that Zousmer, like Murrow, was not against women working in the profession: "Zousmer was a warm, energetic, dynamic person, the closest thing to a mentor I ever had. He had hired me, and had a stake in my success. That I was a woman never seemed to concern him. Under his leadership I never felt any discrimination. I worked hard and was recognized for my efforts."⁸

Sanders' comments about her mentor are similar to many women and minorities in the industry who suggest that having someone in authority like Zousmer or Murrow to advise them and stand up for their work was essential. The importance of the mentor to the success of minorities and women is analyzed in this dissertation.

Throughout the early years, some of these women were involved in dangerous reporting

situations, and that has possibly continued not only in general reporting but in the reporting involved in the *CBS Reports'* documentaries examined in this study. The news executives knew that anyone who was sent to Vietnam was in danger. Although executives approved stories that would be dangerous, management never made correspondents or producers go anywhere dangerous if the broadcast journalists did not want to go.⁷⁰ This policy held true for men and women.⁷¹ When the network began hiring minorities in substantial numbers, it was not to cover World War II and Vietnam, but to cover the dangerous racial riots of the 1960s.⁷² George Foster was the first African American correspondent for CBS News to cover the racial unrest in the early 1960s.⁷³ As the riots erupted, he suddenly found his opinions sought after by "Black Rock," the famed Manhattan headquarters of CBS, and soon he was reporting the riot story.⁷⁴ For the first time, television news needed the image of an African American news reporter, and there was no mistaking the exploitation of that black image doing standups (a reporter's on-air narration) against a background of violence in the streets.⁷⁵

African American presence in the mainstream press was applauded in many circles due partly to the acceptance by society at large of the 1968 Kerner Commission Report that stated: "For if the media are to comprehend and then to project the Negro community, they must have the help of Negroes. If the media are to report with understanding wisdom and sympathy on the problems of the black man -- for the two are increasingly intertwined -- they must employ, promote and listen to Negro journalists."⁷⁶

The relatively brief history of African Americans in mainstream broadcast journalism was similar to that of women. Both groups were employed in the 1950s, but not in any substantial numbers until the mid 1970s.⁷ This was reflected also in the lack of African Americans and women in the *CBS Reports* unit as well.

Questions were raised about the presence of women and minorities, specifically African Americans on network news programs in 1977 in *Window Dressing on the Set: Women and Minorities in Television*, a report issued by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. It studied a composite week of ABC, CBS, and NBC broadcasts randomly selected from March 1974 to February 1975. It found that white males outnumbered minority and female correspondents by almost nine to one and noted that minority and female correspondents rarely covered crucial national stories but tended to cover issues related to minorities' and women's interests.⁸ Furthermore, Bill Leonard, a vice president of CBS News who later became its president, acknowledged during the fifteenth anniversary of *CBS Reports* in 1974 that television documentaries were produced primarily by males and that no women or African American had produced or narrated a *CBS Reports* in those years.⁹

1.4 Inside *CBS Reports*: How Does a Documentary Unit Work?

In order to understand how the changing face of the news staff influenced the content of the documentary staff, an examination of the various positions in the unit is necessary. Like most professions, journalism tends to attract a certain type of person.

recognizably different from the people who become bank clerks, civil servants, or shopkeepers. They are, on the whole, liberal intellectuals, and if they are not middle class by origin, they tend to become so once they are in the profession.⁷⁸ Once they are in television, they are part of an informal freemasonry, as exclusive in its way as the police force or the legal profession. They watch each other's programs, seek out each other's company, and see the world as though through a camera viewfinder.⁷⁹ They understand that the documentarian's function is to explain changes in society.⁸⁰ They know they are only successful when they really manage to do so.⁸¹ They are outspoken individuals, and their documentaries have generally been controversial.

The positions broadcast journalists hold in documentary units in general and in *CBS*

Reports in particular are as follows:

1. A producer is the chief executive of a program or series of documentaries, in overall charge of content, style, budget and organization.
2. A director plans, selects and controls the sequence of pictures and sounds that go on the air. He or she is responsible to the producer for the presentation of the program.
3. A writer scripts the commentary. He or she, in most cases, is also the producer. This is a technical skill that needs a great deal of experience before it can be done well. The trick is to let the film itself tell as much as possible, using commentary only to supplement and complement pictures and the sound track.
4. An editor supervises script, research and content.
5. A researcher checks scripts for errors in script and content.
6. A film editor does the detailed artistic and technical work of cutting and joining film.
7. A production assistant is a secretary and aide to the director, responsible for script typing, ordering of facilities, paper work and timing the program.

on air. Production managers also have these duties³³

The narrator-correspondent generally plays an integral role in all of the duties of a documentary team in a television documentary. Many documentaries, however, have not used the correspondent at all -- only his voice to underscore the importance of the message of the documentary. If the correspondent does play a major role, he or she introduces the topic, stays in the studio to interview subjects or goes to an outside site and carries out interviews.³⁴

The exact nature of a producer's job depends on the size of the production team and to some extent on his or her own choice. Some producers like to be closely involved in the mechanics of a program from script to airing, going in and out of cutting rooms and offices, cajoling and questioning.³⁵ Others believe they should pick the right team, create the conditions in which that team can do its best, then leave team members to it, intervening only to make final decisions on policy, content, budget, and presentation.³⁶ Most producers or executive producers of *CBS Reports* in the years of this study followed the latter approach. The documentary ideas, for the most part, originated with the executive producers; that is, two or three people came up with ideas, put them in a paragraph or two on paper, and presented them to the vice president of public affairs.³⁷ At CBS News, a five-page statement, much like an article outline, suffices to get a documentary topic started, and the topic can originate from the producers, from other members of the team or from almost any source -- news clips, articles, other people.³⁸ More importantly, a television documentary idea has to

be a large idea with national implications or else a very human idea that has substantial implications for society at large”

The idea sometime is developed after the researcher, correspondent, or producer spends about three months researching the topic. On return, the researcher turns out a position paper on what the documentary will cover.” The president of CBS News may be involved, and he can veto an idea. If it is accepted, it may take another four months to film and an additional four months to edit the documentary.

Television documentaries usually have attracted only half the audience share of a sports event or popular Hollywood movie. The closer the subject matter was to fictional programs, the higher the rating.” Executives, therefore, were not always happy to schedule documentaries. Richard Salant, one of the most admired presidents of CBS News, explained the general sentiments expressed by network executives regarding the television documentary: “They hide them, they put them in the places where they’ll do the least damage. You wait to see where the competition is going to run the Oscars and you put them in there.”²²

This attitude towards television documentaries was, to some extent, brought about by the behavior of Murrow in the early days of television documentaries as recalled by Friendly: “Clearly CBS wanted the competence of the Murrow unit but not his prestige and outspokenness; they wanted the finest most comprehensive information program in all television, but they would not allow the giant in his field to preside over it.”²³

Nevertheless, the Friendly/Murrow collaboration brought the best in broadcast journalism to American television audiences by introducing a new visual form different from the television news story found in a typical newscast. This new form explained the news story in more detail with the use of the interview and with the use of more and varied camera shots.

Following the days of Friendly and Murrow whenever broadcast journalists in commercial network television decided to underscore the truth of an issue or a societal concern, they used the television documentary as the best means to do it. During the 1960s and 1970s, because of events such as racial riots, anti-Vietnam protests, and bra-burning protests, the television documentary was the vehicle in which the broadcast journalists could comment on the turmoil in American society. Throughout this period, events both beneficial and tragic to Americans began to emerge at home and abroad, and news gathering became the one essential service offered by the commercial networks.⁴⁴ The television documentary, in turn, embellished that service by evolving into a new form of journalism, a new visual expression of history.⁴⁵

The television documentary captured what serves as the catalyst for the understanding of this dissertation. This form of filmmaking during the 1960s and the 1970s commented on the lives of African Americans and women in this country who were demanding to enter corporate America and academic institutions. They sought inclusion in the professional workplace as lawyers, doctors, professors, and, for the purposes of this study, journalists.

This dissertation deals with their contributions to the production process of television documentaries

This dissertation is also designed to explore the nature and make up of the documentary unit of CBS News, *CBS Reports*, during the late 1970s and early 1980s. This time period encompasses years in which minorities and women entered network news in substantial numbers and when CBS News garnered the highest awards in broadcast journalism and broadcast excellence.

The historical accounts of those years, from the perspectives of broadcast journalists interviewed for this study, will assist in understanding the people who made significant contributions to broadcast journalism.

1.5 Literature Review

This review focuses on the works applicable to the study of the principles of the documentary film and the television documentary. This literature is necessary in order to understand the intricacies of the medium that minorities and women began to enter in increasing numbers from the late 1960s to the early 1980s. The review of the historical literature is necessary in establishing the point that prior to the years of this study, the documentary contained editorial decisions made primarily by the white male. The historical studies focus on the development of the documentary as being male dominated and that the contributions of women were only briefly mentioned. The literature will then concentrate on

the contemporary studies that reveal the amount of power women and minorities have had in the making of editorial decisions in news production during the years examined. Again, the literature reflects the lack of studies done primarily on women and minorities in documentary units or in public affairs broadcasting.

1.5.1 Evidence of the Documentary As A Male Dominated Environment

The documentary film has a rich history dating back to the 1900s. Most historians argue that it began in Russia during the years of civil war and counter revolution following the Bolsheviks' accession to power.⁹⁷ Historian Arthur Knight reports that during that era the Russian filmmakers, all of whom were men, were concerned almost exclusively with what today would be called the documentary.

A thorough history of the development of the documentary is presented by historian Richard Barsam who focuses on the father of the documentary film movement, John Grierson. Barsam provides significant background information, omitted by Knight, that reveals a perspective of Grierson's ideological views.

The politics and aesthetics of Grierson were shaped by figures as diverse as Bertrand Russell, Walter Lippmann, Sergei Eisenstein, and Robert Flaherty.⁹⁸ The works of Russell helped Grierson to refine his passionate social conscience -- an attribute that is at the very core of documentarists.⁹⁹ While Flaherty's films reaffirmed this belief in the dignity of man, Eisenstein's films showed Grierson that the art of the cinema could be a dynamic and

powerful force in the service of man and society. Lippmann convinced Grierson that motion pictures could help the ordinary citizen to think about social issues and to influence social reform.¹⁰¹ With this background, Grierson developed a humanist philosophy that was considered instrumental in creating a new medium -- a medium that was a film of fact.¹⁰¹ Grierson saw the possibilities for a new form of filmmaking in Flaherty's *Nanook* and Eisenstein's *Battleship Potemkin*. Grierson's writings gave direction to the British Film Movement.

British scholar Paul Smith writes in the academic journal *Labor History* that Grierson and the British Film Movement were utterly dependent on patrons who were not at all interested in its ideology.¹⁰² Smith argues that Grierson's goal was to create a cinema uniquely different from that of Hollywood. His principles of the documentary were an attempt to stimulate informed democratic citizenship through a powerful new instrument of communication.¹⁰³ According to Smith, the British film culture seldom acknowledged the problem of how to employ a medium that had established itself as a purveyor of mass entertainment. Its rejection of the Hollywood formula stories and stars for the celebration of the common life of common people shut the door to box office success.

Scholar Paul Swann is concerned about the involvement of the British state and its satellites in the use of film for national and public purposes and the way in which Grierson lived and fed off the bureaucratic network.¹⁰⁴ As a result, it is difficult, according to scholar

Sue Wright, to work out what Grierson stood for and what he was trying to do.¹⁰⁵

A critical closure to the beginnings of the nonfiction film with the overall achievements of the British documentary film movement founded by Grierson in the 1930s is offered by Barsam. He argues that the British Film Movement, composed of men, was significant for its originality and breadth and for its consistent dedication to the improvement of public information and the awakening of social consciousness.¹⁰⁶

The long-term impact of the documentary film movement -- both government sponsored and independent -- is described by Barsam as being its preparation of filmmakers for the filmmaking activities of World War II. The war increased the possibilities for the uses of nonfiction film and provided many advances in production techniques -- that all led to the emergence of the television documentary.

1.5.2 Emergence of the Television Documentary

The achievements of the British Film Movement and the use of the documentary film during wartime present a way to explore the definition of the documentary. Most of the films were produced as documentation of real life or reality. The documentary was and is a medium that allows for the stimulation of free thought and argument on the vital issues of the day.¹⁰⁷ Grierson, in his 1930s articles, defines the documentary as "the creative treatment of actuality."¹⁰⁸ He wrote then of what are now known as the first principles of the documentary: "1. We (The British Film Movement/Directors) believe that the cinema's

capacity for observing and selecting from life itself can be exploited in a new art form. the documentary 2. We believe that the original (or native) actor and the original scene are better guides to a screen interpretation of the modern world. 3 We believe that the materials and stories taken from the raw can be finer than the acted article."¹⁰⁹ These principles remain as guiding forces behind documentaries produced in television and film.

The literature, in general, suggests that both in England and in the United States, the documentary was becoming a fixture of the motion picture industry in the late 1930s, although its audience was not massive. Because of World War II, however, the decade between 1940 and 1950 was more important than the 1930s in the development of nonfiction filmmaking. After World War II, however, the nonfiction film was in a period of decline. The advent of television presented new possibilities for the nonfiction film. Barsam notes that the television nonfiction film enjoys one distinctive advantage over the films shown in the movie theater: immediate screening that reaches millions of viewers in their homes at practically no direct cost to them.¹¹⁰ Because of this, it was only a matter of time before the television documentary would find its place in broadcast journalism.

The worldwide decline in the interest in the nonfiction film following the war was acknowledged by A. William Bluem. In his seminal study of the television documentary, he wrote of its great potential for television: "The intent to persuade and influence, to involve great audiences, to make exciting the great issues and causes of our time, lost its force with

the end of violence, and by the time the crises of the world loomed large once more, television had arrived to assume this documentary responsibility."¹¹¹

Throughout broadcasting history, television and radio have provided great possibilities for the documentary. As Bluem writes about the opportunities, Rabiger argues that television documentaries have always been of a minority interest; they tend to concentrate on problems and areas of concern. They are awkward for an entertainment system to absorb.¹¹² They are quite often slow, make demands upon the audience's concentration, and are thought to be unentertaining. They garner low ratings and from the position of the anxious television executive, they are dispensable.¹¹³ All in all, the film and television documentary reflect a fascination and a profound respect for actuality.¹¹⁴

1.5.3 The Television Documentary -- *CBS Reports*

Historians Bluem and Barsam, writing in the 1960s and early 1970s respectively, argue that television executives favored the documentary. Barsam cites one television producer, Burton Benjamin, as saying that the television industry, in its first years, did "more for the documentary than the motion picture industry did in six decades."¹¹⁵

The first television documentaries were essentially newsreels that provided on-the-spot journalistic coverage.¹¹⁶ Stylistic methods began to appear in two memorable series.

See It Now of CBS, begun in 1951 by Edward R. Murrow and Fred Friendly, and

Victory at Sea of NBC, begun in 1952 by producer Henry Salomon. Both series had

their roots in nonfiction film history -- *See It Now* in *March of Time* and *Victory at Sea* in such wartime films as *Desert Victory*, *The Fighting Lady*, *The Battle of Midway*, and *The Why We Fight* series ¹¹⁷

Scholars Barsam, Bluem, and Hammond give some consideration to NBC's *Victory at Sea* and *White Papers* as well as ABC's *Close Up!* More in-depth analysis is given by these scholars to CBS because of the quality of the CBS documentaries and the fact that the television documentary began with the work of Murrow and Friendly ¹¹⁸

The term "documentary" as defined by Grierson, Bluem, and most historians is applicable to the television documentaries produced by CBS News under the unit, *CBS Reports* when Edward R. Murrow asked for a leave of absence from *See It Now* in 1959. Frank Stanton, the president of CBS, Inc., conceived of the idea. Where *See It Now* was basically a Murrow and Friendly package, *CBS Reports* became a total CBS package reminiscent of the British Film Movement with its large array of documentary filmmakers

Bill Leonard, a CBS executive, notes that most people still "confuse *CBS Reports* with the old Murrow-Friendly *See It Now*," which preceded it. According to Leonard, the most famous *CBS Reports* documentary, in terms of national uproar, during those first fifteen years was unquestionably *The Selling of the Pentagon*, produced by Peter Davis, which aired in 1971 ¹¹⁹ Leonard writes that most people tend to remember best those

broadcasts that shiver their timbers -- "If someone doesn't get mad at you, you haven't done much."¹²⁰ At the same time, the controversial documentaries were the ones that led Paley to say "Yes, I want a documentary unit, but I don't want this constant stomach ache every time you do a controversial subject."¹²¹ What Paley failed to remember, however, was that the core of the documentary was to introduce problems and controversy.

Leonard writes that when *CBS Reports* was the child of Fred Friendly (1959-1965), the subject matter varied according to Friendly's interests and appetites that were controversial.¹²² Leonard offers that "whether under the passionate hand of Friendly or later under the calmer aegis of Palmer Williams, Burton Benjamin and Perry Wolff, [all men] the series explored an extraordinary number of matters that television [at that time] had never touched, or almost never."¹²³

Despite the studies of Bluem, Barsam, Knight, and others, no one examined the role of women in the unit. Bluem does list the credits of the members of the documentary units of NBC, ABC, and CBS. Most of the women whose names appeared served as production assistants.¹²⁴ Leonard did acknowledge that no woman produced or narrated a *CBS Reports* and that no less than thirty-five programs of the first fifteen years of the unit were either interviews with or film portraits of individuals. These shows were usually an hour in length, sometimes two, depending on the subject matter. The now familiar twenty-minute pieces were developed primarily with the concept of the newsmagazine that was begun at CBS by

Don Hewitt ¹²⁵

Among the interviews or film portraits of individuals in the longer documentaries were such fascinating characters as Walter Lippmann, Rafael Trujillo, Yul Brynner, Ronald Reagan, Carl Sandburg, John F. Kennedy, Charles de Gaulle, Pablo Picasso, Mayor Richard Daley, U. S. Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, and all the Rockefellers. ¹²⁶ Those names alone illustrate the rich broadcast archives that are now a part of the current *CBS Reports*. During those first fifteen years, there were 178 reports, essays on current affairs, portraits of leading figures of the time, and documents of tragedies and triumphs. Thirty-one of the programs had been repeated at least once. "Harvest of Shame" (1960), "Hunger in America" (1968), "Biography of a Bookie Joint" (1961), and "The Selling of the Pentagon" (1971) are some of *CBS Reports'* award winning documentaries produced during those first fifteen years. ¹²⁷

1.5.4 The Film and News Production Process in the Television Documentary

Throughout the evolution and history of the film and television documentary, the stigma of staging, distorting, and manipulating has been overwhelming for producers. As they have attempted to present the truth, producers have taken great pains to eliminate staging and manipulation from their film production process. Documentarists have understood the importance of following certain guidelines in filmmaking that are generally accepted by documentary filmmakers and broadcast journalists who produce television documentaries.

British scholar Roger Silverstone also writes about the procedures used in making documentaries for the BBC as compared to PBS or the other major television network documentary units. He argues that the producers must be impartial in the film they make; they must also follow certain guidelines. These scholars agree 1 that research is vital in the film production process because the writing has to be heavily documented to avoid lawsuits; 2 that filming the original scene or location is essential for this aspect and 3 that editing is the key to successful completion of a television documentary.¹²⁸

This review is relevant to the dissertation because minorities and women who entered the documentary units had to follow these guidelines and others that are essential to providing news content of the highest journalistic standards -- research is a key component

The literature thus far reveals the absence of studies devoted to women and minorities as documentary filmmakers and television documentary producers. The following section reviews the contemporary literature that does exist on the subject.

1.5.5 Editorial Power of Women and African Americans

Bluem only briefly analyzes the work of the producer -- director Helen Rogers -- in his seminal study of the television documentary. Hammond and Bluem also only cite the names of women, who worked in the documentary units of all the networks as editors or production assistants and a few researchers. This is understandable in that the scholarly studies of the 1960s through the 1980s suggest that the U. S. journalist is primarily a white

Protestant male who has a bachelor's degree, is married and has children, is middle-of-the-road politically, is thirty-two years old, and earns about \$19,000.¹²⁹ Those scholars of journalism in general and documentaries in particular seemingly overlooked the work of the few females who were employed during those early years. Surprisingly, a search of Lexis/Nexis, *Dissertation Abstracts*, *Journalism Abstracts* as well as ERIC did not reveal substantial studies on women and minorities in public affairs broadcasting. Only in recent years (the late 1980s and early 1990s) does there seem to be more scholarly work on women and minorities in journalism, but again it is not in public affairs broadcasting.¹³⁰

The literature states that in 1971, the FCC added women to its equal opportunity rule that originally applied only to racial and ethnic minorities, thus prohibiting discrimination against women and requiring television stations to file with the FCC affirmative action programs outlining their efforts to implement equal opportunity.¹³¹ FCC regulations that mandated affirmative action only affected broadcast news organizations, and the broadcast sector of the journalistic labor force showed the greatest gains in diversity between the 1970s and 1980s.¹³² About the same time, women began to make inroads into media management that are significant for this study in that the various levels of management determine how much power and control a journalist has.¹³³ This dissertation examines minorities and women at a time when those hired were not often in management or serving as executive producers in *CBS Reports*.

American women began to enter the workforce in large numbers during World War II. When the men returned from war, the total number of women working declined between 1945 and 1946, but by the end of the decade, the proportion of women at work had increased to 32 percent.¹³⁴ According to scholar William Chafe, by 1960, twice as many women were employed as in 1940, and the proportion of wives holding jobs had doubled from 15 percent in 1940 to 30 percent in 1960.

By the early 1960s more than half of all women college graduates were at work compared with only 36 percent of those with a high school diploma. Almost none of these women were holding jobs that were competitive with men. Most were trapped in dead-end sales and clerical positions with little chance of promotion or additional wages. Yet, they were doing jobs that women in their class and position had not held before. In many cases, these were the same women whom Betty Friedan described as totally controlled by the feminine mystique. By the 1970s and 80s, of course, these changes seemed moderate. The female labor force continued to swell, so that by the end of the 1970s, a majority of married women were employed and 60 percent of mothers of children aged 6 to 17 were in the labor force as well as more than half of mothers with children under six. The shape of women's lifelong participation in the workforce came to resemble much more the shape of men's participation, with just a few years taken out for childbearing and early childrearing.¹³⁵

This historical evidence provides the framework for much of this study: women were in the work force, and they were holding positions that they never held before, including in journalism. A large part of this journalistic phenomenon is attributed to the Civil Rights Movement -- a struggle that confronted the United States with an issue that had undermined the nation's democratic institutions for nearly two hundred years where morality, justice, and

a due concern for the future well-being of the American society necessitated an end to racial inequality and later female inequality.¹³⁶

Although women and minorities benefited from the Civil Rights Movement, the literature suggests that African Americans, the architects of the movement, have not been as successful as women in the work force in general and in journalism (print and broadcast) in particular.¹³⁷

Although the absolute number of Blacks, Hispanics, and Jews in U S journalism increased between 1971 and 1982, these groups accounted for a smaller percentage of all journalists in 1982 than in 1971.¹³⁸ Moreover, in the early 1990s, women and minority reporters doubled their visibility on the evening news programs. In 1995, however, both minority and women correspondents were less visible on those broadcast programs.¹³⁹

Although they may be less visible, their presence encourages minorities and women to major in journalism in college -- about 10 percent of journalism graduates are minorities and about 60 percent of today's journalism schools' enrollment is female.¹⁴⁰ The nonwhite students who graduate, even with the emphasis today on increased minority hiring in the broadcast or print industries, do not by any means dominate the newsrooms. Thus, their editorial power in terms of editorial decision making is minimal. It has been argued that the whole push for diversity may be one of the most contentious issues in American journalism, responsible for polarizing, if not balkanizing, more than one newsroom around the country.¹⁴¹

Even so, the quest for diversity has had certain benefits. It has led to the hiring of many members of various minority groups only minimally represented until now.¹⁴² Not only does diversity make good editorial sense in that there is a need to cover more minority stories with the growing American minority population, but according to the publisher of the *New York Times*, Arthur Sulzberger, Jr., it makes good business sense, too.¹⁴³ McGowan's work, for the most part, supports the theory suggested by Wilson and Gutierrez that the media, in order to stay in business, must serve an increasingly diverse audience.¹⁴⁴

Christopher Stern writes in *Broadcasting and Cable* that a Federal Communications Commission report contends that the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission's efforts have been above average in diversity issues and that broadcasting and cable hirings of women and minorities are 2 percent better.¹⁴⁵ Stern writes in another article that the FCC will continue its enforcement of EEO standards in the broadcasting industry, despite a court ruling that abolished the FCC's February, 1994, EEO guidelines.¹⁴⁶ Stern also writes that the FCC Chairman Reed Hundt told the National Urban League that the FCC is successfully working to increase management and ownership opportunities for minorities in the broadcasting industry. Hundt said that FCC minority incentives such as tax certificates, installment plans, and bidding credits have increased the number of minorities in the field and that FCC statistics show that African Americans comprise 11 percent of broadcast managers with African American women comprising 7.2 percent of the managers.¹⁴⁷ Stern's articles are highlighted

here because their emphasis on FCC rulings suggest that government officials understand the growing minority population and the need to include more minorities as owners or in positions of higher managerial authority

The challenge of diversity is unquestionable. Scholar Christopher Campbell writes that black journalists feel that there is the pressure of unwritten policy applied to their stories and "news angle" ideas.¹⁴⁸ Campbell cites black journalists like Linda Wright Moore who believe that the absence of African Americans in the newsroom as the key to the distortion, or lack of coverage.¹⁴⁹ Although African American journalists may "adopt the news values of the white institutions for which they work," Moore argues that -- without them -- "the mix of options to be considered in making decisions on a day-to-day basis will be unnecessarily and perhaps irresponsibly restricted."¹⁵⁰

In dealing with the issue of whether there are separate news values for various groups, Campbell only suggests from studying Stuart Hall that: "The news is not only a cultural product: it is the product of a set of institutional definitions and meanings, which, in professional shorthand, is commonly referred to as *news values*."¹⁵¹ Those values dictate a "status quo" production of news that reflects the "informal ideology" of journalism.¹⁵² Minority journalists do not represent the "status quo" and would bring their own set of values that would address news as a cultural product.

During the next millennium, the United States may change to a multi-cultural society,

which, while still predominantly English-speaking, would tolerate and even accept other languages and other cultures. As the world becomes more interconnected through international communication, the acceptance of other cultures becomes even more of a necessity. Thus, the views and news ideas of journalists who represent these groups are important.

This growth in minority populations all over the world, and specifically in the United States, has forced the media to re-examine the ways they have traditionally dealt with minority groups. The development of a racially diverse population is something that cannot be avoided by the media.¹⁵³ Instead of trying to bypass nonwhite readers and coverage, the news organizations that have made the greatest gains in successfully creating a diverse employee environment are those that have seen the growing racial diversity as an opportunity rather than a problem.¹⁵⁴ Hiring minorities and women is one solution for reaching these newly expanded audiences.

What is also important in the literature is the evidence that the news has a male face and voice and that as the media seek to bring about change, this reality has to be addressed.¹⁵⁵ A *Women, Men and Media* study begun in 1989 concluded in 1994 that women are significantly underrepresented in newspapers across the country.¹⁵⁶ The same has been true for network nightly news.¹⁵⁷ The former study showed that men were referred to or solicited for comment 85 percent of the time in front-page news stories. Men wrote 66 percent

of the front-page stories and 74 percent of the opinion pieces examined. Females appeared in 34 percent (males 73 percent) of the front-page photos. References to and comments from female leaders and experts in a variety of fields were few or missing altogether from many stories and commentaries.¹⁵⁸

Naomi Wolf argues that in 1992, "the putative Year of the Woman," *Crossfire*, a Cable News Network public affairs broadcast, presented fifty-five female guests, compared with 440 male guests (12.5 percent). Of the print media, Wolf used the *Women, Men and Media* study to show that during a one-month period in 1992, 13 percent of the op-ed pieces published in the *Washington Post* were written by women and 16 percent of the articles on the *New York Times* op-ed pages were written by women. African American males outnumbered females generally and African American female contributors as well. Based on such statistics, Wolf raised a series of questions: "Is there an unconscious or conscious editorial bias against women's opinions? Or are opinions themselves gendered male? Does female or minority socialization conspire against many women's and minorities' ability or desire to generate a strong public voice?"¹⁵⁹ The statistics suggest that the answer to all the questions is yes and that institutionalized discrimination on the part of producers and editors still exists.

Substantial work on the status of women in the mass communication industry has been produced by Lafky, Gist, and Beasley. Gist argues that the lack of diversity results in gender and racial bias in news coverage.¹⁶⁰ Lafky looks at the progress of women and people of color in the journalistic work force, explaining that the ability of women and people of color

to achieve equal footing with white men in the work force depends on 1 gaining the education and training needed to have the skills for the work force, 2 treating them equally with white men in promotion as well as hiring decisions, 3 expanding upon their training through networking on the job and through outside professional organizations, 4 pursuing careers without shouldering an inordinate amount of the burden for child care or other work at home, and 5 working in an environment free of racism and sexism.¹⁶¹ Studies similar to Lafky's appear in the work of Sherry Ricchiardi and Virginia Young as it pertains to female print journalists, and in Beasley and Gibbons' work.¹⁶¹

The American Society of Newspaper Editors presents a report on the changing faces of the newsroom focusing on the presence of women and minorities in the newsrooms of the nation's 1,600 daily newspapers.¹⁶² There appears to be substantial work on women and minorities in television as well. The literature of individual female and minority reporters/correspondents is also available. Although Mary Ann Walsh writes that a growing number of feminists, academics, and Pope John Paul II are calling for a reevaluation of the employment of women and the portrayal of women on television. They argue that too few women, especially mature women, appear on camera in prestige positions such as weeknight news anchors.¹⁶³ Again, the emphasis in the literature is on the anchors and the correspondents. A collection of the work of those minority and female producers, editors, writers and researchers who truly produce network news is virtually nonexistent.¹⁶⁴

The goal of this dissertation is to locate those women and African American men and women in broadcast news, specifically public affairs broadcasting, who held editorial positions at a time when they were just beginning to enter the profession in substantial numbers. By using interviews -- a key component of oral history -- their own voices will be heard.

1.5.6 Pertinent Theories

The literature also includes studies of the impact of established feminist and black feminist theories on the minorities and women of this period examined. Special attention to the literature on black intellectual theory is also important to this study. bell hooks, for example, writes that within feminist circles silence is often seen as the sexist's "right" speech of womanhood, the sign of woman's submission to patriarchal authority.¹⁶⁶ hooks argues that feminist theory speaks to the fact that women have not been silent. Therefore, within their history, their voices have brought about change. Their voices can and now are being heard.¹⁶⁷ hooks also writes that for black women, the struggle has not been to emerge from silence into speech, but to change the nature and direction of the speech, to make a speech that compels listeners, one that is heard.¹⁶⁸ hooks contends that black people and black women in particular grew up with the definition that "talking back" meant speaking as an equal to an authority figure or daring to disagree and sometimes it just meant having an opinion.¹⁶⁹ This dissertation applied hooks theory to the interaction between male journalists and female and minority journalists in their everyday contributions to the news production process. Likewise, the

intellectual theories of W E B Du Bois are applied as well. His work, for example, addresses the stance most educated African Americans have to take in living and working in a society that still believes that minorities are somehow limited in their intellectual capabilities. The following chapters provide a more in-depth evaluation and application of Du Bois's work to the work of the broadcast journalists examined. This is an effort to prove the view suggested by Carolyn Phillips who writes that white male editors and media owners hire minorities through the laws of affirmative action, but with reservations. "The legacy of the era following the Civil Rights Movement that many news managers remain deeply and sincerely convinced that minorities are somehow outside the realm of competitive journalism is embedded deeply; that's why such great resistance to minority hiring sets in long before the newsrooms' staff reach parity."¹⁷⁰

1.5.7 Is There A Need for an Historical Study on Public Affairs Broadcasting?

The documentary units of the major networks in the 1970s were a microcosm of the world of network news. The literature review reveals that little research has been done on network documentary units since the era of *CBS Reports'* executive producers such as Fred Friendly, Palmer Williams, Burton Benjamin, or Perry Wolff, or since the era of *NBC's White Papers* executive producers Irving Gitlin, or *ABC's Close Up!* executive producer Robert Drew.¹⁷⁰ These men and a few women served in these units during the height of the popularity of the documentary as serious broadcast journalism. Unfortunately,

the literature points to a lack of studies done on documentaries and public affairs broadcasting following the peak years of the network documentary (1960s through the early 1980s) ¹⁷¹

This study is needed, therefore, to continue the documentation of a component of broadcast journalism (the documentary) that was approaching a decline typically attributed to economics and an emphasis on newsmagazine competition and cable channels ¹⁷²

In 1981, network television still offered the long-form one-to two-hour documentary series: *CBS Reports* (originated in 1959), *NBC White Papers* (1960), and *ABC 'Close Up'* (1973). By 1988, the ABC and NBC series were gone, *CBS Reports* was suspended and is seen only sporadically ¹⁷³. To highlight this decline, the only dissertation on the long-form documentary focused on a twenty-year span from 1964 through 1984. Mascaro, the author of this study, wrote that in 1964 more than two hundred network documentaries were broadcast over NBC, ABC, and CBS, in 1984, eleven were broadcast ¹⁷⁴. Newsmagazines like *Sixty Minutes* and *20/20* began to receive higher ratings, and they then replaced entertainment programs, not documentaries. ¹⁷⁵

This study seeks to contribute to the body of scholarly work on the television documentary at a time when a transformation from long-form broadcast journalism (the documentary) to newer television forms (the newsmagazine) was beginning. More importantly, this study of *CBS Reports* and the men, women, and minorities who produced television documentaries in the unit during the 1970s and early 1980s could provide insights into the interaction

between European American men and women and minorities that media executives can use as they begin to employ more minorities and women in the new millennium. The pattern of a multicultural and female work force emerging as a white male force ages makes this work significant.¹⁷⁶

Some literature suggests that newsrooms may be taken over by women, if that change occurs, the news product may or may not change. Glen Bleske, for instance, writes that women's editorial judgments are consistent with those of their male counterparts.¹⁷⁷ But the much discussed "pink ghetto," where a type of employment has changed from predominantly male to female, however, is not materializing.¹⁷⁸ The statistics are perplexing. What is known is that the population is changing. Studies, like this one, that reflect what has gone on in the past in the media, where minorities and women have been hired, will help media executives understand the present and highlight what they must be concerned with as they hire more diverse groups in the future.

This dissertation is designed to explore the network news industry at a time when minorities and women were first hired in substantial numbers. It did not focus on correspondents that are most frequently studied, but on roughly twenty people who were hired as producers, associate producers, writers, and editors at *CBS Reports*. Scrutiny of these positions is essential to the television documentary because most of the work involved in television documentary production comes from the efforts of the producers, directors, writers,

editors, and researchers -- they often hold more than one title. CBS-*CBS Reports* was chosen as the network and the documentary unit to examine because of the evidence of this network's outstanding journalistic achievements in the television documentary. The years of 1977 through 1982 were explored because this was a time when *CBS Reports* was still receiving prestigious awards in broadcast journalism for the television documentary even though the decline in this long form of television news was approaching.

The research questions were: what if, any change took place in the documentary units or newsrooms that had historically been run by members of the dominant cultural groups in the society when women and minorities joined the staff? Were women and minorities heavily involved in the editorial process of documentary filmmaking during a five-year period from 1977 through 1982? Did the presence of African Americans and women in documentary units change the news values of those units? Were there tensions created in the unit in which racial and sexual issues could not be adequately and reliably explored or was the atmosphere in the unit free from racism and sexism? If these tensions did exist, did they have an impact on news production and the selection of documentary topics? And were those years filled with harmony and growth or adversity and antagonism?

1.6 Method

The 1970s brought an awareness of the uncharted work that feminists and African American historians were doing by collecting oral narratives.¹⁸² It had become clear that the established historical methodology did not address the knowledge that grew out of the women's liberation movement and the civil rights movement and women's and African American's experiences were valuable and needed to be recorded.

In the decades that followed, African American and women historians used oral history as a way to provide "text" where in past years no text could be found. The appeal of oral history to women and minorities is easy to understand. Women doing oral histories with other women and African Americans doing them with other African Americans have tried to recover their own stories and revise the knowledge learned from men teaching history.¹⁸³

There have been, however, acknowledged difficulties of doing feminist and African American oral history. Therefore, in approaching this historical method, a careful examination of oral history -- the use of the interview -- is important in order to develop more scholarly work on the subject of the history of network news, especially as it pertains to minorities and women.

Oral history scholar Samuel Schragger gives meaning to oral history by classifying it as discourse that contains accounts of events that have happened. Whatever gets recalled

after all this time stands for a piece of truth that remains about a world that is gone¹⁸³

This dissertation used the "discourse" of those CBS producers, editors, and researchers as obtained through a questionnaire. Scholar Donald Ritchie wrote that a questionnaire should be used "when dealing with a group that has a common identity or was involved in a common event or organization and that the same core questions should be directed at everyone."¹⁸⁴

This method of conducting the interview was used as well, and telephone calls were made to obtain further details.

Ritchie also writes about the advantages of the interviewer being an "insider." The author of this dissertation is an "insider." Ritchie contends that sometimes insiders have an advantage because they are part of the same organization as the interviewees.¹⁸⁵ They will know the names of their contemporaries and will probably have heard many of the stories and much of the gossip, so they can be trusted as a colleague.¹⁸⁶ Ritchie argues that:

At the same time, there are disadvantages to "intimate" as opposed to "clinical" interviewing. An interviewer from within the same group often takes too much for granted and may neither ask for explanations nor follow up with questions about matters that seem to be common knowledge to the interviewer but are obscure to outsiders. Moreover, interviewees sometimes perceive the inside interviewer as a partisan or player in the events and may feel less uncomfortable discussing certain people or issues with someone from outside the organization or community.¹⁸⁷

These problems were kept in mind because the investigator is an insider, having worked for *CBS Reports* during the years covered by the study. Whether an insider or an outsider, the interviewer should not look like a "know-it-all."¹⁸⁸ The purpose of interviewing is to collect

and record for the first time what other people knew, thought, and perceived.¹³⁰

Descriptive studies trace the nature, growth, and evolution of broadcasting and frame the body of written journalism history.¹³¹ The primary sources for this descriptive historical research are broadcast materials -- the documentaries. They are necessary but inadequate by themselves as research sources.¹³² Therefore, the use of transcripts, television reviews, trade journals of the period, biographies, and the discourse of CBS executives and members of the CBS News staff, specifically *CBS Reports*, were the other primary sources used to prepare this descriptive study. The documentaries examined were the recipients of the highest awards in broadcast journalism -- the Columbia DuPont, the Peabody, and the Emmy.¹³³

Of utmost importance to the examination of these documentaries is to understand the interview in a television documentary. The interview between a correspondent/producer and a source is a key component in clarifying specific issues the documentary is addressing.¹³⁴ The producers (male, female, and minority) have, as one of their editorial duties, the responsibility of filming people who serve as experts on the subject matter of the documentary. During the early years of *CBS Reports*, the producers, writers, and directors were white males and the experts interviewed in the documentaries were primarily male.¹³⁵

This dissertation, therefore, specifically examined documentaries and transcripts in order to ascertain the number of female or minority interviews that were included in television documentaries produced by women, minorities, and men and to determine the rationale for

their inclusion or exclusion. Of the seventy-nine documentaries aired during the years 1977 through 1982, four that received the highest broadcast journalism awards were examined "The CIA's Secret Army" (1977), "Blacks in America" (1979), "What Shall We Do About Mother" (1980), and "The Defense of the United States" (1981). It must be stated that although topics such as "Blacks in America" had been produced by the unit before, the earlier documentaries were produced, written, directed and reported by European Americans and not by African Americans. Even though the CIA and the defense of the United States are unlikely to include women and minorities as subject matter, this study sought to examine what efforts were made to locate them. The discourse of those CBS staff members employed at that time was used in the analysis of the impact of diverse groups on the news production process.

This study is structured to present an examination of the television documentary as defined in this chapter by exploring the historical perspectives of those staff members who represented the changing face of the production staff. Chapter II examines the documentary and the staff members of *CBS Reports*; it addresses the editorial process of the documentary and the involvement of diverse groups. Chapter III explores established theories that can be applied to the journalistic work of women and minorities. Chapter IV looks at the role of the media executives and government legislation during the time period examined and Chapter V outlines concerns and issues that media executives will address in the future.

Endnotes

¹Roy Levin, *Documentary Explorations* (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1971), 4

²Ibid.

³Robert Edmonds, *Anthropology on Film* (Dayton, Ohio: Pflaum Publishing, 1974), 13

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid., 14.

⁶Robert Tyrrell, *The Work of the Television Journalist* (New York: Communication Arts Books, 1972), 27

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid., 29

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Jon Funabki, Project Director, *News Watch* (San Francisco: Center for Integration and Improvement of Journalism, 1994), 14

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Felix Gutierrez and Clint Wilson, *Race, Multiculturalism, and the Media: From Mass to Class Communication* (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 1995), 5.

¹⁷Ibid., 8

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid., 9

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Ibid.

²²Ibid., 10

²³Ibid.

²⁴Ibid., 12.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid., 8

²⁸Mike Wolverton, *How To Make Documentaries* (London: Gulf Publishing, 1983), 12.

²⁹Tyrrell, *The Work of the Television Journalist*, 28

³⁰Ibid., 14. A speech by a politician to an audience of hundreds in a hall is transformed by the presence of television with its audiences of millions. The politician is conscious of this and changes his speech accordingly. The audience in the hall is different in size, composition, and reaction if it is known that the speech is to be televised. The meeting is no longer what it might have been without the television camera. At a demonstration, a camera team will often attract and provoke disturbances, merely by its presence. This is an inevitable reality that the broadcast journalist has to face in producing a documentary. It has become quite controversial and highly debated as a component of the Civil Rights Movement -- the use of the camera to distort the actual demonstrations. However, the author, a former network producer disagrees because as often as possible the broadcast journalist captured the event by getting in the action.

³¹Ibid

³²Bill Nichols, *Representing Reality* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 108

³³Ibid

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Ibid . 109

³⁶Ibid . 112

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸Calvin Pryluck, "Ultimately We Are All Outsiders: The Ethics of Documentary Filming," *Journal of the Universty Film Assocation* 1 (Winter, 1976) 24.

³⁹Edmonds, *Anthropology on Film*, 103

⁴⁰Edward Bliss, *In Search of Light: The Broadcasts of Edward R. Murrow 1938-1961* (New York: Avon Books, 1974), 5.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Ibid., 3

⁴³Charles Hammond, Jr., *The Image Decade: Television Documentary: 1965 - 1975* (New York: Hastings, 1981), 12.

⁴⁴Ibid., 19

⁴⁵Ibid., 40.

⁴⁶Ibid., 166

⁴⁷Ibid., 40

⁴⁸Bliss, *In Search of Light*, 130.

⁴⁸Fred Friendly, *Due to Circumstances Beyond Our Control* (New York: Random House, 1967), 108

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 101

⁵¹*Ibid.*

⁵²Hammond, *The Image Decade*, 40

⁵³*Ibid.*

⁵⁴*Ibid.*

⁵⁵Ed Joyce, *Prime Time, Bad Times* (New York: Doubleday, 1988), xi

⁵⁶*Ibid.*

⁵⁷Marlene Sanders and Marcia Rock, *Waiting for Prime Time* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 33

⁵⁸Maurine Beasley and Sheila J. Gibbons, *Taking Their Place: A Documentary History of Women and Journalism* (Washington, D.C.: American University Press, 1993), 25

⁵⁹Sanders, *Waiting for Prime Time*, 6

⁶⁰*Ibid.*

⁶¹*Ibid.*

⁶²*Ibid.*

⁶³*Ibid.*, 9. Murrow, by becoming the vice president of public affairs, would have had an opportunity like many CBS producers before and after him to move up the ranks to become the president of the news division, but after this position, he decided to go back to reporting.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, 10.

⁶⁰Ibid., 11.

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Ibid., 59.

⁶³Ibid., 56.

⁶⁴Robert Chandler, retired CBS News vice president of public affairs, interview by author, November 4, 1995. These stories would include coverage of places such as Afghanistan or Latin America to name a few.

⁶⁵Ibid. Scotti Williston was the first African American and female bureau chief in Egypt during the uprisings and during the assassination of Anwar Sadat on October 6, 1981.

⁶⁶Janette Dates and William Barlow, *Split Image* (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1990), 355. During World War II, African American reporters were print reporters filing stories with the Associated Negro Press (ANP).

⁶⁷Ibid., 395. Ed Bradley, an African American, covered the Vietnam War. George Foster was the first African American hired in 1952 as a correspondent. He was not involved in dangerous activity until the racial riots a decade later.

⁶⁸Ibid.

⁶⁹Ibid.

⁷⁰*Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, "The News Media and Disorders," 15 (Washington, D.C., 1968): 362.

⁷¹Dates and Barlow, *Split Image*, 389.

⁷²Ibid., 398.

⁷³Bill Leonard, "CBS Reports: Fifteen Years of Sweat, Toil and Glory," *Television Quarterly* 12 (Fall, 1974): 19.

⁷⁴Tyrrell, *The Work of the Television Journalist*, 15.

¹⁰Ibid. See also D H Weaver and G C Wilhoit, *The American Journalist: A portrait of U.S. news people and their work* (Bloomington Indiana University Press, 1986), 12

¹¹Hammond, *The Image Decade*, 37

¹²Ibid. For years CBS News enjoyed having a reputation of employing extraordinarily talented people. See also Bill Leonard, *In The Storm of the Eye* (New York: G P Putnam's Sons, 1987), 200

¹³Tyrrell, *The Work of the Television Journalist*, 42

¹⁴Hammond, *The Image Decade*, 37

¹⁵Tyrrell, *The Work of the Television Journalist*, 42.

¹⁶Ibid., 43

¹⁷Hammond, *The Image Decade*, 36

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Ibid. The author, who worked as a researcher and later a producer for CBS, acknowledges that sometimes producers and correspondents would go out on initial research trips and leave the researcher to do the detail work once they considered the idea plausible.

²¹Ibid., 39

²²Marvin Barrett and Zachary Sklar, *The Eye of the Storm* (New York: Lippincott & Crowell Publishers, 1980), 44

²³Friendly, *Due To Circumstances*, 125

²⁴Hammond, *The Image Decade*, 40.

⁹⁵Ibid. These events were made to order for television news -- the anti-Vietnam War protests, the Vietnam War, the Civil Rights protests, the space program, the Women's protest

⁹⁶Sue Lakfy, "The Progress of Women and People of Color in the U S Journalistic Workforce A Long Slow Journey," in Pamela Creedon, ed., *Women in Mass Communication* (Thousand Oaks Sage Publications, 1993), 91

⁹⁷Arthur Knight, *The Liveliest Art* (New York: The New American Library, 1957), 71

⁹⁸Richard Barsam, *Nonfiction Film: A Critical History* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1973), 79.

⁹⁹Ibid.

¹⁰⁰Ibid.

¹⁰¹Ibid., 66

¹⁰²Paul Smith, "The British Documentary Film Movement," *Labor History* 32 (Summer, 1991): 49

¹⁰³Ibid.

¹⁰⁴Paul Swann, *The British Documentary Film Movement, 1926-1946* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 12.

¹⁰⁵Sue Wright, "John Grierson and the Documentary Film," *Media, Culture and Society* 30 (July, 1991): 20.

¹⁰⁶Barsam, *Nonfiction Film*, 110

¹⁰⁷Ibid.

¹⁰⁸Forsyth Hardy, ed. *Grierson on Documentary* (London: Collins, 1946), 11.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., 79-80.

¹¹⁰Barsam, *Nonfiction Film*, 110

¹¹¹A. William Bluem, *Documentary in American Television* (New York: Hastings House, 1965), 90.

¹¹²Ibid.

¹¹³Michael Rabiger, *Directing The Documentary* (London: Focal Press, 1987), 22-23/

¹¹⁴Ibid., 4.

¹¹⁵Barsam, *Nonfiction Film*, 280.

¹¹⁶Bluem, *Documentary in American Television*, 94.

¹¹⁷Barsam, *Nonfiction Film*, 280.

¹¹⁸Bluem, *Documentary in American Television*, 278-291, Hammond, *The Image Decade*, 12, and Barsam, *Nonfiction Film*, 280.

¹¹⁹Leonard, "CBS Reports: Fifteen Years of Sweat, Toil and Glory," 21. There was only one woman assigned to this documentary in an editorial capacity and that was Dena Levitt who served as the film editor. Hammond, *The Image Decade*, 177.

¹²⁰Ibid.

¹²¹Friendly, *Due To Circumstances*, 92.

¹²²Ibid.

¹²³Ibid., 110.

¹²⁴Bluem, *Documentary in American Television*, 278-291. Helen Rogers was a female producer and director who produced for ABC in the 1960s. A few females served as researchers and assistant producers as well.

¹²⁵Hammond, *The Image Decade*, 12.

¹²⁶Leonard, "CBS Reports: Fifteen Years of Sweat, Toil and Glory," 21.

¹²⁷Bluem, *Documentary in American Television*, 103-108 "Harvest of Shame" dealt with the problem of America's migrant worker. The documentary aired during the week of Thanksgiving when most Americans were enjoying the harvest gathered by the migrants. This editorial documentary brought severe criticism because the migrants did not have food to eat. "Biography of a Bookie Joint" moved members of the unit to Boston where they found the single story of illegal gambling that would reflect the national condition on the topic. "Hunger in America" accused the United States Department of Agriculture of being unwilling to use its emergency powers to bring food to hungry people in any county in America.

¹²⁸Roger Silverstone, *The Making of a BBC Documentary* (London: Anchor Brendon Ltd., 1985), 11

¹²⁹Weaver and Wilhoit, *The American Journalist*, 89

¹³⁰The scholarly work represents women and minorities in print journalism or women and minorities who work on local and national news programs. The lack of scholarly work on women and minorities in the years addressed in this dissertation is due to the fact that these groups were just beginning to enter professions that once excluded them.

¹³¹Lafky, *Women in Mass Communication*, 87

¹³²Ibid.

¹³³Weaver and Wilhoit, *The American Journalist*, 59

¹³⁴William Chafe, "American Women During World War II," in Steve Ickringill, ed., *Looking Inward, Looking Outward: From the 1930s through the 1940s*, 189

¹³⁵Ibid.

¹³⁶Harvard Sitkoff, *The Struggle For Black Equality: 1954 - 72* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993), viii.

¹³⁷Lafky, *Women in Mass Communication*, 91. African Americans and other people of color did not make as many gains in broadcast organizations during the 1980s -- years that coincided with a decreased interest in matters of equal opportunity and affirmative action.

on the part of the Federal Communications Commission

¹³⁷Weaver and Wilhoit. *The American Journalist*, 23

¹³⁸*Media Monitor: 1990 - 1995 Year In Review* (Washington, D C : Center for Media and Public Affairs, 1990-95) Vol. V-X, Number 1

¹³⁹Maxwell McCombs. "Test the Myths : A Statistical Review 1967 - 1986." *Gannett Center*, Vol. 2, 103, and Lee Stinett, ASNE Executive Director, *The Changing Face of the Newsroom* (Washington, D C . 1989), 9

¹⁴⁰William McGowan. "Diversity-Driven News : The Other Side of the Rainbow." *Columbia Journalism Review* (November/December, 1993) 53

¹⁴¹Ibid

¹⁴²Ibid

¹⁴³Wilson and Guterrez. *Race, Multiculturalism, and the Media*, 29

¹⁴⁴Christopher Stern. "FCC Says EEO Efforts Above Average." *Broadcasting and Cable* 124 (October 17, 1994) 58

¹⁴⁵Christopher Stern. "FCC Places High Priority on EEO." *Broadcasting and Cable* 124 (October 10, 1994) 44

¹⁴⁶Christopher Stern. "FCC Chairman Reed Hundt Speaks to the National Urban League." *Broadcasting and Cable* 124 (August 1, 1994) 44

¹⁴⁷Christopher Campbell, *Race, Myth and the News* (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 1995), 31

¹⁴⁸Ibid.

¹⁴⁹Ibid

¹⁵⁰Ibid., 18

¹⁵²Ibid

¹⁵³Wilson and Gutierrez, *Race, Multiculturalism, and the Media*, 25

¹⁵⁴Ibid.

¹⁵⁵Junior Bridge, "The Media Mirror," *The Quill*, 82 (1994): 18, and Marlene Sanders, "Television: The Face of the Network News Is Male," in Pamela Creedon, *Women in Mass Communication*, 167.

¹⁵⁶Ibid.

¹⁵⁷Ibid.

¹⁵⁸Ibid

¹⁵⁹Naomi Wolf, "Are opinions male? The barriers that shut women up," *The New Republic* 209 (1993): 20

¹⁶⁰Marilyn Gist, "Through the Looking Glass Diversity and Reflected Appraisals of the Self in Mass Media," in Pamela Creedon, ed., *Women in Mass Communication*, 105

¹⁶¹Lafky, *Women in Mass Communication*, 87.

¹⁶²Beasley and Gibbons, *Taking Their Place*; and Sherry Ricchiardi and Virginia Young, *Women On Deadline: A Collection of America's Best* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1991), xiii.

¹⁶³Stinett, *The Changing Face of the Newsroom*, 9.

¹⁶⁴Mary Ann Walsh, "Television's Women," *America*, 174 (March 9, 1996): B3.

¹⁶⁵A search of library collections, Lexis/Nexis, ERIC, *Dissertation Abstracts* and *Journalism Abstracts* did not reveal pertinent material on this subject, especially in the area of public affairs broadcasting on the network level in regards to the positions this dissertation seeks to explore.

¹⁶⁶bell hooks, *Talking Back* (Boston: South End Press, 1989), 6

¹⁶⁷Ibid.

¹⁶⁸Ibid.

¹⁶⁹Ibid.

¹⁷⁰Carolyn Phillips, "Evaluating & Valuing Newsroom Diversity," *Newspaper Research Journal*, 31 (Spring, 1991) 32.

¹⁷¹Hammond, *The Image Decade*, 71, 98, 130. ABC producers included Stephen Fleischman, Robert Drew, David Wolper, and Helen Rogers, to name a few. NBC producers included Fred Freed, Reuven Frank, Robert Northshield, and Lucy Jarvis, to name a few. Many of the producers worked at more than one network -- this illustrates another fact in broadcast journalism where outstanding journalists could leave one network at the end of a contract and go to another network, if a better offer was given.

¹⁷²As stated earlier, data base searches did not reveal significant works in public affairs broadcasting; only one dissertation on the long-form broadcast (the documentary) was found. Moreover, studies point to African Americans as the missing minority in mass communication research in any area of the media. Marilyn Fife, "The missing minority in mass communication research." *In Search of Diversity: Symposium on Minority Audiences and Programming Research: Approaches to Application* (Washington, D C: Corporation for Public Broadcasting, 1981).

¹⁷³Thomas Mascaro, "Lowering The Voice of Reason: The Decline of Network Television Documentaries in the Reagan Years." Ph.D. diss., Wayne State University, 1994.

¹⁷⁴Ibid.

¹⁷⁵Ibid.

¹⁷⁶Ibid.

¹⁷⁷Beasley, *Taking Their Place*, 317. Donna Allen, Ramona Rush, and Susan Kaufman, *Women Transforming Communications* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1996). This book provides an account of the strategies for freeing communication systems from gender and cultural biases -- as it pertains to women and minorities excluded because of limited and controlled access. The study also uses "herstories" to be shared with both men and women.

¹⁷⁵Glen Bleske, "Ms. Gates Takes Over." *Newspaper Research Journal* 31 (Fall, 1991) 88

¹⁷⁶Stinett, *The Changing Face of the Newsroom*, 13

¹⁸⁰Bluem, *Documentary in American Television*, 89-139

¹⁸¹Hammond, *The Image Decade*, 12

¹⁸²Sherna Gluck and Daphne Patai, eds. *Women's Words - The Feminist Practice of Oral History* (New York: Routledge, Chapman and Hall, Inc., 1991), 1

¹⁸³Ibid.

¹⁸⁴Samuel Schrager, "What is Social Oral History?" *International Journal of Oral History* 4.2 (1983): 84.

¹⁸⁵Donald Ritchie, *Doing Oral History* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1995), 76

¹⁸⁶Ibid.

¹⁸⁷Ibid.

¹⁸⁸Ibid.

¹⁸⁹Ibid.

¹⁹⁰John D. Stevens and Hazel Garcia, "Journalism and Communication History," in F. Gerald Kline, ed., *Communication History*, Vol. 2 (New York: Sage Publications, 1980), 18.

¹⁹¹Ibid., 11.

¹⁹²The awards are given to the network and to individual contributors, primarily the producer or correspondent of the documentary.

¹⁹³Hammond, *The Image Decade*, 19. One of the differences between the television documentary and the film documentary is the extensive use of the interview in the former.

¹⁴⁴In later years, the numbers have not changed. References to and comments from female and minority leaders and experts in a variety of fields were conspicuously few or missing altogether from many stories and commentaries. Bridge. *The Quill*, 18

¹⁴⁵Ibid.

Chapter II

An Assessment of the Television Documentary by Examining the Staff and Award-Winning Documentaries Produced by *CBS Reports* 1977-1982

2.1 The Documentary: A Rationale for Staff Changes

Although the documentary can be defined as a form of video and film production that provides information that shapes the attitudes of many on the crucial issues of the day, it is the manner in which the information is presented by the men and women who produced documentaries that actually influences the audience's attitudes. Documentaries study problems and the way in which society deals with these issues of vital local, national, and international concern -- like the arms race, pollution, overpopulation and racism.¹

This study analyses not only the product -- the documentary during the 1970s and the 1980s -- but the men and women who produced what has been called the most powerful form of television journalism -- the kind of films that are lumped together with adjectives such as "social" or "news."² This study looks at certain documentaries, specifically *CBS Reports* documentaries: "The CIA's Secret Army," "What Shall We Do About Mother," "Blacks in America: With all Deliberate Speed?" and "The Defense of the United States." Although there were many documentaries produced by CBS, NBC, and ABC during the time period

covered, only those that won two or more prestigious broadcast journalism awards such as the DuPont, Emmy, or Peabody were examined. As indicated in Chapter I, the documentary unit of CBS was selected because of its rich tradition and history in developing the television documentary primarily through the efforts of Edward R. Murrow and Fred Friendly

These television documentaries examined were produced by broadcast journalists that included both men and women and minorities at a time when the latter two groups had just begun to enter many professions in the United States that had largely been the domain of white males. Federal mandates of that time period were an acknowledged factor in the increased employment of women and minorities.

The mandates relate to historical changes made in the American society in the 1960s as a result of the Civil Rights Movement. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 is a good place to begin an assessment of the changes in network news, specifically *CBS Reports*. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 must rank among the most important bills ever passed by Congress.³ It had enormous, even revolutionary, implications for, and consequences in, the South. It gave broader protections to blacks than all prior civil rights bills combined. And because of an unplanned, undebated amendment that added sex as a category to the comprehensive anti-discrimination provisions of Section VII, the bill became the most potent legal basis for women's liberation.⁴ The 1964 act was a broad antidiscrimination bill. Title I included the toughest controls yet over state voting laws and included detailed guidelines for the use of

literacy tests and quick injunctive relief for discrimination in either registration or voting. Title II, under the constitutional rubric of the broadest possible definition of commerce, mandated equal access to all public accommodations; Title III did the same for all government facilities. Title IV involved school integration, providing for several forms of assistance to local school districts, but balancing this with severe penalties for any continued discrimination.⁵ The attorney general, as in most of the titles, could seek injunctive relief with or without complaints from parents, and the federal government assumed the legal fees for those parents willing to charge discrimination.⁶ In a sense, Title VI, which forbade discrimination in any federally assisted program, only added powerful sanctions to this integration effort, for after the new federal aid provisions of 1965, local school districts dared not risk a cutoff of funds. Title V continued and expanded the powers of the Commission on Civil Rights.⁷ Finally, and in the long term most important, Title VII, one of the most complex and critical legal documents in American history, forbade all discrimination in employment and included sex as a category along with race, color, religion, and national origin.⁸

This legislation, part of Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society, introduced an ongoing dialogue tied not only to the original legislation but to how later bureaucrats interpreted the rules.⁹ All divisions within the network grappled with this legislation and sought ways to comply with Title VII that stated that there be no discrimination in employment that included

sex as a category along with race, color, religion and national origin.

Although many of the CBS broadcast journalists who participated in this oral history project did not feel they were hired under this mandate, which was fifteen years old at the time of this study, it established the context for increased hiring as well as the Civil Rights and Women's movements themselves.

Some women had worked in the industry before the Great Society's efforts. Scholars such as Maurine Beasley contend that women and minorities were employed in industry with the advent of World War II when the employment picture changed dramatically for women in many industries, including journalism.¹¹ The war meant more opportunities for women and Negroes. By 1943 women made up 50 percent of the staffs of many newspapers in smaller cities.¹² In Washington, there were nearly 100 women accredited to the Capitol press galleries, compared with 30 just six years earlier.¹³ By V-E Day, the total female labor force had increased by more than six million, or about 50 percent.¹⁴ For the first time, more wives were employed than single women, more women over thirty-five than under thirty-five.¹⁵ Manufacturing took the largest number of new workers -- 2.5 million -- but an additional 2 million entered the clerical field, and the only areas of female employment to suffer a decline were those of the domestic service and the professions.¹⁶ Even after the war, as indicated in Chapter I, women continued to be employed in media occupations. The number of women employed as editors and reporters in newspaper, magazine, and book publishing rose until by

1960 women represented about 37 percent of the total.¹⁷ The percentage of women employed in public relations jumped a remarkable 258 percent from 1950 to 1960.¹⁸

Yet, according to the 1970 U.S. Census, women in journalism were outnumbered 2:1 by men and confined to the lower ranks. Similar concerns appeared in broadcasting, the focus of this study. A 1972 survey 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.¹⁹ The oral histories compiled as data for this study suggest that this survey was true. For the most part, study participants were employed at the beginning of their careers in the lower ranks as secretaries and production assistants. Few were given any training sessions, few attended journalism schools.²⁰ They basically learned on the job or learned by doing.²¹

Another component or factor that contributed to the increased hiring of women and minorities was the findings of the Kerner Report. As indicated in Chapter I, President Johnson appointed the National Commission on Civil Disorders, which came to be known as the Kerner Commission after its chairman, Otto Kerner. The panel studied twenty-three of the riot-torn cities and concluded that the violence, looting, and arson in the late 1960s grew out of complaints that included police practices, unemployment, and inadequate housing.²² The media were criticized for failing to report adequately on the racial problems in the United States and for failing to bring more African Americans into the profession; the Kerner

Commission. in essence, indicted the media for not seeking out, hiring, training, and promoting black Americans.²³

The federal mandates and the Kerner Report had an impact on the increase in number -- however small or large -- of women and minorities who entered the media and the upward mobility of those who were already there. The mandates and the Kerner Report, it must be noted, helped create an atmosphere in which it became more appropriate to hire women and minorities. (In spite of those antidiscriminatory laws, the majority of the women felt or knew that they were not paid as well as their male counterparts for equal work.²⁴) Beasley's study, as well as other material in Chapter I, helps to inform the reader of the increased presence of diverse groups in public affairs broadcasting. The oral histories that are interwoven into the fabric of this study allow the reader to obtain perspectives from those who acknowledged that the Great Society legislation as well as the Civil Rights and the Women's Movements that occurred years earlier contributed to the presence of women and minorities during the years examined.

2.2 Who Were These Broadcast Journalists? An Overview of a Documentary Staff of the 1970s and 1980s

The public affairs staff that existed in the 1970s and 1980s at CBS was studied and not the staffs of the other networks because of the well-known reputation that the unit had since the development of the television documentary by Edward R. Murrow and Fred Friendly. The unit consisted of producers, associate producers, researchers, assistant producers, cameramen, directors, writers, editors, production managers, and production assistants. The average staff for most one or two hour documentaries in those days consisted of approximately seven members: one executive producer who served in that capacity for all the documentaries, one producer-director-writer, one associate producer, one or two film editors, one or two cameramen and soundmen, one researcher and one production manager.²⁵

The duties and responsibilities of each staff member are highlighted in Chapter I, but for the purposes of this chapter it is important to underscore the producer position. The broadcast journalists holding this position had, for the most part, the task of supervising all members of the team. They reported to the executive producer who supervised the whole unit, and this individual reported to the vice president of public affairs broadcasting who was responsible for all the units that fell under the public affairs broadcasting umbrella.

Two questionnaires were formulated to solicit oral responses to issues and concerns of broadcast journalists -- both male and female, black and white -- during the time that diverse groups began entering network news. One questionnaire guided the recollections of men

both black and white. the other questionnaire allowed the women both black and white to tell their stories. The study focuses on behind-the-camera personnel rather than correspondents because there have been many studies on the latter broadcast journalists.²⁶ The data found in this study primarily comes from women and minorities who started in the lower ranks and moved up to become full producers, associate producers, or managers

Today, many of these individuals are still employed by CBS as full producers, receiving credits on *CBS Morning*, *Sunday Morning*, *Sixty Minutes*, *CBS Reports*, *CBS Week End News* and *CBS Evening News*. Their exposure in both hard news and soft news helped guide this study in that the perspectives provided material from both areas. Media executives who also worked in hard news contributed data that helped in making comparisons to the two divisions within CBS News. Hard news refers to serious, factual, and timely stories about important topics.²⁷ Soft news refers to investigative, feature, or human interest stories.²⁸ *CBS Evening News* falls under the umbrella of hard news, and *CBS Reports* under the umbrella of soft news. Other broadcast journalists in this study, as indicated in subsequent chapters, have gone on to become executive producers, media executives, faculty members, or are now retired.

Fifty-nine broadcast journalists were asked to provide oral histories and to recall the documentaries they produced or helped to produce in public affairs broadcasting during those years. Of those fifty-nine, eighteen responded, a 30 percent response rate. Out of the

women, two were black women, of the five men, one was black

Out of thirty women who were asked to respond, eleven black women were given the opportunity to have their voices heard, only two responded. Out of the thirty women, nineteen white women were asked to respond; only eleven responded. Out of twenty-nine men, twelve black men were asked to respond, one answered. Out of the twenty-nine men, only four white men responded. The men who responded with the exception of one were all network news vice presidents or executive producers.

In addition, ten men, two of whom are black, did respond via telephone or correspondence. However, they did not complete the oral histories. Two black women also responded, but did not complete their perspectives. It is possible to speculate or present reasons for the lack of respondents among men and women -- black and white -- but later chapters reflect the difficulties that America in general and broadcast journalists in particular have in discussing issues pertaining to race or gender in the workplace.

The television documentary at CBS, with its roots in the work of Edward R. Murrow and documentary teams composed primarily of men in the 1950s and 1960s, experienced changes in the 1970s that included the hiring of more women and minorities in public affairs broadcasting. Their presence in the network news industry brought about a mix of challenges and revelations that are reflected in the chapters to follow as eighteen respondents recall those years and the documentaries that were produced.

2.3 The Documentary as Product with Male/Female/Minority Staffs

Producing a television documentary includes at least two primary concerns: developing the idea for the documentary and implementing that idea. The producer, researcher, and correspondent at some point are involved in researching the idea. If the idea is approved by the executive producer and the vice president, the producer proceeds with the filming of the idea with additional assistance at that point from editors, camera crews, and production managers and assistants. Women and minorities were involved in this process in the late 1970s and the early 1980s when *CBS Reports* was called, "the most prestigious documentary series in the business."²⁹

As indicated in the introduction to this chapter, a series of documentaries that were produced and written by women and minorities were examined by the author and researcher Dovetta Hairston, a senior broadcast journalism major at North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University. The examination revealed that these groups did not to any great degree treat stories that were measured by impact and significance to the public at large any differently from their white male counterparts. The late William Leonard, a white male journalist who had a long career at CBS and who moved up the ranks to become vice president of public affairs broadcasting and later the president of the news division, expressed his belief in the caliber of broadcast journalists who made up the *CBS Reports* staff at that time:

As I look back over the better part of four decades at CBS News, it does seem to me that the great *CBS Reports* documentaries, together with the controversies that swirled around them, as well as the character and courage of the people who made them possible, represent as much as any single thing what is most special about the news organization that produced them.³¹

The established news values and the process of news selectivity have been, as documented by the oral histories, consistently used by those women and minorities who were employed in network news during the years examined. News values and selectivity involve certain criteria that must be in place for the event to be deemed newsworthy. These characteristics include timeliness, importance, significance, prominence, proximity, conflict, human interest, and oddity.³²

For the most part, *CBS Reports* adhered to established criteria. The documentary series reflected its mission of being a unit committed to "pointing out the inequities and injustices of our times," as stated by William Leonard at a *CBS Reports* anniversary salute.³² In 1979, the unit produced a two-hour documentary entitled, "Blacks in America: With All Deliberate Speed?" Ed Bradley was the correspondent, and the documentary team was composed of white and black producers. The program opened with reactions from a white and a black student, elicited by Edward R. Murrow following the Supreme Court decision that outlawed segregation in the public schools in 1954. The two segments had Bradley first visiting Tupelo, Mississippi, and then schools in his hometown, Philadelphia, to see how things had changed for blacks in the South and in the North -- not very much, considering

a quarter of a century of court actions, attempted enforcement, and massive media attention.³³

The entire production team consisted of only two women, a black female producer and a white female production manager.³⁴

The production team following established news values garnered many prestigious awards, one being the Alfred I. duPont award for excellence in broadcast journalism where this documentary was listed as "admirable" in the *Eighth Alfred I. duPont Columbia University Survey*.

This particular documentary was well received by the press as well. Pulitzer Prize winning journalist Haynes Johnson reviewed the film for the *Washington Post*:

But statistics are not the point, and certainly not the reason for television. If it's figures you want, go back and read Myrdal or his successors. Tonight's program gives us real people in ways only television, at its best, can capture.

My favorite is the scene involving Bradley and an old black woman in a doctor's office in Lexington, Miss. The doctor, in violation of Title Six of the Civil Rights Act, maintains segregated waiting rooms for his patients.³⁵

Noted television critic John O'Connor of the *New York Times* wrote similarly of that sequence in the documentary:

Mr. Bradley finds the segregated phenomenon of private white academies and overcrowded black public schools. He also comes across a medical complex in which, clearly in violation of the Civil Rights Act, patients are forced to use racially segregated waiting rooms.

In June, two months after CBS News reported to the Federal Government the existence of the segregated doctors' offices in Lexington, the walls dividing black and white waiting rooms were taken down.³⁶

O'Connor cited the U S Justice Department's involvement in the segregated waiting rooms as a result of the initiative of the producers to fight injustices. The black female associate producer kept pursuing the U S Justice Department along with the white male producer until action was taken.

As stated earlier, *CBS Reports* reflected its mission of being committed to pointing out inequities and injustices. This is the high road that television documentaries have always taken in ways different from the daily newscasts whose mission it is to report the news.

The original transcript of that film sequence suggests that the black female producer was moved to action by the horror of capturing on film a policy that had been outlawed:

Bradley: Have they always had one waiting room for whites and other ones for blacks here? It's always been that way?

Black Elderly Woman: Yes, sir.

Bradley: No change at all, huh? - Do you think that's right?

Black Elderly Woman: No - I'm afraid to say what's right. I just comes to the doctor.³⁷

This is the first evidence in this research that addresses the question of female inclusion in the interview process. The author seeks to establish, by examining other award-winning documentaries produced during this study, that when women and minorities became involved in editorial decision making more women and minorities, if possible, were interviewed in the documentaries. The Lexington, Mississippi, woman's remarks were essentially the catalyst for the Justice Department's intervention.³⁸

For all the awards *CBS Reports* received, in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the

network regarded the documentary as "a pain in the behind." because it did not get good ratings and caused controversy ³⁹ This perception of controversy resulted from years of documentary filmmaking where the subject matter introduced in the films created debate among those watching.

Yet, at the beginning of the decade, network documentarians could look back to the golden days of *CBS Reports*, *NBC White Papers*, and *ABC Closeup*.⁴⁰ As the 1970s drew to a close, whatever their individual triumphs, ten more years of indifference and neglect by network management, sponsors, and the public stood between documentaries and the good old days.⁴¹ James Rosenfield, president of the CBS Television Network, told the New England chapter of the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences in October of 1978 that although the network documentary units were still the tops so far as artistry was concerned and dealt with "the major issues of our times," they suffered what could only be described as "massive rejection" by the public.⁴² Rosenfield's conclusion in that speech was "Are we going to go on doing documentaries? Of course we are because you can't have a fully rounded news service without them -- and a full service is part of the mandate of CBS News."⁴³ Senior management officials of CBS corporate regarded the news division as a very important public relations tool and were not willing to abandon at least a perfunctory showing of public responsibility with the use of the documentary ⁴⁴

As the organization sought to address public responsibility, the executives were always

looking for the best broadcast journalists to work in the unit. Robert Chandler, vice president of public affairs during the years of this study, was a key participant in the hiring of established documentary filmmakers who had made a substantial mark in documentary film production. However, as Chandler recalled, their employment was short-lived

Bill Leonard at one time did hire Marcel Ophuls. Unfortunately that simply didn't work out. I think these people are so accustomed to working independently and doing things the way they want that we didn't even really make an effort to get them. They had their own businesses for one thing, but for another I can't imagine Fred Wiseman operating under a news division discipline. He likes to do his shows his own way. I think there was a basic incompatibility.⁴⁵

This inability to work as a team within a news organization was the underlying factor in ascertaining the differences between working as a documentary filmmaker and as a television documentary filmmaker. Both documentarians believed themselves independent, but working in a news organization suggests that you, as a male, female, or minority, must give up some independence because you are required to work with other staff employees, who for whatever the reason, present problems in working together. As Chandler explained, "I don't know what group conflicts existed. There could be friction in the field because the correspondent did not want to eat with the unit manager every night -- that could have been a conflict. We did not have a conscience effort to organize into male/female or male/male teams."⁴⁶

The philosophy of collaboration arguably worked because the programs that were widely recognized for their mass appeal and their journalistic standards were developed by

journalists who worked successfully as a team, regardless of gender and racial make-up⁴⁷

However, a thorough review of the oral histories that are a large part of this study disclose that although the teams were successful, each team member had his or her individual problems to face.

Getting management officials to listen to issues that needed to be addressed in television documentaries was Judy Crichton's major concern. She produced a number of documentaries for *CBS Reports* during this period that spoke to the inequities of their times, as stated earlier Crichton found herself, like many producers, in numerous conversations with management explaining why a topic needed to be addressed in a television documentary. Bill Moyers served as correspondent on many of her documentaries that were noted for their coverage of controversial subjects that provided information that Americans needed to assess the government's role in issues pertinent to national security.

"Fallout From Three Mile Island," "The CIA's Secret Army," "The Battle Over Panama," and "The Battle for South Africa," were some of the documentaries she produced for *CBS Reports* under Executive Producer Howard Stringer. She is more widely known as the executive producer of the PBS documentary series, *The American Experience*. She was also teamed with producer George Crile III to produce "The Battle Over Panama" on the eve of the treaty with Panama that turned the canal over to Panama.⁴⁸ "The CIA's Secret Army" with correspondent Bill Moyers was another collaborative team effort that was

extensively covered in the press. The transcript lists a team of men and women, both white and black, as producers, associate producers, editors, and researchers who worked together to produce this piece.

This film was screened, as well as the others presented in this section, to examine the number of women interviewed as government officials, historians, or experts on the subject of the CIA's involvement in the Bay of Pigs and later Watergate. The evidence from the documentary does not reveal women as government officials or CIA operatives; the only female voice we hear is that of Castro's interpreter and the angry statements of a female anti-Castro Cuban exile.⁴⁹ As Producer Crichton pointed out in her oral history: "You know, the CIA didn't hire women to overthrow Castro."⁵⁰ What the film suggests is the hard work of minorities and white men and women laboring behind the scenes to bring to the public's attention the compelling story of the CIA's secret involvement in some of the historic events of this century: Watergate, the Bay of Pigs, and Kennedy's assassination.

The importance of this documentary was not overlooked by leading television critics such as John O'Connor of the *New York Times*:

The documentary's scenario, in very simple outline, finds the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration in March of 1960 authorizing the overthrow of Castro who came to power in 1959. President Kennedy then inherited the Bay of Pigs plan, which he didn't abandon until actual operations got under way with an American CIA agent, Grayson Lynch, leading the invaders. The CIA and the exiles felt bitterly betrayed.

Yet, the following November, Kennedy was wildly cheered in Miami. This was the beginning, the program states of the undeclared "secret war," involving thousands of men and tens of millions of dollars, all under the control of 600 to 700 CIA. "The CIA's Secret Army," painstakingly recreates a narrative of violence, deceit, facistic chauvinism and internal subversion. This well-organized and convincingly presented result is astonishing and darkly chilling.⁵¹

Several years later, this documentary would be a source of extensive research material used by Oliver Stone, the Hollywood director of the film, *JFK*.⁵² *Time* magazine focused on Moyers' fifteen-and-a-half hour interview with Castro. Only a segment of the interview was used in the documentary. The *Time* article, which was written the week of the airing of the documentary in June of 1977, does mention President Carter's consideration of Moyers to head the CIA, the very same agency that Moyers and the documentary said that for more than a decade had tried to assassinate the man he was interviewing: Castro.⁵³

Haynes Johnson of the *Washington Post* wrote a more in-depth article than *Time* and brought to the attention of the American public one of the key controversies that the team knew would be raised.

The television documentary, once the glory of the medium in the days of Murrow and now fallen into network disfavor at its best carries a power that print journalism cannot match. But by raising that theory -- and only that one -- and leaving it there, the strong implication is that Castro indeed had Kennedy killed. Moyers does not examine the other conspiracy theories in the case, particularly the ones that have the assassination stemming from the CIA or their embittered Cuban exiles.

The view of the Kennedys is something else. In tonight's program, the Kennedy brothers come over as the villains of the piece. They are the agents of deceit, the fomenters of the "secret war," the pressure points for Castro's overthrow

and removal. This is neither the time nor place to weigh into that complicated story. But I found the version portrayed as singularly one-dimensional, singularly free of complexities.⁵⁴

Johnson suggests that the documentary was in general in "disfavor" with the network, but producers knew that when any documentary received an enormous amount of press as this one did, good or bad, management was pleased.⁵⁵

Another documentary that included a diverse team was "The Defense of the United States" -- "a landmark series in evaluating our defense."⁵⁶ This five-part documentary series also won the Columbia duPont award. In the 1979-81 duPont survey mentioned earlier, it was stated that broadcasters in those years generally believed that documentaries would be deadly to ratings. However, this particular documentary series proved them wrong, at least in its first two installments, by reaping a 30 percent share of the audience and sweeping its time period.⁵⁷

Bill Leonard, the CBS News president, lauded the effort and recalled in his memoirs the development of the documentary concept:

We had some successes. One was a series of broadcasts that aired for five consecutive nights in June 1981 entitled "The Defense of the United States." The debate over the proposed U.S. arms build-up was a matter of intense national interest at that time, and it seemed incumbent upon us to do something well beyond mere coverage of the controversy on our regular news broadcast. The subject was too big, too important. Why not do *five* hours in a single week. If that didn't open the eyes of the American public to the nuclear threat, nothing short of a real war was likely to.

The team had been working for a couple of months when Howard Stringer walked into my office and gave me his tall, British smile. "Boss, I hope you don't mind, but we're planning to blow up Omaha." He paused for effect. I did not bite. "Nuclear, dammit, Nuclear! Sounds like a barrel of laughs." I said finally. "Seriously," said Howard, "we're going to try to show something of what a nuclear bomb would do to a city. Using models, and a lot of effects. And Omaha. It should make the point." It did. Omaha was nuked on the first of the five broadcasts.¹¹

Although the series was widely received, the evidence from the transcript and "The Defense of the United States" broadcast reveal that women and minorities in the military are interviewed, but it can be argued that their appearance served only to show the shortcomings of the military.¹²

Tom Shales, however, of the *Washington Post* called the *Defense* series, "the most important, but the most fascinating television documentary of the year."¹³ John O'Connor of the *New York Times* termed many of the facts and much of the material overwhelming, adding, "but CBS News has made a laudable effort to stimulate a badly needed public debate."¹⁴ O'Connor goes on to quote Howard Stringer, the executive producer on the series, on an area that is key to this study:

Looking back on the effort, which began with some trepidation about filling five hours of airtime, Mr. Stringer refers to "an extraordinary experience" in which all of the producers got along so well in an unusually cooperative venture, one in which coordination was sometimes accomplished in a passing conversation in a hallway.¹⁵

Stringer's assessment of the team "getting along so well" underscores Chandler's recollection that there really were no group conflicts.⁷³ Throughout the dissertation, the oral histories reveal the contention that there were and were not conflicts just as there were and were not real differences in news values. Therefore, in regards to "The Defense" documentary, the mere fact that the sixty or more people, who worked around the clock on this project for months with their only day off being a Sunday when there was a power failure in the building on West 57th Street that housed the unit, attests to their ability to work continuously under pressure as a team.⁷⁴

During that time, women journalists were teamed together on various documentaries produced by women. Judy Towers Reemstma produced several documentaries on subjects relevant to women such as taking care of the elderly and nursing. When such teaming was noticed, management argued that this was not a conscious effort to team women with women because of group conflicts between male/female teams but because "Judy proposed the subject and Marlene Sanders was looking for an hour."⁷⁵

An example of a *CBS Reports* documentary produced by a female team was "What Shall We Do About Mother?" The report focused on the debate over locating the best possible care for an aging parent -- in most cases, the parent is a woman because women live longer. A topic that the president of CBS News was interested in as well because of his own aging mother. "What Shall We Do About Mother?" also addresses a key

component of this study that deals with the interview process. This particular documentary reflects an attempt by an all-female team to include experts that are primarily female or minorities in the interview process when medical experts during this period were also primarily men. Women and minorities are used as medical experts in the documentary on the elderly, and the major subjects in the film are women caring for their mothers. According to O'Connor of the *New York Times*, this team dealt "toughly and sensitively with that most troubling of contemporary social problems -- aging."

O'Connor's use of the words "toughly and sensitively" defines the women and minorities who produced for *CBS Reports* in the 1970s and early 1980s. When the subject matter called for more participation from women, as was the case in "Mother" because this social problem is basically handled by women, the editorial decisions were made with sensitivity. Yet, if the subject matter was important to the national security of America, the female and minority journalists -- producers, directors, writers, and researchers -- tackled the tough problems squarely.

Scholars have written about the challenges associated with news coverage of women and minorities. A 1990 study shows a gain in coverage of females in photos in the print media, but little in references to female names quoted as sources.⁹⁷ Similarly in broadcasting as indicated by the following comments from participants in this project, females are found clearly to be an integral part of coverage on morning shows when more feature reporting is

included. There are again few references to female names quoted as sources. Any effort, therefore, to include females and minorities in the interview process, as indicated in the oral histories, was a challenge. In the days of this study, fewer women worked in professions that would have given them the opportunity to speak as experts.

The differences, however, are revealed in the nuances found in the stories covered. For instance, female journalists tend to look for the drama of the mundane in a story, things in everyday life that people are familiar with, but the female journalist looks at it in a way that is fairly dramatic; women notice more.⁷⁸

Patricia Olson Matthews, a producer with *CBS This Morning* and a former *CBS Reports* researcher, believes the news coverage of women today often has sexist overtones:

Most of my producing career has been on *CBS Morning News* or *CBS This Morning* depending on which reincarnation you are talking about where there was the bigger complaint that we didn't have enough on sports and male stuff. All of it was soft on cooking, parenting, health topics, crafts and fuzzy animals and stuff. So as far as sexism, the judgment went towards women.⁷⁹

Additionally, the judgment went towards minorities as the group to report on African American issues. Perhaps the Kerner Report that stressed that more African Americans needed to cover minority issues was a result of assignments being given to African Americans on racial issues as suggested by European American Patricia Matthews:

I know we have many black producers. Some of them actually complain that every time there is some story to do with an African American, it automatically goes to them which is fine sometimes, but they don't want to have

to do all the O J Simpson stories or those sorts of stories. They want to be able to choose their own stories. If it happens to be about African Americans fine.⁷⁰

On the other hand, in the *CBS Reports* unit and in public affairs broadcasting on the network level in general, as one African American female production manager, Sheila Parker, recalled, there were not enough minorities brought into the mix to work on documentaries that addressed the African American community.

I remember on one of those *48 Hours Revisited*, black faces are shown without hesitation. Finally somebody decided to take it to Wall Street. There were Wall Street guys in their blue suits and they are coming up and they are passing packages between the black guys. The Wall Street guys' faces are covered, not the guys who are selling the drugs.

Bill Moyers is one of my favorite people. I sat in Bill Moyers office until I had my say and that was on the documentary that he had done and he called it "Crisis in Black America" -- that wasn't a crisis in Black America that was a crisis in that project and that caused a lot of stir and I told him that even though your words may be absolutely literal and absolutely correct, absolutely having a feeling of empathy for these people and wanting to have something done for them. I guarantee you right now ten, twelve, thirteen years after certain documentaries are made, you go to some people and they will pick out what they saw that reinforces their own prejudices and say here are all those people, all they do is have babies. I said that documentary does not address me. I was married for five years before I had my first child. Yes, I am a single mother, it's through divorce. You did not tackle that I worked very, very hard to keep my children in private schools, to keep a roof over their heads to educate them and to love them. You talked about a crisis in a project in Newark, New Jersey, and you called it America. That's not who I am, that didn't address me, that didn't address my sister, didn't address my mother, my aunt or the people that I know. Yes, I think the lack of input on an editorial level and that includes editing, the lack of that made a lot of insensitive things go by because we weren't there to input.⁷¹

The comments of Sheila Parker, to a degree match press critics' comments that the press

resembles only those who run it -- a contention supported by other perspectives in this study

The oral perspectives also cite the experiences of hiring other minorities. Paul Greenberg, an executive producer now with NBC, recalled efforts to bring other minorities into the fold:

We took matters into our own hands. In one instance, one of my film editors and I decided to teach a messenger from the mail room film editing since he would always stop along his mail route and ask questions about what we were doing. In a very short period of time, the young man became a solid editor for our program. [He was Puerto Rican.]⁷²

Again, as indicated in Chapter I, the hiring practices of management in behalf of other minority groups such as Asian Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Native Americans in those days for the most part stemmed from the fact that America basically identified women and African Americans as those groups seeking more employment opportunities.⁷³ As a result, the very small number of Hispanic Americans or Native Americans or Asian Americans who entered network news or tried to enter public affairs broadcasting met obstacles as Pamela Ilott, the former CBS News vice president, recalled:

I badgered management for years to train more bilingual producers. I was always free to hire them into our own unit, but once trained they tended to return to jobs in their own cities. New York was not an easy place to adjust to. Management across town always cited lack of education, of experience, of work ethic when we urged more hiring of Hispanics.⁷⁴

The lack in hiring of diverse groups was also indicative of the lack of females and minorities as sources or experts in public affairs reporting. For years, the industry found few

who met the standards it demanded for the job. More African Americans and women are now available as shown by the numbers within the broadcast industry. Even so, it is hard to get and keep minorities as discussed in subsequent chapters. In the years studied, these issues of the lack of training or too few available qualified people were often times discussed.

However, as scholar Lee Thornton points out, CBS News did begin a limited minority training

program of its own.⁷⁵

Additionally, the female producer of "The CIA's Secret Army," Judy Crichton supported the contention that women and minorities were not used as sources because they just did not exist at the time of filming and because they did not hold top level positions with the CIA or any other established organization: "You know the CIA didn't hire women to overthrow Castro. Similarly later on what was fascinating when I began to try and encourage people to use nonwhites in interviews on subjects other than race where you look for an architect or an engineer or a physicist or a medical person to broaden that sweep. But the truth was the experts on everybody's Rolodex were all white, and most of them were men."⁷⁶ The few women producers who wanted to provide minorities and women as sources, just could not find them in the years that the study examines.

Furthermore, the study contends that as female and minority producers searched for diverse sources, they were also committed to reporting the news, which underscores the belief that there were no differences in news values and that the quest to identify other diverse

sources existed side by side with the producers goal of producing the best possible piece

Another indicator of this argument can be supported by the 1991 Bleske study of female gatekeepers.⁷⁷ This study argued that women's editorial judgments are consistent with their male counterparts. Likewise, most of these producers studied adhered to standard news values and selectivity when they produced a piece. Leslie Danoff Robbins, a former producer, presents a perfect example of Bleske's theory:

I must say that it never occurred to me then and were I to do it now it might occur to me, but I think I would resist the impulse to just seek out the female or minority person just because they happened to be female or minority. I mean I always looked for who I considered to be the most knowledgeable and most articulate authority, a communicator, somebody who would basically be able to in a few short seconds or a minute or however much time we had -- which wasn't nearly enough time usually -- you know just find the best person to explain a particular point of view. It often worked out that it would be a woman or perhaps a minority, but I never tried to set it up that way and I don't believe that is the way to really do a fair job.⁷⁸

Tensions did occur when minority and women producers saw that diverse groups were not often used as sources, even though such sources were not readily available. Wilson and Gutierrez wrote in 1985 that a common complaint of minority reporters working in mainstream white newsrooms is the pressure of unwritten policy applied to their stories and news angle ideas.⁷⁹ This policy, among other things, alludes to situations in which minority reporters present diverse news sources, but these sources are edited. This is the manifestation of news being defined in terms of white majority perception.⁸⁰ Producer Judy Crichton understood that perception:

People are interested in subjects that deal with like-minded people. If you went to Princeton, Harvard, or Yale, you were interested in how they played football or what their academic problems were. In the selection of editorial material as far as I'm concerned this business of objectivity is nonsense. We all bring a lot of personal experience and we select the subjects that interest us whether they get past management or not based on a whole lifetime of experience.⁴¹

Students today in journalism continue to be taught that objectivity is essential to news coverage. However, Producer Susan Schackman Adler had opinions similar to Crichton's

If you are white and you grew up in a suburb and you look at things that way, you are going to do a story that kind of reflects that. I think the *Evening News* recently did a series called "Facing Fifty." We noticed that in the four or five parts a lot of it was focused on white men turning fifty. White men are not the only people in America. We were like, well, where is everybody else and what are their problems? So I think that we have to be very, very careful not to look at it just through our own eyes, but we have to look at it through America's eyes and the world's eyes and it's hard to do and I think we have to work on that.⁴²

Throughout the oral histories that were submitted, producers stressed their sensitivity to the need for diverse voices not only in the subject matter but in the staffing of public affairs programs. Marlene Sanders, a former correspondent, producer, news executive, and current professor, spoke to this issue as well:

When I left CBS in 1987, I went to Channel 13 in New York and did a show called "Metro Week in Review," which was based on "Washington Week in Review." Four reporters and me every week and I told my producers -- they were both women. I said, "Look, I do not want four white guys in suits. I will not have it and we are going to find minorities to put on this show." And you know with a little digging, we found them.⁴³

Judy Crichton also recalled the sensitivity of male executives on certain subjects:

I outraged everybody at CBS by doing a film on menopause. It was a magazine piece called, "The Last Dirty Word." It embarrassed the male and the whole thesis of it was that it was going to happen to every woman. I not only used obviously images of women in there, but images of women of color, of every class, of every ethnic background because I was trying to make television look more like America looked.⁸⁴

Women and minorities, in concluding comments, did not treat news differently than their white male counterparts, although they did seek to find new sources for explaining the news. They did observe more; they noticed more; and they knew, in their quest to include females and minorities as sources in the interview process, that these groups needed representation. Sometimes it was just not possible.

Nevertheless, this section does acknowledge that the documentary staffs in general and CBS in particular did change to reflect "integration" whether or not it was a direct result of the Civil Rights Act or the Kerner Commission Report. These were factors that put pressure on media organizations to hire more diverse groups.

There can be no debate that these staffs continued to do the caliber of work associated with *CBS Reports* during Edward R. Murrow's days. Even though in the years studied, the three major networks at that time -- CBS, NBC, and ABC -- aired more than 2,200 hours of news-related activity, the air-time for documentaries was decreasing. CBS was down to 15 hours from 20 to 24 per season in the mid-seventies.⁸⁵

Nonetheless, the staff, with more women and minorities, still continued to receive the highest honors, individually and collectively, in excellence in broadcast journalism. The

question remains, however, of the level of women and minorities involvement in the editorial process. This is addressed quite candidly in the responses that are shared in the following section

2.4 The Editorial Process -- Were women and minorities truly involved?

The editorial process at all the networks during the years studied included: knowledge of an event found through sources such as the wire service, safety service monitors, magazines and newspapers, other reporters, other broadcast outlets, mailings, and handouts. Once the producer in public affairs broadcasting became interested in an event or idea, researchers would be asked to locate specific information on the topic. The producer would pitch the idea to a senior level producer, generally, the executive producer, who in turn would pitch it to the vice president of the public affairs division. At a certain point in this process, a written proposal including budget and location of the filming would be given to the senior level officials. In most cases, a person hired to produce for the unit, had his or her ideas listened to and was allowed to proceed with filming the topic.

This ease in pitching ideas and in most cases getting them produced came from the high esteem in which producers were held by senior management at CBS. Producers who had a proven track record in presenting excellent documentary ideas and producing them were favorites; there also was no set number of ideas that one had to come up with monthly.

The best way to illustrate this respect for the teams that the executives had built is to examine management at that time. Media history books and surveys on the documentary units point to this time as being one of transition when dramatic changes were occurring from the corner offices that housed the executives to the control rooms and studios.⁸⁶ Executives changed frequently, but the broadcast journalists, for the most part in those days before mergers, stayed staunchly on course. Bill Leonard, Bill Small, Robert Chandler, and most executives of that period knew that keeping a solid staff of journalists was important as Bill Leonard alludes to in his book, *In the Storm of the Eye*. In this book, Bill Small, a very powerful and prominent CBS executive, was moving to another network as Leonard recalled

Bill Small was offered the corporate lobbying job in Washington that I had just left. Small accepted it. Less than a year later he was chosen to be head of NBC News, and for a while we were competing fiercely against each other. In spite of all this our personal relationship never soured. When he went over to NBC News, he apparently perceived a major problem with the place. There were not enough people from CBS to make it right. And he lured some CBS newsmen over to his new stomping ground. Still, there *was* something about CBS News people, there were so *many* talented journalists in our shop. For not only Bill Small but also the aggressive Roone Arledge [at ABC] came to believe that a shortcut to upgrading their own operations was simply to raid our staff.⁸⁷

The journalists -- both men and women -- at CBS News were aware of their reputations. Surely, the men held the most prestigious on camera and producer positions. However, women could be seen as executive producers, primarily of women's magazine

programs or full producers on *Sixty Minutes* or *CBS Reports*. Three or four women had moved up the ranks to become executives reporting to vice presidents and presidents such as Richard Salant, they will be discussed in subsequent chapters

This was a time at CBS News when many broadcast journalists could be heard up and down the halls discussing the offers they had received from NBC and ABC. Therefore, when analyzing the involvement of women and minorities in the editorial process during the late 1970s and early 1980s, the study acknowledges how much in demand they were in the network news industry as Leslie Danoff Robbins recalled.

From my perspective, as a researcher at CBS and then as an associate producer/producer with *Bill Moyers Journal*, women were heavily involved in the editorial process of television documentaries. I mean women were the mainstay. Thinking to the newsroom at CBS, I would say by the late 70s and early 80s, women really shared the producer roles quite equably with the male producers.⁸⁸

Yet at the same time their belief that they truly were involved is questionable, according to Producer/Correspondent Marlene Sanders: "Are you kidding? There weren't any [women] First of all, there weren't many documentaries when I started in 1964. There were documentaries in the 1970s, and I actually became involved at some point almost in a full time basis in documentaries."⁸⁹ Producer Kathy Sulkes had a similar response: "From where I sat, women and minorities were not heavily involved in the editorial process of television documentaries, certainly not at CBS. There were some minorities there, but in terms of the editorial process per se, I would say they were few and far between."⁹⁰

Producer Patricia Olson Matthews also recalled the participation of women and minorities "Yes, but in subsidiary roles. We had almost no full female or minority producers in those days. But it was six guys for every woman in those jobs."³¹

Even so, women were undeniably making inroads. According to scholars, fueled by feminist activism, opportunities in general for women in the media increased dramatically in the 1970s and 1980s.³² Local press clubs and national journalism organizations were integrated following protests by women.³³ Clearly, women ventured into new arenas. By the end of the 1970s, women sportswriters were covering locker rooms.³⁴ From the oral histories, however, some white female broadcast journalists could not see their own impact on the editorial process. One black production manager, however, Sheila Parker, could plainly see their significance:

There were a handful of women [in the 1970s], and I am thinking back now. They were respected. I think if those women were men, they would have been leading their own divisions, leading their own units, leading their own shows. They were respected women in that they knew how to do what they did well. There was Judy Reemstma, Judy Crichton, Janet Roach. They were women who you knew they were good. I saw often that some of the men went out of their way to put them down. Somebody wasn't pretty enough, somebody wasn't a good writer, which is all subjective.³⁵

Producer Judy Reemstma, a highly respected full producer during that time, likewise could plainly see that minorities were having difficulties in moving into full producer slots: "Women were involved in the editorial process, minorities were not."³⁶ Producer Nadine Sapia, an African American female, understood to what extent there was any involve-

ment of women or minorities in the editorial process. "They were only involved if it was a story that pertained to either of these groups. It was very difficult to break into the hard news areas because they were still being run by these powerful old school men who each had their individual departments and their chosen people."⁹⁷

Again, it must be stated that women and minorities had entered the profession basically in entry-level positions. It took time for them to move into areas where they had editorial control. For the first time, media women were allowed to compete professionally with men, but their advance was hard and slow; news organizations still presented difficult working conditions for women.⁹⁸ Additionally, women fared poorly in broadcasting, if not worse.⁹⁹ 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 1989.¹⁰⁰

African American independent Hollywood director and filmmaker, Roy Campanella II, who began his career as a *CBS Week End Evening News* film editor, also recalled the lack of involvement in the editorial process by diverse groups:

Women and minorities were not that heavily involved in the editorial process of CBS News. The editorial process was guided by the executive producers, the President, Dick Salant, from the news division and the managing editors of the *CBS Evening News* and the CBS news shows. There were a growing number of women at that time, slowly, but there weren't any minority executive producers that I know of, and I knew everybody there. The only [minority] on air personality at that time that was really gaining ground was Ed Bradley.¹⁰¹

Although everyone working then had this knowledge, only one white woman elaborated on this issue in a way that revealed much understanding of the editorial process and the interview process discussed in an earlier section. Marianna Edmunds, a former *Sixty Minutes* producer and a former *CBS Reports* researcher, responded to the question of the involvement of women and minorities in the editorial process:

With some exceptions no. Most of the women I knew were at low levels of research and production assistance. A handful, literally a handful, maybe two or three women, were in management. You know who they were. Were more African Americans and women interviewed in news programs? Certainly at *Sixty Minutes* that was never an effort. There was an unspoken philosophy that you went after whoever was the strongest in the field and that you did not interview women or African Americans or Latinos because of that and there was even bias against using people as tokens cause that's what they suggested they were and the leadership at *Sixty Minutes* always said we just want the best. We are not looking for any particular kind. A kind of rose-colored view of the world, which was underscored by a really strong brand of white male dominance as you know. I remember there were a couple of African American producers males at *Sixty Minutes* neither of them lasted.¹⁹²

I was doing a story in El Salvador about the refugee situation and the persecutions and the torture and my producer who was Joel Bernstein at that time was interviewing all the experts, all the refugee experts, the government people, the State Department -- couldn't find a Salvadoran that he thought was acceptable or spoke good enough English. That was the other thing -- they had to speak very good English. I finally said we had to do it with this woman named Eliza, and so we did interview her. Bradley did interview her. We came back to the editing room. Her accent was really thick. I didn't think it too thick, but they did. She was cut out, and I remember going into the editing room and saying, "You're going to do a story about Salvadorans and there is not one Salvadoran in the story." They changed their minds and in fact to his credit, Joel said, "You're right, and we have to fit her in." They did put her in. But there was prejudice against putting anybody in who was a little bit different, spoke differently, looked differently. I think you probably know how Don Hewitt felt about Indians who he thought were really boring. I

probably shouldn't say that. But there was a general feeling, "We want fast speaking dynamic, upscale, middle class people to talk just like us and that's going to make us really remembered on television." Anybody who was a little bit different was ruled out.¹⁰³

Involvement in the editorial process in the late 1970s and 1980s suggested many things to those who participated in this study. Their responses reflected scholars' assessment of that period. As indicated in this section, scholars argue that in broadcasting in particular fewer inroads were made and that women correspondents, though small in number, were the ones to advance moreso than female producers, whose responsibility it is to make editorial decisions. For those few women who rose to the level of full producers, editorial decisions could be made, and their ideas could be pitched and later approved. In the case of minorities, the mere fact that CBS News had very few minority producers affected quite profoundly editorial selection.¹⁰⁴

2.5 The Work Place: An Environment for Confronting Social Ills

Only recently has America become fully aware or sensitive to the issue of sexual harassment, most notably with the confirmation hearing of U.S. Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas and with the sexual harassment suit brought against President Clinton. The U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, in its interpretation of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, defines sexual harassment as including unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and verbal or physical conduct of

a sexual nature that creates an intimidating, hostile, or offensive workplace environment.¹⁰⁵

Surveys taken after the Clarence Thomas confirmation hearings in the 1990s and after Anita Hill's probe by an all-white, all-male Senate Judiciary Committee raised the consciousness of many about the inescapable nature of the problem.¹⁰⁶ Clarence Thomas, an African American, was narrowly confirmed as associate justice of the Supreme Court following extensive testimony by Law Professor Anita Hill's on charges against him of sexual harassment.¹⁰⁷ About half of women journalists reported being sexually harassed at some time during their career.¹⁰⁸ Nationally, between 42 percent and 85 percent of women have reported being sexually harassed in the workplace.¹⁰⁹ And in a 1992 poll of New York area executives, sexual harassment was the third most important employment issue after benefits and job security.¹¹⁰

In the early days when women began to enter what had been predominately a male environment, no boundaries for sexual behavior had been established as Producer Judy Crichton recalled:

There was an absolute presumption from the time that I was a kid that every boss would make a pass at you if you were attractive. My mindset was such that for many years I didn't object to that. I know that sounds astounding to you. I had been brought up to be flirtatious, and I felt I could handle it. I never was in a position where I lost a job or where someone used their power to hold me back because I refused to go to bed with him. But I almost didn't have a boss I guess until I was about fifty who didn't make a pass at me. It just went with the territory. And in my case at least, if you were good natured and said no, they went away in time. What was more disturbing to me in that general area was not the sexual stuff which I felt I could handle. In retrospect, my daughters

would be horrified by my saying that. If I were your generation, if one of them told me it happened to her, I would be furious. But my mindset was different in those days. It was a world in which everybody was having affairs. So, sex was a big issue in all of those offices, and it just seemed like part of the fabric of life.¹¹¹

The subject of sexual harassment is a complicated matter especially as it is interpreted by those producers, editors, writers, and researchers in public affairs broadcasting in the years studied. The women who were employed in the 1950s and 1960s looked upon the topic differently as Marlene Sanders recalled: "Sexual harassment, zero. There was a program manager at Channel 5 who made hints which I totally ignored. I never had any kind of sexual harassment so what can I tell you? Maybe other people? I didn't run into that. I was always very much a buddy of the men I worked with."¹¹² Judy Reemstma recalled her experiences where "passes" yesterday equal today's harassment: "Boring, but I never had any experience with sexual harassment. A few guys made passes, but a simple "no" usually sufficed."¹¹³ Pamela Ilott's recollection offered a diplomatic solution:

Sexual harassment? No, I never encountered it. If anything I was treated with extra consideration. Of course, my involvement with religious broadcasting may have been inhibiting. I never heard of any instances in my department. I believe that grown women should know how to handle situations with tact and humor. Their department discourages unwanted attention without making the man feel stupid. I don't think the woman should venture into the business world without such skills.¹¹⁴

In applying the definition of sexual harassment as indicated earlier, it just did not seem to exist from a managerial perspective as indicated by Vice President William Small:

I don't know of many sexual harassment cases at CBS when I was there. We did have a women's group, and Dick Salant would have those of us who were his chief deputies meet periodically with the women and ask any of the women who wanted to come and listen to their complaints and there really wasn't very much. Occasionally a woman would complain that men would call her honey, which she found offensive, but that's not exactly heavy duty sexual harassment in my mind. Most women were treated with respect as they should have been.¹¹⁵

Vice President Robert Chandler, similarly, did not recall many problems then that today would be classified as harassment concerns:

I don't recall harassment. I recall as they say complaints from women that there were not attitudes of inclusion. I don't recall anybody saying they were harassed. Harassment was something we simply would not tolerate. By the same token, there is harassment and harassment. But it wasn't a sexual manner. It was just Shad Northshield being himself at some of his more bullying moments. I suppose that may have been harassment, but I guess also we looked the other way. But again I don't think it was the case of "give me sex," if you want to keep your job." There was one producer who was known, one executive producer, who was known for a kind of building of relationships with one particular woman or another in the course of his career. It ordinarily was somebody who wanted to advance themselves, and he wanted to take advantage of his position. Maybe that is sweeping something under the rug, but we kind of looked the other way and maybe we were wrong to do so.¹¹⁶

Of those women responding who entered the public affairs units in the 1970s and 1980s, one female, Sheila Parker, provided insight into sexual harassment during that time:

You know this is so strange. I know it must have happened. Of course, I heard stories about liaisons between what I thought at that time were consenting adults. That's fine because that goes on in every walk of life. Everywhere you go where males and females are involved there are going to be some attachments. The females might have been smiling and been a part of it, but now I wonder were they part of it because they were in love with that person or were they involved in it knowing that this was going to

help their career? I can't answer that. I think that was an unwritten rule, an unwritten statement, but a statement of fact nonetheless because a lot of those women who were aligned with men did get some sort of promotion¹¹⁷

If harassment did occur perhaps as Chandler stated, it was wrong to look the other way. Perhaps the issue was not so much with the generation of women producing in the 1950s and 1960s, but those who came along in the 1970s when the documentation of events and the increase in lawsuits became more widespread. It is difficult to really discern the impact of harassment on the women respondents who primarily skirted the issue. As Chandler points out, however, harassment is harassment. For the broadcast journalists in the 1970s and 1980s, harassment was a complicated matter.

Surely sexual harassment existed, but it likely was "swept under the rug" for the pain it caused and for the inability of the women involved to ascertain where to go for help. Unfortunately, the oral histories did not allow for a clear assessment of the issue of sexual harassment in the lives of those journalists in the years examined.

2.6 The Work Place: Confronting Feminist Views and Gender Issues

In the 1960s, the very few women who were female newswriters, producers, or reporters found it almost impossible to change the system.¹¹⁸ They had to work hard to prove themselves in those almost all-male newsrooms. But by the 1970s, after the women's movement, women were organizing at newspapers, news magazines, and at the networks.¹¹⁹ Initially, equal opportunity seemed to signal good times ahead for women and minorities.¹²⁰ The early 1970s were years where women were convinced that rejecting established "women's" values was necessary to gain respect and promotions.¹²¹ As indicated in another chapter, the female broadcast journalists at CBS began to wear pants. They took on aggressive behaviors: some asked for dangerous assignments that took them to places less traveled by their peers; they used profanity in the newsroom; they began frequenting bars after work, a ritual carried on for years by male journalists. Soon, however, women found that there were differences that they had to face.

Understanding gender is both very simple and very complex.¹²² The deeper one probes into scientific, political, economic, or other cultural assumptions about gender the more complex and more diverse the ranges of opinion prove to be.¹²³ Gendering is the process that begins the moment that a baby takes its first breath of cultural pollution.¹²⁴ Gender differences, then, are the sets of attributes socially and culturally constructed on the basis of birth assignment as male or female.¹²⁵ The result is that people now live in a culture built

on a particular set of gender assumptions and inequalities where people come to view these gender differences as part of the natural world.¹²⁶

Nevertheless, by the 1980s, it was clear that women were achieving unequal rewards of equal opportunity: media messages told women they were liberated, while visual images showed them how miserable they were trying to have it all or being superwomen.¹²⁷ At the same time, in response to social currents, feminism had retreated somewhat from the equality position and moved to a cultural feminism mode in which women's traditional qualities of nurturing, emotiveness, and caring were stressed.¹²⁸

Female journalists began to think it was permissible to use their femininity in a way that put people at ease.¹²⁹ The oral histories show how female journalists dealt with these gender issues. Producer Ilott recalled her experiences with camera crews that spoke to gender differences:

Supervision, crews? Never a problem, if anything, I considered treatment produced unfailing support. I owed a great deal to the cameraman and the technicians I worked with. On difficult remotes being a woman was often an advantage. They would mutter, "If she can climb that wall I can," and having a great deal of stamina helped. In Vietnam, once officials saw that I didn't scare easily, being a woman was a plus. I found men, with few exceptions, quickly adjusted to working with a female who knew her job. There will always be a few men with problems, make allowances for them.¹³⁰

Producer Sanders also recalled that problems were few:

I never had any trouble with camera crews. We always got along very well. Why didn't I have problems? I don't know. As I said I was very collegial with people and got along with them, and it just wasn't an issue. No, I did not use

my femininity to delegate work. Did the women who used this tactic excel? Well, gee, there were no women, practically nobody around. I don't think a female journalist should behave any differently than a man. I never flirted with interviewees. I was always professional and businesslike. In Vietnam, when I was a woman correspondent in 1966 and I was the first woman from television to go even though it was under a month, I had no problem with anybody. I could have been a two-headed monster. They wanted the coverage from ABC, it didn't matter who I was, but I didn't have problems in that respect.¹³¹

Producer Reemstma's recollections make it clear that the camera crew answered to the producer:

Crews would from time to time treat you as if you were the person sent to go get them coffee. I pretty much ignored this stuff. The problems I have had with crews over the years have had to do with communicating clearly what I expect of them, and their listening. If they don't listen, I don't hire them again.¹³²

Producer Crichton recalled her experiences.

Camera crews. I was the first woman producer at CBS that the Wagner crew ever went out with, and that was a widely mixed crew in that the sound man, Dick Wiggins, was the first black guy in the union, and Billy's assistant was Chinese American. We looked like a traveling freak show. When we went South, people were terrified of us -- here's a black guy, a Chinese guy, a woman and a German American who talked and acted like Archie Bunker and those guys really initially gave me a very hard time. We eventually became very good buddies and spent six or seven hours together and loved each other, but it was very, very complicated. In other instances, there were times when it was very, very unpleasant, the sexual stuff just was non-stop and very vulgar and hard to deal with.¹³³

Similarly those women who entered in the 1970s, had their differences with crew members.

Responses, however, seem to be more emotional. African American Producer Sapia's recollection reflects this issue: "I didn't find it difficult supervising the camera crews, but I felt

that the camera crews had some difficulties being supervised by me " ¹³⁴

Producer Edmunds also recalled her experiences with crews

Yes, at first it was really hard. I was also not that confident because I had worked with all men all the time. I was working with men and to go out with a cameraman that had always worked with men and were kind of good old boys and would throw potatoes at each other at lunch and talk war stories and drink beer. I wasn't a part of it. The worst experience was in Cambodia with Norman Lloyd where he barely talked to me. I had taken Ed Bradley to do a story ten years after leaving Cambodia. Basically, Bradley and Lloyd had worked together in Cambodia, so they had a camaraderie that began years ago. They constantly left me out. I was almost in tears every night trying to break through. ¹³⁵

Producer Matthews recalled the times she used her femininity with camera crews.

Did I use my femininity to delegate work? I'll admit I did during the times that I was pregnant. I physically didn't want to jeopardize anything. But otherwise, I tried not to. Did women who used this feminine tactic excel? Yes, absolutely many times. I find that inappropriate, if I haven't done as well as others because I didn't engage in that, so be it. ¹³⁶

Likewise, Producer Adler recalled that using one's feminine wiles as well as having a sense of humor helped:

I think there's a rift between what you consider the supervisor and the workerbees. Camera crews sometimes consider themselves to be the button pushers, but, of course, they are not. They can make or break a story and especially when you are a young woman going out on the road with a male camera crew. It can be dicey. I think they try to see how much they can get away with, how little they can do, how they can manipulate you. I think that if you use humor, people come around and they are able to hear you better and listen to what you are saying. I don't think that I used my femininity as much as my sense of humor. I do think some women do use their feminine wiles or whatever. I do think it's

somewhat successful. If they have got it to use, hey, you can't hurt a girl for trying.¹³⁷

Once these female broadcast journalists had to some degree overcome gender issues, indicative of the fact that these women knew how to work with crews on location and the film editors in the editing rooms, they went on to produce award winning documentaries or news stories. However, the differences in income reflected far more than just gender

Scholars have recently written that all reporters earn more in newsrooms that have a higher proportion of male reporters, therefore, women have a greater earnings advantage than men as the proportion of male reporters in newsrooms increases.¹³⁸ Women also receive more financial reward than men for winning news awards. Because news awards are judged predominantly by men, this could mean that women have to be better reporters than men to earn news awards and that the better paid women who have won awards are being paid for their superior journalistic skills.¹³⁹

Perhaps it is more significant that the earnings of all reporters have dropped as more and more women pursued successful careers in journalism.¹⁴⁰ The human capital model indicates that, on a macroeconomic scale, discrimination shrinks the pool of available labor.¹⁴¹ If only men are hired, news organizations may have to pay higher wages to obtain this scarcer human resource, hiring men and women can therefore help drive down wages.¹⁴² In broadcast and print journalism, the inflation-adjusted median salary declined about \$7,000 between 1970 and 1981 as the proportion of women increased by 60 percent.¹⁴³ The decline

was greatest in television, where the proportion of women tripled ⁴⁴

The oral histories reflect how intensely the respondents feel about the income issue. These were all women who for the most part had won awards and who had reputations as being outstanding producers, writers, and editors. CBS vice president Chandler recalled an incident where the issue of income parity had come to his attention

I remember Janet Roach complaining to me because I had just signed a big new contract with Andy Lack giving him a very significant raise after he had had a very successful number of programs, and signing a new contract with Janet and giving her a much smaller raise because she had had a very difficult time and had not produced some successful programs and she insisted this was male chauvinism at work and I insisted it was not. It was a merit decision. ⁴⁵

Similarly Producer Judy Crichton, again an award-winning journalist, recalled her experiences with problems associated with salary negotiations that she felt boiled down to issues of gender:

At CBS, I was a producer. I always felt equal to my male counterpart. I never felt my power was equal. In 1977, I discovered that there was a newly hired male producer. I had by that time won major awards, and a newly arrived male producer was making \$20,000 or \$25,000 a year more than I, and I went to see Bill Leonard, and he said to me, "But your husband makes good money." And I cried. I cried because I was a creature of the older generation and then of course I was totally humiliated that I cried, but crying was my way of being furious because I wasn't allowed to be furious. ⁴⁶

Producer Kathy Sulkes, likewise, had concerns with salary negotiations:

I certainly felt my own in terms of sexism related to an incident where I was seeking to get parity of salary scale. When two of my colleagues who had come in at the same time with essentially the same experience that I

had had. I knew to be making more money. They were both male, one of them was in fact an African American. I had tallied up the number of stories that we produced, and I, in fact, was at the top of the charts. However, in investigating whether I in fact had a case, which I actually did consider bringing, I was told by three lawyers that I probably had a case and that if they were me, they wouldn't do it. It could drag on for ten years. The network organization had much more money and man hours of lawyers to wear me down regardless of whether I had a case or not, and I chose to move on.¹⁴⁷

The employment challenges that these women faced in the 1970s have reduced the number of obstacles faced by women as journalists in the 1990s. It took time to sort things out and the constant monitoring of employment progress by those female journalists as they moved from the 1970s to the 1980s allowed them to speak on issues and concerns in an effort to make management aware of changes that needed to be made.¹⁴⁸

An example of this progression has been raised in the responses of Producers Matthews and Adler who both have children. They commend government and industry policies to add the "Mommy" track that reinforces women's roles as primary caregivers.¹⁴⁹ The "Mommy" track to Adler and Matthews is reflected in their ability to work on news programs and news assignments that require less travel. Additionally, Adler acknowledged that women executives -- the few that existed -- were the ones that created part-time producer jobs to accommodate female producers with children.¹⁵⁰

As a consequence of changed attitudes, nondiscrimination laws, and affirmative-action policies, African Americans and women are a significant presence in public life as these oral histories support this fact.¹⁵¹ In numbers and influence, they have moved beyond

tokenism in the workplace, the government and the society.¹⁵² Yet, the responses reveal that many women, if not most, did not perceive themselves to be employed because of federal mandates that were to eliminate discrimination in the workplace based on race, sex, color, religion, and national origin. The respondents did not perceive themselves to be "tokens" -- a term coined to suggest that an employee was only hired to comply with the mandates. Those responses, however, may well represent society's resistance then and now to being "the token" rather than being hired for one's capabilities. Responses from management, on the other hand represent management's inability to believe that it ever excluded the hiring of people from these groups. Marlene Sanders recalled the significance of affirmative action:

I did not enter television news as a result of federal mandates, but my colleagues I think, gosh, affirmative action was wonderful. I am one of the major supporters of affirmative action. There wouldn't be any women in the news business if it hadn't been for that. And certainly the white women were the major beneficiaries at the beginning, but blacks began to be hired somewhere in there with no stigma attached at the time that I was aware of. I mean now you hear a lot of talk about it. They wouldn't have been hired because these management people were so dim, they couldn't see the need on their own. I don't know why, what their problem was, but it [affirmative action] was a big help.¹⁵³

Pamela Ilott's recollections support societal pressures that resulted in employees coming in under the umbrella of affirmative action years after she, an European American had been employed. "No, I went to work with CBS in 1954, there were no mandates. I suppose I was hired because I did something rather well. I do feel that in the 70s and

80s. minorities were hired, given titles and offices without real input just to conform to pressure. But as people became friends, that changed."¹⁵⁴ William Small underscored throughout his oral history that the Great Society legislation had very little to do with hiring diverse groups because he had been employing them all along:

You state that there were societal pressures in the 1960s to ensure equal opportunity in the public affairs division. I can only speak about hard news and though it is very difficult for many people who are doing studies in this area to believe me, I never felt any pressure while running the Washington bureau or after coming to New York to hire minorities and women because we were already doing it.¹⁵⁵

Producer Greenberg recalled his efforts in bringing women into the division: "In 1966, there were no women producers in "hard news" [daily television news programs] at CBS News. I wanted to promote a female writer to producer I felt she was most qualified of the writers at CBS for the job. My choice met with resistance initially, but it was eventually approved. Once the ice was broken, many other women followed."¹⁵⁶ Producer Sulkes, a European American, did not feel that her employment was due solely to federal mandates: "Yes, I am female, but I entered in a way that was a traditional basic job which was secretary. Yes, it was a production secretary, but that was a role that would not have been filled by anybody else. So, I don't think that it could really entirely relate to federal mandates."¹⁵⁷

Nor did Producer Edmunds, a European American: "I didn't get in because of this mandate. I don't believe. I think because more women are seen as researchers or researchers as seen as women, it's a woman's job, the rest of the work on up is seen as a more male job."¹⁵⁸

[Note Chandler's oral history does discuss the researcher position as the position used to bring more women in during this time.] Judy Crichton, a European American, however, recalled just how significant affirmative action really was:

I have very strong opinions about the Movements. In terms of women, we were not the response to federal action. I think we were a cultural happening waiting to happen. I do not credit affirmative action at all with opening up opportunities in the worlds in which I worked, other worlds are different but I don't think it was true in the worlds that I worked in. I came in certainly on an affirmative action pass going back to that question *just to get that right* in that it was the pressure from the Women's Movement that made CBS hire a woman.¹⁵⁹

More important, the oral perspectives bring to the forefront the impact that the Civil Rights and Women's Movements had in bringing diverse people into the business and in making those already in the business, both men and women, aware of their potential significant contributions. Sheila Parker, an African American, recalled:

I came in at CBS when there was a Women's Movement and I had gotten there just after 90 percent of every woman wore pants to work one day, just because CBS said women could not wear pants. I mean it was that kind of atmosphere that I walked into, so, yes it was very new and yes, nobody knew how to handle it. The advantage is if you took it, and I took it. I think when those cracks in the doors were happening, they were happening for women and they were happening lesser so but also included minorities, and I stepped in that door for both. I stepped in saying I am a woman and I am a black woman and I am in the door. You want to do something for me because I am a woman, do it. You want to do something for me because I am black, do it. I used that crack in the door to my advantage. I did not stand in the hall and complain. I did not complain to my friends on a constant level that I am not getting promoted. I walked in and said, "I want that job."¹⁶⁰

A job that broadcast journalists either coveted or did not want at all was the job of covering wars -- jobs that could be dangerous. The late 1960s and early 1970s in the United States were dominated by the Vietnam War¹⁶¹. It came to be known as "the living room war" because of the images of combat broadcast night after night on television evening news¹⁶². Broadcast journalists in the years of this study found themselves covering wars that followed Vietnam such as the Afghanistan War. The assignments that were the most dangerous sometimes reaped the benefits of recognition and/or contractual renewals at substantial salary increases. Media executives like Robert Chandler had at that time and continue to have difficulty assigning journalists to areas of conflict as was the case in assigning Dan Rather and Andrew Lack to cover the Afghanistan War.

I guess anybody who went to Vietnam was in danger and certainly when Rather and Andy Lack went to Afghanistan, they were very much in danger. Any wartime situation obviously involves some dangers. Generally we bowed to the wishes of those who wished to do it. But in the case of the Afghanistan piece by Lack and Rather, we were deceived or at least we allowed ourselves to be deceived. They were going to Pakistan and work from the Pakistan side of the border and the deadly gun trade and all of those things. They slipped without authorization into Afghanistan. We weren't exactly surprised that they did it, but we hadn't approved it. We don't do it simply because you don't want to place somebody's life in jeopardy. More often than not what happens is that you say no, and they insist that they want to go ahead to do it and they go to you and you grudgingly acquiesce.¹⁶³

Women also received these assignments. As indicated in Chapter I, female broadcast journalists reported during World War II. In fact, women have covered every American conflict since the Spanish American War.¹⁶⁴ In Vietnam, the U.S. military accredited 467

women, 267 of them American, to cover the war. At least seventy of these Americans made major, regular contributions to journalism about the war.¹⁶⁵ Marlene Sanders and Pamela Ilott are two respondents who were assigned to Vietnam. However, as Producer Patricia Olson Matthews recalled women and minorities were not readily given the go ahead. Matthews remembered the problems working on the *CBS Reports* documentary *The Saudis* that focused on Saudi Arabia and its royal family:

Back then they didn't want women to go to [El] Salvador or South Africa. They used excuses. You probably remember we both worked on that Saudi Arabia documentary, and we were told that neither of us could go to Saudi Arabia with Peter Schweitzer and Maurice Murad. I remember being told that's cause we couldn't drive cars in Saudi Arabia, and we wouldn't be able to function very well because we were women. I mean I think we should have been offered the chance to try. That has changed, but back then it was batting your head against a brick wall.¹⁶⁶

Many of the journalists recall similar difficulties; they all acknowledge current changes as indicated by the response of Producer Marianna Edmunds:

Men were definitely considered first for these potentially dangerous assignments particularly in the Third World. Women were treated cautiously and patronizingly. My examples are Cambodia, South Africa, and Vietnam. At the same time, I have found just the opposite true at *Discovery* where I am given the hardship post to go to the jungles of Honduras or Guatemala, the Middle East, the North Pole. They know that I don't mind and I actually like the hardship posts and find it much more challenging and you can get good stuff and I like the challenge of a difficult place.¹⁶⁷

Pamela Ilott recalled her dangerous assignments: "Dangerous assignments. I don't feel sexism was involved. Personally I met no opposition to my going to Vietnam or Beirut, in

fact Vietnam was my boss' idea. There were logistic problems in sending a woman into an army field base; men tended to be naturally protective."¹⁰⁴ Producer Cathy Lewis also had interesting experiences: "I never really had assignments that were dangerous -- only one that I recall when I was sent to Panama and it was during Noreiga and there was some shooting going on while I was walking around. So that wasn't much fun. But certainly I have been the one to choose not to go on the dangerous assignments. It just doesn't interest me. I'm really not interested in being hurt or being killed for my job."¹⁰⁵

Participation in dangerous assignments, however, often was involved in moving up the ranks. Edward R. Murrow may have set the pattern. Before World War II he was a correspondent; he returned to New York after World War II and was promoted to upper management. Covering wars was, however, only one factor in upward mobility. Usually you had to prove your worth by the caliber of work that you did in whatever position you held. Women holding production secretary jobs could move up to researcher, associate producer, and finally full producer. They could also move from secretary or archivist to production assistant, editor, production manager, and director. Some women stayed in entry-level positions only one year, others two, still others a lifetime. Many factors came into play in those years, the most important, to be discussed in Chapter IV, was a journalist's ability to have an executive in his or her corner. Both men and women, both black and white, had to have a mentor if they truly were to succeed. One respondent, Sheila Parker, recalled

that the one thing that the women all had in common as they sorted through the right steps for promotions was their talent as journalists

I can't think of a woman right now that I saw get real promotions
I mean promotions of power. Producers have a lot of power
They might not have become vice presidents or directors, but the
level that they did reach, they were all very smart women. They were no
different than the men. Some of them were super talented, some of them
were mediocre, but they all had a certain amount of ability to do the job.¹⁷⁰

Though small in number, the women who did move from producer to upper management where positions of vice presidency were obtained were examples of what was possible in those days and what today is common. However, each and every woman -- black or white -- no matter what their position made note of the incredible sacrifices that had to be made to move ahead as Producer Susan Adler recalled. "I think I made a lot of sacrifices just to be able to work. Because when you sign up to work for CBS, they own you. It's like a contract on your life. It takes your days, it takes your nights, it takes your weekends, it takes every hour that you have, and news never stops."¹⁷¹ Likewise Producer Cathy Lewis' response is a poignant reminder of the sacrifices:

Plenty of sacrifices. I'm sure you know it's not a good job for relationships
It has definitely taken its toll on my personal life. I often give advice to young women who have worked as interns to not go blindly into this career and definitely pursue their relationships now. I point to all sorts of women at CBS who are in their mid-forties and who don't have children and are not married and barely have boyfriends and most of the young ones don't want that to happen to them and you have to make an effort for this not to happen.¹⁷²

Though the recollections of the 1970s and 1980s, for the most part, reflect years of

satisfaction with the profession. those that are still working journalists have begun to focus on the next barrier that they have to break -- working in the field of broadcast journalism as older women. Most research speaks to on air talent where older, experienced women journalists continue to be passed over for anchor positions while their male counterparts and younger females take those slots.¹⁷³

A 1988 study by Victoria M. Fung, a scholar-in-residence of the Freedom Forum Media Center at Columbia University, argued that in fact there was truth to the belief that little had changed in the industry, that "being young and gorgeous matters more for high profile, on-air women than professional qualifications and journalistic grounding."¹⁷⁴ In Fung's survey, nearly two-thirds of the male correspondents were between the ages of 40 and 50, nearly two-thirds of the females were between 30 and 40.¹⁷⁵ Women's track record, off camera, is improving, although it is unusual for women to be more than one-fifth of the engineers, editors, and producers.¹⁷⁶

Even so, Producer Crichton sees age as a major concern now as she compares it to some of the problems that were associated with women when she entered. "The message that I give to women is that life is longer than you think it is. Now, corporate America doesn't agree with me because there are tremendous prejudices, I've never encountered them, towards older women. I know that, but somehow I've been fortunate and slithered passed that one."¹⁷⁷

Producer Matthews had a similar response:

I haven't directly been barred from anything I wanted to do, but then my goals have been increasingly modest with time. I am never going to be the president of CBS News or the next Barbara Walters. I think they would like for you these days to make your career your life, and some people did that in the 70s and 80s and didn't leave time for a personal life. Certainly women who finally got their chance to go on the campaign trail, to go overseas and be in the London Bureau. It was very exciting, but in the long run, there was not much support. Once you've done some of this, they say, well, your contracts up, and you are not as young as you were. I think youth still plays a big role certainly behind the scenes. The president of CBS News and most of the executive producers are in their thirties or early forties with the exception of Don Hewitt, obviously. We don't have any older people. I at this point am one of the oldest in my unit. Certainly I am older than my executive producer, probably in some of the other units as well. I'm getting closer to fifty. I wonder if I still will be wanted. That's a male problem and a minority problem as well. Well, sexism for me was the bigger problem when I started, I think that's becoming ageism as I get older.¹⁷⁸

The responses to various issues suggest that gender differences played a key role in how members of a documentary team would go about the daily task of getting a film produced or a dangerous story covered. Conflicting feminist views that were coming on the horizon in the 1980s were at odds with the established feminist views of the 1970s, they factored into the equation of women's behavior in the newsroom and in the field. Income disparity because you were a woman or anger at being thought of as only a "token" show the day to day pressures placed on the journalists who responded. Personal sacrifices that were made then seemed to stymie personal growth. The responses suggest that in sacrificing personal growth, professional growth was still at risk because of the aging process where society still perceives broadcast journalism to be a profession for young

faces, particularly in regards to women on the air or off camera

The issue to be addressed in the following section suggests that perhaps the difficulties women and minorities faced in the newsroom and in the field while producing these public affairs reports had more to do with gender, racial, and cultural perceptions of the white male who was the dominant employee in network news during the years studied.

2.7 The Work Place: Gender Issues From the Male Perspective

As indicated in Chapter I, media scholars attribute the development of the film documentary to the founder and leader of the British documentary movement, John Grierson. His work began in the 1930s. One pioneer in documentary filmmaking prior to Grierson was Robert Flaherty whose film, *Nanook of the North*, brought to the screen first hand drama from real life.¹⁷⁰ In the 1950s and early 1960s, American documentary filmmakers such as Richard Leacock and Donn Pennebaker were singled out for their contributions to the art of documentary filmmaking. Men such as Edward R. Murrow and Fred Friendly of CBS and Henry Salomon of NBC were identified as providing the thrust and inspiration for the television documentary. In A. William Bluem's seminal study on the television documentary, the dynamics of the documentary are highlighted, but, what stands out from close scrutiny of the credits of the documentaries examined is that of all the three networks -- ABC, NBC, and CBS -- in the 1950s and early 1960s, ABC only had a female

produce an hour documentary. no minority producers/directors of hours were mentioned

Throughout this study, the focus has been on identifying reasons for exclusion. Women and minorities surely had to adapt to a new working environment where finding some middle ground for working within newsrooms that were still largely the domain of white males was difficult. However, for the men who were there, the presence of women and minorities required adjustments as well.

In light of this, the study was designed to include the oral histories of the men who were a part of the documentary tradition and/or who worked in network news at CBS during the years examined. Unfortunately, not enough males responded to allow an assessment of their perceptions of those years.¹⁸¹

Fortunately, the men who did respond are the ones who aided the process by ensuring that these diverse groups were hired. In essence, the male respondents with the exception of one were actually in executive positions where they could hire women and minorities. Sadly enough, the men who did not respond were the ones who had the day-to-day contact with these new employees.

Executive William Small recalled that it was not an easy process but the efforts were made to bring diverse groups into the news division in general and public affairs in particular. "In terms of on-air people, I myself for example hired Bernie Shaw, hired women like Connie Chung and non minorities like Diane Sawyer, Marya McLaughlin. One area that CBS then

and still suffers most was from a lack of women and minorities in executive ranks."¹⁸²

The position of researcher was the point of entry for most who were hoping to become producers as Vice President Robert Chandler recalled

There were many women there who had been working as researchers or secretaries who had become extremely familiar and extremely good at production. One big factor in that was the establishment of the research department that Sam Surratt deserves credit for. That took women and got them into the mix in a much more direct way other than the secretarial route that they had had before and they then moved on to become associate producers and ultimately became producers. So that was very easy and very comfortable. There was not a great deal of agonizing over that, it just worked. Minorities were much more difficult. It was difficult to find experienced black producers, experienced black writers, experienced black correspondents, and it was with a good deal of difficulty that we very slowly made headway there.¹⁸³

Likewise Executive Producer Greenberg recalled similar efforts to bring diverse groups into the organization.

It was an exciting time in television news in those days before the big corporate takeovers. We had the wherewithal and the enthusiastic support to experiment and try ambitious projects. Journalistically we were arrogant, but arrogant for good causes. We were inventing the medium as we went along. We went to color and to videotape and to satellites adapting as journalists to the new technology. We didn't go fast enough in hiring and promoting women and minorities, but tremendous strides have been taken in the last twenty years.¹⁸⁴

Part of the problem in the years examined was that many men did not really know how to respond to their new colleagues. Widespread salary gaps and discriminatory practices led to legal suits that received media attention in the 1970s, specific cases are discussed in

later chapters. " Male broadcast journalists were constantly trying to avoid such suits. Producer Marianna Edmunds contends that back then it was difficult for the men primarily because of the newness of it all. "Yes, it was because of the newness of it all and because women tend to say what they feel insecure about and men don't." Sheila Parker had a similar recollection.

I think the newness of it was there. Behaviors may be curved a little, behaviors may be still the same because we are working with a male - female situation and people who are prejudiced are prejudiced. No matter how much information is fed to them they believe in what they believe in. You can't fight that. I think you can fight what the institution stands for though, not the individual. You can not dictate what's in someone's heart.¹⁸⁷

Nonetheless, the recollection of Roy Campanella II is insightful in a general sense of the male perspective on gender issues and that really boils down to the male view that people should be hired if they can do the job. In the 1970s, as it pertains to women, they had not proven themselves to be able to handle cameras that were big and cumbersome, work with crews, or work in dangerous situations. Over time, assessments of their capabilities were made, but not then.

The concerns revolved around can the individual do the job as well as former individuals have done it who were white and male. That was certainly a question that kind of floated around the atmosphere. There certainly was and probably still is a bit of sexism in terms of some men either criticizing or making assumptions about women or speaking in a disparaging way about women in the unit. I mean that happened, but I don't think that happened to any greater degree than it happens in corporate America or anywhere else. There were certainly sexual liaisons between employees, and I don't think that

happened anymore than it would happen anywhere else. I guess
Hard for me to say though because I really haven't worked in
that many corporations. I worked primarily for CBS and then went
Independent.¹⁸⁸

Unfortunately, most historical media studies of minorities and women focus on their lack of numbers, their difficulties with gender issues and the like -- just as this study does. It seemed inappropriate to exclude white males from this research because their oral histories would add to the body of scholarly work on the subject. These men were approached by telephone and correspondence just as the women and minorities were, but they declined to participate in the study.¹⁸⁹ Until men are willing to share their perspectives through many methods of research, only one of which is the oral history methodology, the continued lack of their thoughts and ideas that might aid in moving hostile working environments into ones free of sexism and racism will continue.

2.8 The Work Place: Confronting Racial and Cultural Differences

Within the news industry there was the conscious awareness of ethnicity. The melting pot that is New York supplied and still does supply the networks with employees from all races, all ethnic groups. Cultural membership has a "high social profile," in the sense that it affects how people perceive and respond to others, which in turn shapes their self-identity. Moreover, cultural identity is particularly suited to serving as the "primary foci" of identification because it is based on belonging not accomplishment.¹⁹⁰ Hence, an individual's

self-respect is bound up with the esteem in which his or her national group is held. If a culture is not generally respected, then the dignity and self-respect of its members will also be threatened.¹⁹¹ Nowhere was this more profound than in those days when a journalist such as Pamela Ilott sought inclusion: "I never found being a woman a disadvantage. Of course, being Welsh made me a minority of sorts in my young days."¹⁹² Judy Crichton's response was heartfelt:

I had always been interested in racism and had been involved in the Civil Rights Movement myself, but I began to be interested in Africa and what I perceived as the ultimate expression of racism which was the South African apartheid government. I had an enormous battle to get that film produced. White journalists who had the opportunity to openly discuss race in a sophisticated way were the ones who were able to go on and make changes in their offices and in their work. "The Battle for South Africa" gave me that opportunity. It was the first time that I spent not just weeks, but months and including the research, close to two years, primarily in the company of people with dark skins and because I was in the minority for the first time in my life. There was a kind of freedom of exchange about subtle issues that I had never really understood or thought about in depth. I understood clearly all the overt systems of racism because I was and am a Jew was very sensitized to that. What I had not really understood was the inherent condescension that in a sense was both more evil and difficult to cope with. That experience really changed my life in a very profound way.¹⁹³

For people of color working for network news in general and public affairs broadcasting at CBS in particular in those days, the trials and tribulations were numerous, were all consuming. As indicated earlier, people's self-respect is bound up with the esteem in which their national group is held.¹⁹⁴ African Americans have the legacy of slavery to add to their struggle for equality and respect in this country. It was difficult to do one's best work in an

environment where the majority did not view a particular journalist as equal. There just were not enough minorities employed at CBS to collectively make change as Roy Campanella II recalled. "Of course, there wasn't very much integration which means the hiring of African Americans or other minorities and women had not really developed. was not widespread but there was a receptivity to exploring that."¹⁹⁵

Marlene Sanders was cognizant of the lack of minorities even at a time when their numbers were thought to be increasing. "Besides being incredibly aware of the absence of blacks and women."¹⁹⁶ Likewise Sheila Parker recalled her feelings on this issue

What African Americans in the unit? We were so far and so far between each other it was unbelievable. I could look down the hall and see a Teresa Styles on my left. There weren't any. We were there, but we weren't there. To me we had no power; we had no say in what was going on unless we were doing it one to one with an individual. I think we were listened to because we were the *creme de la creme*. We were the best there was to have out there. So when we spoke, we spoke with some knowledge, some authority, some insight. But was that then turned around and brought back to say this person is terrific, fabulous, it was their idea for us to do this. No, I don't think that was done at all.¹⁹⁷

African American psychologists have conducted sessions with Black journalists on how they can cope with their special stresses.¹⁹⁸ The origin of race-related stress was not only found in routine encounters on the newsbeat where news sources often overtly display their prejudices but in the newsroom as well.¹⁹⁹ Examples of stress in the office included colleagues telling racial jokes and making rude remarks about other staffers who were African American in the presence of African American newsmen.²⁰⁰

Twenty years later, the broadcast journalists speak of the tensions, but during the time period examined, the respondents chose to call it something else as indicated by Producer Crichton.

It wasn't that those tensions were so great, but there weren't the people who had the intellectual and emotional desire to explore them. The notion of white male supremacy was so integral that it wasn't even questioned. Sure, there were scores of people who had supported Martin Luther King and who wanted the whites only signs down in the luncheonette, that was one thing. If you said, but there are no people of color in the office, an expression we never used in those days, they would say, yes, but there aren't any [to hire].²⁰¹

Producers Susan Adler recalled the issues of racism and sexism. "I think people are more aware of it now and I do think that there is no such thing as being free from racism and sexism. So I don't think that the units were free of it. But I think there were less minorities, women and blacks or anybody else to create that kind of tension."²⁰² Judy Reemstma also recalled these issues: "There was racism, I think, but not sexism to the same degree."²⁰³

Production Manager Sheila Parker recalled that these issues were prevalent:

Racism. Sexism. Again, Teresa, I am sure it was there. I am absolutely sure it was there, but I am an individual who chooses to ignore that kind of vibe from someone. There was someone there that didn't like me. Did they not like me because I was black, did they not like me because I was a woman? Did they not like me because I was a single mother? Did they not like me because they did not like my personality? I have no idea. And you know what? I don't care.²⁰⁴

If the African American journalist could not or would not conform to the demands of newsroom socialization, an issue that will be discussed in Chapter III, the stress of

personal discontent usually resulted in resignations or firings²¹⁵

In the midst of dealing with racial tensions, of the few minorities who were employed as journalists at CBS during those years, many recalled an unfair number of African Americans being downsized; many had been members of the public affairs units. Many just acknowledged Laurence Tisch as the man who nearly dismembered the news organization. Larry Tisch saw his CBS purchase as an investment, but he had also been motivated to help CBS because he believed it important that CBS retain its independence from such ideologues as Senator Jesse Helms and media moguls as Ted Turner who had attempted to buy CBS as well.²¹⁶ Under Tisch's leadership, chaos arrived at CBS News.

The news division was what economists described as a "labor-intensive" business and the only way to meet the demand to hold increases would be to significantly reduce that labor force.²¹⁷

The memoirs of Ed Joyce, a former president of CBS News, revealed that some executives believed it was a time to remove deadwood from the news operation: "There is deadwood here. I know it and you know it and some of it will go."²¹⁸

Indeed, people were let go, and there was substantial anger at the way in which the layoffs occurred. Marlene Sanders recalled those days:

In terms of downsizing well, I'll tell you the networks were pretty cagy about that. They did it like a Chinese menu. One from Column A, one from Column B, a black, a white, an older person, a younger person. You couldn't prove anything. I mean a lot of us tried to make lists because

no lists were put out, but we really couldn't²⁰⁹

Judy Crichton shared the view that it was a troubling time.

I think at CBS there were more women laid off than men. There were always different reasons given for that. CBS had so few minorities that I don't really know. The difficult thing about downsizing is that the last ones in are always the first ones out and has taken a serious toll in terms of women and minorities.²¹⁰

Patricia Matthews recalled that minorities and women unfortunately reaped the consequences

of the Tisch takeover: "I would have to say yes. I haven't had time to think back on

it. Mostly women and minorities because they were the last hired."²¹¹ Production Manager

Sheila Parker recalled, similarly that women and minorities were terminated.

I think women and definitely minorities were hurt tremendously by the worldwide industry layoff because ABC had them, NBC had them, CBS had them. I can speak from personal experience. When I looked around the Juanetta Bennetts were gone, the Nadine Sapias were gone, the Teresas had left for whatever the reason. The Sheila Parkers were gone. It was terrible.²¹²

Marianna Edmunds' response again acknowledged the perspective that more women

and minorities were dismissed: "It seems more women were let go, but also inconsequential

men. Women in assistant positions, African Americans perhaps, although that was touchy.

Young white males seemed not to go, and they also seemed to rise quickly as I said

even at *Sixty Minutes*."²¹³

While the proportion of new people entering the newsroom is about half male and half female, the older generation that would include the participants in this project was three-

fourths male and one-fourth female ²¹⁴ Not surprisingly, minorities are concentrated among the younger people in the newsroom. 15 percent of the under 25 workers are minorities. 4 percent include the minorities who are working that are 36 to 49 and 2 percent include minorities who are 50 to 59 ²¹⁵ The respondents would be included in the latter two categories. In light of this, for whatever the reasons, those black journalists were few in number. They either were never hired, resigned, or were fired. This was particularly true of the African American males as Vice President Small recalled how difficult it was to hire them: "One of the problems we had throughout that period and into the 70s and now I am dealing only with minorities were largely black males."²¹⁶

Secondly, Marlene Sanders speaks of the difficulties that Mel Goode, a prominent African American journalist, had in obtaining good assignments:

Minorities aside from Mel Goode who was a correspondent at ABC when I got there. I mean he was really early, he was the only black correspondent they had for ages. I can't even remember when other people were hired. There were literally no black faces at that point. Mel was a correspondent -- and I have to say he was a sweetheart -- and he took a lot of crap from people. He didn't get very good assignments, he ended up at the U.N. but he did the best he could under the circumstances. When the networks found they couldn't send white crews into those neighborhoods, they began to hire some black camera people. There was John Fletcher and Al Birney who were crew members because I worked with them early on.²¹⁷

In the early 1980s a major survey of attitudes of minority journalists in the United States by the Associated Press Managing Editors found that 51 percent thought their white editors believed them as a group to be less skilled than whites.²¹⁸ Some black journalists have found

it difficult to gain the confidence of white newsroom managers even after they had undergone additional training.²¹⁹ Yet, many of those African American broadcast journalists employed were educated at traditionally white institutions that had outstanding academic reputations.²²⁰

Within this climate of what appeared to be racial and cultural differences, the minority journalist also knew that openly discussing race was difficult in the newsroom as

Roy Campanella II recalled.

Now that doesn't mean that producers who were white wouldn't engage you in the discussion in order to explore your particular take on something. But when your point of view greatly diverged from theirs and new perceptions were expressed, quite often people would try to shut down the conversation and move on to another topic. It's very difficult for Americans especially whites, primarily whites, to discuss racial issues and sexual issues, and it was a source of potentially damaging conflict to delve in it too deeply.²²¹

As indicated throughout this chapter, the perceptions of one group of people towards another is racially and culturally based. More important is the fact that racism and cultural insensitivity are intrinsic parts of the newsroom environment whether the respondents admitted it or not based on media studies throughout the last two decades that include the years of this study.²²² The elements of racism and cultural insensitivity informed decisions primarily by white males regarding promotions, news assignments, resignations, and firings of minorities. Additionally, established gender roles played an integral role in the behavior of female and male broadcast journalists, and as Chapter III will address, racial issues affected in those years quite profoundly the work of the African American broadcast journalist.

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²⁷Marvin Barrett and Sachary Sklar. *The Eye of the Storm* (New York: Lippincott & Crowell Publishers, 1980), 51

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³²Howard Stringer, Executive Producer, *CBS Reports: "Blacks in America -- With all Deliberate Speed?"* (New York: CBS News, 1979), 49, film. Philip Burton, producer. Ed Bradley correspondent, author of this study, associate producer. Kent Garrett, associate producer. Jonathan Pontell and Stephen Sheppard, film editors. Robin York and Ira Klein, assistant film editors. Vic Losick photographer. Roger Pietschmann, Kim Ornitz and Jim Zoltowski, sound men. Terry Robinson, production manager. Other credits listed on page 49 of the transcript.

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⁸⁹Marlene Sanders, interview by author, April 12, 1997

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¹⁸⁷Parker, interview by author, May 8, 1997.

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¹⁹⁰Will Kymlicka, *The Rights of Minority Cultures* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995),

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²⁹⁹Lee Stinett, ASNE Executive Director, *The Changing Face of the Newsroom* (Washington, D C , 1989), 28

²⁹⁹Ibid., 29

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Chapter III

What Made African Americans and Women Successful or UnSuccessful A Theoretical Approach

3.1 African Americans

African Americans have had a long history of racial strife in America as evidenced by their lack of employment, educational opportunities, and fair housing over the years. In the field of journalism, African American journalists have been active in the United States since the nineteenth century.¹ Their work primarily appeared in the black press and within this early time period, African American journalists covered stories on social issues and the news of the black community when the mainstream press would not.² The twentieth century brought about societal changes in America from World War II through the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that resulted in more employment and educational opportunities for the African American in general during the time period studied. Yet, after the Korean War the unemployment rates for Blacks began to rise and reached very high levels between 1958 to 1963, reflecting the effects of the 1957-58 and 1960-61 recessions. The jobless rates for Blacks then declined in the mid- and late 1960s to lows of 6.7 and 6.4 percent in 1968 and 1969 respectively.³ In the 1970s, the proportion of unemployed Blacks climbed again, surging up to 13.9 percent during the recession of 1973-75, and surpassing the previous highs of the

1958-63 period. the rate for Whites in 1975 was 7.8 percent, also the highest recorded.⁴ Advances in spite of recessions, however, were made with the proportion of Blacks in white-collar jobs quadrupling from 6 percent in 1940 to 24 percent in the 1970s.⁵ The numbers of African Americans in the work force grew, in mainstream media, while growing, remained small.⁶

This section regarding African American broadcast journalists in general and the following section on the African American female journalist in particular attempts to support, through established theories, some of reasons for the slow growth. In other words, it can be argued that neither group from the issues raised in Chapter II had a total environment conducive to achievement. Nevertheless, minorities and women were able to break barriers; they were given promotions, they were recognized for their excellence in broadcast journalism. This chapter addresses studies that show how achievements were possible for some while achievements were difficult or highly unlikely for others.

First of all, there can be no question that African Americans in this country have a legacy of struggle because of their "distinctive histories and tradition."⁷ That background informs everything that African Americans do in the American society. It dictates whether they will or will not become involved in studies that may or may not reflect positively on their accomplishments based on their assumptions that the studies will not be favorable. Out of eleven African American women asked to participate only two responded, out of twelve

African American men only one responded. Among many African American male requests to have their oral histories included, two (in addition to the one that did respond) considered having their perspectives recorded. The two African American men who called gave the following reasons for excluding themselves from the study; they wanted to remain anonymous. "I don't want to recall those days. Some things were not done in my favor; some were. I am now a senior level producer, you know how it is."⁸ The second said "Teresa, I want to help you, but I don't want to be fired."⁹

The view that "if I respond I might get fired," is indicative of historical accounts of African Americans and their work experience outside of slavery in the United States. Scholars of labor issues might argue that in today's world, this reaction could come from any worker. Yet, scholar Patricia Hill Collins contends that African American women and men are more vulnerable in the employment market and that they are more likely to be excluded from jobs than whites.¹⁰ These are not new facts. It is from this reference point that the lack of responses from African Americans who were employed in the 1970s and who are now still employed maybe understood. They have sought to hold on to jobs where they have been branded tokens as a means to fight oppression.¹¹ According to scholar Clint Wilson II, African American journalists have found themselves to be subject to professional isolation, the assumption of incompetence, the imposition of a separate news standard and not acknowledging that there could be another, and the limitation of the scope of assignments.¹²

Recalling the assumption of incompetence reflected in the minimal requests for minority ideas and advice on issues pertinent to the documentaries, Sheila Parker said

I was asked by certain people. Sheila, come here, I want you to see this bit of tape, this bit of film. What do you think of it? And seek out my advice. Was it something that I can look back on and say it happened often? No. Did it happen? Yes. But often? No. I mean I know people would work on these shows and the show would either be on minority people or it would be on a minority person and I was not sought to ask, what would you ask, what do you think of this, what does this mean? Does he mean it the way we are taking it? No, those kinds of questions were never asked and going back to what I was saying, were we totally utilized? No. Did they have some of the brightest, smartest people right there with them? Yes. Did someone call us in or did someone go up the ladder of the executives and say you know we have a group of black people in here that are absolutely phenomenal? We should use them more. We should seek out their advice more? No, I don't think that was ever done.¹³

Perhaps only one African American intellectual's theories can be applied to the encounters and frustrations of this later generation. The scholar, W. E. B. DuBois, was an African American whose contributions to the intellectual discourse in this country remain vital to American society even today,¹⁴ his profound writings frame the experiences of African Americans working in the mainstream media. Du Bois believed that thought does not exist in a vacuum and that ideas can exist only in a social context.¹⁵ Du Bois's writings expressed his growing awareness of the link between thought as abstract and independently existing and thought as grounded in the human experience.¹⁶ It is the latter that drives so vehemently the thoughts of African Americans in the United States. That is to say that the experiences of the African American in the years of this study, in the years in which Du Bois wrote, and in

today's working world are predicated on racial views -- particularly when the issue of race involves relations in America between African Americans and European Americans. This is not to exclude the experiences of other minorities in America, but they do not share the same history that dates back to slavery in the United States. It is through the work of Du Bois, who was one of the founders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the editor of *Crisis*, its monthly magazine, that an understanding of the complexities of the African American journalist is possible.

Born in Massachusetts in the year of Andrew Johnson's impeachment and dead ninety-five years later in the year of Lyndon Johnson's installation, William Edward Burghardt Du Bois cut an astonishing swath through four continents (he was a Lenin Peace Prize laureate, and his birthday was once a national holiday in China), writing sixteen pioneering or provocative books of sociology, history, politics, and race relations.¹⁷ In his eighties, he found time to finish a second autobiography and produce three large historical novels.¹⁸ He was the first African American to win a Harvard doctorate, though he later claimed that it was a consolation for having been denied the few additional months needed to take a coveted doctorate in economics from the University of Berlin.¹⁹

In a real sense, Du Bois was seen by hundreds of thousands of Americans, black and white, as the paramount custodian of the intellect that so many impoverished, deprived, intimidated, and desperately striving African Americans had either never developed or found necessary to

conceal.²¹ Du Bois wrote that he waved his pen and attempted to "explain, expound and exhort, to see, foresee and prophesy, to the few who could or would listen."²² Many did listen because Du Bois was among the first to grasp the international implications of the struggle for racial injustice proclaiming at the dawn of the century that the problem of the twentieth century would be the problem of the color line.²³ That problem still looms on the eve of the twenty-first century

To understand Du Bois's idea on the problem of race, a review of *Souls of Black Folk*, considered his most important work, is necessary. The book, written in 1903, redefined the terms of a three-hundred-year interaction between black and white people and influenced the cultural and political psychology of peoples of African descent throughout the western hemisphere, as well as in Africa.²³ The book was the kind of event that divides history into a before and after.²⁴ It contains fourteen essays and as stated by the 1994 Pulitzer Prize biographer of the life of Du Bois, David Lewis, *Souls of Black Folk* was "an electrifying manifesto, mobilizing a people for bitter, prolonged struggle to win a place in history."²⁵ The book's impact was greater upon and within the African American race than any other single book published in this country since *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.²⁶

The focus of the book is in fact the problem of color (and the notion of "double consciousness") to be discussed later in this section.²⁷ The full extent of Du Bois's ideas regarding the effects of racism are revealed through his childhood memory of the distinction

between black and white when a white girl in his one-room school class refused his gift of a visiting card with a disdainful glance. It was at that moment that Du Bois said a shadow swept across him and that he felt "shut out from their world by a vast veil."²⁸

That "Veil" becomes the central metaphor of the book and the theme that it suggests -- the physical separation through segregation and the psychological separation -- through the attitudes of whites towards blacks.²⁹ To further explain this, DuBois, in his works explained that the presence of the "Veil" existed in circumstances when African Americans thought that they were equal to whites in some capacity only to have the thought shattered by some insensitive action by whites -- the white girl not accepting his visiting card and the encounter Du Bois had with an employer when he took a summer teaching job in rural Tennessee. "presenting himself to the local school commissioner, a pleasant, white college fellow who readily appointed him at twenty-eight dollars a month, DuBois in *Souls of Black Folk* was surprised that his acceptance of a dinner invitation meant eating alone after the commissioner and his family."³⁰ As Du Bois stated, "even then fell the awful shadow of the Veil."³¹

Thus, the question asked during the years of this study becomes, what happens when segregation is transformed into integration when the "Veil" is still very much a part of the black experience? Roy Campanella II recalled entering CBS when the integration of corporate offices had begun:

I really didn't have a strong idea of where I could fit in at CBS, but I didn't find a receptive kind of environment in terms of getting employment there. Some of that I think is obviously due to the fact that I didn't know exactly what I wanted to do. That could have been the primary cause. Or actually CBS wasn't going to offer me what I really wanted to do which was actually to direct programs. There certainly didn't exist an open door attitude towards minorities seeking employment even those with strong academic credentials and, you know, an articulate kind of presence.³²

Roy Campanella II and other minorities had to learn to function within the environment that was insensitive towards them. They had to look back to the theories of Du Bois where the scholar seemed not contained by the "Veil." He was able to move about it, to step outside it, and even to lift it.³³ Writing in the early 1900s, Du Bois had a vision of what African Americans would face as they tried to become a part of an integrated society. His writings spoke to many African Americans involved in public affairs broadcasting at CBS in the 1970s and early 1980s. Like Du Bois, these journalists had a sense of self and a self-possession strong enough to allow them to hold the world outside the "Veil" in contempt and to live as Du Bois said, "above it in a region of blue sky and great wandering shadows."³⁴ Just exactly what Du Bois meant by living above the veil is not entirely clear, yet it implies escape from the confines of the "Veil" through the capacity to compete successfully with whites, with those who live outside it.³⁵

Every chapter of *Souls of Black Folk* expounds in some way on the veiled nature of black or black invisibility where Du Bois presents the harsh life of contemporary sharecroppers being not that far removed from slavery. The contemporary experiences of

African Americans, though not indicative of slavery, are such that most can cite incidents where they have been judged as lacking in specific competencies to do the job. Yet, in view of Du Bois's theory, it can be argued that the problems with African Americans come not from incompetence but from the economic legacy of slavery that has left African American families and communities without proper education, housing, and the like. Du Bois argues that the political and economic subordination of a great part of America's citizens merely on account of their race, is a moral catastrophe.³⁶ Du Bois's view is that the attitudes of whites are such that an African American's best efforts might not be perceived as good enough.

This view is somewhat reflected in media executive Robert Chandler's recollection:

What we tried to do was hire young blacks as researchers, but it was difficult, some of them stumbled. Oh yes, the *Sixty Minutes* producer was Edwards. I forget his first name. I remember a young man named Oliver something or other who was wonderful in the field. He could go out and get anything shot and then have a terrible time establishing a story structure. It ended up where it didn't work out, and he was very distraught and wanted to sue us for racism.³⁷

Likewise producer Marianna Edmunds recalled the attitudes of white broadcast journalists towards black broadcast journalists: "I remember there were a couple of African American producers, males, at *Sixty Minutes*, neither of them lasted. There was another man, Tony, I can't remember his last name, who was outright disliked."³⁸

Knowing that colleagues perceived your work to be less than adequate was difficult.

Du Bois again explained in the 1900s, the wide range of emotions African Americans

felt in working in that newsroom environment in the 1970s. The scholar Gibson gives a succinct explanation of the use of the term "Veil" by Du Bois and its meaning to African Americans during the time of this study and even today:

"Veil" is used in yet another sense in the first chapter when Du Bois tells us that "the Negro is a sort of seventh son born with a veil and gifted with second sight in this American world." "Second sight" is a desirable "gift" and it belongs not to all blacks but to Afro-Americans, to black people who exist "in this American world." This is the curse of the "double consciousness" if a gift, a most unwelcome one: One ever feels his twoness -- an American, a Negro, two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body." These two "warring ideals," one the impulse to join the mainstream society, the other to reject it and define the world and relate to it entirely from a black perspective, exist in tension throughout *The Souls of Black Folk*.¹⁹

These two warring ideals existed for the African American journalists in the newsroom. The feeling of one's "twoness," where an African American broadcast journalist is unable or unwilling to shape his own news values that might embrace more news stories coming from the African American community, is an example of those "two warring ideals, two thoughts in one dark body." The black journalists in the years studied may very well have had their own ideas of news values that might have differed from established values. Their news values might very well have included the necessity of diverse sources in every news story covered. In applying Du Bois's theory, they, however, might have felt that being "American" is more important and thus have rejected the other ideal of being black.

Furthermore, the inner conflict to "join mainstream society or reject it" is the underlying factor in the achievement or lack of achievement of the African American journalist employed in public affairs broadcasting during those years examined. Why join an organization that consciously or unconsciously criticizes your work? For those who joined the mainstream press, their survival depended on how well they conformed to newsroom policy expectations and how they fit in with fellow workers.⁴¹ As scholar Wilson argues, the black journalist who takes seriously his or her role as adding African American perspectives to the news product by using diverse sources faces a personal and professional inconsistency where the black journalist is often asking the question "Am I first a journalist who happens to be Black, or am I a Black journalist whose work must always be considered from my cultural perspective?"⁴¹

Again, what is important here is that the differences in the types of stories covered include topics pertinent to minority communities such as health issues that affect more minorities than whites, housing issues, and employment issues. These concerns are common to both whites and blacks, however, they have historically been addressed through stories that reflect the white community.⁴²

The oral perspectives give some indication as to whether or not a black journalist can better advance his or her ideas and concepts inside or outside of the established press. W E B. Du Bois himself found that working outside the established press was a better way for

advancing his ideas. On the other hand, journalists such as Carl Rowan found that working inside the mainstream press was the way to move their ideas forward.⁴³ Those African American journalists who have remained in the news media are proponents of the latter concept: they have joined the established press and excelled. These minority journalists file stories that meet the typical news criteria of timeliness, proximity, human interest, prominence, significance, or conflict. However, the editor, in some cases, may not select a story that a minority journalist has written or reported because he has historically looked upon minority journalists' copy as being fraught with sentence fragments, nonsensical phrasing, and other severe problems.⁴⁴ This represents an unwillingness on the part of the white journalists in editorial positions to erase lingering prejudices or accept another point of view, when a white male editor is uncomfortable with what a black female or male reporter or producer submits, everybody loses.⁴⁵ They lose because new perspectives are not introduced to the public. Additionally, the editor who does not at least read the copy before making judgments arguably is not giving that minority journalist a fair chance to show the merits of the news piece.

Sheila Parker, an African American, addressed the need during that time for the editors to include other perspectives, so that everybody could read or see varying news perspectives.

We should use these people, we should encourage them to tell us because here we are on the other side of the table. We all look alike, we all think alike, we all walk alike, we all come from the same background. So everything we do is the sameness. I think what made Howard Stringer

good at being a producer was that he saw things differently because he came from a different point of view. [British] I think Maurice Murad [Middle Easterner] became one of the best producers ever because he came from a background that introduced something different in his pieces. I think 90 percent of those people who were in charge had a sameness to them because they all had the same ideas and to me, they just got redeposited and redeposited.⁴⁶

Roy Campanella II, an African American, had a similar response:

The top decision makers, in other words, do not come to the table with the same set of intellectual and emotional experiences that African Americans do. So the desire to hire someone who is a reflection of yourself is heavily tested when it comes to introducing minorities into a corporate workforce. I don't think that many managers and top executives are sensitive to that because it is for the most part an unconscious criteria that is put into play.⁴⁷

Du Bois believed the problem of color permeates every segment of society. It manifests itself in the newsroom where white editors and producers or gatekeepers select news stories that in their opinion are the top stories leaving stories that reflect diversity out of the mix because of the gatekeepers' inability to see other kinds of stories as being newsworthy. This is not only a racial problem, but also a problem of a profession steeped in a tradition that is afraid to change to accommodate diversity. Therefore, African Americans have entered the mainstream press and have become gatekeepers where their duty to become journalists as defined in a generic sense has forced them to ignore the application of news values as they relate to African Americans in order to be accepted in the newsroom.⁴⁸ An example of these news values as they relate to prominence would include the African American journalist's selection of Mayor Marion Barry of Washington, D.C., an African American, over

Mayor Rudolph Giuliani as a source of a story that deals with federal government intervention in urban cities. Because of their prominence and political histories either one or both could respond. It would seem that Barry would be a good choice in that the federal government essentially runs Washington and he would have good responses because of that. However, in a setting where minority views are ignored, there is a greater possibility that Mayor Giuliani would be chosen; according to Du Bois's theory where the African American accepts the mainstream press, the African American will also chose Giuliani. This results in a news product that is not diverse.

Sometimes, however, there are minority mavericks who look through the prejudices in an effort to make change. They are as indicated in the Du Bois model -- journalists who believe they can advance their ideas through the established press. They may start out by accepting the established newsroom environment; they might be the ones to go along with Giuliani as the choice for the story discussed earlier; they may also be the ones whose work is criticized. In time, however, their resistance to the dominant group begins to manifest itself in the kinds of stories they report. They are not afraid to go head to head with colleagues who are editors and senior level producers in daily news conferences. These minority reporters join the mainstream press. They are able to articulate their views on the major news stories of the day. If the news story is relevant to a minority community, they have the ability to convince editors of the need to select that news for publication or broadcast. For example, these

maverick journalists may fight to cover a story of efforts of individual minority FBI officials who have done outstanding work in combating drug problems in American cities. Another example might be a minority journalists fight to profile Alexis Herman, the African American secretary of labor who recently played an active role in ending the United Parcel Service strike. These journalists are the ones who experience not only high esteem in the work place but the respect of their colleagues as well. They capture the attention of upper management who invariably support their efforts as Producer Edmunds recalled. "And oh, there was Harry [African American Producer] from across the street [*Evening News*] and everybody liked Harry."⁴⁶

Media executive Chandler referred to the *CBS Reports* documentary "The Boat People" to highlight the minority journalist who excelled. "The Boat People" dealt with Vietnamese who were coming to America in the late 1970s in boats that were inadequate. Correspondent Ed Bradley and producer Andrew Lack captured on film one of their dangerous journeys. At the same time *Sixty Minutes* was looking for women and minorities and this documentary enable Bradley, an African American, to move to that unit as Chandler recalled: "It was a great show, and it was the show that got Bradley over to *Sixty Minutes* because Hewitt had been looking for people or for somebody and it was at the point where Rather was shortly to go over to *Evening News* and Hewitt saw Bradley doing 'The Boat People,' and just said, 'Look, he's really our next guy.'"⁵⁰

The highly regarded minority mavericks, however, do find themselves in a tug of war from time to time where a minority story that they feel strongly about is not selected. Sometimes, the media owner or top management intervenes in order to make a decision on the story. Therefore, in many cases, minority mavericks understand that the highest figure in the chain of command will only offer support sparingly. These maverick journalists are at least able to obtain meetings with executives unlike others who are perhaps not as forceful.

Thus, after the minority maverick has successfully prepared award-winning or important news stories in general and of interest to the minority community specifically, he or she often becomes disenchanted and leaves because he has seen too many incidents of his or her minority colleagues being unsuccessful or not being promoted; the organization just does not seem worthy of his efforts as Sheila Parker recalled:

We lost a lot of good people. They decided at some point that that was the end of that. They could do something that was maybe not loved so much, maybe not as exciting as that, but they could go off and do something else. I think we lost a lot of talented men and women minorities because they just said, "you don't understand me, and I really don't understand where you are coming from about me, so I am out of here."⁴¹

Of the many African Americans who were hired at CBS, many had the inner conflict that Du Bois so eloquently wrote of in his work, *The Souls of Black Folk* where "one ever feels his twoness -- an American a Negro, two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body."⁴² These two "warring ideals," one of the impulse to join the mainstream press, the other to reject it. Many of these African American

broadcast journalists chose to reject the established press. The experiences for some helped them to make the decision to move to Africa where they assisted in the development of the Nigerian Television Authority as Roy Campanella II recalled.

But some of the most positive developments I think within the CBS News division during the period of time I worked there was the organization by Randy Daniels of a group of CBS news employees to travel to Nigeria, primarily Lagos, to establish a group that would revitalize the Nigerian Television Authority. I visited Nigeria some years later after leaving CBS at the invitation of Randy Daniels and Adam Clayton Powell III to do some consulting work for the Nigerian government in establishing a Nigerian Film Institute, and I was very impressed with the scope of Randy Daniels' operation and the depth of its expertise in aiding the Nigerian Television Authority to create a strong news-gathering operation on television. They were able to truly revitalize the local and national newscast so that they had, I think, one of the best organized and executed news programs throughout Africa, north, south, subSaharan and above. I would venture to guess that the news broadcast put together by that talented group of African Americans from the CBS News division rivaled any in terms of quality, any newscast either throughout Africa or anywhere else at that particular time.⁵³

Surely, the African American journalists mentioned above had an option, an opportunity to reject the mainstream press as Du Bois himself did. Within the black intellectual community, Du Bois's work, especially *The Souls of Black Folk*, has been cited by many African American writers and intellectuals as the most formative reading experience of their lives.⁵⁴

This section sought to apply Du Bois's theory that contends that African Americans have a "twoness" of being American and being black. Someone might argue the theory could apply to many in America because they too have come from other places, other countries.

However, their distinct history is not linked to slavery that still informs the attitudes of all people in America. Du Bois's theory informed the participation of African American journalists in the newsroom environment: would they totally immerse themselves in the newsroom environment? Some did and successfully so during those years studied, others did not. Some might call their resignations or firings examples of unsuccessful African American journalists. Others might again contend that they understood that there remained in the 1970s and early 1980s a problem with color that Du Bois spoke of and that these broadcast journalists worked better outside the established press.

3.2 The Special Dynamic of the African American Female Journalist

Fundamental to this section is an acknowledgment that established intellectual theories frame the experiences of African American broadcast journalists. Du Bois's philosophy encompasses all African Americans. Yet, applying contemporary black feminist theories was necessary in examining the success of the African American female journalist because of the dynamics that the black female brought to the newsroom in general and the documentary unit in particular during those years studied.

Historically speaking, Lucile Bluford, Ethel Payne, and Ida B. Wells are mentioned as outstanding African American female pioneers in journalism.⁵⁵ Scholars have found that discrimination encountered by white middle-class women in journalism and broadcasting was magnified in the case of minority women.⁵⁶ As Beasley and Gibbons report, minority women

were systematically deprived of opportunities for employment in the mainstream press and on broadcasting stations.⁵⁷ Limited to jobs on black publications (Ethel Payne of the *Chicago Defender*, Ida B. Wells of the *Memphis Free Speech*, and Lucile Bluford of the *Kansas City Call*), the black female journalist generally earned far less than their white counterparts and experienced resentment from some of their male co-workers. Today, the minority woman in a white collar position earns only 57 cents for every dollar made by her white male counterpart. She makes up 10 percent of the work force, yet holds only 5 percent of management jobs.⁵⁸ Additionally, minority women hold fewer management jobs and earn fewer dollars than men, they are also behind white women who make up 86 percent of female managers.⁵⁹ Yet in the years studied as in the years of Ida B. Wells, Lucile Bluford and Ethel Payne, they persevered.⁶⁰ Perseverance reflected in the black female's ability to fight for news stories she deemed necessary for inclusion -- stories such as the coverage of welfare reform issues, health issues for the black woman and man, adequate and fair housing stories, minority education issues, racial issues and the issue of removing crime from black neighborhoods.⁶¹

As indicated earlier, William Small, the former president of NBC News and for many years, a key executive with CBS News, stated that finding black men to employ was extremely difficult. To a lesser degree, the same was true of black women. By the 1970s, corporate executives had learned that if they hired a black female they would be satisfying the federal mandate of hiring a woman and a minority. A 1979 *Broadcasting*

article reported that nearly a fourth of the women working in television news were members of minority groups.⁷² As indicated in Chapter I, according to a 1990 study by Women, Men, and Media, to the total number of stories tracked, only 2 percent were filed by women of color.⁷³ Among news directors, minority women are approximately 3.2 percent of television news directors and 2.8 percent of radio news directors.⁷⁴

Even these small percentages brought to the staff of CBS News and *CBS Reports* a new dynamic -- the African American female journalist -- who believed that she had to prove herself as a woman and as a black woman. Black feminist theorists Gloria Hull, Patricia Scott, and Barbara Smith contend that the experience has allowed black women to gain certain skills in employment and has enabled them to more effectively fight oppression by using the skills learned in the work place to help others in the black community.⁷⁵ For example, those female journalists who acquired production skills were able to instruct residents in the black community in video production.⁷⁶ Some of the residents have been able to produce videos that are seen on cable access channels and other media outlets.⁷⁷

Above all, the black feminist theory that frames the experiences of the black female broadcast journalist is predicated on the belief that black women are inherently valuable and that liberation is a necessity not as an adjunct to somebody else's (the white woman) but because of the black female's needs as a human being.⁷⁸

The literature contends that there are only pockets of information on black women's

experiences. No heavily developed body of literature exists on black feminist theory that can be used in the study of black women in the media, literature, law, medicine, and other disciplines.⁷⁰ A political movement that gives support or economic support to examining black women's experiences in the fullest sense of the word does not exist.⁷¹

Black feminists have been individuals who have made contributions to the American society -- going back as far as Harriet Tubman, abolitionist; Harriet Jacobs, author of *The Narrative of a Slave Girl*, a book that recounts the history of her family; or Harriet Wilson, author of *Our Nig*, a combination of the novel and the slave narrative that traces the trials and tribulations of a mulatto girl.⁷¹

Thousands of black women have made individual contributions to literature, the media, and politics, but because of inherent problems of exclusion in the American society, they have gone unknown. At *CBS Reports* in the 1970s and early 1980s, black females were employed as secretaries, receptionists, researchers, and associate producers. Those who moved up learned the producer job through observation and on the job training. No African American female was a full producer at *CBS Reports* during the time period covered, although one or two were on the producer track to become full producers within the news division. From time to time an African American male producer would be hired at *CBS Reports* as Chandler recalled. "There were exceptions like again I'm, sorry I can't recall his name, but the producer at *CBS Reports* whose face I remember but whose name I can't remember. His name was

Kent Garrett."⁷³ Garrett, an NBC producer, had at that time acquired many credits, some of them coming from his work at WCBS, the New York CBS affiliate.⁷³

The literature also addresses the fact that minority women in all professions have had to fight for themselves. Black women have had to develop on their own with no help from white or black men in order to "make it."⁷⁴ This development has taken its toll on black women in their personal and professional lives in the sense that many wanted to be included in social events as well as work related events as Sheila Parker recalled

Were women allowed in the inner circles like going out to the Hamptons, or where ever for the Memorial Day or Connecticut? There would be little groups, they held power too. I can name you the women who went to the Hamptons in the company of or around the same neighborhoods as their executives. They are all somebody, quote, unquote now in the news area. Were blacks privy to that? Not to my knowledge, we weren't there.⁷⁵

Black women have had very few models or champions to encourage and assist them in their development; a substantial body of work on black women in the creative, academic and professional world does not exist because no one has encouraged their work.⁷⁶ Black feminist bell hooks argues in support of the lack of support given to black women.

Every time someone comments on the tremendous attention black women writers are receiving, how easy it is for us to find publishers, how many of us there are, I stop and count, make lists, sit in groups of black women and try to come up with new names. What we've noticed is that the number of visible published black women writers of fiction is not large. Anyone who teaches courses on black women's fiction knows how difficult it is to find the works of black women (they go out of print rapidly, do not get reprinted, or if reprinted come out in editions that are so expensive students

and part-time lecturers like myself can rarely afford to buy them for their personal libraries and certainly cannot teach them in classes where many books must be purchased)⁷⁷

Some assumptions, however, can be made about the role of minority women in media through the discussions found in existing feminist writings. More important to the discussion of the success of black female broadcast journalists at CBS is the application of bell hooks' theory. A black feminist, hooks writes that as a child she would "talk back" equally to those in authority or that "talking back" in the black community meant having an opinion.⁷⁸

As bell hooks theorizes, "talking back" means moving from silence to speech and for any oppressed or exploited people, this is the way life and growth is possible. "Talking back" worked in the civil rights movement where black people spoke out and moved into the professions as well because the sons and daughters of the movement were the first to be employed by corporate America. As Sheila Parker recalled, the conversation her family would have in the home focused on the vital topics of the day: "The fact that my father allowed us to have those kinds of conversations, those kinds of family opinions instilled in me that I had an opinion and had a right to voice it and that was never, ever taken away from me by anybody."⁷⁹

The culture of the newsroom rewards journalists who talk back, who are articulate -- they are the ones whose story ideas are accepted frequently. They are assertive, and they fight for stories that they feel need to be reported. If you disagreed with an editor or

manager and did not feel comfortable "talking back." then you were in the wrong profession

Minority women coming into the broadcasting industry in the 1970s had the ability to "talk back." However, they found that having an opinion did not necessarily mean that their work would be totally accepted as Sheila Parker, an African American who always spoke her mind, recalled. "I had to be diligent that I double checked and triple checked everything because as a female, I would be looked at as not knowing what I was doing and as a black female, you know, they gave her the job because she's black and now she can't do it. It took a lot."⁸⁰

When occupational comparisons are made, it becomes quite clear that black women have usually had the greatest access to the worst jobs at the lowest earnings.⁸¹ Furthermore, the black female has always been on her own oftentimes finding little support from her African American colleagues as Pamela Ilott recalled an incident in Jerusalem following initial filming in Africa by two African American female producers in Ilott's Religious Unit of CBS News

I can remember a minor spat in Jerusalem, neither sexist nor racial and something amiss between two producers, both women and Afro-American that I had sent to film in Africa. One college educated, one street smart. Again the problem was neither racial nor sexist. I gathered that Africa shocked them and disappointed them, but I never pressed them for explanations of the rift. It didn't alter their work together.⁸²

Applying established black feminist theory to address the black female journalist's experiences was the primary concern in this section. What becomes evident is that as argued by black feminists, the black female has had to fight just a little bit harder to become successful in the newsroom environment as Production Manager Parker recalled

that she had to "double check and triple check" her work after fighting for the production manager position

Society tends to look at most black women in corporate America as successful due in part to the high visibility of black women in human resources departments or personnel or those minority women who worked as Equal Employment Opportunity Commission officials or served as television anchors. However, looking beneath the surface, the suffering of these women has been great especially when they were perceived in those days to be hired to fill two slots, as some call, "double tokenism."⁸³

Black feminist theory argues that black women are not encouraged to write or publish. This is not to say that black men are encouraged to do so, but that black women have profoundly felt the pain of their absence from thousands and thousands of books, magazines, broadcasts, and film.⁸⁴ bell hooks again, contends that the support is not there for various reasons.

I assume that publishing quotas exist that determine the number of black women who will publish books of fiction yearly. Such quotas are not consciously negotiated and decided upon but are the outcomes of institutionalized racism, sexism, and classism. These systems of domination operate in such a way as to ensure that only a few fiction books by black women will be published at any given time. This has many negative implications for black women writers, those who are and those who have yet to be published.⁸⁵

As scholar Carolyn Phillips contends, minority stories might not be selected because the editor has historically looked upon the minority journalists' copy as being fraught with

sentence fragments, nonsensical phrasing and other severe problems ” Their work, therefore, is already judged because the editor before reading assumes that the black writer has more problems with copy than their white counterparts bell hooks argues that "for every one black writer that manages to be published, hundred if not thousands cease writing because they cannot withstand the pressures, cannot sustain the effort without affirmation."⁸⁷ Therefore, it is not surprising that the minority female becomes discouraged in the news industry Scholars Beasley and Gibbons include in their study the comments of Robert J. Haiman, president and managing director of the Poynter Institute for Media Studies, on the difficulties in recruiting and retaining minority journalists that support hooks contention: "It's the problem of broken ladders that keep minority staffers, once they are hired, from rising up, and of revolving doors that all too often dump them back on the street, frustrated, angry and completely disheartened by their experiences on our staffs."⁸⁸

bell hooks forcefully states that "talking back" is a way for black women to claim their place in this society. For the black female respondents sometimes "talking back" is not enough. A response via telephone by an African American female who during those years constantly "talked back" and was never afraid to discuss sensitive issues expressed her disillusionment and her response sums up the total frustration that black women broadcast journalists experienced: "Teresa, I hope you are not mad at me for not responding. You know what I went through. I don't have anything to say."⁸⁹

3.3 The Journey of the European American Female

The success of the European American female at CBS during those years studied and in *CBS Reports* in particular is important from an historical perspective. Her success can also be applied to established feminist theories. The historical perspective is important because the women respondents in this study were employed at the height of the feminist movement and continued to be employed during the time that the movement began to lose its momentum. Therefore, their perspectives reflect the years when women began to see that being a staunch feminist resulted in less time to experience women's traditional roles involving the family.

Feminist theory suggests that women should have political, economic, and social rights equal to men.³¹ Brenda Dervin argues that feminist scholarship occurs in three stages: (1) a focus on sex differences; (2) a focus on improving society and making women more like men; (3) a focus on giving voice to women.³¹ Linda Steiner suggests that journalism textbooks have reached the second stage: making women more like men.³² This second stage, as indicated earlier, occurred in the late 1970s when women took on characteristics of male journalists in dress and aggressive behavior -- more important, the second stage of making women more like men being reflected in the issue of news values and whether or not women have continued to apply established news values as defined by men -- an ongoing debate. The study contends that minority and female news values reflect their

perspectives based on their experiences. However, the newsroom environment is such that for the most part in the years studied female and minority journalists conformed to the established news values under the theory that news is news -- that it has no color, no sex."³³

In many respects, the 1970s and 1980s provided an ideal barometer for measuring the impact of women's status of the changes that had occurred during the postwar era.³⁴ The 1940s and 1950s had been a time of paradox, with significant behavioral changes in women's activities occurring at the same time as the revival of traditional patriarchal attitudes that defined women's place as being strictly in the home as argued by scholar William Chafe.³⁵

The responses of vice presidents Pamela Ilott and Marlene Sanders and executive producers Judy Crichton and Judy Reemstma reflect the history of the female worker as early as the 1940s. During that time the popular perception of American womanhood is often expressed in the image of Rosie the Riveter.³⁶ America was at war, "the men were at the front," and women were taking their places in the factories.³⁷ Some of the mothers of those women working in network television in the 1970s and 1980s were employed during World War II, and their work experience, as recalled by producer Judy Crichton, presented new dynamics for those early broadcasters:

My mother was an upper-class woman with a lot of money [and] a bad marriage who suddenly found herself with little money when I was in my early teens and went to work for the first time in her life and discovered, I think, both strengths and independence that she didn't know she had. My mother who found herself in need of money precisely at that time (World War II) and, went to work in a war factory. A break

she never would have gotten it if it hadn't been for the war as you know. She ended up being in charge of a unit making radar crystals for the Navy. And she made an enormous amount of money by those days' standards with overtime sometimes \$500 a week. She made far more than my father did which also socially was considered very curious in our world. She also became the head of a unit within the factory and so developed executive skills she probably didn't know she had."⁸

The work of women like Crichton's mother is examined in William Chafe's *The American Woman*. Chafe's contention that Rosie the Riveter went back home when the soldiers returned or at least moved to a less-paying, less rewarding job is supported through the oral history interviews.⁹⁰ Sherna Gluck's report of her oral history interviews with former Los Angeles aircraft workers theorizes that the majority of the former housewives planned to return to full-time homemaking.¹⁰⁰ Gluck speculates that the housewives who went home or those who were always homemakers may have transmitted private changes, such as increased self-sufficiency or new power relationships within the household to their daughter's generation. African American Producer Nadine Sapia humorously recalled the way in which her mother instilled the idea of self sufficiency: "My mother instilled in us that if you wanted something you had to work for it. She would always quote the Billie Holliday song, *Mama May Have, Papa May Have, But God Bless The Child That's Got Its Own*."¹⁰¹

What is important here in regards to the Gluck and Chafe studies is that the respondents in this study for the most part felt that their mothers only slightly offered them the idea of self sufficiency because they were primarily housewives. (However, it can be argued that the de-

pendency model reflected in their homes served as a catalyst for change in their own lives and that they understood that self sufficiency is also a journalistic trademark.) Producer Reemstma recalled the idea of self sufficiency:

My mother was an old fashioned stay at home mom, an adored only daughter who had lost her own mother at the time of her birth. She had no notion that I would become a professional and when I was still one in my thirties and not yet married, she would ask me why I didn't stop working so hard and find a nice man and settle down. I told her I was looking as hard as I could. She (like all of us) was a person of her own time, who defined success by the mores of her time. Whatever I was doing, she always made me feel that she was proud of me, and I think that helped me in ways I cannot easily define.¹⁰²

Kathy Sulkes, a producer with *Sunday Morning*, also spoke to this issue:

My mother I guess at some level instilled the notion of self sufficiency. My mother did not have a job. She was in the traditional 1950s mode of housewife and mother. She had not actually gone to university although she had two years at a conservatory.¹⁰³

Sixty Minutes Producer Marianna Edmunds had a similar response:

She was a full time wife and mother of four children with no college education and no professional skills except to do some nurse's aide work in a hospital. Having an outside job or career or being a professional was something totally outside her range of experience or ideas. It was not an issue or a goal. She may regret it, but I don't think so. I think she just did what a lot of middle class women -- middle class white women did anyway in the fifties, she was a suburban housewife. So I knew very early on that somehow I didn't respect that or I thought it seemed like a trap and very much wanted to be like my father who traveled, worked for a chemical company was never quite sure if he wasn't really a spy because he used to go to South America all the time. But he instilled in me much more of a desire to go out and see the world and do something and not be so confined to the home.¹⁰⁴

The latter respondent credits her father with instilling self sufficiency and the idea of success. This was true of Judy Crichton. "My father had been one of the first producers in television in this country. He had gone to work in 1944 for CBS when they had one studio and one camera over the Grand Central Building, and I hung around there and loved it."¹⁰⁵ Kathy Sulkes also recalled the idea of self sufficiency from her father. "I think most of what I got was theoretical rather than an example. And certainly my father's example more than my mother's."¹⁰⁶ Likewise, Susan Adler's recollection supports the significance of the father and self sufficiency: "I think I always had the notion of being independent from very, very young. I think I modeled myself on my father more, and in some ways I'm more like him."¹⁰⁷

The idea of self sufficiency was also determined early on by those respondents who were the product of divorce, were poor, or were the children of mothers who were heavily involved in voluntarism as indicated by Marlene Sanders:

As far as my mother instilling the notion of self sufficiency, yes, because I was born during the Depression in 1931 and she worked. She was divorced very early before most people and had to work and made me quite aware of the fact that women had to basically take care of themselves, although she wasn't quite clear on all of that, I didn't get direct messages, but since we didn't have much money in my family ever, I became aware of the need for money and also was a very independent type of person. So somehow or other possibly because of divorce and that I used to go visit my father in Philadelphia on the train from Cleveland as a very little kid and I liked that travel and when I was only about seven, I started doing it by myself, so who knows what makes people the way they are, but certainly all of these things had some effect.¹⁰⁸

Patricia Olson Matthews recalled her activist mother:

My mother did not work, but she was an extremely active volunteer, and she was a very good organizer. She ran a theatre group, did meals on wheels, did all sorts of things. I think one thing that indirectly I realized how self-sufficient she was. Her mother had died when she was twelve, and she left home at 16 and basically supported herself from that point on. She got scholarships to go to college, got herself a job. She is still around and quite an independent woman, and I think that trickled down to me.¹⁰⁹

Likewise Leslie Danoff Robbins recalled a mother who was very much involved with her family and the community:

My mother went to work just upon graduation from high school. She came from a poor family, and she couldn't afford to go to college. She came from a large family and actually only her brother went to college. She had a lot of determination and worked her way up to quite a responsible position. After my parents were married, my mother helped my father out in his law practice at the outset. She worked as his secretary and general sounding board. And as we grew up, she basically was a full-time mother and giver to the community.¹¹⁰

Another fascinating concept about the labor history of the European American woman is that if the war did not bring revolution for women as a group, there were still enormous changes in the lives of individuals.¹¹¹ Those individual experiences of vice president Pamela Ilott and producer Judy Crichton figure prominently in assessing the women and minorities who entered public affairs broadcasting. Pamela Ilott began with her years in Europe:

World War II kept me traveling for nearly six years and broke my taste for studying. My majors had been English and Comparative Religion. I was involved in politics and the theatre, traveled extensively in India and the Middle East, which I am sure contributed to my usefulness

in broadcasting. I came to America to be in a Broadway play which folded and after many misadventures including a surgeon in Canada. I talked myself into a job in an agency that placed mostly American religious broadcast in overseas markets. A chap that I had known in Calcutta during the war and roommate of Melvin Douglas and Tony Martin worked there, and fascinated by my first sight of a tape recorder (pretty primitive in 1952), I sneaked it out at night to record mostly in Harlem and Chinatown and put together a Christmas program. Well, the boss found out and commandeered it, put his girlfriend's name on it and sold it to a big church group. I was sent to peddle it to CBS who received me courteously and explained they did not accept outside public service programming. NBC snapped it up to my disgust. Some weeks later, I got a call from CBS who asked me what I knew about television. So they asked me for a specimen script and had me as a script editor. My mother. Well, I barely saw my mother. But a great influence in my life was a maiden aunt who encouraged me to write poetry, tell the truth, and form my own opinions. Self sufficiency came with a varied life.¹¹²

Judy Crichton had a similar response:

Oh my heavens, Teresa, I went in, first place, girls, we all were girls, always went in at entry level no matter what they'd done. I probably didn't deserve to be better than that. I went to work in television in the late 1940s at Dumont, a network no longer in existence, and I was the secretary, cleaner upper, researcher, associate producer, and wrote some of the copy. It was a game show called "What's The Story" in which we would take historical stories like the assassination of Julius Caesar and tell it in contemporary vernacular, and I hawked the tickets in Rockefeller Plaza and did the warm up in the studio and did everything except sweep out the garbage, but my title was secretary. Jobs were easy to find even for those young women in the 50s because we never questioned in those days being able to get jobs, the question was whether you could get a job doing what you wanted to do, and you couldn't.¹¹³

These narratives highlight the issues that women have engaged in over the last fifty years -- the issues of working outside the home or staying at home. The advent of radio and television serves as a unique model of the work experience for women in general and these respondents in particular because the worked involved travel. Producer

Leslie Danoff Robbins' experiences seem to reflect those of many of that time period who started out working to become men but who found joy in returning to traditional roles that are the same as their mothers:

Post script. regarding my mother and self sufficiency I guess the one sentence that I left out that is kind of ironic but it needs to be said while at the outset of my not long career -- my decade long career in television news -- I could not envision myself living my mother's life. In fact, for the last decade I have been what my mother was as well, a full-time mother. A volunteer and a full-time mother. That's how I define myself, full-time mother. I guess you know one comes full circle. I can't imagine anyone else raising my children. I think it's the world's most important work. I do wonder, you know, when the kids grow up, what I am going to be doing. I have some ideas. My ideas really don't include television news because I have been out of it too long. When you are at a certain age, you can't really envision yourself in a particular place and here I am in that place being tremendously satisfied raising my children.¹¹⁴

By the 1980s it was clear that this working to become men, dress-alike, look-alike contest in the workplace had produced a double bind for women.¹¹⁵ Women were expected to perform "equally" in the workplace and at home.¹¹⁶ For some, it was possible to do both as confirmed by respondents such as Marlene Sanders who describe their personal lives that are inclusive of husband and children: "My husband's income managing symphony orchestra was very bad and besides I after a couple of months with a baby I said I can't do this. You know it was a very hectic life anyhow. I had a husband, I had a son growing up."¹¹⁷

Judy Crichton also had a feverish life: "My husband was a writer and so I was required to support him which I did on and off, when we got too broke, he would go to work. I had four

children in five years, but I kept going back to work, we needed the money " . . . Other respondents saw misery in trying to be a superwoman and opted to leave

As the 1970s and 1980s unfolded, it became clear that the relationship between attitudes and practice would remain complicated -- complicated for African American men and women and European American women.

Established African American theory and black and white feminist theory are useful in trying to understand the dynamics of what led to the success or failure of African American men and women and European American women in network news in general and *CBS Reports* in particular during the time studied.

In their quest to join the mainstream press during those years examined, African Americans found themselves and still do in a quagmire over, as Du Bois contended years and years ago, being American and being black. Similarly European American women found themselves in a quagmire as they worked to become men with the need of self sufficiency and their need to be the traditional woman who stays at home.

Next the study looks at other factors that contributed to the success or failure of these groups in television network news.

Endnotes

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¹¹Gloria Hull, Patricia Scott and Barbara Smith, *All The Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men, But Some Of Us Are Brave* (New York: The Feminist Press, 1982), 5

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¹⁴Donald B. Gibson, introduction to *The Souls of Black Folk* by W. E. B. DuBois (London: Viking Penguin, 1989), ix.

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³⁸Marianna Edmunds, interview by author, June 12, 1997.

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⁴⁴Carolyn Phillips, "Evaluating & Valuing Newsroom Diversity," *Newspaper Research Journal* 31 (Spring, 1991): 32.

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⁴⁸Wilson, *Black Journalist in Paradox*, p 149-52

⁴⁹Edmunds, interview by author. June 12, 1997

⁵⁰Chandler, interview by author. November 4, 1995

⁵¹ Parker, interview by author. May 8, 1997.

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⁵³Roy Campanella II, interview by author, June 16, 1997. African Americans who had excelled at CBS News decided to travel to Nigeria and work for the Nigerian Television Authority where their accomplishments there have been numerous.

⁵⁴Eric Sundquist, *The Oxford W. E. B. Du Bois Reader*, 97.

⁵⁵Beasley and Gibbons, *Taking Their Place*, 11. Ida B. Wells crusaded against lynching; Lucile Bluford worked for the *Kansas City Call*, but was rebuffed 11 times to attend the University of Missouri School of Journalism, she did receive the master's degree in 1989 Ethel Payne was a correspondent for the *Chicago Defender* who made the headlines when she asked President Eisenhower in a press conference if he was planning to end segregation in interstate travel.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, 18.

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⁶⁰Beasley and Gibbons, *Taking Their Place*, 19.

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⁶⁶Conversations with minority female producers who left CBS News in the 1980s and began to work with cable access channels.

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⁷⁵Parker, interview by author, May 8, 1997.

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⁸¹Hull, Scott and Smith, *All the Women Are White, All the Men Are Black, But Some of Us Are Brave*, 117

⁸²Ilott, interview by author, April 20, 1997

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⁸⁵hooks, *Talking Back*, 143

⁸⁶Phillips, "Evaluating and Valuing Newsroom Diversity," 32.

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⁸⁹Anonymous, interview by author, June 30, 1997

⁹⁰Pamela Creedon, "The Challenge of Re-Visioning Gender Values," *Women in Mass Communication* (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 1993), 16

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⁹²Linda Steiner, "Body Language: Gender in Journalism Textbooks," in Pamela Creedon, ed., *Women in Mass Communication*, 301.

⁹³Beasley and Gibbons, *Taking Their Place*, 30

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Chapter IV

The Role of Media Executives

4.1 An Overview

Additional factors set the stage for the success or failure of women and minorities. During the time period studied, trade publications sought to address the issue by including in-depth articles on the gains these groups had made. A 1979 issue of *Broadcasting* reported that women, especially black women, had made impressive gains in their numbers among the news staffs of the nation's broadcast stations through the mid-1970s.¹ This report supports the contention presented in Chapter III that there was the general feeling that more minority females had been hired throughout CBS. However, the article further states that minority men did no more than hold their own on the employment rolls. *Broadcasting* based its report on a study prepared by Dr. Vernon Stone. He found that twice as many women were working in radio and television news in 1977 as in 1972. Nearly a fourth of the women working in television news were members of minority groups, as were 16 percent of women in radio news.² Although employment opportunities for both women and minorities increased through the five years of the Stone study, the largest-gaining group, black women, appeared to make their gains at the expense of minority men.³

According to the study, in 1973, 83% of minority newsmen were men.⁶ By 1977, males among minorities in news had dropped to 66 percent in television and 64 percent in radio.⁷ Media Executive William Small recalled that minority women did not seem to be as supportive of their minority male colleagues.

One of the interesting things in the women's movement, however, was the difficulty that the black women had in deciding which was their dominant interest their feminist needs or the minority needs, and more often than not it seemed to be the former that black women were more interested in the feminists, at that time the feminist aspects of the job and there were occasional complaints among the black males -- not very many but occasional -- that, "the sisters," as they put it, were more interested in their fellow sisters than in black males.⁸

The move to Nigeria by Randy Daniels and other African American males that was discussed in Chapter III can be included in the decrease in numbers of the minority male in broadcasting in those years. A 1981 *TV Guide* article reported "a pervasive feeling among blacks in network news that their time had come and gone."⁹ Randy Daniels explained in that *TV Guide* article his reasons for choosing to join the Nigerian Television Authority: "I met with every level of management of CBS News, both past and present, over issues that specifically relate to blacks and minorities. When it became clear to me that such meetings accomplished nothing, I chose to leave and work where my ideas were wanted and needed. I have found my race an impediment to being assigned major stories across the entire spectrum of news."¹⁰

Additionally, in support of the material found in Chapter III regarding Du Bois, a

provocative article was written by Pulitzer Prize-winning author Nick Kotz in a 1979 issue of *Columbia Journalism Review* that focused on the impact of Du Bois and the belief that many white editors work from the premise that black reporters cannot be both conscious of their own culture and committed to the professional standards of journalism.¹⁰ In the Kotz article the late Robert Maynard, a most influential black associate editor for the *Washington Post* and later the editor of the *Oakland Tribune*, described what happens to minorities in the newsroom environment: "You start off with a regard for your culture and your community and you bring this along to work. The problem is that many white editors say, 'Okay, you start over there with that view of yourself. I start out here with a view of you that is very different. If you want to work here, you've got to cross that bridge and come over entirely to my view.'"¹¹

Many nonwhite news people or "minority mavericks" as indicated in Chapter III, did not cross that bridge. Kotz wrote: "A whole generation of black journalists has come into the business with the kind of socialism that had traditionally attracted bright, young people to journalism. They are also aware that their way was paved by sacrifices of civil-rights activists."¹¹ Kotz quotes the *Philadelphia Bulletin* black reporter Acel Moore who had won a Pulitzer Prize for stories on prisons and mental hospitals: "I'm here today because some people began raising hell and boycotting the newspaper. I've not forgotten that. As professionals we have to reach back to the black community."¹²

Likewise, Kotz acknowledges the Du Bois theory addressed in Chapter III "Other black journalists are consciously wracked by the dilemma W E B Du Bois posed seventy years ago Blacks inevitably struggle with a "twoness." he wrote -- with a desire to be loyal to themselves both as blacks and as Americans. For minority group news people today, the struggle is both to be black, or Hispanic, or Asian-American, and also to be a journalist."¹³

This study begins nine years after the Kerner Commission, and it can be argued that most minority journalists, in their attempt to join the mainstream press as described by Du Bois, viewed the changes in the newsroom at the same time to be "shockingly slow and unacceptably limited."¹⁴ Kotz wrote that "far too few publishers, editors, and journalism educators are committed to the full integration of the nation's newsrooms."¹⁵

Many white editors emphasized gains as indicated in the *Columbia Journalism Review* article, but many blacks complained. In 1979, the United States population consisted of 17 percent minorities, yet they only represented 4 percent of the profession.¹⁶ Nonwhites who held newsroom jobs of real influence and authority were counted on both hands with several fingers left over.¹⁷ As African American Sheila Parker recalled: "Did someone call us in or did someone go up the ladder of the executives and say you know we have a group of black people that are absolutely phenomenal? No, I don't think that was ever done."¹⁸

Thus, any account of minorities and the press in the days studied, as in the case of the Kotz's article in the *Columbia Journalism Review*, only reaffirmed the Kerner Commission's

familiar findings "The American press is still backward in its failure to hire and promote minority journalists: the press still fails to report adequately the poverty, racism, and despair which bred the riots of the sixties: it still does not adequately portray the lives and aspirations of non-white Americans."¹⁹

But it was also clear that the problems of the late 1970s were different from those that concerned the Kerner Commission. The issues had shifted since the days when blacks had to demonstrate for the right to ride in the front of a bus, sit at a lunch counter, or use a bathroom.²⁰ The challenge in the 1960s was to crack the color barrier in the press corps and to report the movements for social and economic justice.²¹ In the years studied (1977-1982) the struggle in journalism was over tokenism in employment and inadequate portrayal of minority communities.²²

Other trade publications reported similarly on these issues. A 1977 issue of *Broadcasting* reported that the U. S. Civil Rights Commission criticized the networks, stations and their programming for stereotyping women and minorities and stated that stronger policing was needed at the federal level. The article stated: "Television, according to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, is a world where in programming, males are strong, mature individuals who control their own lives and those of others around them while women generally play dependent, subservient roles and minorities appear primarily in ethnic settings or as 'tokens' in all-white shows. It is a world of stereotypes."²³ The article also

included the CCR report that television is a world of "window dressing" where minorities and women appear as actors or as on-camera newsmen but where decisions are made and the power is held by white males.²⁴ This statement is supported by the oral histories used in this research. Additionally, the CCR report supports the view in this study of the use of white men as experts in the interview process. According to the report, "Television is a world where women and minorities rarely make news, where newsmakers are white males, usually government officials and public figures and where their exclusion suggests to the nation that women and minorities 'may not matter'."²⁵

The Civil Rights Commission's 181-page report entitled *Window Dressing on the Set: Women and Minorities in Television* "blamed the networks for perpetuating racial and sexual stereotypes in their pursuit of higher ratings and higher profits."²⁶

According to *Broadcasting*, the networks were angry with the report. Bill Leonard, CBS vice president in Washington at the time of the report, said that equality of opportunity is "the very linchpin of CBS policy."²⁷ He said that 46 percent of CBS employees were women and 16 percent belonged to minority groups.²⁸ Furthermore, Leonard said that the percentages continued to rise.²⁹

NBC, in this 1977 issue of *Broadcasting*, also responded to the CCR report. NBC News said that news accounts indicated that some of the CCR's charges appeared to be based on out-of-date data and were not in accord with the facts, at least as they concerned NBC.³⁰ It

also said that women and minority group members were represented in greater numbers at NBC than ever before and also more visible in NBC programs ³¹

The CCR report argued that if the stations were not aggressively seeking women and minorities for top jobs, the Federal Communications Commission, according to the CCR, was not pushing them. Subsequent issues of *Broadcasting* revealed that the FCC did become involved. In an April 1978 issue of *Broadcasting* it was reported that FCC Commissioner Marita White urged broadcasters to step up their efforts to hire and promote women and minorities. ³² Mrs White, speaking on a panel at the National Association of Broadcasters convention, said it was in the broadcasters' own interests to be vigorous in affirmative action - "not as a paper exercise to satisfy FCC obligations " ³³ Commissioner White told the NAB group that if broadcasters worked diligently towards the goals in equal employment opportunities, it could lead to fewer government regulations. ³⁴

Nevertheless, seventeen months after the publishing of *Window Dressing on the Set*, *Broadcasting* reported that the U S. Commission on Civil Rights had published an update that stated that things had not improved. It said minorities and women continued to be underrepresented, both on the screen and behind the camera, and to be represented by stereotypes. ³⁵

Window Dressing on the Set: an Update stated that in news operations, a sample of fifteen network news broadcasts showed a significant decrease in the number of female

network correspondents -- from 3.5 percent to 0 percent. On the other hand, the number of minority male correspondents increased significantly from 2.4 percent to 7.8 percent.³⁶ However, minority males continued to be underrepresented as correspondents.³⁷

Trade publications reported on the constant battles between the FCC and the networks over EEO issues. *Broadcasting* carried in the "Top of the Week" article in its February 18, 1980 issue that the FCC had set sail into untested jurisdictional waters when it voted to investigate network television EEO practices. The three networks in 1979 filed annual employment reports with the FCC that gave sex and ethnic information in the top categories for each of their offices throughout the country.³⁸ The FCC's 1979 report on women and minorities at the three television networks and their fifteen owned-and-operated stations showed that 16.5 percent of the total 13,994 employees were minorities and 32.5 percent were women. In the top four job categories, 11.7 percent were minorities and 19.1 percent were women, in the top four categories the networks had approximately 50 percent parity with the available female and minority workforce nationwide.³⁹ However, the commission said that in view of the size and complexity of the three networks, the reports that they filed during that time period did not provide a clear picture of which employees were involved in the decision-making process.⁴⁰

Broadcasting reported that at a 1979 FCC meeting that focused on the reports by the networks that indicated parity with the available female and minority

workforce, Commissioner Tyrone Brown said that there were still outstanding issues to resolve. "There is a huge amount of frustration among minorities and women who argue that 20 years after federal equal employment legislation they still cannot get decision-making jobs in an industry that ranks probably in the top three as having an effect on our society."⁴¹

Commissioner Ferris agreed with Commissioner Brown regarding the need for more diverse groups in decision making jobs, but he also said: "It is a good social policy to have a broadcaster represent his community, but those entry-level jobs should be considered, because hopefully [they] will climb the ladder and the new decision-makers will come from within."⁴²

The research question that is an integral part of this study is, "Did women and minorities become a part of the editorial process? Were they in positions to make decisions?"

ABC correspondent Carole Simpson, who left NBC during the period studied, noted changes. "I see an erosion of progress. They just don't care anymore. We're not vogueish any more."⁴³

There was a general belief in the late 1960s and early 1970s that the media had made an all out effort to hire blacks and that by the late 1970s most companies felt that they were integrated and that was enough. Needless to say many in the media and in corporate America in general felt that way. *Columbia Journalism Review* reported that in some journalism circles, radical chic had given way to parlor racism.⁴⁴ Many white journalists admitted they were bored by renewed discussions of minority employment,

and some whites resented having to share the cost of increased opportunities for minorities⁴⁵

However, for those media companies that were committed to integration, the success of these diverse groups was tied to the advice and suggestions that executives could provide for these journalists. The next section will explain managements attempts to bring diverse groups into the fold.

4.2 Description of Network News Executives

Initiative and interest on the part of news executives were the keys to desegregating media companies⁴⁶ *Editor & Publisher* reported in 1979 that to effectively

desegregate any business or company, there must be a commitment from the leadership.⁴⁷

This was one of the major ideas expressed by former *Washington Post* editorial writer Robert Maynard and his wife, Nancy Hicks, a former reporter for the *New York Times*, at a minority hiring seminar at the *Reno Evening Gazette* and the *Nevada State Journal* in 1979. Maynard remarked that all employees in the company must treat each other as equals. When asked to comment on whether or not the Gannett Newspaper group had a good opportunity to improve its record of minority hiring, he said, "The potential is there (at Gannett) because there's interest in doing it at the top. Just one or two editors can't do it. But if the people at the top show that it will be done, and everybody works together, then it can be done."⁴⁸

What was fundamental to this process at Gannett, CBS, or any other media company was that top management had to be directly and enthusiastically involved. In most businesses,

including CBS, to ensure accountability, a senior manager was assigned the responsibility to make the minority hiring program work. As learned in Chapter III, however, the program did not always work during the years examined. A major factor constantly highlighted was the lack of training. Yet, most newspapers as well as network news used to train as a matter of course.⁴⁹ Kotz wrote in the *Columbia Journalism Review*:

As the number of job applicants increased, many abandoned the practice [training] as an unnecessary expense; they came to depend on a farm system of smaller papers to break in novice journalists. Editors of larger newspapers say repeatedly that this system should be relied upon to increase the supply of minority journalists in the profession. The weight of the evidence, however, is against the ladder working well. Minority journalists are often not comfortable working for newspapers [television stations] in small towns without minority communities. There are almost 1,200 daily papers without a single minority news employee, and these are precisely the papers big city editors tout as their farm system.⁵⁰

Many executives then believed that the farm system could not do the job. Increasing diversity among employees meant changing recruiting techniques and representatives began recruiting on women's college campuses and historically black colleges and universities. Yet the media executives found that the journalism schools were not doing any better than they were. *Editor & Publisher* in 1982 reported that journalism educators and journalism professionals were at such odds over how prospective journalists should be trained that an educational revolution was imminent.⁵¹ Most of the executives were willing to help journalism schools revamp their programs, but if changes were not made, many of these same executives were considering funding independent alternatives to university journalism training.

In fact, *Editor & Publisher* reported that the American Society of Newspaper Editors had started two programs to help increase the number of minority journalism students entering the newspaper field. top priority for both of the ASNE programs was the twenty-two historically black colleges with journalism programs.⁵² Yet, a number of professors at predominantly black universities such as Howard, Norfolk State, and Clark College in Atlanta that had started journalism programs complained that newspapers neither recruited their students nor took them willingly as summer interns.⁵³

About the same time journalism programs were being criticized for inadequate training of journalism students, journalism programs, were experiencing a growth in both enrollment and diversity in the 1970s at least in part because of America's interest in the work of Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein of the *Washington Post*. Their investigation into the Watergate Scandal involving President Richard Nixon was widely recognized through the film adaptation of their work in *All The President's Men*.⁵⁴ A fascination with the media and an increased interest in broadcasting came from the television news coverage of the Vietnam War and the Civil Rights Movement as well.

As a result, record numbers of journalism school graduates were hired by daily newspapers by 1979.⁵⁵ A Newspaper Fund study of the 1978 journalism and communications graduates showed that approximately 3,600 of the class of 15,924 graduates took daily newspaper jobs immediately after graduation.⁵⁶ At that time, these statistics indicated the largest number of

jobs offered in the past four years and represented an increase from the approximately 2,500 graduates who took daily newspaper jobs in 1977.⁵⁷ The Newspaper Fund's study showed that 71 percent of the daily newspaper jobs were offered to news-editorial majors. The remaining jobs on dailies were taken by those with majors in other specialty areas such as broadcasting, public relations, and advertising.⁵⁸ Jobs in all media-related areas, including newspapers, broadcasting, public relations, advertising, and magazines, were taken by 61.7 percent of the graduates.⁵⁹

In light of the interest and numbers, the media organizations were able to obtain some of the best talent from the more elite universities in the United States, as the oral histories confirm. Leslie Danoff Robbins recalled the credentials she brought to CBS: "The fact that I actually had a *New York Times* op-ed piece that I had written in my senior year as well as having graduated in the first co-ed class at Yale basically sent me on my way and opened doors that had I not had the Yale credential or some published articles wouldn't have occurred."⁶⁰ Roy Campanella II recalled: "I do have a journalism background which began in high school when I was writing for the student paper at Woodlands High School in Westchester County and continued on to college at Harvard University where I joined other African American students and began writing especially about events in Africa."⁶¹

Likewise Marianna Edmunds' background supported the number of college graduates who were employed in the industry; they had the interest in journalism, but not degrees:

"I graduated from Berkeley in literature and history during the revolutionary days "2

Kathy Sulkes was not a journalism major either: "I was a language major at Middlebury

College in Vermont."3 And Susan Schackman Adler also majored in another discipline "I

was a literature major at NYU with a sociology minor "4

The *Columbia Journalism Review* was quick to point out that in 1979 there was a class issue as well as a race issue existing. Blacks and whites who were admitted to the newsroom were from prominent universities and appeared to conform most closely to white middle-class standards. The article quoted Jay Harris, associate dean of Northwestern's Medill School of Journalism on this concern: "There is a growing tendency to hire elites to write for an increasingly elite audience." 5

In view of the statistics on the college graduates that were hired during the time period studied, the disturbing aspects of the employment report as stated in the *Editor & Publisher* article revealed the slow increase of minority graduates and the high rate of unemployment 6. Minorities comprised 8.5 percent of the Class of 1978, compared to 8.1 percent of the 1977 class; most minorities chose news-editorial and broadcast majors (64.4 percent), but that was down from 85.2 percent.7

As reported in the *Columbia Journalism Review* in 1979, whatever their numbers, minority journalism students were often not receiving adequate help. 8 University of Kansas professor Samuel Adams said at that time: "There is a benign neglect of black students in

journalism schools. They aren't getting the practice. they aren't getting into the system ""

To address this issue, during the time period of this study, training programs for minorities had been introduced. However, according to the *Columbia Journalism Review* article no consensus existed on reasonable job training for journalists.⁷⁰ Minority reporters were sensitive to the implication that they required special handling in order to compete, no matter how talented or experienced they were.⁷¹

Nevertheless, training programs were developed and supported primarily by foundations as reported in a four-part series in *Editor & Publisher* in 1977. Some of the major foundations such as Gannett, Knight, Scripps-Howard, and Hearst concentrated their investments in prospective journalists; some went beyond this and encouraged the teachers of trainees.⁷² The Scripps-Howard Foundation served as a vehicle for hundreds of benefactors including the minority journalists program at the University of California at Berkeley and for journalism classes at Florida A & M, an historically black college.⁷³

Grants to journalism education programs began to flow about twelve years before the time period studied.⁷⁴ Some of these major foundations placed the responsibility for dispensing financial aid in the hands of former high-level executives from editorial departments.⁷⁵ In 1968, for instance, Columbia University received a \$250,000 grant from the Ford Foundation to offer an annual eight-week summer training program for minority students designed to take college graduates and prepare them for jobs.⁷⁶ Directed by

Fred Friendly, a professor of journalism at Columbia, the program was successful. Friendly was a former CBS journalist and executive who along with Edward R. Murrow was responsible for inventing the television documentary at CBS, as indicated in Chapter I. In 1969, there were twenty-two graduates, in 1970, there were thirty-seven, and each year thereafter the numbers grew.⁷⁷ The graduates were actively recruited by the print and broadcast industry, some of the best for editorial positions. As scholars Dates and Thornton wrote, one of the program's most famous graduates was a young black woman named Michele Clark. Clark had risen through the reporters' ranks at CBS news to become co-anchor of its morning news program, when she was killed in an airplane crash.⁷⁸ The training program was renamed the Michele Clark Summer Program for Minorities in her honor.⁷⁹ By 1974, however, money for the project was unavailable.⁸⁰ In 1975, Earl Caldwell, a black journalist, with a grant from the Gannett Foundation helped raise other funds needed to restart the training program that was relocated to the University of California at Berkeley and called the Institute for Journalism Education.⁸¹ The summer program prepared and found employment in the industry for minority reporters.⁸²

William Small, who was vice president at CBS and later became president of NBC News, recalled the talents of Michele Clark whose legacy inspired other minority journalists:

The most outstanding of what I would call comers in on-air broadcasting was Michele Clark who unhappily died in a plane crash about the time your study gets under way. I had often said [that] to many, including Michele herself when she worked in the Washington bureau just before her death. She was sent down on

assignment for about three or four weeks, and we had her to the house one night and I told her quite candidly that I believed that given time she would not only be CBS' first woman anchor, but its first black woman anchor. She certainly was good enough to be for example Cronkite's successor, although that didn't seem likely at the time. There was no sign of Walter really wanting to step down except to say that he might. And of course in both Rather and Roger Mudd, there were two strong candidates to succeed him, but Michele, had she lived, I think would have been rapidly into that class. She was marvelously intelligent and a very good broadcaster.⁸⁵

Again it was executives like Small, who graduated from the University of Chicago, moved to Louisville, Kentucky, to be a news director of both radio and television stations and then to CBS News where he became vice president and ultimately the president of the NBC news division, who believed in journalists like Michele Clark and moved the process forward.⁸⁴ Robert Chandler, who graduated from New York City College, worked for *Variety* and MGM before coming to CBS News as Director of Information Services and ultimately to become vice president for public affairs broadcasts, was also one to set minority recruitment goals.⁸⁵ The journalists working for these executives knew the power they held as bosses and as leaders.⁸⁶ As Sheila Parker, who was a receptionist and later a production manager and recruiter, recalled:

The switchboard at Public Affairs Broadcasting at the time I went in was the most educational job. I learned who was calling whom, who got favors from whom, who came in late and didn't want someone to know, who got freaky, who got freaked out when a certain VP would call and they weren't there. I learned where the power lies. I decided that since people were calling Bob Chandler and I referred this name Bob Chandler all the time. I decided that he was the man that since the producer was going to him to get an associate producer and the associate

producer was going to him to get a producer and the researchers were trying to get him to notice them so that they could become the associate. I said, "Well, he was the man!"⁸⁷

No matter how one felt about them, the oral history interviews support the significance of all the executives to the units within the CBS News Divisions such as *Evening News*, *Morning*, *Sixty Minutes*, *Sunday Morning* and *CBS Reports*. Loyalty to the company and to the executives was common in those days. Media managers could count on loyalty motivating the journalists of the time period studied up until the years of downsizing. For one reason, they were hired at a time when CBS offered long-term job security. Media managers today say that their companies cannot afford employees who expect that kind of job security.⁸⁸ Nevertheless, in those years for those journalists who were employed, there was a sense of loyalty to the company and if not to the company, to the product itself -- CBS News.

This loyalty did not change when women and minorities entered the networks, even though some long-time male employees may have had problems in adjusting to these new groups. Media managers such as Small and Chandler, however, recalled that they had faith that those individuals they brought in could be motivated to do their best and that they would be firm, fair, and helpful with every employee. Small responded to this issue:

How did I handle morale and were staff members happy? Maybe it is in this nature of people in journalism at least to me there was never a single complaint or unhappiness expressed by white males about the coming of women and blacks. There were, I am sure, some conflicts in some places, but never did they reach the level I was at. All quite to the contrary, there was a great encouragement and if you talked -- as I am sure you did when you were at CBS -- to some of the

minorities and especially some of the women who were in place that they found people helpful not antagonistic “

Chandler similarly recalled

I don't think morale was a problem. I don't think there was any unhappiness on the part of the producers or the associate producers that women and minorities were coming in. There would occasionally be some concern because somebody assigned to a project may not have been experienced enough or at least in the view of the producer, and he would have hoped for somebody somewhat more experienced or more gifted but by and large they took it without any problem. I think there is more concern on the part of the women because the men were clannish, and they did not welcome women on an equal basis. I don't think they were particularly covert about or overt about being anti-feminist or anything like that.⁹¹

These executives also recalled this same positive posture when asked how effective male and female teams were during the period studied. The male teams usually had males in the editorial positions of producer, writer, editor, researcher, and cameraman; the producer was more often male if women were on the team. The female teams had female producers, editors, researchers, and cameramen; the producer was more often than not female. Mixed race teams existed with male and female producers.

Media managers today agree that they see and hear less about "team" effort and more about machinelike individuals.⁹¹ In the years studied, teams reflected a continuity in the work force in broadcast news. Teams were comprised of the same members from documentary to documentary for the most part unless they were reassigned by media executives such as vice presidents or executive producers. William Small discussed the

idea of teams be they female or male

Sixty Minutes and *CBS Reports*? I think by that time it was always a mixture, by that time there was a large number of females in the production team, quite a few women. Prior to the mid-1970s, they [the teams] were staffed largely by white males as your next question indicates you discovered the same thing.³²

Chandler also recalled the issue of teams

We really didn't have. I don't think any conscious effort at organizing programs into all female or all male or minority and majority teams or a mixture of minority female and male teams. I don't think there was any conscious effort in that direction. There were a couple of occasions where it happened. I think it happened with Judy Reemstma and Marlene Sanders as the producer and correspondent on the nursing program. Was it conscious? I don't know. But I don't know that we made any particular effort to create teams of that sort or even to bring diverse people into a production for the sake of diversity. Obviously when we brought Bradley into the *Brown V. Board* celebration that was a conscious and deliberate effort. We thought it was appropriate for a Black to do that program, but by and large, I have to say no [to organizing minority or female teams]. I don't think it worked that way. I think it was a question of who was available, who had the idea, who worked well together, who did the producer or executive producer want for a particular program. I simply don't think we found ourselves, I won't use the word quotas, but saying we have to have a black on this, a woman on this, a white on this and a male on this. I just don't think it worked that way.³³

Any decisions involving editorial material, film locations or the like that were brought to the attention of media executives were made by individuals within the teams or the production teams themselves. These units in general and at *CBS Reports* in particular were composed of about seventy members, especially if they were working on a large series like *The Defense of the United States* as discussed in Chapter II.³⁴ Usually the unit would include roughly ten producers, two to four associate producers, two to four researchers,

editors, assistant editors, one broadcast associate, two graphic designer, two technical assistants, two production assistants, two production managers, and two to four cameramen and soundmen.⁸⁴

Whether a group or individual made the decisions influenced the efficiency and effectiveness of the decision.⁸⁵ In some cases, individuals made the best decisions.⁸⁷ However, some individual journalists -- both men and women, white and black -- were more loyal to the profession of journalism than to CBS.

At CBS, in some cases, group decisions worked better than individual decisions. When complex tasks were involved, groups had the advantage of the division of labor dictated by the job that one held.⁸⁸ Division of labor is the extent to which jobs were broken down into a number of steps with the responsibility for each step being assigned to specific individuals -- hence, the producer, the associate producer, the researcher, and the like.⁸⁹ Instead of being responsible for an entire activity, journalists specialized in doing part of an activity.⁹⁰ For example, in the highly unionized network news organizations, videotape editors are solely responsible for editing videotape.¹⁰¹ The division of labor was then and still is an efficient way of utilizing journalists' specific skills.¹⁰²

Even with job responsibilities within production teams spelled out by managers at CBS, group conflicts almost were inevitable if members had widely differing interests and attitudes. When women and minorities were hired, more racial and gender-based conflicts occurred

because of the adjustments that had to be made by white men who basically had made up these production teams in the past and who had similar interests and attitudes. However, the oral history interviews of the media executives reflect their willingness to try to work through conflicts if they did exist as recalled by executive William Small:

My comments refer to Washington, which was the only area other than New York that I worked in, and I have never found any serious conflicts at all. There were conflicts with people as they always are but never relating to minority status or sex. I remember when I brought Ed Bradley back first to Washington and then ultimately he went to *Sixty Minutes*. He had some problems with a woman correspondent from another network. It related not at all to sex, to gender, or to race. It had to do with a woman who he felt was making his job more difficult when he was covering Vietnam.¹⁰⁵

Executive Robert Chandler did not know if there were group conflicts:

I'm not sure what you mean about group conflicts. I'm not sure I'm even able to answer that question. I just don't know what group conflicts are or were. There may have been friction in the field, but that's something we didn't try to control out of New York. We couldn't control it and if you regard that as a conflict, I guess that was an unreconciled conflict.¹⁰⁴

Another problem for media executives was the issue of production teams being able to make decisions at all.¹⁰⁵ Disagreement over the goals of *CBS Reports* and the other units sometimes led to no decisions. This tended to be rare because management generally did not accept indecision from groups.¹⁰⁶ As indicated earlier William Small did not feel that conflicts reached his level of management.¹⁰⁷ Nadine Sapia, an African American producer, concluded: "Group conflicts will almost always occur when you are in each other's company for any long periods of time. It seemed as though each person felt they

were prima donnas " . . . Producer Susan Adler recalled that conflicts did exist in trying to make decisions then and even today where she works as a producer for the *Week End*

News and the *Evening News*:

I think whenever you are working in a group there will always be conflict whether it's between older workers and younger workers like myself, because I was fairly young -- men, women, black, white, Hispanic, whatever. I think that the dynamic is always similar in many different situations where you have to find common ground.¹⁰⁹

Morning News producer Patricia Olson recalled conflicts:

There was conflict when there were very large groups. Let's say when I used to go on some of the space shots. There we would have ten or eleven people and then there was some conflict along sexual lines, some, but I'd say that if something like that was brewing I'd just sort of reclude myself and did my job.¹¹⁰

Correspondent and media executive Marlene Sanders had similar experiences:

We had our little differences now and then, but you just had to get along with people and resolve [the problems]. If you're the boss -- in the early days, I was the correspondent/producer -- what I said went, and we never had a problem about that. I said look, this is the story and this is what we want to get and if a cameraman had another idea that was a good idea that was fine with me we would do it his way, but I didn't feel, I mean it's a very cooperative enterprise. I didn't have group conflicts.¹¹¹

In the latter response, Marlene Sanders used the phrase, "if you're the boss, what I said went." That statement was most applicable to the man who served as president of CBS News for most of the years examined. -- the late Richard B. Salant. Media executives at CBS as well as journalists -- male and female, black and white -- overwhelmingly agreed

that Salant was responsible for opening the doors of CBS News to diversity

As the late minority editor Robert Maynard stated in 1979 "If the people at the top show that it will be done, and everybody works together, then it can be done."¹¹² Salant understood that organizations are designed to attain specific preset goals and are less concerned with the selection of those goals than with their attainment.¹¹³ And Salant knew that of the many goals set by the network in general, diversity was one that had to be attained. He used the humanistic approach to organizational structure that is based on the assumption that work is accomplished through people.¹¹⁴ Therefore he sought the aid of his white male and female executives at that time -- individuals such as William Small, William Leonard, Robert Chandler, John Lane, John Sharnik, and Kay Wight -- to bring diversity to the newsroom by emphasizing cooperation, participation, and interpersonal skills.

Salant was unique. A lawyer rather than a journalist, he was the son of a prosperous New York lawyer who originally set out to follow in his father's footsteps.¹¹⁵ After his graduation from Harvard Law School in 1938, he worked for five years as a Washington attorney, first at the National Labor Relations Board and then at the Justice Department.¹¹⁶ Following Navy service during World War II, he joined the New York law firm of Rosenman, Goldmark, Colin & Kaye.¹¹⁷ One of the firm's clients was CBS, and by the late 1940s, he was handling many of the network cases.¹¹⁸ This brought him to the attention of Frank Stanton, a CBS corporate executive, who was impressed by Salant's forensic skills

and, even more, by Salant's strong belief in the importance of news and public affairs broadcasting.¹¹⁹ By 1961, Salant had become so closely allied to the interests of the news division that no one was surprised when he was named its president.¹²⁰

Salant's main concern was that the news-division people would not accept him because of his lack of journalistic credentials, and he was greatly relieved when that did not prove to be a major problem.¹²¹ *Broadcasting* reported that "colleagues at CBS News credited Mr. Salant with a number of accomplishments -- among them the first half-hour nightly news, the first one-hour (morning) news, extension of *CBS Evening News* into the weekends, *60 Minutes*, *Magazine*, *In the News*, *30 Minutes* and *Sunday Morning*. Some say one of his most valuable achievements had been to keep the outside pressures -- from White House, advertisers or wherever -- off the working newsmen."¹²² Salant also stated, "we never compromised in trying to cover a very difficult period that encompassed Watergate, the Vietnam war, racial conflicts, civil disorders, assassinations and riots. We did what we thought we ought to, and we remained strong."¹²³

More importantly, Salant had a willingness to stand for what is right, a characteristic that is essential to a media executive's success. He acknowledged the progress and lack of progress in hiring diverse groups in a 1979 *Broadcasting* article:

I think this is at least as good an organization as it was when I came in. And it was a hell of a good organization. We haven't lost the standards, and the caliber of the people is just as good. In some ways it may be stronger -- that's for somebody else to say. I'm damn proud of the progress we've made in

employment opportunities for women. Less proud of [progress in] minorities -- we haven't made the progress I've wanted to, but we're ahead of where we were." ¹²⁴

His deputy Robert Chandler recalled Richard Salant. "Dick Salant was very much a leader and very much a visionary who insisted that we try our best. There was a mandate from him that we had to increase the number of minorities and women in significant jobs, and Bill Leonard continued that tradition and much as I disliked him, Van Sauter did as well." ¹²⁵

William Small responded to the importance of Salant holding the leadership position.

First of all, Dick Salant was president of CBS News, and those among us who were his chief deputies were very eager to make sure that it was not an all-male enclave, but you know it was a period where we were still hiring people [due to an increase in broadcast revenues] so you did not have to make very tough decisions saying I've got one opening and I have four candidates and I am going to pick the black or the woman, etc. We usually were able whenever we saw talent to hire that person, and we hired a lot of them. ¹²⁶

As Pamela Ilott recalled: "The man who did most to encourage women at CBS News never talked about it. He was the late Dick Salant when he was president of the news division. I don't know if he had problems. He didn't brag about his attitude." ¹²⁷ Executive producer Paul Greenberg remembered the media executive in this manner: "Richard Salant, the president of CBS News was determined to diversify the news division. He made a point of instructing those in charge of various units that diversification was policy and had to be implemented." ¹²⁸ Roy Campanella II recalled: "I think that Dick Salant was kind of an Al [Neuharth]. He seemed to have the same underlined philosophy about American lives

and the importance of diversity and integration or inclusion that Dick Salant had. I think they were birds of the same feather."¹²⁹ Marlene Sanders had a similar recollection. "Salant at CBS. The president of CBS News, he made it clear that if executives didn't bring in minorities, it would affect their bonus [extra pay]. So what do you know, people started doing it. He made it very clear. After he left, I think it became murky."¹³⁰ Additionally, Salant himself underscored his goals towards women following a speech he gave in 1979 for the New York Women in Communications. When asked by a questioner how soon there might be a woman president of CBS News, he replied: "If I were making the decision, I'd say a woman president could get there pretty fast."¹³¹

Successful managers understand not only themselves, according to scholars Lacy, Sohn, and Wicks, but also the persons in the organizational and social environment.¹³² Salant knew his organization and the kinds of journalists he had working for the division, and he knew that the organization had to accommodate the changes that were taking place in society as producer Judy Crichton remembered Richard Salant:

Many people have said that Salant was one who somehow tried to spearhead diversity with women and minorities. I think that's very true. I think he was quite extraordinary. Don't forget that he had been the Jew in a very Wasp environment, even though Paley was Jewish, and there was a whole *New Yorker* piece written about him talking about the fact that he was not only Jewish but homely and so he was an outsider and therefore it was under Salant that I initially came in. I mean Bill Leonard hired me, but I think it was pressure from Salant that made Leonard hire me. Let me tell you about Salant because it was through Salant that you came to work for us and it was my asking Salant directly for help in finding African Americans that led to that. Yes, he was great. I think Salant was one of those

extraordinary special people who rose above all kinds of issues that held other people down."³³

In concluding this section on media executives of the time period examined, it must be emphasized that women and minorities were entering what had essentially been an all-male enclave. The media executives described as being journalists themselves had a mission to fulfill as dictated by the then president of CBS News, Richard Salant.

The media executives who responded, as confirmed by the comments of broadcast journalists, did try to move the process forward. Others did not. Problems did arise, it was to be expected. Adjustments had to be made in the all-male enclave that had itself covered the racial strife in the South and the women's protests -- the very events that served as the catalyst for the changes that they were experiencing in their own newsroom environment. Group conflicts did occur, but executives did not seem that privy to them, according to the executives that responded. Conflicts that did occur were somehow not as important as trying to make diversity work in an environment where the journalists seemed to be loyal to the executives who brought them in at a time in labor history when journalists were devoted to the organization where they worked and the product -- the news -- that they produced in spite of their own successes or failures in the profession.

4.3 The Importance of Mentors

Much of what has been written about broadcast media managers centers around their basic objectives of making an optimal profit, increasing the station's share of the audience, producing new and innovative programming, and keeping the station or network expanding.¹³⁴

Other media-related research on the formal structure of media organizations found that face-to-face communication declines as organizations increase in size.¹³⁵ With this in mind, it can be argued that media managers at CBS were really not in a position to talk face-to-face with workers merely because of the size of the network news operation. As indicated earlier, Small and Chandler were vice presidents of the hard news and soft news divisions respectively. In the social climate following the civil rights and women's movement and the "Kerner Report," however, when they began bringing in diverse groups, face-to-face communication, to some extent, had to exist if they wanted to develop these employees, who knew nothing of the business, in order to promote them. The development of employees was and still is one of the major objectives of broadcast media managers.¹³⁶ The only way that this was going to happen during the years studied was if these executives served as mentors to their new employees -- not in the sense of a mentor as coach or teacher where having the wherewithal to promote is virtually nil, but being a mentor in the sense of following the career of a broadcast journalist, advising that individual, and making sure that the individual finds himself herself on the right road to promotion by being assigned to

producers who could teach or coach

Media executives at CBS in the 1970s and early 1980s were of significant importance as mentors. The general consensus from the oral history interviews is that one could not move up without their help. As one respondent said, "The people who helped me were definitely the executives at CBS, there's no question in my mind."¹³⁷

The executives tended to serve as mentors and not the "star correspondents."

The study deals with the behind-the-scenes people, but correspondents, in some cases, also needed executives and executive producers to serve as their mentors.

Patricia Matthews recalled CBS mentors. "I'd say media executives are much better than star correspondents, anchors. They knew what we made, knew that we did more than the reporters with whom we sort of interacted."¹³⁸ Judy Reemstma similarly stated: "Correspondents and 'stars' move around so much that they don't have much time to be mentors, at least that was my experience."¹³⁹ Marlene Sanders recalled "The mentoring situation. I never had any kind of mentor. I worked with Mike [Wallace] on and off, but he never helped me get a job. I always got the jobs myself, and it was partly because in those early years, there were very few women."¹⁴⁰

Susan Adler spoke of the importance of the mentor and the star correspondent:

In my case, I think Dan Rather, who I worked for and became very close to, helped me with a lot of advice, but I'm not sure he ever actually made a job happen for me. I think I had to do that for myself. But I think that he helped me in terms of my association with him somewhat and also his advice and insight

about how to conduct myself and what's important and what's not important."¹⁴¹

Marianna Edmunds had a similar response: "Mentors at CBS: Ed Bradley a bit, but he did not take on the mentoring role with me anyway."¹⁴² Likewise Leslie Robbins recalled:

But I would say that mentoring is extremely essential in the process of progressing. I mean I saw that everything being equal, you could be the best, but if you didn't have somebody who had taken you under their wing, you

would be stymied. I think that television news is a world where there are many self-involved people and certainly John Hart [correspondent] could have been a mentor, but he ran into his own difficulties at CBS. I would have to say and after I left CBS in 1978, I went to public television and worked with Bill Moyers. While I was working with him I really regarded him as a mentor. I certainly learned a great deal from him. But again, he left public television and went back to CBS not taking his staff with him and not being helpful to me in terms of finding a job after *Bill Moyers Journal* ended. So, I don't know that I could call him a mentor, either.¹⁴³

The respondents overwhelmingly noted that men in senior management or executive producers served as mentors for them. The recollection of Judy Reemstma, a producer, underscored their importance: "Mentors have been very important to me. My first boss at CBS was Bud Benjamin, an astonishingly talented man whose loyalty and concern for young people seemed to match his talent."¹⁴⁴ Pamela Ilott, an executive, seemed to recall a different significance of these men: "Mentors, yes, not in the sense of teaching me except as very helpful and cooperative technicians, but mentors in the sense of trusting me to deliver a good product, keep out of trouble, and be discreet."¹⁴⁵ Likewise, Judy Crichton, a producer, responded to the importance of mentors:

Mentors Well my life was saved by mentors and I've gotten into a lot of trouble with some of the feminists. My mentors were all men, and two in particular were enormously helpful in my life. What they gave me were craft skills and a sense of professionalism and instilled in me a sense of confidence in myself because I was not for a lot of emotional reasons a very confident woman.¹⁴⁶

What is most alarming, yet perhaps understandable given the time period, is the harsh view that the female respondents had towards female mentors. Very few women felt that other women helped them at all. Very few women were in positions to mentor, women in journalism during the years studied were confined to the lower ranks.¹⁴⁷

Marianna Edmunds recalled her view on women as mentors.

Mine were definitely not female in that the women did not generally come forth and offer any mentoring. Men -- and this is probably sexist -- tended to mentor more because they took on young researchers. I had no mentors that were women; in fact I found them the least helpful, the most competitive, the least supportive and even in some cases perhaps obstructionists. I didn't have outright problems, but I found that they were not the most helpful. But women I found either my peers or those above us not very collaborative, much more security conscience about what they knew, much more close to the chest, much less helpful.¹⁴⁸

Cathy Lewis, a producer with *Sunday Morning*, had a similar response.

It's hard to say this, but I have always been uncomfortable with groups of women and much more comfortable with groups of guys, and that's probably why I have gravitated towards more male mentors than female mentors. I have found groups of women to be more intimidating believe it or not and often there would be jealousies and pettiness that I didn't want to deal with. I never found that in situations with men. Also again, most of the people I worked for were men anyway on *Sunday Morning*.¹⁴⁹

Sheila Parker shared her insight on female mentors:

All of the women in those days to me thought that they had to be like the boys to succeed. They had to be tough and not show any mentoring to other females. I found that each and every one of the women who at that time were in any kind of leadership role had males. They were mentoring males, not females.¹⁵⁰

Judy Crichton's response reflected the era in which she entered the industry

I'm of the generation that just simply didn't have female mentors in this field. There all the stereotypes that you read about today were real. There were ingrained in most men -- not all -- attitudes that women had all kinds of emotional reasons why women would not be able to cut it in terms of serious journalism.¹⁵¹

Pamela Ilott had a similar recollection.

There was only one woman radio public service producer when I joined CBS News, and the men warned me to tread warily with her. She showed no interest in me at all. I was very tactful keeping a low profile. Men were very supportive though and a bit confused about how to treat a lone woman colleague.¹⁵²

Likewise Leslie Robbins, a producer, felt strongly about women as mentors during the time studied

One would expect looking into the Broadcast Center of those years that the women who had achieved a position, who had become the producers and in a few instances executive producers would in fact take other aspiring talented capable women under their wing. Unfortunately, it just didn't work that way. But in my experience, the women who had been at CBS for some time and again by dint of hard effort and obviously it was extremely difficult for them to move upward in the hierarchy, but they had done it. There was really an unspoken feeling among them that they really wanted to keep it that way. They weren't about to really help other women, and in fact a few experiences that I had convinced me that it wasn't just merely hands off not helping, but it was basically being very mean and sabotaging younger women as myself. Ultimately, I think progress depended upon individuals themselves and as I say, the women

were not really [supportive], except for a few exceptions and there definitely were exceptions and maybe I was just unfortunate to come in contact with the ones who really were exceedingly nasty people or uncaring or I can think of different adjectives¹⁵³

Nevertheless a few women did encourage and help some female producers, editors, researchers, and writers, although most of their efforts occurred in later years when they were in positions to be able to help as Susan Adler recalled:

Probably the person who helped me the most at CBS is a woman by the name of Linda Mason who is now vice president who has the personal touch and the talent and the work ethic and the innovativeness to figure out different ways to move through the company and she being one of the first women to blaze the trail.¹⁵⁴

Nadine Sapia remembered the significance of her female mentor: "The person I worked for was my one and only mentor. She decided to give me a chance at a higher level after I left the department and came back to the department."¹⁵⁵

The importance of mentors in the network news setting in the years examined is highlighted in this section for the mere fact that mentors were a big factor in promotions. As stated earlier, the executives had a major objective: the hiring, developing, and promoting of these minority and female broadcast journalists. They were very much a part of recruitment efforts, and as a result they had a vested interest in the success of these individuals. Therefore, they began mentoring women and minorities as well as maintaining their on-going mentoring of male employees. Media executives then were motivated to bring women and diverse groups into the fold by what they knew had been changes going on in

society as a whole at that time following the marches and protests of the civil rights and women's movements. Executive producer Robert Northshield, the creator of CBS's *Sunday Morning* and the noted producer of many outstanding television documentaries for NBC and CBS, recalled early sessions where executives would discuss bringing these groups into network news:

I remember the executives would say, "How about all of us getting together for dinner," or saying, "let's have dinner to talk about women." They would say, "we'd better start thinking about bringing them in maybe next April," but it would be put off. I had to say, "Now, listen, don't forget about women. Let's be ready." It's about us [as journalists] putting on television that we are the thinkers and we see what is going on in the world around us. The damn fools didn't seem to be understanding that we had an obligation to show change.¹⁵⁶

Northshield underscores a fundamental truth of this section: that executives believed it was up to them to ensure the upward mobility of those they hired. They believed that they were the ones who would have to bring in women and minorities in all media positions. Yes, they brought them in, but whether they brought in enough or helped them work sufficiently is still an issue. A *Columbia Journalism Review* article quotes an editor for the *Akron Beacon Journal* who summed up what seemed to be the general consensus regarding management's recruitment of those diverse groups during the time period examined: "A lot of editors think they are open-minded when they hire minority reporters, but they really expect them to be an instant success. It takes several years to develop a good reporter, and there are too few people willing to devote the necessary time and effort."¹⁵⁷

4.4 Women and Minorities as Executives

Clearly, the white male executive played an integral role in the upward mobility of diverse groups during the years studied. The actions of such leaders as Richard Salant set the stage for media leaders in network news. However, there were also minority and women executives of that period who played active roles in the success or failure of broadcast journalists that they supervised.

Between 1965 and 1985, the number of female managers in all jobs quadrupled.¹⁵⁸ A survey of American Management Association members found that female managers were more committed to their careers, as opposed to their family or home lives, than were white male managers.¹⁵⁹ Again, as indicated in an earlier chapter, this was during the time when many women were opposing established gender roles, where at CBS News, as one respondent recalled: "Women were wearing pants."¹⁶⁰ For the first time, media women, who were also in the role of executive, were allowed to compete professionally with men, but their advance was hard and slow.¹⁶¹ Media executive William Small recalled the lack of progress in moving diverse groups into the managerial positions:

But the executive ranks small as they are in terms of numbers were and remain largely dominated by white males, some women -- and not a lot -- and almost no minorities. One would hope that in time this would be corrected, but it has been a long time already, and we haven't seen it very much.¹⁶²

Executive Pamela Ilott, the first female vice president of CBS News, recalled her experiences as a media leader:

I turned down the vice presidency for several years because it meant giving up being a producer. When they finally agreed that I could still do what I enjoyed, I accepted. I had no intention of being the "house female for CBS News," but the title was helpful abroad. It was useful I'm sure for the firm to have a vice president who could say no to projects they wanted to turn down tactfully. My being the first was probably a diplomatic way of making a choice among those with more sponsors.¹⁶³

Executive Marlene Sanders had similar recollections:

Well, when I was made vice president and director of documentaries at ABC in 1976, there were nine vice presidents, and documentaries were simply not a very powerful post whether a man held it or a woman. It was something the networks did 'cause they really were required to at that time to get their licenses renewed and that is why we did them. But as one voice in an editorial meeting with nine others or maybe there were nine including me vice presidents, I certainly can't say I was powerful although I always spoke up, but there weren't a lot of issues that caused me to be kind of cornered. I was put in a very awkward position because I was a vice president when they were going to bring in Barbara Walters to co-anchor the news with Harry Reasoner. I had no love for Barbara Walters because all during the Women's Movement in the '70s, she did zero, nothing. She protected herself at NBC and didn't help. The only time she started speaking out for women was in the '80s when the fight was over, and she hadn't done anything. But in a way I had to support that move although I think I let it be known that she wasn't a newsperson, which she wasn't. Of course that did not work. I think I was stymied because of my sex during that discussion, I just had a very special attitude. I think I would have supported any woman they proposed that I thought was qualified. She was a star, not a newswoman. It was a very awkward situation.¹⁶⁴

The one thing I really hated about being a vice president was having to not grant raises or not give people as much money as they wanted because I had a budget and I had instructions and I had to fire a couple of people. I really hated that. I know there was one woman who was a producer there who will never forgive me for not promoting her at that point. You're given x amount of dollars and x amount of staff people, and there were some things that I had to do that I did not like. I do believe journalists are more prepared to

be supervised by females today. They are used to it. The men have come up with colleagues on the job. They didn't when I was there. I later at CBS had a major problem with a woman, where I never contributed, she didn't like my work and I never could get pass her. This woman was against me and didn't want me around and was playing the boy's game [as indicated earlier when women took on behaviors of me to get ahead] and she is not mentioned in my book because I don't even mention her name. There are women like that who will not do anything for other women. They may give lip service, but they do nothing to it because they think they can advance their own careers, and I have had some bad experiences in that respect.¹⁶⁵

Minority executives at that time, as indicated earlier by William Small, were virtually non-existent. The few who served as executives were primarily housed in CBS Personnel as managers of the company's Equal Employment Opportunities Commission policies. There were no specific characteristics needed to be an executive in hard or soft news. In fact, many of the broadcast journalists at some point in their careers worked in both areas. Producer Patricia Olson Matthews recalled the only minority executive that supervised her work.

I have had a lot of bosses. Several female bosses as executive producers. One African American, Johnathan Rodgers, was executive producer of *Morning News* in the late 80s for a while. I suppose somebody like Johnathan did support diversity. We did do different kinds of things under him. He didn't last very long because he was shipped out to Chicago where we were having some racial problems. So he was sent out to put out the fire. He had a special role at CBS. I don't know how happy he was about that because he couldn't be left alone to manage a show. He had to play his role all the time. So in some ways I think he had other mandates whether he wanted them or not.¹⁶⁶

The oral histories suggest that women were moving up the ranks to become executives.

Many of the women and minorities who did become executives in the news division were promoted from the ranks of producer or correspondent just as the men were during that time. Executive Pamela Ilott shared her memories of the role of the female executive: "There just weren't women to be mentors. The men were protective. I was never treated as 'one of the boys,' an attitude a lot of ambitious women adopted. Later, I joked that as a vice president, the only handicap was not having a key to the men's room, so I didn't hear all the scuttlebutt."¹⁶⁷ Judy Reemstma, a producer, recalled the impact of the women executives: "Females may have been willing, but it was (and is) the guys who have the chips."¹⁶⁸

In concluding this section, it may very well have been that female and minority executives in broadcasting were few because of salary discrepancies and because of power discrepancies between executives. A study by Jean Gaddy Wilson of the University of Missouri-Columbia in the mid-1980s that was based on a survey of 1,599 daily newspapers, 1,219 television stations, and 1,091 radio stations, revealed that a "woman boss earns significantly less than a man in the same job."¹⁶⁹ The data further showed that women outnumbered men in two areas: as beginning reporters and advertising salespersons, and as support and clerical staff.¹⁷⁰ Executive Small's recollection in this section as well as those of Ilott, Sanders, and Reemstma support the Wilson study that suggests that the historically white-male dominated news business and the few female role models were major forces

that contributed to the small numbers of female executives in broadcasting.¹⁷¹ At the top levels, women represented 3 percent of television presidents/vice-presidents and women and minorities had not yet achieved the status of a regular anchor of a nightly newscasts.¹⁷²

The next section addresses the alternatives for advancement that women and minorities had during those years.

4.3 The Function of Associations

Women and minorities in the media, historically speaking, were accustomed to facing discrimination. Often, they were afraid of being replaced if they individually spoke out on discrimination issues. Associations, however, had been formed to help journalists with numerous problems. As early as World War II, associations such as the Associated Negro Press were formed to uncover and report on abuses in army camps and army towns.¹⁷³

The ANP also ensured that all news about the black race was available to black newspapers around the country.¹⁷⁴ Organizations such as the Association of Women Broadcasters, American Women in Radio and Television, Women in Communications, and the National Association of Black Journalists have all been instrumental in rallying around issues and concerns of women and minorities in the media.

With the women's movement as a catalyst for change women and minorities banded together to push for greater opportunities in the broadcast industry. Additionally, widespread salary gaps and other discriminatory practices led to lawsuits.¹⁷⁵ Journalists were

beginning to realize that they would need help in attaining goals in addition to the support that some received from media executives. Patricia Matthews recalled that the males already on staff could not understand why they needed other alternatives for advancement in the industry: "Their attitude sort of was, I could do it all by myself, without any help, you guys can too. You don't need extra help -- which of course we do."¹⁷⁶

Fortunately, employee associations for women and minorities were formed at the networks in the 1970s to support these diverse groups as they sought better pay and promotions. Although these were internal organizations, their goals were similar to established organizations such as the Association of Women Broadcasters.

The late Richard Salant, or at least so the news personnel believed, sought to make sure these diverse groups had a voice and therefore supported the employee associations as William Small recalled: "When I was there, we did have a women's group and Dick Salant would have those of us who were his deputies meet periodically with the women, any of the women who wanted to come and listen to their complaints."¹⁷⁷ And in most cases, the women had many complaints at all the networks. The complaints of the women ranged from sexual discrimination to the downgrading of assignments to salary gaps. Marlene Sanders recalled the women's association as an outlet to express the concerns of women:

When we had our women's groups we found that a lot of women had problems. There were discrepancies in salaries, certainly between the women and men. The

women in sports were always having sexual harassment problems. Boone Arledge who was president did absolutely nothing about it. He pretended to be surprised like the ending of the movie *Casablanca*. He never did anything. I have absolutely no respect for the man.⁷⁸

Leslie Danoff Robbins also remembered the importance of the women's organization.

CBS News actually took quite seriously the concerns of women in the workplace that there were not the same opportunities. I can't believe that I actually remember the name of this consulting company, but two women came to CBS to meet with the interested women there to talk about how you network and how you have a plan for your career and how you implement that plan. Their names -- I wonder if they are still around -- Hennig and Jardin. It was one of the women who attended the workshop [who] in fact volunteered to be a peer counselor [a woman working in the unit that could offer some advice based on her own experiences]. At least for a year, it seemed to be really on the idea of women supporting each other, it seemed to be going in the right direction. But I guess ultimately if the jobs were not happening, the venture kind of fell apart, and I'm curious what's going on now, but certainly an attempt was made, and there was definitely an acknowledgment on the part of management at CBS that they wanted to try. It seemed that they did make a stab in that direction.⁷⁹

The creation of the Black Employees Association, BEA, was also a positive step towards upward mobility for the minorities working at CBS during the 1970s and the 1980s. The group was formed to develop strategies to ensure the promotion of African Americans and to determine if CBS News was complying with the FCC ruling that minorities should be given equal opportunities in hiring. In 1980, the FCC targeted the networks for equal employment opportunity scrutiny stating that in the view of the size and complexity of the three networks, the reports that the networks filed did not provide a clear picture of just which employees were involved in the decision making process.¹⁸⁰

The BEA always highlighted those individuals who had been promoted within CBS News. The strategies that this organization used to ensure promotions included seminars where black employees would advise other minorities on ways to develop relationships with executives, programs that were in place that could help minorities develop their technical and editorial skills were also highlighted. Even though many of the respondents did not recall such an organization, Roy Campanella II, one of the African American respondents, did remember the importance of the association and noted the efforts of Salant who attended the meetings:

I think the Black Employees Association helped to evaluate corporate life and how it could be improved with the participation of minorities. We also were able to convince CBS that it would be helpful to have a regular series of career planning seminars and other seminars and workshops aimed at sharpening the skills of minority employees and women. Our meetings within the news division were well received. In fact, a very funny thing happened at the first meeting that Dick Salant came to. I was sitting in the conference room just myself and a couple of other people when Dick Salant and Kay Wight [a female executive] entered. I suddenly thought I was in the wrong room. I was totally thrown off. Even though I knew they were going to be attending the meeting, I hadn't really put it together in my head.¹⁸¹

Sheila Parker, also a member of the BEA, said:

I think we had the BEA and in those days the BEA -- which is the Black Employees Association -- they were fighters. They went in there and they spoke their minds, and they told what they had to say. They threw the facts and figures in front of them and how the percentages were bad. There were not enough correspondents, there were not enough reporters, there were not enough producers. Did it make a difference? No. Did it make some difference? Yes. I think part of the difference was when they created the recruitment area, and I became the associate director of talent recruitment. Yes, I think some changes were made. I think at some point there was that crack in the door, and I did my best to fill it up and swing the door open wide. I think as times changed as Larry Tisch came in, the door slammed. I mean CBS News was the only division that demolished

their recruitment office. NBC kept theirs, ABC kept theirs. None of their recruiting personnel were laid off, and they were strong -- strong enough to steal black and white talent from CBS.¹⁸²

Many African Americans who knew that the BEA was an organization at CBS News that was in place to help them (whether mentoring was or was not available), chose not to become involved. As indicated in Chapter III through the theory of Du Bois, many black journalists took on the view that the mainstream press would embrace them eventually and that they would succeed. These journalists were not apt to make complaints to the EEOC or the FCC or the BEA. This perspective relates to the African American male journalist's belief that was addressed in Chapter III that if he responded, he would be fired. The recollection of Roy Campanella II, a CBS African American editor and the president of the BEA at that time, underscores this concept:

There was a small number of minority employees, African Americans, who really didn't understand the value of the Black Employees Association. I thought that was an interesting indicator of how even when groups are formed to present a more articulate view of what's happening to a group that has been excluded and historically kept down or oppressed that you find members from within that group that are afraid to basically come forward and be heard.¹⁸³

Associations were in place to assist minority and women employees if mentoring was or was not available. They played a significant role in helping women and minorities in their struggles to advance in the industry.

4.6 Poker and Promotions

Managers can enhance the psychological status of their employees and thus increase their motivation to perform.¹⁸⁴ The theory distinguishes between varying degrees of relationship-oriented and task-oriented management behavior.¹⁸⁵ Relationship-oriented behavior is the extent to which the behavior of the manager is indicative of friendship, mutual trust and respect, and good human relations between the manager and group, task-oriented behavior is the extent to which the behavior of the manager tends toward organizing and defining the relationships between himself and the group.¹⁸⁶

Relationship-oriented behavior between managers and journalists in network news in general and in public affairs broadcasting in particular during the years studied was indicative of friendship, mutual trust, and respect that was developed not only in the course of the daily work activities, but in social gatherings such as receptions at the airing of documentaries, at dinner parties, at lunch, and the like. However, the oral histories indicate that relationship-oriented behavior between women and minorities and white males was not as common because they felt they were excluded from the one social event in the *CBS Reports* unit that would afford them the opportunity to interact with executives. The weekly poker game that white men did attend.

Vice President Robert Chandler did not see this event as a management problem.

"I remember that people complained about the fact that the [*CBS Reports*] men had a poker

game at night once a week and no women were included. It was that kind of thing far more than anything that was a serious problem."¹⁸⁷

But to women -- African American and European -- the weekly poker game was a problem in a unit where competition for the approval of ideas for documentaries was great and where many believed that promotions were earned through merit while others believed that "office politics" was the controlling factor in advancement as Sheila Parker recalled:

Networking was never on the level of the male to the male speaking, talking, who pitched what balls, who swung what golf stroke, that kind of camaraderie wasn't there. I remember they had a weekly or monthly poker game. There was never a woman involved in that poker game. I remember it caused all kinds of excitement. At one time when the women were up in arms because the men that were at that poker game came away from it more often than not with a plum assignment, a plum story and the women producers were not privy to that kind of environment. So that was a bone of contention, and I think a justified one. If you are sitting around a table and you are there with a vice president or your executive producer and the best editors around and the best producers around and ideas are being floated around. If you are not there, then you can not play. So the women weren't there and they couldn't play not only in the game, but in the arena of broadcast journalism for plum stories.¹⁸⁸

Kathy Sulkes similarly recalled:

When I was a producer at *Sunday Morning* and began to understand that staying alive in the industry had more than just to do with talent and hard work and good work, but certainly who you knew and how they liked you. I'm afraid that I was never very good at it and had a distaste for having to go through it. Although I guess I played the game enough in order to stay out of having to play the game. But I did observe those around me doing it differently. Certainly, I have to admit that I think men involved in extracurricular

activities out of the office in poker games, in sporting events -- and I would certainly say probably in the bathroom urinals -- made deals, and chatted with each other in a way that I guess at some level women did going shopping or out to lunch or in social ways, but they were never invited into the male tent. The famous poker game that grew out of *CBS Reports* is an infamous example of insiders, outsiders, men, women, etc.¹⁸⁹

Despite the lack of invitations to play poker, the women did not try to isolate men from their activities; the female journalists often invited their male colleagues to lunch and other social gatherings. Oftentimes the men went to lunch to express concerns they had when they as men felt overlooked. More important, however, is that as a result of this poker game, many women felt they were treated unfairly when it came to promotions and hiring practices.

Charges of discrimination often arise from interviews of prospective employees and from hiring practices.¹⁹⁰ If twenty persons apply for a single vacancy, nineteen are disappointed, hurt, or angry.¹⁹¹ They tend to blame people and events that reflect favoritism. This is one of those sensitive links in the management chain where careful handling is needed.¹⁹² Careful handling of the female journalists was needed at CBS News during the years studied as it seemed to respondents such as producer Marianna Edmunds that the men were benefiting more from the male-oriented relationships:

I noticed in that period, the late 70s first half of the 80s that young white males tended to be promoted. Everybody said this, but it was true. ___ was in the same office as me. He would come in late, he would take long lunches and he would leave early. And he got to be an associate producer on a film that I did all the research for and did the work late into the night for _____. Young white males seemed not to go

and they also seemed to rise quickly as I said even at *Sixty Minutes*. _____ rose quickly, even though he made mistakes and came in as an associate producer, he rose quickly. He could schmooze. I never could do that."²³

Although the game at *CBS Reports* in the years studied was poker, it was an example of an event that ensured more visibility of the white male employees to the executives that were in a position to promote than the female and minority employees who were all competing for some of the same promotions. The poker game served as another obstacle in tearing down established gender roles. As the study by Jean Gaddy Wilson suggests, many forces combined to knock women off the ladder.²⁴ The poker game in the historically male-dominated news business was one of them.

4.7 Close Relationships/Friendships

This chapter has looked at the importance of media executives during those years examined and their role in hiring and promoting diverse groups. Internal organizations that have been useful as well as the significance of the mentor have been highlighted. This section concentrates on the development of friendships and close relationships among these diverse groups that were established, in some cases, out of a mutual understanding of sexism and racism when it seemed that management was just not helpful.

This section also presents data for scholars to examine about relationships that are "off the beaten track" -- as scholars Wood and Duck have argued, those relationships that have only been established in the work place since women and minorities entered the

corporate world following the passing of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act.¹⁹⁵ The oral histories allow these close relationships involving new groups to be analyzed. As Kotz wrote in the *Columbia Journalism Review* during the years studied, many white journalists admitted they resented the increased opportunities for minorities.¹⁹⁶ In the climate that existed in the 1970s and 1980s, identifying friendships among diverse groups was difficult. An approach to examining whether or not these friendships were formed is important. This section addresses from a communicative studies approach the friendships that occurred between individuals that had come together in a newsroom environment.

First of all, close relationships involve a series of components. Of utmost consideration is the use of the word "close" to mean intimate. Scholars have defined the term intimate to mean the degree of closeness two people achieve, marked by a close association or familiarity and a warm friendship developing through long association.¹⁹⁷ Intimacy, according to psychologists, encompasses openness, honesty, mutual self disclosure, helping, and feeling distressed when separation occurs.¹⁹⁸ More importantly, for this research, the definition that suggests intimacy is a process in which individuals attempt to get close to another -- to explore similarities and differences in the ways they think, feel, and behave seems most appropriate.¹⁹⁹

This definition is applicable to this study that focuses on the concept of professional relationships resulting from the enactment of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. People of a different

race, color, sex, and national origin were thrown together in a work environment when they had never interacted together in any other environment in this society. Some of the relationships, in all the various professions including journalism and at companies such as CBS, led to intimate relationships between people of European American and African American descent that might otherwise never have occurred.

Curiosity spawned many of these relationships. This intrigue was brought on by the nature of segregation and Jim Crow laws in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries where throughout this country there were separate accommodations for both groups.³⁴¹ This was most visible in the school system and work environment. Integration provided an avenue for dialogue for communication between people of different backgrounds that would lead to intimate relationships.

The road to intimacy among interracial and intercultural professionals has not been a smooth one. Although cultural, sexual, and racial differences did not allow for many relationships to move to any form of intimacy, there were, however, some. As one respondent indicated, "I don't think that friendships develop because of a mutual understanding of sexism or racism. I think they develop because people like and/or respect each other."²⁰¹

By defining intimacy as a personal and private association between two people where familiarity is important, it was difficult during the years studied for mixed race

relationships to grow because both groups had primarily lived in segregated societies where they knew nothing of each other. The relationships that did not develop involved individuals who just did not share enough similarities of place, education, and socio-economic status to sufficiently implement an intimate relationship. Yet, strangers who are thrown together as a result of monumental societal changes and who build intimate relationships are able to do so based on their ability to accept people for what and who they are.²⁰²

These interracial professional relationships that resulted in true friendships -- associations that were based on the belief that any kind of mixed race relationship, following the Civil Rights Movement or the release of the Kerner Report to the media, was the right thing to do to heal a country torn by racial conflicts, marches and protests -- were evident during the time period examined.

Two oral history interviews suggest that an extraordinary dyad was and could be made as Nadine Sapia, an African American, recalled: "My career in broadcasting started with my working as a secretary to the vice president in the department. She was a person who tried to help everyone get ahead. I think she saw a lot of potential in some of us who didn't realize it themselves."²⁰³ Pamela Ilott, a European American, recalled that same friendship.

Friendship, yes. My closest friend and colleague was/is African American. She began as my secretary and became a production manager, then a producer. Yes, my secretary was my closest ally, and I heard voices were always raised cross-town (in the Black Rock corporate headquarters) on my behalf. Other African American producers in the department continued as good friends when I retired. The relationships were based on shared problems

as much as a sense of humor, loyalty to each other and shared aspirations²¹⁴

In most cases, however, the individuals in the relationships avoided discourse that might be deemed insensitive and in doing so, each individual gained knowledge of the other only from the periphery; most European American and African American journalists did not get to know each other very well. Marlene Sanders' response reflects this issue: "Now, the blacks, you know, whites in general don't have very close relationships with blacks, and I think that is part of the problem. We don't know each other that well."²¹⁵

As many scholars suggest, the ways in which strangers become friends (rather than the reasons why they are initially and individually attracted to one another) are under-explored.²¹⁶ The processes by which partners are drawn into developing relationships are indeed insufficiently understood.²¹⁷

There have been, however, some interracial professional relationships throughout the history of the United States. In interracial professional relationships, however, that became intimate following integration when there was more of an opportunity to build these associations, the African American and European American took on the other's perspective in order to better understand each other and to better define themselves as members of a society. This awareness of differences, on the part of individuals who made up the intimate interracial professional relationships, allowed broadcast journalists to enter dyads that reflect social behaviorist Mead's contention that in order to participate in society, one must learn the

language of many not just a few²⁰⁸

As Mead suggested, the key to communication is that the symbol should arouse in one's self what it arouses in the other individual.²⁰⁹ The language of the journalist creates this reality in the professional work place. Anger aroused by the all male poker game and white male dominance made communication possible. Subsequent dialogue occurred, other ideas, thoughts, and attitudes were shared on the subjects of promotions and story ideas. Both members of the dyad began to create shared meanings about poker games. Dialogue moved from the office to the restaurant where more intimacy was likely to occur. The relationships developed as Patricia Matthews recalled in part because of membership in a shared social group:

I think actually in the late '70s and early '80s, we women did have a tendency to stick together. There just weren't that many of us. We tended to be in the same jobs -- researcher, secretary, maybe an assistant producer. From the technical end, it would be production associates. My impression is it was more women over race. We were African Americans, there were so few of us, we all had more in common as women than I did as with some white guy over seeing me.²¹⁰

Marianna Edmunds said: "Well, I think it was more implicit rather than explicit that's why we were friends at that time. Again, I think it was more implicit than explicit at that time. I think many of us didn't want to face that that's why we were friends or didn't talk about it explicitly because we were journalists and did not see things in terms of quote 'political messages.'"²¹¹ Leslie Danoff Robbins offered another perspective:

I was trying to decide why we became friends in the little room that we shared as researchers working on "The CIA's Secret Army." I don't really feel that we became friends because we felt persecuted or unappreciated. I don't think that was it, but definitely we were compatriots and definitely kindred spirits. I think that working in television, if you had the capacity to have or make a connection or recognize a connection with a kindred spirit, you tended to basically do it. Because you worked extremely intensely and you gave everything that you had to a particular assignment and I think it was a wonderful place to make friends than a place where you didn't get along with people or people disappointed you. I mean I think of all the wonderful connections I had with people -- you among them -- and I'm grateful for that.²¹²

Producers, writers, editors, and researchers who made up these dyads could be seen routinely going to lunch and dinner together or to social events after work. They oftentimes shared weekend summer retreats together. These dyads matter to the field of journalism and communication because journalists and media organizations are still trying to assess the impact of racial diversity and the presence of women in the newsroom as they see the numbers of these groups in the discipline increasing. These close relationships are also important because the study of adult close relationships that develop in the workplace, outside of the college experience, is minimal; these dyads flourish or diminish for many understudied reasons. What is not known, and can be a topic for future study, is the extent to which one journalist, during that period, took on someone else's perspective to define herself. The study of these kinds of relationships would reflect which perspectives are dominant -- the European or the African American. The result would have an impact on the theories of hegemony or dominance of one race over the other in this society. Producer Judy Crichton reflects on

the impact on interracial friendships

Friendships I think that if you have ever had the experience of being an other Whatever that other is, whether it has to do with being Jewish, being black, being the only one, the only woman, you are sensitized to other people in that circumstance I don't know whether my experiences as a woman is what allows me to transcend my own self consciousness about race I think it was very good African friends and very good African American friends In our business when you work closely together, you eat meals together, you get to know each other's family There's a kind of intimacy of life which is different than in other businesses and that's why I feel journalism is so interesting. And one of the things in going back to that camera crew and one of the things that breaks down racism is people coming to understand that they can depend on each other and trust each other. This is a business where you know very fast what the other person can and cannot do. You know who is pulling his weight and who is not. Being able to relax if you are a white guy, being able to relax and allow yourself to fall in the arms of a black guy is a transforming experience which really breaks down race but it requires that level of dependence and intimacy, I think. And then that just opens the world because that person introduces you to other people and suddenly one of the fears among the white majority is the fear of what do you do if you don't like someone, can you fire them and all those questions which you have heard, but they are raised a lot. One of the things that black colleagues give you is the freedom not to like someone. You don't have to like every person who has a dark skin any more than you like every person who has a white skin, but that's a very late learned lesson.²¹³

This section looked at close relationships between individuals who had never interacted before because of societal issues that would not allow them to do so. Surely, there had been interracial friendships before the Civil Rights Movement and before the years examined, but the passing of the Civil Rights Act where more whites and blacks were brought together made these relationships more likely. Furthermore, this section brings to the attention of the reader some of the reasons why these relationships were formed -- some out of the need to

communicate about management, some out of the mutual respect for each other. Individuals who were brought together and who formed close relationships support the contention that diverse groups can work together; they can become friends.

4.8 Were Those Years Filled with Adversity, Antagonism or Harmony and Growth?

Much of this chapter has dealt with placing the role of the media executive in perspective as he or she went about the tasks of hiring, promoting, and firing those members of diverse groups who entered network news, specifically CBS News, in the years examined. Those broadcast journalists' reactions to media executives' initiatives determined how they felt about the organization and their individual contributions during that time.

Some contemporary scholars undoubtedly will suggest that these oral histories only reflect women and minorities who complained about their circumstances during those years studied. If more thought is given to their recollections, these people emerge as courageous men and women embracing a new and challenging work environment. The European-American men who were their counterparts, to this day, based on the limited number of respondents, cannot fully in theoretical or practical terms expound on the impact that these groups had and are having on the broadcast industry in general and public affairs broadcasting in particular.

Nevertheless, it was a period in the history of network news that brought about

unquestionable change. As Edward R. Murrow stated in 1947, broadcasting was "not a one man show." As years have passed since that statement was made, Murrow's assessment has become more and more evident. The work of the broadcaster is one that requires team efforts. Judy Crichton recalled what being a member of a team that was a part of the Murrow legacy during those years entailed: "They were filled with adversity, antagonism, and growth. I mean an example is that you and I got hired then. Nobody much wanted us, but they couldn't keep us out any longer."²¹⁴

To other respondents, those years were not perceived as being significant, as Pamela Ilott recalled. "I don't think details in my career would be of interest and it really wasn't typical. I wasn't in the forefront. In fact, I assume the great freedom that I had to do new and different things was that I wasn't a threat to anyone in the firm and didn't seek publicity. In brief, they were years of challenge and fulfillment."²¹⁵

Marianna Edmunds also remembered those years.

I think that I have told mostly the stories at *Sixty Minutes* where I found adversity or antagonism. I also found there were a couple of years -- two or three years in there -- where I was really happy at CBS. At *CBS Reports* working with a woman, Patti White, and working on a year long documentary which actually was not regarded well by *CBS Reports* but did do wonderful things. Then also at *Sixty Minutes* in the early 80s, I felt very respected for what I did, but I was an associate producer. I was not a full producer. When I became a full producer, it became a little more difficult, and I felt very isolated and very alone with no one to help me. No one, you were on your own. You were also isolated there. But I did have good experiences, some good editors, good cameramen, good producers to work with. There were a lot of days of uncertainty and a lot of mistrust and gossiping and

anxiety I think it goes more against women. Also women were watched more carefully than men for sure. Men had to do really egregious things wrong, really egregious. Women were watched much more closely and much more scrutinized in their work.²¹⁶

Shelia Parker had a similar response

I think there was a lot of adversity there. I think there were a lot of women trying to find their place and fighting the male establishment in one form or another. I mean just like the pants, wearing the pants, that sounds so ridiculous today, that was a tremendous thing for them because not the fact that they could wear pants, but the fact that they bonded together and they decided that they were going to fight a situation. I think that it meant more than just the issue of pants, it meant that we are human beings who can do a job and we are going to show you by God that we can do it. I think that there was a lot of that going on. I think there was a lot of resentment for the women who didn't seem like they had dinner with the right person. They worked hard, they were the best at what they could do, and they weren't getting anywhere. Were they not getting anywhere because they didn't know the right males, they didn't have the right shape, they didn't have the right color? Yes, there was a lot of adversity there, but there was also a lot of growth because I think the women kept fighting inch by inch and I think the minorities that were there, inch by inch. But I think the women came out on top because after all they are white women. I think blacks fought the good fight, but did they win? I don't think so.²¹⁷

Marlene Sanders also recalled the components of those years:

Were those years filled with adversity? Those years were pretty exciting, when you were organizing a group, when your job isn't at stake. The adrenalin was going pretty well in the '70s. I think all of us were taking risks. It was exciting. I loved it. I thought it was great cause we really made progress. The networks knew they were wrong. They didn't want anymore lawsuits, they didn't want license challenges, and they began to shape up. What I feel is that the numbers have been stagnant now for the last few years. I've been working with Betty Friedan on a project called *Women, Men and Media* for about nine years where we do surveys each year. A big problem is that women are about a third, minorities are much less, never really made big

strides. It just stays static and we spend a lot of time trying to figure out what we can do about it. And you know, I am 66 years old right now and even though I am teaching and working at the Freedom Forum Media Center, I think it's time for other people to move in and do something. I did a lot so the women in the business have to realize that even though the doors are opened now, they will have to discover and reinvent the wheel and figure out a way to move forward.²¹⁸

In concluding, other sections in this chapter reveal the approaches taken by management to move forward the process of bringing more minorities and women into the organization. It was indeed a slow process and many recalled that their presence, in the midst of adversity, led CBS News to an important connection with diverse groups in the history of network news.

The last chapter looks at the dynamics of a changing work place that will mirror on a larger scale, the impact women and minorities had in the broadcast industry during the years studied.

Endnotes

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²³"Civil Rights Commission gives low marks to FCC, industry for EEO efforts," *Broadcasting*, 8 August 1977, 28. See U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Window Dressing on the Set: Women and Minorities in Television* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, August, 1977).

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⁵⁴Doug Underwood. *When MBAs Rule The Newsroom* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 32.

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Chapter V

Conclusion

5.1 Can Anything Be Gained From An Examination of the Past?

Many lessons can be learned from obtaining oral histories and perspectives of those people involved in events that make history. Scholars and historians who have access to oral histories are able to study the period in which the participants lived more thoroughly. The recordings also support or contradict other scholarly work that has been done in the area of historical research. This study was proposed as a way to provide direct, verbal communication that might provide insight into events in the broadcast journalism community not accessible by other methods. This technique of historical research is particularly successful in the growing disciplines of ethnic and gender studies. Recollections of those broadcast journalists who worked in network news at CBS in particular at a time when the industry was moving from an all-male enclave to one that included more women and minorities as a result of the federal mandate of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act make the oral history tapes an invaluable resource. Though many of the participants point to other ways in which they entered the profession, they all consider these events in history -- the Civil Rights Movement and the Women's Movement -- as contributing factors. Yet noted historian Arthur

Schlesinger, Jr. has said that he did not think the women's movement or the civil rights movement will stand out in the twenty-fifth century as having as much impact as the man walking on the moon.¹ Undoubtedly, the women and minorities who entered the workforce as a result of these events would disagree. Their recollections support the contention that there is a place for "herstory" and the minority story as correspondent/producer/executive Marlene Sanders recalled the importance of the federal mandates that followed the movements.

There were a few who wanted to carry out the mandate. We are talking about a generation of men in the '70s who were in their 60s or late 50s and their experiences -- I don't think they got it. They do much better now I wouldn't say we have reached some great pinnacle of success, but certainly the newsrooms are very mixed now and the men who are now executives at the networks are married to women who are working and a lot of them are working in news.²

The primary research questions in this study specifically asked: What, if any changes took place in the documentary units or newsrooms that had historically been run by members of the dominant cultural groups in the society? Were women and minorities heavily involved in the editorial process of documentary filmmaking during a five-year period from 1977 through 1982? Were more African Americans and women interviewed in documentaries as a result of the presence of these new groups of employees? Were there tensions created in the unit in which racial and sexual issues could not be adequately and reliably explored or was the atmosphere in the unit free from racism and sexism? If these tensions did exist did they have an impact on news production and the selection of documentary topics? And were those

years filled with harmony and growth or adversity and antagonism?

The chapters provided material, through the use of the oral history interviews, that answer these questions. When women and minorities entered network news in general and *CBS Reports* in particular following the Civil Rights and Women's Movements, their diverse representation brought something that was not present earlier. That "something" manifested itself in the different solutions and ideas that women and minorities brought to the newsroom in general and to the documentary unit in particular. The oral histories give evidence to the concern that their ideas and solutions were not always heard by white men. When women and minorities were heard, the respondents believed that a better news story or documentary was produced, when their ideas and solutions were listened to fewer conflicts arose among white male camera crews and other white male producers and editors who were their counterparts.

Even so, the scholarship of noted journalism academicians presented in this study addressed the widely held belief that news is news -- that it has no sex or race.³ The oral histories support this contention. This research, however, underscores the fact that journalism as a profession tends to be very slow to recognize that there is more than one way to see anything.⁴ Women approach the news story differently, people from diverse backgrounds approach things differently. The approaches then were based on the life experiences that women brought with them to the newsroom. Women found themselves

trying to work through established gender roles. minorities found themselves trying to work through established negative racial views. News values, the author contends, could not change to any large degree during the period studied because the number of women and minorities employed was relatively small, even though it appeared that many were hired. With this in mind, if these journalists wanted to present different news values that they felt important, it was virtually impossible because as one of a few representatives of a specific race or gender in the organization, they would not speak out, or would be afraid to speak out, or would leave. The abandonment of one's true belief in changing news concepts to reflect diverse communities led to problems in retaining and recruiting women and minorities and to the growing dissatisfaction on the part of those who stayed. These different news values could encompass something as simple as using people from diverse backgrounds as sources rather than those experts that the editor or producer felt were familiar.

The oral history interviews support the contention that those who were allowed to advance usually were the people who fit in best with CBS News. The definition of "fit in" included at that time and in the words of the respondents, those that could do the work of the journalist and those that could play the game -- be it the poker game for the males, the superwoman game for the women, or, as Du Bois put it, the twoness game for the African American where the assimilation into the mainstream press was more important than racial identity.

The oral history interviews also suggest that in addition to Richard Salant, the president

of CBS News at that time, chief executives such as Arthur Taylor and Thomas Wyman were important to implementing the goal of hiring more diverse groups. Arthur Taylor was, at that time, Chairman William Paley's hand-picked choice to succeed him.⁵ In his mid-thirties, confident and with a reputation for financial brilliance, Taylor learned quickly that CBS News was not simply another commodity that could be measured entirely by the bottom line, but an asset to be nurtured, protected, and defended.⁶ He had come to be an enthusiastic supporter of CBS News, and, as one respondent recalled, he was very much interested in the advancement of women in the division.⁷ Paley's next hand picked successor in 1981 was Thomas Wyman who came from the Pillsbury Corporation in Minneapolis.⁸ Both Taylor and Wyman did not remain at CBS for any long length of time, but without them, the process of moving women and minorities into the network in general would have been even more difficult as Sheila Parker recalled:

On one hand I want to hand Thomas Wyman some credit. What I knew at that time was that he had a mandate to his presidents of his divisions that if there was a position open that had a minority directly in line for that position or if a minority had applied for that position, he wanted to know why they didn't get it, why didn't the person who was in line for it get it. Now, if he had included in that edict women solely, I am not sure. I knew it definitely did apply to minorities according to race and he instituted, I believe, he instituted [it] or kept it going, that there was a certain percentage of your new hires that had to be minorities and if they were, you would get a certain amount of money; if they weren't you would lose that money. I think that was an incentive for a lot of people to act. So I give him some credit for that. The problem is his presidents then passed it on down to their vice presidents, their vice presidents passed it on down to their directors. Did their directors pass it on to their line management? I don't know. If they did, did the line management take it seriously, I doubt it. So even though the head of the

organization could want to see some change, by the time it gets down to those who say, you're hired or you're fired or you're promoted, if it doesn't affect them, then it's status quo '

The oral histories time and time again presented recollections of the fact that too many senior level producers "never got it" or kept to the "status quo" as Marianna Edmunds recalled

I found that units generally felt they were immune to such charges [sexism and racism], both *CBS Reports* and *Sixty Minutes* were above such charges and in that way skirted around the issue of facing any question of racism or sexism or gender issues at all. There was this sort of benign arrogance that we are above that and we don't partake in any of those wrongdoings. That was the feeling that I got.¹⁰

This study sought to include interviews from other members of the *Sixty Minutes* staff that worked during the years examined. These members, many of whom had worked also with *CBS Reports*, were each sent separate audio cassettes. Follow-up calls were made indicating continued interest. However, their only response came from a form letter sent by the Director of Audience Services for the CBS/Broadcast Group stating that the unit read the request with interest and that it had been considered, but that they did not plan to report on it. The letter was not a request for a story on this study, and it was addressed only to certain staff members. The way in which the response was returned -- with only one empty cassette and one form letter when many had been provided -- speaks to the sensitivity of the issues addressed.

In 1997, key members of the *Sixty Minutes* staff -- not including minorities or women --

primarily appeared on *Charlie Rose*, a popular PBS late night talk show with host, Charlie Rose, a former CBS journalist. His show has garnered in recent years the admiration of many in intellectual circles for its in-depth interviews.

Don Hewitt, the executive producer of *Sixty Minutes* was asked about new journalists joining the staff. Hewitt commented that they were looking for "our kind of people."

Ken Auletta, a well-known author who deals regularly with television news concerns, was also on the panel. He asked, "What do you mean, 'our kind of people'?" Such people as Katie Couric of NBC. Hewitt elaborated, not fully understanding the ramifications of his response.¹¹ This all-white male panel representing *Sixty Minutes* in 1997 was indicative of the unit and the responses given in the oral perspectives. Lesley Stahl could have been a panelist as well as any of the producers male, female, or minority that are a part of that team. How the group was selected was unclear; perhaps no women and minorities were available at that time. But the fact is -- no women or minorities were included.

The purpose of the interview was to discuss the old segments of the show that would now be appearing on cable and the unit in general. They did mention Ed Bradley from time to time, but what was revealing was that in 1997, these men still did not have a true team that reflected America -- meaning one that includes African Americans, Asian Americans, European Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Native Americans. When Auletta repeated, "our people," he brought into play all the oral histories from these minorities and women who

felt excluded. "Our people" must encompass all people in the next millennium as the world moves towards one of global communication not just those represented by European American journalists such as Katie Couric.¹² This may seem a moral issue, and business is seldom ruled by morals. However, advertisers are less likely to buy ads that do not reach the largest audience. A recent study that was reported in 1997 in the *Wall Street Journal* supported this fact. The research indicated that the three major minority groups are purchasing homes, starting businesses, and attaining college degrees at such a rapid pace they could reach parity with whites over the next ten years.¹³ This study was prepared by three leading firms -- Graham Gregory Bozell, Market Segment Research, and DemoGraph Corp., each of which help major consumer marketers tap into the buying power of the emerging American demographic groups. Steadman Graham, the chief executive officer of Graham Gregory Bozell, released a statement on this study:

African Americans are not only heavy consumers of broadcast media (research indicates that we watch 73.5 hours of television vs. the national average of 48.5 hours) but discerning consumers. Our media consumption habits have helped develop a heightened sense of whether or not the messages aimed at us are authentic. It's important for African Americans to see themselves in ads, but an execution that displays ignorance of cultural nuances or motivators can easily backfire. African Americans are keenly protective of their cultural heritage and can be more suspicious of assimilation than other ethnic counterparts. Respecting the consumer is a given in all marketing outreach, but it is even more vital when building a relationship with the African American market. African Americans have developed a finely tuned radar for media portrayals that lack an in-depth understanding of black culture, heritage and institutions.¹⁴

The ratings support Graham's comments: those large television audiences are now more

and more diverse, and they are less likely to watch programs that do not include them.

Journalists like Nicholas Lemann of *The Atlantic* speak quite candidly on the topic of diversity in this country:

What there can be no debate about is whether journalism should cover the increasing ethnic diversity of American society as a major story. We in journalism have only barely scratched the surface of it. As we explore this story, the key questions are what they always are in journalism: What's going on? How important is it from what went on before? Where can I go to learn about it? How much time can I get my editors to let me spend?

Lemann's comments reflect the philosophy of the late John Sorrells, the executive editor of Scripps-Howard Newspapers: "The newspaper is published in a world of changing conditions, of changing philosophies. It must be constantly changing to keep abreast." It is, therefore, not only an issue of getting mainstream journalists to cover diversity and the issues surrounding the changing population of America, there must be representation from diverse groups in the reporting and editorial process -- where the female or minority journalist reports on all topics, including topics relevant to women and minorities. If the continued excuse is that there are not sufficiently trained people for these jobs, there must be more programs to train them similar to the ones discussed in Chapter IV that were short lived. More diverse students must be admitted to journalism schools. Broadcasters must offer more scholarships for diverse students in broadcast journalism, they must offer internships with pay.

In examining the oral histories, Judy Crichton suggests one reason why it was so hard for such initiatives to really work during the years examined

Again it isn't always conspiratorial that makes people behave in ways you wished they wouldn't. When there were pressures in one office where I worked and one staff was still all white and the executive producer was being pushed to get nonwhite staffers, they finally came to me because I was the white person known to be interested in this area and said, "but how do you do it, and how do you find out on the phone that somebody is black?" There were all kinds of bread and butter issues that this very sophisticated staffer didn't know how to handle¹⁸

Crichton's experience with her colleagues is a lesson learned from that period -- again many established white journalists just did not know how to deal with the issue. In the years that followed the time period studied, the networks began to respond to the need to assist in the preparation of the young broadcast journalist from a diverse background as discussed by Paul Greenberg, an NBC executive producer who formerly was with CBS

Now that there are role models in television news, we are getting a wide variety of qualified applicants. Women make up more than fifty percent of our production staff and close to half of our on air talent on *Dateline*. Our number of African American and Asian personnel continues to increase, although it isn't where it should be yet. It has to remain a priority in hiring to get the word out that we're in the market for good people -- all kinds of good people. NBC has started a News Associate program in conjunction with journalism schools to give minority graduates a year-long experience in a variety of network news assignments. Many of these associates have ended up with full time jobs at NBC. Programs like this have a way of feeding on themselves and convincing young people who are choosing careers that television journalism is a viable choice.¹⁹

In support of the efforts made in the past, media executive William Small recalled that the hiring of diverse groups was always in place during the years examined: "Let

me just repeat in terms of my own experiences and I know this is disappointing when you are doing research and looking for a smoking gun involving the women and minorities that worked at network news. but I never had to be encouraged to hire either from the time I came in 1962 until the time I left CBS in 1979 "²¹

Even so the question remains did women and minorities get the assistance they needed in gathering, filming, reporting, and editing the news? Was there, for example, any assistance given to those women and minorities who were qualified, but who found that emotionally the job was too difficult when trying to deal with an all-white male enclave who themselves did not fully understand how to work with diverse groups? Even today, women still lag behind men worldwide in earnings and holding top jobs.²¹ A 1997 United Nations survey reported "Women in the 1990s represent over 40 percent of the global work force and have gradually moved up the hierarchical ladder of enterprises. Yet rarely does their share of management positions exceed 20 percent. The higher the position, the more glaring the gender gap " ²² The report also said that women did better in the public than the private sector and fared best in industries employing large numbers of women such as health and community services and the hotel and catering industry ²³ Additionally women in management tend to concentrate more in areas such as labor relations and personnel ²⁴ In politics, there have been only twenty-five female heads of state so far this century, but in the past decade the number of women in cabinet posts had doubled worldwide

to 6 8 percent, from 3 4 percent ²⁵

There surely has been progress for women and minorities, but just as media executive Robert Chandler recalled, the efforts to approach the emotional issues as well as the concerns of the qualifications of the women and minorities to ensure their progress was never fully realized:

We tried to address them [concerns and problems] by having our producers and executive producers work more closely with those people who needed the help. Were minorities and women in the public affairs division just too emotional? I suppose to a degree they were. They were passionate about wanting equal treatment. They often felt, probably with some justification that they were now being discriminated against or at least not receiving comparable treatment to the men and to the whites. Were they too emotional? I don't know. I suppose. It depends on where your perspective was. That was a difficult period in terms of moving these people ahead as quickly as you'd like and if you caught some hell once in awhile then that was part of the job, at least that is the way I regarded it. I felt that they had a perfect right to speak out and speak out they did whether I thought it was my job to try to listen and try to do what I could which was not always a great deal, but I did try to listen. I did after one of those confrontations, I probably turned around and said, "Why are these people so god damn emotional?" But so what?²⁶

Emotions ran the gamut from burst of anger to uncontrollable tears and whatever experiences occurred within the public affairs broadcasting units at CBS during those years and subsequent years left those journalists, according to one respondent, Marlene Sanders, angry.

We leave the profession mad because of hurt feelings, for being unappreciated for the long hours, the weekends, and holidays worked, the constant disruption of our family lives, the dangerous assignments covered, for being assigned to oblivion -- often for unspecified reasons. There is also a great

sense of personal vulnerability. It is your face, your voice, your personal style exposed for all the world to see, and when you are rejected, it's for your entire being. The great Edward R. Murrow, who was forced out of CBS News in 1961 said on his departure, according to the book, *The Murrow Boys*, "You're only important around here as long as you're useful to them, and you will be for a time. And when they're finished, they'll throw you out without another thought." ²⁷

Contrary to this perspective, producer Nina Weinstein suggests just the opposite: "I may be having selective memory -- but the early years only seem like the 'good old days.' I loved my years there -- learned everything I know." ²⁸

Nevertheless, the message for young journalists that can be taken from these histories is that the network broadcast news business is a business for skilled journalists, and it can be a difficult passage -- for almost everyone. Even Walter Cronkite admitted that he was disappointed with his treatment after stepping down as anchor: "If I had known I was going to be shut out of future contributions, I would have stayed as anchor." ²⁹

Because of the lack of male respondents, as indicated earlier, the study could not adequately examine the good or bad experiences of the male broadcast journalist.

Executive producer Robert Northshield recalled that men did have bad experiences -- just like the women and minorities -- that resulted in a male journalist being fired, but that inevitably, if the journalist was good, another network would pick him up or he would be rehired later at that same network that dismissed him. ³⁰

5.2 New Dynamics in Public Affairs Broadcasting and Network News in General

These oral histories reflect a time when women and minorities were thrust into a profession filled with new challenges and expectations. For the most part, women and minorities joined primarily white male television journalists on the network level and were quite capable of carrying out their tasks and duties. Today, there is the new dynamic that more women are entering the field than men. More than half in 1991 of all journalism graduates are women, and women account for about 40 percent of the new hires in broadcast news.³¹ Producer Patricia Olson Matthews addresses this new dynamic: "I think there are so many more women in journalism. Maybe because the salaries have flattened unless you are on the Diane Sawyer, Barbara Walters level. It's less attractive to men, I think, these days unless you are gutting to be a big anchor."³²

Yet, although men have lost positions to minorities and women, white men remain the broadcast journalists who stay in their jobs the longest.³³ The sheer number of women, however, in the pipeline should guarantee that twenty years from now some of these women will be senior partners, chiefs of staff, and chief executive officers, despite the U.N. survey discussed in a previous section that said that in the 1990s women still held few top jobs.³⁴

Older women workers will also have an impact. By the year 2000, the U.S. Census bureau projects that there will be 19 million women between the ages of 45 and 54.³⁵

5.3 The Compelling Dynamic that Offers Change

More and more marketers and businessmen are understanding that America is entering a period of profound change³⁵ Steadman Graham further reported in his statement to the press that his marketing firm, Graham Gregory Bozell, was fully aware of the shift in population

Marketers must recognize the enormity of the changes going on around them. This new world that they have assumed was five or ten years down the road is already at their doorstep -- the story of "The New America" isn't just a prediction, it's happening right now. Marketing to this "New America" means the end of business-as-usual. And what they should acknowledge is that the time to go on board -- to build brand loyalty, to forge connections with this powerful, emerging segment of consumers -- is now. Those slow to do so, risk being left at the gate.³⁶

For those marketers and agencies still taking a "wait-and-see" approach, the U.S. Census for the Year 2000 will represent the final wake-up call in terms of telling the world who and what comprises the New America. The coming of the new millennium will mark the onset of a new age, a demographic and social realignment that heralds a New World of potential and growth for our generation and the generations that follow. Don't wait for the 2000 Census to confirm what is already apparent; the time to act is now, because the pace of change is even faster than you think.³⁷

Businessmen are looking at the changing workforce as well and some acknowledge that the issue of affirmative action -- whether it is needed or not -- must take a back seat to the issue of just admitting more and more diverse groups into the institutions of higher learning because they will be the work force and these groups will need the skills necessary to produce the technological products of the twenty-first century.

In discussing the demographic changes, the statistics prepared by the Census Bureau

must be explored. The U.S. Census Bureau projects that the population will reach 275 million by 2000 -- a growth of 12 million or 4.5 percent since 1995. The post-World War II Baby Boomers will begin to turn 50 in the latter part of 1996. During the next ten to fifteen years the rate of population growth of the elderly (age 65 and over) is projected to increase from 39 million in 2010 to 69 million in 2030.³⁸

What is significant about this Census data is the projection that although nearly three-quarters of the population was non-Hispanic white in 1995, this group of non-Hispanic whites would contribute only about one-quarter of the total population growth during the next ten years; from 2030 to 2050, the non-Hispanic white population would contribute nothing to the nation's population growth because it would be declining in size.³⁹ The non-Hispanic white share of the U.S. population would steadily fall from 74 percent in 1995 to 72 percent in 2000, 64 percent in 2020, and 53 percent in 2050.⁴⁰ By the middle of the next century the Black population would nearly double its 1995 size to 61 million; for each year from 1997 to 2050, it is projected that less than half of total U.S. population growth would occur to the combined Black and White non-Hispanic populations.⁴¹ The race/ethnic groups with the highest rates of increase would be the Hispanic-origin and the Asian and Pacific Islander populations with annual growth rates that may exceed 2 percent until 2030; every year from now to 2050, the race/ethnic group adding the largest number of people to the population would be the Hispanic-origin population.⁴² By the year 2030, the non-Hispanic white

population would be less than half of the U S population under age 18 ⁴³

With these projections in mind, there can be no question that organizations will have to include greater cultural diversity in the workplace. Worker's values and the associated work ethic will subtly change the organization's environment. ⁴⁴ That simply means that cultural differences that define the work ethic will come into play. The "old boy" network, a large component of network news upward mobility in the 1970s and 1980s and throughout labor history in the United States, will yield to other patterns of advancement. For African Americans who produced, wrote, and edited in the 1970s, this information that speaks to racial parity will seem again as "simple justice."

The oral history of Roy Campanella II, an editor for CBS at the time of this study, provided insight into the experiences of minorities:

We come with such diverse backgrounds and culturally quite often have attributes that aren't easily those that mirror the individuals that stand in judgment of us. Along the same lines, it has been detrimental to the increased development of African American corporate talent that many individuals have been overlooked because many diamonds in the rough, so to speak, haven't been recognized for their true potential. ⁴⁵

Hopefully, in future years, more emphasis will be placed in journalism schools and in television news on the local level that will prepare these groups for work in network news. As Arthur Sulzberger, Jr., the publisher of the *New York Times* stated in a 1993 *Columbia Journalism Review* article, it makes good business sense to prepare more minorities and to cover more minority stories with the growing American minority population. ⁴⁶

President Clinton is well aware of the changing population and subsequently the changing workforce. During the summer of 1997, as he launched a year-long campaign on race relations, he reiterated in his opening speech at the University of California at San Diego that in about five decades, whites will not be the clear majority.⁴⁸ The media interest in the changing population story, though reported intensely at first, was short-lived, again suggesting that those involved in the editorial process of news selectivity are still of the majority population -- individuals who in their attempt to reflect the newsroom attitude that news is not about race and gender fail to report on an issue that needs daily coverage.

The issue of race is of concern to leading journalists as well. Dan Rather of CBS News acknowledged that the dispute over race relations is America's most important domestic news story in the 1990s and he gives another rationale for its limited coverage. "We know the most important story right now is the increase in racial tensions. Nobody wants to talk about it, but it's there. But if we put the broadcast together, market research tells us not to do this story, this is not good news."⁴⁹

While the extent of corporate profit motivations' impact on news editorial content may be arguable, there can be little doubt that priority is placed upon appealing to the largest possible audience.⁵⁰ Currently, that audience is basically seen as European American, middle-to-upper class and young Americans. Also, there is the significant graying of America, an age group that has more spendable money. The Census projects that the older Americans

would still comprise three-quarters of the 65 and over population in 2030⁵². These groups are the prize for which corporate media executives do battle via the nation's newspapers, magazines, and various electronic communications media⁵³.

Perceptions by businessmen of that prize will change as the population changes because more and more spendable money that translates into advertising dollars for the media outlets should be coming from those diverse groups that in the future should be a part of the workforce as pointed out in the study by three leading firms -- Graham Gregory Bozell, Market Segment Research, and DemoGraph Corp. -- that appeared in a 1997 article in the *Wall Street Journal*.⁵³

There are voices today that are demanding change that reflects diverse groups, they are demanding attention. They are people of color, the powerless, the disfranchised. Their numbers are growing, and "they are forcing journalists into an examination of the news they cover and why, of what news really is, and of what is fair and objective coverage of news."⁵⁴ Yes, in the 1970s and the 1980s the issue was to get more voices in news. This is still the concern as well as covering more minority and female issues.

The best approach to the dilemma of diversity in news production includes "editors who are willing to have informal chit-chat where problems are addressed or successes are praised on the spot."⁵⁵ Primary solutions would be for the editors and minority journalists to acknowledge cultural differences and respect them and for media executives to try their best

to provide an environment free of racism and sexism

Efforts on the part of those journalists and media executives who understand cultural differences are important as CBS executive Robert Chandler explained: "I think the role is to try to balance the need for people you know are exceptional with the need for diversity and try to work it out as best you can."⁵⁶

The advice to young media executives on employing diverse groups as William Small recalled his own initiatives in the 1970s is simple: "I don't think that any special advice is needed. I don't think it's any different than what it was -- namely that you know that women and minorities belong in the mix. They are important and bring you often perspectives that white males lack."⁵⁷ Marlene Sanders, an executive and correspondent, responded: "I like the news better with people of all different types up there. I mean what kind of a country is this? It's a mix of people, and if you don't see them out there on the screen, it sets a terrible example "⁵⁸

In the years studied, journalists and media executives such as producer Judy Crichton and Paul Greenberg, who comprehended early the necessity of inclusiveness, serve as models for the next generation. Judy Crichton had this response:

Last thought on your subject. People have to get comfortable with each other so that a boss can criticize someone of another color or a different background freely and a person of a different color or background can stand up to a boss freely and that only comes about with time and experience and what thrills me is that there are African Americans now that have worked with me who are moving into executive positions who

have mixed staffs and have achieved this comfort level where it has nothing to do with whether the person who has written something is either black or white, if it isn't good enough, it can be returned. But that grows out of not months but years of working together⁵⁸

Paul Greenberg had this recollection that addresses the progress that has been made

About thirty years ago, at a celebratory dinner honoring the success of the CBS *Saturday News*, I commented that one thing that stood out to me as I looked around the table at all of those proud men and women was that all the faces were white. I said I hoped if there was ever another such dinner that that would no longer be the case. My words put a damper on the occasion and there never was another dinner, but now, a generation later there is no longer any undiversified unit anywhere in network news. I think I helped. It happened slowly, but it happened.⁵⁹

In concluding this study, it must be stated that change is never popular. In this country in general, white men have been more upset by the changes in their work environment as a result of the Civil Rights and Women's Movement.⁶⁰ The oral histories provided by minorities and women who worked in the industry during the time period studied address the issues of gender, race, working, and personal relationships that are still a part of the newsroom environment today. Their perspectives can be useful to those who understand that the changes made in the 1970s and 1980s were not to eliminate traditional organizations or traditional roles or traditional news values, but to expand and include those individuals and their ideas who had been excluded and who in the future will play a major role in defining who and what America is.

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⁵Bill Leonard, *In the Storm of the Eye* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1987), 182.

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³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Fisher, "Tomorrow's Workforce," 13.

⁴⁶Roy Campanella II, interview by author, June 16, 1997.

⁴⁷William McGowan, "Diversity-Driven News: The Other Side of the Rainbow," *Columbia Journalism Review* (November/December 1993): 53.

⁴⁸Associated Press, "Clinton: Now is the time to narrow racial divide," *Greensboro News & Record* (June 14, 1997): A6, and "Newsbreak," CNN June 14, 1997.

⁵²Clint Wilson II, *Black Journalists in Paradox* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), 120

⁵³Ibid

⁵⁴Day, *Population Projections of the United States*, 25-1130

⁵⁵Wilson II, *Black Journalists in Paradox*, 121

⁵⁶Boyce, "Nonwhites Wake to 'American Dream,'" A2

⁵⁷Steven Knowlton and Patrick Parsons ed. *The Journalist's Moral Compass* (London: Praeger, 1995), 121

⁵⁸Carolyn Phillips, "Evaluating & Valuing Newsroom Diversity," *Newspaper Research Journal* 33 (Spring, 1991): 28-37

⁵⁹Robert Chandler, interview by author, November 4, 1995

⁶⁰William Small, interview by author, June 5, 1996

⁶¹Marlene Sanders, interview by author, April 12, 1997

⁶²Judy Crichton, interview by author, April 24, 1997

⁶³Paul Greenberg, interview by author, March 29, 1997

⁶⁴Ray Suarez, "Women in the Workplace," *Talk of the Nation*, NPR, October 8, 1997

APPENDIX A

Questionnaire for Male Network Broadcast Journalists 1977-1982

1. Briefly describe your journalism background. How did you become an executive, correspondent or producer within CBS News?
2. What had been your impressions of this division? How significant was *CBS Reports* to this division? What were some of the other units within the division?
3. To the best of your knowledge, in what ways did the other units compare to the television documentary unit?
4. Were any awards given to *Sixty Minutes*, *CBS Reports*, *CBS Evening News*, *Sunday Morning* productions created by all female teams, all male teams, minority and majority teams, and/or a mixture of minority, female and male teams? Was it the knowledge that the diverse members of the team brought to the production that made it successful?
5. Discuss the ways in which diverse groups entering network television news changed or did not change in any way news judgment or news values.
6. In the late 1960s, minorities and women became an increasing part of the division. Can you cite examples of how difficult or easy it was to bring them into the fold? How did you help the process? Was it difficult for you? Why or why not?
7. As an executive, correspondent or producer, describe and/or discuss the issues raised by the men in the units of CBS when the change in staffing occurred.
8. These units were built around team work where the staff was always out of New York and in the field, did group conflict occur? What were the causes and remedies to group conflicts that occurred? Was group conflict inevitable? What management strategies were in place to correct the conflicts? Did you offer solutions? Discuss.
9. Did you actively begin to seek out female and minority leaders and experts to be included in the interview segments of your work? Why or Why not?

10 Were women and minorities heavily involved in the editorial process of CBS News in general and in the documentary units or public affairs units in particular during a five-year period from 1977 through 1982 or were they primarily in secretarial positions?

11 Were more African Americans and women interviewed in documentaries and news stories as a result of the presence of these new groups of employees?

12. Were there tensions created in the unit in which racial and sexual issues could not be adequately and reliably explored or was the atmosphere in the unit free from racism and sexism?

13 Was the topic of harassment just swept under the rug because policies were not in place during those years? Discuss.

14. If tensions did exist, did these tensions have an impact on news production and the selection of documentary topics or in news selectivity in general?

15. Were those early years when minorities and women entered the news division filled with adversity and antagonism or harmony and growth?

16 Gannett's Al Neuharth was a leader in building staff diversity. He put it this way: "Promoting and practicing equal opportunity is not only the right thing to do, it's the smart thing to do...no newspaper can cover all of the community unless it employs all of the community." Was there a Neuharth equivalent at CBS or did all the executives try in those years to do the best they could to bring minorities and women into all the units of CBS News?

17. Were there meetings that addressed the problems minorities and women had in terms of editorial skills (the lack of proper training as producers and journalists and the inability to perfect newswriting skills)? Were minorities and women in the news division just too emotional, a term used often during those years? Were there groups in place such as the Black Employees Association or the Women's Association that worked with you to remedy problems?

18 Based on your historical contributions to diversity, what advice would you give to young media executives as they prepare to meet the challenge of employing more diverse groups in the new millennium?

19 Further comments or observations? What did you like the most about your position during those years? What did you like least?

20 What problems or positive experiences do you recall that would enhance the body of work on journalists' perspectives on broadcast journalism and minorities and women?

**Questionnaire for
Female Network Broadcast Journalists
1977 - 1982**

- 1 How did you get into journalism?
- 2 Discuss your educational or professional background. Did it prepare you for a career in broadcast journalism?
- 3 Did your mother instill in you the notion of self-sufficiency? Discuss the impact of your mother's work or lack of it on your awareness of dependency and self sufficiency in a woman's life?
- 4 Describe your career on the network level. If you began as a secretary, broadcast associate, researcher, assistant producer, stringer or any other entry level job that you mentioned in Question 1, discuss the overall highlights of your career and how that first job helped or hindered your ability to be promoted. Also include your specific duties. Did you know you just could not type letters and memos all of your life? Elaborate.
- 5 Discuss the role or importance of mentors in your career. Who served as mentors along the way? Were media executives better mentors than "star" correspondents/anchors? Why or why not?
- 6 Were female mentors better for you than male? Why or why not? Did networking with females bring more rewards than networking with males? Were you ever in situations where you could network with men or did they exhibit only a "good old boy" mentality and leave you out? Discuss.
- 7 A 1996 study on sexual harassment revealed that many female journalists were harassed not only by their male colleagues, but by males that they were interviewing. Discuss your experiences with the issue? How was it different then? How did you help your female colleagues who found themselves confronted by this?
- 8 Were women and minorities heavily involved in the editorial process of television documentaries during the late 1970s and early 1980s? Were they involved in hard news coverage? Were more African Americans and women interviewed in news programs and/or documentaries as a result of the presence of these new groups of employees? Were there

tensions created in the units in which racial and sexual issues could not be adequately and reliably explored or was the atmosphere in the units free from racism and sexism?

9 If tensions did exist, did these tensions have an impact on news production and the selection of documentary topics or in news selectivity in general?

10 To be more specific, elaborate as long as you feel it is necessary on your work in television broadcasting that was stymied because of sexism and racism. Examples: editorial judgment/control in the stories you wrote, produced, reported or edited.

11 If you became a senior level producer, writer, editor or correspondent, did you feel your power was still not equal to your male counterparts? Discuss with examples? Discuss your specific duties.

12 Did you find it difficult to supervise camera crews that were basically male? Discuss specific stories where you experienced difficulty. Did you later overcome this problem, when and how? Was there a particular story that made it possible? How did you use your femininity to delegate work? Did the women who did use this tactic excel? Discuss your views on this approach in the work of a female journalist.

13 If you did not have any problems supervising, was it because of the newness of it all -- when male journalists just did not know how to interact with a female or minority journalist? Do you believe all journalists today are more prepared to be supervised by female journalists without any problems? Why or why not?

14 As a minority or female journalist, you entered the networks primarily as a result of a federal mandate brought about by the Civil Rights and Women's Movements, discuss the advantages or disadvantages that you feel your colleague (minority or female) faced.

15 Discuss any friendships that developed with a minority or female because of the mutual understanding of sexism or racism that you may or may not have felt existed in the newsroom and on location shoots.

16 Discuss any gender, race, or class incidents that developed amongst your colleagues during the 1970s and 1980s that you can recall? How were you made a better person or journalist because of these incidents?

17. Did you actively seek out female and minority leaders and experts to be included in the interview segments of your work? Why or why not? Please recall specific *CBS Reports*, *Sixty Minutes*, *Evening News*, *Sunday Morning*, *For Our Times*, *The Women's Newsmagazine* *CBS News Specials* or the like

18. Discuss the role of the media executive at any network where you have been employed. Describe the personalities of the ones who made it clear that diversity (minority and women journalist) was here to stay? Can you give examples of how they supported diversity? Can you give examples of those executives who lost power because of their support of diversity? Or were there very few who carried out or wanted to carry out the mandate? Discuss

19. Discuss assignments that were dangerous. Did media executives avoid sending women or minorities on such stories? Was this a problem for you? Did you want to go on dangerous assignments, but were told no? Was this a form of sexism? Was this a form of racism, if you were the only one sent to cover riots or a soft piece because management did not feel you could adequately cover a major story?

20. Discuss the kinds of relationships that developed between colleagues on location shoots. Did group conflict occur? How did you resolve group conflict?

21. What sacrifices have you had to make in your personal life in order to be a pioneer female or minority journalist?

22. If sacrifices were made, did you leave the business? Discuss.

23. In your opinion, when downsizing first occurred in the early 1980s, do you recall more women and minority journalists being laid off than male journalists? Why or why not?

24. Please elaborate on stories (your own or a female/minority colleague) that are examples of the fact that women and minorities could make sound editorial decisions.

25. Are there any other anecdotes of your career that may be helpful to the public's understanding of the women and minorities who came to the forefront in broadcast journalism on the network level in the 1970s? Discuss whether those years were filled with adversity and antagonism or harmony and growth.

26. Was there one year or one story that would capture all the joys or sorrows that you as a minority or a woman journalist had to endure? Discuss.

APPENDIX B

Cathy Lewis
Sunday Morning Producer

I always knew I wanted to be a journalist. When I was a kid I was gonna be a reporter. when I was a kid I published a newspaper and made my neighbors buy it. I never wanted to do anything else, don't ask me how. I had this determination about it, I have know idea I just like to write and this was a way for me to use my writing skills. Don't ask me how I had this kind of determination. I thought I was going in newspaper but in college I joined the college radio station and I liked playing with the equipment. It was a lot more fun than using a typewriter, then I later got in television. I was an English major, never took a journalism course, never took a communication course. I feel that my college education definitely prepared me for the career 'cause I learned how to think, how to write, how to ask questions and that to me is more valuable than learning how to use a tape machine, which is what I see a lot of kids doing today in their communication majors today. College radio was also a way to prepare me for my career cause it was a lot of experience, but a lot of fun. I could do all kinds of stories.

Let's see, my mom. Well my mom always worked and not at big jobs, but she always worked and was always home when I got home from school she was there unlike moms today. I was always an independent person. It never occurred to me that I wouldn't be able to do what I wanted to do on the network level.

Having been a reporter for at least four years before I got here I was a reporter for public radio and television in Rochester and Buffalo. I got here and knew I was not going to be a reporter, wanted to be a producer and was told I was too young for that and I came in as a researcher, which was fine but I felt that I was doing a third of the job I knew how to do, but I also knew that it wasn't going to be forever and that was fine to be doing this for a while, and my radio jobs and tv jobs before I got to CBS really helped me get promoted fast. Not that they cared about that experience, but I knew a lot more than say a researcher that started out at CBS as a secretary. So after a year and a half I was promoted to an associate producer. I have never had a job I didn't like. I have never like been bored with my work and I hope it stays that way.

Mentors have been important in my career. They' ve been as a rule more the executives more than the star correspondents and anchors that is on the public radio level. My mentors were almost exclusively male. I have never had a female mentor. The male mentors have

always been better for me, and I am not quite sure why that is other than maybe because most of my bosses have been male in the early part of my career and with women I've never had as much. never felt as comfortable talking to women as I have men and I know that makes me strange but so I have always sought out the male mentor and they again were not the star correspondent but the executives or senior producers although I have to say that I have been a mentor for many young women at CBS because I am very active in the intern program and I have taken quite a few interns all women actually under my wing for the three or four months that they are here and that's been a very rewarding experience. Still on the mentor issue or question. It's hard to say this but I have always been uncomfortable with groups of women and much more comfortable with groups of guys and that's probably why I have gravitated towards more male mentors than female mentors. I have found groups of women to be more intimidating believe it or not and often there would be jealousies and pettiness that I didn't want to deal with I never found that in situations with men also again most of the people I worked for were men anyway on Sunday Morning and also in public radio and television before that.

I've never been sexually harassed, and I don't really know anybody that has. I really don't feel that my work in television broadcasting has been stymied in anyway because of sexism and racism.

I never found it difficult to supervise camera crews that are basically male only one or two female crews I have ever worked with. The only thing is their reaction to me wasn't always as I'd hoped in that they probably weren't prepared for someone who was as sure of herself as I was and who knew exactly what she wanted. This really was more of a problem when I was new to CBS it was never a problem in local news in Buffalo and Rochester. It was negative reactions to me that were a problem in the beginning at CBS, and I think that was because I was new rather than because I was a woman and I probably should have used my femininity more in dealing with camera crews and other people I had to work with. I've always been a straight shooter and don't put on any acts and you never think of doing that until its sort of too late and I've pissed somebody off or said something in a way that got their back up so that has not been as much of a problem in recent years just because I've been here so long and most people know me and it's not an issue.

I've made lots of friends. I can't say that any of them developed because of any mutual understanding of racism and sexism. I'm just friends with whoever -- people I like usually not the main group or popular group whatever you want to call it. I can't really recall any gender, class or race incidents among my colleagues.

I actively seek out people who are going to be the best interview for the story, it doesn't really matter if they are white, black, women, men. However I will say that if I am on a story and it is on an issue that affects blacks and whites and all of sudden I look and I find myself with three interviews and they are all experts and they are all white, I will definitely make an effort to find a black person who is also going to talk on this issue, and if it is a women's issue obviously I am going to include women in the piece. But for the most part, I mean, I am most concerned with balance and getting the opinions on both sides in the story and again if it is a program that affects all different races I am not just going to have white people in the piece or black people in the piece. I am doing a piece right now on a group in Washington, D.C., that started in D.C. called best friends which is a group that works with middle school girls that tries to keep them off drugs and not pregnant. It was started in Washington and in the D.C. public schools there the kids are all black and the mentors are all black, but this program is now in lots of other cities around the country now so I made sure to go to another location and that was Houston where the kids were mostly white and hispanic so that we were sure to show that this is an issue that affects everybody and not just black kids and that everybody is benefiting from this particular program so that is the kind of thing I'll do.

Dangerous assignments - I never really had assignments that were dangerous only one that I recall when I was sent to Panama and it was during Noriega and there was some shooting going on while I was walking around. So that wasn't much fun but certainly I've been the one to choose not to go on the dangerous assignments. It just doesn't interest me I'm not really interested in being hurt or being killed for my job. If I had wanted to go on dangerous assignments, I'm sure that they would've have been happy to let me go I don't feel that because I am a woman they didn't ask me. It was because I made it clear that I wasn't interested.

Relationships that developed among colleagues on location -I answered it with the camera crew. Generally the relationships are good. Sometimes there are rough spots maybe in the beginning of the shoot and I usually resolve group conflict by apologizing even if it was not my fault and by just making sure we talk about what happened and what somebody said that made somebody angry and getting things out in the open rather than just letting it pass.

What sacrifices have you made? Plenty of them as I'm sure you know it's not a good job for relationships. My schedule has been unpredictable, I travel a lot. Boyfriends don't like this. I always felt that I should have gotten married before I really got deep into this business although it would've been a problem and I would be divorced, but once you're with someone

it probably is a little easier than trying to meet someone when you are in a situation when you can't make a date for a week from Friday cause you don't really know if you are going to be

here. It has definitely taken its toll on my personal life. I often give advice to young women who have worked for me as interns to not go blindly into this career and definitely pursue their relationships now. I point to all sorts of women at CBS who are in their mid-forties and who don't have children and are not married and barely have boyfriends, and most of the young ones don't want that to happen to them and you have to make an effort for this not to happen to them.

No, I never really wanted to leave the business and even though it has taken a toll on my personal life. I never could figure out what else I wanted to do and I still can't so here I am raising a daughter by myself which is a juggling act at times especially with the trips, although I do travel less than I use to but I'm still not really looking to leave the business, if you can believe it I'm sure you can cause I still like the business. I like what I do.

I recall the lay offs in the 80s, glad I wasn't part of them. I feel bad for the people who were. A lot of them are back here actually and I don't really recall if it was more heavily women or minorities being laid off than male journalists.

The only thing I will say is that I had to once go across the street and pick up a tape from a woman I had never met. The woman was a production person that had been at CBS for a long time, she said, "Oh, you're Cathy Lewis I've heard mixed things about you," which really made me laugh what a stupid thing for her to say, but it made me laugh cause there are a lot of people here who don't like me and there are a lot of people who do. Sure I would love for everybody to like me, they don't but it doesn't really bother me cause I know I do my job well I'm not political, I'm not looking for the big promotion, I'm not looking to be the big executive producer of anything I'm just looking to continue to do the job I really like. I probably should have played politics a little more over the years, probably still should do it. I never have, probably never will and therefore people have mixed feelings about me and that's just the way it is and so I don't know that I can say that that it's because I am a woman. I just think it's because I don't play games and I say what's on my mind and maybe it's easier for people to accept that kind of behavior from men than women. I don't know you probably will be able to make some kind of judgment on that based on some of the kinds of responses you get from your questionnaire.

Stymied by sexism or racism? Incidents in the 70s and 80s? -- Unfortunately, I think of two incidents when I think back on times when my career was hindered in anyway. Unfortunately, it involved women 'cause it was quite startling -- I had spent five months researching for a proposal to get money to do a year-long radio story on attempting to desegregate the schools in Buffalo. At the same time, another woman was writing a grant proposal. mine got funded and hers didn't, but before they were funded, the boss told me that they liked to fund people who had MAs and Ph.Ds 'cause they were justifying themselves and the other woman had an MA, and he told me I would have a better chance of being funded if I put her name down as producer and my name as associate cause she was an MA. She did and being naive as I was at that point I agreed to do it and when my proposal was funded and hers wasn't, she marched into my office and told me she wasn't going to give me the grant and that she was taking it, which she did. She took my grant and the money and basically said that she deserved it 'cause she was older and had more experience and she called herself a feminist so this may explain my reluctance to pursue a female mentor cause in my career it has always been women who have given me the shaft. I thought you might be interested in that story of why all my mentors have been male.

William Small
Professor, Former CBS Executive, Former NBC News President

Upon graduation from the University of Chicago, I became news director of a radio station there WLS and in 1956 moved to Louisville to be news director of both radio and television and in late 1962 came to CBS to run the Washington bureau. Ultimately I became a senior vice president and in 1974 until 1978 was senior vice president in charge of hard news. I then was asked to be the Washington lobbyist or representative of the Washington office of CBS, all of CBS and did that for about a year until NBC offered me the presidency of the news division and so I left that was in 1979, so it was sort of in the middle of the study years you indicate.

How was *CBS Reports* significant to the news division? Of course, *CBS Reports* was very significant but by the time you reach the mid-1970s, a couple of changes had taken place. There are fewer documentaries and many more instant specials and that began to proliferate during the Vietnam War where we were doing instant specials probably on the average of one or two a week. In later years as the bottom line guys began to predominate at CBS Inc., the instant specials became more and more late night specials but at the time I was there they were done in prime time and it was a wonderful time to be there.

The other thing that had started during the time you describe was *Sixty Minutes* though *Sixty Minutes* was part of the documentary unit, it remained sort of self directed though both the documentarians and the *Sixty Minutes* crew, Don Hewitt and company, reported to the Vice President of Documentaries. The instant specials were a mix done by people often in that unit which was then headed by Bill Leonard but always done jointly with hard news since by its nature instant specials dealt with hard news subjects not always done with hard news but generally. What was CBS position of the tv documentary? I think that most of us were sorry that the documentary form was diminished over the years certainly the stuff that they did including *CBS Reports* were of great significance, but their audiences then as of now were comparatively modest and as a result the people running the central network more and more particularly as CBS fell from its eminence of some twenty years or so in first place began to shove documentaries out of prime time.

I don't have much to offer you other than to point out because in question 8 you asked about ideas that are dangerous. I don't know if dangerous is quite the word but certainly there was never a reluctance in my years at CBS to take on tough subjects or worry about who might be offended.

Similarly asks about *Sixty Minutes* and *CBS Reports*. Yes, they won Emmies and DuPonts etc. I think by that time it was always a mixture, and I will speak about minorities a little later, but certainly by that time there was a large number of females in the production team, quite a few women and as your next question indicates, you have discovered the same thing that prior to the mid-1970s they were staffed largely by white males

Well in the hard news area again it depends on how you define dangerous you mean physically dangerous? We sent people off to cover wars and riots etc. If you mean dangerous ideologically we had gone at the time your study begins through the entire Watergate process and before that Vietnam and the black revolution of the 60s so certainly there was no reluctance to deal with tough subjects.

You state that societal pressures in the 1960s to ensure equal opportunity in the public affairs division. Again I can only speak about hard news and though it is very difficult for many people who are doing studies in this area to believe me, I never felt any pressure while running the Washington bureau or after coming to New York to hire minorities and women because we were already doing it in terms of on-air people. I myself for example hired Bernie Shaw, hired women like Connie Chung and non minorities like Diane Sawyer, Marya McLaughlin, a large number of people. One of the problems we had throughout that period and into the '70s and now I am dealing only with minorities who were largely black males some but not very many women. Although the most outstanding of what I would call comers in on air broadcasting was Michelle Clark who unhappily died in a plane crash about the time your study gets under way. I had often said to many including Michelle herself when I worked in the Washington bureau. Just before her death she was sent down on assignment for about three or four weeks, and we had her to the house one night and I told her quite candidly that I believed that given time she would not only be CBS' first woman anchor but first black woman anchor. She certainly was good enough to be for example Cronkite's successor, although that didn't seem likely, at the time there was no sign of Walter really wanting to step down except to say that he might and of course in both Rather and Roger Mudd there were two strong candidates to succeed him, but Michelle -- had she lived -- I think would have been rapidly into that class. She was marvelously intelligent woman and a very good broadcaster. We had hired her brother and unfortunately I didn't think and I guess others didn't think he had the same stuff. But one of the problems you had was that if you hired a black to be a producer and could at all broadcast and even some of the black correspondents were always being wooed a way by local stations that would throw lots of money at them and since the glamour and the money in large part resided with the on-air talent it was not a reluctance for young minorities to shift to on-air if they could do it. One

area that CBS then and still suffers most was from a lack of women and minorities in its executive ranks. I believe when I named the late Sylvia Westerman as the vice president she may have been the first vice president at CBS News. I know it was true when I went over to NBC News, and she came over with me. But the executive ranks small as they are in terms of numbers were and remain largely dominated by white males, some women and not a lot, and almost no minorities. One would hope that in time this would be corrected but it has been a long time already and we haven't seen it very much.

You ask about the reaction of men to the change in staffing, how did I handle morale and were staff members happy. Maybe it is in this nature of people in journalism at least to me there was never a single complaint or unhappiness expressed by white males about the coming of women and blacks. There were I am sure some conflicts in some places but never did they reach the level I was at, all quite to the contrary, there was great encouragement and if you talked as I am sure you did when you were at CBS to some of the minorities and especially some of the women who were in place that they found people helpful and not antagonistic.

Your question 11 says were there problems in the field? My comments in 10 refer to Washington which was the only other area other than New York that I worked in and I've never found any serious conflicts at all. There were conflicts with people as there always are but never relating to minority status or sex. I remember when I brought Ed Bradley back first to Washington and then ultimately he went to *Sixty Minutes*. He had some problems with a woman correspondent from another network. It related not at all to sex, to gender, or to race. It had to do with a woman who he felt was making his job more difficult when he was covering in Vietnam.

You ask about unions. There never never was a problem in unions. You would think that the craft unions would be more difficult, but I remember in Washington when we hired a black cameraman, there was never a problem with the unions in fact unions like DGA, AFTRA and the Writers Guild in particular encouraged the hiring of women and minorities. Writers Guild in part because their representative for CBS was herself a woman.

I've been away from network broadcasting for over a dozen years so I was not present when the downsizing trends took place. But certainly there was a great opportunity of growth in those years and far less when downsizing took place.

What was the impact of hiring? I just don't know you have to talk to someone who lived through that. As I say the downsizing occurred after I left NBC which was in 1982.

I don't know of many sexual harassment cases at CBS. When I was there we did have a women's group, and Dick Salant would have those of us who were his chief deputies meet periodically with the women in ask any of the women who wanted to come and listen to their complaints, and there really wasn't very much. Occasionally a woman would complain that men would call her "Honey," which she found offensive, but that's not exactly heavy duty sexual harassment in my mind. Most women were treated with respect as they should have been so I can't be very helpful in that regard. One of the interesting things in the women's movement however, was the difficulty that the black women had in deciding which was their dominant interest their feminist needs or the minority needs and more often than not it seemed to be the former that black women were more interested in the feminist, at that time the feminist aspects of the job out of the working place and there were occasional complaints among the black males -- not very many, but occasional -- that "the sisters." as they put it were more interested in their fellow sisters than in black males.

Has to do with Neuharth building staff diversity. I suspect that if you look carefully they came later rather than early at Gannett but that's ok because they do have considerable integration particularly as women as editors -- something as I said earlier that network television has always had difficulty with. There are some women executives but not a lot of them.

First of all Dick Salant was president of CBS News and those among us who were his chief deputies were very eager to make sure that it was not an all male enclave, but you know it was a period where we were still hiring people so you did not have to make very many tough decisions saying, "I've got one opening and I have four candidates and I am going to pick the black or the women etceteras." We usually were able whenever we saw talent to hire that person, and we hired a lot of them.

Were minorities in the public affairs division just too emotional? Not those I dealt with, not in my experience at all. Were there groups in place such as the Black Employees Association? I don't remember that. Women's Association? As I mentioned earlier there was a woman's group if not formal close to it and we met with them periodically to take any of their questions. How did this match your experiences when you went to NBC in 1979? I don't think it was considerably different. Actually I was pleased to find that at NBC, we had a number of black producers unlike many that we hired at CBS remained producers and didn't shift to on air work. As for precise numbers, I don't know. As for women, yes, we encouraged women at NBC as we had at CBS. As a matter of fact one of the first things I did, Sylvia Westerman and I asked David Klinger who had worked out the guidelines for

CBS which included aspects of attitudes in hiring to come to NBC and draw up comparable guidelines which actually did happen. Prior to that my predecessor, Reuven Frank who was a very good writer and fancied himself a great essayists, their guidelines are largely essays by Frank. We created some very close to what CBS had which would give you much more concrete advice if you needed it in all areas of the news division.

Statistics of slow growth I think that is absolutely true. As for the new technologies, there are a great number of opportunities presented by two things -- one that is generally overlooked which is the immense growth of the number of independent stations during the period you are dealing with and cable which people do not overlook. Unfortunately neither of those have the clout or the salary scales that network television presents. Nevertheless, there are more opportunities there and the slow growth is reflected in the slow growth of media jobs overall particularly. Well this came after 1985 in the early 1990s when you had an advertising recession and also beginning in the mid 80s, the change of ownership of the three networks. Whenever there are new owners they are convinced that there are too many people on staff and proceed to cut them back and in the current atmosphere where downsizing is considered a great virtue for any kind of company, of course more and more of that has taken place. I think at the moment we are beginning to come out of that and more and more jobs are becoming available.

The rationale of population growth. If you read it hastily one would think that 87% of the population, but you are talking about growth and not the other. What advice would you give young media executives as they face this challenge? I don't think there's any special advice needed. I don't think it's any different than what it was namely that you know that women and minorities belong in the mix, they are important and bring you often perspectives that white males lack. I suspect that the fastest growing minority group are Hispanic, and it raises some interesting questions about the content of perhaps some of the documentaries you work on, but I don't think it changes the basic approach that a news division ought to have.

I guess that ought to be plural for positions during those years and that obviously is when there were exciting news times when you had the challenges from the White House, when you had wars in distant parts of the world, when you had the Watergate scandals things like that. What did I like the least? The spouses of correspondents asking why we don't pay them more. Seriously I don't think there was a lot that I disliked. I even liked doing budgets, which most people will say they liked least. But when you do a budget as frequently as we did it at both CBS and NBC you learn more about your organization during a short period of time

that you might not have learned otherwise. and if there is hemorrhaging in terms of budget somewhere it's best to learn about it upfront rather than when it is too late. I always said I didn't like surprises no matter how difficult the problem. I'd rather face it than wait til there are only bubbles on the water and I think those people I worked with were cognizant of that and were not at all reluctant to bring them to me

I think I've talked about that a good deal on this tape. I'm struggling to think of anything I would want to add. Let me just repeat in terms of my own experiences and I know this is disappointing when you are doing research and looking for a smoking gun involving the women and minorities that worked at network news but I never had to be encouraged to hire either from the time I came in 1962 until the time I left CBS in 1979. I always hired both and never regretted a single one of those hires. I think I was a pretty good talent scout and we certainly turned up some remarkable talent in that period. But again I was there at a time when the financial squeezes that came later did not exist in fact it was during that period for the first time that news made money. It was always a loss leader, and guys like Paley and Stanton who never get enough credit for their approach would say in Paley's words, this is our crown jewel, the news division and it wasn't expected to make money. And in fact it was Eric Sevareid who said and I forget the year I think it was '69 but it may have been later when the news division made money in large part cause the network kept charging more and more for its advertising, that this was something we would regret because they would always expect us to make money. I think that expectation came when the networks changed ownerships not before, but it is the reality of today and it will be I suspect in the future

Marlene Sanders

Professor, Former Correspondent ABC/CBS, Former ABC Executive

In brief, I got into it by accident in 1955 by getting a job on a news broadcast as a production assistant locally in New York, *Mike Wallace in the News* at the then Dumont Network and worked by way up for the next forty years from there.

Zero educationally and professionally in the sense of broadcast journalism specifically I was interested in the theatre and did a lot of theatre work in high school and I was always a very good writer and also in high school I became involved in politics and was very political which was quite unusual at the time given that I graduated from high school in 1948 so I wasn't specifically prepared but in a way I was

As far as my mother instilling the notion of self sufficiency, yes, because I was born during the depression in 1931, and she worked. She was divorced very early before most people and had to work and made me quite aware of the fact that women had to basically take care of themselves, although she wasn't quite clear on all of that I didn't get a direct message but since we didn't have much money in the family ever I became aware of the need for money and also was a very independent type of person so somehow or other possibly because of divorce and that I use to go visit my father in Philadelphia on the train from Cleveland as a very little kid and I liked that travel and when I was only about seven I started doing it by myself so who knows what makes people the way they are but certainly all of these things had some effect.

I did start as a production assistant on *Mike Wallace in the News* did it for a year, learned all the production techniques on the seven and eleven o'clock local news cast. Then Mike Wallace started his program *Night Beat*, and I became associate producer, which meant really as a booker and talking people into coming into a very controversial television interview program. I also started writing interviews and later wrote a sports show using the same kinds of techniques we used in *Night Beat*. I wrote it for a tennis player named Gussie Moran two years after *Night Beat* went off the air. I stayed at Channel 5 and began to do local programs, documentaries, interview shows all sorts of things so I basically didn't last as a production assistant for longer than about six months to a year and during that time I kept my ears and eyes open and was a really fast study. So I moved up very rapidly. I would say my most interesting and productive years in television were the first five years when I moved from zero skills to the time I left five years later where I had full producer credits granted a local station.

I had no mentors absolutely not. First of all we are talking about when I left Channel 5 it was 1960. Certainly there were no women on the air at all. Television news itself was fairly new. I worked only with men I didn't know any women in the business at all. At the time I was two years married. In 1960, I had a son and I of course wanted to go right back to work and had to scurry around and figure out what the next step was. During this time there were no star correspondents or anchors, this was very early in television news not at all like it is now. The mentoring situation. I never had any kind of mentor I worked with Mike on and off, but he never helped me get a job. I always got the jobs myself, and it was partly because in those early years, there were very few women in the industry. In fact there were very few people in the industry, and I had a lot of experience. So in 1960 after I had the summer off and my baby was three months old I had to scurry around and find a job again. My husband's income managing symphony orchestra was very bad and besides I after a couple of months with a baby I said I can't do this. I have to get back to work. So I found a job on a late night talk show *PM East with Mike Wallace*. Again he didn't help me get a job. It was Westinghouse so to say that women helped, no, they never did; they weren't around. There weren't any. I was quite aware of that but it wasn't anything we could do about it till much later in the 1970s.

Sexual harassment zero. There was a program manager at Channel 5 who made hints, which I totally ignored. I never had any kind of sexual harassment so what can I tell you? Maybe other people did. I didn't run into that. I was always very much a buddy of the men I worked with, and some of my closest friends today are men that I worked with during that period. I didn't play sexual games, flirt, or anything, and I didn't encourage stuff. Although when I was with WNEW Radio '62-64, yeah a lot of the disc jockeys and announcers made passes, but you could always laugh that off. Were they involved in documentaries in the late '70s and '80s? Woo you have moved way ahead. I have to say that it was 1964 that I got a job as a correspondent at ABC News, the second woman there and shortly after I arrived the first woman, Lisa Howard, left. She got involved in some political debate with the management and was suspended, so I was the only woman there.

Were women and minorities involved in the editorial process? Are you kidding. There weren't any. First of all there weren't many documentaries when I started in 1964. There were documentaries in the 1970s, and I actually became involved at some point almost in a full time basis in documentaries and there were one or two women producers. Minorities aside from Mel Goode who was a correspondent at ABC when I got there. I mean he was really early. He was the only black correspondent they had for ages. I can't even remember when other people were hired. There were literally no black faces.

at that point Mel was a correspondent, and I have to say he was a sweetheart. And he took a lot of crap from people. He didn't get very good assignments. He ended up at the UN, but he did the best he could under the circumstances.

Were more African Americans and women interviewed in news programs and documentaries as a result of the presence of these new employees? Well they weren't a presence until the urban riots of the '60s when the networks found they couldn't send white crews into those neighbors and began to hire some black camera people. I did forget. There was John Fletcher and Al Birney who were crew members because I worked with them early on. I don't know how they got there, but there they were. They got all kinds of assignments. They did all kinds of stuffs. But it was the early '70s that the women's movement caught on, and by then there were a few women at the network -- newswriters a couple of producers, there was a woman correspondent in Washington besides me in New York and occasionally another woman was hired. I don't know what happened to them they seemed to disappear. But the '60s and '70s were really really busy with the anti-war protest and the Columbia University riots and all these things. In the '70s, the women organized. I was very active in fact although we didn't have a head of the women's action group at ABC, in effect I was, and we began to put pressure on the management basically on behalf of women. I don't think there were any black women involved in that. I had an associate producer at the documentary unit named Ann Hayward and when I later became head of documentaries in 1976, I became a Vice President. One of my priorities was to bring in more minorities and I did bring in a couple of black producers, but there were quite a lot of women. If tensions did exist did these have an impact on news production topics etceteras? No, actually I don't think so at all. I don't remember. Certainly there was no difficulty between the blacks and the women and anybody else. I think Tony Batten, who was the black producer I hired, had his own encounters with management. He worked at ABC on and off for a number of years.

Editorial judgment? Actually Tom Wolff who was the head of documentaries at ABC was a wonderful enlightened man who gave me no trouble. He wanted me to do documentaries on the Women's movement, which I did. We did do a series called "Strangers in Their Own Land," and we did the Blacks, the Hispanics, but I produced that and had a black director. I think everything was lacking in tension in terms of race relations. There always weren't many blacks there, but if they had difficulties they certainly didn't have problems with me.

Well, when I was made vice president and director of documentaries at ABC in 1976, there were nine vice presidents, and documentaries were simply not a very powerful post.

whether a man held it or a women. It was something the networks did cause they really were required to at that time to get their licenses renewed, and that is why we did them. And we had a really terrific series of documentaries. But as one voice in an editorial meeting with nine others or maybe there were nine including me. vice presidents. I certainly can't say I was very powerful although I always spoke up, but there weren't a lot of issues that caused me to be kind of cornered. I was put in a very awkward position when because I was a vice president when they were going to bring in Barbara Walters to co-anchor the news with Harry Reasoner, and I had no love for Barbara Walters because all doing the women's movement in the '70s she did zero. Nothing, She protected herself at NBC and didn't help. The only time she started speaking out for women was in the '80s when the fight was over, and she hadn't done anything. But in a way I had to support that move although I think I let it be known that she wasn't a news person, which she wasn't. Of course that did not work. I think I wasn't stymied because of my sex during that discussion. I just had a very special attitude I think I would have supported any woman they proposed that I thought was qualified. She was a star but not a newswoman. It was a very awkward situation.

I never had any trouble with my camera crews. We always got along very well. Why didn't I have problems? I don't know. As I said I was very collegial with people and got along with them and it just wasn't an issue. No I did not use my femininity to delegate work. Did the women who used this tactic excel? Well, gee, there were no women, practically nobody around. I don't think a female journalist should behave any differently than a man. I never flirted with interviewees I was always professional and business like and didn't kid around. In Vietnam, when I was a woman correspondent in 1966, and I was the first woman from television to go even though it was under a month, I had no problem with anybody. The troops were cooperative because I was with ABC. I could have been a two-headed monster. They wanted the coverage from ABC it didn't matter who I was, but I didn't have problems in that respect.

Problems supervising? Well, the one thing I really hated about being a vice president was having to not grant raises or not give people as much money as they wanted because I had a budget, and I had instructions. And I had to fire a couple of people. I really hated that. I know there was one woman who was a producer there who will never forgive me for not promoting her at one point. You're given x amount of dollars and x amount of staff people, and there were some things that I had to do that I did not like. I do believe journalists are more prepared to be supervised by females today. They are use to it. The men have come up with colleagues on the job. They didn't when I was there. I really was the first in many newsrooms, but I have to say because of the jobs I had I didn't have those problems.

This sounds weird, but when we had our women's groups we found that a lot of women had problems. There were discrepancies in salaries, certainly between the women and men. The women in sports were always having sexual harassment problems. Roone Arledge, who was president, did absolutely nothing about it. He pretended to be surprised like the ending of the movie *Casablanca*. He never did anything. I have absolutely no respect for that man including his tenure as president of ABC News, which of course, forced me out because another woman was gaming for my job, Pam Hill, and she succeeded in getting it. Talk about feminine wiles! She used them all over the place, and I was basically forced out, which was a very unpleasant chapter and you can take a look at my book because I just can't bear to go through all that but I managed to get over to CBS -- the documentary unit -- instead of staying at ABC, which I couldn't have stayed anyway because she was supplanting me. I later at CBS had a major problem with a woman where I never contributed. She didn't like my work, and I never could get past her. But I was working for *Sunday Morning* and *Week End News* and doing all sorts of other things. *Sunday Morning* was a major outlet for my work for seven years towards the end of my tenure there when everybody was being booted out in 1987. This woman was against me and didn't want me around and was playing the boys' game, and she is not mentioned in my book because I don't even mention her name. There are women like that who will not do anything for other women. They may give it lip service but they do nothing to it because they think they can advance their own careers and I have had some bad experiences in that respect.

I did not enter television news as a result of federal mandates, but my colleagues. I think, gosh, affirmative action was wonderful. I am one of the major supporters of affirmative action. There wouldn't *be* any women in the news business if it hadn't been for that. And certainly the white women were the major beneficiaries at the beginning, but blacks began to be hired somewhere in there and there was no stigma attached at the time that I was aware of. I mean now you hear a lot of talk about it. They wouldn't have been hired because these management people were so dim, they couldn't see the need on their own. I don't know why, what their problem was but it was a big help.

Friendships that developed. Certainly during the organization we had in the early '70s of our women's group -- where I met women in the company that I didn't even know because most of them were not in news but in corporate headquarters doing all sorts of lousy jobs. We became very close in the sense of solidarity, again there were no minority women involved in that group because they were not in the company in the early '70s. Most of the people I became friendly with -- whether they were white, black, male or female -- was because of projects I worked on if they were working with me then we were, you know, we were friends.

We went out to lunch. You know it was a very hectic life anyhow, it wasn't like I spent vast amounts of time hanging around with friends. I had a husband, I had a son growing up. I was involved with very hard work with travel and then this women's group. So it wasn't that I spent a lot of time with friends.

Besides being incredibly aware of the absence of blacks and women I don't know. Was I made a better person or journalist? I thought I was pretty good to start with. I mean I stuck my neck out for people, and I really did a lot of work on behalf of women. But I think sure it's good for your character. It's good for your character to work for other people and bring them along and at the same time you are helping yourself and helping to make a better world. I really believe that. So whether I became a better person, I don't know. I felt a certain moral imperative here and I like the news better with people of all different types up there. I mean what kind of a country is this? It's a mix of people, and if you don't see them out there on the screen, it sets a terrible example. I know a lot of women went into news because of me. They tell me that I was on the air at five minutes of three at ABC from 1964 through 1968, and some women correspondents at CBS twenty years later saw me when they were little kids and said, "Oh, hey maybe I can do that." I'm sure that's true of any group like Asians, blacks, or anybody you see up there on the tube. As far as behind the scenes and the influence -- until all of us who are basically outsiders get to be there in greater numbers, we are just not going to have enough power behind the scenes.

You bet. I certainly did. When I left CBS in 1987 I went to Channel 13 the PBS station in New York and did a show called *Metro Week in Review*, which was based on *Washington Week in Review* -- four reporters and me every week, and I told my producer -- we had a staff of two a producer and an associate producer, they were both women. I said, "look, I do not want four white guys in suits, I will not have it and we are going to find minorities to put on this show." And you know with a little digging of people looking for reporters in the area, we found them and incidentally from the exposure they got on that show almost all of these print people that we brought on, a number of them are working in television and I am talking about black males. So I feel, yes, that was a big mission on my part which we did successfully. As far as with *CBS Reports* and so on, yeah, I think we looked for a variety of kinds of people, and I believe that in the news operation, there was a lot of discussion about interviewing a variety of kinds of people. I think that has certainly changed over the years in a positive way.

The role of the media executive. Describe the ones that made it clear that diversity was here to stay. Salant at CBS. The president of CBS News, he made it clear that if executives

didn't bring in minorities it would affect their bonus. So what do you know?' People started doing it. He made it very clear. After he left, I think it became murky. Certainly, people at the top set policy, and it's really key that those kinds of people be in good positions. I don't know of any who lost power because of their stance on diversity. There were a few who wanted to carry out the mandate. We are talking about a generation of men in the '70s who were in their 60s or late 50s and their experiences, I don't think they got it. They do now much better. I wouldn't say we have reached some great pinnacle of success, but certainly the newsrooms are very mixed now, and the men are very familiar with working with women. The men who are now executives at the networks are married to women who are working and a lot of them are working in news. So I think they see that. Now, the blacks, you know, whites in general don't have very close relationships with blacks, and I think that is part of the problem. We don't know each other that well and therefore, the people are regarded as kind of in quote "other." I think that is a tougher problem. Terry, you have got to read the chapter in my book.

Media executives did avoid sending women to dangerous stories like war. We had a lot of fights, and I heard a lot of stories from women. There are women who I quote extensively in my book who wanted to run the Beirut bureau during the Lebanese turmoil. They were based in London and just wouldn't be sent to Lebanon. There is one really good story about how the person who did become bureau manager in Beirut manages to get sent because she spoke to the assignment editor who was on duty during the weekend and somehow he was a more enlightened guy than the weekday guy and she somehow got there. This has changed. Women are covering all kinds of war now. I must say the men resented the whole thing, the people that I spoke to. They all said well, they won't send a woman to combat or to cover a dangerous assignment but they don't mind sacrificing us, that's not fair. Happily, that's all over. Women are covering all these wonderful wars all over the place. Dangerous assignments locally, I don't think there's a distinction made, I think probably a pregnant woman wouldn't go, and I don't blame her. Are you the only one covering riots, I don't think so. People have individual problems with management. I don't think it is strictly on the basis on sex. They think some people are better on some stories than others.

We had our little differences now and then, but you just had to get along with people and resolve them. If you're the boss, in the early days I was the correspondent/producer, what I said went, and we never had a problem about that. I said look, this is the story and this is what we want to get and if a cameraman had another idea that was a good idea that was fine with me we would do it his way, but I didn't feel, I mean it's a very cooperative enterprise I didn't have many group conflicts.

I have made sacrifices in terms of time, but did I suffer from it? No. Would I do it differently today? No. Did my family suffer? I think they were inconvenienced from time to time, but my husband was very gung-ho about my career and supportive, and my son who is a star journalist now wrote a big book on OJ. He writes for the *New Yorker*, is a lawyer/journalist (Jeffrey Toobin). He apparently didn't think it looked too bad. I use to take him on stories when I could on vacations or documentaries where I thought he would enjoy it. It was inconvenient when I had theatre tickets. I hated to work at night. I would say there were sacrifices but not major.

I didn't leave the business on my own, although by the time in 1987 when CBS was downsizing they offered me, they didn't fire me. They said would I go to radio full time doing hourlies. Well I had been doing them quite a bit, but I didn't want to do that full time frankly it was too boring -- rewrite the wire, phooey, work the overnight, work the weekends I didn't want to do that anymore. I said bye-bye CBS, and I felt wonderful leaving, I felt really good. I realized how much I hated it there the last few years partly because I felt I was shoved aside to a certain extent on the question of age, and I noticed this is an issue you haven't raised because you are not old at this point. But by the time I left, I was 56 years old pretty long time to be on the air. I looked good, but I didn't look 30, and I also lost heart in the industry. I didn't like the way it was changing. My husband had died three years earlier, and it wasn't a particularly happy time. *CBS Reports* had folded, the management was changing every five minutes. A lot of people I respected were gone. So I was glad to leave. So did I leave voluntarily, I guess, yes and no. I guess not really because they said take the radio, and I said no and therefore I made a deal and I left. But I had a good time at Channel 13 for three or four years after that doing that Metro show. I also did a lot of freelance stuff, a series on the third world for an Indian journalist named Prina Guta. So I sort of phased out.

In terms of downsizing well, I'll tell you the networks were pretty cagy about that they did it like a Chinese menu. One from Column A one from Column B a black, a white, an older person, a younger person. You couldn't prove anything. I mean a lot of us tried to make lists because no lists were put out, but we really couldn't.

I don't think there was any question of that. By the time I left CBS there were a couple of women running *Weekend News*, all sorts of special projects. I think there is no question about women in those jobs. Minorities, I don't know. I am out of it now. So I don't know who's doing what. Probably not too many in major decision-making jobs. I don't know about these editorial decisions, I'm sure the right people will make the right decisions, but I don't know who's around these days.

Were those years filled with adversity? Those years were pretty exciting, when you were organizing a group, when your job isn't at stake. The adrenalin was going pretty well in the '70s. I think all of us were taking risks. It was exciting. I loved it. I thought it was great 'cause we really made progress. The networks knew they were wrong. They didn't want anymore lawsuits, they didn't want license challenges, and they began to shape up. What I feel is that the numbers have been stagnant now for the last few years. I've been working with Betty Friedan on a project called *Women, Men and Media* for about nine years where we do surveys every year. A big problem is that women are about a third, minorities are much less, never really made big strides. It just stays static, and we spend a lot of time trying to figure out what we can do about it. And you know, I am 66 years old right now and even though I am teaching and working at the Freedom Forum Media Studies Center, I think it's time for other people to move in and do something. I did a lot so the women in the business have to realize that even though the doors are opened now -- and my students know the doors are open at entry level -- as they move up, they will have to discover and reinvent the wheel and figure out a way to move forward.

My entire story has been the story of a woman struggling along and making it. I had a certain amount of fame in the '60s because I was so visible and that was really kind of nice. I never made huge amounts of money. I have to say unfortunately, but it has been an extremely interesting life. Where else would I have seen the world in the way I have? I don't regret it. I think it has been wonderful. I have a certain bitterness attached to some of it, and I am including a little piece I wrote, Terry, recently called, "Everybody Leaves Mad" and I think you will enjoy it and I think you may laugh. It's suppose to be a little funny. No, it's been a great life. I'm not sure it will be for other people because the business has changed and become so celebrity oriented and so corporate and so sleazy. But during most of the years I was there, it was great.

Pamela Hott
Former CBS News Vice President/ Director Religious Unit

I am responding as best I can to your list of questions although I feel little I have is relevant today. Television was in its childhood when I stumbled into it and my background and career hardly typical, but if its of any use to your studies. I'll try to explain.

First how I got into journalism. Well, I came to America to be in a Broadway play which folded and after many misadventures including a surgeon in Canada, I talked myself into a job in an agency that placed mostly American religious broadcast in overseas markets. A chap that I had known in Calcutta during the war and roommate of Melvin Douglass and Tony Martin worked there and fascinated by my first sight of a tape recorder, pretty primitive in '52, and sneaked it out at night to record mostly in Harlem and Chinatown and put together a Christmas program. Well, the boss found out and commandeered it, put his girlfriend's name on it, and sold it to a big church group. I was then sent to peddle it to CBS who received me courteously and explained they did not accept outside public service programming. NBC snapped it up to my disgust. Some weeks later I got a call from CBS who asked me what I knew about television I replied nothing, but I knew nothing of radio a few months ago. So they asked for a specimen script and had me as a script editor. You sorry you asked?

Educational background. World War II kept me traveling for nearly six years and broke my taste for studying. My majors had been English and Comparative Religion. I was involved in politics and the theatre, traveled extensively in India and the Middle East, which I am sure contributed to my usefulness in broadcasting. Read widely, history, theology, the arts. I'm sure the political experience helped me cope with corporate complexity.

My mother. Well, I barely saw my mother. But a great influence in my life was a maiden aunt who encouraged me to write poetry, tell the truth, and form my own opinions. Self sufficiency came with a very varied life.

As I said I began as a script editor for a public service religious program *Lamp Unto My Feet*, which was semi-dramatic. I threw out the amateur scripts having to substitute my own without credit or payment. Our budgets were minimal. When I saw them miscast, I protested to the director and realized that I had to have more control to produce improvements. Well, that resulted in my being put in charge of the second program, *Exploring God's World*, which became, *Look Up and Live*, so I was Executive Producer then Director of Religious Broadcasting. I was given a great deal of freedom of judgment. I was able to initiate special programs broadening their scope to include commissioned ballets.

cantatas, programs in the arts, and so forth. When Fred Friendly became my boss it enabled me to expand on civil rights programs from the studio to remotes and finally being allowed film news crews. That was the first time. Up to then it was absolutely forbidden that we do anything that looked as though it might be news. We'd use drama, still pictures and sketches until then. I remember having to send a sketch artist with a hidden tape recorder down into the South during the beginning of the Civil Rights Movement because we were not allowed film crews. As it turned out, it produced a better program in many ways than just filming what was going on. It involved people like Mrs. Hammer and to this day, I find it very moving if I look at it. Of course, in the name of religion we were able to say things no one else could or would. Not only with Martin Luther King and Andy Young but abroad with Bishop Tutu and Palestinians, that was never very popular. We were the only outlet for Eastern Orthodox and the Armenian views and really too many highlights to bore you with.

How promoted? Working very hard, bringing back many awards, very good critical reviews, and not hogging the credit. I turned down the Vice Presidency for several years because it meant giving up being a producer. When they finally agreed that I could still do what I enjoyed, I accepted. I had no intention of being the "house female for CBS News" but the title was helpful abroad. It was useful I'm sure for the firm to have a vice president who could say no to projects they wanted to turn down tactfully. My being the first was probably a diplomatic way of making a choice among those with more sponsors.

Mentors, yes, not in the sense of teaching me except very helpful and cooperative technicians but mentors in the sense of trusting me to deliver a good product, keep them out of trouble, and be discreet. Yes, my secretary was my closest ally and I heard voices were always raised crosstown [in Black Rock corporate headquarters] on my behalf.

There was only one woman radio public service producer when I joined CBS News, and the men warned me to tread warily with her. She showed no interest in me at all. I was very tactful, keeping a low profile. Men were very supportive though and a bit confused about how to treat a lone woman colleague. There just weren't women to be mentors. The men were protective. I was never treated as "one of the boys," an attitude a lot of ambitious women adopted. Later, I joked that as a vice president, the only handicap was not having a key to the men's room, so I didn't hear all the scuttlebutt. But I never felt left out as you put it.

Sexual harassment? No, I never encountered it. If anything I was treated with extra consideration. Of course, my involvement with religious broadcasting may have been inhibiting. I never heard of any instances in my department. I believe that grown women

should know how to handle situations with tact and humor. Their department discourages unwanted attention without making the man feel stupid. I don't think the woman should venture into the business world without such skills. I'm sure that's not a popular opinion with you.

I can only speak for my department. We probably had an equal number of women, and I interfered with content. Minority representation was harder. The problems were if the producers were black; we had three, we had two Hispanics. Not enough, but they always really wanted to be the ones to cover anything black. I badgered management for years to train more bilingual producers. I was always free to hire them into our own unit. But once trained they tended to return to jobs in their own cities. New York was not an easy place to adjust to.

African Americans and women were always included and interviewed in our programs since the fifties. The only increase was the result that they were making in general affairs. Since our unit was a mixture of ethnicity and sexually, we were with good relations with new groups. In fact a lot of cooperation when we needed help. The only occasional issue raised was as I said was Afro-American producers wanting to produce all the programs involving black guests, usually made sense, but they weren't always experienced enough to do the best job. Some of our programs in Africa by Afro-American producers turned out to be very stressful for them.

My work in television was only stymied by my lack of good airtime and miniscule budgets, of course. The style of programs I produced was considered caveat for the general and not commercially valid -- valid Bible, whatever.

Racism and sexism as far as I could see were not involved. The only incidences of tension were my reporting on Palestinian affairs and struggling with Zionist film editors, but management never sensed that even reports angered Israeli supporters.

Power level? Lack of power as you term it, was the result of being a public service producer. Anything that involved religion, I was usually asked to contribute. Within my own area of expertise I was given remarkable freedom and I appreciated it.

Supervising crews? Never a problem if anything I considered treatment produced unfailing support. I owed a great deal to the cameraman and the technicians I worked with. On difficult remotes being a woman was often an advantage. They would mutter, "if she can climb that wall I can," and having a great deal of stamina helped. In Vietnam, once officials

saw that I didn't scare easily. being a woman was a plus Interaction ? I found men, with few exceptions quickly adjusted to working with a female who knew her job There will always be a few men with problems they're just uncomfortable with females. make allowances for them.

No. when I went to work with CBS in 1954, there were no mandates I suppose I was hired because I did something rather well I do feel that in the 70s and 80s, minorities were sometimes hired, given titles and offices without real input just to conform to pressure But as people became friends, that changed Not being minority in your sense of the word, I can't give you an accurate answer

Friendships, yes. My closet friend and colleague was, is African American She began as my secretary and became a production manager, then a producer Other African American producers in the department continued as good friends when I retired. The relationships were based on shared problems as much as a sense of humor, loyalty to each other, and shared aspirations.

Gender, race? Sorry, I don't remember any gender, race or class incidences that developed in our unit in the 70s or 80s. As for being a better journalist, I know that I learned a great deal from colleagues of different backgrounds. I'm sure it made me a better person not just a better producer.

I just discovered that there is another page of questions. Did I seek out female and minority leaders to be included in interviews? Only when relevant. We always included black church men and women as they became more prominent. We had long term contacts, and the cultural and religious department was a natural place, a natural forum for them.

A list of specifics. Oh dear, over 33 years it is too long to include. There were guests such as Dr. King, Angela Davis, Bishop Tutu, Caesar Chavez, Platz, the first woman ordained by the Lutherans. Andy Young was very much involved. We were producing on women's aspirations back in the '60s.

The role of media executives? The man who did most to encourage women at CBS News never talked about it. He was the late Dick Salant. When he was president of the news division, I don't know if he had problems. He didn't brag about his attitude. George Dessart was active publicly, organizing seminars, and speaking at meetings, and with the company's blessings. Management across town always cited lack of education, of experience, of work ethic, when we urged more hiring of Hispanics.

Dangerous assignments? I don't feel sexism was involved. Personally I met no opposition to my going to Vietnam or Beirut, in fact, Vietnam was my boss' idea. There were logistic problems in sending a woman into an army field base, men tended to be naturally protective

Relationships on location. Never had any problems usually a lot of good fun. The only incident I can remember was a minor spat in Jerusalem, neither sexist nor racial and something admidst between two producers both women and Afro-American that I had sent to film in Africa. One college educated, one street smart. Again the problem was neither racial nor sexist. I gathered that Africa shocked them and disappointed them, but I never pressed them for explanations of the rift. It didn't alter their later work together

Sacrifices? Well, I didn't consider them sacrifices. There was obviously a price to be paid for enjoying the privilege of doing something you really cared about. I tried to explain to women coming to work with me in our department that they had to accept what men took for granted as part of the job. unpredictable hours, having to break dates because film was late in coming in, working odd hours, cutting into one's social life. The demands made on me were largely by myself wanting the best possible programs.

I certainly didn't view myself as a pioneer I felt privileged to be able to explore and share ideas.

I didn't leave the business until after normal retirement age. I felt it was time for new people with modern techniques to take over.

Downsizing? I don't think that women or minorities were unduly the target for management. Of course, it was natural for bosses to want to keep people who had been with them longer. Firing women for incompetence was particularly unpleasant, you cry, make scenes, which tended to demoralize men. What happened in my department after I retired, I can't explain.

If women couldn't make sound editorial decisions, they wouldn't have risen to the jobs they hold today. I think men can be as much prey to emotional myopia as women.

I don't think details in my career would be of interest and it really wasn't typical. I wasn't in the forefront. In fact, I assume the great freedom that I had to do new and different things was that I wasn't a threat to anyone in the firm and didn't seek publicity. In brief, they were years of challenge and fulfillment. I never found being a woman a disadvantage. Of course being Welsh made me a minority of sorts in my young days.

I'm sure the hazing at school made me just that much tougher

Good luck with your projects and again I am delighted you remembered me from so long ago. Let me know how it goes. Good bye

I'm sorry to be so late in getting this back to you but it arrived at tax time and I am not very good at maths. So that complicated my days, and I found none of my tape recorders worked. And I had to drive into town to get one and it is all new fangled. I'll try to rush this out to you, it's quite a drive to the Post Office I'm not sure what time it will get out. I'll try to send it special delivery. Bye.

Patricia Olson Matthews
Producer, CBS *Morning*

Hi, Terry a name out of the past that's for sure. I'll do my best to answer the questions as best I can. I'm still at CBS, have two kids now, and life is just going from one stress to another.

How did I get into journalism? My father was a journalist, but I didn't directly think about following him. I finished college with a degree in political science which is partly question 2, and was going to go to graduate school, but I was kind of tired of school. So I figured if I could get a job and delay graduate school for a year that would be fine. My Dad knew somebody at NBC and I went to New York visiting friends as well. Stopped in to see thinking maybe I could get a job with the next election coverage or something like that. There wasn't anything there. But I had a couple of hours to kill, and CBS was just up the street on Sixth Avenue as you remember. So I went in there and that morning a job had opened in the archives. And I was going to be looking at transcripts and tapes and films mostly in those days, which was the mid-seventies. And they were starting a computer program. So I thought that would be fun, of course. So I went over and I got the job, and huh, I'm still here. Obviously my degree in political science did help my career in broadcast journalism. The part I didn't have was any technical knowledge and I hadn't really written very much.

Probably, yes but indirectly. My mother did not work, but she was an extremely active volunteer, and she was a very good organizer. She ran a theatre group, did meals on wheels, did all sorts of things. I think one thing that indirectly I realized how self-sufficient she was. Her mother had died when she was twelve, and she left home at 16 and basically supported herself from that point on. She got scholarships to go to college, got herself a job. She is still around and quite an independent woman, and I think that trickled down to me.

I started as a clerk in the archives making \$125 a week. I then kind of took sort of supervisory clerk duty, I was kind of senior clerk, I guess you would call it and got a little raise out of that. And then was going to try and get into main production 'cause here I was working on stuff that had already been on the air. I got an internship. At the time they had internships, and I got one for researcher. So I got the internship which set me up for getting a researcher job which is where I knew you. And as you know, the researcher involved doing library research, phone calls, eventually computer research, writing, handbooks or reports, all that kind of stuff. Then, of course, I eventually moved up to be associate producer. I took one detour into middle management just in time for everyone to be fired, so I went back into

being a standard researcher, and then they made me an associate producer again within months of that. That, of course, was more of the same, but now I did more of the shooting than I had before. Then I went to *CBS This Morning*, largely because I was at *Special Events*, their election unit and that was kind of being reduced. Their budget was being reduced and *CBS This Morning* at the time was mostly an interview show and that kept me home, which I wanted because I have small children. I have sort of put myself on the "mommy track" at *CBS This Morning* as long as it is still going to be around. It has helped, a lot of studio stuff helps curtail the travel, although I still have to do some. I guess I never assumed I would type all my life. They were looking for someone who could type into a computer, so they were not as interested in speed as accuracy. If I slowed down, I could be quite accurate and once I figured that one out I did fine. Though I would never have made a secretary, and they knew that from the beginning, thank goodness.

I did get lucky. The woman hiring in the archives that first day was a woman who was just setting up the women's movement at CBS, you remember, Judy Hole, and she was looking to get a woman into the archives, which that whole floor there were probably thirty people working on the floor and two of us were women. The other one was in the film archives then, who was filing film that kind of stuff. I didn't have that many mentors actually along the way which is probably why I moved up very slowly. When I did become an associate producer again it was a woman. However, to become a producer, it was a man who was my executive producer who was willing to move me up. I'd say media executives are much better mentors than star correspondents, anchors. They knew what we made, knew what we did, more than the reporters with whom we sort of interacted. At least I did maybe on the road maybe to write a script. I did not work directly with Dan Rather or the *Sixty Minutes* correspondents. They're the only star correspondents I think who could go to the executive producer or to the vice president and say, "Move her up." I did work for Dan in *Special Events*, but that was sort of a move being the researcher, but that didn't help me very much.

Did female mentors help more than males? Mixed bag. When I started there weren't that many women, and a certain percentage of the women were actually unhelpful. They were women who did it the hard way, maybe in some cases in the '50s or '60s I would guess or just before me and their attitude sort of was I could do it all by myself, without any help, you guys can too. You don't need extra help, which, of course, we do. Some of the men wound up being more helpful indirectly because they were seeing that they needed to put more women on or they would get in trouble or they would have broadcast like the *Morning* show or some of the day time shows where they had a largely female audience and felt they needed women behind the scenes or they wouldn't do well because of ratings. So they were

more likely to choose you because you were a woman. not that good a reason either. I don't think. I've never been a very good networker, and certain units do have good old boy mentalities. I just sort of stayed away from those, because I didn't feel I would do that well in them. If that's what you wanted to do say, *Sixty Minutes*, it is difficult for a woman even today to break into that ultimately.

Sexual harassment? I guess I've been lucky. I haven't had much. I tend to be a little stand offish initially and I don't think the men can figure me out that well. So I think either I would miss the signals entirely or pretend to miss the signals entirely and they would move on to something else. My bigger problem was that they would forget who I was rather than harassing me. But I have seen it happen. I've backed a woman or two who did feel that she was harassed especially by personal comments, and I've seen it happen. And when someone asked me to speak up, I have. It is a problem.

Were women and minorities heavily involved? Yes, but in subsidiary roles. We had almost no full female or minority producers in those days. But it was six guys for every woman in those jobs. As far as hard news yes, but it was a time when they didn't really want us on the front lines. There weren't too many in hard news coverage that only came in the '80s. When we started in the '70s you sort of had hard news, *Evening News*, *Face The Nation*, *Sixty Minutes*, *Week Ends*, but it all started to change everything got much softer. *Good Morning* became a big hit in the late 70s going very soft. So, of course, we threw out Hughes Rudd and brought in Diane Sawyer and Bill Curtis and softer news folks. The prime-time magazines are more sensationalist, tabloid-like, which they feel appeals more to women, far more medical and parenting kinds of things. All of that got much softer, and automatically, I think, meant more women and more minorities got brought into the programming. I'm sure they all did this for money, not for our own good. Talk shows, of course is the other thing that brought a different variety of people, the more different you were the more they wanted you. I think most units had some degree of sexism or racism I think even those headed by African Americans or women. But different degrees obviously some more than others. I think *CBS Evening News* and *Sixty Minutes* are going to remain bastions of the white male no matter how many women they have on the shows or minorities. It's sort of the white male clicks in the fish bowl or the front office. You know they are attracted by their own kind so usually those white males tend to do better, not exclusively but tend to

Did they have impact on news production? I don't think so much on the selection of topics but probably in how they were presented. I think that a lot of people felt they

were biased one way or the other and spoke up, but only in the general sense. The stories nobody really cared that much as long as it was a good story.

Most of my producing career has been on *CBS Morning News* or *CBS This Morning* depending on which reincarnation you are talking about where there was the bigger complaint that we didn't have enough on sports and male stuff. All of it was soft on cooking, parenting, health topics, crafts and fuzzy animals and stuff. So as far as sexism, the judgment went towards women. Racism, probably a little bit more tension. I know we have many black producers. Some of them actually complain that every time there is some story to do with an African American, it automatically goes to them which is fine sometimes, but they don't want to have to do all the O. J. Simpson stories or those sorts of stories. So they want to be able to choose their own stories. If it happens to be about African Americans fine, they will be looking for those sorts. They don't that much like getting assigned that you are the quote unquote, black producer, that happens some on *Evening News* I understand as well.

I didn't become a senior level producer, but it's still pretty much white men up there. Women sort of stop at this point at the executive producer level. We've always had a sort of a one woman vice president at a time, and they usually leave pretty much after a few years. The current one is Linda Mason, and you remember her from *Evening News*. She is sort of the token female vice president at the moment out of eight or whatever it is.

No actually. Did I use my femininity to delegate work? I'll admit I did during the times that I was pregnant. I physically didn't want to jeopardize anything. But otherwise, I tried not to. We have more women camera people now than we use to, and I work with women more than a third of the time anyway. Did women who used this feminine tactic excel? Yes, absolutely, many times. Several people got promoted probably on the basis of it. I find that inappropriate; if I haven't done as well as others because I didn't engage in that, so be it.

I actually supervise fairly well. I'm just very organized, and I think that's part of supervising and I also tried to listen a lot. I supervised some other researchers for a while. Do you think more journalists today are prepared to supervise? Yes, I think there are so many more women in journalism maybe because the salaries have flattened unless you are on the Diane Sawyer, Barbara Walters level. It's less attractive to men, I think these days unless you are gutting to be a big anchor. So I think men that do go into journalism under broadcast journalism are just more used to working with women. I just don't think the salaries at least a CBS although they are good they haven't really kept up with the star areas of television, entertainment, for example.

As I said earlier on, CBS had a budding women's group when I arrived, and I was hired by one of the founders of the movement, so I know I had an advantage with what had happened with the Civil Rights Movement and the Women's Movement. But I think once I got there, I still got the feeling women have to work harder than the guys to get to the same place, but it did certainly get me in the door, and it was then up to me a lot of the time after that.

I think actually in the late '70s and early '80s, we women did have a tendency to stick together. There just weren't that many of us. We tended to be in the same jobs -- researcher, secretary maybe an assistant producer. From the technical end, it would be production associates. My impression is it was more women over race. We were African Americans, there were so few of us we all had more in common as women than I did as with some white guy over seeing me.

Discuss gender, race or class incidents as you can recall. Back then I got fewer chances to travel. The guys kind of liked to hang together. If they wanted to go we kind of got pushed to the side. There was one occasion at *CBS Reports*, I guess you were there at the time that I remember, I had been working on a story about American embassies about which I knew something because my father had actually worked in one, done all the research, and then Howard Stringer, the executive producer, decided he wanted to go on the trip because it would be fun, and since they only had the budget for x number of people. I was the one dropped. So that made actually no sense in terms of the story, but it sure did as far as power. I certainly learned something from that. Power means a lot and especially with the white male. I think I might have been able to get away with it; I don't know whether somebody else would have been able to get away with it as readily. Of course as we know, Howard was on the fast track at the time so I really didn't have much of a shot. So you learn life is unfair sometimes and sometimes that's related to your sex or your class. I can't let it get to me, or I would be probably in an insane asylum at the moment.

Absolutely. Back then when I was working at *CBS Reports* and *CBS Special Reports* and *Special Events*. CBS management then wanted a lot of experts on the air in whatever, politics, space, some foreign situation. They always thought of that as men -- white men ideally -- sitting on the set in their suits. So we were always pushing there to try to get a few women on -- remember we did have some success when I think it was El Salvador or one of those crisis? We did get a woman professor from Columbia University. I felt that was a real breakthrough, a Latin American expert who wasn't a white male. I think with South Africa we also managed to finally get some African American international affairs experts. The shows that were most sexist as far as who was interviewed remains *Evening News*, *CBS*

Specials especially when they were on current events. I don't think *Sunday Morning* or obviously the women's magazine shows were particularly *For Our Times*, wasn't that a female executive producer? She had her own favorites. I don't think that had anything to do with sex though. She always seemed to have the same 10 people that she loved dearly on the

air and no variation from that. *CBS Reports*, I guess it depended on the producers whether some hours were extremely male. Even those, maybe it was just the subject matter. Remember Judy Crichton did all these very serious stories like Vietnam, intelligence, and the CIA. That all seemed to be talking white males to me.

I have had a lot of bosses. Several female bosses, executive producers. One African American Johnathan Rodgers was executive producer of *Morning News* in the late '80s for a while. They run the spectrum from those who had their favorite three or four people around them and that's the only people they listened to or hired, to some who were pretty open to anything. I suppose somebody like Johnathan did support diversity. We did do different kinds of things under him. He didn't last very long because he was shipped out to Chicago where we were having some racial problems. So he was sent out there to put out the fire. He had a special role at CBS. I don't know how happy he was about that because he couldn't be left alone to manage a show. He had to play his role all the time. So in some ways I think he did lose power because he had other mandates whether he wanted them or not. I'd say now I have an executive producer who's thirty-five. I have never seen -- and this is behind the scenes -- a more diverse group of people than we now have. However, on the air I don't think we have changed very much. We don't have as much leeway as we once did. A lot of stuff comes from the bureaus, and a lot of the show has to stick more and more to the news. So at the moment we know we will have something on the Oklahoma bombing trial in Denver. We will have something. We had stuff on weather, a lot of weather stories, floods. Washington, of course. So it's Clinton White House, campaign financing. There is only so much you can do with these stories no matter who you have behind the scenes. When we do have our feature stuff I would say it represents a wide variety of different kinds of things. We no longer have that much control over our shows as CBS has more and more integrated the news except for like *Sixty Minutes*, which is a power unto itself. Whatever, they put on they put on. Things like *48 Hours* our current show, the hard news shows. We are told that they will cover this or that and we sort of facilitate getting it on the air.

Back then they didn't want women to go to Salvador, South Africa. They used excuses. You probably remember we both worked on that Saudi Arabia documentary, and we were told neither of us could go to Saudi Arabia with Peter Schweitzer and Maurice Murad. I

remember being told that's 'cause we couldn't drive cars in Saudi Arabia and we wouldn't be able to function very well because we were women. I mean I think we should have been offered the chance to try or at least be along to show that we were part of the story. I didn't push much hard to go on dangerous assignments. That wasn't the kind of journalism I really liked that much. So that wasn't a problem for me. They did start breaking the barrier I think in the mid-80s. Martha Tiechner insisted and got to go to Beirut and got shot at like crazy. She and Lucy Spiegel, producer. Then she was our person in South Africa in some of the more turbulent times. That has changed, women went to the Gulf War. But back then it was batting your head against a brick wall. I think part of it was they thought we couldn't adequately cover a major story because women didn't have military backgrounds or places they were going they wouldn't understand. But once they get to go, they found it was quite possible to do.

Some did. But I must say that most of the time I sort of group bonded especially if you were in a very small group. There was conflict when there were very large groups. Let's say I used to go on some of the space shots. There we would have ten or eleven people and then there was some conflict along sexual lines, some, but I'd say that if something like that was brewing I'd just sort of reclused myself and did my job. If it really had to be resolved we sat down and talked, basically and figured out schedules that were to people's liking or a lot of it was who was going to work when or who was going to work with who or who was lazy. But in small groups usually we made a team out of it.

Well, I married probably a lot later than I'd like. As a result, I am an older mother which means I probably don't have as much energy. I can't spend as much time with the kids as I'd like. I think that's a sacrifice. I probably have not tried as hard in my career as a result. They don't exactly have a mommy track at CBS, but when I needed to I have been able to take a job that maybe didn't have as much advancement or money, but it gave me more flexibility. I didn't have to go running after wars, and hurricanes, and space shots and stuff. But yes, my personal life has been curtailed some particularly early on.

Obviously I have not left the business. There are several times I would have liked to if I could have swung it financially. When you have a family, it's not just, "well, I'll live on my savings for a while and figure out what to do next." So I felt I couldn't, and at the moment I probably can't either. It would be a big change in lifestyle.

I would say yes, I haven't had time to think back on it. Mostly women and minorities because they were the last hired. Certainly one I could think of in my office was one guy

and four women because they were the more junior ones. So I think they certainly got clobbered more heavily.

Sound editorial judgment. In a sort of negative sense, executives think women have a better editorial judgment on stories that have to do with children or families or homemaking in some ways, and minorities make a better judgment on civil rights, affirmative action and crime, maybe. That's sort of a generalization I think they can certainly have a sound editorial judgment on any kind of story. And just because you are a minority, you can have a perfectly good take on politics, and women can have a perfectly good take on civil rights issues or whatever so back then I think it was pretty much how it was. It's broader now, there are just more women, they can't afford not to have women or minorities at the White House, space shots, whatever.

Well it was a transition time. Women had made it earlier. I think we both worked for Pamela Ilott in the Religious Unit. And there was pressure at the time to get women into higher profile positions. I think there was still a lot of tokenism, the one African American or the one woman in a senior position, and everybody else kind of at the bottom. So in some ways there were more opportunities then than there are now. Now there are so many African American women on most of the shows, and again I will except *Sixty Minutes* and *Evening News*. *Evening News* has a lot of women, but nobody is higher than a producer position. So in some ways we had more opportunities but it was more difficult when you got the job I think. People weren't sure whether you got there, because they needed a woman or minority in the department or whether you could do the job. So every time you changed jobs, you sort of had to prove yourself. So you grew a lot I think. You were toughened up a lot, and now it's not quite a hurdle every time you make a change.

I haven't directly been barred from anything I wanted to do, but then my goals have been increasingly modest with time. I am never going to be president of CBS News or the next Barbara Walters. I think they would like for you these days to make your career your life and some people did that in the '70s and the '80s and didn't leave time for a personal life. Certainly women who finally got their chance to go on the campaign trail, to go overseas and be in the London bureau, which basically meant covering half the world and you were on an airplane all the time. It was very exciting but in the long run, there was not much support. Once you've done some of this, they say well, your contracts up, and you are not as young as you were. I think youth still plays a big role certainly behind the scenes. The president of CBS News and most of the executive producers are in their thirties or early forties with the exception of Don Hewitt at *Sixty Minutes*, obviously. We don't have any older people. I at this point am

one of the oldest in my unit. Certainly, I'm older than my executive producer, probably in some of the other units as well. I don't know, probably there was a time when I was about thirty-five in the late 80s that things were probably just about at the right balance. I was experienced enough, and they didn't bar me from doing anything because I was a woman. I wasn't yet entangled with children so that was probably a good time but relatively short. I'm getting closer to fifty. I wonder if I still will be wanted. That's a male problem as well and a minority problem as well. While sexism for me was the bigger problem when I started, I think that's becoming ageism as I get older.

Susan Schackman Adler
CBS Evening & Week End News Broadcast Producer

I think I got into journalism by accident. My father worked at CBS in the technological end of things and they were looking for sons and daughters to work at conventions during the summer. I volunteered 'cause I was interested in new experiences and [wanted] to see what that was about. So in 1976 I volunteered to work at the Democratic and Republican Conventions. After I did that I met some people who worked at CBS and it seemed like a really fun thing. I graduated in 1978. While I was in college at NYU I worked at CBS but I worked at *Capt. Kangaroo* doing music clearance. But I also met a woman who worked at *Sixty Minutes*, and she hired me to become the receptionist at *Sixty Minutes*. That was probably in 1977. I think that's how I got started getting the bug to wanting to work in broadcast TV.

I would say that my educational career did not necessarily prepare me for broadcast journalism. I was a literature major at NYU with a sociology minor. I don't think I was specifically prepared, but I think I learned on the job. I think that's probably one of the best ways to learn your trade, by being there, and doing it and learning by experience. I feel I had a good education, but I don't know if it specifically taught me about broadcasting or journalism. But I think I did learn a lot of the things I needed to know and am certainly still using on my job now.

I think my mother did instill the notion of self sufficiency in me but not necessary by her example at work, but by her example at home when I was growing up. I think she was a strong but laid back kind of mother. She was a mother who was more into *laissez faire* than a dominant force. But I think I always had the notion of being independent from very, very, young. I think I modeled myself on my father more and in some ways I'm more like him. But nevertheless, my mother did go back to work part time when I was 13. I saw her always as being a really hard worker of which she still is today. I think that it was always very important to me to be self-supporting feeling that that would give me freedom and be able to choose my own way and my own lifestyle. I still feel that way even though I've been married since I was 22 years old. I still feel that I need to make my own money and be my own person which I am. And it was always a given. I don't know where I got it from, but I always knew that I had to do that.

Well, as I said, I began as a receptionist in *Sixty Minutes*, and I knew right away that I couldn't do that for the rest of my life 'cause it gave me a major headache answering all those phones of all those lunatics calling in all day. So I knew, no this wouldn't be for me. But I

knew I had to pay my dues like everybody, and everybody has to start somewhere. So I started there as a receptionist. I became a secretary to three of the producers at *Sixty Minutes*, and I got to be involved more in how the stories were thought about, and how they became elaborated on and worked on until they became stories. So I became a little bit more involved in the process of how stories get done for *Sixty Minutes*, and it was very interesting to me. But I knew I didn't want to do that either. So then a job opening was available working for Dan Rather who was one of the correspondents for *Sixty Minutes* at the time. I was asked if I'd like to do that job, and I wasn't sure if I wanted to do that job at first because I knew from the very start that I didn't want to be somebody's handmaiden, I didn't want to be really anybody's assistant, and it wasn't my personality. But I thought well maybe this was a good stepping stone into moving into the next step as everything you hope will be. So I reluctantly took the job to be Dan Rather's assistant, and that gave me certain opportunity to meet people and to be involved in another level of broadcast journalism through Dan Rather's eyes, and I helped him on a personal and professional level to carry out his life and his stories. But I wasn't able to produce anything I wasn't involved in any real television news production at the time. I think that working for someone like Dan Rather when I was very young was helpful and hurtful at the same time. I think that people identified me very closely with Dan and saw me only as his assistant and really didn't look beyond what else I could possibly be doing.

But I was able to parlay that job with Dan into a job as an assistant producer at the *Evening News* and that started in 1981 when Dan became anchor and I think that was my first frontline television news production job. At that time I would go out, and I would shoot stories for producers. I would help them shoot elements for their pieces. I would screen the tape, I would take text, I would interview people for them, I'd find people for people to interview, I'd find good elements for stories. So what I would be doing is I'd be working on elements for other producer's stories and getting an idea of what made a good television story what it took to do it. I'd be out in the field working with camera people and sound people understanding how you shoot a story, what kind of elements you need in terms of pictures and sound. I was able to hone my skills and choose good characters for television and to tell their stories and television news stories. After I did that for about a year a new show was starting, as you know Teresa, called *Nightwatch*. It gave me an opportunity to become a real producer of my own stories even though I had to work in the middle of the night. I felt that that was a very good opportunity for me to take my next step. So I went from being an assistant producer at the *Evening News* to a producer at *Nightwatch*, and there, as you know, we did all kinds of things. We worked on our own stories, sometimes, sometimes we worked in the night time producing segments for news blocks; we produced interview segments, and we learned how to be very resourceful on a very small budget. So we all had a lot of experience

of working in videotape, and the mechanics of how it all worked was something that we had to become very familiar with. So we learned how feeds came in, and we learned how to operate down in tape and how to cut lots of tape for lots of news stories and how to juggle a lot of stories at the same time.

After that I worked at the *Morning News* as a producer. I went out and covered stories. I again was able to advance my skills in all different situations covering political events and breaking news stories, which is another can of worms, and working around the clock for *Morning News* which was a very grueling job. And then I got the opportunity to go out with the Mondale campaign in 1984. That was a very exciting thing to do, it was another whole way of covering news. To be with a group of people on a bus that goes from town to town covering one candidate and the nuances and the everydayness of it were very different from anything else I had done.

When I came back from that I started working at the *Morning News* doing similar kinds of things producing stories and interview segments and news stories. Then I took a little break because I got pregnant and had a child in 1985 and when I came back from maternity leave, I started working at the *Week End News* on weekends only part time on Saturdays and Sundays because I wanted to be home during the week with my daughter. And there I had a whole different experience because I started out the first two years I was there I worked producing stories that happened that day so they were only day-of-air stories. I became very good at putting together a story in one day, which is another whole kind of story that you had to crash on and become aware of who was good to talk to on certain things and be able to do it quickly and efficiently. Then I became the broadcast producer of the *Week End News*, which meant I sat in the fish bowl office, and I would organize the whole show with the executive producer and the senior producer. We would figure out what the day's news was what stories we needed to do, who should cover it, who should edit it, how we were going to get it into the building, what the various elements are. Basically I was more responsible for the bigger picture not the individual stories and I didn't go out and do each story. I was more in charge of thinking about what the show should do in the half an hour that we have. That's where I am today. I'm still at the *Week End News* I've been there for eleven years. Now, I also work at the *CBS Evening News* Mondays and Tuesdays doing similar yet different kinds of work. I'm kind of in charge of the bits and pieces for the show though I do work in tape, and I do cut lots of things for the show, not my own pieces but the voice overs, the headlines, the teases, and all the other elements that go into everybody else's pieces. I'm helpful and responsible and I started doing that September, 1996.

In my case, I think Dan Rather, who I worked for and became very close to, helped me with a lot of advice, but I'm not sure he ever actually made a job happen for me. I think I had to do that for myself, and I wanted to do it for myself. That is the way I have my own respect, and I feel proud of that. But I think that he helped me in terms of my association with him somewhat and also his advice and insight about how to conduct myself and what's important and what's not important. So I have to say Dan Rather helped me a lot. But probably the person who helped me the most at CBS is a woman by the name of Linda Mason, who is now vice president, who has the personal touch and the talent and the work ethic and the innovativeness to figure out different ways to move through the company. She being one of the first women to blaze the trail I think showed everyone the way. She's enormously talented I have the utmost respect for her, and I think she has helped me steer my career through rocky waters. She's the one who created the job at the *Week End News*, the part time job that I have had for eleven years to accommodate me being a mother. She's come up with a lot of creative solutions to ways to have a career at CBS and I think certainly I would consider her my mentor. I think it has helped me enormously. I don't think I could have done it without her.

Women and minorities in the editorial process. I think from my point of view -- and I was young then and I was starting out -- that minorities were less involved. That CBS for sure was a good old boy network and a white male power structure that women were excluded and certainly minority women were excluded. We have made great strides by mandate but also by choice to be more inclusive. There are a lot more black employees and people getting more higher up in the hierarchy. But, certainly, we have a long way to go. I think people are more aware of it now, and I do think that there is no such thing as being free from racism and sexism. So I don't think that the units were free of it. But I think there were less minorities, women, and blacks or anybody else to create that kind of tension. I think we have become a lot more aware and our consciousness has been sensitized, and so these issues are being explored more and more today. I do think it affects choices of stories and how we cover them. I think there is a way of looking at things through the prism of our own experiences. If you are white and you grew up in a suburb and you look at things that way, you are going to do a story that kind of reflects that. You really have to become really open minded and aware. I think the *Evening News* recently did a series called "Facing Fifty," and we noticed that in the four or five parts, a lot of it was focused on white men turning fifty. White men are not the only people in America. We were like well "where is everybody else and what are their problems?" So I think that we have to be very, very careful not to look at it just through our own eyes, but we have to look at it through America's eyes and the world's eyes. It's hard to do, and I think we are trying to work on that.

I think that's a big problem. I think there's a rift between what you consider the supervisor and the workerbees. Camera crews sometimes consider themselves to be the button pusher, but, of course, they are not. They can make or break a story and especially when you are a young woman going out on the road with a male camera crew. It can be dicey. I think they try to see how much they can get a way with, how little they can do how much they can manipulate you. But I think one of the ways I overcame that -- if I ever did overcome it -- was by my use of humor. I think that everyone can relate to that. I think that if you use humor people come around and then they are able to hear you better and listen to what you are saying. Not that I always knew everything, but I needed to enlist their help, and I knew that it was a collaborative effort. I think that I don't know that I used my femininity as much as my sense of humor because I am small and I am thin and I am wiry. I had to use all of my sensibilities to be able to bring the situation around and in fact I do think some women do use their feminine wiles or whatever. I do think it's somewhat successful if they have got it to use, and, hey, you can't hurt a girl for trying. I think there are more women in the position of power now in news, and people are more accustomed to having a woman be a supervisor or an executive producer. I think there is always a different dynamic when it's a woman, but I don't think it means they can't lead and be an effective producer.

I think whenever you are working in a group there will always be conflict whether [it's] between older workers and younger workers like myself because I was fairly young, men, women black, white, Hispanic, whatever. I think that the dynamic is always similar in many different situations where you have to find common ground. You have to induce people to want to do their best work which isn't always easy. As I said earlier you have to use humor, often, you have to bribe, you have to beg, and you have to prove to everybody that you know what you're doing, which is not easy, and it takes trial and error. It takes experience you can trust like at CBS. It's always going to be an uphill battle especially for young women like myself who have to use your feminine wiles and otherwise to get what you need. Mostly you have to use your brain and your sense of humor, I think. If that fails you can't hurt a girl for trying.

I don't know that I was a pioneer journalist in any way, shape, or form. I think I made a lot of sacrifices just to be able to go to work. Because when you sign up to work for CBS they own you. It's like a contract on your life, and it takes your days, it takes your nights, it takes your weekends, it takes every hour that you have, and news never stops. So it's a matter of getting control over it yourself. The way I did it was I made the personal sacrifices after my children were born of only working weekends, which meant that I never had a day off with my family, which has taken its toll. It's been eleven and a half years since I've been doing that, and I am about to stop because I can't do it anymore. I think that you have

to work long hours and give a lot and I hope that it's worth it. I'm not sure. But it is a demanding business, and I do think you have to decide how far you are willing to go. In my case, the limitations that were placed on me and my career were probably placed on me myself. I think that I made choices that led me down a different road, and my career could have gone I think much further if I hadn't decided that I needed to stay home with my children. This is not a business conducive to families. It's too demanding, it's too unpredictable. So you never know when you are going to be home, and you can't be a reliable, predictable parent when you are never there. So I made the decision myself. I think that if I had kept working at the pace I was working before 1985, I could have gone a lot further. But I made the choice not to. So I think it was self imposed more than coming from outside about not sending women to places which I would not go to or not allowing women to get further in their careers because I think women can get very far in careers these days. I think there are a lot of women executives. I think there are a lot of women who are excellent in their jobs. I still think there is a lot of racism in the world and at CBS.

Judy Crichton
Former CBS/ABC Producer, Former PBS Executive Producer - *The American Experience*

Well, I backed into journalism. I had gone to work as a teenager on a magazine when I was still very, very young and ended up being assistant articles editor of *Odyssey Magazine* when I was eighteen or nineteen and because I was a girl, they wouldn't put my name on the masthead. They disguised my gender by using an initial for my first name.

My father had been one of the first three or first producers in television in this country. He had gone to work in 1944 for CBS when they had one studio and one camera over the Grand Central Building, and I hung around there and loved it.

My mother was an upper-class woman with a lot of money and a bad marriage who suddenly found herself with little money when I was in my early teens and went to work for the first time in her life and discovered I think both strengths and independence that she didn't know she had and certainly I didn't know she had. In addition, my father had a lot of women friends who were professional. So I grew up in a world in which it was not uncommon for women to at least by the time I was in my teens I had met numbers of professional women. One of my father's best friends actually called herself a Lucy Stoner in that she held on to her maiden name. She was married and had children but had never given up her own name, and she was a journalist and writer. My mother who found herself in need of money precisely at that time (World War II) went to work in a war factory. A break she never would have gotten if it hadn't been for the war as you know. She ended up being in charge of a unit making radar crystals for the Navy. And she made an enormous amount of money by those days' standards with overtime sometimes \$500 a week. She made far more than my father did, which also socially was considered very curious in our world. She also became the head of a unit within the factory and so developed executive skills she probably didn't know she had.

In television, oh my heavens, Teresa, I went in, first place, girls, and we all were girls, always went in at entry level no matter what they'd done. I probably didn't deserve to be better than that. I went to work in television in the late 1940s at Dumont, a network no longer in existence, and I was the secretary, cleaner upper, researcher, associate producer, wrote some of the copy. It was a game show called *What's The Story* in which we would take historical stories like the assassination of Julius Caesar and tell it in contemporary vernacular. I hawked the tickets in Rockefeller Plaza and did the warm up in the studio and

did everything except sweep out the garbage, but my title was secretary. Well, first place you have to understand that I went into television in the late 1940s, and I didn't get into news until 1973. That job did not hinder me at all because I learned an enormous amount of craft skills and discipline. I hadn't gone to college and I needed the growing up time. That particular job didn't last very long, the show folded but I would go from one thing to the next. Jobs were easy to find even for young women in the 50s because we never questioned in those days being able to get jobs, the question was whether you could get a job doing what you wanted to do, and you couldn't. But in 1951 I got married and my husband was a writer and so I was required to support him which I did on and off when we got too broke, he would go to work. In 1954 my first child was born and I had four children in five years, but I kept going back to work, we needed the money and there was no problem at all as a white woman getting a job, that was a non issue. The issue was getting credit. I mean every executive you ever met either in magazines or television was a white man. Above a certain level, well everybody in every office was white and on top of that most of those staffs had similar social backgrounds I don't fool myself that my own background was of enormous help. There was a very elitist quality to those staffs. You know, very few Catholics, very few, Italians, very few people from Eastern Europe, the lighter your skin, the more WASPY your manners, the better your chances were.

Mentors. Well my life was saved by mentors, and I've gotten into a lot of trouble with some of the feminists. My mentors were all men, and two in particular were enormously helpful in my life. What they gave me were craft skills and a sense of professionalism and instilled in me a sense of confidence in myself because I was not, for a lot of emotional reasons, a very confident young woman. Where they were no use at all was in two very primary areas, one trying to balance having a family, raising children, having a real relationship with your husband and working. Although once I had a very sick child, and my boss a man allowed me to do what we call today, flex time -- four days a week and arrange that schedule sort of on my own and I think I got paid full time for it. The first mentor was a magazine editor who was a managing editor, and I guess by your definition an executive, right. And the second was Perry Wolff, and I'm not shy about saying so, who recognized that I had talent and taught me just an enormous amount, but you know there were other people. But I was never in a situation where I ever saw a woman executive at work except for secretaries or in a very occasional low level person, there weren't many women in those offices when I first started.

I'm of the generation that just simply didn't have female mentors in this field. There were all the stereotypes that you read about today were real. There were ingrained in most men not

all. attitudes that women had all kinds of emotional reasons why women would not be able to cut it in terms of serious journalism. One of our best friends, my husbands and mine, was a very important documentary producer and subsequently executive at one of the major networks. Throughout the '60s I would go to him and beg him to give me a job and offered to go back and you know take less money so that I could work myself into serious nonfiction television. He just flatly said yes this is not a world for women, this is not a world in which women with children should even consider. Also, you should know that I was an Associate Producer for seventeen years even long after I was basically producing and getting shows on the air. Now this was not in the world of journalism, but it was in the world of television. You simply couldn't get the title. This was all sort of leading up to CBS. I'm so many decades behind you.

Sexual harassment. There was an absolute presumption from the time I was a kid that every boss would make a pass at you if you were attractive. My mindset was such that for many years I didn't even object to that. I know that sounds astounding to you. I had been brought up to be flirtatious, and I felt I could handle it. I never was in a position where I lost a job or where someone used their power to hold me back because I refused to go to bed with him. But I almost didn't have a boss I guess until I was about fifty who didn't make a pass at me. It just went with the territory, but they all sort of tried. And in my case at least, if you were good natured and said no, they went away in time. What was much more disturbing to me in that general area was not the sexual stuff, which I felt I could handle and I did not because of my generation feel was demeaning. In retrospective, my daughters would be horrified by my saying that. If I were your generation, if one of them told me it happened to her, I would be furious. But my mindset was different in those days. It was also a world in which everybody was having affairs. So, sex was a big issue in all of those offices, and it just seemed like part of the weave of the fabric of life. But what was infuriating, was that if you started to argue an issue or if you disagreed, or if you got the least bit impatient, some man said to you you're getting your period. Years later at CBS, don't use his name, but he accused me of going through the menopause, but always the biological issues were thrown in your face and that was absolutely infuriating because men were allowed to get mad; women were not. Men were allowed to hold their ground, women were not allowed to argue for what they believed in, and when they did they were told that they were behaving as victims of their own hormones.

Were African Americans and women interviewed in news programs? I think the answer is a split answer. I think more women were. I don't think at that stage more African Americans were to be really honest. Let's take the "CIA's Secret Army " That's not really applicable in

that this was a very small group of people who had, you know, the CIA didn't hire women to overthrow Castro. But actually in terms, I mean, I'll give you two shows that were initiated by me that never in a million years would have been done before. One, I outraged everybody at CBS by doing a film on the menopause. It was a magazine piece called "The Last Dirty Word." It embarrassed the male and the whole thesis of it was that it was going to happen to everyone. I not only used obviously images of women in there, but images of women of color, of every class, of every ethnic background because I was trying and actually that was the beginning of my thinking about trying to make television look more like America looked. I hired and used one of the first camerawomen -- I think the first at CBS I'm sorry I can't remember her name. And then subsequently I produced and wrote "The Battle for South Africa," which won a lot of awards. I had always been interested in racism and had been involved in the Civil Rights Movement myself, but I began to be interested in Africa and what I perceived as the ultimate expression of racism which was the South African apartheid government. I had an enormous battle to get that film produced. It won many, many prizes, and to this day it's a work I'm enormously proud of. I don't know if you have room for this in your paper, but white journalists who had the opportunity to openly discuss race in a sophisticated way were the ones who were able to go on and make changes in their offices and in their work. "The Battle for South Africa" gave me that opportunity. It was the first time that I spent not just weeks, but months and including the research, close to two years, primarily in the company of people with dark skins and because I was in the minority for the first time in my life. There was a kind of freedom of exchange about subtle issues that I had never really understood or thought about in depth. I understood clearly all the overt systems of racism because I was and am a Jew and was very sensitized to that. What I had not really understood was the inherent condescension that in a sense was both more evil and difficult to cope with. That experience really changed my life in a very profound way.

Were their tensions that were great? It wasn't that those tensions were so great, but there weren't the people who had the intellectual and emotional desire to explore them. The roof in the wall of that system, the notion of white male supremacy was so integral that it wasn't even questioned. Sure there were scores of people who had supported Martin Luther King and who wanted the whites only signs down in the luncheonette, that was one thing. If you said, but there are no people of color in the office -- an expression we never used in those days -- they would say yes, but there aren't any. They haven't been trained. There's nowhere we can go to get anyone. Similarly later on what was fascinating when I began to try and encourage people to use nonwhites in interviews on subjects other than race where you look for an architect, or an engineer, or a physicist, or a medical person to broaden that sweep, but the truth was the experts on everybody's Rolodex were all white, and most of them were men.

Did tensions have an impact on documentary topics? Sure, and not necessarily in the mean spirited way. It wasn't a cabal, it wasn't a conspiracy. People are interested in subjects that deal with like-minded people. If you went to Princeton and Harvard and Yale, you were interested in how they played football or what their academic problems were. The selection of editorial material as far as I'm concerned, this business of objectivity is nonsense. We all bring a lot of personal experience, and we select the subjects that interest us whether they get past management or not based on a whole lifetime of experience. So for the most part, subjects and materials were selected by people who had been brought up in a world that was dominated by white men. That was how they had been raised, that's what had happened in school and that was material even among generous people there was the sense that by expansion to nonwhite Americans that it was compensatory rather than appropriate because this is what the country was.

At CBS, I was a producer. I always felt equal to my male counterpart. I never felt my power was equal. In 1977, I discovered that a newly hired male producer -- I had by that time won major awards -- and a newly arrived male producer was making \$20,000 or \$25,000 a year more than I. I went to see Bill Leonard, and he said to me, "But your husband makes good money." I cried. I cried because I was a creature of the older generation and then, of course, I was totally humiliated, that I cried, but crying was my way of being furious because I wasn't allowed to be furious. Well, mine too. Whenever I went in to see Howard, I don't know if he was looking for that or what? What he was looking for was to hold onto his power and he used the emotional triggers that allowed him to hold the upper hand. When I went to ABC, I went to work for a woman, Pam Hill, and I then did some executive stuff there and supervised a number of projects.

Do women give women more opportunities? Absolutely, my own feeling is that for the most part women are easier to work with than men simply because they have been culturally taught on the whole, and I know that this is stereotyping again, but I do feel it, to be more direct about their feelings and to be more immediate in their personal responses, and it allows an atmosphere of greater directness.

Camera crews. I was the first woman producer at CBS that the Wagner crew ever went out with, and that was a widely mixed crew in that the sound man, Dick Wiggins, was the first black guy in the union, and Billy's assistant was Chinese American. We looked like a traveling freak show when we went South. People were terrified of us -- here's a black guy, a Chinese guy, a woman and a German American who talked and acted like Archie Bunker. Those guys really initially gave me a very hard time. We eventually became very good buddies and did six

or seven hours together and loved each other, but it was very, very complicated. Wiggins was scared of traveling along with me in a car in the South for fear that something would happen. I mean all the tensions that you can imagine. They were furious at being assigned to me, but they ended up liking me and respecting me and in that instance we could overcome it. In other instances, there were times when it was very, very unpleasant, the sexual stuff just was nonstop and very vulgar and hard to deal with.

I have very strong opinions about the Movement. In terms of women, we were not the response to federal action. I think we were a cultural happening waiting to happen. I do not credit affirmative action at all with opening up opportunities in the worlds in which I worked. Other worlds are different but I don't think it was true in the worlds that I worked in. In terms of nonwhite staff people, I think that pressures of every kind were and remain essential in order to get the kind of mix in offices and on staff that we would like to see. But what happens is -- and I have seen it over and over and over again in the past ten or eleven years and here I do have to be sensitive because I don't want to use names. Again, it isn't always conspiratorial that makes people behave in ways you wished they wouldn't. When there were pressures in one office where I worked and one staff was still all white and the executive producer was being pushed to get nonwhite staffers, they finally came to me because I was the white person known to be interested in this area and said, but how do you do it and how do you find out on the phone that somebody is black? There were all kinds of bread-and-butter issues that this very sophisticated staffer didn't know how to handle. And there were very funny stories. A very good pal of mine who was the story editor on the *American Experience*, Lou Smith, and I were trying to find an academic advisor on a project who was an African American. We had some, but we wanted very much another person, and we wanted another person who was younger. We had heard about someone at a university in the South and we brought him up to Boston to meet him. Much to our chagrin the guy walks into the door and he's a white guy and even Lou had not been able to be specific enough in his search to avoid that happening. The guy was a brilliant young talent, there was no doubt, but we were trying to get a balance. Now we could be totally frank with each other, but clearly one of us hadn't been frank enough in the outside world.

Friendships. I think that if you have ever had the experience of being an other. Whatever that other is whether it has to do with being Jewish, being black, being the only one, the only woman, you are sensitized to other people in that circumstance. I don't know whether my experiences as a woman is what allows me to transcend my own self-consciousness about race. I think there it was very good African friends and very good African American friends, the experience of working with this guy, Lou Smith, who I really came to love. He's a

little younger than you, and he's a self described affirmative action baby. He's an enormously -- not only brilliant -- but he's an enormously generous human being and he was the third person I hired on the *American Experience*. We worked very, very closely together. Well, in our business when you work closely together, you eat meals together, you get to know each other's family. There's a kind of intimacy of life which is different than in other businesses and that's why I feel journalism is so interesting. And one of the things in going back to that camera crew and one of the things that breaks down racism is people coming to understand that they can depend on each other and trust each other. This is a business where you know very fast what the other person can and can not do. You know who is pulling his weight and who is not. Being able to relax if you are a white guy being able to relax and allow yourself to fall in the arms of a black guy is a transforming experience, which really breaks down race, but it requires that level of dependence and intimacy, I think. And then that just opens the world because that person introduces you to other people and suddenly one of the worst things that has happened to me on the way from there to here is that one of the fears among the white majority is the fear of what do you do if you don't like someone. Can you fire them? And all those questions which you have heard but they are raised a lot. One of the things that black colleagues give you is the freedom not to like someone. You don't have to like every person who has a dark skin any more than you like every person who has a white skin, but that's a very late learned lesson.

Media executives that made it clear that diversity was here to stay. Many people have said that Salant was one who somehow tried to spearhead diversity with women and minorities. I think that's very true. I think he was quite extraordinary. Don't forget that he had been the Jew in a very Wasp, even though Paley was Jewish and there was a whole *New Yorker* piece written about him talking about the fact that he was not only Jewish but homely and so he was an outsider and therefore it was under Salant that I initially came in. I mean Bill Leonard hired me, but I think it was pressures from Salant that made Leonard hire me. I came in certainly on an affirmative action pass going back to that question just to get that right in that it was the pressure from the Women's Movement that made CBS hire a woman. They couldn't find any who had any experience, and I didn't have the credentials in news, but I put hundreds of hours of television on the air. Let me tell you about Salant because it was through Salant that you came to work for us, and it was my asking Salant directly for help in finding African Americans that led to that. Yes, he was great. Did you feel he was ostracized for that stance? I don't think so. I think Salant was one of those extraordinary special people who rose above all kinds of issues that held other people down.

Dangerous assignments. By the time, even though I'm much older than you all, by the time I got in a position of doing that it was no longer true. I do remember that Betsey ,

a woman correspondent who had been at CBS and been hurt in Iran was. she worked with her husband. Yes, Betsey Aaron.

At CBS I was the first one who went out on the road. I wasn't in a supervisory role I didn't supervise teams at all until I went to WGBH, a little bit at ABC, and there were conflicts. You mean over race and sex? I didn't get that until I got to WGBH, and there were a number of incidents I would try to resolve. There was one issue of sexual harassment that came up under my umbrella that by my definition was benign in that it involved vulgar language and nothing else, but to the people involved it was very serious. Basically I told the harasser that if he was ever charged again, he'd be fired. I also, though, think I did this because I was a woman. I suggested that because it was more than one complaint, that it might be appropriate if he talked to a psychologist or psychiatrist because he was a very, very talented and smart person, and if he was making other people uncomfortable, he had to learn what he was doing that was wrong. While I wouldn't tolerate it, as his friend I was telling him that his behavior was not only legally inappropriate but that he might need some help in getting hold of it.

Sacrifices. Well, in the first place I didn't really become a real journalist until my youngest child was well along in high school and now I will irritate every feminist in the country, by saying I don't think I could have done what I did in terms of the the documentary world and raise the kind of children I wanted to raise. I think for me it's incompatible to work that hard, and I wasn't really a careerist. I was working to make money, and I liked to work, but my passionate involvement with journalism began after my kids had much less need of me. I think it's very tough on a marriage. And the message I give to women is that life is longer than you think it is. Now corporate America doesn't agree with me because there are tremendous prejudices, I've never encountered them, towards older women, I know that, but somehow I've been fortunate and slithered passed that one.

Downsizing? I think at CBS there were more women laid off than men. There were always different reasons given for that. CBS had so few minorities that I don't really know. The difficult thing about downsizing is that the last ones in are always the first ones out and that has taken a serious toll in terms of women and minorities.

It's a very little example, but it's very applicable to the little piece I told you about on menopause. The issue was then that it was the story about using hormones for menopausal women that had just broken and the issue was, was it dangerous or not? What did these drugs do? [That] is something that today would be commonly covered. In that day it was in the

print press, but it wasn't ever on television. This fifteen or twenty minute piece called the "Last Dirty Word." dealt with both the self consciousness, women didn't even use the word out loud, Teresa, in 1973 when I produced that piece. It was something that men neither understood or they laughed at it, but it was a serious medical issue for women. You know, 50 percent of the population and that there was medication over which there was enormous controversy. I felt was a medical issue that needed to be addressed, and I won that battle. I do think that a film I did called, "The American Way of Cancer." did two or three things that wouldn't have been done by a male journalist and that people commented on at the time. I took an American family and showed the various substances, the industrial substances that they were exposed to that were potentially dangerous. Those pieces were usually done as industrial pieces. I was doing it in a different direction showing the impact on children and women and a husband and that was a very unusual way then of covering the news.

They were filled with adversity, antagonism and growth. I mean an example is that you and I got hired then. Nobody much wanted us, but they couldn't keep us out any longer.

Where are you now in your career? I'm 67 years old, I've given up my job on *The American Experience* as the Executive Producer. I have signed with Holt to write a book which is a portrait of America in 1900 which hopefully will deal with the antecedent of all the issues you and I have been talking about this morning. I have also written this story as a documentary script that is being produced by David Grubin and which I am working with him on and I am doing a lot of consulting, but basically I am hoping more and more that the focus of my life will be writing and very frankly want to use these years where I still have a lot of energy to do the kind of work that I want to do rather than work that is assigned to me. I also want to play with my grandchildren. I'm very, very happy. I think that for all the vicissitudes I am one of the very lucky ones.

Last thought on your subject. People have got to get comfortable with each other so that a boss can criticize someone of another color or a different background freely and a person of a different color or background can stand up to a boss freely and that only comes about with time and experience. What thrills me is that there are African Americans now that have worked with me who are moving into executive positions who have mixed staffs and have achieved this comfort level where it has nothing to do with whether the person who has written something is either black or white. If it isn't good enough, it can be returned. But that grows out of not months but years of working together.

Kathy Sulkes
CBS Producer, Former NBC Producer

It was an accident. I was a language major in college and was interested in film which I rolled into a double major when I was there and was looking for hands-on experience of some kind and backed into a job at CBS in the documentary unit then known as *CBS Reports*

I was a language major at Middlebury College in Vermont, which, of course, did not do anything to prepare me for a career in journalism.

My mother I guess at some level instilled the notion of self sufficiency. Although I would guess at some point it was really my father. My mother did not have a job. She was in the traditional 1950s mode of housewife and mother. She had not actually gone to university although she had two years at a conservatory. So I think most of what I got was theoretical rather than an example. And certainly my father's example more than my mother's.

When I began I was a production secretary. I then after a couple of years moved on to become a researcher in the research pool and eventually found my way back to *CBS Reports* as a researcher working on documentaries which was ultimately what I was really interested in at this point. I had become hooked by documentaries and wanted to stay. I then was promoted to an associate producer for a program that started up called *Sunday Morning*. What I didn't realize at that time was that being called an associate producer just meant that you got paid less, but that you were thrown into producing, which was for six months a holy terror. I had great questions about whether I could pull it off. But it was great. Once again when I started, entry level jobs for women in 1974, which is when I started at CBS, were as secretaries. If you were very lucky, you could start as a researcher, but chances are production secretary got you in the door. I never saw a male come in at that level. They came as researchers or in certain instances, even higher. Luckily, the person I was working for didn't intend for me to spend my life typing letters and memos. I had gone to typing school for a short period of time to be able to put it on my resume, but I didn't really type very well. This particular producer was very inclusive, and I'm sure was part of the reason I fell in love with the work and lasted as long as I did. I actually got to field produce with a crew, observe in the editing room, talk over scripts. He was quite expansive in letting me in, although I did have to order his lunch. I did draw the line, however, when his wife asked me to go and get ballet tickets for them. He was quite understanding of my stance, although it was a bit scary to go in and talk about it. He was totally cool, and I felt good about it as well.

I would have to say that he was certainly my first mentor in this career. Not from a standpoint of promotion, but in a standpoint of including me in the process in such a way that I learned enormous amounts about the industry, about the process, about the craft. He rarely if ever drew the line. If you were interested and wanted to be involved, you could be. There have been mentors along the way, in executive producers, specifically. I don't know that correspondents did much. Although in my coming up, I didn't know that many of them in any kind of regular way until I got to *Sunday Morning* at which point again my sense was executives proved to have more power than correspondents.

In fact there were few instances where networking per se really ever happened with men or women until much later in my career when I was a producer at *Sunday Morning* and begun to understand that staying alive in the industry had more than just to do with talent and hard work and good work, but certainly who you knew and how they liked you. I'm afraid that I was never very good at it and had a distaste for having to go through it. Although I guess I played the game enough in order to stay out of having to play the game. But I did observe those around me doing it differently. Certainly, I have to admit that I think men involved in extra curricular activities out of the office in poker games, in sporting events, and I would certainly say probably in the bathroom urinals, made deals and chatted with each other in a way that I guess at some level women did going shopping, or out to lunch or in social ways, but they were never invited into the male tent. The famous poker game that grew of *CBS Reports* is an infamous example of insiders, outsiders, men, women etceteras.

I would say that in my own memory, I didn't experience what I would have considered sexual harassment, although I am well aware that comments are all it needs to take the form of in order to register as sexual harassment. I suppose in the work world despite the feminist movement and all that, it was just something that you or certainly I accepted to some degree and chose not to take on or fight about. But I could say that it had been never expressed any further than anything that would have been considered physical. I must say that I don't know that others around me were experiencing anything different. Again we may all have been a part of the same group in which we merely found our way to make it work and ignored certain signals and/or bantering quote unquote that again might well have been considered sexual harassment in the strictest sense of the term, but one chose to sort of slap it aside.

From where I sat, women and minorities were not heavily involved in the editorial process of television documentaries, certainly not at CBS. There were some women and some minorities there, but in terms of the editorial process per se I would say they were few and

far between. Hard news again, yes there were some women and a few minorities, but not more than what would appear to have been a response to the need to have them there. I do believe that their presence, both minorities and women, did somehow slowly if not generally changed the skew of people coming up. Again, if there were racial or sexual tensions there, I don't really remember feeling them. I certainly felt my own in terms of sexism related to an incident where I was seeking to get parity of salary scale. When two of my colleagues who had come in at the same time with essentially the same experience that I had had I knew to be making more money. They were both male, one of them was in fact an African American. I had tallied up the numbers of stories that we produced and I in fact was at the top of the charts. However, in investigating whether I in fact had a case which I actually did consider bringing was told by three lawyers that I probably had a case, and that if they were me, they wouldn't do it. It could drag on for ten years. The network organization had much more money and man hours of lawyers to wear me down regardless of whether I had a case or not and I chose at that point to move on.

To me that whole story was absolutely a case of sexism but in terms of tensions or whether it had an impact on topics and news selectivity, I don't know about that. Certainly the stories that were being followed were sort of world and national stories and certainly in terms of *Sunday Morning*, I felt that more stories about African Americans and women were being included there than I had seen around on a number of network broadcasts before. I'm sure this was certainly along with the passage of time from approximately 1979 to 1986.

I already addressed [this] except that it had less to do with editorial judgment and control in the stories, although I certainly felt that I had less of that than I would like to have. But I must admit that I was not the only one and that most of the staff did not. And that it was pretty much run from the executive producer and senior producer's office for the most part. So I couldn't claim that there was any sexism or anything involved in that. It was just the way it was for everybody.

Again, the power wasn't necessarily the issue as the monetary issue. When I was a producer at *Sunday Morning*, I sort of worked up through the ranks and definitely got to cover things that my male counterparts were covering. It took a while to get there, but then I was in the cover story rotation and in fact was the only woman there doing so. In fact when the broadcast started, I was in fact the only woman on the staff. So if I looked around and said was sexism at work. I guess I would sound stupid to say no although I felt very privileged to be a part of that, and I suppose in some respect [I] would not have gone around stomping saying that more should be on. More eventually were hired, but I think

that was part of a larger problem of there not being as big a pool to draw from especially if they were drawing from inside the network. They had not spent a lot of time training and moving people up until, you know, the late 70s, early 80s.

The difficulty in terms of supervising camera crews that were male -- which they mostly were -- certainly introduced problems. At some level, again, I would say that it had more to do with the fact of being a new producer than being a female producer. I think sometimes certainly in my own case, the difference between how to make things work and how to direct people rather than being firm and yelling. There was another way to get people to do things for you and if you could get across the fact that you were all working together or something and respected their craft and duties, in the end my relationships with crews whether they were male or female all were pretty good. Again, I think any person whether they be male, female, or a minority ends up learning how to work with people and understands what the various quirks are and work around the things that aren't helpful. I think there were very few instances in which I could even say that I am never going to work with that person again. Perhaps it was just again a sort of a woman thing about you'd better make it work, you'd better not complain or you would be considered something of a whiner as opposed to a man who would stop and yell and they would just say that he was right in his rage. So certainly there was a difference in terms of that, was it all women who found their way around it, I don't know. I certainly can say that it was for me. For those women who used tactics that were perhaps more feminine which I certainly know to have happened. I mean, fine, that was the way they operated in the world at the time not something I knew how to do. I suppose if I had known how to do it, I might have. In the end, I'm not sure this is totally great to say, but I do think once again the numbers were not in our favor and I was so interested in the work that I don't think I was thinking very often about male and female. I was just trying to do the best job that I could.

Again I think supervising in terms of camera crews, or in the edit room, or working with a correspondent in the field, I think yes, there was a certain newness about it in terms of males being directed by the person in charge quote unquote -- the producer -- but once again you found a way to work together, and again in most instances, I would have to say those came about without having to play any kind of feminine games or to end up having to yell at any people, it felt collegial. Although, I think in the end, it is still probably difficult, although less so to be supervised by female journalists. I mean now that there are executive producers who are female in the networks and have come to be respected because they have been in the industry for twenty, thirty years and being in charge of things that it has become less bizarre and more an earned position going to the next level. Unfortunately, I think still, they are not

in upper management, but again I think this has largely been a result of people, both of minorities and women, just not having been brought along early enough to have gotten to the next level to then get bumped up. We're still behind.

I guess number 14. I don't know really how to answer. Yes, I am a female, but I entered in a way that was a traditional basic job which was secretary, yes it was a production secretary, but that was a role that would not have been filled by anybody else. So I don't know that it could really entirely relate to federal mandates. The women's movement -- I think eventually the women's movement aided us moving on up. I think during the '70s there was a very heated period of concern and attention to it and I think since those days, there has been a sliding back. I think also at some level almost now that women are in the work force as producers, it's not considered strange anymore. The question is when can you break through to the next level?

The friendships that developed in my time in this industry? It would be hard to pinpoint it to be because of a mutual understanding of sexism or racism. I think it was more a result of being colleagues at a certain level in a job situation rather than something as specific as a mutual understanding based on some negative aspect. It was not that we didn't discuss these matters, but I couldn't really point it to be something based on that.

In terms of answering #16 gender, race or class incidents. Truthfully, I don't know that I could point to anything within the companies that I worked for. I think my consciousness raising happened as a result of my friendships with people within the industry as well as many of the stories that I did that broke me out of my particular place, in class, in gender and in race. I would have to say that it was the stories and the people that I met in the stories that had more to do with making me a better journalist and a better person. Because of where I was working again I have to think, although there were not many African Americans, there were other minorities, there were women, but in most incidents everybody was treated relatively similarly. Yes, when opportunities arose for better assignments and possibly promotions, there was no question that once again the male bonding aspect, made the people in charge more comfortable with those people who they had again met at the urinal, around the poker table, at a sports event, but in terms of the general working mode. Once again certainly during my *Sunday Morning* years or my years at NBC, it felt like an equal opportunity in terms of being yelled at, treated badly or well. It was the work that was judged, and I felt less myself.

Again in number 17, I think certainly I tried to broaden the field in terms of who should be interviewed in segments, but *Sunday Morning* had already from its inception been fairly

broad. and the executive producer felt very strongly about bringing in females and minorities and stories about them. If liberal is a dirty word, it was a classic sort of liberal bias, but in the right way and hopefully went a little further because it was more pro-active. One liked to believe that the stories we did actually helped people, brought information to a larger audience. and hopefully brought about some change.

In terms of media executives responding to diversity. Again, I think during the 70s and possibly early 80s, it was a mandate yes, but I think those who were again liberal thinkers wanted to do the right thing. As time passed and it became less critical, more people had come in, although still not in equal numbers. I don't know that I would know how they supported diversity or whether they lost power as a result of that support. It's not something I really have a sense of. If the question is meaning were there programs to widely cast a net to bring more in? Yes. I think there were departments that were instituted to make that kind of outreach possible but as far as making it a priority or how it affected their stay in these places, I haven't a clue

I would have to say that certainly in the early years when I was a researcher I had been involved in a program about South Africa and had signed on with the expressed understanding that I would be going. I was then told by the producer who said that it had been the executive vice president who had said they were worried about sending women into the potentially dangerous areas. The producer happened to be a woman she claimed to have said she took umbrage at this, but they then put on a fixer who was in fact a male who everyone felt comfortable with and who had experience with bribing camel drivers. It seemed to me that it was sexist; certainly how it was told to me was sexist. I protested in a formal way, but again decided to move on. It was not a fine moment on anybody's part. It was certainly a sit up and remember where we are in the mix of things. I had no redress or felt I did not.

In terms of pieces that I came later to produce. It may have been more covert. Certainly I started out doing softer pieces, but I think that had more to do with my experiences. In the end, I ended up doing as many of the harder cover stories than anybody else did at that point. I was never sent to cover a war, but I don't feel that in the end I was steered away from difficult stories.

I mean there were relationships that did develop between colleagues on shoots. You know, in certain instances, I know that they became amorous. I certainly heard of group conflicts. I experienced few of those. Again, I suppose as a producer

the role as facilitator and to some degree I would bend over backwards in order that the story happened and the shoot went well. I was less involved in the ego of being right or exerting my control as the person in charge.

I don't know that I would consider myself a pioneer female journalist. I do think that this particular business eats up your personal life. I think it happens to women, to men, to minorities to everybody. I think it was certainly more difficult for a woman to consider having a family and children and attain the same level in the business as men did. I think that has changed, some of her time, again not as much as we would have liked. If in fact, this also relates to question 20, if the woman generally is sort of more of the nurturing kind, it is the way in which I think she handled herself in this particular industry, to be a facilitator, to be a nurturer and ultimately in the end still having, you know, more often to choose the home over the job. I personally didn't make sacrifices of that kind. I just was caught up in the industry and loved the work and couldn't see myself doing anything else that made sense. Certainly not leaving the work to be at home, to be a wife and mother solely. As it turned out, it did not happen, but it wasn't a conscious sacrifice that was made. I'm not sure that I would even consider it a sacrifice now.

I honestly don't remember the numbers when the downsizing started. It seemed to me it was again sort of similar. There were men and women who were going and I have no way of being more accurate than that sort of general sense of it.

I would have to say that my years in the business have been fairly kind. I do think that again related to the economics, the story I told earlier of doing equal work with colleagues and not being compensated equally. Again, the feeling to me was certainly that both of these men had wives and children and the consideration of that as well as being a female was thrown into it. In the end, I actually left CBS when my contract was up for renewal and I had been given an offer that was again dramatically less than I knew these two particular colleagues and others at that point who were now full producers were making. It was a point of principle to me that I wanted to get better than that, and it was reported to me, now I forget by whom, that the person who ultimately was in charge of the decision of how much salary I would receive had said something to the effect, "well that's a pretty good salary for someone her age." I don't know what all that meant. Clearly that is an example of sexism, ageism, and sort of general stupidity, and it was in fact what finally pushed me over the edge to leave and join NBC for not a great deal more money, but it was again a point of principle. I think people felt that no one would leave the tiffany of the network and certainly not for a mere few thousand dollars. I think that at some level, I could have made myself better

understood by saying this overtly as opposed to just moving on. But that happened to be my personal style. I'm not a pioneer in that sense. I am not [into]confrontation. I don't know that that's necessarily so much in being a woman although I'm sure that's part of the training I got as a child, but it certainly has a great deal to do with who I am and have always been.

I just don't think there was any one year or one story that captured all of the ups and downs of this business for myself. Certainly, there was tremendous joy in being given a challenge for example my first cover story. It was very important that I prove myself as still the only female on the staff and to be brought into the quote unquote more macho, hard driving news, hard, you know, fifteen minute story in a week's time. And to have succeeded at that was tremendously meaningful, but there were always ups and downs and it would be hard to point to any one thing in particular. It all seemed on its way to being part of the experience, but of the package. I think that it's been interesting to revisit some of my history. I hope this has been helpful, that's it.

Leslie Danoff Robbins
Former CBS Researcher, Former PBS Producer

When it was almost time to graduate from Yale in 1973, unlike most of my classmates, I decided I wanted to get a job, be in the real world, not just continue going to school. I basically felt that I had had enough, for the moment. And when I thought about what I was qualified to do, not having known anyone in television journalism. Somehow I got the idea that I could be a researcher and writer since I felt I had been developing those skills as an undergraduate.

In the Fall of 1973 following graduation, I just started knocking on doors. I had decided before the process of looking for a job that when I was asked if I could type I was going to answer in the negative even though I actually was and am a very good typist. I definitely didn't want to be a secretary. Since I had no connections, since I didn't know anyone at any of the networks, I unfortunately had to go through personnel. The first question that I was asked was can you type? Very quickly my resolve dissolved, and I answered in the affirmative. Took a typing test and did so well that I was immediately sent to the *Nightly News* show at the time anchored by Walter Cronkite and met with a senior producer there who fortunately saw that I had talents beyond being a secretary. The fact that I actually had a *New York Times* Op-Ed piece that I had written in my senior year as well as having graduated in the first coed class at Yale basically sent me on my way and opened doors that had I not had the Yale credential or some published articles wouldn't have occurred.

I feel it did. Basically my education taught me how to analyze, how to ask questions and I think that with that training to write. Although I must say that the kind of writing that is valued in television fortunately was the kind of clear writing I always wanted to do all along and that often wasn't actually valued in college. Anyway I feel that my education did prepare me and it was quite unnecessary to go on to journalism school which I in fact never did.

My mother definitely did as both my parents did instill in me the notion of self-sufficiency. My mother went to work just upon graduation from high school. She came from a poor family, and she couldn't afford to go to college. She came from a large family and actually only her brother went to college. The family pooled their resources in order to send him. She had a lot of determination and worked her way up to quite a responsible position. After my parents were married, my mother helped my father out in his law practice at the outset. She worked as his secretary and general sounding board. And as we grew up she basically was a full-time mother and giver to the community. She was amazingly involved in community

affairs I would say that as we grew up, my mother kind of felt a lack of confidence, I think, as a result of not having a profession, but she was so busy. She was so occupied with really important contributions to the community. I mean working for the betterment of disadvantaged families and youths. When I was in my late teens and early twenties, thinking back to that time now, I actually turned off the machine for a second to really try to relive how I felt at the time. I think that I couldn't imagine basically living my mother's life and in my early twenties I was just full power ahead on the professional level. I basically did not want to be without a self definition in the professional world.

I had a fantastic first working experience. It took a little while to get the job. I basically shuttled back and forth among producers and all kinds of people at the network, and basically stayed in the job search long enough that I got to really know who was who and was able to identify a job that was worth taking. That job was an experiment. It was actually extremely short lived. It was called *Closer Look*. It was a syndicated daily news show with an extremely small staff of five. The idea was to explain an element of a news story in depth, something that was taken for granted and basically geared to a young audience. I was hired by a producer at the local CBS affiliate for this position which was as a researcher, but unlike the jobs that were to follow, because this was just a small unit, from day one I basically got to do everything. I mean I learned what it was to be a researcher in the truest sense and the most challenging sense, developing story ideas, generating story ideas. I got to write scripts, I got to work directly with an editor who taught me the rudiments of editing, and my expectation was every job that would succeed this job would be nearly as great. In addition, the producer of this segment was a young woman who was extremely supportive of new people, new women, young women coming through and developing their expertise. I know that I am going to get to answer this question in more depth later on. She turned out to be an anomaly. I mean the first experience in many ways turned out to be the best experience in terms of support from a female role model. I guess it helped in the sense that I really got good skills initially. I went on from that job because although I think we did a really good job, this was syndicated to the owned and operated stations, and politics being what they were, somehow it just didn't fly. But it wasn't for lack of good ideas or production values. It also had an extremely low budget, but that didn't hinder us either. I went on from that job to working with John Hart who at the time was going to be doing commentary on the *Morning News*, and he did occasional specials as well. I guess, it obviously helped to be in the door, to already be inside CBS, and to have developed some contacts who could provide an entree to the next job. From 1974 when I was hired by John Hart until I left CBS in 1978, I was a researcher. I had expanded duties beyond that I mean I did a lot of writing, but my job title was researcher. Now looking back to that time, basically to be a woman and to be a researcher was basically

to be relegated to a ghetto of extremely qualified employees. I mean women who were quite capable of moving very quickly into associate producer and producer levels, but were prevented from doing so. Again, looking back at that time, I think of two males who very briefly were in the research department, and being distinguished I believe by being male. Because as I think of them, they were very good, very smart, very capable. But so were the women and the only thing that distinguished them really was that they were guys and they moved out of the research level extremely quickly.

Now in those years of 1973 to 1978 when I was at CBS why was it so difficult if not impossible for me to move to the next level of associate producer in the hierarchical system that existed at CBS? I believe the main problem for me as well as for the other women that I knew who as I say were extremely capable was in fact a lack of mentors. One would expect looking into the Broadcast Center of those years that the women who had achieved a position who had become the producers and in a few instances executive producers would in fact take other aspiring talented capable women under their wing. Unfortunately, it just didn't work out that way. But in my experience, the women who had been at CBS for some time and again by dint of hard effort and obviously it was extremely difficult for them to move upward in the hierarchy, but they had done it. There was really an unspoken feeling among them that they really wanted to keep it that way. They weren't about to really help other women and in fact a few experiences that I had convinced me that it wasn't just merely hands off not helping, but it was basically being very mean and sabotaging younger women as myself.

Sometime around 1975, I believe it was CBS News actually took quite seriously the concerns of women in the workplace that there were not the same opportunities. I can't believe that I actually remember the name of this consulting company, but two women came to CBS to meet with the interested women there to talk about how you network and how you have a plan for your career and how you implement that plan. Their names, I wonder if they are still around, Hennig and Jardin. I was one of the women who attended the workshop in fact volunteered to be a peer counselor. I remember being amazed when several women who had much better jobs than I came to talk to me because they too felt stymied. And for awhile it seemed that this peer networking was really going to take hold, but I can't say that it did. Now, I'm trying to recall when it was exactly that this whole process started. I am kind of remembering that I was a researcher on the *CBS Morning News* at the time. At least for a year it seemed to be really on the idea of women supporting each other, it seemed to be going in the right direction. But I guess ultimately if the jobs were not happening, the venture kind of fell apart, and I'm curious what's going on now. But certainly an attempt was made and there was definitely an acknowledgment on the part of management at CBS that they wanted

to try. It seemed that they did make a stab in that direction. Ultimately, I think progress depended upon individuals themselves and as I say, the women were not really, except for a few exceptions and there definitely were exceptions and maybe I was just unfortunate to come in contact with the ones who really were exceedingly nasty people or uncaring or I can think of different adjectives. But I would say that mentoring is extremely essential in the process of progressing. I mean I saw that everything being equal, you could be the best, but if you didn't have somebody who had taken you under their wing, you would be stymied. Now how were the male mentors? I am trying to think who might have been a mentor for me. I know there could have been mentors, but unfortunately the ones who could have been had their own careers to worry about and were self involved. I think that television news is a world where there are many self involved people and certainly John Hart could have been a mentor, but he ran into his own difficulties at CBS and shortly after I worked with him moved on to NBC. I would say and after I left CBS in 1978, I went to public television and worked with Bill Moyers. While I was working with him I really regarded him as a mentor. I certainly learned a great deal from him. I probably learned more from him than anybody else I had worked with then up till that point or since. But again, he left public television and went back to CBS not taking his staff with him and not being helpful to me in terms of finding a job after *Bill Moyers' Journal* ended. So I don't know that I could call him a mentor, either. He was definitely a potential mentor and somebody who has had an effect on my life. I guess I would say that the male mentors were marginally better than the female mentors. They weren't nasty, but there definitely was a feeling on the part of the women producers that I came in contact with I mean who were quite a bit senior to me that they felt threatened in a way that I found surprising because I never felt that I was a threatening person and I couldn't believe that having achieved what they had achieved that they would be insecure at that point. Now, I would say that there were some really wonderful producers, women producers that I worked with with Bill Moyers in the late '70s, early '80s that were a new breed. Had *Bill Moyers Journal* lasted longer, perhaps I would have called these women mentors. They weren't that far ahead of me in the hierarchy. I mean I was an associate producer and they were producers, and in some instances, I was producing, so the line was thin. They were so willing, I mean it wasn't even a question of whether they would share their expertise and really show a desire for you to succeed and learn as much as they did. It was a given. When I do think of a mentor, I think of somebody so far above you that they can basically open doors. Unfortunately I can't name a one who opened a door, even though I certainly knew a whole bunch who were capable of it. I would say the most giving women that I met in my career at television news, and I actually can think of maybe a couple also at CBS, were those who were unfortunately not high enough above me to offer entree, but as far as helping me to become better at what I did and sort of being in my corner, they were definitely there.

I myself was never sexually harassed by any male colleague or by any male that I was interviewing with. So I can not share any experiences because fortunately I didn't have any. None of my colleagues ever discussed this issue with me. So if it happened to them, I didn't know about it.

From my perspective as a researcher at CBS and then as an associate producer/producer with *Bill Moyers Journal*, women definitely were heavily involved in the editorial process of television documentaries. I mean women were the mainstay. Thinking to the newsroom at CBS, I would say by the late '70s and early '80s women really shared the producer roles quite equitably with the male producers.

Regardless of what unit I happened to be working in and regardless of what my actual job title happened to be in any particular unit, I would say one assignment that I had on I'd say a fairly frequent basis would be to find the right person for interview segments. I must say that it never occurred to me then and were I to do it now it might occur to me, but I think I would resist the impulse to just seek out the female or minority person just because they happened to be female or minority. I mean I always looked for who I considered to be the most knowledgeable and most articulate authority, a communicator, somebody who would basically be able to in a few short seconds or a minute or however much time we had which wasn't nearly enough time usually you know just find the best person to explain a particular point of view. It often worked out that it would be a woman or perhaps a minority, but I never tried to set it up that way and I don't believe that that is the way to really do a fair job.

The verb that jumps out of that question is endure. You know, what one had to endure. Looking back on my ten years or so in television news, I would say it wasn't enduring, it was experiencing, and it was really experiencing a kind of continuing education that cannot be purchased in a university environment. I mean it was true, wonderful education. You had a story, you wanted to learn about an issue, you could call up the people who knew, and they would talk to you. I'm thinking back, so many stories that I worked on, so many programs that I worked on. The one that will probably remain with me the longest is a show that I helped to produce with Bill Moyers in let's see when would it have been, 1980. It was called, "Judge, The Law and Frank Johnson." It happened to win an ABA Gavel award in 1981, but that's beside the point. At the time that I was asked to work on the two part conversation with Judge Frank Johnson, I had actually just applied to law school. Bill Moyers had written me a recommendation and then suddenly I found myself immersed in this assignment. I thought to myself, you know if I were in law school I might be reading the landmark civil

rights opinions that Judge Frank Johnson wrote during his career. But here I was not only reading the opinions, I mean that was actually one part of my assignment, but I was talking to the people who knew him. I was reading about the history of the South during the time. I was looking at old footage of the time. I was getting to meet him and his wife and his friends. We were spending time at his house, in his courtroom. I was generating questions for Bill Moyers to ask him, and I was working with the most wonderful group of people. And some of your other questions that talked about what was it like to be on location and did conflicts occur. I am thinking back to those shoots with the *Bill Moyers' Journal* staff. We were a true family at that time. We were as far from conflict as possible. I mean, the best came out, from everybody. We worked together as a true team. Since we were with each other around the clock basically until the assignment was concluded gosh it would have been really terrible if we hadn't loved each other. In fact, the more time we spent with each other I would say the more we really just worked fabulously and harmoniously. But this one assignment was so incredibly inspiring that I'll never forget it. Just to really be in the presence of greatness and to feel that I was helping to make a program that would really make an impact on people. I mean they would get to know a person who never really looked for fame. But as President Johnson had really considered that Judge Frank Johnson had a whole lot more impact on civil rights in this country than President Johnson had had. Anyway that particular assignment was I would say the highlight and I prefer to concentrate on the joys rather than sorrows. There definitely weren't any sorrows associated with *Bill Moyers' Journal*. The only sorrow was that it had to end. I could actually think of another assignment that mixed both joy and sorrow. Joy, in the sense that it was a fabulous opportunity to work on "The CIA's Secret Army" and to contribute so much to a really exciting documentary. Obviously the sorrow of that experience was to not be working with the kind of team that *Bill Moyers' Journal* assembled, even though Bill Moyers was the correspondent on that program and that's how I got to know him, and that's how I ended up going over to *Bill Moyers' Journal*. I guess if it hadn't been for "The CIA's Secret Army," it would have been a whole lot tougher to have found the job or been offered the job with *Bill Moyers' Journal*. But that was I guess the situation that brought all the women, the women in the upper echelon being totally unkind to the women somewhat below as you, Terry, will remember.

I guess I can conclude with saying another question of yours asked if you developed any bonds with anybody as a result of experiences that you had. I was trying to decide why we became friends in the little room that we shared as researchers working on "The CIA's Secret Army." I don't really feel that we became friends because we felt persecuted or unappreciated. I don't think that was it, but definitely we were compatriots and definitely kindred spirits. I think that working in television, if you had the capacity to have or make a connection or

recognize a connection with a kindred spirit, you tended to basically do it. Because you worked extremely intensely and you gave everything that you had to a particular assignment. I think it was a wonderful place to make friends. I mean I think of it much more as a wonderful place to make friends than a place where you didn't get along with people or people disappointed you. I mean I think of all the wonderful connections I had with people you among them and I'm grateful for that. Take care.

Post script regarding my mother and self sufficiency. I guess the one sentence that I left out that is kind of ironic but it needs to be said while at the outset of my not long career, my decade long career in television news. I could not envision myself living my mother's life. In fact, for the last decade I have been what my mother was as well, a full-time mother. A volunteer and a full time mother. That's how I define myself, full-time mother. I guess you know one comes full circle. I can't imagine anyone else raising my children. I think it's the world's most important work. I do wonder, you know, when the kids grow up, what I am going to be doing. I have some ideas. My ideas really don't include television news because I have been out of it too long. When you are at a certain age, you can't really envision yourself in a particular place, and here I am in that place being tremendously satisfied raising my family.

I also made a mistake, "A Closer Look" was not a show, but a segment. When you finish with the tape can you actually send it back to me. I'd like my kids to hear what I had to say.

Paul Greenberg
NBC Senior Executive Producer, Former CBS Executive Producer

1957- Graduated from Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism.
1957-1961 - WIIC-TV Pittsburgh, 1961-1964 - ABC News, 1964-1978 - CBS News,
1978 - NBC News

Joined CBS as a writer on the *Morning News*, was promoted to Producer of *The CBS Saturday Evening News* in 1966, Executive Producer of weekday *Evening News* in 1972, assigned to *CBS Reports* in 1975

During this period CBS News was the best news organization in broadcasting *CBS Reports* was a minor player in the division. The major players were the *Evening News* and *Sixty Minutes*.

CBS Reports and all of the other units of the division were composed of highly skilled and dedicated journalists.

CBS won dozens of awards and the teams that earned them crossed the spectrum of diversity. All members of the teams were respected for their contributions.

As network news organizations became more diverse, story selection and sensitivity increased.

In 1966 there were no women producers in "hard news" (daily television news programs) at CBS News. I wanted to promote a female writer to producer. I felt she was most qualified of the writers at CBS for the job. My choice met with resistance initially, but it was eventually approved. Once the ice was broken, many other women followed.

Once the appointment was made, it was accepted. The producer in question was popular with her peers, and her promotion was welcomed.

There were always disagreements on assignments, but the vast majority were honest differences on how best to do the job at hand. There was no overriding strategy to resolve conflicts. Differences were solved on case by case basis on the merits.

The stories themselves determined who would be sought out as interview subjects. If the person was the most logical authority, or was involved in the story, he or she would be interviewed.

Women were heavily involved in almost every area of CBS News by the time I left in 1978, minorities were less involved.

Whenever the decision makers in a unit are more diversified, it leads to a widened spectrum of story selection and interview subjects.

I was unaware of tensions created by racial and sexual issues. I do not recall any such issues being brought to my attention.

Harassment was not tolerated and as far as I can remember it did not exist.

No tensions, no impact.

It was a normal working situation. Never totally harmonious, but not adversarial either.

Richard Salant, the President of CBS News, was determined to diversify the News Division. He made a point of instructing those in charge of various units that diversification was policy and had to be implemented.

a. I do not remember such meetings in my tenure at CBS. They may well have taken place and not involved me. (We have a lot of those meetings at NBC now.) We took matters into our own hands. In one instance, one of my film editors and I decided to teach a messenger from the mail room film editing since he would always stop along his mail route and ask a lot of good questions about what we were doing. In a very short period of time the young man became a solid editor for our program. (He was Puerto Rican.)

b. When I first hired a woman producer, I was told that women didn't do that work well because they were too emotional. The producer in question wasn't, nor were any of the women hired subsequently. I did not hear that term in reference to minorities.

c. During my tenure there were no groups of that nature at CBS News.

Now that there are role models in television news, we are getting a wide variety of qualified applicants. Women make up more than 50 percent of our production staff and

close to half of our on-air talent on *Dateline*. Our number of African American and Asian personnel continues to increase, although it isn't where it should be as yet.

It has to remain a priority in hiring to get the word out that we're in the market for good people, all kinds of good people. NBC News has started a News Associate program in conjunction with journalism schools to give minority graduates a year-long experience in a variety of network news assignments. Many of the associates have ended up with full time jobs at NBC News. Programs like this have a way of feeding on themselves and convincing young people who are choosing careers that television journalism is a viable choice.

It was an exciting time in television news in those days before the big corporate takeovers. We had the wherewithal and the enthusiastic support to experiment and try ambitious projects. Journalistically we were arrogant but arrogant for good causes. We were inventing the medium as we went along. We went to color and to video tape and to satellites adapting as journalists to the new technology. We didn't go fast enough in hiring and promoting women and minorities, but tremendous strides have been taken in the last twenty years.

About thirty years ago at a celebratory dinner honoring the success of the *CBS Saturday News*, I commented that one thing that stood out to me as I looked around the table at all of those proud men and women was that all of the faces were white. I said I hoped if there was ever another such dinner that that would no longer be the case.

My words put a damper on the occasion and there never was another dinner but now, a generation later there is no longer any undiversified unit anywhere in network television news. I think I helped. It happened slowly, but it happened.

Good luck on your project.

Nadine Sapia
Former CBS Producer

Completely by accident I started working as the secretary of the director of the religious unit

After working in broadcasting, I decided to return to school. After returning to school, I felt that since I was already working in that field that I should major in media studies

Yes, my mother always instilled in us that if you wanted something you had to work for it. She would always quote the Billie Holiday song "Mama May Have, Papa May Have, But God Bless The Child That's Got Its Own."

My career in broadcasting started with my working as a secretary to the vice president of the department. She was a person who tried to help everyone get ahead. I think she saw a lot of potential in some of us who didn't realize it themselves

The person I worked for was my one and only mentor. She decided to give me a chance at a higher level after I left the department and came back to the department

Most of the men I worked with were from the old school and made you feel that as a woman they were superior. I think they were more intimidated by women than anything else

I didn't encounter any of this because I worked for a female. In those days (70s and 80s), the glass ceiling included mostly men and some of the women were intimidated by these men because of their power

They were only involved if it was a story that pertained to either of these groups. It was very difficult to break into the hard news areas because they were still being run by these powerful old school men who each had their individual departments and their chosen people.

Tensions did exist because most of us were behind the scenes and whatever complaints we had we discussed among ourselves.

I think my situation was a little different because I moved up the ladder in one department.

I didn't find it difficult supervising the camera crews, but I felt that the camera crews had some difficulties being supervised by me.

Yes, I do because the presence of women journalists is more visible than it was during the '70s and the '80s

Because our shows were low budget shows, we never went after stories that included those figures that were in the limelight. Most of the stories we did were the stories the hard news and magazine people were not interested in.

Group conflicts will almost always occur when you are in each other's company for any long periods of time. It seemed as though each person felt they were prima donnas

When I was laid off, I didn't realize the extent of downsizing. It grew into a big thing after I had already left.

My biggest joy was when I went to Africa. The previous trips were mainly to European countries, and I always felt so out of place. But when we reached the African continent I felt really at home. The country welcomed me with open arms, and they made me feel that they were so proud to see a Black woman in my capacity and being able to work with us on a one to one basis

Nina Weinstein
Former CBS & National Geographic Producer, Senior Producer Scripps
Howard

Dear Teresa-

It was great seeing you. Please come back and stay longer.

I wanted to get this to you ASAP and before it got lost on my desk. Hope it's all right.

It seemed as if you are trying to make a point regarding sexism/racism. I may be having selective memory- but the early years only seem like the "good old days!" And, since I ultimately got what I wanted, it doesn't seem to matter anymore.

Hope it goes well.

Nina

Sheila Parker
Former CBS Associate Director of Talent Recruitment

I got into journalism quite by accident. I had my second child and I realized that I needed more structure than the structure that I had with my children. I decided that I wanted to go back to work. I had many years at a publishing house, Consumer Unions, publisher of *Consumer Reports*. I had left that to have a second child and realized that I needed to have a nine to five to have a structured life. I went back to work. I asked a girlfriend to tell her daughter that I was looking for work, and her daughter happened to be employed at CBS News in Personnel and through her I got hired as a receptionist.

I don't know if you can ever be prepared even if you go to journalism school for it especially during the time that I was starting out as a receptionist at CBS News. What happened to me? I think that through my life experiences more so through the raising by my parents and how to look at life. I think that had more to do with my success at CBS News than my education which wasn't in journalism, but it was in a worldly way of looking at things. I think that was more of a reason for my success than let's say if I went to school for it.

Absolutely more so my father than my mother. My father raised all four of his children my two brothers, my sister and myself telling us that we had a right to have a say in whatever happened in our life, including when we were young. I remember I had girl friends who today will still say how they used to love to come to our house because my father allowed us to debate with him that was his word, debate, when he was giving out rules of order and rules of obedience and rules of how to be a good child in his home. That was different. There was no talking back, but if you got on the subject of the Vietnam War or the subject of what made Roosevelt a good president or why, and in my father's opinion, Harry Truman was a better president than Roosevelt. I mean those kinds of debates went on in our home, and he allowed us to debate him and they got kind of heated, but they were debates. The fact that my father allowed us to have those kinds of conversations, those kinds of family opinions, instilled in me that I had an opinion and had a right to voice it and that was never, ever, ever taken away from me by anybody. Again my mother stayed home until my younger sister was about ten. So my mother was always home during my growing up because that was the way things were done then that was not out of the ordinary -- working mothers were out of the ordinary. My mother went to work when my sister was between eight and ten. What my mother did for us was just I mean she was just a 1940s -- and I say just and I don't mean it in a light way -- but she was a 1940s mother who went to the PTA meetings, who saw that we did our homework, who kept us spotless. I think what my mother did above all else -- she raised us in Harlem in

the 1940s and '50s -- we had no idea that we were considered a poor family. My father always worked, but we were not anyway near a rich family. I didn't know the difference because my mother saw to it that there were great meals on the table, that we were spotless, that we had a Sunday shoe for church and for parties, and that we had a school shoe, and [that] we had a shoe for play, a sneaker. A sneaker was never put on our foot unless we were playing in the park. I mean there was order. There was a correct way of doing things, a correct way of sitting at a dinner table and eating. She gave us all the manners and the social structures of how to get along in this world and that is where my mother's strengths came from. I think I fought being dependent on anyone all my life because I was a very sickly child. I had asthma and I suffered from it very, very badly. I tried to hide it when I knew I was going to get an attack. I didn't want to be the center of attention for that. I didn't want people to think that I couldn't run, I couldn't play, I couldn't do what everybody else did. So I always hide that fact or fought the fact of being dependent on anybody or anything.

That first job to me and that is something I lectured to colleges and to other organizations later on in my career. I felt that the receptionist job was my education in journalism. I believe that if you are standing in front of a xerox machine and you are xeroxing something for eight hours don't tell me you stood in front of that xerox machine and xeroxed for eight hours without telling me what you xeroxed, who wrote it, who it was going to, why was it so important that everybody get it, why was it so important that you had to do it for eight hours. If you couldn't tell me what you were xeroxing then you did waste your time. The switchboard at Public Affairs Broadcasting at the time I went in was the most educational job I learned who was calling whom, who got favors from whom, who came in late and didn't want someone to know, who got freaky, who got freaked out when a certain vp would call and they weren't there. I learned where the power lies, not so much in the man, but in the title, and you don't go to the guy who orders paper clips if you want to be in production, you go talk to the guy in production if you wanted to do something there. In one hand, my naivete, on the other hand, my encouragement and my background from my father that I could speak to anyone so long as I spoke in the right manner and knew what I was talking about. I decided that since people were calling Bob Chandler and I referred this name Bob Chandler all the time. I decided that he was the man that since the producer was going to him to get an associate producer and the associate producer was going to him to be a producer and the researchers were trying to get him to notice them so that they could become the associate, I said, well he was the man. At the switchboard, I made the decision to pick up the phone and make an appointment with the Vice President of Public Affairs Broadcasting, I believe he was at the time. I went over and I spoke to him. He gave me an appointment, and I learned my first corporate political lesson when I walked in his office, I extended my hand and

I introduced myself, and he said, "I know who you are " He said, "Have a seat " Right as I was sitting down it came to me in my head I said, he is a vice president, he is paid to know who you are and I never had to introduce myself that way ever again to anyone no matter how high up in the organization they were I figured they were getting paid to know who I was and once I said my name they should know So, he taught me my first kind of corporate, political move -- shaking the hand and then saying thank you for giving me the time to see you and I appreciate it and then sitting down and saying what I had to say At any rate, I told him that I was enjoying myself at CBS very, very much. I thought it was the most exciting place I had ever worked in, and because I had two children at home, my career path, my promotional path, I did not see it in the light of a producer because even a researcher in those days traveled and I couldn't travel and an associate producer definitely was all over the world with a producer The producers were definitely all over the world. At any given time they could be anywhere, and I knew that was what I could not do There was a management line also and that management line at that time the ultimate position to me to ever attain would be to be a production manager because they stayed in. A unit manager traveled, a production manager stayed in office and handled all the things in the office I told Bob Chandler that I wanted to be a production manager. I looked at the production manager at the time, his name was Don Blauvelt and I thought, I can do that, there's no question I can do that and I told him I can do that job and when production manager's opening happened that he would think of me because that was the goal I was going to try to attain. I look back on that now as this little receptionist that was across town in a little office, not even in his building. He must have looked at this and said this is one gutsy little girl that she's in here talking about she wants to be a production manager and I am thinking there were four production managers, three of them were men and one was a women and none of them were black or Hispanic. I showed more guts than brains maybe, but he said he would definitely think of me in that light. That was my first move towards being promoted from receptionist.

The people who helped me were definitely the executives at CBS News, there's no question in my mind. Howard Stringer, I met Howard who gave me my second promotion if you will off the receptionist desk. My first promotion at the desk was Bud Benjamin a renown documentary maker who came into the area where I was working and said that he couldn't find anyone. It was lunch time, all the secretaries were out. I was the only one there, and he was quite upset because he needed something typed. I think this was indicative of the time that I worked at CBS in the early days. He needed something typed. No one had asked me in personnel if I could type. As a black woman with a high school education they thought, well, we'll put her on the switchboard. He came out and said "I need this typed, no one's around, and I need this typed." I said, "Well, I can't leave the switchboard, Bud but if you

would wheel a typewriter in here, I will type it for you " and he said, "you can type?" I said, "Yes, I can type " Well, to say the least, I typed what I needed and in the next pay period I had gotten a raise and I had gotten a title change I became now receptionist/typist and that included more money so that was kind of like my first little raise Then Howard Stringer came on board in his first executive producer job and I believe we were *CBS Specials* at that time where they had switched *Specials* to *CBS Reports* or *CBS Reports* became *Specials* I'm not quite sure how it went but Howard was then put in charge as executive producer, and he called me into his office and said "I understand that you are very good at what you do and I am bringing over a very tough producer from the evening news and everyone here thinks that you can handle that producer " That producer turned out to be Janet Roach, one of the first female producers that I had met in my time at CBS News She came over and we became a team, a well working team and I found her not so much in a man's phrase, "tough," but she just had high standards and she wanted things done in a certain way, and they were done that way I didn't find her tough at all, I found her as a matter of fact quite fair and quite professional in what she did. I always found that strange that she was considered to be tough, but that's how I began my rise from receptionist to secretary, production secretary they called them, and that was the beginning.

Female mentors. Yes and no I would tend to think it was 60 male and 40 female. I put it there only because Janet was a great supporter of me. There was Esther Kartiganer, being a friend of Janet's and Esther also at that time had a very rough and tough reputation, if you will. She would call up and say where is she? And I would go, she's out to lunch because I guess I came from a point where the way you speak to me is the way I speak to you. Esther became a supporter of me in those days also. The women who supported me were women who knew Janet. I just wanted to elaborate on who were better mentors male or female. You have to remember that men were in charge. There were very few females in charge. Those who were in charge I would have to say every single one except for a woman named Kay Wight who showed very feminine ways. She was a very feminine leader. All of the women in those days to me thought that they had to be like the boys to succeed. They had to be tough and not show any mentoring to other females. I found that each and every one of the women who at that time were in any kind of leadership role had males they were mentoring males, not females. I remember Joan Richmond had Peter Sturdivant, things like that. They didn't reach out to other women. One woman later on seemed to have gathered a lot of women around her, and that was Grace Diekhaus. But in the very beginning, I thought the women helped men more than they helped women. So that's what I saw then. The men were in power, and the men could help. The fact that I went in and spoke to Bob Chandler that meant that long, long time ago now, I think he always remembered that and from that point on

he knew who I was. There was a Vice President who walked the halls who would say, "Hello, Sheila, how are you?" And I would say, "Fine Bob, how are you?" That helps when you know that you can talk in that arena where someone in that arena respects you and knows your name. That makes a world of a difference in how you look at your potential at any corporation. The fact that Howard Stringer was my executive and offered me that first job and I kinda of got to be friends with him and I remember very well that I asked him a question in that very meeting and I said, "I was surprised when you called me in because I have been passing you in the halls and in the elevators now for almost a year and you never speak and when you called me in I thought you know you were going to drop me out of your area for some reason." He said, "Oh, no, no, no, not at all, Sheila but you know I am English and we were never properly introduced." I looked at him and I said, how long have you been in this country? Again a little naive, but when you speak to people as human beings one on one whatever title they have that is broken down. If you look at them as a title then you don't see them as a human being. I think the fact that I was looking at Howard as a human being and I had nothing to gain, I thought, at the time except I wanted to get it straight: Was I working for somebody who liked me or didn't like me as a human being? We became, I think a, I don't want to use the word friendship, friendship is too harsh and strong a term for me. Friendship means someone that will be in my corner till the day I die. He was a mentor to me but with a slight social liking also because I was able to go to some of his parties. I was invited to his wedding. So there was a little bit more than him being a mentor. I think we generally liked each other, but I wouldn't call it a friendship.

Networking was never on the level of the male to the male speaking talking, who pitched what balls, who swung what golf stroke, that kind of camaraderie wasn't there. I remember they had a weekly or monthly poker game. There was never a woman involved in that poker game. I remember it caused all kinds of excitement at one time when the women were up in arms because the men that were at that poker game came away from it more often than not with a plum assignment, a plum story, and the women producers were not privy to that kind of environment. So that was a bone of contention, and I think a justified one. If you are sitting around a table and you are there with a vice president, or your executive producer, and the best editors around, and the best producers around and ideas are being floated around. If you are not there, then you can not play. So the women weren't there, and they couldn't play not only in the game but in the arena of broadcast journalism for plum stories.

Sexual harassment. You know this is so strange. I know it must have happened. Of course, I heard stories about liaisons between what at that time I thought was consulting adults. That's fine because that goes on in every walk of life. Everywhere you go where

males and females are involved, there are going to be some attachments. I am wondering now as I can look back on those days. The females might have been smiling and been part of it, but I now wonder, were they part of it because they were in love with this person or in like with this person or where they involved in it knowing that this is going to help my career. I can't answer that. I've never been involved in it, but I am looking back on it now and I am saying how many of these women did it totally out of the goodness of their heart, wholeheartedly, or was there unspoken pressure because I don't think in those days men had to say, give it up or I'll fire you. It was more if you come with me and have a drink and we like each other, I can help you. I think that was an unwritten rule, an unwritten statement, but a statement of fact none the less, because a lot of those women who were aligned with men did get some sort of promotion. I hate to say that because I know that these women -- I can't think of one woman right now that I saw get real promotions. I mean promotions of power. Producers have a lot of power. They might not have become vice presidents or directors, but the level that they did reach they were all very smart women. They were no different than the men. Some of them were super talented, some of them were talented, some of them were mediocre. But they all had a certain amount of ability to do the job, and I can say the same thing for the men. Every man in the job is not the smartest man around. There were those who did their job exceptionally well, the male, moderately well and mediocre, and we all could see that. These women deserved to be promoted but did they get promoted and did they think they needed to do this in order to be promoted knowing that they were just as good if not better than most of the men who got promoted? I personally have never experienced harassment because I have always had a mouth. Part of my way of dealing with this male environment which was predominantly every room you walked into was definitely dominated by men. If you were in the editing bays, if you were in an executive meeting, if you were in any kind of cafeteria environment, you were outnumbered 10 to 1, if not more. So constantly you were in a male environment. My way is that I was raised where I was able to always speak up, so sometimes if someone did a wise crack, I have a quick mouth, I wise cracked back and so the guys, you know I was always treated as one of the good old girls, if you will. No one has ever said anything that I took to mean that I went home and pondered it and didn't know how to handle it. I can imagine that a lot of females especially females who were very much in tune with "I have to get promoted, I want to be a producer, I want to be this, I want to be that" dealt with it differently than I would have, I have no doubt.

There were a handful of women and I am thinking back now. They were respected. I think if those women were men they would have been leading their own divisions, leading their own units, leading their own shows. They were very respected women in that they knew how to do what they did well. There was Judy Reemstma, Judy Crichton, Janet Roach.

They were women who you knew they were good. I saw often that some of the men went out of their way to put them down. Somebody wasn't pretty enough, somebody wasn't a good writer, which is all subjective. Somebody whose piece is airing first. When we first went to the hybrid of magazine shows, I remember there was a great upset between a male and female producer who were quote unquote on friendly terms not romantically but friendly terms that I knew of. They might have been friendly or not. I don't know, but her piece was going to go first on the broadcast and he was livid that her piece was going first because as far as he was concerned that meant her piece was better than his piece. Real childish behavior, and I saw that mostly against men against the women and the women always gathering and saying oh, he's a bully. He's not speaking to me because my piece went first and we've known each other for years, things like that. I must say that the male acted more childish than the female.

Teresa, what African Americans in the unit? We were so far and so far between each other it was unbelievable. I could look down the hall and see a Nadine to my right, and I could look up the hall and see a Teresa Styles on my left. There weren't any. We were there, but we weren't there. I remember during the layoffs I came to the conclusion if you laid off five hundred white males and females, there would be two thousand left. If you laid off twenty black females and males, you wiped us out. I think at one point we were wiped out during the lay offs I mean it was that far between. To me we had no power, we had no say in what was going on unless we were doing it one to one with an individual. If I was talking to Howard Stringer I think what I had to say was respected. If I was talking to a Judy Reemstma I think what I had to say was respected. I think if I was speaking to a whole group of people I think I was diminished because I had no power behind me. I think on a one-to-one level, if one of our associate producers were talking to a producer about ideas, things to do maybe how to handle a story. I think we were listened to because we were the creme de la creme we were the best there was to have out there. So when we spoke we spoke with some knowledge, some authority some insight. But was that then turned around and brought back to say this person is terrific, fabulous, it was their idea for us to do this or go there or see this. No, I don't think that was down at all. Was anybody boosting us up? No, no. Did they take what we said and learn from it and use it at times? Absolutely. Did we get any credit for it? No. Do you think we ever got any credit? I really don't. I think individuals gave us credit, but you see credit to me is when it gets to the powers that be and those powers that be can then say something and do something that would benefit not only the minorities that were there, but the minorities to come. I never saw that happen. I never saw that happen. I never heard anyone say do you know Teresa and Sheila and Nadine and Erroll Hazelwood and so and so and just name us and say you know those are the brightness here. They've got a different way of looking at things. We should use these people, we should encourage them to tell us

because here we are on the other side of the table. We all look alike, we all think alike, we all walk alike, we all come from the same background. So everything we do is the sameness. I think what made Howard good at being a producer was that he saw things differently because he came from a different point of view. I think Maurice Murad became one of the best producers ever (Middle Easterner) because he came from a background that introduced something different in his pieces. I think 90 percent of those people in charge of what the look was, it was the sameness because they all had the same ideas and to me they just got redeposited and redeposited. When someone came along that had a different way of looking at something and can infuse something into a piece, I think then was when I saw something that was a bit better than anything else.

Racism/Sexism. Again, Teresa, I am sure it was there. I am absolutely sure it was there, but I am an individual who chooses to ignore that kind of vibes from someone. There was someone there that didn't like me. Did they not like me because I was black? Did they not like me because I was a woman? Did they not like me because I was a single mother? Did they not like me because they did not like my personality? I have no idea. And you know what, I don't care. It was like I had told the Vice President. I was trying to get to the President of CBS News at the time I think his name was David Burke when Andy Rooney had said something that had racial overtones and then you know the pickets were thrown up in front of CBS News. I tried to get to the president to tell him what I felt about it - not gossiping in the halls, but what I felt about it. Instead he sent David, I can't think of his last name but I will. He sent another vice president to see me because he knew I was trying to get to him. I told him I did not need an intermediary I can talk to the president of the news division myself. He said, "Sheila I know that but he is very busy. You know things are coming down, the pickets are outside, etcetera." He said, "I've got this yellow pad here. I'm going to put down everything you have to say." And what I told him was that I don't give a good god damn what Andy Rooney said and that's an exact quote. I said Andy Rooney does not make policy at CBS News. He does not hire and he does not fire, but what his beliefs are are his beliefs, I don't care. But what I do care about is that the atmosphere in CBS gave him the feeling that he could say what he wanted to in that manner and not be punished for it. I said what I blame CBS for is that we can not stand out in front of that building and say that Andy Rooney speaks for Andy Rooney and that anybody can come in here and look at our hiring practices, our promotional practices, and see that we are fair and above board as the leader in this industry. That's what needs to be said out here, not how to protect ourselves from the picketers, but we can't say that. And that's what I want to tell him. We should be able to say Andy Rooney speaks for Andy Rooney. But the way it stood it looked like Andy Rooney was speaking the same kind of attitudes that CBS News had and that I resented very much so.

I think we had the BEA and in those days the BEA, which is the Black Employees Association, they were fighters. They went in there, and they spoke their minds. They told what they had to say. They threw the facts and the figures in front of them and how the percentages were bad. There were not enough correspondents, there were not enough reporters, there were not enough producers, there were not enough this, there were not enough that. They were there fighting for it, saying what they had to say. Did it make a big difference? No. Did it make some difference? Yes. I think part of the difference was when they created the recruitment area, and I became the associate director of talent recruitment. I think before the layoffs I personally have to say that I was very pleased of the amount of work that I had done and those young men and women are still in the industry, if not at CBS News. Yes, I think some changes were made. I think at some point there was that crack in the door and I did my best to fill it up and swing the door open wide. I think as times changed and as Larry Tisch came in, the door was slammed. I mean CBS News was the only division that demolished their recruitment office. NBC kept theirs, ABC kept theirs. None of their recruiting personnel were laid off and they were very strong --strong enough to steal black and white talent from CBS. CBS under Tisch, the door was slammed and when that door was slammed and if you laid off ten blacks it decimated the minorities and blacks in that company. That was it. That's what killed it. I think there was a point when there was a small window open and that was under Howard Stringer, Van Gordon Sauter, Ed Joyce, and a couple of more people. I think that door had cracked, but it never swung open wide.

I remember there was a time and I have forgotten who had spoken to me, but I was ready to just howl at *48 Hours*, if they had done another revisit to crack street. I think at the time when you prey upon an easy story no matter how well it is done. The initial concept of going into a Harlem or a Bed Sty, and going on 116th street or whatever street is a famous street for where you go to get your drugs that is so easy to go down there and photograph those people time and time again. I remember on one of those *48 Hours* revisited, black faces are shown without hesitation, the children who are hanging on to their feet are photographed without hesitation. Finally, somebody decided to take it into the suburbs and go into a mall and those kids faces are blocked out. I resent that. The camera was on Wall Street and there were Wall Street guys in their blue suits and they are coming up and they are passing the packages between the black guys. The Wall Street guys faces are covered not the guys who are selling the drugs. Yes, I think racism has a lot to do with the way the story is told if I hear one more welfare story and see one more black woman. I mean the majority of people in this country that are on welfare this is before the changes now were white, were poor white people. They needed it as much as the poor black people needed it. There are white people on drugs, there are black people on drugs. The black people are only 24 percent of this

population might have been even less back then. So much drugs were coming into this country that if every black in this country overdosed, they would still have tons left over. Who the hell was taking it? That was never ever shown in those days. If it was, it was lightly done. Bill Moyers is one of my favorite people. I sat in Bill Moyers office and I told him I did not want to be disturbed, but he kept me in his office until I had my say and that was on the documentary that he had done and he called it "Crisis in Black America." That wasn't a crisis in Black America. That was a crisis in that project and that caused a lot of stir. I told him that even though your words maybe absolutely literal and absolutely correct, absolutely having a feeling of empathy for these people and wanting to have something done for them. America doesn't listen to what you are saying they will remember those images forever. I guarantee you right now ten, twelve, thirteen years after certain documentaries are made, you go to some people, and they will pick out what they saw that reinforces their own prejudices and say here are all those people all they do is have babies. I said that documentary does not address me. I was married for five years before I had my first child. Yes, I am a single mother it's through divorce. You did not tackle that I worked very, very hard to keep my children in private schools, to keep a roof over their heads, to educate them, and to love them. You talked about a crisis in a project in Newark, New Jersey, and you called it America. That's not who I am. That didn't address me. That didn't address my sister, didn't address my mother, my aunt, or the people that I know. Yes, I think the lack of input on an editorial level and that includes editing, the lack of that made a lot of insensitive things go by because we weren't there to input. People will tell you that there was all of sudden we are going to do this thing on Newark, and they hire an associate producer from across the street to come over and work on this documentary. But I am here to tell you, he had very little input into that documentary, and when it came down to the most important part when you get all this editorial material in that editing room. He didn't go into that editing room at all. Give me a good editor and give me ---- and I can make it look like the Declaration of Independence. It is very important that an editor, a sensitive person be there on sensitive issues, absolutely without question. When CBS or any news division is doing a piece on a foreign country or a banking story, anything that's not everyday stuff, they will have an expert in there. They will bring an expert in a minute if there is an Arab-Israeli war. They will bring somebody in there who is an expert on Israel or the history of the Jewish people. They will bring a heart surgeon if somebody is having a heart attack who is a very important person. But they can do stories on blacks, Hispanics, Indians, all kinds of people and not one of those people will be in the room to say wait a minute, that's not right. Well, I thought with the show "Blacks in America" I had a voice. I think you did, but when you said your voice as I said before Teresa yes you had a voice in that piece with those people. Did that come back in such a way that you went from associate producer to producer? No. If you were a white male, and you had

done something fantastic like you did on that, he would have come back as a producer. No question in my mind, that's what I mean your input to the individual stories. Yes you were respected, your information was used, but did it benefit you on the other side of the coin? Absolutely not. That's what I'm talking about. No one came back and said we have a group of people here right with us who could make us so different from the other networks. We have to use them. We have to put them in editorial positions. Did that happen? It did not. That's what I am talking about. You see you say give me internships, and I was in charge of internships. An internship is fine, it's the job that counts.

No, I found that I had power, and I'll tell you why I had power. When that job was first offered to me I didn't even know it was coming. They created it and then told me they wanted me to do it because they looked around at my area, and they found that when I brought in editors or personnel people they were of all races and of all colors and of all sexes. So they thought that one producer called my area a little United Nations, and I asked him was there something wrong with that and he had to shrug his shoulder and say no, I guess not.

When I took the job as Associate Director of Recruitment, when I took the job, Howard said he wanted me to be the minority recruiter. I told Howard that I did not want that job, and I am not taking that job, let me go back to the job where I am very happy with it. And he said to me, "What are you talking about this is a job you can't refuse," and I said, "I am refusing it," and he said, "Ok Sheila, why?" I said, "why because I don't like that title number one and foremost. If I am recruiting just minorities when these people come through the door they are ten steps down the ladder before they start because they are in here only because they are only a minority. I don't want that. If I can't bring through everyone of all races of all sexes of all whatever, then I am not bringing in anyone. I want to be respected for the talent I bring into the door not the color of their skin. He said, "You are absolutely correct." He said, "I have never thought of it that way" -- which goes back to my point if you are not in my shoes you can't see the damage that's done. If you are doing a good job by bringing somebody in. But if I am sitting in the newsroom and if I am on the news desk and I have been there three years and I am a white person and I have gone to school and I have paid my dues and I'm on the desk and I see you bring somebody through the door who doesn't even know where the traffic office is and you put them in a position that I have been working three years to get when the next opening happens. I am going to be real upset. The fact that this person is absolutely qualified for it because they might have been doing what you are doing at CBS, they might have done it somewhere else because I brought no one in who wasn't up to the complete standards of CBS at that time and at that time CBS standards were high. I brought them in on those standards alone not on my standards. I brought them in on CBS standards.

But if you bring someone in like that, they are lost already they are resented, they don't get into the mix. They never know what's going on. It's so easy to be subjective. Five years down the line -- oh, they are not a good writer, oh they don't speak that well. oh, whatever excuse comes up it goes back to the day they walked in. They were doomed from the day they walked in. The fact that I said I wanted to be able to bring white, black, yellow whoever in and be respected for my choice, it worked. I was respected for my choice. Everyone that I brought in went through the interviews. I won more than I lost. In other words, more people were hired than were not and those that were not hired by CBS have then been hired by other companies. Teresa, personally I just saw a young man who starred at NBC that I saw under my mentoring. I met him while he was in college, and I just saw him make the NBC Weekend News Anchor slot, Maurice DuBois. I'll never forget that name. I used to say "Is this your real name, Maurice? Are you really Maurice DuBois?" He'd say "yes, Sheila that's my name," and I said it sounds so made up. I can remember this to this day. He's now on NBC starting Saturday. I was cleaning my house, I got the news on, and I hear this name Maurice DuBois. I turned around and there was this kid I knew when he was in college, and I had my eyes on him when he was in college. Yes it worked, it did well. They are there now, black and white, male and female.

I didn't have that much to do with camera crews except that they always were very, very nice to me because I was the person who gave out assignments. Ninety percent of the time a producer said I want Greg Cooke, I want Andracke, I want so and so. When they weren't available, I kicked in with this person is available, that person is available when there was an emergency and they said Sheila, get a camera crew. So camera crews knew that I had the ability to give them work so because that was there they were very nice to me. So, no, I didn't have any trouble supervising them. I had very little supervision when they were out in the field, but I had a lot to do with them getting a job. So they were very nice to me, very cordial, very much friendly very. Sheila, how are you, how are things going, just touching base, don't want you to forget me. That kind of conversation or Sheila, thanks very much for thinking about me, that was a great shoot, that gets me back in the mix, etceteras. Now I did have supervisory when I became manager of broadcast operations where I then was giving out the assignments for writers, giving out the assignments for graphic artists, giving out the assignments for technical people. I held each of those positions at one time and dealing with men on that level was interesting. There were people who had sweetheart contracts. You know they didn't have to work overtime so they didn't. But when there was, a crisis, a seven day war, or whatever was going on, a war with Hussein. You had to tell people, you're working. They would tell me, I don't work overtime, and I would say, you're working. But I always had to remember not that I was a woman, not that I was black, but I was the one who

gave the orders. That's what I always remember. It goes back to when I told you on the switchboard, there was X who was public affairs VP one minute and Y who was executive producer the next or vice president or whatever. Every 4 to 6 months I think there was a change in some way or some form that affected everybody. A new president, a new vice president, a new executive producer - something always happened, something always changed. The power of the title never changed. So what I learned from being on the switchboard is no matter who was sitting in the office, it was the office that had the power. My whole attitude was, you're working, turn around and walk away. They were either working or they were out the door or they were under some kind of union discipline, and they knew that, too. So if they tried to bully me in saying, I'm not going to do this, I'm not going to do that. I'm not coming in to do the *Morning News*, I do *Evening News*. I just said, you're doing it. And I walked away because I knew it wasn't me, it wasn't me a female, it wasn't me a black female, it was me the supervisor.

I think the newness of it was there. I came in at CBS when there was a women's movement, and I had gotten there just after 90 percent of every woman wore pants to work one day just because CBS said women can't wear pants. I mean it was that kind of atmosphere that I walked into so yes it was very new and yes nobody knew how to handle it. I think the females always knew, I can do that job. That guy down the hall is a jerk and he really was a jerk, but he had that job and there were some very, very bright women who didn't have that job, bright and talented and there were some men who nobody could touch not even another man could come up to their standards. But we were looked on as just females, not female bright or female giddy, or female stupid, or female talented, we were just a bunch of females. So yes, I think a lot of the newness had a lot to do with other people finding problems. There was not the awareness of sexual harassment, there was not the awareness of institutionalized racism, no one talked about it in those days. I think it is very much different today. Behaviors may be curved a little, behaviors may be still the same because we are working with a male female situation and people who are prejudiced are prejudiced. No matter how much information is fed to them they believe in what they believe in. You can't fight that. I think you can fight what the institution stands for though, not the individual. You can not dictate what's in someone's heart.

The advantage is if you took it and I took it. I think when those cracks in the doors were happening. They were happening for women and they were happening lesser so but also included minorities, and I stepped in that door for both. I stepped in saying I am a woman and I am a black woman and I am in the door. You want to do something for me because I am a woman do it. You want to do something for me because I am black do it. I used that

crack in the door to my advantage. I did not stand in the hall and complain. I did not complain to my friends on a constant level that I am not getting promoted. I walked in and said, I want that job. When the production manager's job was opened at *CBS Reports*, I didn't wait for somebody to ask me if I wanted it. I walked into Andy Lack and said, "I want this job." I remember one of the questions was, can you handle this job as good as Terry Robinson did and I said, "absolutely" and he said, "well tell me why." I said, "don't you remember I was the production manager when you did the "Defense of the United States?" I was the production manager on your hour." "That's a good one," he said. Can you handle, "The Defense of the United States" as well as Terry Robinson did?" I said, "oh, sure. I'd do the same thing Terry did." He said, "what was that?" I said, "I'd find a Sheila Parker to help me." That's a quote unquote, and he didn't have any reply; I got the job.

It went unsaid so that when a white co-worker female had a problem as a female I empathized with them or I understood their problems whatever it would be. I think in reverse it was the same for me. If I had a problem, they were there for me, and I had many. I was raising two kids, I was production secretary at the time, and then a unit coordinator. A lot of women came to my rescue on a personal level and there was a time when I needed some help even on a financial level, and the white women were there for me. I hope I was there for them. So, yes, it had to be even though it was unspoken, it had to be a mutual understanding of each other's position.

I think class had a lot to do with it. I think here comes the power of my mother. I think I came off as a very classy person to them. I think I was not the stereotype that I think most of them had. I liked to throw them off their tracks because I knew they had set ideas about who black people were. I remember on a couple occasions through my seventeen and a half years there that I mentioned to someone that I was a first generation American. I remember the first time I said that this person's mouth dropped open because they had known, as well educated as they were in their mind, in their heart and soul, they had no idea that blacks came to this country in the '30s, in the '20s, migrating with all the ideals and all the goals as an immigrant. And that threw that person off the track. He turned to me and said, "What do you mean you are a first generation American?" I said, "My mother and father are both nationalized American citizens." I said, "My history is a West Indian history. My parents are from Barbados. They came here with all the aspirations and all the hopes of your ancestors. They came here as immigrants." I saw a complete blank in that person's eyes because they had never put that together with African Americans, that was never something that he ever contemplated happened. It was amazing to me. I think class is more and maybe I am putting too much into back then, but I think class and the way you conduct yourself even this day is

more important than what you know, what's between your two ears. The way you can move socially, the way you can have people respect you and work with you and when you are in a jam, you can call on ten people to come and help you out of that jam and they will do it gladly because you respect them and all you ask back is respect. That's the way I handled myself at CBS. I think that has a lot to do with everything. I am raising a grandson now, and one thing that I am trying to instill in him over and over again is how he can move within society, the ups and the downs. I think that's extremely important. Now that's class as opposed to gender. Again I think we were just females. I think in those days we were just females. Some of us were smart, some of us were tough, some of us were just a bunch of females. I think that's how they looked at us. Most of them looked alike, sounded alike, went to the same kind of schools, went to the same kind of country club living, same kind of background. I found that there was a tremendous amount of sameness even though some had a lot of money growing up and some didn't. There was a sameness to them -- they kind of had the same look. I remember there was a time I would just look up and you couldn't distinguish the clothing. Everybody dressed the same, everybody talked the same, everybody, you know, -- those who were in the how shall I say the rarefied air -- all going to the same Hamptons. It was driving me nuts. I mean how can you every weekend go to the same place and you're with the same people who you worked with all week? To me that's foreign, to them, that was a great weekend. Hence, there's another power base where women were, going back to the card games, where women were allowed in the inner circles like going out to the Hamptons or wherever for the Memorial Day or to Connecticut. There would be little groups, they held power too. I can name you the women who went to the Hamptons in the company of or around the same neighborhoods as their executives. They are all somebody, quote, unquote, now in the news area. Were blacks privy to that? Not to my knowledge, we weren't there. Yes, they were all the same, and that is what they wanted. People are comfortable with people who are like themselves, and if you have all whites at the top then their first thoughts unless they are made to think differently their first thoughts are the people that they know, the college that they went to, the alumni, the people they know, their sons, their daughters. I remember once I was talking to somebody who roomed with the daughter of someone who was somebody and I am talking to the roommate of the daughter of the somebody. I said this is ridiculous, but that's life.

I am aware of it only in terms of myself. I was asked by certain people. Sheila, come here, I want you to see this bit of tape, this bit of film. What do you think of it? And seek out my advice. Was it something that I can look back on and say it happened often? No. Did it happen? Yes. But often? No. I mean I know people would work on these shows and the show would either be on minority people or it would be on a minority person, and I was not

sought out to ask, what would you ask? what do you think of this? what does this mean? he said so and so, but does he mean it the way we are taking it? No those kinds of questions were never asked and going back to what I was saying, were we totally utilized? No Did they have some of the brightest smartest people right there with them? Yes Did some one call us in or did someone go up the ladder of the executives and say you know we have a group of black people in here that are absolutely phenomenal. We should use them more, we should seek out their advice more. No, I don't think that was ever done. Were black experts or women in the pieces? Very few women, and I don't ever recall seeing a black during my tenure

On one hand I want to hand Thomas Wyman some credit. What I knew at the time was that he had made a mandate to his presidents of his divisions that if there was a position open that had a minority directly in line for that position or if a minority had applied for that position, he wanted to know why they didn't they get it, if that was the case. He wanted to know why didn't they get it, why didn't the person who was in line for it get it. Now, if he had included in that edict women solely, I am not sure. I knew it definitely did apply to minorities according to race, and he also instituted I believe he instituted or he kept it going that there was a certain percentage of your new hires that had to be minorities and if they were, you would get a certain amount of money, if they weren't you would lose that money I think that was an incentive for a lot of people to act. So I give him some credit for that. The problem is his presidents then passed it on down to their vice presidents, their vice presidents passed it on to their directors. Did their directors pass it on to their line management? I don't know. If they did, did the line management take it seriously? I doubt it. So even though the head of the organization could want to see some change, by the time it gets down to those who say, you're hired or you're fired or you're promoted if it doesn't affect them, then it's the status quo. From what I understand Salant did fit in the mix. I look back at all these people who had something to do in the mix and I can count on two hands maybe the amount of people that he did help. If he did help five, if he helped ten minorities, he did better than most. But I have to look back on everyone's attempt to do it and say that it was lacking because if you are in that position of power you should have made a change that could not have been hurt when Laurence Tisch came along. When Laurence Tisch came along and he started letting people go, he decimated the minorities who were on the way up, who were in that line, because it does take time. I mean no one comes in and becomes a producer and then becomes the president. It doesn't happen to anyone. You have to know the different areas of the company. You had to have been a supervisor. You had to have been out in the field. You had to have some sort of accounting experience, marketing experience, and then you become a great leader. To put that in line for blacks to achieve

those roles you need to start with them when there is a mailroom, if you will and then promote them to the desk and then promote them to associate or researcher and then keep it going, put them in documentaries, put them in hard news. Let them know what makes this place tick and then promote them to management positions or fishbowl positions. Send them to Europe. It has happened to some. It hasn't happened to enough so they are not there. So yes some people helped but they came up short.

I was the first one in and the last one to go home. I was the person whose responsibility was that when it aired that it aired with no black on the line, commercials in their place. I was the last to peruse it with my eyes to see that you know, even editorially I had a responsibility that if I heard something or saw something even though people worked on it for months, if I saw something on it that was wrong, I'd pick up the phone before it was ready for air and say this is wrong, something is not right. I had that responsibility also. So I was the last one to go home even after working till one or two o'clock in the morning. Everyone left the lab or production house and went home, I went back to CBS to make sure that it was fit for air over our network. So I had another hour of looking at it yet again for the hundredth time and go home. That was a tremendous sacrifice for me in terms of my two girls at home alone. Tremendous and I think it affected my youngest more than I realized it until it was too late. Until it was over and then I realized that she needed me at home more than I was. So yes, I had as a female and as a black female with those kinds of responsibilities I had, everybody went home and then I looked at my desk and said now did I forget anything, did anything not get done. What do I have to do for tomorrow. I had to be diligent that I double checked and tripled checked everything because as a female I would be looked at as not knowing what I was doing and as a black female, you know, they gave her that job because she's black and now she can't do it. So yes it was a great sacrifice in my social and in my private lifestyle. It took a lot.

I left the business because I was put out to pasture like a lot of other people.

I did not know if it was more or less. Again I have to say if you have twenty people and you let seven go, you've hurt them. If you have 2,000 and you let 200 go, you haven't hurt them at all. I am not saying that a layoff to a male is different than a layoff to a female. But I think they thought of it that way. I think when a male is laid off they realize that his whole structure is family even if he lived alone. You know, he's a bread winner. I don't think women were looked on as bread winners and be damned I was a bread winner. I was raising two kids, I was a bread winner. I don't think women are looked on in that way. I think women and definitely, definitely minorities were hurt tremendously by the worldwide industry.

layoff because ABC had them. NBC had them. CBS had them. I can speak from personal experience. When I looked around the Juanetta Bennetts were gone, the Nadine Sapias were gone, the Teresas' had left for whatever reason. The Sheila Parkers were gone. It was terrible.

I think there was a lot of adversity there. I think there were a lot of women trying to find their place and fighting the male establishment in one form or another. I mean just like the pants, wearing pants, that sounds so ridiculous today that was a tremendous thing for them because not the fact that they could wear pants but the fact that they bonded together and they decided that they were going to fight a situation. I think that it meant more than just the issue of pants it meant that we are human beings who can do a job, and we are going to show you by God that we can do it. I think that there was a lot of that going on. I think there was a lot of resentment for the women who didn't seem like they had dinner with the right person so they were just ahead of somebody who just worked very, very hard, and very, very long, and very, very good, if you will. They worked hard, they were the best at what they could do, and they weren't getting anywhere. Were they not getting anywhere because they didn't know the right males? They didn't have the right shape? They didn't have the right color? Yes, there was a lot of adversity there but there was also a lot of growth because I think the women kept fighting inch by inch, and I think the minorities that were there inch by inch but I think the women came out on top because after all they are white women. I think the blacks who fought the good fight, but did they win? I don't think so.

We lost a lot of good people they decided at some point that that was the end of that. They could do something that was maybe not loved as much, maybe not as exciting as that, but they could go off and do something else. I think we lost a lot of talented men and women minorities because they just said you don't understand me, and I really don't understand where you are coming from about me, so I am out of here.

Robert Chandler
Former CBS Media Executive

I graduated from City College in 1949. In early 1950, I went to work as a reporter for *Variety*. They had really no journalism courses at City College, but I did edit the college newspaper and was a college stringer for *The New York Times*. Earlier, sports stringer for the *Journal American*, no longer in existence. Went to work for *Variety* in 1950 and worked for *Variety* through 1961 with a couple of years time out for the Army. In 1961, I became a publicity man for MGM, set up their tv publicity department and in 1963 went to CBS News as Director of Information Services which is a fancy word for a press agent. I served in that position for two years and then became manager of Public Affairs broadcasts under Bill Leonard, who had just then been appointed vice president of Public Affairs broadcasts. I ran the election unit for four years from 1968 to 1972 and then became a vice president of Public Affairs broadcasts again under Bill Leonard and sometime after Bill left to run the Washington office of CBS Incorporated, I moved up succeed John Sharnik as overall vice president for public affairs broadcasts. That's really my journalistic background -- reporter, editor, and flack.

History of the news division. The news division was established as a separate division with its own president in 1961. Prior to that it had simply been a department of the network. It had principally been run by a man named Sig Mickelson who was a very good newsman who went on to teach at the University of San Diego. But in 1960 and 61, it left the news department somewhat in crisis. A committee under Dick Salant who was then incorporated under Frank Stanton was set up to determine the future of the news division. That committee recommended its creation as a separate division with its own president, its own structure, and the company agreed to that early in 1961 and appointed Salant as its first president. Even before that occurred, there were two distinct public affairs strains actually three in the division. Bud Benjamin was running the *Twentieth Century* unit. *Twentieth Century* was a highly regarded half-hour series with Walter Cronkite as its anchor dealing with great events of the twentieth century. Fred Friendly was running *See It Now* and that went back to the early '50s. I had been doing some work, for example on the case of McCarthy and the famous "Murrow/McCarthy" broadcast was actually in 1954, so you can see it goes back quite a time. There was also a religious unit which was run by Pamela Ilott, doing religious programs, and there was a public affairs unit doing sort of educational and cultural programs, which was run by Jack Kiermaier. These were kind of separate operations right through the early 60s until 1965 when Salant who had returned to the presidency after a two-year period when Friendly was president. No, strike that. Friendly became president in 1964 and early in

1965 reorganized the division to create a hard news operation under its own vice president, and that was Gordon Manning and a public affairs area under its vice president and that was Bill Leonard. And all those public affairs units that had here to for operated sort of independently all now reported to Bill Leonard. Salant returned to the presidency of CBS News in 1966 when Friendly resigned, but he maintained the same structure. Some of the other units subsequently in the division as I say there were cultural programs with Kiermaier and religious programs with Ilott. When *The Twentieth Century* folded, Benjamin went on to head up a number of *CBS Reports* programs as executive producer and was the division's senior executive producer in fact. There were *CBS News Specials* mostly with Perry Wolff and his people. Perry was the executive producer and had a number of producers working in his unit. *CBS Reports* was actually created in the aftermath of *See It Now* in 1959 when *See It Now* had been dropped, and they wanted to find something for Friendly and for Murrow. *CBS Reports* was a Friendly unit operation. Murrow did some of them before he left. But others were done by people like Harry Reasoner, Cronkite, and so on. Later on, of course, we created *Sixty Minutes Magazine*, which was daytime, *In the News* for children, *Thirty Minutes* for children, occasional *CBS News Specials*, which we had the responsibility for. And then there was a unit that was run at times by Ernie Leiser and other times by Les Midgley -- a special reports unit that also did documentaries as well as of course that were produced closer to the fact, they were not quite as long term in nature.

CBS Television Network kind of regarded documentaries as a pain in the behind. The reason for that is that they didn't get terribly good ratings. They pre-empted regularly scheduled entertainment programs and when they did so, the numbers for those programs went down. They [the audience] didn't like that, they [documentaries] interrupted audience flow, they interrupted the week-to-week continuity of those programs. The answer was they put up with them because they had to. Senior management of CBS corporate regarded the news division as a very important public relations tool and wasn't about to get in the way of at least a perfunctory showing of public responsibility with the use of the documentary. I am not sure of the intent of the question but that may answer the question for you.

We did consider hiring established documentary filmmakers, and Leonard at one time did hire Marcel Ophuls. Unfortunately that simply didn't work out. I think these people are so accustomed to working independently and doing things the way they want that we didn't even really make an effort to get them. They had their own businesses for one thing, but for another I can't imagine Fred Wiseman operating under a news division discipline. He likes to do his shows his own way. He doesn't like narration, goes to extreme lengths that simply would not be possible within the news division. I think there was a basic incompatibility

I've looked through the list I can't say that my memory serves me very well, but I will try to deal with some of these as memory assists I'm looking at *CBS Reports*: "The IQ Myth." I remember that in particular because it dealt with the very same issues that were raised fairly recently with the publication of *The Bell Curve* and indeed Herrnstein who was the co-author of the *Bell Curve* who died a couple of years ago was given some prominence in the "IQ Myth," but it did deal with quite the same issues. "The Selling of the F-14" was a Jay McMullen program as I recall and an extraordinarily good one dealing with our relationships with Iran. "The Battle Over Panama" was a show we did with Bill Moyers on the eve of the treaty with Panama which turned the canal over to Panama, and I think we got at the issues quite well on that one. But again, of course, it was another Moyers' project of which he was particularly well equipped. "The Fire Next Door" was simply an extraordinary program. Tom Spain was the producer. Moyers was the reporter and Moyers has or at least had this remarkable ability to have things occur around him. That's what happened in this documentary, it happened in other documentaries he did as well. Right after that on the list are "Arizona, Here We Come" and "The People V. Gary Gilmore," both of which Moyers did. Of course, the Gilmore thing was on the occasion of his execution, the first death penalty execution in some years.

"No Place But Here" was another Moyers and Spain collaboration. A brilliant job. It had to do at least with the issue of the institutionalization of mental patients. It was personified brilliantly with a particular woman who was a mental case who was released to come back into the community but who found it very difficult to cope. It was again one that I am very, very proud of. "Is Anyone Out There Learning?" was a three-part effort by Les Midgley, Bernie Birnbaum, and the late Charlie Collingwood and Cronkite anchored one of them. They did a very thorough job of looking at the state of education in the country basically through the Denver schools. I'm looking down the list and I see one, "Who's Minding the Bank."

There was a brief period where we were ordered to turn *CBS Reports* into a magazine. "Who's Minding the Bank" was one of those magazine pieces. I forget the young man's name who did it. Again, dealing with the issue of bank supervision in this country, it was a very thorough expose with what was wrong with the way we supervise banks. I guess it was impressions because it anticipated the savings and loan disaster. Another one I see is "Beyond The Superdome," which was a piece on New Orleans that Janet Roach did and some of the problems associated with that.

"Teddy" was quite a remarkable program. Howard Stringer and Andy Lack did that with Roger Mudd as the anchor. Roger had been a very close friend of Teddy Kennedy, and we

saw he was best equipped to do the show. But by the same token we thought he might have some second thoughts about it and some concern whether there was a conflict of interest and so we approached him very gingerly. And he said, "Absolutely not. I wouldn't be a journalist if I couldn't undertake this one objectively." And he certainly did. One question, why do you want to be president, virtually destroyed Kennedy as a serious candidate because he could not answer the question. He fluttered, he stumbled, he could not tell the public why he wanted to be the president. And the result was devastating and the press was incredibly widespread and intense.

"Blacks in America With All Deliberate Speed" celebrated I believe it was the twenty-fifth anniversary of the *Brown v Board of Education* decision. Phil Burton was the producer and did a terrific job. Ed Bradley was the correspondent and likewise did an excellent job. They focused a large part of the program on Philadelphia. "The Boston Symphony Goes to China," I'll take credit for the idea for that one. China was opening, and the Boston Symphony had arranged a tour at least to go to Beijing and to perform there with the Chinese National Symphony I guess it was. We worked out an arrangement with the Boston where we would go with them. Ed Bradley and Stringer and again Andy Lack went. What I recall most vividly about that program was that we looked at the rough cut, and I think Bill Leonard came to look at it as well. We looked at it and said, "There's nothing to fix, go ahead no suggestions, it's terrific." And it was.

"The Boat People" was again a Bradley, Stringer, Lack collaboration and Lack and Ed went out to the Far East. They were going to go on a ship which was intercepting these Vietnamese boats and helping them. They ended up on an island. This of course was a tough one to approve because we had really no way of knowing if we were ever going to get anything. It was a very chancy proposition, but we decided to take the gamble. They ended up on this island, and the story unfolded in front of them. It was a great show, and it was the show that got Bradley over to *Sixty Minutes* because Hewitt had been looking for people or for somebody. It was at the point where Rather was shortly to go over to the *Evening News*, and Hewitt saw Bradley doing the boat people and just said, "look, he's really our next guy." And so Bradley ultimately moved to *Sixty Minutes*, but as a direct result of "The Boat People."

"Miami - The Trial that Sparked the Riots." We brought in a young man named Eric Saltzman. It was his first, and I guess his only effort as a *CBS Reports* producer but he did a remarkable job. It was the trial of the Miami policeman tried for racism. It was the acquittal that resulted in some additional riots in Miami. He went back and traced it through trial footage and through archival footage, and it was a fascinating and

remarkable program. I don't know why Saltzman never worked out after that but it just didn't work, but he sure did a terrific job on that one.

"Gay Power, Gay Politics" was a provocative program. It dealt with gay power in San Francisco. It was controversial as well as provocative because the gays charged that George Crile and Grace Diekhaus did not do a straightforward job of that program. Indeed we found one case where our CBS standards were violated. They showed applause of a speech by the mayor when in fact no applause occurred. It created a misleading impression and we went on the air subsequently with an announcement that followed one of our *CBS Reports* programs apologizing for having misled the audience, apologizing for that violation of standards, and I guess we showed that we meant that our standards were to be observed. I said it was George Crile and Grace Diekhaus who produced that one. A lot of controversy surrounding it and not all of that controversy unfounded.

The "Wagon Train Trail" was a thirty minute that grew into an hour because it was so interesting and because Betsey Aaron who found it was persistent and pushed it and pushed it, and we in fact did it. It was an interesting controversial program involving children put in a wagon train. I see on this list a program called *CBS Reports* - "The Trouble With Women." I wish I could address it, but I don't remember it. Of course, the five part defense of the United States. I thought it a landmark series that did a superb job in evaluating our entire defense posture. "Nurse Where Are You?" was I think a Judy Reemstma piece which was excellent on the problems of the nursing profession. Jay McMullen's "The Toyota Invasion" was an excellent piece on how the Japanese started to secure dominance in the automobile field. "Embassy" was an interesting effort. We almost didn't put it on the air because it had so many problems. We were able to restructure it and finally it did go on the air and I thought it was pretty good. It was not one of our best efforts, but it was a pretty good one. I wish I could remember his name. The producer was a black who did some very nice things for us and then went on to NBC. I don't know where he is today. "The Legacy of Harry Truman" was an interesting show because Sauter who at that point was president of the news division didn't want to do it. I kind of fluttered with him and insisted, and in the end he finally admitted that it was a pretty good show. It dealt with how so much of 1980s foreign policy was based on decisions and acts taken by Harry Truman back in the late '40s and early '50s. I don't doubt that many of the titles listed involve interesting sidelights but I can't tell you that I can recall them. My memories are not all that vivid and not all that detailed maybe others involved in those productions do recall them. Moyers might for example, Stringer might, but that's about the best that I can manage I think.

I suppose there are any number of *Sixty Minutes* productions that are worth recalling. Again my memory is not what it should be. There was one in particular that Morley Safer did about a young black who had been arrested for a supermarket theft. He was clearly innocent of the crime, and Morley's very diligent efforts secured his release - Morley and Suzanne St Pierre was the producer and that won a Peabody. I recall a lot of Mike Wallace's scam pieces where Mike would confront some of these people and say, "between you and me, didn't you do that." The dumb guy would say, "yes, between us I think I did do it." At least *Sixty Minutes* was a rather unique sort of collection of pieces that ranged from the serious investigatory pieces including one that almost threw me in jail for contempt of court -- that was a Mike Wallace piece on a fraudulent fast food company called Wild Bill's. When the people who had been defrauded, the franchisees, decided to sue the Wild Bill organizers, the defense called us into court and demanded that we produce outtakes. We refused to do so, and the judge very nearly jailed me for contempt. Instead he threatened a big fine against CBS so I was spared of jail time. But Wild Bill's was a typical Mike Wallace, good Mike Wallace, piece on people who were hurt by fraudulent business practices. They ranged I remember from travel pieces like Morley's wonderful Orient Express piece, "A Trip on the Orient Express." Another Morley piece about an English woman who is a BBC star because her program on how to train dogs had become a high hit. Morley's piece was simply hilarious. I recall having said, "we're not going to do a piece on the BBC program about dog training." He said, "trust me." I did and he was right.

When you talk about awards given to productions that consisted of you know, we really didn't have, I don't think any conscience effort at organizing programs into all female or all male or minority and majority teams or a mixture of minority female and male teams. I don't think there was any conscious effort in that direction. There were a couple of occasions where it happened. I think it happened with Judy Reemstma and Marlene Sanders as the producer and correspondent on the nursing program. Was it conscious? I don't know. Judy proposed the subject I think. It was a good subject because there was a crisis in nursing at the time. Marlene was looking for an hour so we put them together. But I don't know that we made any particular effort to create teams of that sort or even to bring diverse people into a production for the sake of diversity. Obviously when we brought Bradley into the *Brown v. Board* celebration that was a conscious and deliberate effort. We thought it was appropriate for a Black to do that program, but by and large, I have to say no. I don't think it worked that way. I think it was a question of who was available, who had the idea, who worked well together, who did the producer or executive producer want for a particular program. I simply don't think we found ourselves -- I won't use the word quotas -- but saying we have to have a black on this, a woman on this, a white on this, and a male on this. I just don't think it worked that way.

I guess anybody who went to Vietnam was in danger and certainly when Rather and Andy Lack went to Afghanistan, they were very much in danger. Any wartime situation obviously involves some dangers. I would think to cite a very recent example, when Lesley Stahl did the militia's for *Sixty Minutes*. I'm not sure she didn't feel she was in danger, and I am not sure that Don Hewitt and the *Sixty Minutes* people didn't feel she was in danger. We did approve ideas that would be dangerous in the sense that people were assigned to wartime assignments and wartime stories and occasionally there might be an investigative report that could prove dangerous. Generally we bowed to the wishes of those who wished to do it. But in the case of the Afghanistan piece by Lack and Rather, we were deceived or at least we allowed ourselves to be deceived. They were going to Pakistan to work from the Pakistan side of the border [on the] deadly gun trade and all of those things. They slipped over without authorization into Afghanistan; we weren't exactly surprised that they did it, but we hadn't approved it. Maybe in the back of our minds we knew they planned to do it, but we hadn't approved it. We don't do it simply because you don't want to place somebody's life in jeopardy. More often than not what happens is that you say no, and they insist that they want to go ahead and do it. They [come] to you and you grudgingly acquiesce. Certainly we have never asked anybody to go into a dangerous situation where they have not wanted to go and when someone has said, "no, I feel it's too dangerous," we've said, "ok."

I think that it falls into two categories. Women were much easier to bring in. There were many women there who had been working as researchers or secretaries who had become extremely familiar and extremely good at production. I can cite two secretaries, one was Phyllis Bosworth, who had been Gene DuPors' secretary on *CBS Reports*, who turned out to be a first grade associate producer at first and a producer later on. Judy Hole had been a secretary to a producer who we knew all along had a great deal of ability. Esther Kartiganer had been working in the election area and obviously was talented. We knew she would ultimately make a good producer. Janet Roach who came out of Columbia and worked first in hard news and then documentaries; it was clear that she would be good. One big factor in that was the establishment of the research department that Sam Surratt deserves credit for. That took women and got them into the mix in a much more direct way other than the secretarial route that they had been before, and they then moved on to become associate producers and ultimately became producers. So that was very easy and very comfortable. There was not a great deal of agonizing over that, it just worked. Some of the producers we brought in from the outside who were more experienced and who had reputations of their own, and we simply signed them on. Minorities were much more difficult. It was difficult to find experienced black producers, experienced black writers, experienced black correspondents, and it was with a good deal of difficulty that we very slowly made headway there. There were obviously exceptions like Bradley, exceptions like again I'm sorry I can't

recall his name, but the black producer at *CBS Reports*, whose face I remember but whose name I can't recall. There was a black producer, again whose name I don't recall at *Sixty Minutes* who produced for Dan Rather back in 1977-78 and now the last I saw was producing for what is his name. It'll come to me. But it was a slow difficult process. What we tried to do was hire young blacks as researchers where we could and train them and give them a crack at being associate producers, and we did have the minority training programs that turned out a couple of editors who are still at I think *Sunday Morning*. But it was difficult and some of them stumbled. Oh yes, the *Sixty Minutes* producer was Edwards, I forget his first name. I remember a young man named Oliver something or other who was wonderful in the field. He could go out and get anything shot and then have a terrible time establishing a story structure once he got back and didn't know what to do with the material. It ended up where it didn't work out, and he was very distraught and wanted to sue us for racism. It was difficult, but we had taken a position, and we stuck by it, but it was hurtful. I suspect it is still somewhat difficult. People have a certain level of skills and a certain level of potential and sometimes there is not a good fit and sometimes the potential is not realized for whatever the reason. So I don't think from the little I know at this point that the number of minorities in important and significant positions at the networks is what it should be even today maybe even especially today. I think the situation with regard to women is much, much better. I am not in a position to evaluate what it is today, but from what I read and what I see and what I hear there maybe something closer to parity.

I don't think the men were a problem. I don't recall any situations where we said the assignment was too dangerous for a woman. I think there was expressed from time to time concern about the customs in certain countries. For example, if you wanted to send somebody to Egypt, there was some concern that women were not accepted as executives or as business people in Egypt. It was not the custom to deal with them in that way. Was it a good idea to send them? We sent them anyway. I remember our bureau chief in Cairo was a black woman, Scotti, and I can't remember her last name, broaden my memory. She was the bureau chief in Cairo; in fact she was the bureau chief when Sadat was shot. So we did send them even though Scotti's assignment was not my bag, but it was the news division's. I don't think morale was a problem. I don't think there was any unhappiness on the part of the producers or the associate producers that women and minorities were coming in. There would occasionally be some concern because somebody assigned to a project may not have been experienced enough -- or at least in the view of the producer -- and he would have hoped for somebody somewhat more experienced or more gifted. But by and large they took it without any problem. I think there is more concern on the part of the women because the men were clannish, and they did not welcome women on an equal basis. I don't think they were

particularly covert about or overt about being anti-feminist or anything like that. I remember that people complained about the fact that the men had a poker game at night once a week and no women were included. It was that kind of thing far more than anything that was a serious problem.

I'm not sure what you mean about group conflicts. I'm not sure I'm even able to answer that question. I just don't know what group conflicts are or were. There may have been friction in the field because the correspondent may not have wanted to have dinner with the unit manager every night or something like that, but that's something we didn't try to control out of New York. We couldn't control it out of New York, and if you regard that as a conflict I guess that was an unreconciled conflict.

There really was no union question. The only union we dealt with in any detail was the Writers Guild, which covered writers and researchers, and there was no problem there and the IBEW, which were editors, and as you know, were able to train minority editors and get them into the system with no problem.

There was no real opportunity for growth in those years basically not because we were downsizing but because there was no huge appetite on the part of the network for more news and public affairs. They kept trying to knock us off, and we kept trying to expand, and then as we reached the mid-80s, about the point I left, we had our first series of layoffs even though there had been budget cutting prior to that time. So there was not a great deal of opportunity for growth in those years. To the extent that we had some growth made it easier to hire new people and to train new people. I don't think it was anything like a huge spurt. We had people in place all along.

I confess I can not and maybe the answer is in number 15. Maybe the subject of harassment was swept under the rug. I don't recall harassment. I recall as they say complaints from women that there were not attitudes of inclusion. I don't recall anybody saying they were harassed. I remember Janet Roach complaining to me because I had just signed a big new contract with Andy Lack given him a very significant raise after he had had a very successful number of programs. And signing a new contract with Janet and giving her a much smaller raise because she had had a very difficult time and had not produced some successful programs; she insisted this was male chauvinism at work. I insisted it was not, it was a merit decision. But I don't recall Janet every saying/feeling she was harassed sexually. I don't recall anybody else. I could be wrong. My memory is selective or maybe we did just sweep it under the rug. I would like to think that there were no policies simply because a policy was

not necessary. Harassment was something we simply would not tolerate. By the same token there is harassment and harassment. I remember that a lot of *Sunday Morning* people felt they were harassed. But it wasn't a sexual manner it was just Shad Northshield being himself at some of his more bullying moments. I suppose that may have been harassment, but I guess also we looked the other way. But again I don't think it was the case of, "give me sex, if you want to keep your job." There was one producer who was known, one executive producer, who was known for a kind of building relationships with one particular woman or another in the course of his career, producers who worked then, but there was never any suggestion there was harassment. It ordinarily was somebody who wanted to advance themselves, and he wanted to take advantage of his position. Maybe that is sweeping something under the rug but we kind of looked the other way and maybe we were wrong to do so.

I think the closest we can come to a Neuharth was really Dick Salant who was very much a leader and very much a visionary and who insisted that we try our very best. There was a mandate from him that we had to increase the number of minorities and women in significant jobs; Bill Leonard continued that tradition, and much as I disliked him, Van Sauter did as well. I don't think there were meetings to discuss the problems of minorities as much as conversations where we would discuss with a particular correspondent or a particular executive producer or a particular producer some of the problems minorities had in terms of editorial skills. However, we had meetings to address those problems. We tried to address them in the minority training program. We tried to address them by having our producers and executive producers work more closely with those people who needed the help. Were minorities and women in the public affairs division just too emotional? I suppose to a degree they were. They were passionate about wanting equal treatment. They often felt, probably with some justification that they were now being discriminated against or at least not receiving comparable treatment to the men and to the whites. Were they too emotional? I don't know. I suppose. It depends on where your perspective was. That was a difficult period in terms of moving these people ahead as quickly as you'd like, and if you caught some hell once in awhile then that was part of the job at least that is the way I regarded it. I felt that they had a perfect right to speak out and speak out they did whether I thought so or not. I thought it was my job to try to listen and try to do what I could, which was not always a great deal, but I did try to listen. I did after one of those confrontations I probably turned around and said, "Why are these people so god damn emotional." But so what? There were not groups in place to work with the problems. There was certainly no women's associations, and I think in my time the Black Employees Association was just beginning to form.

I'm not sure that I can give any advice. The advice that I use to give was for people not to try to start at the top that is to say at the television network. They should go out to the stations. There was an easier opportunity at the stations. Not only were there more jobs, but you could learn your craft and a variety of crafts more easily at a station than at a network. Having been out of the business pretty much for ten years things have changed so dramatically that I wouldn't know where to send young people on jobs. I suspect somewhere in the cable area. In terms of media executives, I think the role is to try to balance the need for people you know are exceptional with the need for diversity and try to work it out as best you can.

What I liked most about my job was that it was fun and rewarding. It was wonderful to see an idea that you or somebody else had materialize into its finished form.

Note: Mr. Chandler, did write a note informing me that the black producer's name was Kent Garrett.

Judy Towers Reemstma
Former CBS Producer, Producer/Reemstma Productions

I got into journalism because I had a summer job in college at the NBC affiliate in Washington. I was a "vacation relief secretary," and I thought I was hot stuff because every two weeks, as secretaries went on vacation, I would move to another department. At the time, the Muppets were just starting out at the station and Willard Scott was on a local talk show.

I am a B.A. from Wellesley College. I majored in English. I did not really prepare for a career in journalism. Those were the bad old days when you were supposed to have a ring on your finger during your senior year and proceed directly up the aisle with a man of your choice just after. I thought I would work a while until "real" life started.

My mother was an old-fashioned stay-at-home mom, an adored only daughter who had lost her own mother at the time of her birth. She had no notion that I would become a professional, and when I was still one in my thirties and not yet married, she would ask me why I didn't stop working so hard and find a nice man and settle down. I told her I was looking as hard as I could. She (like all of us) was a person of her own time, who defined success by the mores of her own time. Whatever I was doing, she always made me feel that she was proud of me, and I think that helped me in ways I cannot easily define.

I have been a producer, director, and writer of television documentaries. I have worked at CBS, NBC, PBS, MacNeil Lehrer Productions, and Turner Broadcasting. I have three Emmys on my shelf, a Columbia DuPont, a Peabody, and an Albert Lasker. I started as a secretary, became a researcher, then associate producer, then producer. It never occurred to me that I would type memos all my life, but I knew that those first jobs were a good jumping-off place. I kept my eyes open, but most of all I was fortunate in my mentors.

Mentors have been very important to me. My first boss at CBS was Bud Benjamin, an astonishingly talented man whose loyalty and concern for young people seemed to match his talent. Correspondents and "stars" move around so much that they don't have much time to be mentors, at least that was my experience.

Females may have been more willing, but it was (and is) the guys who have the chips. I know the word networking is fashionable, but my focus was on my job. I don't think the 'good old boy' network functioned at the producer level. There were and are many talented

woman producers, writers etceteras. It is at the next level that the trouble starts

Boring, but I never had any experience with sexual harassment. A few guys made passes, but a simple "no" usually sufficed. I know there's a lot of this stuff out in the workplace and tend to believe any woman who says she has been harassed on the job

Women were involved in the editorial process, minorities were not. There was racism, I think, but not sexism to the same degree.

I am sure the fact that we had very few minority producers affected editorial selection

I can't elaborate, because I never experienced it. Had I wanted to become an Executive Producer, I'm sure I would have

See Above. I was a senior level producer, writer. The problem comes in the executive ranks

Crews would from time to time treat you as if you were the person heaven sent to go get them coffee. I pretty much ignored this stuff. The problems I have had with crews over the years have to do with communicating clearly what I expect of them, and their listening. If they don't listen, I don't hire them again.

Yes, I think people are prepared to be supervised by women producers. It is we who are providing work for them, not the other way around.

I don't think a federal mandate had anything to do with my career in journalism. Women and minorities do face some discrimination, as in fact do older people. (You should ask Marlene about this one.) But I don't think it is so much outright discrimination against an individual as it is the decision making is concentrated in the hands of a bunch of white men whose understanding of and sympathy for people of different ethnic backgrounds is sometimes a little on the skimpy side.

I don't think that friendships develop because of a mutual understanding of sexism or racism. I think they develop because people like and/or respect each other.

This is such a general question that I don't know how to answer it.

Marianne Edmunds

Assistant Professor, University of Southern California, Former CBS Producer

I got into journalism sort of by the back door, by accident. I was working as an anthropologist in graduate school. A friend of mine was at Columbia Journalism [School] or at the *Wall Street Journal*. I heard that there was a research position at CBS News and it was temporary and could lead to something else. But I was working on a doctorate. So anyway I went over and applied. Bob Skedgell hired me, and I became a researcher. I think it was around the time you were there the late '70s, and it was fun. One thing led to another, and I thought it was really good, but I stayed with anthropology for a couple of more years and then went to Sudan to finish the doctorate and also for personal reasons and everything fell apart. In the meantime, Bob Skedgell offered me a full-time position, and that was 1979. I came back to New York in January '79 and was hired full time as a CBS News researcher and worked on the *Evening News* and found it fun basically. My job as you know as a researcher was to do the supers and to check the scripts and it was a far cry from academia, which seemed so tedious and unfruitful and with no results. So one thing led to another, and I realized that that's really what I wanted to do anyway was to sort of be paid to report and study things. You know in a shorter amount of time and have them communicated and be on the air. I think I should add that as a child I had always wanted to be a *National Geographic* photographer, writer. Didn't we all? I use to write little stories and make up little pictures and thought that that was what anthropology would allow me to do, and then when I discovered that CBS would let me do that kind of thing easier, I took up broadcasting. I came into broadcasting very reluctantly, I didn't think it was good enough for me. Isn't that awful? Snobby. I thought it was much better to be in print actually. And today we're right

My educational background was in the liberal arts. I graduated from Berkeley in literature and history during the revolutionary days and did not want to go to graduate school or become a nurse or secretary or get married. So I did what was not such a bad thing at the time. The war in Vietnam was raging, I went into the Peace Corps. I was a Peace Corps teacher in Kenya. This was the late '60s, early '70s. I came out of that and really wanted to do more anthropology and go back and do some sort of development work, and that's when I got a job at *Africa Report* magazine and became an assistant editor, a photographer. One thing led to another, and I decided to go back to school in anthropology. But I had had this dabbling in print journalism and that was about six years before I actually ended up at CBS.

More by her lack of self sufficiency. She was a full time wife and mother of four children with no college education and no professional skills except to do some nurse's aide work in

a hospital Her own mother had died when she was seventeen and she had helped raise her younger sister and brother Then [she] met my father during World War II, and they married five years later She knew no other man, was a devout Irish Catholic, or relatively devout (a rote) Irish Catholic I should say and semi from the South Having an outside job or career or being a professional was something totally outside her range of experience or ideas It was not an issue or a goal She may regret it, but I don't think so I think she just did what a lot of middle class women, middle class white women, did anyway in the fifties, was a suburban housewife. So I knew very early on that somehow I didn't respect that, or I thought it seemed like a trap and very much wanted to be like my father who traveled, worked for a chemical company, was never quite sure if he wasn't really a spy because he used to go to South America all the time. But he instilled in me much more of a desire to go out and see the world and do something and not be so confined to the home

I came into CBS News as a researcher in 1979, but I had also done it as a temp, a temporary person, in the summers between 1976 and '78 for two and three months at a time or six months at a time and then was offered a full time job in 1979. You know what that work was it was basically to amass and make reports on topics. I can remember doing Elvis Presley -- the special that was on the night, the day that he died. I did an 11:30 research packet for Joan Richmond to do the 11:30 special projects whatever that thing was called. Hubert Humphrey. I remember doing a packet of research on Hubert Horatio Humphrey for Roger Mudd, researching how he got his name and his background, put it together and take it to the correspondent, and they would use it in their brilliant comments that night. It was a lot of fun. Instant research, pretty much everything was at your beck and call, not the Internet, but the library. I really liked putting those packets together. I remember my first long assignment was a three hour special on energy in 1977. I was to put together for Russ Bensley a whole section on petro chemicals and the importance of petro chemicals, and I interviewed people all over the city. I must have written a ten-page report, and my father who was even in the business read it and said he was very impressed. I remember feeling very useful, even though I never got to see exactly how it was put on the air, it didn't really matter to me. I never felt that I was just typing, and I never felt that that was what I would do I could type. I had taken typing in college or in the summers, but I could see how I could feel useful in this industry. This was the late '70s. So I never considered that I would be a secretary. I knew that coming out of college. I did note here that it wasn't such a bad thing to remain as a researcher for years. Now, that I think back, the male counterparts moved much faster. The best example is Peter Schweitzer who came in about the same time I did, and well you know the history of that one, but he moved much faster than any of the women. I was there the time you were, Kathy Sulkes even Suzanne St. Pierre who then went down

to *Sixty Minutes* and moved quickly. I wasn't an aggressive researcher; I wasn't an aggressive woman. I didn't figure out that you could move in the company if you made certain moves and appealed to certain people. I liked delivering my work to producers who respected it and earned a reputation that way. But certainly I think probably was known as just a good researcher. But in those days it was something to be proud of.

My greatest mentor was probably my grandmother and also I should say her sister who is still alive and is 102 today. My grandmother always represented independent thinking and independent opinions and judgment in a very patriarchal male dominated semi Southern family. My grandmother would always speak out at family dinners would get up and not only make people laugh but sometimes shock and horrify them with her opinions. I remember her telling me about Alger Hiss and Whitaker Chambers and Richard Nixon, how she had known Alger Hiss cause he lived down the block, [how] she used to make peanut butter and jelly sandwiches for him, and [how] he was such a nice young man and that Whitaker Chambers must have been nothing but a -- she didn't use the word sleaze -- but whatever a seventy-five year-old woman would use that was comparable that was Whitaker Chambers. What did I know? I was nothing, I was in my teens when she would talk about this. Nixon, she hated Nixon because Nixon she thought was cowardly and also corrupt and most of the men in my family liked the Republicans. She was independent, so in a way she was a mentor. So I would go to her house, which was an apartment in Baltimore, and there would be tons of magazines and new books, and it was from her that I really learned to read and really read for the sake of learning. My parents did not have a lot around the house and were not at all intellectuals. And my grandmother wasn't either, but she was a real supporter of it and also told great stories and would sit back in this big old chair and tell stories. She spawned a bevy of twelve grandchildren, eight of whom were girls and most of whom could tell stories.

Mentors in the company in my careers as an anthropologist and at CBS? As an anthropologist, there was a man that I actually did get involved with. He was my professor, and he was very much of a mentor and remains one today. Mentors at CBS? I can't really say there were strongly mentors. Ed Bradley a bit, but [he]did not take on the mentoring role with me anyway. Some producers were really helpful and thought a lot of me and thought a lot of my work and stood up for me for a while. I was sort of favored, I would say, but nobody mentored me and in the end that was a problem because most of those people had left and had left *Sixty Minutes* or had left CBS. When I felt like I wasn't going anywhere and I didn't want to do the same thing over and over again, I didn't have anybody to help me go anywhere, I suppose. But also I feel that at CBS unless you were a woman prepared to play a political game with men and with the male power structure there, you were excluded. You also outgrew it. I never did learn to play the political game of smoozing in a way and gradually

outgrew any interest in it. My grandmother also encouraged service to community and to the world and I think that is one of the reasons I wanted to go into the Peace Corps and then do aid work in Africa or wherever.

Female mentors. Definitely mentors were hit or miss generally. Mine were definitely not female in that the women did not generally come forth and offer any mentoring. Men, and this is probably sexist, tended to mentor more because they took on young researchers except in one case and this was a woman at *CBS Reports* who I actually became good friends with, Patti White. I had no mentors that were women, in fact I found them the least helpful, the most competitive, the least supportive, and, even in some cases perhaps obstructionists. I didn't have outright problems, but I found that they were not the most helpful. People like Bob Skedgell were really supportive. People at *Sixty Minutes*, Steve Glauber, Joel Bernstein, Tom Bettag, well a little bit. They tended to be men, even Don Hewitt for a while and Ed. But women I found either my peers or those above us not very collaborative, much more security conscience about what they knew, much more close to the chest, much less helpful. There was one woman at *CBS Reports* ... who was actually destructive, I don't know if you remember her. Judy Crichton was another who was nice but generally I felt supported the promotion of male associate producers and researchers over women. That's probably not true today.

On sexual harassment. I wasn't really harassed by anybody. I remember a few times interviewing men, and they would suggest let's go out or can we have dinner, or what are you doing later and stuff like that. Once a group of Bible Belt Christians in Texas wanted to harangue me into becoming a Christian, and they put me in a room and asked me if I was listening to Jesus. It was sort of terrifying cause it had nothing to do with the story I was doing. I managed to get out of it. I don't know if that qualifies as harassment, it was some kind of bludgeoning, I felt. So there's not much there in that since for me.

With some exceptions no. Most of the women I knew were at low levels of research and production assistant. A handful, literally a handful, maybe two or three were women in management and executive positions and you know who they were. Margery Baker, Joan Richmond, Linda, Linda from the *Evening News*. You know who they were. Were more African Americans and women interviewed in news programs? Certainly at *Sixty Minutes*, that was never an effort. There was an unspoken philosophy that you went after whoever was the strongest in the field and that you did not interview women or African Americans or Latinos because of that. There was even a bias against using people as tokens cause that's what they suggested they were and the leadership at *Sixty Minutes* always

said we just want the best we are not looking for any particular kind. A kind of rose colored view of the world [that] was underscored by a really strong brand of white male dominance as you know. I remember there were a couple of African American producers, males at *Sixty Minutes*, neither of them lasted. One lasted longer than the other. I think you knew Les Edwards. But he was a nice person, he was smart, and he was kind of political, but he really wasn't very good in the field. He would forget to do a lot of things like cutaways and reverses, and he just would come back, but he was generally thought of as a comer, but I think he made too many errors. There was another man, Tony, I can't remember his last name, who was outright disliked, and oh, then there was Harry from across the street (*Evening News*) and everybody liked Harry. There were only three African American producers at that time with *Sixty Minutes*. I found that units generally felt they were immune to such charges, both *CBS Reports* and *Sixty Minutes* were above such charges and in that way skirted around the issue of facing any question of racism or sexism or gender issues at all. There was this sort of benign arrogance that we are above that and we don't partake in any of those wrong doings. That was the feeling that I got.

I think they suffered. I think editorial judgment and control was never outright said, "this is what it's going to be," but under such personalities as Howard Stringer, Judy Crichton, Andy Lack etcetera. I noticed in that period late '70s, first half of the '80s that young white males tended to be promoted. Everybody said this, but it was true. . . was in the same office as me. He would come in late. This is kind of off the record and you are not going to use names I'm sure. But he would come in late; he would take long lunches, and he would leave early. And he got to be an associate producer on a film that I did all the research for and did the work late into the night for. He really wasn't doing the associate producing. It was a documentary with Judy Crichton as producer and Ed Bradley as correspondent called "The Return of the CIA." I was doing all the old file footage work. I didn't get to go out. Tom did that. I didn't get to come into the meetings. I occasionally went into the editing room. But I found generally there was a young boys club: Peter Schweitzer, Tom Yellin, Andy, Howard. They all sort of hung out together and played together. I was not a part of that. I remember there was Judy Crichton, in fact they use to put her down and some other noted people who have gone on and done better things. At the same time, there was a sort of a woman's clutch at *CBS Reports*. Grace Diekhaus was the head of it and Nina was part of it and I used to think you were a part of it, too. That I didn't really belong to. When I moved up to *Sixty Minutes* I found it a little easier, and it wasn't quite as groupy and in part people tended to work more steadily and all the time. So I think its a question of how much work you have. Whether it be, I think racism and sexism obviously exist, but they are more able to express themselves if there is more leisure time allowed, it seems.

I never became a senior level producer, writer, editor, or correspondent, but I noticed that those who did in the management side of the producing side. They were not as powerful always as the men. I am thinking of Esther. She is a little bit of a powerful lady. But she is not as powerful as the men. In terms of Diane Sawyer, she was very powerful. So it depends on the personality here.

This is working with camera crews. Yes, at first it was really hard. I was also not that confident because I had worked with all men all the time. I was working with men and to go out with a camera that had always worked with men and were kind of good old boys and would throw their potatoes at each other at lunch and talk war stories and drink beer. I wasn't a part of it. But there were nice crews. Wade Bingham was very nice, patronizing, but nice. There were crews, Walter Dunbrow, patronizing but if he liked you he would help you. I remember when I was first doing my stories, they were helpful. I remember one guy in San Francisco was difficult. What was his name? Scott. There were some that were outright difficult, and that continues today. Even at *Discovery*, I have found some men really difficult. I have found that if you are feminine, and if you are nice and strong, if you don't get hysterical, and you seem to be organized, super organized far more organized than men [it can be positive]. I have worked with men like ... who just turn on their heels and spin when it comes to making a decision; they have no idea, and they turn to everybody else. But somehow it kind of gets laughed at and tolerated. I find that women have to be far more compulsive in their list and organization and task master qualities or feminine and strong. And that's a delicate balance. I worked with one producer, Monica, who was at *Sixty Minutes*, who was extremely feminine, you could say almost sexy but got what she had to get done. I mean she didn't go any further than that, but she did play a sort of femme fatale role a little bit. I found the men either patronizing or resistant. The worst experience was in Cambodia with Norman Lloyd where he barely talked to me. I had taken Ed Bradley to do a story ten years after leaving Cambodia. Basically Bradley and Lloyd had worked together in Cambodia. They constantly left me out. I was almost in tears every night with trying to break through. I also had studied the place I had read a lot more books. Granted, they had been there ten years ago, I had never been there. But there was no interest in my knowledge and what I could do. And I felt defensive as a result. A story that I was helped on was a story on Tien Ching, the life and death in Shanghai, by Walter Dunbrow, who really was in my corner on that piece. So it wasn't always so bad. But you had to develop a relationship, a feeling of trust, and moreover you knew what you were doing than even men knew what they were doing with the cameramen. I never worked with a woman cameraman except in *Discovery*. That too was tough, but we became friends. I found some of the same attitudes still exist, but I know better how to deal with it.

Yes it was because of the newness of it all and because women tend to say what they feel insecure about and men don't. I think in some cases, yes journalists are more prepared to be supervised by females today, but not necessarily, and I think it's a long time in changing. I also think women in this field tend to be more competitive and want to get ahead, and we are more desperate perhaps.

I didn't get in because of this mandate. I don't believe. I think because more women are seen as researchers or researchers as seen as women, it's a woman's job, the rest of the work on up is seen as a more male job. That's still regarded today. It is a step up from secretary or women sort of seen as library people. That's why I think I got the job, and I was a very good researcher. I also was resourceful and knew how to get things done.

Were relationships difficult? Well, I think it was more implicit rather than explicit that that's why we were friends at that time. Again I think it was more implicit than explicit at that time. I think many of us didn't want to face that that's why we were friends or didn't talk about it explicitly because we were journalists and not seeing things in terms of quote political messages. It was a very strong message to me that I was seen as a liberal only because I had gone to the Peace Corps and I had liberal views, I guess and was seen as a sort of flag waver and a lot of the stories I would suggest were seen as do-good sort of social issue stories. If my conservative colleagues, male, suggested them, they would be fine. If I did, I was branded. And I was branded by the correspondents and by the executive producer. Even though some of those stories that I did were good, I mean in the end they liked them. So I would try to pull back from that and say no, I'm just doing good stories I'm not doing issues, I'm not doing those things. I felt that the same thing existed in terms of friends that you wanted to not make that a point. You were a bit timid about that, but we did bond together certainly over complaints over males and their privilege and certainly white privilege. But we could complain a lot about the men, but I am not sure it was always mutually stated.

I remember having to insist that in stories where we did particularly Third World people, I was doing a story in El Salvador about the refugee situation and the persecutions and the torture and my producer, who was Joel Bernstein at that time was interviewing all the experts, all the refugee experts, the government people, the State Department -- couldn't find a Salvadoran that he thought was acceptable or spoke good enough English. That was the other thing, they had to speak very good English. Finally did, I finally said we had to do it with this woman named Elisa and so we did interview her. Bradley did interview her. We came back to the editing room. Her accent was really thick. I didn't find it too thick, but they did. She was cut out, and I remember going into the editing room and saying, "You're going

to do a story about Salvadorans and there is not one Salvadoran in the story " They changed their mind, and in fact to his credit Joel said, "you're right and we have to fit her in " They did put her in. But there was prejudice against putting anybody in who was a little bit different, spoke differently, looked differently I think you probably know how Don Hewitt felt about Indians who he thought were really boring. I probably shouldn't say that But there was a general feeling, "we want fast speaking dynamic, upscale middle class people to talk just like us, and that's going to make us really remembered on television." Anybody who was a little bit different was ruled out. At *Sixty Minutes* they didn't want subtitles or dubs. It has gotten better since then. Was I made a better person? I think I was horrified at first and learned that if I was going to stay, I couldn't get on every bandwagon every time. It wasn't even every bandwagon I couldn't even get on that bandwagon everytime. I did have times when I insisted on things being in there, and I would get yelled at. One time I was in Bradley's office, and I started to cry. Don Hewitt ran off and couldn't stand it, and I won. But I think it hurt me in moving up the ladder to be that way. But this is the pattern. I was strong at first, I weakened and didn't raise it everytime. I got along fine towards the end of my tenure. I said I am sick of this, I am going to start being what I am again and gradually worked my way out of there. Am I a better person? I am the same. I think I was weak in the middle there and didn't do enough fighting for those important points to be made -- people to be included, class and race and gender not to be a source of exclusion. An another example was when we did the homeless piece in 1981 and to his credit Joel Bernstein who did that insisted that it be on and take priority, and I remember that it was excluded from the original lineup because it was going to be in a lineup that was government oriented. This is something that I should talk about with you in person. I am not sure I can say it here. There was fight to get in the under class of society. They were offensive to some, and it was a struggle to get them in. I can think of examples if you need them.

Did I seek out female and minority leaders? Always. I always did, not just because they were that but because they often were the point or the focus of the stories. I knew they had to be in there. I also knew they had to be good, and if you looked hard enough, you always found good people in those categories. I have continued that in my work with *Discovery* where I also work with all men and practically all male producers and all male leadership. They will do stories without including women or minorities or the people that we are looking at. And I always get them in I get them written in the script and I fight to have them in. Sometimes they don't make the final cut, but in general I can't think of one case where they haven't. I didn't want a show to be all of men, either at *CBS Reports* or *Sixty Minutes*.

I don't know of any who made diversity a priority. I don't know of anybody who did that in the executive level from *CBS Reports* to *Sixty Minutes*. I remember people saying at the

top "we're gonna pick the best, we're gonna pick good people. We're not picking a good woman." It became true when *Sixty Minutes* was looking for a woman correspondent, and they landed Diane. Don would say, "I'm just looking for the best. I'm not looking for a woman." So, explicitly nobody thought it was here to stay. Maybe in their hearts and implicitly they knew it was true, so they did it. But they didn't want to admit it. It wasn't kosher or it wasn't fashionable to admit it, not at CBS. You did that if you were at PBS, right?

Men were definitely considered first for these potentially dangerous assignments particularly in the Third World. Women were treated cautiously and patronizingly. My examples are Cambodia, South Africa, and Vietnam. At the same time I have found just the opposite true at *Discovery* where I am given the hardship post to go to the jungles of Honduras or Guatemala, the Middle East, the North Pole. They know that I don't mind, and I actually like the hardship posts and find it much more challenging. And you can get good stuff, and I like the challenge of a difficult place. In the Middle East, it's sometimes been hard to deal with Middle Eastern men particularly in Egypt. Egyptian men do not want to give in or give anything to women. That's one example. Yes, definitely men were considered at CBS first.

Conflicts that appeared. Relationships developed between colleagues, certainly friendships, close friendships. Conflicts also developed. I often saw between when I was an associate producer between producer and cameraman and producer and correspondent. There would be open and sometimes unresolved tensions that were very uncomfortable, but it was in the spirit of working out a better story. Sometimes it was over petty things, but I found it was better than there being an absolute clear power structure where one person is above all the rest. Today I understand that at *Sixty Minutes* the correspondent rules. In the early '80s it was more give and take between producer and correspondent and that actually felt healthier than what it is now.

Sacrifices. Sacrifices that I made in my personal life. I certainly made it not to be a pioneer but just because I had to be always on the road. I often found I couldn't say no to an assignment. I would always go. There were lost week-ends, lost family reunions and probably lost relationships. I know I lost one big relationship in my life. The man that I probably could have most married because I really wanted to work at CBS and do this work. He was against my being away, and it ruptured us forever. At the same time, the eternal on the road, traveling and marriage to the network and the job wore thin for me and grew old and when I finally did decide I wanted to settle down, it didn't quite work either. I think I

missed out on having a family because of it. But I had a great time. I think I would have done a little bit different today and been a little bit more balanced.

Did you leave the business? Eventually. I wanted to become a parent, and I wanted a life outside of *Sixty Minutes* and for those two reasons I felt it necessary for me to leave. I pulled away and then became out of the loop and out of the circle and wasn't in demand. It was a mutual agreement, although you know, I know, they would have kept me on someplace if I had really insisted, but I desperately wanted to have a change and have a life. I think

I don't know about the downsizing. It seems more women were let go, but also inconsequential men. Women in assistant positions, African Americans perhaps, although that was touchy. Young white males seemed not to go and they also seemed to rise quickly as I said even at *Sixty Minutes*. . . rose very quickly, even though he made mistakes and came in as an associate producer, he rose quickly. He could smooze. I never could do that and also he was one of the boys, and CBS was just a Jewish club as well as you know. I hate to say it but it's true. They all knew each other; they all went to the same schools, spoke the same language.

I think that I have told mostly the stories at *Sixty Minutes* where I found adversity or antagonism. I also found there were a couple of years two or three years in there where I was really happy at CBS. At *CBS Reports* working with a woman, Patti White, and working on a year-long documentary [that] actually was not regarded well by *CBS Reports* but did do wonderful things. I made a lifelong friend in Patti. Then also at *Sixty Minutes* in the early '80s. I felt very respected for what I did, but I was an associate producer. I was not a full producer. When I became a full producer, it became a little more difficult, and I felt very isolated and very alone with no one to help me. No one; you were on your own. You were also very isolated there. But I did have good experiences, some good editors, good cameramen, good producers to work with. There were a lot of days of uncertainty and a lot of mistrust and gossiping and anxiety. I think it goes more against women, also women were watched more carefully than men for sure. Men had to do really egregious things wrong, really egregious. Women were watched much more closely and much more scrutinized in their work.

Well, going to Southeast Asia had an enormous impact on me. I didn't really realize it because I had always been in love with Africa. I had definitely wanted to go to the Third World. Going to Cambodia with Ed, on my own, even though I was with an antagonistic crew and an antagonistic correspondent. On my own I found such inspiration and beauty

in that country that I was really glad to be there regardless. It has always stayed strong in my memory and as an experience of creating a story out of nothing. We didn't have interviews. People didn't speak English. People were nice, but we couldn't get a story. We weren't allowed to travel because they were fighting. We couldn't go to Angkorwat, everything was pulled out from under us, and we pulled a story out of it regardless. So it was a bittersweet experience. My colleagues weren't that nice to me, but it was a wonderful experience. The same was true with Vietnam. I went to Cambodia in 1985 and Vietnam in 1989. In this case a woman sort of ruled me out and took over my story. I felt sort of excluded -- my work and my contribution -- but I had a very meaningful time otherwise. That's a whole story. I felt very betrayed by. So my experience at CBS in good places and the wonderful places was bittersweet. There were also some wonderful American stories, nuclear power plant workers in Armarillo who refused to work because it was against their ethics. Most of them were Hispanics and the archbishop of Armarillo would guard them and the Baptist church was [a] weapons mongering church, and it was a wonderful story and wonderful characters and I loved it. I think for those eleven, ten years I was in the right place doing stories that meant a lot to me for the most part. I really did get to work on the stories that I liked. I sometimes wish I'd been able to stay under different conditions, but not under the conditions that existed. So, I really want to get this tape in. I wish you well Teresa. We'll be away in June. Best of luck and hope to see you soon. Maybe I'll come to North Carolina. Bye.

Roy Campanella II
Former CBS Editor, Independent Film Producer/Director/Writer

I worked at CBS News in New York as a film editor and videotape editor from 1973 through 1977 at which time I received a fellowship from CBS to study at Columbia's Graduate School of Business where I received my master's degree and graduated in 1979 and moved to Los Angeles to become a CBS Programming Executive in the TV movie and mini-series division.

Although I worked at CBS as a film and videotape editor cutting news along with the collaborative efforts of the correspondent and producer assigned to each particular segment. I do have a journalism background which began in high school when I was writing for the student paper Woodlands High School in Westchester County and continued on to college at Harvard University where I joined other African American students and began writing especially about events in Africa for the student organization for black unity, SOBU for their newspaper, *Black World*. This monthly paper eventually became known as *African World*, Milton Coleman was the editor. I eventually became the international news editor and did a long series of articles or news analysis pieces examining current events in Africa and placing them into a world context. After I graduated from Harvard, I was one of the principal owners of a news service out of the United Nations, the Africa News Service. It was a very small mom and pop operation. Winston Berry was the reporter, and we would gather news that was germane to the African and African American context. Actually it was very Pan African in scope, and we would present it to subscribers to our news service. Financially, it was never a viable operation but intellectually it was very satisfying. I think it also helped to inform readers about an area that is covered very little in the news by conventional sources.

I joined CBS. I think it was the summer of 1973, and I had worked for WGBH TV as a director, cameraman, editor where I did a number of short documentaries focusing on aspects of life in the Boston area, primarily in Roxbury and Dorchester, the two largest enclaves of African Americans in the Boston community.

I actually held CBS in fairly high regard in the early '70s. I considered CBS to be the tiffany among networks. I think at that particular time it was number one in the ratings. The ratings wars really hadn't heated up very much because CBS was consistently number one as I recall. I think the news division under Dick Salant's presidency was actually a very good place to work, and I am not just simply paying

lip service to that CBS seemed to be concerned with maintaining a strong news gathering operation that would as objectively as possible explore various issues. Of course, there wasn't very much integration which means the hiring of African Americans or other minorities and women had not really developed, was not widespread, but there was a receptivity to exploring that. One of the things I helped to do when I entered the news division, I noticed a number of African Americans complaining about the situation there and they certainly had legitimate reasons to complain. But I suggested that we form a Black Employees Association to articulate our views in a more organized fashion and to engage management in a dialogue so that hiring conditions and hiring practices could be discussed openly and hopefully changed for the better so that the inclusion of women and minorities would be expanded. I met with other African Americans from various divisions, and we were able to form such an organization which exists to this day. It helped to launch a number of very helpful programs.

CBS Reports I think was very important to the news division. I think that *CBS Reports* represented one of the last major efforts by a network news gathering operation to consistently produce high quality documentaries. I said consistently to address pressing national and international problems in a manner that didn't strike me as being overtly cosmetic and intentionally sensationalized. I think a lot of the news gathering operations of today when it comes to lengthier pieces, they don't have an intellectual and scholarly edge to them. It's much more of a tabloid sensationalistic kind of approach. I think there has been a dumbing down of news gathering operations from the 70s to the 90s over this twenty-year period. In terms of other units in the division, I worked primarily for the *Week-End Evening News*, which Dan Rather was the anchor of, occasionally Bob Schieffer did it, and Ed Bradley also did it, Charlie Osgood did the show. Bud Lamoreaux for most of the years that I was there was the executive producer and a very good one, an excellent person to work with. I worked along with three other editors on that weekend shift. We cut for the Saturday broadcast and then for the Sunday morning CBS show in which we cut lengthier pieces. I did many of the Heyward Hale Broun sports featurettes, and then we cut for the *Evening News* feed the late Sunday night news feed.

In terms of question three, it would be very difficult for me to compare the television documentary unit with the other units. I never really worked for *CBS Reports* other than on a piecemeal basis. I might have gone over there and done some negative cutting. I might have assisted when it was really crunch time, and they were trying to make a particular air date with a documentary and they needed some extra hands. So I might have come in on a Monday or a Tuesday, my days off, and pulled some over time there, but it

would be very difficult for me to compare the operation of both units

It's very difficult to say I know that I consistently engaged in a healthy, friendly, very cordial exchange of ideas with producers I worked with, with the correspondents I worked with Rita Braver, for instance, was starting out; she now covers the White House, and she was based in Washington at that time. I knew her early on in her career. I think she has since become far more strident and opinionated in her coverage of the presidency than she was in those days. I found her to be a very open and a good broadcast journalist. I listen to her reports today, and I hear a kind of slant and particular acerbic take on everything and emphasis on the scandal side of the Clinton presidency. I know in fact that there were just as many scandals in the early '70s, mid-70s when we had Nixon and Watergate but Rita Braver was not. This was really post Watergate. She was investigative; she had a curiosity which was healthy and an investigative approach; but she didn't seem like she had an ax to grind. And now in 1997 she certainly seems like she does have an ax to grind, and that's just one example.

News judgment or news values were really shaped by the principal correspondents and anchors. Walter Cronkite, Dan Rather, Roger Mudd, they, I think, really dominated the scene. Douglas Edwards, the elderly veteran news reader who had a mid-day news read, and then Charlie Osgood on radio. These fixtures really kind of set the tone. In terms of African Americans, I don't think that there was a strong influence. I do know that there was an openness to getting African Americans involved at a certain level. Now that doesn't mean that it was you know like terribly widespread, but there was an openness. I recall being asked whether or not I wanted to do on air, you know reporting. Folks seemed to be very receptive to that. I wasn't. I had no interest in that area. But I think when it came to discussing stories, certainly there was a receptivity on the part of individuals to get my opinion and occasionally I did voice my opinion especially let's say regarding apartheid in South Africa. I think that after a discussion with Dick Salant about the scarcity of South African coverage, I think Robin Wright began doing things. Now, I am not saying that I really gave him the suggestion to hire someone in South Africa to report for the network, but I think the scarcity of reporting coming out of Southern Africa, having been brought to his attention by me and probably by a lot of other people, helped to inspire that decision, and maybe he made that decision long before he spoke with me. So, you know, there is definitely no cause and effect that I can directly trace to it.

As anyone could probably note you know all three networks at that time and today consistently prioritized news in a very similar fashion. I think that is not only a function of design but a function of hiring people with similar backgrounds, similar world views, similar

gender, similar ethnic group and you find that they begin to prioritize each news story in the same way. I mean they come with a particular agenda. Now that doesn't mean that the agenda is like a negative one or a positive one. It's an agenda that's almost imperceptible. It isn't always a hard and fast kind of we're going to do this kind of story because we have to you know make someone look bad. It's just that a particular story for ABC will lead and that same story will probably be for NBC and CBS because the executive producers of each news broadcast are in terms of values and judgment almost interchangeable.

I really didn't come to CBS until 1973, so I can't speak to how difficult it was in the '60s, although I can offer this minor anecdote. Upon graduating from Harvard in 1970, I went to an interview at CBS looking for employment at that time. I really didn't have a strong idea of where I could fit in at CBS, but I didn't find a receptive kind of environment in terms of getting employment there. Some of that I think is obviously do to the fact that I didn't know exactly what I wanted to do. It always helps if you know what you want to do. That could have been the primary cause. Or actually CBS wasn't going to offer me what I really wanted to do which was actually to direct programs. There certainly didn't exist an open door attitude towards minorities seeking employment even those with strong academic credentials and you know an articulate kind of presence.

Changes in staffing in terms of the issues raised by men in the CBS units. The concerns were certainly revolved around can the individual do the job as well as former individuals have done it who were white and male? That was certainly a question that kind of floated around the atmosphere. There certainly was and probably still is a bit of sexism in terms of some men either criticizing or making assumptions about women or speaking in a disparaging way about women in the unit. I mean that happened, but I don't think that happened to any greater degree than it happens in corporate America or anywhere else. There were certainly sexual liaisons between employees and I don't think that happened anymore than it would happen anywhere else, I guess. Hard for me to say though because I really haven't worked in that many corporations. I worked primarily for CBS and then went independent.

I think men in the unit held many of the female producers in fairly high regard. I know that on the *Week End News*, Joan Snyder was very well respected and some of the female producers who were perceived to be there simply because they were cute were the subject of ridicule, usually behind their back. I was at CBS when Sally Quinn was hired from the *Washington Post*, Ben Bradlee's wife and I know that she worked on the *CBS Morning News*. There was a lot of skepticism, and there was a lot of animosity toward her. I think people were just waiting for her to fail. I think that the perception of her was so negative going in

by many of the CBS insiders that as I recall she would have had to totally amaze them to have succeeded. The assumption was really strong that she didn't know what she was doing, that she wouldn't succeed, that she was an outsider. They really didn't have to respect. Now, maybe I am exaggerating the negativity that swirled around her brief flirtation with being an on air news personality. But as I recall there was a considerable amount of sour feelings at CBS toward her

Group conflict. Didn't really exist very much at the *Week End Evening News*. I think the biggest disagreements were around whether or not a particular producer's piece when the executive producer needed it cut down what those cuts were going to be and then assignments, you know there might be a disagreement on assignments. Technologically speaking, the biggest ripple or conflict was around the shift from film to videotape editing. When I first got there. I was cutting film and in fact during the evacuation or during the retreat from Saigon, it happened on a weekend, the fall of Saigon to the North Vietnamese forces and the Viet Cong. I received in house via plane the first film out of that region of the world, and I cut that in an eleventh hour rush to get the footage on air. It led the Evening News where we could see South Vietnamese soldiers kicking old ladies and other defenseless civilians off the plane so that their cowardly asses could get a spot and escape the on coming Vietnamese forces from the North. That was an exciting period in time, but in terms of conflict, there weren't many labor disputes, really. There were certain contract negotiations that would come up. There were certain issues about, you know salary and benefits. There were some political conflicts. I know that some of the editors would debate certain political issues and choose sides because there were national and international issues that galvanized the opinion of all New Yorkers especially the Middle East in terms of international issues and civil rights and the abortion issue in terms of national concerns.

Question nine is very interesting because I certainly noted that the appearances of experts of African American or minority descent and women was almost none existent when I got to CBS, and it is not really until today even today it is not widely seen. Very seldom were articulate and highly educated experts and leaders featured on various news segments. I wasn't in a position as a film and videotape editor to seek out female and minority leaders and experts to be included in the interview segments. But occasionally on a very personal and cordial level, I would suggest to various producers with whom I had established a good working rapport. I would direct them to particular African Americans who had achieved a level of considerable expertise in certain areas. Individuals that wouldn't mind speaking openly and extensively with our producers. So I did try to on occasion help them broaden the kinds of points of view that were being expressed.

Women and minorities were not that heavily involved in the editorial process of CBS News. The editorial process was guided by the executive producers, the president Dick Salant from the news division, and the managing editors of the CBS *Evening News* and the CBS News shows. There were a growing number of women at that time slowly, but there weren't any minority executive producers that I know of and I knew everybody there. The only on air personality at that time that was really gaining ground was Ed Bradley. I can recall the CBS Black Employees Association bringing to the attention of Dick Salant the fact that *Sixty Minutes* did not have an African American broadcast journalist and that Ed Bradley would probably be an excellent candidate for that and within two years Ed Bradley was on *Sixty Minutes* and has been ever since.

Definitely the increase in African American employees saw a resulting increase in African Americans and women being interviewed in documentaries and news stories. I think there is a connection that probably can be joined I don't know how scientific that is, but I think it does reflect my historical experience.

There wasn't a lot of overt tension on the *Weekend Evening News*. Just as in the larger American society, any discussion of racial and sexual issues was an uncomfortable kind of topic. Now that doesn't mean that producers who were white wouldn't engage you in the discussion in order to explore your particular take on something. I think people did want to know your point of view. But when your point of view greatly diverged from theirs and new perceptions were expressed, quite often people would try to shut down the conversation and move on to another topic. It is very difficult for Americans especially whites primarily whites, to discuss racial issues and sexual issues, and it was a source of potentially damaging conflict to delve in it too deeply.

I don't really remember the topic of harassment being discussed too much. I think it wasn't really on the radar screen in a defined popularized kind of way. It was an issue but there was still very much a kind of old boys way of doing things, and it was fairly well accepted. Although you know, behind closed doors people would complain. I don't think that the whole issue had become such a big one.

Well, tensions did exist. I think that they did have a certain impact on news production and the selection of documentary topics sometimes for the better. So that with some social unrest, you would get a documentary about the inner city condition. With a protest by women in Washington you'd have coverage of that and also have a corresponding piece, in-depth piece done on the issues that were being manifested by the demonstrations or the demonstration

being a manifestation of those larger underlined social issues. Then again also I think there was a shying away sometimes when it was felt that it had already been explored and covered and that it didn't need any further explanation.

Actually I think at CBS News in the *Week End News* area, there was some adversity some antagonism, but on the whole, there was more harmony and growth, I think.

I think that Dick Salant was kind of an Al Neuharth. I happened to meet Gannett's Neuharth at Columbia's Graduate School of Business when I took a course at the journalism school on media management. He actually seemed to have the same underlined philosophy about American life and the importance of diversity and integration or inclusion that Dick Salant had. I think they were birds of the same feather.

I think there were some workshops that the CBS Black Employees Association helped to inspire that addressed some basic issues of different disciplines within the news division. But I don't particularly recall meetings that addressed the problems minorities and women had in terms of editorial skills. I don't think that there was a systematic training of women and minorities to perfect their newswriting skills. I don't think, regarding the second half of the question, I don't think that minorities and women were too emotional. I really don't. In terms of women and minorities remedying their problems, I have already spoken about the black employees association and the women's association. Both groups certainly did work with individuals to correct problems. I know that as a leader within the Black Employees Association, I would regularly meet with individuals that were having problems with upper management and had become apathetic and simply wanted out of the CBS family.

I'd say that a special effort has to be made to bring forward qualified candidates from those academic centers of training around the United States and that there needs to be a greater emphasis on providing the kind of nurturing environment that a news artist needs in order to perfect his craft. I especially think it's important for news organizations to cast a wide net and not to simply settle for those individuals that are highly placed to continually send or recommend individuals from their particular socio-economic group.

I really don't have any further comments or observations and I enjoyed the years that I was a film editor, although I knew that I wanted to move on and do my own particular work which I'm doing now. That period of time both editing four years and then at Columbia for another two to three years were very good in terms of laying the foundation for who I am today.

Actually off hand I can't really recall that many positive experiences that would enhance it. There was an independence that existed at that time structurally and editorially between the news division and the entertainment division. The lines since the '70s have been blurred so that entertainment and news are becoming unfortunately with greater speed than ever the same thing. The news is being reshaped and over the years has gradually become a kind of entertainment kind of vehicle as opposed to clear examination of current events but not from a sensationalized tabloid perspective. So I think the trend has been away from what we used to call objective hard news to a kind of cosmetically doctored sexy news beat condition. I can recall, for instance, when a news piece on average would run five minutes, and you'd cut a story in 1973-74 that ran that way and was perfectly fine. By 1977, the same five-minute piece was being cut down to four minutes. Many of the editors along with me correctly noted that that trend would probably continue until news pieces would be running thirty seconds or one minute or maybe three minutes at the most and that eventually the five-minute piece would be a thing of the past. So there have been structural changes over the years that do not bode well for a helpful examination of current events.

These are random observations for you that might be of help: The CBS Black Employees Association was successfully able to establish scholarships through CBS to attend Columbia's Graduate School of Business. Two recipients were selected annually, and they had their salaries paid while attending the graduate school. This was an outgrowth of discussions with top management at CBS regarding the low level of African American management involvement within the news division and other divisions of CBS. I think the Black Employees Association helped to evaluate corporate life and how it could be improved with the participation of minorities. We also were able to convince CBS that it would be helpful to have a regular series of career planning seminars and other seminars and workshops aimed at sharpening the skills of minority employees and women. There is also a scholarship established for women too through the women's committee. Our meetings within the news division were very well received. Dick Salant on occasion along with Kay Wight, his assistant, well she was an executive, they attended our meetings. In fact a very funny thing happened at the first meeting that Dick Salant came to. I was sitting in the conference room just myself and a couple of other people. I was then chair of the news division's Black Employees Association. When Dick Salant and Kay Wight entered, I suddenly thought I was in the wrong room. I was totally thrown off. Even though I knew they were going to be attending the meeting, I hadn't really put it together in my head. I was expecting to see a group of all African Americans, and by the way, I'm not quite sure that I was chairing the news division. We are going a long way back. I think I was because I came up with the idea for the

association, and I think I was at that time chairman. but even if I wasn't, I was you know like one of the people in leadership and played an important role

On another note, there was a small number of minority employees, African Americans who didn't really understand the value of the Black Employees Association. I thought that was an interesting indicator of how even when groups are formed to present a more articulate view of what's happening to a group that has been excluded and historically kept down or oppressed that you find members from within that group that are afraid to basically come forward and be heard. The climate around CBS, and I think I have emphasized this in a lot of my notes. in my opinion was not very negative. On the contrary, I thought that there existed a real atmosphere in which you could come forward. Now, whether or not that hurt you down the line, I don't know. People would say things like it was going to hurt them, but I never saw really any evidence that someone was being punished because they were being honestly expressive about the situation there. But I do think that within corporate America in the '70s especially but also in the '80s, and '90s, that individuals who were able to progress were those who best fit top managements and sometimes middle management's ideal of what they wanted in either an executive, correspondent, producer, editor, researcher, you name it. Now that would be true of any particular corporate culture, but that's especially harmful in relationship to African Americans because we come with such diverse backgrounds and culturally quite often have attributes that aren't easily those that mirror the individuals that stand in judgment of us. The top decision makers, in other words, quite often, do not come to the table with the same set of intellectual and emotional experiences that African Americans do. So the desire to hire someone who is a reflection of yourself is heavily tested when it comes to introducing minorities into a corporate workforce. I don't think that many managers and top executives are sensitized to that because it is for the most part an unconscious criteria that is put into play. In closing, I think probably one of the reasons I got along so well with Dick Salant was that in terms of my analytical skills, in terms of my intellectual approach, and in terms of my philosophy, there was a lot of common ground. Of course, it is only natural that people would select individuals to mentor based on the kind of common ground they have, that's only natural. Along the same lines, it has been detrimental to the increased development of African American corporate talent that many individuals have been overlooked because many diamonds in the rough so to speak because they haven't been recognized for their true potential due to environmental, intellectual and emotional baggage that they bring with them. I don't mean baggage in a negative sense because all of us bring a certain amount of baggage to whatever we do.

One of the most positive developments and once again these are random observations and I hope they are helpful, but one of the most positive developments I think within the CBS

News Division during the period of time I worked there was the organization by Randy Daniels of a group of CBS News employees to travel to Nigeria, primarily Lagos to establish a group that would revitalize the Nigerian Television Authority. I visited Nigeria some years later after leaving CBS at the invitation of Randy Daniels and Adam Clayton Powell III to do some consulting work for the Nigerian government in establishing a Nigerian Film Institute, and I was very impressed with the scope of Randy Daniels operation and the depth of its expertise in aiding the Nigerian Television Authority to create a strong news gathering operation on television. They were able to truly revitalize the local and national news cast so that they had I think one of the best organized and executed news programs throughout Africa, North, South, subSaharan and above. I would venture to guess that the news broadcast put together by that talented group of African Americans from the CBS News Division rivaled any in terms of quality, any newscast either throughout Africa or anywhere else at that particular time. So I think that that particular effort, which was as I said focused in Lagos, Nigeria and consisted of producers and editors and assistant directors and directors, technicians too from the United States of African American heritage. It was a very impressive effort. I think more things need to be done like that. It would be very interesting to see the kind of effects that would have on the globalization of the marketplace. That is, if corporate America were more receptive to developing teams of employees who would then, based on a contract, go to developing nations to help them improve their broadcast journalism skills and talents and facilities.

Don Hewitt
Executive Producer, *Sixty Minutes*

Would love to help --too busy at the present -- perhaps at a much later date

Tom Yellin
Executive Producer, ABC News with Peter Jennings, Former CBS Producer

Dear Teresa,

This has been sitting on my desk for weeks. I am sorry that I have not gotten back to you sooner.

The past two months have been very busy and I have not had an opportunity to respond to your questionnaire with the thoughtfulness that it deserves. My schedule over the coming months looks to be the same. Your doctoral dissertation sounds like a fascinating topic and the questions you asked are too important and far reaching for me to answer hastily. I would love to help as much as I can. Could you narrow some of the more important questions to areas that pertain to me. This way I could focus on a few and give them the time they deserve.

I was happy to hear that you are doing well. Good luck with your dissertation!

Walter Cronkite
Former CBS Anchor/Correspondent

Several telephone conversations between Cronkite's secretary and the author occurred in an effort to set up a day and time to record Cronkite's oral history. However, Cronkite's recovery from surgery and subsequently his wife's surgery kept him from the interview during the allotted time. The author was told that there was the possibility of doing the interview at a later time.

**The Late Charles Kuralt
Former CBS Correspondent**

Following the initial query regarding the feasibility of Kuralt doing the interview, the author was contacted by Kuralt's secretary and told to send the questionnaire. Unfortunately, Kuralt passed away within the time of this research.

Comments Made by African Americans Anonymously

The author did receive a series of off the record telephone calls by African Americans regarding the problems that they had had and their fear of being fired if they responded.

Producers and Correspondents of *Sixty Minutes*

CBS/Broadcast Group
CBS Inc., 51 West 52 Street,
New York, New York 10019

I am replying to your correspondence concerning our CBS News series 60 MINUTES

We greatly appreciate your taking the time to provide us with your observations. The 60 MINUTES staff read your letter with interest; however, they have asked me to tell you that they do not plan to report on the subject you discussed at this time. We are returning the material you submitted.

Much as we would like to respond to everyone with a personal letter, the heavy volume of mail we receive makes it impossible to do. Nevertheless, I would like to assure you that your letter was given thoughtful consideration.

Whatever subjects are explored in future broadcasts, we hope you will continue to find 60 MINUTES interesting and informative.

Cordially,

RAY FIOLA, Director, Audience Services

Robert Northshield
Former Executive Producer *CBS Sunday Morning*

I remember the executives would say, "How about all of us getting together for dinner," or saying, "let's have dinner to talk about women." They would say, "we'd better start thinking about bringing them in maybe next April," but it would be put off. I had to say, "Now, listen, don't forget about women. Let's be ready." It's about us [as journalists] putting on television that we are the thinkers and we see what is going on in the world around us. The damn fools didn't seem to be understanding that we had an obligation to show change

APPENDIX C

Date _____

Dear _____

I trust you will remember me as a young minority journalist who came from Atlanta in 1975 and worked with you at CBS. Most of my work was done within *CBS Reports*. I am completing a doctoral dissertation at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill entitled "Perspectives of Minorities and Women in Network News Public Affairs Broadcasting." I am currently an assistant professor within the University of North Carolina system at North Carolina A & T State University in Greensboro.

I would like your permission to reprint in my dissertation excerpts from the discourse that you hopefully will provide. The questions are attached. I know your schedule is busy, but your insight will be invaluable to this research. Therefore, if you do not have time to answer all the questions, please feel free to choose those that mean the most to you regarding the subject. I will call, if more details are needed.

This requested permission extends to any future revisions and editions of my dissertation, including non-exclusive world rights in all languages, and to the prospective publication of my dissertation by University Microfilms, Inc. These rights will in no way restrict republication of the material in any other form by you or by others authorized by you. Your signing of this letter will also confirm that you own (or your company owns) the copyright to the above-described material.

If these arrangements meet with your approval, please sign this letter where indicated below and return it to me in the enclosed envelope with the audio cassette as soon as possible, no later than April 20, 1997. Thank you very much.

With all good wishes,

Teresa Jo Styles

PERMISSION GRANTED FOR THE USE REQUESTED ABOVE.

Name of addressee below signature line

Date

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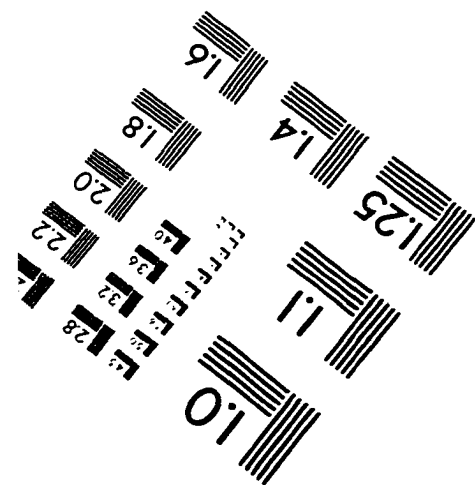
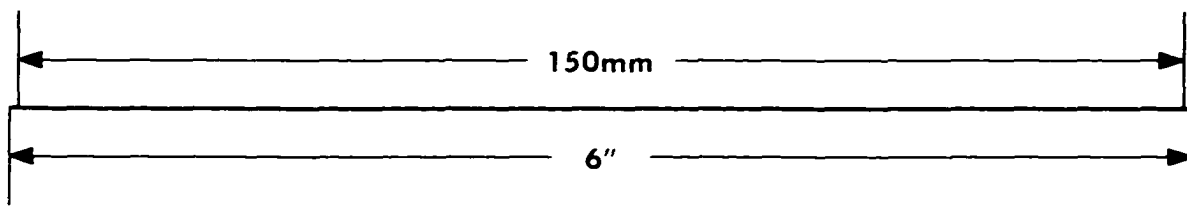
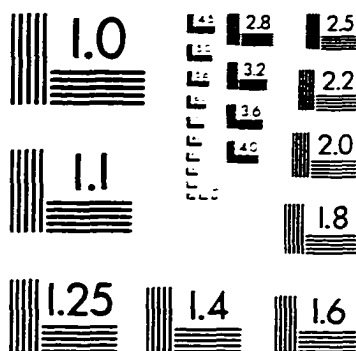
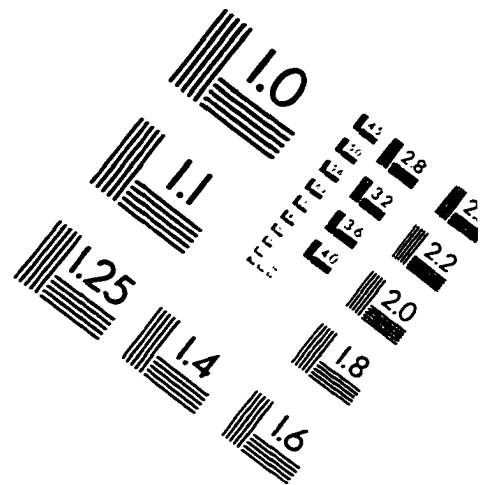
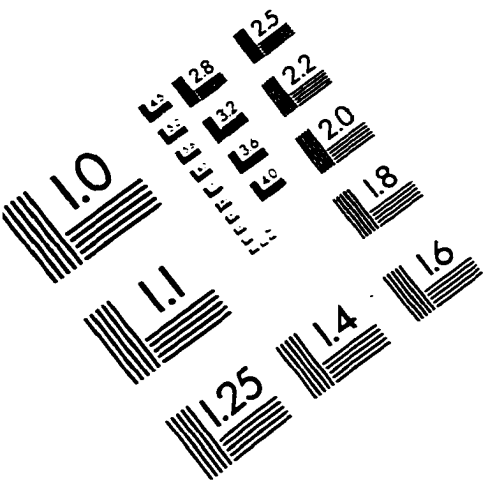
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