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Creative Contexts: A Feminist Sociology of
Canadian Women Radio Dramatists

Margaret Caroline Fothergill

A Thesis
in
The Department
of
Sociology

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts at
Concordia University,
Montréal, Québec, Canada

December 1986

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ABSTRACT

Creative Contexts: A Feminist Sociology of
Canadian Women Radio Dramatists

Margaret Caroline Fothergill

The intent of the thesis was to "dis-cover" the activities of Canadian women in one particular practice of the arts, radio drama. The thrust of the thesis was to illuminate the biographies and careers of English-Canadian women who wrote original radio drama for the CBC during the approximate time frame of the golden age of radio (1935-1961). The objective of the thesis was to analyze the relationship between individual biographies and the creation of original CBC radio drama, in addition to other artistic and literary practices.

The theory framing the research evolved from three substantive areas in Canadian sociology, i.e. women, art and literature, and radio drama, with additional direction from the discipline of women's studies.

In the analysis is included a typology of career patterns in three sectors: 1) literary occupations; 2) radio occupations; and 3) other occupations. Five interviews were conducted to further elaborate the process of establishing the creative contexts in which these women worked. The analysis has revealed the significance of the voice of women in radio drama present from the earliest days of the golden age of Canadian radio.

Dedication

To the memory of Marian Waldman, whose "voice" will
always be remembered in Canadian radio drama.

Acknowledgements

There are a number of people who have contributed to the completion of this work. Specifically, I would like to acknowledge the guidance of my advisor, Professor John D. Jackson. His keen interest in my research and his dedication to scholarship have always been most encouraging. Also, Professor Howard Fink and Dr. Deborah Sheppard have kindly assisted as readers of this thesis.

The Concordia Centre for Broadcasting Studies has been my "home" for six years. The people who have been a part of it have created a stimulating atmosphere for research and study.

Finally, without the love and support of my friends, I could not have written this thesis.

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Chapter I: Introduction

The impetus for this thesis emerged from a self-conscious interest in the role and condition of women in Canadian society. As a contemporary member of the sociological category of Canadian women, it has been a most enjoyable, if oftentimes, laborious task to carve out a piece of research that would address itself to a more profound understanding of this group. As an avid reader of fiction written by women, especially Canadian women, the idea of examining the role of Canadian women in the arts--as creators of culture--evolved as a worthwhile and timely scholarly pursuit.

Currently, Canadian women's fiction has become prominent and important to the literary scene (in Canada and abroad). The names of Margaret Atwood, Margaret Laurence, Alice Munro and Gabrielle Roy, to name a select few, have been well-known to many Canadians, and have achieved a celebrity status in Canadian literature.

Aside from the artistic and entertainment value of the fiction of Canadian women writers, in the body of their work are contained the testimonies of experience of women living in Canadian society. In other words, what has surfaced on the Canadian literary scene are a number of female "voices" carrying varied perspectives and life experiences.

Contemporary literary critics, like Ellen Moers, in Literary Women, are convinced of the important social ramifications a "voice" carries for the cultural life of a society. Canadian critic, Robert Kroetsch, has written about "Unhiding the Hidden," an appeal to Canadian writers to peel away the layers of American and British influence, to "dis-cover" and "dis-close" the essential Canadian voice (21). The implications of disclosing the voices of Canadian literary women for Canadian society has been powerful in terms of transmitting varied ideologies to a mass audience of women and men. Moreover, Canadian women writers have served, if only in an indirect sense, as role models of women who have entered, and succeeded in a typically male-dominated occupation. How Canadian women have achieved a "matriarchy" in Canadian literature, has not been addressed in this thesis, nevertheless the visible and vocal presence of women in this public realm is an interesting social phenomenon.

There has been in existence at Concordia University, for the past several years, a Radio Drama Project, currently expanded and renamed as the Centre for Broadcasting Studies. The project, initially conceived and motivated by the untiring efforts of Howard Fink, has brought to light thousands of original Canadian plays for radio that were broadcast over the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) from approximately 1933-1961. Fink has identified this large, but heretofore forgotten, body of

indigenous writing as the fledgling "Canadian National Theatre on the Air"--the beginning of a truly Canadian theatre, composed of Canadian writers, producers, actors and technicians, within a Canadian cultural institution, the CBC.

A number of the writers of these original radio plays were Canadian women, yet their names were generally unfamiliar, only a few recognizable as well-known literary women. This project provided the opportunity and challenge to design research that would "discover" another type of Canadian woman writer--the radio dramatist.

The research on this thesis has been stimulating in that the opportunity for exploring original materials and researching relatively unknown individuals was available. The thrust of the thesis was to illuminate, as much as possible given the temporal and financial limitations of research, the biographies and careers of English-Canadian women radio dramatists who wrote for the CBC during the specified time period. The objective of the thesis, moreover, was to analyze the relationship between individual biographies and the creation of original CBC radio drama, in addition to other artistic and literary practices.

It was the intention in writing the thesis to contribute to a body of research in the sociology of women and culture in Canada. The literature review incorporated in this thesis has addressed some of the current issues

related to this particular sociology, notably theoretical and methodological problems. There are no precedents in the sociological literature on how to study Canadian women writers of radio drama. Given the subject matter, cultural activities undertaken by women in a particular period in Canadian history, it was necessary and relevant to draw on the theory and methodology of such fields as women's studies and literature, as well as sociology.

Chapter II: Review of the Literature and the Research Problem

The specific cultural practice to which subsequent analysis refers is that of women radio dramatists. Prior to stating the research question, it will be necessary to review the theory and methodology of (1) feminist approaches in Canadian sociology, (2) the sociology of art and literature in Canada and (3) the sociology of radio and radio drama in Canada.

The following literature review was not meant to be an extensive review of the above-mentioned fields, but of significant works that illustrate the most important issues that were useful in developing the research problem and, ultimately, some conclusions for further directions for a sociology of women and culture.

The Feminist Imagination in Canadian Sociology

In the past 15-to-20 years, feminist scholars have begun the monumental task of understanding the place of women in Canadian society. These scholars were indeed pioneers faced with mapping the broad territories of substantive issues and, in addition, developing appropriate theoretical frameworks and methodologies.

The recent "state of the art" article by sociologist Margrit Eichler has identified some historical (albeit

recent) trends in the sociology of women in English Canada. The title of the article "And the Work Never Ends" has aptly summarized both the recent emergence of this sociology and the mammoth work on women in Canada that remains to be done. Part of what remains to be accomplished is a corpus of research on women and the arts and culture in Canada. Strategies for entering into such research may be derived in part from existing studies on women in Canada, the most pertinent directions having emanated from the scholarship of Eichler, Dorothy E. Smith and Mary O'Brien.

Eichler's "And the Work Never Ends" identified four stages in the historical development of feminist contributions to Canadian anglophone sociology. They are as follows:

- (1) a focus on women;
- (2) a focus on sex roles (gender roles, gender relations);
- (3) the development of a feminist approach; and
- (4) a focus on epistemological concerns (620).

In addition to these stages, at the heart of this scholarship were two recurring themes: "one is a critical attitude towards sexism in sociology itself, and an effort to expose and overcome this bias by transforming the discipline itself" (620).

The development of a feminist approach in sociology has placed a degree of emphasis on two theoretical positions: ethnomethodology and Marxism. Ethnomethodology

has been particularly useful for feminist scholars in understanding women as it "allows women to speak for themselves", (623). This approach lends credence to the validity of women's lived experiences in the world, and allows for a sociology in which the voices of Canadian women can be heard. Marxism has been important in feminist materialist perspectives, however, some commentators are critical of the male orientation in Marxism (623).

Eichler has underscored this tension by describing Mary O'Brien's attitude towards Marxism that is both a feeling of indebtedness, but at the same time her work is:

not a "Marxist" analysis in the orthodox sense, for I want to suggest that Marx's metatheory cannot make sense of the oppression of women, which clearly transcends class, even though the theory did appear to make sense within the historical boundaries within which Marx worked (623).

There continues to be a "creative tension," among feminists who investigate the applicability of Marxist thought to an analysis of Canadian women, (623).

These tensions among theoretical orientations subscribed to by various sociologists have led to the latter stage in the development of Canadian feminist thought, i.e. a focus on epistemological concerns. What is apparent from Eichler's research has been "the need for a new epistemology" (624).

This new epistemology must "take sex into account," in both the theory and practice of Canadian sociology. Sociological models that have not encompassed female or a combination of male and female experiences are sexist, and thus inappropriate for continued application in the social world. According to Eichler,

Identifying and criticizing sexist elements in the existing literature is therefore an important aspect of feminist work. Once a critique has been achieved, and basic data have been collected, new concepts and models are created, either to express female experiences or to encompass the experiences of both sexes (624).

A wholesale rejection of traditional sociological paradigms would not be a reasonable or desirable course of action in feminist research. What is required is research that is based upon an oscillation between "disciplinary and sub-disciplinary boundaries" (624). In this early stage of development of the new epistemology, Eichler has offered four basic propositions:

1. knowledge has been so far, constructed by some men for the benefit of men;
2. the dominant ideology, including the dominant approaches to sociology, bolster and maintain patriarchy;
3. social science in general has so far been the handmaiden of sexism;

4. women and men have a different perspective in society stemming from their different positions within that society and which will continue to be crucially significant for as long as a sex structure continues to be crucially important to a society. Women, therefore, have their own perspective which is of at least equal value - and arguably of more value than the corresponding male perspective on the same issue. This is so because those in an inferior position tend to have keener insight into society's workings than those in a superior position, as has been argued for the working class in the Marxist tradition (630).

The significance of Eichler's article for this thesis would seem to be self-evident. That is to say, that an examination of Canadian women radio dramatists from a consciously non-sexist perspective would assist in closing up the "lacunae" in Canadian feminist sociology. Specifically, Eichler's work has identified the value of developing a female perspective in sociological research that draws upon, but is not limited by traditional sociological paradigms such as positivism, Marxism and ethnology.

Future directions for the feminist imagination in Canadian sociology must be undertaken with a new perspective that is grounded in the female experience. A

further discussion on how this imagination can be refined to understand the women in this study, Canadian women radio dramatists, is presented in subsequent discussions in this literature review.

It is somewhat ironic that Eichler's most recent work echoed in part the tone of two earlier works published in 1975 and 1977 respectively, that is, the need for more work on the sociology of women in Canada. In her 1975 article in the Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, entitled "Sociological Research on Women in Canada," Eichler commented that the majority of research on women in Canada has been directed towards "working women, especially the professional women" (474). However, these and subsequent studies have not been relevant for this research, despite the categorization of the writer as a "non-traditional" occupation for women:

Most of these works take the form of statistical analyses of salary differentials between women and men, of the placement differential of the sexes in high status and low status occupations, of attitudes of employers towards female employees, and, occasionally of differences in work careers (474).

Two years later, in an American journal, Signs, Eichler articulated the necessity for Canadian women to recreate their own history, given their particular social context. Canadian feminist sociological thought, Eichler

asserted, must overcome a double dependency: "a view of the world which is not only androcentric (as it is for women elsewhere) but American as well" (412).

It was primarily the radical scholarship of Dorothy E. Smith that critiqued the androcentrism of orthodox sociology. In her article, "Women's Perspective as a Radical Critique of Sociology," Smith called for a sociology for women, a new sociological paradigm, as early as 1974, that would be capable of penetrating and understanding the experiences of Canadian women.

According to Smith, this new paradigm would be especially well-executed by Canadian women sociologists (not excluding men sociologists) who have been socialized by this society, and thus, know it as women, from direct experience:

the only way of knowing a socially constructed world is knowing it from within. We can never stand outside it (11).

Smith believed that the new paradigm of a sociology for Canadian women would be primarily inductive and phenomenological. Also, it would not dichotomize the subject and object of knowledge, such that it would ultimately verify the experiences of the sociologist "as a mode of discovering or rediscovering the society from within." (11)

With respect to the particular problem of understanding the relationship between women and radio

drama, there were three articles that were more directly applicable. One was Dorothy E. Smith's 1975 article entitled: "An Analysis of Ideological Structures and How Women are Excluded: Considerations for Academic Women." The essence of the argument presented in this article, is that women have been largely excluded from the process of shaping and controlling ideological structures in society. More specifically, what was meant is the following:

... women have been largely excluded from the work of producing the forms of thought and the images and symbols in which thought is expressed and ordered (354).

According to the article, "Four Theses on Ideology," written by Anthony Giddens in 1983, ideology is the concept which refers to the point at which systems of meaning intersect with systems of power (19). Inherent in Giddens' definition and approach to ideology was the necessity of understanding the complex relationship between the twin spheres of meaning and power. Giddens does not subscribe to a "dominant ideology thesis"; he was more concerned with theorizing a way in which the subtleties of domination are intricately bound in "concrete, day-to-day practices" (20). This view of ideology is particularly appropriate for this research on women, as it is applicable to the female experience, in which "the personal is political."

An emphasis on ideological analysis is also important for the following two reasons. First, it allows for (a) a

5

sociological analysis of seemingly ephemeral phenomena in the realm of ideas, themes, and images; (b) a sociological analysis of significant people in the social structure who produce these phenomena; (c) a sociological analysis of the institutions in which these phenomena are produced. Second, within Smith's analysis, is a way of seeing how women have gained only limited access to what may be described as a male hegemony in the production of systems of meaning (i.e., ideas, images, symbols, themes and knowledge). Women, Smith asserts, in "An Analysis of Ideological Structures and How Women are Excluded..." have been denied access to the "circles" of men who create and recreate society in their own image:

There is a circle effect. Men attend to and treat as significant only what men say. The circle of men, whose writing and talk was significant to each other extends backwards in time as far as our records reach.... The themes, problematics, assumptions, metaphors, and images are formed as the circle of those present draws upon the work of the past. From this circle women have been to a large extent excluded. They have been admitted to it only by special licence and as individuals, not as representative of their sex. They can share in it only by receiving its terms and relevances and these are the terms and relevances of a discourse among men (354).

Although Smith was not advocating a theoretical position of male conspiracy against women, the consequence of the "circle effect" has been the relegation of women to the margins in ideological and cultural production. Furthermore, the analyses of the role of women in ideological and cultural production has been missing as a result of the role of men in organizing and controlling the analyses of ideological and cultural production in our society.

This is why in English literature there is a corner called women in literature or women novelists or the like, but an over-all critical approach to literature which assumes that it is written by men and perhaps even largely for men (366).

In her conclusion, Smith asked for the beginning of a sociology of the status of women in ideological construction to:

... begin an examination and critique of how women are constituted as other in the ideological formations which establish the hegemony of male consciousness (367).

Mary O'Brien, in a paper entitled "The Tyranny of the Abstract: Structure, State and Patriarchy," underscored the recurring theme of a frustration with contemporary research on women and ideological and cultural production. She, like Eichler and Smith, is concerned with the social process of

cultural production and the longevity of patriarchy. Despite a number of feminist treatises on the sources and possible dissolution of patriarchy no one has come close enough to uncover the "social processes of cultural reproduction" (16). Her program for research into this process is termed "relational analysis":

... which is understood as the demonstration of the workings (and structure) of those social relations in which meanings are canonized and resources apportioned (17).

This process would uncover the "social processes of cultural reproduction."

In the preamble to the formation of the research problem, guidance on how to approach the discovery of the "social processes of cultural reproduction" will be drawn from interdisciplinary sources. Prior to this discussion, it is important to cover some relevant directions from the sociology of art and literature in Canada, and the "nascent" sociology of radio drama in Canada.

The Sociology of Art and Literature in Canada

There were two recent articles on the topic of the sociology of art and the sociology of literature in Canada, that may be applied to the study of Canadian women radio dramatists. R.A. Sydie's discussion of the former will be

addressed first, and then John D. Jackson's discussion of the latter will follow.

Within "The State of the Art: Sociology of Art in the Canadian Context," is described the neglect of a study of the arts by English-Canadian sociologists. R.A. Sydie's evaluation of the more active involvement of French-Canadian sociologists in the study of their art forms began with an examination of their theoretical orientations:

The interest of French Canadian sociologists in the area may be accounted for, in part, by a closer rapport with European sociological traditions in which the question of the social roots of knowledge and the manner in which the social is manifest in cultural forms have been subjects of extensive debate (15).

For the English-Canadian sociologist looking at literature, there have been a number of difficulties given the current paradigm of the sociology of art in North America. For the study of radio drama as a popular cultural form one of the difficulties has been the relegation of popular culture "to an insignificant status" vis-a-vis the more elite high cultural forms, e.g. traditional drama for the stage, novels, and poetry.

Both Sydie and Jackson, in the preceding analyses, note the lack of a solid background of sociological literature in popular culture in Canada. This has posed

theoretical and methodological problems for researchers approaching the study of the arts in Canada. However, over the last five years, interest has increased in the area of popular culture. The periodical Borderlines is an example, and also some articles in the journal, Canadian Social and Political Theory.

These difficulties would be heightened, if a common approach to the sociological study of the arts in Canada would be attempted. According to Sydie, a common approach would not be possible "at the methodological level" (23). Although all art must be approached from the standpoint of a given social context, Sydie has warned against a dilettante attitude of the "cultural unity of all art," that is assumed to exist in particular periods in history (23). In other words, one must not approach the study of a sociology of literature in a reductionist manner; that is, as imaginative works that merely reflect the social world.

In considering appropriate theoretical and methodological approaches to the sociology of art, Sydie has pointed to the interesting challenge that the study of the female artist raises in the debate. In her article, Sydie quotes Dorothy E. Smith's argument on the "ideological exclusion of women" (24) from the male-dominated and controlled realm of "ideas, images and themes" as a guiding light to English-Canadian sociologists:

Smith's comments in relation to art-as-ideology and the artist-as-social being refer the sociology of art to its basis in the sociology of knowledge.... The epistemological issue of the nature of knowledge and its determinants and thus the question of the construction of sociological knowledge are issues that must be considered in the development of a sociology of art, in terms of the socio-historical experience of Canadian men and women (24-25).

In conclusion to her summary of the state of a Canadian sociology of the arts, Sydnie calls for future directions that would focus on the role of the artist (including writers) in artistic (or literary) production (26).

John D. Jackson's "The Sociology of Literature in Canada," was originally published in French as "La Sociologie de Litterature au Canada Anglais." This article is introduced with the instructive remark that the study of literature by anglophone sociologists in Canada has been minimal. A recurring theme, that is a reiteration of Sydnie's position mentioned above. As a result of Jackson's research, he has found that in order "to find an English-Canadian sociology of literature, one must turn to literary criticism" (1).

The approaches to a sociology of literature in English Canada that do exist may be organized into three

separate categories as follows: (a) first, are the "sociological aware studies of literature" in which the content of a piece (or pieces) of literature is used as a "sociological datum," and analysed for the ways in which literature, as a mirror, reflects the social world (1); (b) second, is the type of study referred to as "the social genesis of literature" research, where the social origins of Canadian writers are scrutinized in order to understand the content of their writings and how it promotes or sustains particular ideological systems in Canada (4); (c) third, the last type of study is "that corpus of work which takes literature as social practices which support and oppose social structures whilst remaining relatively autonomous" (5). These latter studies are built upon the sociologies of significant European and British individuals and schools of thought, for example Lucien Goldmann (Towards a Sociology of the Novel, 1975); Raymond Williams (Culture, 1981); Terry Eagleton (Marxism and Literary Criticism, 1976); and the early Frankfurt School.

This final category of research (see above) was most conducive to research on radio drama, as radio drama is not considered to be a part of the traditional domain of literature. Rather than lapsing into the controversial trap of categorizing radio drama as more properly belonging to the domain of "high culture" or "popular culture," the above mode of analysis would circumvent this argument and

allow for the sociological analysis of radio drama as a "cultural practice" (5-6).

Citing the work of Grayson and Magill (1981), Jackson considers the dominant sociological paradigm of positivism among English-Canadian sociologists as the primary rationale for the "paucity of material" in the sociology of literature (13). Furthermore,

The epistemological and methodological base of positivism simply does not lend itself to a sociology of literature which, at a minimum, requires a hermeneutic and historical orientation (13).

In his conclusion, Jackson suggests that what is required is a more dialectical approach to the sociology of literature, one that examines the relationship between "cultural, political and economic elements," such that literature is no longer analyzed as existing outside of the social and cultural realm, as an autonomous form, or as a mirror reflection of the life of a society (17).

The Sociology of Radio and Radio Drama in Canada

The sociology of radio and radio drama has only recently been established in Canada, generally through the scholarship generated by the Concordia Centre for Broadcasting Studies. In the past seven years, an attempt has been made to broach an understanding of the

relationship between Canadian radio drama and the social context in which it emerged. Attention has been focussed primarily on the golden age of radio in the CBC, from approximately 1944 to 1961, as Howard Fink observed in his article "Canadian Radio Drama and the Radio Drama Project." This time period in particular, and indeed the study of radio drama in general, was most interesting for sociological and literary analysis. The following passage, quoted at length, succinctly establishes the significance of an inquiry into Canada's "National Theatre on the Air":

CBC radio drama in the golden age was an important influence in the direct line of our Canadian theatre history. It was in its time a most powerful support for Canadian nationalism when professional theatre in Canada generally was mainly colonized. And its importance extends beyond the aesthetic and cultural. In its heyday, CBC radio drama in its major national and regional series was an active influence on the opinions of its thousands of listeners regarding what are clearly among the crucial social and political issues of the forties and fifties--times of admitted upheaval and change. These clear influences stand as a striking example of the didactic power of the dramatic medium, clearly the most social of the literary genres. There was, of course, a conscious intention to

aim at such effects, at least in the major series. Andrew Allan makes clear, both in his autobiography and in his texts, that one of his major goals was to articulate the relatively radical new social ideals and critiques generated by the great Depression and by the second world war in his generation of Canadians (19).

Sociological and literary investigations into this dramatic practice has focussed on certain men and women who were instrumental in fashioning a cultural product with a uniquely "Canadian" style. The tone of Fink's article amplified how the CBC provided an opportunity for Canadian producers, writers, actors, and technicians to learn and practice their crafts. An analysis of certain scripts has provided evidence to support the hypothesis of the social conscience and nationalistic didacticism of Canadian radio drama.¹

Certain men have been singled out in the research of Fink and Jackson² for their leadership in shaping the medium, via their particular social and cultural contexts, and their individual philosophical, artistic, and political orientations.

Some of the most recent research carried out by sociologists Rosalind Zinman and John Jackson, especially in their paper "Social Formations in Media Production: Pre-1960 CBC English-Language Radio Drama," continues this probing analysis into the relationship among significant

individuals and the practice of radio drama. Using a theoretical approach to the study of cultural practices proposed by Raymond Williams, they attempted to understand how the relationship among people in the artistic process and the cultural materials they produce can be applied to the specific case of Canadian radio drama.

In Culture (1981), Raymond Williams developed a concept of "cultural formations" that is an attempt to get closer to an understanding of how people organize themselves in particular ways, that inevitably have the most immediate and profound effect on cultural production.

However, Williams' definition of a cultural formation seems to me to be deliberately inconclusive. One must deduce a definition from an assortment of possibilities and examples. With hesitation, therefore, a cultural formation is a type of network, or group of people, with common interests and/or goals, and involved in cultural production.

Williams has attempted to refine his idea of cultural formations by identifying two important factors that define the existence of a modern cultural formation. They are: "the internal organization of the particular formation; and its proposed and actual relations to other organizations in the same field and to society more generally" (68).

Classifications of possible types of internal organizations are as follows:

(i) those based on formal membership, with varying modes of formal membership, with varying modes of internal authority or decision, and of constitution and election;

(ii) those not based on formal membership, but organized around some collective public manifestation, such as an exhibition, a group press or periodical, or an explicit manifesto;

(iii) those not based on formal membership or any sustained collective public manifestation, but in which there is conscious association or group identification, either informally or occasionally manifested, or at times limited to immediate working or more general relations (68).

Williams has also provided a provisional classification of types of external relations in cultural formations as follows:

(a) specializing, as in the cases of sustaining or promoting work in a particular medium or branch of an art, and in some circumstances a particular style;

(b) alternative, as in the cases of the provision of alternative facilities for the production, exhibition or publication of certain kinds of work, where it is believed that existing institutions exclude or tend to exclude these;

(c) oppositional, in which the cases represented by (b) are raised to active opposition to the established institutions, or more generally to the conditions within which these exist (70).

Particular cultural formations, in Williams' view, like the Bloomsbury Group, the Futurists and the Royal Society of Painters, Etchers and Engravers manifested varying internal organizations and external relations with the society at large (70). These variations indicate the complex relationship between cultural producers and cultural production in particular and the more complex and illusive relationship between art and society in general.

Radio drama, as a cultural practice, according to a Williams' perspective, could not be conceptualized as a static, cultural object to be examined and understood. Rather, radio drama would be viewed as a cultural practice, created by writers, producers and actors working in a state-controlled institution, the CBC, living within a particular period in Canadian history. The creation of radio drama, therefore, could only be seen as a dynamic interplay--a process.

Zinman and Jackson's paper using a Williams' analysis is focussed in the abstract on the "role of intellectuals and their expressing ideas," and in the concrete on "the social formations of artists and their 'expressing ideas' within the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation as an institution in the domain of cultural practices" (3).

Zinman and Jackson, as part of their research towards a sociology of radio drama, argue for the usefulness of Williams' approach, as follows:

... the role of intellectuals and their "expressing ideas" has been largely ignored. The dominant paradigm in Information Theory has focussed in the main on the flow of messages. Theoretical concern is reduced to the formulary expression: "who says what to whom where and when." Attention is on the form and on circulation. Messages circulate or "float around," so to speak, without necessary linkages to social, political and economic processes. The importance of semantic content and human agency tends to be obfuscated (1).

Their findings illuminated two distinct social formations in CBC English-language radio drama: one headed by the National Supervisor of Drama, Andrew Allan in Toronto, and the other headed by producer Rupert Caplan in Montreal. Both men gathered around them a circle of writers, actors, musicians, and technicians, who were regularly employed in the broadcast of radio drama over many years. Zinman and Jackson found a dissimilarity in the predominant world views represented in the radio drama of each producer. The content of the corpus of Andrew Allan's radio plays could be characterized as representing an

"emergent" mode of ideas and values, that were essentially critical of Canadian society (23). In contrast, Rupert Caplan's radio plays represented the "dominant" mode of ideas and values in that they were not critical of Canadian society. "Caplan's orientation was towards the modern movement with the purpose of drama as a mirror to show 'humanity how it is'" (23).

Both Andrew Allan and Rupert Caplan had disparate social backgrounds and life experiences, that Zinman and Jackson posed as having a profound influence upon their activities in radio drama.

These two producers were able, by virtue of their positions in the CBC, to hire writers who were intellectually and creatively compatible with their social, political, and economic sensibilities (26).

In conclusion, Zinman and Jackson's study of cultural formations in CBC radio drama hinged upon the pivotal role of the producer in developing a particular circle of people --a cultural formation--in the process of creating radio drama, that in both cases were different in terms of their "expressing ideas." The authors of the study were also able to define two distinct cultural formations, with different "expressing ideas," yet maintained within the same organizational context of CBC radio drama.

To review, the above analyses have provided some theoretical and methodological insights into an examination of the role of women writers in the creation of CBC

English-language radio drama. It was discovered that there has been very little development of sociological treatments for the study of English-Canadian art and literature in Canada. Sydie and Jackson, independently, have concluded that the sociological paradigm of positivism, dominant in English-Canadian sociology, has not pioneered, either conceptually or methodologically, a way of approaching the study of literature and art. Indeed, one must look to the European and British models, like our Francophone counterparts, who have a well-developed sociology of French-Canadian literature. A sociology of English-Canadian literature must also be dialectical in theory and practice, in order to address the dynamic interplay between creative people, and the social, political, and cultural realms in which they exist. The concept of radio drama as a "cultural practice" embodies the idea of the creation of radio drama as a dynamic process, carried out by people, and also leads away from the arguments in defining radio drama, as both a literary and media activity, into either the "high culture" or "popular culture" categories.

Both Sydie's, and Zinman, and Jackson's research articulated the importance of focussing on the role of significant individuals in artistic production. Sydie remarked on the role of the artist as an interesting point of departure in understanding the complicated process of the construction of art and meanings, and the "socio-historical experiences of Canadian men and women"

(25). The emphasis in these works was upon the artist as an "acting" person, creating literature within a particular social, political, and economic climate. Zinman and Jackson, in their empirical application of Williams' theory of cultural formations, illuminated the important inter-relationship between the biographies and social backgrounds of significant individuals (in this case producers) and their activities in CBC radio drama.

Formation of the Research Question: Literature Review from Interdisciplinary Sources

From the preceding literature review, the point has been made that the study of women as artists and cultural producers in the sociology of women in Canada, and the sociologies of art and literature, and radio drama in Canada remain to be explored. One of the difficulties inherent in pursuing this research is developing a design from a theoretical position that is not sexist, and therefore, can validly probe and describe the process of women's cultural practices. The research design, according to Smith, Eichler, and O'Brien must attempt to bridge the gap between the subject and object of knowledge, in this case between the sociologist and the Canadian women who wrote original radio drama. Of necessity, any sociological research on Canadian women radio dramatists must be exploratory, not definitive. The focus would be on

developing a theory and methodology from the dialectic of exploring the experiences of these dramatists, not on attempting to impose theoretical and methodological frameworks that do not adequately "fit" the cultural practices of Canadian women radio dramatists.

At this point it must be mentioned that an American sociologist, Gaye Tuchman, has directly addressed the role of women in the arts in an article entitled "Women and the Creation of Culture." Her insights into the sociological analysis of women in this realm will be offered in the upcoming discussion.

Some general theories about women and culture, gleaned from feminist, literary, and sociological literature can offer some insights and clues from an interdisciplinary source that may have application to the development of a sociology of women and culture--specifically, writing radio drama. Most theories about women and cultural production have hinged upon the notion of gender differences, that is, researchers have discovered in the traditional artistic occupations (writing, painting, and composing) that men outnumber women. Another way of perceiving this phenomenon is that women are excluded from the creation of culture. This has been Dorothy E. Smith's point of view, and the following are supplementary explanations as to how this exclusion has occurred. They are presented here separately, for the sake of coherence, however, in the real world, the factors overlap and conflict.

A) Innate Abilities/Biological Factors (Reproductive Cycle)

Cynthia Ozick, in an article entitled "Women and Creativity: The Demise of the Dancing Dog" cited Dr. Johnson, who upon hearing a woman preacher, once remarked "she reminded him ... of a dog dancing on its hind legs; one marvels not at how well it is done, but that it is done at all" (435).

Dr. Johnson's attitude has represented a popular belief that women, as a result of their physical and psychological make-up, are incapable of being creative. Gaye Tuchman, in her article, "Women and the Creation of Culture" reiterated the popular nostrum, "men create culture; women transmit it" (171). "Men create culture; women create babies" is another popular belief that feminists, like Ozick, have criticized in their struggle for gender egalitarianism. There has been some question in the popular consciousness as to whether women think differently than men as a result of their reproductive biology. Their creativity is categorized as fragmented, inferior, and particularized. Moreover, the female imagination is charged with addressing issues that are not "universal" to the human condition.

B) Socialization Factors

In our society, women are generally less educated than men. This lack of education has deprived women of the development of the fundamental reading and writing skills essential to creative (especially literary) activities.

Education for women as a valued activity has been a very recent phenomenon in western society. At certain points in the history of women, entrance to specialized schools has been prohibited. Answering the question, "Why Are There No Great Women Artists?" Linda Nochlin replied that the fault lies not in the biological factors of femininity, but "in our institutions and our education" (483), the social factors of artistic achievement. An example: women painters, until the late nineteenth century were forbidden to paint from a live, nude model at art schools. This prohibition was particularly debilitating for women as this activity was considered to be "essential to the training of every young artist" (494). In France, women were effectively barred from the apprenticeship system: the route to prestigious painting academies abroad. Nochlin quoted White and White as saying women artists "were not accepted as professional painters in nineteenth-century France, although this was a country with a very large proportion of them" (508).

Other social factors which intervene in women's participation in the arts have been traditional gender-role expectations:

It is precisely the insistence upon a modest, proficient, self-demeaning level of amateurism, the looking upon art, like needlework or crocheting, as a suitable "accomplishment" for the well-brought-up young women, who naturally

would want to direct her major attention toward the welfare of others--family and husband--that militated, and still militates today, against any real accomplishment on the part of women (497-498).

In the language of the sociologist, Marlene Mackie, in Exploring Gender Relations: a Canadian Perspective, gender-role expectations may be termed as women being more committed to "expressive functions" (priority to the family, dependency, passivity, non-competition, etc.), with men being more committed to "instrumental functions" (priority to their work, independence, competition, aggression, etc.) (34). In literature, women's dedication to their traditional roles as wife and mother has pre-empted their literary production. These "silences," as writer and literary critic, Tillie Olsen, has defined the loss of women's voice in literature, were greater for women who marry and have children. She further said "In the last century and in our century until very recently of the women whose achievements endure for us in one way or another, nearly all never married..." (16).

C) Structural Factors

Earlier, in the discussion of ideology, reference was made to Dorothy E. Smith's argument that women are denied access to the circles of men who create and recreate culture in their own image (354). On one level, she was referring to the phenomenon of men as "gatekeepers" of

culture (357). In a recent volume on Women in American Theatre, the editors H.K. Chinoy and L.W. Jenkins described the inherent difficulties for women playwrights:

Playwrighting has always been viewed as men's work, and the women who have tried to intrude have found the going rough. Major critics and big-time producers have said it straight out: women can't write first-rate plays (129).

This is a very tangible reason why women have appeared as playwrights for the theatre in negligible numbers.

In an article entitled "Women and the Creation of Culture," sociologist Gaye Tuchman stated that different arts have provided differential access for women across time and space (175). Since the eighteenth century, novel writing has been the traditional mode of creativity for literary women, given the inexpensive and ready availability of pencil and paper. Moreover, novel writing could be achieved in the privacy of one's home--the domestic sphere--once considered the "proper" sphere for women. Playwrighting, as the traditional province of men, could also be attributed to the correlation of drama and the stage with public disclosure, which is antithetical to the traditional ideals of femininity.

Birth into a family of artists was an absolute necessity for the success of female painters, at least prior to the twentieth century (177). Moreover, upper-class family position has also provided opportunities for women

to create, via the freedom from economic encumbrances and the social contacts attained through a high-status position (178). Under certain circumstances economic need has been an impetus for creative activity in women. Tuchman gave the example of early-American feminist authors who wrote for publication "because they needed the money" (175).

One of the most recent theories about women and culture, mentioned earlier with reference to Dorothy E. Smith, has been that women have not been creative as a result of their uninvolvedness in (or exclusion from) professional artistic networks. H.K. Chinoy and L.W. Jenkins believed that this has been especially crippling for women playwrights:

Playwrighting is a skill that can only really be learned as part of a group working together in a highly technical physical plant, and they know that women have not usually had access to the camaraderie of the production process or the complex instrument of professional theatre (129).

In summary, the link between women and the creation of culture has been delineated within three overarching perspectives. The latter perspectives, relative to socialization and structural factors, were the most interesting given a sociological mode of inquiry. A research question pursuant to these factors, and the issues raised earlier in the analysis of the sociology of women in Canada, the sociology of art and literature in Canada, and

the sociology of radio drama in Canada is the focus of the following section.

The Research Question.

One way of formulating a research question that would probe several of the socialization and structural issues which are summarized above is: what were the conditions under which women were able to create original radio drama for the CBC from 1933-1961? It should be noted that although Fink, in the article "Canadian Radio Drama and the Radio Drama Project," has established the time period of the golden age of radio as starting in "the early nineteen-forties" (15), Canadian women were writing original radio drama as early as 1933.

The research question was posed such that the creation of original radio drama would be dependent upon certain "conditions" extant during a particular period in Canadian history. To summarize, "conditions" here refers to the issues raised above: (1) overarching social, economic, and political factors amenable to women's participation in the creation of cultural products, e.g.: gender role expectations, marital restraints and organization of the art form, and (2) particular professional contacts and networks organized by women in order to facilitate their participation in the arts. This latter condition followed from the theory of cultural formations described by Raymond

Williams in Culture, and alluded to earlier via the research on radio drama of Rosalind Zinman and John D. Jackson.

The work of Raymond Williams was relevant to this thesis, in that he has recently articulated a sociological perspective that attempts to identify the social relations of cultural production. His concept and mode of analysis of cultural formations has been previously discussed in the literature review on the sociology of radio drama.

By looking for networks or "circles" of Canadian women radio dramatists, a more general application of Williams' notion of cultural formation would complement Dorothy E. Smith's theory that women are somehow excluded from the circles of men who create hegemonic ideological structures via their cultural practices. In this way, Williams' work can be a useful adjunct in the development of a sociology that attempts to understand the role of Canadian women in radio drama. The work of Smith and O'Brien has been useful in providing the broad parameters of a way of seeing the role of women in the creation of culture, however, they have not provided the incisive theoretical or methodological guidelines to uncover the nebulous "social relations of cultural production." Hence, the exploratory nature of the research question, given some clues from the general sociological literature on women, the work of women's studies scholars and literary critics, and the utility of the British cultural theory of Raymond Williams.

In conclusion, the research question has focussed on the notion of "inclusion" rather than the "exclusion" of women and culture. This was a matter of deliberate semantics. Both Tuchman and Smith would argue that an important fact to bear in mind is that women have always been included in the creation of culture. The issue is that women have participated in different ways at different times, that is to say, the opportunities to create vary across time and space. Secondly, and finally, the question has steered away from the biological and psychological theories, that have not been resolved in the literature, although the predominant psychological theorem, advanced by Maccoby and Jacklin in The Psychology of Sex Differences has stated that there are no gender differences vis-a-vis intellectual or creative abilities.

Chapter III: An Approach to Canadian Women Radio

Dramatists

In this chapter, I will describe the procedures used to collect and organize the data base for the first problem of compiling a list of Canadian women radio dramatists, who wrote for the CBC over a 30-year period, approximately 1933-1961.

The Search for Canadian Women Radio Dramatists

The search for Canadian women radio dramatists began with the primary data source, Howard Fink's Canadian National Theatre on the Air, 1925-1961: CBC-CRBC-CNR Radio Drama in English, a Descriptive Bibliography and Union List, (hereafter referred to as "The Bibliography"), the most comprehensive and authoritative bibliography (in five volumes) available.

The Bibliography has information on individual authors that includes the following: titles of plays, names of producers and programs, cities (regions) where they were broadcast, length and date of broadcast, in addition to other archival information. Approximately 1,300 entries of individual authors or co-authors were listed by name, but demographic details of gender and national identity were not itemized.

In view of creating a basis of comparison for future research projects on the role of women as creators of culture, several decisions were made about the composition of the list. First, it was decided that the list be confined to Canadian women dramatists, who had at least one original radio play produced, without sharing the authorship with another individual (male or female). This decision to include only individual women dramatists, who had written original plays was made to compare the results of this study in the future with: (1) other research on Canadian women novelists, and (2) other ongoing research in the Centre for Broadcasting Studies on male radio dramatists who wrote original radio drama, e.g. Len Petersen, Lister Sinclair, Joseph Schull, Mac Shoub, etc. Thus, the enumeration has not included women dramatists who co-authored radio plays only, nor does it include women who wrote adaptations only. (This exclusion did not radically reduce the number of women dramatists in the final list of names.)

Sources of Verification: Identification of Gender

Given the absence of information on gender in The Bibliography, another decision required a scrutiny of every name among the 1,300 entries of authors and co-authors of individual plays. Identification of gender (male or female) was initially and primarily made on the basis of first or

given names, those on appearance that are conventionally attributed to one or the other gender. Thus, people with the first names of Mary, Patricia, Della, Isabel, Iris, Doris, Nancy, Elsie, Lillian, and Dorothy were considered to be female radio dramatists. Conversely, people with the first names of Brian, John, Len, Harry, Charles, Alan, Robert, Patrick, Mark, and Joseph were considered to be male radio dramatists. After a first examination of The Bibliography, a listing of approximately 250 female radio dramatists was produced, in addition to a listing of 120 dramatists whose gender was not readily identifiable. This latter group included people with the first names of Lyn, Shirley, Joyce, Leslie, Merritt, Jay, Burke, MacCallum, Alix, Dale, Wesley, Gil, Marion and Salisbury, that may be attributed to either gender. Also included in this list were authors whose given names were indicated by initials.

Being aware of the somewhat arbitrary practice of identifying gender on the basis of first names, three other available sources were consulted in an effort to make the list of women dramatists as comprehensive and accurate as possible. First, several of the radio scripts filed in the Archives of the Centre for Broadcasting Studies were examined. It was considered most expedient to start with scripts written by authors in the gender-unknown group mentioned above.

In previous research it has been noted that in the introduction or conclusion to particular dramas, an

announcer would mention the dramatist, and occasionally use the pronouns "he" or "she" in reference to the author's gender. After a week devoted to this activity, it was abandoned, as it did not prove a very fruitful enterprise.

Upon examination of the scripts, other problems about dramatists' names became apparent. In one case, it was noted that two dramatists Shirley Suttles and Lesley Conger had the same Vancouver address. This information could mean that two dramatists were simply sharing (or living at) the same address. However, it could also mean the Suttles was actually Conger, and the author was using a pseudonym (or indeed 2 pseudonyms). There was a problem, therefore, in not only identifying gender in the compilation of the list, but in identifying possible pseudonyms.

The practice of using pseudonyms, or noms de plume was well-known in the artistic and literary worlds. Notably, given the context of this thesis, women writers, especially the prolific novelists of the nineteenth century, often adopted male pseudonyms, viz. the Brontes, George Eliot and George Sand. One particularly puzzling pseudonym, indicated in The Bibliography was the author Chris Deane, whose pseudonym was Christina Donaldson. It was difficult to tell whether the author in this instance was a male adopting a female pseudonym or vice versa. Chris Deane was the only author encountered in The Bibliography identified as having a pseudonym. It could very well be that there were more. (There have been rumors that authors occasionally used

pseudonyms in an effort to get their work at least considered by certain CBC employees, the "gatekeepers" to the production and broadcast of radio drama.)

Thus, it was perhaps impossible to know how many dramatists in The Bibliography were listed twice under different names, perhaps with a female first name in one instance and a male (or unidentifiable) first name in another. Verification of this information, given the available ancillary resources of the Centre for Broadcasting Studies was highly improbable.

It has since become apparent through conversations with Howard Fink that significant individuals may be able to shed some light on the verification of authorship of particular radio dramas. It has come to Fink's attention as a result of his research and contacts with people engaged in the golden age of radio, that in some instances, wives of certain male radio dramatists had written original radio drama for which their husbands were indicated as the authors. Therefore, at some future point, these allegations could be investigated to obtain a "truer" picture of the number of women who actually created original radio drama.

Relatively few files have remained detailing the negotiations between dramatist and producer, leading to the eventual broadcast of a piece of radio theatre. Until more research has been done on Canadian radio drama, crude decisions in the research process on these materials must

be made, as in the context of this study, in order to answer the research question guiding the thesis.

A second source of verification of information was old Canadian radio and television yearbooks and directories, as suggested by John E. Twomey in his paper entitled "Canadian Broadcasting History Resources; Critical Mass or Mess?" Canadian writers' directories; reference books on Canadian literature and literary figures, and the reference libraries of the CBC (Montreal and Toronto), were also consulted. These were the most useful of the three sources, as it was not only possible to identify certain authors as male or female, but also to begin to collect a file of information on particular women radio dramatists.

In the process of checking dramatists' names against names in directories and reference books, there was not only the problem of identifying gender, but also of matching the radio dramatist as the person of the same or similar name in a particular directory listing Canadian writers, playwrights, or radio and television personnel. For example, it was discovered that Margaret Grant the radio dramatist was not Margaret Nowell Grant the radio continuity editor described in The Canadian Radio and Television Annual 1950. Margaret Grant, the radio dramatist had a play broadcast in 1939; Margaret Nowell Grant, the continuity editor was born in 1927, therefore, she would have had to accomplish the unlikely feat of writing and having broadcast a radio play at the age of 12. Frequently,

a reference indicated that the person being described was a writer, yet less frequently that they were specifically writers of drama for radio. For example, in the publication Directory of Canadian Plays and Playwrights, by Playwrights Canada (designed to list Canadian playwrights and their work, and thereby heighten the Canadian consciousness about its own theatre and dramatists), mention was made of the radio drama of playwright Patricia Joudry, but no reference was made of the radio drama of Elizabeth Gourlay, Betty Lambert, Gwendolyn MacEwen and Gwen Pharis Ringwood.

Also, there were problems in identifying people with first initials only, in relation to people with first names incorporating the same initials and the same last names, e.g. was A. MacLeod, the radio dramatist, and Alistair MacLeod, the writer, the same person. Women and last names have posed a particular problem: the convention of changing last names upon marriage. By chance, Marian Waldman was discovered under the name of Marian Waldman Forer, in The Canadian Radio and Television Annual 1950. (Ms. Waldman was the widow of the Canadian writer Mort Forer.)

The third source of verification of information was particular people, who had been actively involved in the creation of Canadian radio theatre. There were precious few of these individuals available for consultation. One of them is Alice Frick, former assistant to Andrew Allan, the Supervisor of Drama for the CBC, responsible for producing the most prestigious drama during the golden age. Frick was

helpful with a part of the list identifying certain people as either male or female, also whether they were still alive, and, in certain instances, she provided addresses of key women dramatists. Unfortunately, one of these key informants, Gwen Pharis Ringwood, died in the spring of 1984. Ringwood not only wrote drama for radio, but drama for the traditional stage. She was considered as one of Canada's foremost playwrights--one who was a staunch and early advocate of Canadian theatre--in addition to being an observer of the role of Canadian women in the arts.

Other Issues in Identification: National Identity

The question of gender identification aside, another issue of identification, that of national identity, also required attention. A premise of The Bibliography has been that the drama written and produced during the golden age at the CBC was carried out by Canadians. It has since been verified by the research of the Centre for Broadcasting Studies, that this was indeed true in the majority of cases. However, in some instances, drama written by Britons and Americans, was produced over the CBC. Thus, using the same sources employed for the verification of gender, some women identified as Britons were excluded from the list, i.e. Mabel Constanduros, Ursula Bloom, Monica Marsden and Catherine Shepherd, a New Zealander.

There remains an unresolved question about the citizenship of six women who, in addition to their radio drama produced for the CBC, also wrote for American radio, i.e. Elaine Carrington, Doris Halman, Priscilla Kent, Nancy Moore, Dena Reed, and Katherine Seymour, and about whom little else was known. It was not impossible for Canadian women to write for American radio, the most notable example of this was Patricia Joudry, who at the age of 23, was co-author of the popular American serial The Aldridge Family.

Another unresolved mystery involved two radio dramatists whose scripts on file bear the stamps of a British literary agent. Their names were Elizabeth Dawson and Anne Francis. There was some speculation that Anne Francis could in fact have been Mrs. Florence Bird, a former broadcaster with the CBC and the Chairperson of the Canadian Royal Commission on the Status of Women. Mrs. Bird's pseudonym was Anne Francis. It was decided in the end that the names of the six women who wrote for American radio, as well as Dawson and Francis should remain on the list until a positive verification could be made.

In terms of verifying the gender and nationality of all the dramatists in question, it was not feasible to approach any individual or institution (i.e. the CBC) with two lists of approximately 400 names and expect positive identifications. Alice Frick, the aforementioned Script Editor, in the drama department of the CBC during the 1940s

and 50s, was unable to identify several of the individuals on a short list of approximately 30 names. Frick's memory has proved to be excellent, and it was assumed that if she was unable to identify certain people, perhaps many others would have to be contacted in order to produce a definitive list of Canadian women writers of radio drama. It was decided not to take the indefinite amount of time necessary to complete this task. Many of the people involved in the golden age of radio are scattered across the country, have lost touch with one another, were never acquainted with one another, or have died.

These were facts, to be faced repeatedly throughout the process of this research. Canadian literary and dramatic history has not kept track of its radio theatre. One of the implications of this oversight was the problems it has posed for the researcher. There were few secondary sources on Canadian radio dramatists in the form of scholarly articles and theses. There were no texts on the subject. Librarians at the CBC Montreal and Toronto facilities have admitted little knowledge about the golden age of radio and its participants. The CBC Montreal library allowed short-term access (one week) to their materials, and a CBC Toronto librarian kindly forwarded information on file of 10 women radio dramatists.

The time required to put together as comprehensive a list as possible of Canadian women radio dramatists, given the difficulties, was approximately three months. Each step

was time-consuming and laborious. Yet, the research was not without its satisfactions of uncovering heretofore unknown details. In the final analysis, the list was arbitrary, but it represents a first attempt to document the number and names of Canadian women who wrote original radio drama for the CBC from 1933-1961. The names of these women are attached as Appendix A. There were 250 of them, and there remains a list of 120 dramatists whose gender is still unknown (attached as Appendix B).

Sampling

The task of compilation yielded a list of 250 women radio dramatists out of all the possible women radio dramatists in The Bibliography. As noted above certain items of information were established for each of these 250 radio dramatists, i.e. gender, nationality, number of individual plays, and dates of broadcast. The next step was to search for other information about each of these women in order to proceed with the research problem. The research question required that something be known about each of these women as follows: their career activities, family background, educational backgrounds, marital status, family size, date of birth, career activities of family members, etc.

The search yielded sufficient information on 70 of the 250 women, to proceed with an analysis. Henceforth, these 70 women will be referred to as "the sample". The data

gathered on each dramatist was not equal in either quantity or quality of content.

Before proceeding with the discussion of information gathered on these women from other sources, The Bibliography provided another piece of information pertinent to the analysis, i.e. patterns of participation in radio drama. In other words, the number of original plays (defined earlier in this study) written and produced by the CBC were quantified for each of the 250 women (including those in the sample.)

The following table demonstrates that of the 250 dramatists, 153 wrote only one original radio play, and 37 wrote only two original radio plays, that is 76 per cent of the total wrote under two plays per person. The following table represents the statistics on the 250 women dramatists.

Table 1: Frequency of Number of Original Radio Plays by
Number of Radio Dramatists

Number of Radio Plays per Radio Dramatists	Number of Radio Dramatists
1	153
2	37
3	18
4	8
5	6
6	4
7	4
8	5
9	1
10	1
12	2
13	2
15	1
16	1
17	1
18	2
19	1
23	1
27	1
40	1
	<u>250</u>

The table demonstrates that the overwhelming majority of women who wrote original radio drama for the CBC during the golden age were not prolific radio dramatists. In other words, the typical woman wrote only one or two original radio plays. The implication of this fact for the field of radio drama was that most women radio dramatists did not write original radio plays as a full-time activity or career, during the golden age of radio.

In the sources referred to earlier in this chapter, there was only a minimal amount of information available for 45 of the 70 individuals. All that is known about some of these individuals is that they were playwrights for theatre (their names and the titles of their plays appearing in published bibliographies such as those compiled by O'Neill and Brock). It was also discovered through The Big Broadcast by Frank Buxton and Bill Owen, that some women wrote for American as well as Canadian radio. In one instance, Alice Frick identified Gladys Vyvyan as the wife of radio dramatist Fred Vyvyan, and in another case, Ingeborg Woodcock was identified as Canadian writer George Woodcock's wife, through her photography in his Canada and the Canadians. Also, CBC Reference Library Material identified Peggy Green as the wife of radio-dramatist Aubrey Green.

Some dramatists are advertised in the 1970 edition of the Association of Canadian Television and Radio Artists (ACTRA) Face-to-Face With Talent, as actresses and writers,

i.e. Corinne Langston, Sylvia Lennick and Marian Waldman. A photograph of the dramatist predominated this type of advertisement. However, an address and phone number was included, and subsequent contact was made with Marian Waldman in Toronto.

For these 45 women, the most detailed data has been derived from the radio yearbooks of the late 1940s and early 1950s. Information contained in these yearbooks on a particular individual was condensed into a 1 - 1 1/2 inch space. Thus, a cursory attempt was made in these yearbooks to outline the dramatists' careers in radio, including their non-dramatic activities, e.g. occupations as a continuity writer, commentator, etc. Often marital status and the number of children were included and, occasionally, postsecondary and university qualifications. Subsequent information on these women's biographies and career activities since the late 1940s to the early 1950s was not found. These dramatists seem never to have ever appeared again in library and archival documentation.

In marked contrast to the information available on these 45 women, there are approximately 22 women dramatists, who have become figures in other areas of Canadian writing, and about whom relatively more information is available. These women were recognized for their contributions to Canadian fiction, poetry, the traditional stage, children's literature and theatre, and Canadian folklore. Some have achieved Governor-General's

awards: Dorothy Livesay and Anne Marriott for their poetry, and Laura Goodman Salverson for her novels about Icelandic immigrants. This latter group of playwrights may be considered among Canada's major contemporary literary talents.

It appears that the information discovered was written for purposes other than a sociological inquiry. The context for the data, in most cases, was a "Who's Who" type of presentation, wherein a thumbnail profile of a dramatist's life and career was presented. In others, a more expanded version, in the form of a curriculum vitae of a dramatist's life and career was presented. In a minority of cases, detailed information about a dramatist's work, career and life experiences were available. Yet, inevitably, the details corresponded more with a literary examination of a dramatist's work in other literary genres. Thus, for example, there were detailed secondary materials on the poetry of Dorothy Livesay and the stage drama of Gwen Pharis Ringwood.

Supplementary Methodological Approach: Interviews

In addition to the analysis of available library and archival information on the 70 women radio dramatists, interviews involving five of these women were conducted. It was necessary to interview some of these individuals, not only because of the lack of secondary sources, but more

importantly to gain a perspective on the process of their lives and careers with respect to the creation of original radio drama, that can only validly be interpreted by the women themselves. This approach would follow from the emerging Canadian feminist paradigm and also the phenomenological theory on culture of Peter Berger premised on the sociology of Schutz and Merleau-Ponty, as discussed in Wuthnow et al. in Cultural Analysis: "to account for social reality from the point of the actors involved" (73).

It was anticipated that the women would be able to give a more accurate, integrated, and fluid account of their radio drama careers and the variety of social conditions that may have intervened in the process.

The term "conditions" has been heretofore broadly defined as (1) overarching social, economic and political factors amenable to women's participation in the arts, and (2) particular professional contacts and networks organized by women in order to facilitate their participation in the arts. In other words, "conditions" would refer rather broadly to the role of socialization, and the role of structural-relational factors in influencing women's opportunities to create radio drama.

There were two components to the notion of socialization: (1) education, and (2) gender-role expectations. By education was meant the usual definition of the availability of secondary and postsecondary education, as well as the specialized education in the form

of training, or sponsorship, that would have served as the preparatory routes for learning the art of radio drama. By "gender-role expectations" was meant the evidence of attitudes or behaviors that would signify a woman's traditional domestic role to be incompatible with a career in the public sphere.

The definition of "conditions" also included structural-relational factors, described as follows:

(1) the possibility for women to access both the art form of radio drama and the cultural industry, i.e. the CBC. This possibility would have been indicated by: (a) the number of women who wrote radio drama vis-a-vis men during the golden age of radio--the underlying question being whether or not a proportional imbalance would indicate some difficulties for women in gaining access to the medium; (b) career patterns, i.e. types of additional occupations and full- or part-time participation practices in these occupations; (c) attitudes and behaviors of significant men and women involved with radio drama and the CBC towards women radio dramatists--the underlying question being whether or not women radio dramatists were helped or impeded by overt or covert sexism? (d) placement of women in the hierarchy of the CBC, i.e., were there any policy guidelines for the hiring of women? (e) the status of radio drama as an art form--given the traditional status of play writing as a "man's field"; i.e., was it difficult for women to participate? (a more specific question than (c)

above); (f) the status of drama as a public art form, i.e., was it difficult for women to participate as a result of the traditional equation between writing drama and public disclosure? (2) the economic versus the aesthetic impetus for writing radio drama. Given the economic context of the time period of the golden age of radio, were women writing radio drama to earn a salary, or, monetary considerations aside, for the purpose of creating and sustaining the genre in Canada? (3) the class position of women radio dramatists, or their being born into artistic families or into families associated with the CBC. Were women who wrote radio drama somehow aided, either intellectually or professionally, in their practice of the genre as a result of the influence or the intervention of their relatives? (4) the personal or professional networks of women radio dramatists. How did friendships or involvement in professional associations facilitate women in their practice of writing original radio drama?

The five women interviewed for this study were: Rita Greer Allen, Edith Fowke, Lyn Harrington, Claire Murray, and Marian Waldman. These women were not chosen at random, but because they were all living relatively close to Montreal, in Toronto, a distance both accessible and affordable. A random choice of individuals from the sample was not possible for the following reasons: (1) maturation of the people in the sample, i.e. the fact that this research was conducted on a situation that took place in

the past, meant that many of the individuals have either "disappeared" from public record or have died, and (2) there were some writers in other parts of the country, e.g. Elsie Park Gowan in Edmonton, Dorothy Livesay and Anne Marriott in British Columbia, but, as mentioned above, for reasons of expense and time, it was not possible to conduct interviews with radio dramatists across the country.

Contact was made with Fowke, Harrington, Murray, and Waldman by letter and by phone before the interviews were arranged. Rita Greer Allen was contacted, on the advice of Claire Murray who has kept in touch with her, living close by in Rosedale. All of these radio dramatists were very willing to be interviewed about their participation in the golden age of radio, although, (excluding Allen and Waldman) they were uncertain as to whether or not their stories would serve a useful purpose in the research.

The hesitancy on the part of these radio dramatists as to the value and validity of their stories to this research, seemed somewhat ironic in view of the time and energy devoted to the investigation of every bit of information that would help fill in the gaps about their lives and careers in the golden age. It was assumed, at that moment, that the hesitancy was perhaps due to a sense of humility about their creative accomplishments. It was later made abundantly clear, however, by three of the five dramatists, that the term "radio dramatist" did not

adequately characterize or describe either their self-identity or their life's work.

Before the interviews were conducted, an interview schedule was designed incorporating questions proceeding from the theoretical framework for this research, essentially based upon the issues raised above under the discussion of "conditions" whereby women were able to write radio drama for the CBC. Also included were standard questions on date and place of birth, marital status, number of children, etc.

The interviews were all tape recorded, except for the one with Marian Waldman, who preferred not to be taped at the time. Notes were also taken by hand as a backup measure to the tape recorder. The interviews were conducted in the homes of the individuals, and lasted for approximately 1 1/2 hours each on the average. They were terminated at a point when it was considered discourteous to the woman being interviewed to proceed any further. It has been the intention of the Centre for Broadcasting Studies to establish a good rapport with individuals involved in the golden age of radio, so that other interviews may be arranged in future, and the research may continue. After the interviews were conducted the tapes were transcribed, in order to facilitate the analysis of relevant details.

Chapter IV: Findings: A Typology of Women Radio
Dramatists

As previously stated, the bulk of information available from printed sources was only descriptive of a minority of women radio dramatists. Information, however, was gathered for different radio dramatists under the following headings:

- (1) date of birth
- (2) marital status
- (3) number of children
- (4) education
- (5) region
- (6) social class
- (7) career activities
- (8) citizenship/nationality
- (9) family members involved in literature, the arts, and/or the CBC
- (10) prior history with the CBC
- (11) writing for American radio

The most complete information available on the majority of women was obtained under category seven: career activities. It was remarkable to observe the scope of these dramatists' career activities in such fields as Canadian literature, drama and the arts; radio and television; children's literature; and teaching at a variety of levels and institutions.

The information was organized in a particular way such that patterns began to emerge in terms of various career activities. It became apparent that these dramatists were involved in particular types of occupations, for example, (a) literary occupations, i.e. traditional occupations in writing novels, poetry, and short stories for publication, and writing drama for performance and publication; (b) radio occupations, i.e. employment with the CBC and/or other radio networks in Canada (n.b. including information from categories 10 and 11 mentioned above), and (c) all other occupations, including other activities in writing, (i.e. for magazines and newspapers, etc.) and in radio-related fields (and other media), as well as other activities in the arts, e.g. painting, musicianship, and, finally, teaching occupations.

Although information was available on the types of occupations in which various women participated, the data was not sufficient to pinpoint their occupational involvement in terms of full- or part-time participation. One problem with interpreting the types of occupations and occupational involvement of the radio dramatists in the sample was that of being ever-mindful of the established time frame of the golden age of radio, and of career activities that were encompassed within that moment in history. Many of the dramatists became more diversified, prolific and famous after the golden age, and it was necessary to avoid including such developments in this

category. Thus, the category was descriptive of the career activities of women radio dramatists at approximately the same time as their writing of radio drama for the CBC during the late 1930s, 1940s and 1950s.

Given the two most complete categories of information available, (1) career activities and (2) patterns of participation in radio drama, the research question was addressed by organizing the data in order to make comparisons between non-prolific (less than two plays) and prolific (more than two plays) writers of original radio drama.

The prolificacy of the 70 women was not exactly representative of the general non-prolificacy of the total 250 women radio dramatists. Of the 70 women, 45 wrote one or two plays, a proportion of 62.4 per cent, while 76 per cent of the total 250 women wrote the same amount. The smaller proportion of non-prolific women in the group of 70 would evoke the issue of which radio dramatists have been left out of the sample and for what reasons. It has been difficult to efficiently gauge how representative the sample is of the career activities of the 250 women who wrote radio drama for the CBC during the golden age. To answer with certainty who has been left out of the sample and why could very well require another lengthy research inquiry.

Comparison of Non-Prolific and Prolific Radio Dramatists
and their Career Activities

Two tables have been devised to illustrate three different types of non-prolific and prolific radio dramatists. These types have emerged as a result of examining the typical occupational patterns of both prolific and non-prolific radio dramatists. It was characteristic of these women to be involved in one, or a combination of two or all three, of the following occupational categories: (1) literary occupations, (2) radio occupations, and (3) other occupations. These three categories have been described in the previous section. Thus, a woman could have combined her radio drama activities with traditional writing activities, or radio activities or other activities, and/or a combination of all three together.

Included in the analysis of the three types was another dimension available from the information on the career activities of the radio dramatists. An indication of the approximate timing of the writing of the radio drama was determined by means of the date of broadcast recorded in The Bibliography. This date of broadcast was compared with that of other career activities on the part of the radio dramatists in the sample, to arrive at an approximate sequencing of the radio drama versus other career activities. In this way, an attempt was made by the

juxtaposition of these activities to acquire a sense of the place of radio drama in the context of what would become an individual's "whole" career.

The following analysis, categorizing groups of women radio dramatists into "types" was necessarily employed given the exploratory nature of this research. It has already been noted, that there have been no previous studies conducted on these women as writers of original radio drama for the CBC during the golden age of radio. The derivation of types of women radio dramatists was employed as a preliminary step into understanding their role in the creation of one facet of Canadian culture, radio drama. Irving M. Zeitlin, in Ideology and the Development of Sociological Theory, has described "ideal type" analysis as defined by Weber as essentially heuristic, a tool useful in the early stages of sociological analyses of phenomena whereby hypotheses may be generated for subsequent research activity (119-120). Moreover, the ideal types described below cannot be construed as an exact accounting of career patterns, but as models or patterns of some characteristics common to the sample of women radio dramatists. A next step in future research would be to apply the information garnered from the analysis of types to the actual biographies of individual women radio dramatists in order to find out whether or not the analysis illuminates the conditions under which women were able to create radio drama.

An Analysis of Non-Prolific Women Radio Dramatists

Table 2 is attached as Appendix D. This table is a list of 43 of the possible 45 non-prolific radio dramatists, and an illustration of the variety of activities within the three occupational types mentioned in the previous section. (Appendix C is attached as a List of Abbreviations of Headings in Occupational Categories for Tables 2 and 4.) Peggy Green and Ingeborg Woodcock were not included in the table due to a lack of information on their career activities. For similar reasons, not all of the 43 women included in the table will be discussed in the proceeding analysis.

The first type included 16 of the possible 45 non-prolific radio dramatists. These women were representative of radio dramatists who were involved in literary occupations only. That is, other than writing traditional literature and drama, these women did not pursue career activities in the new medium of radio, nor did they pursue other occupations in the arts. It appears then, that writing radio drama was an extension of, or an adjunct to, their literary careers. Moreover, 13 of the 16 women were playwrights; thus the bridge between the dramatic form of traditional theatre, and the new genre of radio drama was readily accomplished (to a degree--not in terms of quantity) by these women, who were essentially, in terms of overall career activities, dramatists (unlike the

others who attempted a different literary form altogether.) Seven of the 13 playwrights were playwrights of the 1930s: Dora Smith Conover, Marjorie Price, Lady Susan Charlotte Tweedsmuir, Janet McPhee, Ida Marion Davidson, Lillian Beynon Thomas, and Gladdis Joy Tranter. The former three had radio drama broadcast in the late 1930s while the other four had their radio drama broadcast generally in the 1950s. It would seem from this evidence, therefore, that the career path to the writing of radio drama had its beginnings for these women in their ability to write and have published traditional drama for the stage.

The 1930s was a particularly creative period for Canadian dramatists. The second volume of the Literary History of Canada has documented the role of the Dominion Drama Festival, and of the publishing firm of Samuel French Limited, in nurturing and encouraging Canadian drama, through the institution of prizes and the promise of publication respectively. Likewise:

various associations and little theatres continued to encourage writers through competitions and prizes. Martha Allen, L. Bullöck-Webster, Raymond Card, Mary Farquharson, Elsie Park Gowan, Madge Macbeth, Isabel MacKay, Janet McPhee, George Palmer, Marjorie Price, W.S. Milne, Lois Reynolds, Lillian Thomas are a few of the authors who grappled with the medium. (emphasis added--all radio dramatists, 149).

In terms of quantity of information on this category of non-prolific dramatist, three of the women about whom more is known, Mary Lyle Benham, Elizabeth Gourlay and Elfreida Read were radio dramatists of the latter phase of the golden age of radio (i.e. late 1950s, early 1960s). Since writing for radio they have become comparatively well-known and/or prolific in other literary fields. Their literary careers have blossomed since the late 1950s, and it was their work in radio drama that generally marked the beginning of these careers. Moreover, given their relatively recent success, in terms of Canadian cultural history, somewhat better records have been kept of their biographies and careers.

The second type of non-prolific radio dramatist was represented by 15 of the total group of 45 non-prolific radio dramatists. Their career activities included radio occupations only. That is to say, that other than writing, or otherwise being engaged in a career in radio, they neither wrote traditional literature and drama, nor did they pursue other occupations in the arts. It appears that writing radio drama was a slight extension or an adjunct to career activities in radio. Six of the 15 women in this category: Elaine Carrington, Doris Halman, Barbara Hotchkiss, Priscilla Kent, Nancy Moore, and Dena Reed were involved in American radio as writers of comedy or drama serials. It was very possible that the majority of these women were indeed Americans. However, as explained earlier,

there was no evidence to prove or disprove this possibility. For these women, it could be that writing original radio drama for Canadian radio was supplementary to their radio writing careers. One woman, in particular, Elaine Sterne Carrington has been recognized by Irving Settel in A Pictorial History of Radio, as "one of the early writers to develop the 'soap opera' form in American radio..." (116). Not only was writing for Canadian radio a supplement to their American radio career, but it was also a subsequent activity, that is to say, it appeared in the later stages of their American radio careers. Most of these women had their Canadian drama broadcast in the early 1940s, whereas their writing for American radio began in the mid-to-late 1930s.

The other nine women participated in Canadian radio through a variety of activities, as writers, producers, continuity writers, actresses, commentators, announcers, in the women's department, continuity editors, researchers, and stenographers, in descending order of rates of participation. Given the constellation of activities--writing, producing, and acting--these were the primary activities of the women dramatists. Moreover, the majority of these women, at some point in their radio careers were most frequently writers. Therefore, it would seem reasonable that their skills in writing for the new medium of radio would warrant an attempt at the new genre of original radio drama. Also, their skills in acting on radio

would have provided an insight into the special requirements of a radio play suitable for broadcasting.

Insofar as the time sequence of radio drama versus other activities in radio is concerned, in six out of nine women's careers, it was clear that writing original radio drama succeeded their start in radio. Thus, it was also apparent that the writing of original drama for these women was neither a major portion of, nor a preliminary route to, their careers in radio.

As previously mentioned, in this latter group were the individuals whose radio careers were encapsulated in the radio yearbooks of the late 1940s to early 1950s. Only one member of this group, Dorothy Jane Goulding, has been reported on in Profiles, a more recent reference source. She has been profiled in this publication by the Canadian Library Association, as a result of her activities in writing children's literature and drama. Goulding has been very prolific post-1945, since the broadcast of her original radio drama, both within the CBC "Kindergarten of the Air," and more recently (circa 1970s) as a drama consultant and editor. For this radio dramatist, at least, the commencement of a radio and literary career coincided somewhat with the broadcast of her first, and only, original radio drama.

Only one radio dramatist did not fit into either of the above categories--although her teaching and directing activities are very much related to the former, literary

category. Joy Coghill, although not prolific as a writer of radio drama, has become a renowned Canadian drama teacher and theatre director. Prior to her radio drama, she was not only a teacher, but an actress as well, notably at one point with the Dominion Drama Festival (1947). At the time Coghill wrote her radio drama in 1952, she was in the early stages of her career. Moreover, in 1952, she was very active, according to Creative Canada, vol.2, as a director and actress both with the Tenthouse Theatre, Rhinelander, Wisconsin, and with the Players' Club. In terms of a career in radio drama, therefore, the evidence from Coghill's mini-biography depicts an individual very much otherwise engaged both pre- and post-1952 in the traditional theatre.

The final type of non-prolific radio dramatist represents a somewhat disparate collection of all individuals whose activities span at least two of the three occupational categories in various ways. Several key differences were noted among the radio dramatists in this final type. Therefore, three sub-types or "clusters" were identified and the criteria defining each cluster are described below.

In the first cluster of this type are assembled: Barbara Villy Cormack, Laura Goodman Salverson, and Ethel Wilson. These women have had literary occupations, and other occupations, but no occupations as previously defined in radio. All three have comparatively more information published about them--especially Salverson and Wilson.

These women have been acknowledged as holding an honoured position in Canadian literary history, notably for their novels and short stories. From the information available on these women, it appears that their various writing activities were concomitant, inasmuch as their radio drama was broadcast at the same time as the publication of their other works.

As a footnote to the combined research of the Centre for Broadcasting Studies, one of Ethel Wilson's major works, the novel Swamp Angel, was published in 1954, the same year as her radio drama was broadcast. This novel has been resurrected by contemporary Canadian feminists for its controversial subject matter on the status of women in marriage. Whether Wilson's novel, which deals with contemporary marriages of her day, reflects the thematic content of her radio drama is not known. Unfortunately, this play was one that the Centre for Broadcasting Studies has been unable as yet to locate. However, some other plays dealing with marriage, separation, and the independence of women had been broadcast earlier (specifically, Lister Sinclair's "Hilda Morgan" in 1949, Alan King's "The Way Through the Wood" in 1951, and Patricia Joudry's "Mother is Watching" in 1952). It would be interesting to pursue in subsequent research, the relationship between the broadcast of Wilson's radio play and the correspondence of sensibilities between her novel and the content of her radio drama.

Unlike the others, Barbara Villy Cormack's radio drama came at the end of her literary career, yet within the duration of her subsequent career as a teacher of retarded children. Ethel Wilson was also a school teacher in the early part of her life, for 23 years, at which point she married and began a literary career (approximately 1930). Prior to her radio drama, Wilson was also an editor for the Red Cross Magazine (1940-45). Laura Goodman Salverson, in the years separating the broadcast of her two radio plays (1936 and 1948) was also an editor for the periodical Icelandic Canadian Quarterly (1942-43).

In the second cluster of this final type are six individuals: Edith Fowke, Marjorie Leete, Sylvia Lennick, Corinne Langston, Marjorie Purvey and Katherine Seymour. These women have had radio occupations, and other occupations, but no literary occupations.

Their predominant occupations in radio were, in order of frequency: writers and actresses, in the top positions; with producer, commentator, singer, researcher, and activities in American radio sharing one frequency each. In terms of other occupations, television actress and television writer shared two frequencies each; with schoolteaching; teaching of radio arts; owner, school of radio drama; textbook author on writing for radio; television singer; and finally magazine editor sharing one frequency each. These latter occupations were in most instances radio-related, i.e. teaching of radio arts;

owner, school of radio drama; textbook author on writing for radio; or media-(television) related, i.e. television actress, writer and singer, or writing-related, i.e. magazine editor. Indeed, with respect to the latter writing-related activity, some of the activities included under radio- or media-related activities are also writing-related, i.e. textbook author and television writer. Thus, there appears to be, among women dramatists in this group, a commingling of radio and writing occupations.

Where the timing of radio drama versus other career activities is concerned, for Edith Fowke and Marjorie Purvey, writing radio drama came during their radio career. Before Edith Fowke became involved in radio in 1949, she had already had some experience in schoolteaching and magazine editing. Marjorie Purvey started in radio in 1934, and it has not been established at what point in her career she owned two schools of radio drama: one in Toronto, the other in Hamilton. It was also possible that both Katherine Seymour and Marjorie Leete also wrote radio drama during their radio and radio-related careers, however, the information available has set the date of their radio drama (1943 and 1953 respectively) after these other activities (for Katherine Seymour, her writing for American radio and textbook on radio writing--for Marjorie Leete, her speech lecturing with the Academy of Radio Arts). In any event,

their radio drama did not precede their other career activities.

The final two radio dramatists in the cluster, Corinne Langston and Sylvia Lennick, as actresses and singers, have been active both in radio and television since the golden age of radio. Lennick has also been a writer for both media. She became well-known to CBC television audiences as a comedy actress in the heyday of the "Wayne and Shuster" program. She is still active as an actress in CBC radio drama, having performed most recently during the week of May 6-10, 1985 on "Morningside."

In terms of timing of radio drama and their careers in radio and television, it may have been that for both Langston and Lennick, the broadcast of their radio plays marked the commencement of their careers in radio and television. However, no other information was available to unequivocally support this claim. Lennick's radio plays were broadcast in 1949 and 1961, while Langston's radio play was broadcast in 1960. For these two women, it appears that the bridge between media (radio and television) was readily accomplished, while maintaining what appears to have been their primary occupations: actresses and singers.

Jean M. Gow and Marg Hutchison were the two individuals who made up the third and final cluster of this final type of non-prolific radio dramatist. The significance of these two women's career activities were

that they have been active in different ways in all three of the occupational categories.

Jean Gow wrote a travel book that was published in 1938, and she was a researcher for CBC radio from 1951 to 1968. She has also been a book illustrator; one of two women in the sample to undertake activities in the traditional "artistic" (graphic arts) realm (the other being Rita Greer Allen). Marg Hutchison was a novelist and a poet (published 1957), and, in addition, was employed by the CBC at one point to write radio plays for the School Broadcasts. Her other occupational activity was teaching school children in British Columbia.

Insofar as the timing of these women's radio dramas vis-a-vis the scheduling of the rest of their activities is concerned, for Gow, her radio drama was broadcast during her stint as a researcher with the CBC, while for Hutchison, the data is incomplete. Only two dates are available for Hutchison's activities; the broadcast of her radio drama in 1949 and the publication of her novel in 1957. It would seem, therefore, that the start of Hutchison's career activities was commensurate with the broadcast of her radio drama.

In conclusion to this final type of non-prolific radio dramatist, several statements may be made. The first statement reflects the typicality of this final type, and this may be found in the category of "other occupations." The women in the first cluster were not engaged in radio

occupations; the women in the second cluster were not engaged in literary occupations; but all three clusters of women were somehow engaged in the "other occupations."

The type of occupation these women were most frequently involved in was teaching, schoolteaching, and the teaching of radio arts. The second type of occupation these women were most frequently involved in was writing-related occupations, i.e. magazine editing and textbook writing. Occupations in television, i.e. actress, singer, and writer were the next most frequently-involved activity. Artistic occupations and radio-related occupations share the last category as the least-involved activity, i.e. illustrator and owner, schools of radio drama. As a footnote to this section, if radio-related occupations were redefined to include occupations included in teaching and writing above, i.e. teaching radio arts and textbook author on radio writing, this activity would share second most-frequently involved activity with the writing-related occupation delineated above.

A second statement reflecting the typicality of this final type may be found in the category of radio occupations. Two clusters of women, the majority of this final type were engaged in radio occupations. The most frequently engaged in activities were: writing and being an actress at the top of the list, with activities in research, American radio, producing, commentating, and announcing, sharing one frequency each.

A third comment about these women categorized in the final type involved the timing of their radio drama versus other career activities. For all three clusters, in general, the broadcast (and probably, therefore, the writing) of original radio dramas followed the commencement of career activities in radio or writing literature. The significance of this pattern was that the writing of radio drama was not necessarily a first step or a preliminary route to their subsequent career activities, nor did this practice form a substantial part of their career activities on a full-time or long-term basis.

A final comment about this type of radio dramatist may be made with reference to the type of literary occupations held by these women. As may be derived from the above, these occupations were in the minority. Nevertheless, an interesting comparison may be made between the women who held literary occupations in this final type of non-prolific radio dramatist versus the women who held these occupations in the first type of non-prolific radio dramatist. As mentioned earlier, the primary literary activity of this first type of radio dramatist was drama. For the women in the final type, their primary literary activity was not drama, but novels, with poetry, short stories, and travel books making up the full complement of writing activities.

Summary

The information from The Bibliography has demonstrated that the "typical" woman radio dramatist was not a prolific writer of original radio plays. From the sample of women, the data has illustrated three separate types of non-prolific radio dramatist. These three types, in rank order of numerical superiority, could be generally characterized as follows:

(1) The first type was the "literary" radio dramatist, who most often was a published playwright. Her radio play was broadcast, and probably written, after the publication of her play(s).

(2) The second type of radio dramatist was a radio station/network employee most often engaged as a writer, and, secondarily, as an actress and producer. Her radio play was also usually broadcast, and probably written, after the start of her career in radio.

(3) The third type of radio dramatist combined a radio or literary occupation with activities in other occupational categories. Most frequently, she was either a radio station/network writer or actress, or a novelist, who was also teaching school or editing magazines. Her radio play was also usually broadcast, and probably written, during the period of her combined career activities.

The concept of radio drama reflects what had become during the golden age of radio, a synthesis of traditional

literary form: drama, with a modern electronic medium--radio. Consequently, and not surprisingly, therefore, this new synthesis also reflects what had become in reality an occupational possibility whereby these women could fuse either their literary skills with the new medium of radio, or their newly-acquired broadcast skills with the traditional medium of drama.

Many questions remain after this examination of non-prolific women radio dramatists--specifically, the fact of their non-prolificacy. The following analysis of prolific radio dramatists will attempt to shed some light on why the occupational "possibility" of writing original radio drama remained almost exactly that for the majority of women radio dramatists.

An Analysis of Prolific Women Radio Dramatists

As noted above in Table 1, of the women radio dramatists for whom information was available, those who wrote three or more plays were a minority, 24 per cent, to be exact.

The following table demonstrates the total number of radio plays written by women dramatists in each category of prolificacy (prolificacy as previously defined by number of plays per dramatist).

Table 3: Total Number of Original Radio Plays by Category of Prolificacy:

No. of Radio Plays per Radio Dramatist	No. of Radio Dramatists	Total No. of Radio Plays
1	153	153
2	37	74
3	18	54
4	8	32
5	6	30
6	4	24
7	4	28
8	5	40
9	1	9
10	1	10
12	2	24
13	2	26
15	1	15
16	1	16
17	1	17
18	2	36
19	1	19
23	1	23
27	1	27
40	<u>1</u>	<u>40</u>
	250	697

Total number of dramatists = 250

Average number of plays per dramatist = 2.8

Total number of plays by non-prolific dramatists = 227

Percentage of total plays written by non-prolific dramatists = 32.6

Total number of plays by prolific dramatists = 470

Percentage of total plays written by prolific dramatists = 67.4

Average number of plays per non-prolific dramatist = 1.2

Average number of plays per prolific dramatist = 7.8

The table above describes the total number of plays written by all of the 250 women dramatists as 697. The average number of plays per dramatist was 2.8--a statistic that attests to the general lack of prolificacy of this group. The mean statistic of 2.8, as well as the modal statistics of one and two plays per radio dramatist were ultimately helpful in carving up the sample of 70 women into two groups, i.e. those described as non-prolific and prolific writers of radio drama. It may seem illogical to describe an individual who wrote three, four or even five plays as a "prolific" writer of radio drama, nevertheless within the context of this population of writers, these writers were indeed prolific.

In the previous discussion of non-prolific writers, it was mentioned that the number of prolific women in the

sample proportionately exceeds the number of prolific women in the total group of 250, i.e. 37.6 per cent in the sample versus 24 per cent in the total group. Moreover, judging by the average number of plays written by all of the prolific women--7.8 plays per dramatist, against the average number of plays written by prolific women in the sample, 11.2 per dramatist, the women in the sample were also more prolific than the average prolific woman in the group of 250. This was seemingly the result of finding data on women radio dramatists who ranged along the uppermost end of the prolific continuum (see Table 3). In other words, the sample included data on such women as Elsie Park Gowan (40 plays), Marian Waldman (26 plays), Christie Harris (23 plays), Mary Grannan and Patricia Joudry (18 plays each), F. Marjorie Jordan (17 plays), Helene Winston (16 plays), Rita Greer Allen (15 plays), Poppy McKenzie and Cynthia Wilmot (13 plays each), and Betty Lambert (12 plays). Thus, of the 14 women who wrote 10 or more plays, 11 have been included in the sample.

On the lower end of the continuum of prolific women dramatists, those who wrote from three to nine plays each, only 14 of the 46 women have been included in the sample.

Table 4, attached as Appendix E, has been formulated along the same lines as Table 2 on non-prolific women, in order to draw comparisons between the two groups of radio dramatists. This table is a list of 24 of the possible 25 prolific radio dramatists. Gladys Vyvyan was not included

in the table due to a lack of information on her career activities. The career activities of women dramatists, in this case the prolific ones have been examined along three occupational dimensions.

Following the generation of Table 4, there were two eminently noticeable factors concerning this collection of prolific radio dramatists. First, the third occupational dimension "other activities," was more than doubled by the addition of a variety of activities in teaching, writing, the theatre, the media, the arts, women's traditional professions and occupations (social work, librarian, and secretary), as well as one non-traditional occupation (tourist resort operator). The second most noticeable factor was the prevalence of individuals who made up the third type of radio dramatist. Sixteen of the 25 prolific women in the sample were engaged in one way or another in at least two of the three occupational categories. This was in direct contrast to the configuration of the non-prolific group, in which radio dramatists of the third type were in the minority.

Prolific radio dramatists of the first type, who were involved in literary occupations only, are represented by four of the 25 women namely, F. Marjorie Jordan, Isabel LeBourdais, Poppy McKenzie and Floris McLaren. Both Jordan and McKenzie were playwrights, but of different decades. Jordan, like many of the non-prolific women of this type, was a playwright of the 1930s. The broadcast of her 17

radio dramas succeeded the publication of her play, and spanned the early decade of the golden age of radio (1939-1949). Unlike Jordan, McKenzie's play for the theatre was published in the 1950s, during the period when her 13 radio dramas were broadcast over the CBC (1947-1955).

Isabel LeBourdais has been a writer of non-fiction, who, especially in recent years, has become known for her work on the Canadian "Stephen Truscott case." Her three radio plays were broadcast in the early 1950s, prior to her involvement in other literary activities. Floris McLaren, the only poet of this group, has been recognized by the Literary History of Canada for her contribution to the poetic art form. McLaren's poetry was published from 1937 to the 1950s, during which time her four radio plays were broadcast starting in 1945.

It would seem that playwright Jordan and poet Floris McLaren, both writers of the 1930s, started their activities in writing radio drama as a result of their earlier literary successes. While, from the scant information available, it would seem that LeBourdais and McKenzie both began their literary careers with the writing of radio drama.

Insofar as insights are to be gained from comparisons drawn between prolific and non-prolific radio dramatists of this first type, a first comparison would indicate a disparity in numbers. Among the non-prolific women in the sample, radio dramatists of the first type were slightly

more prevalent than the other two types. This was not the case among the prolific women. Two explanations were forthcoming for this discrepancy. First, as already mentioned, the greater number of prolific radio dramatists were of the third type. Second, the greater proportion of the first type of non-prolific radio dramatists were made up of playwrights of the 1930s. Only one of the prolific radio dramatists was a member of this latter group. The radio dramatist was F. Marjorie Jordan, the only playwright of the 1930s tradition to truly adopt the new dramatic medium as a career activity. Unfortunately, supplementary detail on her life and career has not been found. Indeed, little is known about any of the prolific women in this first type, since only very limited biographical information has been uncovered. Even Poppy McKenzie, a more recent playwright of the 1950's has remained an enigma.

The second type of prolific radio dramatist was the least prevalent of all prolific radio dramatists, representing only two of 25 radio dramatists who were involved in radio occupations only.

Given that there were only two women of this type, Susan Fletcher and Betty Lambert, it was very difficult to render comparisons with the non-prolific women. Indeed, if one were to examine the whole of Lambert's career, in its early stages in the latter part of the golden age, she would not have been included in this category at all, but in the final cluster of the third type. Lambert, until her

untimely death of cancer at 50 in 1983, had been acknowledged mainly for her literary career as a dramatist for the stage and children's theatre, and as the author of a controversial novel. While not abandoning radio drama (for which she won a Nellie Award in 1980), her more recent career had also included the writing of drama for television. Up to the time of her death, she was also an Associate Professor of Greek Drama, Shakespeare and Linguistics at Simon Fraser University in British Columbia.

Both Lambert and Fletcher were employed as writers for radio, and Fletcher's radio activities also included occupations as an actress and a commentator. Thus, these activities do correspond with the primary activities of the non-prolific women of this type.

Insofar as the timing of radio drama activities versus other activities in radio is concerned, it has already been noted that, for Lambert, the writing of 18 radio dramas for the CBC from 1958 to 1961 marked the beginning, not only of her career in radio, but of her later literary and teaching careers. It was the opposite for Fletcher, whose five radio dramas were broadcast in 1955, 15 years after her first association with radio. Thus, for this dramatist, at least, the timing of her radio drama and other activities in radio corresponds to that of the majority of non-prolific women of this type. In other words, Fletcher's radio drama did not represent a major portion of, nor a preliminary route, to her radio career.

The third type of prolific radio dramatist was the most typical of all prolific radio dramatists in the sample. Of the 25 women characterized as prolific in the sample, 18 have had career activities that include at least two of the three occupational categories. As with the non-prolific women of this type, there have emerged among the prolific women, three sub-types or clusters, depending upon the variation in occupational categories.

In the first cluster of this third type, incidentally the smallest of the three clusters, were four women: Hope Morrill Cameron, Lyn Harrington, Dorothy Livesay and Anne Marriott. These women have had literary occupations and other occupations, but no radio occupations. All four of these women, especially the last two, have gained recognition in literary circles, and their career biographies have been documented in various Canadian publications. These women also have had in common an approximate equivalency of radio dramas to their credit (three, six, five, and five respectively). The similarities among them are even greater in that all four have had very productive writing careers, three have been poets: Cameron and, most notably, Livesay and Marriott. As mentioned earlier in this thesis, both Livesay and Marriott have won Governor-General's awards for their poetry. Livesay won hers in 1944 and 1947, and Marriott in 1941. Incidentally Marriott's Calling Adventurers for which she won the award was first produced on radio, as choruses for "Payload," on

the CBC, November 8, 1940, before being published in book form. Marriott was the first woman to receive a Governor-General's award in Canada.

Although Livesay established her reputation as a poet, her literary career also included some short story writing. Of the three others in this cluster, only Marriott has limited her literary activities to poetry. In addition to poetry, Cameron has written novels and non-fiction. Harrington's literary work has not included poetry, but she has authored many travel books and children's and juvenile's stories. It was interesting to note that despite the variety in these women's literary activities, not one has been a playwright for the stage.

Their traditional literary careers aside, all four women have pursued writing-related activities. Cameron, Livesay and especially Harrington have written for magazines. (At last count, Harrington has published 2,300 articles and texts.) At an early point in her career, Marriott was an editor of the verse column for the Victoria Times, (1940-43), as well as a writer for the National Film Board of Canada (1945-49). Incidentally, Livesay and Marriott's mutual interest and expertise in poetry have had a long history that not only included individual careers and honours, but culminated in their joint establishment of the poetry magazine Contemporary Verse in 1941.

Other activities on the part of these women have comprised teaching, and participation in two other fields

traditionally held by women. As befits one of our outstanding literary figures, Livesay has had a long and somewhat diversified career. Early in her life, she was trained in social work during the social upheaval of Canada's Depression. After public recognition of her poetry in the early-to-mid-1940s, she began to teach creative writing which she pursued from the late 1940s to the late 1960s. Besides Livesay's social work, the other traditional women's occupation referred to above was held by Harrington. In her younger years, before she embarked on her writing career, Harrington had been a children's librarian. Harrington was contacted for a personal interview and more specific details of her career, as it related to radio drama, will be forthcoming in this thesis.

Only one of these four individuals' radio drama preceded her literary work and other occupations. Cameron's three radio plays were broadcast at the beginning of her career in the early 1960s. Harrington's five radio plays, spanning the time period of 1953 to 1961, succeeded the publication of a travel book and a novel for juveniles, and were subsequently intermittent with other literary publications. Livesay's five radio dramas bridged an eight-year period, from 1946 to 1954; after the reception of her first Governor-General's award, while she received a second in 1947, and finally during the early stages of her teaching career. Marriott's five radio dramas were broadcast earlier than any of the others, from 1942 to

1945. The broadcasts occurred towards the end of her term as the verse column editor, after the establishment of the poetry magazine, but before her stint as a writer for the National Film Board. It would seem, therefore, that for Harrington, Livesay and Marriott, writing radio drama was one facet of already established, diversified, and ultimately, distinguished writing careers.

In comparison to the non-prolific women of the first cluster, there was a correlation with the prolific women with reference to the time sequence of radio drama versus other career activities, in that the majority in both instances had their radio plays broadcast within the duration of their literary and other occupational activities.

Eight women were among the second cluster of the final type: Rita Greer Allen, Estelle Fox, Kay Hill, Claire Murray, Audrey Piggott, Johanne Stemo, Marian Waldman, and Cynthia Wilmot. This cluster was the largest among the three of the third type of prolific woman dramatist. This was contrary to the data for the non-prolific women of the third type, where the first cluster represented the largest contingent of individuals, with the second cluster following in second place. The second cluster was defined as containing dramatists who have had radio occupations and other occupations, but no literary occupations.

Like their non-prolific counterparts, the primary occupations of these women in radio have been as writers in

the first place, and actresses in the second place. In addition to these activities, there was one singer in the group, Fox, and one musician, Piggott. Unlike their non-prolific colleagues, there was a limited involvement in a variety of radio occupations on the part of these prolific women, yet they were very much more active in a variety of "other" occupations.

All the individuals in this cluster were involved in at least one of the categories listed under other occupations as follows: teaching; writing-related, theatre-related and media-related activities; the arts; and, traditional and non-traditional women's fields:

Prior to the broadcast of her 15 radio dramas from 1944 to 1956, Allen had been a painter and a university teacher of fine arts. Allen was one of a few women radio dramatists to have been involved in a non-writing realm of the arts. Yet, prior to her radio career, and at intervals between painting and teaching, she had also been active in amateur dramatics--"little theatre"--as an actress and director. For Allen, radio drama marked her entry not only into radio, but also into a writing career that has extended to the present day. In her early years as a radio dramatist, she was also a scriptwriter for various other dramatic programs and serials, such as the School Broadcasts. After radio, Allen applied her writing talents to the burgeoning field of television. Allen has been interviewed for the purposes of this thesis, and her career

in radio and radio drama will be explored further at a later point.

Estelle Fox came to radio early; yearbook information has dated her career from 1925 to 1946. Having already accomplished another career as a concert soprano, it was through her singing that she was to establish her career in radio. In fact, on CNRA Moncton's first Canadian broadcast to Britain, in 1925, Fox was a featured singer. Acting and then writing succeeded her ongoing singing career in radio. Two of her three radio dramas, of which the date of one broadcast is unknown, were performed in 1939, 14 years after her illustrious beginnings in radio.

Prior to Hill's start in radio as a scriptwriter, in 1946, she had occupied a traditionally-female field as a secretary. After a short period of preparation, she began to write original radio dramas, eight, in all, that were to be broadcast over a 12-year period, from 1948 until 1960. During the latter part of this period, Hill was also writing drama for television. Thus, writing for radio and radio drama marked the beginning of Hill's long career in writing, as she has become an important Canadian writer for children, especially since the 1960s. Like Lambert, described above in the second cluster, if the entirety of Hill's career activities (her more recent children's books and plays) could have been taken into account for this analysis, she would more properly have belonged in the third cluster of this final type. Nevertheless, with

respect to the sequencing of radio drama within the context of her writing activities for radio and television, the radio drama may be characterized as following "on the heels" of her scriptwriting beginnings, but both activities succeeded her short period as a secretary.

Claire Murray was the author of five radio plays from 1941 to 1945--after the inception of her career in radio as an actress and writer in 1940. In addition to her acting for radio, she was also an actress for the stage, in the late 1930s for amateur dramatics, and later in her career, for professional theatre. Murray was married to the great radio actor, John Drainie, until his early death in 1966. Murray was also a freelance radio actress, and it was this activity, more than writing that engulfed and sustained her long career in radio. At one point in her career she tried television acting, but did not take to the medium. Murray's radio career will be explored at a later point in this thesis, as she also has been interviewed for this study. With reference to the matter at hand, Murray's original radio dramas were produced soon after her start in radio as an actress and writer, but they remained within the context of an acting career that extended beyond the golden age of radio.

Audrey Piggott was the only musician discovered in the sample of women dramatists. As a cellist, Piggott had played in recitals over the BBC in her native England, before immigrating to Canada in 1947. Her career in

Canadian radio began in 1950 when she again performed in cello recitals, and in addition, did some scriptwriting. By 1953, she not only had a radio career as a musician and writer, but she was also performing with the Vancouver Symphony Orchestra. This same year, she began to write plays for the CBC "Children's Hour." Her eight original radio dramas appeared after these activities, having been broadcast between the years 1954 and 1957. It is not now known whether her career with the Vancouver Symphony continued over this period, since details about her subsequent activities remain undocumented. What was known beyond the above, was her involvement in teaching the cello, and some activities with CBC television, in 1958. Thus, Piggott's radio plays were broadcast following her beginnings in Canadian radio, and prior to her other activities in television and teaching.

Johanne Stemo began in radio as a short story writer in 1949, at approximately the same time as she decided to pursue writing as a career option. During this fledgling period as a writer from 1949 to 1953, she also wrote articles for various types of magazines. In addition to these activities, Stemo was the occupant of the only unusual non-traditional career activity held by any of the women in the sample--she was a tourist resort operator in British Columbia. The eight radio plays authored by Stemo were broadcast from 1952 to 1961, after both the commencement of her career in radio, and the publication of

many of her magazine articles. Additional information as to the continuation of Stemo's activities was unavailable.

Marian Waldman was the second most prolific of all women radio dramatists (next to Elsie Park Gowan) in the group of 250 women radio dramatists. Her original radio dramas numbered 26 and were heard over a 14-year period, from 1947 to 1961. Waldman's career in radio began at a precocious age, first as an actress in 1939, then, not long afterwards as a writer in 1942. One of an infinitesimal number of women during the golden age of radio in Canada to make writing radio drama a full-time occupation, Waldman's remarkable career has continued on to the 1980s. Her creativity has not only been applied to the medium of radio, but has extended to writing and acting for television as well. For Waldman, therefore, the path to writing radio drama proceeded from her beginnings as a radio actress and writer. Other activities were not apparent from the scant details afforded by thumbnail profiles on Waldman's career. Given the super-prolificacy of her activities in radio and television, it was later determined through personal contact, that her time and energy were devoted almost totally to radio and television activities. Waldman's career in radio will also be more fully broached at a later point in this study. The unfortunate lack of information on Canadian writers of Waldman's calibre was once again made evident. Such

information might never be recovered, in spite of its value to posterity.

Cynthia Wilmot, the last writer of this group, had 13 radio dramas broadcast over a comparatively short period from 1947 to 1951. This dramatist, unlike many of the others mentioned above, had several radio plays to her credit prior to her radio career, as a scriptwriter for the School Broadcasts, and her series of short stories (in 1950 and 1951 respectively). The year 1950 was a productive one for Wilmot as she also undertook then to be a newspaper writer, a newspaper radio critic, an editor for a women's wear magazine, and a teacher of modern dance. Very little else has been determined about Wilmot's subsequent career activities, as she and her husband Fred moved to Jamaica in, or around, 1958. For Wilmot then, her radio drama marked the beginning of her radio career, and from the information available, her other writing careers. Yet it must also be noted that Wilmot undertook the various above-mentioned activities during the latter stages of the period in which her radio dramas were broadcast.

In conclusion to this second cluster of this final type, for the majority of these radio dramatists (Fox, Hill, Murray, Piggott, Stemo, and Waldman) the sequencing of radio drama was subsequent to their careers in radio and their other career activities. This finding was comparable to information gleaned from the non-prolific women of this cluster and type. For the non-prolific women, there was

also a strong correlation between radio and writing occupations. As mentioned earlier, this has not been the case for the prolific women, as they were involved in numerous activities that crossed occupational boundaries.

In the third and final cluster, are assembled six women: Elsie Park Gowan, Mary Grannan, Christie Harris, Patricia Joudry, Gwen Pharis Ringwood, and Helene Winston. These women were significant among prolific and non-prolific women for a score of reasons. Perhaps most significant was their collective average number of radio dramas: 19.8, the highest when compared to the average of the second cluster of the third type: 10.8, the first cluster of the third type: 6, the second type: 8.5, and finally the average of the first type: 9.3. Another significant factor was the abundance of information available on these women, indicative of their fame, achieved generally by participation in a variety of artistic endeavors.

The characteristic that has united them all were their activities in all three of the occupational categories; previously established as the criteria for the basis of the third cluster. Elsie Park Gowan, alphabetically first in name was indeed the premier woman radio dramatist of the golden age of radio, a distinction she earned by authoring 40 original radio dramas, from 1939 to 1959, which essentially bridged the golden age time period. From the reference sources available and described earlier in the

thesis, Gowan was the only career radio dramatist to be fully acknowledged in Canadian letters for her work in radio drama (Creative Canada, Vol.I). Gowan's writing career in radio began first with her association with CKUA radio in Edmonton in 1936. Having spent most of her adult life in Edmonton and Alberta, her first and last career activities were teaching high school in the Alberta educational system from 1930 to 1933, and finally after the broadcast of her last original radio drama from 1959 to 1969. Her expertise in writing radio drama was another skill she was able to teach in courses on radio writing at Queen's University in 1946 and at the Banff School of Fine Arts in 1947.

The focal point of Gowan's career has indeed been drama. In addition to her radio career, she was an executive with the Edmonton Little Theatre for many years (1933-1948), and also an editor for the publication Stage Door, from 1947 to 1948. Her writing activities extended also to the traditional literary realm, where, not surprisingly she was a playwright, her plays having been published for adults and for children. Gowan has also contributed articles for secondary school textbooks and magazines.

The term "prolific" has been well applied in the depiction of Gowan's career in writing radio drama. Beginning in the early years of the golden age, her original radio drama followed closely on her first years of

writing for radio. However, in terms of specifying the sequence of events in Gowan's career activities, her radio career was preceded by both her teaching and her activities with the Edmonton Little Theatre.

Mary Grannan was another radio dramatist aptly identified as prolific. Grannan was the creator and writer for the Just Mary and Maggie Muggins radio and television serials--programs that had been enormously popular with CBC audiences of children and adults alike for approximately 23 years, from 1939 to 1962. Although her original radio dramas numbered a respectable 18, these were minimal when compared to the approximately 4,000 radio and television scripts for the Just Mary series, the 12 volumes of collected "Just Mary" stories, 14 books about "Maggie Muggins", and three adventure books on another set of characters "Kim and Katy" aimed at an older children's audience (CBC Times, June 6, 1962).

Mary Grannan was a member of a rare breed of Canadian cultural hero--she was a true celebrity. A dossier collected by the CBC Reference Library in Toronto was by far the largest of any dossier on the dramatists requested for this thesis. Masses of newspaper clippings made up the bulk of the file; a chronicle of Grannan's successful career from the early 1940s to the obituaries announcing her death at 73 on January 3, 1975. In summary fashion, these clippings have recorded the following aspects of Grannan's personality and career: her diligent creativity,

her love for children and storytelling, her eccentric costume, her spinsterhood, the fan mail, public recognition on the street and ocean liners, and perhaps a detail most coveted by Canadian writers--international recognition--by her election to the prestigious International Mark Twain Society.

During the Second World War, Canadian soldiers carried Grannan's books with them in their kit bags. According to a Daily Star report by Lotta Dempsey, on the occasion of Grannan's retirement from the CBC, she was one of Canada's leading literary figures, her books having sold in the hundreds of thousands. During the decade 1940-1950, her books, in editions of 120,000 copies, had overwhelmingly outsold both Hugh McLennan's and Bruce Hutchinson's at 48,000 copies each (Daily Star, Feb. 20, 1960).

Mary Grannan began her radio career, on a part-time basis, in Fredericton (CNFB) in 1935. She was hired in Toronto, on a full-time basis, as mentioned earlier, to write her children's serials in 1939. Prior to her radio career, she had been a primary schoolteacher, her efforts to teach children developed her storytelling skills. For Grannan, therefore, her 18 original radio plays broadcast from 1943 to 1950 were simultaneous with her extraordinary radio and literary successes. Although the dramas first appeared early in her career, she was still four years into her full-time occupation as a serial writer for radio.

Christie Harris, like Mary Grannan above, had a special talent for writing for children. Her work of recent years especially has been acknowledged for its contribution to the realm of Canadian children's literature. The similarities between Harris and Grannan continue, in that Harris was also an elementary schoolteacher before she embarked on her writing and radio careers (from 1925 to 1932). Writing children's stories and humorous sketches for the women's pages of newspapers was the next step in Harris' career path (from 1927 to 1936). In 1936, she started in radio on a long freelance writing and broadcasting career, that was to continue until 1964. In addition to her 23 original radio dramas, she was also responsible for hundreds of other radio scripts of various types: talks, humorous sketches, adventure serials, musical fantasies, and plays--all directed at a variety of age groups and audiences. In other words, Harris wrote for adults and juveniles, as well as for children.

The first of Harris' 23 original radio dramas appeared shortly after her first years in radio, and others continued to be broadcast until six years before the end of her freelance career (1938 to 1958). During the early-to-mid 1950s, Harris also took on the women's editorship of a B.C. weekly newspaper (1952 to 1958). By the late 1950s, her radio career was winding down, and it was during this period that her first book appeared in 1957. Aimed at a younger audience, this book entitled

Cariboo Trail, was based on material previously written for School Broadcasts. The publication of this book marked the beginning of an extensive literary career that would encompass numerous books of legends and fiction for children and juvenile readers.

For Harris, therefore, the sequencing of her radio drama versus other career activities was similar to that of the majority of women described previously in this thesis. That is, the original radio drama was attempted after her beginnings in radio. Harris created many radio plays then, that were written and broadcast intermittently with her other scriptwriting and broadcasting activities, and the final decade of her radio career was capped with her editorship and the publication of her first book.

Patricia Joudry was not only a prolific radio dramatist, but one with extraordinary talents and capabilities. Her stage plays have earned her a reputation as one of Canada's major playwrights. Yet it was her initiation in radio, as a writer and actress during the late 1930s to early 1940s, that was to develop and hone her dramatic craftsmanship. Joudry officially began her radio career, acting and writing for CBC Montreal, in 1939. Shortly after, she moved to Toronto and became an actress and serial writer, again for the CBC from 1940 to 1943. Her autobiography, Spirit River to Angels Roost, described an offer to write the American radio serial The Aldridge Family in 1945 as a lucrative and prestigious opportunity

she simply could not ignore. Joudry was not to remain in the United States. After approximately five years of work on this serial, she returned to Canada to do "serious" writing and acting for the CBC from 1951 to 1957. Her first original radio drama was broadcast in 1950; 17 of her plays were aired prior to her retirement from radio drama writing in 1958.

Patricia Joudry's reputation as a talented dramatist was further established when one of her stage plays, "Teach Me How to Cry" was deemed so extraordinary, that it was adapted for television, radio, and ultimately produced as a Hollywood movie. Indeed, according to Rubin and Cranmer-Byng, this drama in 1957 was "the first all-Canadian production to run in London's West End" (98). The year 1957 may be described as the zenith of Joudry's career, as, in addition to the London production of her play, she was named the "Woman of the Year" (along with Gabrielle Roy) as Canada's outstanding woman (women) in literature and art.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, Joudry was to continue writing drama for the stage and for television. The year 1957, in addition to its other credits, was the time Joudry was to move to England, where she would continue to write plays, novels and autobiographies. Joudry has since returned to Canada (1973), and although somewhat itinerant was last heard to be living and writing in Saskatchewan.

The timing of Joudry's original radio dramas was subsequent to an 11-year preparatory period of writing and

acting for Canadian and American radio serials. These radio dramas were written immediately prior to and then simultaneous with her celebrated stage plays and drama for television.

Gwen Pharis Ringwood was another radio dramatist to be acknowledged by Canadian critics as one of our distinguished and prolific playwrights. Of all the women radio dramatists (and playwrights) in the sample, Ringwood and Joudry were singled out (along with three other women) by Canadian drama critic Anton Wagner as "Women Pioneers" in Canada's theatrical history. Unlike Joudry, however, Ringwood was not as prolific writing drama for radio, having written a total of four original radio plays from 1953 to 1955.

As a professional playwright, Ringwood's active career in Canadian theatre started in 1935 and ended in 1984 with her death. A native American, Ringwood moved to Alberta to attend university in 1931, and shortly after graduation she had her first play produced at Banff in 1935. Writing scripts for CKUA radio in Edmonton began in 1936, followed by the acquisition of a master's degree (the thesis a full-length play) in 1939, followed shortly after by a stint teaching play writing at the University of Alberta until 1953--a focussed and energetic start to what was to become a remarkable career.

Despite Ringwood's few original radio dramas, she was to participate in radio intermittently during the decades

of the 1940s to 1960s by writing various serials, educational scripts, and short stories. One significant point to be made vis-a-vis Ringwood's original radio drama and the rest of her career activities, was the timing of the broadcasts. In 1953, Ringwood left her teaching at the University of Alberta because her husband, a physician moved the family to Williams Lake, B.C. All her original radio drama was produced immediately after this move and it was contained within a two-year period (1953-1955). After 1955, Ringwood stopped writing original radio drama, and began to write short stories and novels. Although she continued to write stage plays throughout this period, it would seem that she had reached a transition in her occupational activities--a movement away from the medium of radio to a diversification in literary activities.

Although the dates have not been recorded, Ringwood's activities in the past have also included the adjudication of various speech and drama festivals. A strong advocate of Canadian theatre and women's contributions to Canadian theatre, the American-born and raised Ringwood was to live out her days in the Canadian West. In Alberta and British Columbia, she had been a writer, teacher, and director for local theatre groups, and her contribution to these small centres was recognized in 1968 with her name being assigned to the civic theatre in Williams Lake, B.C., her home for 30 years.

For Ringwood, therefore, her four original radio dramas succeeded an established career as a playwright and teacher. Moreover, she had previously been successful in the 1930s and, to a lesser extent, in the 1940s as a radio scriptwriter. The broadcast of her radio plays in the 1950s, preceded a more varied career in the literary realm. Writing original radio drama for Ringwood was not, therefore, a primary occupational activity, nor was it the route to her stage writing career.

The last woman under consideration in this section of the thesis is the radio dramatist, Helene Winston. Winston has been better known to contemporary Canadian television audiences as Larry King's mother on CBC television's King of Kensington comedy series. Before her appearance on television, however, Winston was already a well-known theatre actress, having appeared at Stratford and on other Canadian stages both in Winnipeg and Toronto.

In contrast to most of the other individuals mentioned above, the commencement and duration of Winston's writing and acting careers in radio was coterminous with the broadcast of her 16 original radio dramas (1947-1958). From 1947 to approximately 1957, Winston was frequently heard as an actress on the CBC Farm Broadcasts and in various serials, while at the same time she was writing different types of radio scripts and original radio drama.

The 1950s was an extremely busy decade for Winston, in that this was the period in which she was not only involved

in radio and appearing as an actress on stage, but she also was the writer and director for various musical revues. In the latter part of this decade, she began her television appearances for the CBC; this activity being coincidental with the demise of her activities in radio.

In the early 1960s, Winston was lured south where she appeared for many years as an actress on the American stage, and in films and television. In 1979, Winston was still working as an actress, in both Canadian and American milieus, although she had, by that time, made her home in California. From the information available, it would appear that Winston's literary output was confined to her radio scriptwriting, radio dramas and musicals composed during the fertile period of the late 1940s to the late 1950s.

To repeat, in terms of time sequence, what has already been stated of the components of Winston's career activities, her original radio dramas were broadcast at the same moment that she started her writing and acting for radio. As the appearance of her radio dramas marked the beginning of her activities in radio, so the cessation of her radio dramas, in 1958, signalled the end of her writing and acting for this medium. This was a time in which Winston was active in a number of occupations in drama, and thus it may be referred to as her artistic "formative" period. Furthermore, the writing of radio drama and her other broadcasting activities assisted Winston in the

preparation for a successful career as a noted Canadian actress.

Hélène Winston was the only woman in this cluster of radio dramatists to have had her radio dramas broadcast at the beginning of her career in radio and, ultimately, at the beginning of her longstanding career on the stage, television, and in films. Each of the other five radio dramatists within this cluster had their radio drama broadcast within the context of already established careers in radio and/or the theatre.

In conclusion to this discussion of the third type of prolific radio dramatist, there were several relevant patterns to be observed. It has already been noted that the typical prolific woman radio dramatist was of the third type, having career activities that crossed at least two of the defined occupational boundaries. Like the non-prolific women of the third type, all the prolific women were somehow engaged in the third occupational category designated as "other." Unlike the non-prolific women of the third type, the prolific women were active in many more "other" occupations.

The types of occupations these prolific dramatists were most frequently involved with were writing-related activities, followed in order of frequency by teaching, media- and theatre-related activities, traditional and non-traditional women's occupations and, finally, artistic activities. This was a significant finding in that the

first and second primary activities of the prolific women represented a reversal of the first and second primary activities of the corresponding non-prolific women. The most frequently recorded occupations for the non-prolific women of this type were primarily teaching, and then writing-related activities, followed by media-, artistic-, and radio-related activities. Given this finding on the writing-related activities of the prolific women, it would seem reasonable to assume that there was some relationship for these dramatists between being both prolific in their creation of radio drama and active in writing for other milieus.

Like the non-prolific women of this third type, the prolific women were more active in radio occupations than in literary occupations. Individuals grouped under the second and third clusters were most frequently writers for radio and then actresses, followed by infrequent activities in American radio, in the women's department, as commentators, singers, and musicians. In comparison to the non-prolific women, the radio occupations of their prolific counterparts were in essence, a duplication in terms of the types of activities and patterns of involvement.

As for the literary occupations of the prolific women of this type, there were also some similarities with those of the non-prolific group. First of all, the literary occupations were in the minority position, inasmuch as participation in these activities on the part of the

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prolific women was the least frequent of the three occupational categories. Nevertheless, there was somewhat more participation from the prolific women in these activities than there was from the non-prolific women. The prolific women of the first and third cluster were most frequently engaged in equivalent levels of participation in the following literary occupations: play writing, poetry and children's literature. Novel writing was next in the hierarchy of activities, with writing activities in the following fields sharing one frequency each: children's plays, short stories, travel books, non-fiction, musical revues, and autobiographies.

In the light of this information on the literary activities of the prolific women of the third type, there were two comparisons to be made: one with the prolific women of the first type, and another with the non-prolific women of the third type. Beginning with the former, the prolific women of the first type, their primary literary activities were play writing, followed by poetry writing and the writing of non-fiction. The play writing activities of this first type were comparable to the overall primary literary activities of the third type. More specifically, however, the play writing activities of the first type were most comparable in terms of primacy with the third cluster of the final type.

This point illustrated a discrepancy between the primary literary activities of the first and third cluster,

i.e. play writing being the primary literary activity of the latter, and poetry being the primary literary activity of the former. In addition, it was noteworthy that play writing had not occurred as an activity among the first cluster, neither had poetry occurred as an activity among the third cluster of the final type. Significantly, the poets of the first cluster were not among the most prolific of radio dramatists, whereas, the playwrights of the third cluster, and the playwrights of the first type were indeed among those at the uppermost end of the prolific continuum.

The second comparison to be made was relative to the primary literary activity of the non-prolific women of the third type--novel writing. This activity was not directly comparable to the primary literary activities of their prolific counterparts, who participated equally in play writing, poetry and children's literature.

Finally, some mention must be made about the second factor traced among the career activities of the sample of women dramatists--the issue of timing of original radio drama broadcasts versus other occupational activities. For the prolific women of the third type, including the three clusters, their original radio dramas were usually broadcast not at the moment of commencement of their various careers, but at some point during the evolution of what would become a career composed of a collection of occupational activities. The timing for the prolific women

of this type was comparable to the sequencing discovered among the activities of the non-prolific women of this third type.

Thus, it would appear, that although there were similarities between the prolific and non-prolific women of this third type, there were distinct dissimilarities that may have delineated in some way the differences between the two groups of radio dramatists that would help explain the discrepancies in creativity vis-a-vis the medium of radio drama.

Summary

As mentioned previously in the summary on the non-prolific dramatists, the prolific woman radio dramatist was indeed an "atypical" figure among the women dramatists who wrote radio plays for the CBC. The three types of prolific dramatist have been previously discussed in detail, thus the following represents a summary sketch of each type:

1. The first type was the "literary" radio dramatist--most often a published playwright. A general statement about the broadcast of her radio play relative to her other career activities was not possible. (Of the four women assembled in this category, two, it would seem, had their dramas broadcast at the beginning of their careers, while the other two had their dramas broadcast after the start of

their career activities.) Among the three possible types of prolific radio dramatist, this type was second, after the third type, in rank order of numerical superiority.

2. The second type was the last type in the hierarchy of prolific radio dramatists. There were only two women represented in this category. Therefore, the only generalization that can be attempted about this type was the fact that, typically, this radio dramatist was employed as a writer for radio.

3. The third type was the typical prolific radio dramatist. This individual most often combined radio or literary occupations with a number of activities in other occupational categories. Most often she was either a radio station/network writer or actress, or a playwright, poet or writer of children's literature, and, in addition, was a magazine or newspaper writer or editor. Her radio dramas were usually broadcast (and thus probably written) after the commencement of her literary, radio or "other" activities.

Earlier, in the conclusion to the section on non-prolific women dramatists, the issue of prolificacy was raised as a preface to the above section on prolific women dramatists. This issue has been addressed thus far by delineating the factors common to prolific women radio dramatists, that were not common to non-prolific women radio dramatists. To illustrate the comparisons more schematically, the following table represents the broad

conclusions already provided in the thesis. the non-prolific and prolific radio dramatists are described according to: (a) typicality among all the women dramatists in the sample; (b) the rank order of the three types, determined by the number of radio dramatists represented in each type; (c) characteristics of the first type, i.e. (i) rank order vis-a-vis other types, (ii) primary occupation and (iii) timing of radio drama versus other career activities; (d) characteristics of the second type, as in (c) above; and (e) characteristics of the third type as in (c) above.

Table 5: Characteristics of the Three Types of
Non-Prolific and Prolific Radio Dramatists in
the Sample

Characteristics	Non-Prolific	Prolific
Typicality vis- a-vis the sample	Typical	Atypical
Rank Order by No. of drama- lists in each type	1, 2, 3	3, 1, 2
First Type Characteristics (rank order, primary occupa- tion, timing of radio drama)	a) first b) playwright c) radio drama after career start	a) second b) playwright c) inconclusive

Characteristics	Non-Prolific	Prolific
Second Type	a) second	a) third
Characteristics (as above)	b) radio station employee/ writer/actress c) radio drama after career start	b) radio station employee/writer c) inconclusive
Third Type	a) third	a) first
Characteristics (as above)	b) radio station employee/ writer/actress and/or novelist also teacher or magazine editor c) radio drama after career start	b) radio station employee/writer/ actress and/or playwright/poet/ children's lit. also magazine/ newspaper writer/ editor c) radio drama after career start

Given the above table, it would seem that the key to understanding some of the factors influencing the productivity of the prolific women were to be found among the characteristics of the third type. What was common to the 18 women representing this type were their activities

in at least two of the three occupational categories, i.e. literary, radio, and other occupations. Thus, these women were not only active in the production of radio drama, but active in other occupational endeavours as well.

Moreover, the third and then the second clusters of the final type had the highest average number of radio dramas per person overall. Factors common to the third cluster, therefore, would be especially instructive in gaining some insight into this question of prolificacy. When examined at close range, a logical pattern has emerged that would seem to demonstrate why the opportunity to create radio drama was more than just an occupational "possibility" for the prolific women in the third cluster of the third type.

These women were not only relatively prolific in creating original radio drama, but prolific in other writing-related activities as well, including radio scriptwriting. They were also most often playwrights. The skills, therefore, acquired by the practice of writing generally, and more specifically, the dramatic craftsmanship derived from writing for the theatre, and moreover the "ear" acquired from employment in the new medium of radio must have prepared them threefold for their success in gaining the opportunity to create radio drama.

Comments on the Analysis of Data by Types

The above analysis by types has been most useful for two reasons. First, several occupational routes were traced whereby women who wrote radio drama have also been identified as participating in multiple and various career activities. There has not been a singular nor a general clear-cut route for women to enter as writers into the genre of radio drama. Second, there have been identified two major rhythms of output for the writing of original radio drama by women, overwhelmingly by their lack of, and only minimally by their abundance of productivity (prolificacy).

Chapter V: Findings: Play Writing in Action

The rationale for the undertaking of these interviews was determined by the theoretical framework and the research question guiding the thesis. The paucity of recorded or printed data available on the sample of women radio dramatists made it impossible to construct a clear picture of all the significant factors impinging upon the process whereby these women came to write original radio drama for the CBC. Certain fragments of the picture have been assembled as a result of the lengthy analysis above, i.e. the variety of occupational routes undertaken by these women and the numbers of original radio dramas that would indicate their practice in this medium.

The fragments of information obtained proved useful as broad indicators for the individuals in the total group of 250 dramatists and as limited indicators for all the women dramatists in the sample. However, as it has already been mentioned, these fragments of information can still be defined only as hypothetical constructs needing verification and, most especially, explanation by application to the lived experiences of women radio dramatists. At the outset of the thesis, factors intrinsic to an understanding of the whole picture or process whereby women came to write original radio drama for the CBC were broadly defined as "conditions." All the "conditions" have not been addressed or resolved by the previous analysis.

Indeed the research question demands that the methodology employed for this thesis be directed toward the gathering of information about these conditions which were conducive to the writing of radio drama by women.

The information obtained from the interviews of Rita Greer, Allen, Edith Fowke, Lyn Harrington, Claire Murray, and Marian Waldman could not be taken as representative of the sample of women radio dramatists who wrote for the CBC during the golden age of radio. However, the data has served to illuminate some background features and processes by which five individual women actually came to write original radio drama for the CBC. In this way, the findings were heuristic in quality; useful for the generation of hypotheses and directions for subsequent research. For personal reasons, the interviews were conducted in order to satisfy a piqued curiosity about these anonymous individuals. After months of research and concentration on faceless names on a page, it was most interesting to meet and talk with these dynamic people who became more than the unidimensional subjects of this research. It was a genuine pleasure to conduct these interviews. All of these women were intellectually curious, articulate, and accomplished, in certain cases despite the hardships that time and illness have exacted. They were the antithesis of the archetypal "crone," the image that our culture has usually reserved for our senior women citizens.

Their memories of the golden age, the specifics of their backgrounds and upbringings were not perfect. When asked to remember events dating as far back as 30 years at least, some of the surviving women felt unable to recall a particular event or person, and they would admit to this readily. One of the issues in interviewing, that became acutely sensitive for the interviewer was the ethics of probing into people's past lives. The respondents were being asked to recall what were in many cases pleasant memories, but perhaps also painful memories. Both Murray and Waldman have lost husbands who figured prominently during those times of their lives, i.e. the golden age of radio. In other instances, friends have died or have lost touch with one another. Perhaps, most of all, they may have been--these memories--a nostalgic reminder of their more vigorous and youthful pasts.

The subjects to be interviewed were not approached in any particular order, however, as mentioned above, an interview schedule was prepared in order that each person could be approached following the same pattern of questions. In the final outcome, not one interview proceeded in the same fashion as any other. This was due in part to the eccentricities in personal styles of the individuals involved. Moreover, each woman had her own "reality"--a life composed of a complex of significant events, circumstances and people. Thus, it was not possible

to impose and rigidly adhere to the structure of the interview schedule.

In terms of prolificacy, four of the five women were considered to be prolific according to the definition for this research. The following information, therefore, has illustrated in various ways what four prolific women radio dramatists were like -- given the context of this thesis. Edith Fowke was the non-prolific woman interviewed for this research. It would have been more appropriate for the purposes of generalization to all 250 women radio dramatists to have interviewed more non-prolific women, but the reasons for limited contact with any of the women radio dramatists in the sample have already been explained.

As mentioned previously, Fowke, Harrington, and Murray were initially hesitant about the contributions they could make to this research. They did not fully conceive of themselves as "radio dramatists"; their self-perception and definition was as non-prolific radio dramatists. Fowke was especially and justifiably firm about her identity as a folklorist. Fowke has received many honours for her career, since the 1950s, researching Canadian folklore. In her view, her contribution to Canadian culture and society has been primarily as a folklorist, not as a radio dramatist.

Waldman and Allen were especially willing to contribute to the research. These women (Waldman most particularly) had been very prolific in their creation of original radio drama. For Waldman, her contribution to this

research would represent the printed recording of her active and significant participation in the "Canadian National Theatre on the Air." For Allen, her years spent writing serials and original radio drama represented the struggling reorientation of her creativity from painting to writing. Moreover, writing for radio, television, and films would become her life's sustaining career. Thus, the term "radio dramatist" for these two women was a suitable and comfortable identification. With this perspective in mind, therefore, their biographies were meaningful to the research, inasmuch as their activities have been influenced by their self-definition.

Before discussing the interview findings, it would, perhaps be in order to give a brief description of each of the five radio dramatists to establish an image of these women, the evolution of their biographies and careers, especially how they appeared on the days of their interviews in October, 1984, 20 years subsequent to the decline of the golden age of radio.

Fowke was the first of the five women interviewed. As mentioned earlier, she has become the Canadian authority on Canadian folklore, having an impressive list of publications on the subject to her credit. Fowke has spent the better part of her career devoted to researching and writing about Canadian folklore, starting in the late 1940s-early 1950s and continuing to the present day. In 1971, she was awarded a teaching position with York

University in Toronto. Fowke now has the distinction of being Professor Emeritus with the English Department at York, and although retired, still teaches a course on Canadian folklore, in addition to guiding the work of graduate students in her field.

Fowke was interviewed in the evening, at her home--one hour squeezed into her busy schedule. She was in the midst of packing her suitcases for a trip the following morning to an American folklore conference in California. Fowke was on that day 71 years of age, her abundant energy, quick intelligence and professional behavior was not indicative of someone who has been retired from an active life.

Harrington was interviewed on the next morning at her home. She immediately asked if she could provide tea and then lunch. Harrington's manner was warm and gentle, she was the epitome of the archetypal children's writer and librarian, both activities having formed a substantial portion of her career. Since the 1950s, Harrington has been a vigorous freelance writer, with an impressive list of publications, over 2,500 articles and books. At the same time as she pursued her writing career, she also became integrally involved with the Canadian Authors' Association, about which she talked at length during the process of the interview.

Harrington, at 73, was the most senior of the five women interviewed. Witnessed by the paper in her typewriter and her own admission, Harrington has not retired from

writing. Although physically not as nimble as she would like to be, her writer's mind has remained articulate and precise. While listening to her talk, she would search for the exact words she needed to convey her meanings--picking them out of the air with a gesture of her fingers.

Murray was the next woman interviewed, and indeed, as a former actress, gave the quintessential performance of them all. Murray was living in one of the more exclusive sections of Toronto, Rosedale, where she makes her home with her third husband, Nat Taylor, and several of her six children. Murray served tea at approximately four o'clock in her elegant sitting room. Despite her luxurious surroundings, Murray was very much the unassuming chatelaine; describing herself as very domestic, happiest when seeing to the needs of her large and expanding extended family.

Her earlier career as a radio actress had subsided during the early 1970s; she was not interested in adapting her acting for television. Murray was able to describe how it was during the early days of radio with her late husband, John Drainie--the activity, the friendships as well as the struggles. At 67, Murray was a vibrant, gregarious, and affable woman. She happily reminisced about the golden age, with a cigarette in her right hand and her feet propped up on the coffee table.

Waldman was interviewed the following morning in her apartment. At that moment, Waldman was feeling the physical

effects of chemotherapy, and therefore, in view of the expectations of herself as a professional actress did not feel up to being taped. As mentioned earlier, Waldman had been especially interested in contributing to this research. She had spent the better part of her life, at least 40 years, writing and acting for Canadian radio and television. Totally immersed in the field of radio drama from the early 1940s until the early 1980s, Waldman had become a truly prolific and self-identified radio dramatist. She was most desirous of having her contribution to Canadian drama, radio, and television documented in writing. The importance of her work, therefore, would be legitimated in print, rather than lost "in the air."

When asked her date of birth, Waldman, ever the actress, declined to answer, asserting that she did not assign a chronological number to her age. The Canadian Radio and Television Annual, 1950, has recorded her birth in the year 1925.

Allen was the last person to be interviewed, a most interesting and charismatic woman, her story provided a fitting end to what had already been a heady parade of people, images, and information. Allen virtually conducted the interview herself; in a riveting storytelling fashion that was a steady and thoughtful chronology of significant people and circumstances in her life. Seemingly by intuition, she knew what was needed from her--what was

important--with little prompting in the form of questioning.

Allen was prepared to publicly (inasmuch as the thesis will be a public document, and members of the Centre for Broadcasting Studies may choose to listen to the interview) disclose certain information, integral to the evolution of her biography and career, that could only be defined as private or intimate. For this alone, Allen was a courageous woman. Allen has never taken the "easy way out", she has broached new careers from her original painting and teaching of the fine arts, to writing radio drama, to appearing as a panelist on television, to writing for television, and finally her latest profession as a filmmaker. She has even found the time to return to her art, but not as a painter--as a sculptor. At the age of 66, Allen struggles with heavy metals for firing into her bronze sculptures, that not unlike her other creative endeavors have been successfully received.

Interview Findings

Various themes have evolved from the interviews as a result of: (1) answers to questions from the interview schedule, and (2) information volunteered by the radio dramatists during the course of the interviews. Certain pieces of information on the five women interviewed have already been provided. Therefore, the following represents.

in summary form information received along particular themes or dimensions that were pertinent to this research.

Factors Related to Socialization: Family Environment

The five women interviewed were of families of modest economic means, they were from the working and middle classes. Their parents were not well-educated in the sense of formal schooling, in most cases a high school education was the highest academic achievement obtained. However, it was made clear, that although their parents did not have the luxury of money or academic credentials, there was a home environment very much conducive to their daughters' intellectual or creative development. Through direct and indirect means, by their parents' attitudes and behaviors, the women as children learned to value reading and writing in addition to various other artistic pursuits. Claire Murray's father had to stop school at the age of 14 in order to support his family, but his intellectual curiosity was not stopped. Murray described her father as a "prodigious reader--always at the library." Harrington's parents also were "great readers" which she described as being very unusual for hard-working farm families. Allen spoke of her machinist father who took great pride in his craftsmanship, and in her view would have been a great artist. Her mother she described as having a brilliant business mind, and, moreover, she was "funny, dramatic, and

a writer." Allen became an artist before her career in radio drama, and by inference it may be suggested that her parents' creativity was borne out by their daughter's artistic careers.

When asked whether or not their parents or families were encouraging of their creativity, and/or career activities in the arts, in general the response came that for the most part their parents were encouraging, and at the very least not discouraging. Waldman described her father as a gifted storyteller and poet; he would help her by critiquing her early poetry. Her mother paid for her acting lessons, a significant gesture, given their means and the depressed economy of the 1930s. Allen described the influence of her family as both encouraging and discouraging; she remarked upon her impression of her mother's "wistfulness" about her (mother's) lack of education and dissatisfaction with the chores of being a housewife. Allen's brothers had already staked out certain artistic occupations, thus it was difficult for her to determine what her distinct occupation and identity might be. Allen seemed very self-directed, picking up various cues from her family life that were influential, but not determining in her decision-making about the direction of her creativity and intellectual curiosity. Fowke also remarked that her parents, although encouraging, did not play a significant role in her aspirations to be a writer.

One interesting note to this section was Murray's account of how her parents encouraged her writing and acting career, but, when it came to her wanting to marry actor John Drainie, they were a little concerned that his occupation would not allow him to support a wife. Thus, in the case of Murray's family, it was suitable for a woman to pursue a creative career, because it was not expected that she would eventually have to be economically independent, or the major breadwinner, in a family.

Factors Related to Socialization: Education

As described above, education in the informal method of reading and the acquisition of particular skills was valued by all of the women's families. Therefore, it was not surprising to have found that three of the five women described themselves as "good students" in school. They were not only avid readers, but received good grades.

Formal schooling at both the primary and secondary institutions was theoretically available to these women. Yet both Waldman and Murray left school early, Waldman to pursue her studies in radio drama and acting, and Murray to carry out the domestic chores at home, due to the illness of her mother.

Courses of study at the university level were followed by Fowke, Allen and Harrington. Fowke achieved the highest level by her acquisition of a Master of Arts degree.

Curiously, there was an interesting contradiction to be observed between the level of education of the most prolific woman dramatist, Waldman, and the least prolific woman dramatist, Fowke. Clearly, higher levels of formal education for the prolific women were not a necessary precondition to their productivity. The case of Waldman may appear to have been an anomaly, yet when the university training of the next most prolific woman, Allen was examined, her training had been in the fine arts. As mentioned earlier, her creativity was channeled into the direction of writing, only with a great deal of difficulty and sustained effort.

What was more useful from the point of view of the acquisition of skills for the creation of original radio drama was the informal or specialized training for writing or acting that these women were to pursue. The following examples represent the role parents, schools, newspapers, and theatrical organizations had in fostering and shaping these young women's fragile creativity. It has already been mentioned how Waldman received guidance on writing poetry from her father, while her mother would happily listen to her "improv's." Four of the five women started to write at a very early age, three of the five submitting their work to contests available to children and juveniles in school and/or the children's pages in magazines and newspapers.

In addition to Waldman, Murray started to learn the art of acting very early. Murray described how the desire

to act was piqued by the arrival of the "Chatauqua" travelling shows. She took elocution lessons and recited at school--she laughingly described how she was the child usually chosen among all the others at school to recite, to "show off" the school to outside visitors. Allen started to act at the age of 15 or 16 in school, and carried on into amateur theatre when her schooldays were over.

Amateur dramatics or "little theatre" was the route whereby both Allen and Murray were to hone their performance skills. Waldman was the only woman radio dramatist to have taken some specialized training for acting in radio drama at the Winnipeg School of Radio Dramatics, where she was taught by Beth Lockerby, the wife of the CBC radio drama producer Esse Ljungh. Harrington described herself as a self-taught writer, who practiced from an early age, and at the point where she decided to alternate writing occupations, she would read "how to write" articles or books.

Given the lack of institutionalized and specialized training for writing radio drama, these women learned by the traditional method of trial and error. In terms of the preparatory route to writing original radio drama, Waldman, Allen, and Murray had training and experience as actresses first in radio and theatre, before trying their hands at writing.

Factors Related to Socialization: Gender-Role Expectations

Information re "gender-role expectations" was acquired by direct and indirect methods, that was ultimately revealed through the interview process as a whole. The issue of gender-role expectations will be addressed in different ways in subsequent sections of the discussions on interview findings. With respect to the interaction of gender-role expectations, socialization, and education, the five women were asked whether or not it was unusual for a woman to receive university and/or specialized training at the time they were learning. The time period, generally, for these women to learn in their youth was the late Depression--early World War II years.

These women replied that explicit gender expectations, i.e. the idea that women do not need an education for activities in their "proper" domestic sphere, was not an issue that impeded the pursuit of higher education or specialized training. For Waldman and Allen, the obstacle for further education, given the financial status of their parents, was the cost. It has already been mentioned that Waldman's mother managed to overcome the obstacle by paying for her daughter's training in radio drama, while Allen was to eventually pay for her university courses with money she earned. Allen remarked that being the only daughter in a family that included three sons had some difficulties for her. She was exceptional not only for her gender among her

siblings, but also that despite her gender, she was the only one to pursue and receive a higher education. It was her feeling then, that she had to behave in a somewhat demure and passive manner with her brothers: "to be quiet about my accomplishments, my achievements--I still have it--so as not to invite their her brothers' envy, jealousy, or whatever." This was another "obstacle" she had to overcome, as she stoically added, "I've tried to overcome them, the best I can."

One interesting and unforeseen (on the part of the interviewer) obstacle to two of the women's entries into university, was the religious orientations of their parents. Allen and Harrington both described their Protestant parents as suspicious of the ideas propagated at universities. Harrington summarized her parents' attitude about universities as "hot beds of infidelity." Thus, it was "daring and peculiar" for her to attend library school, because of her parents' religious orientation, but also because it was more acceptable for women at that time to attend "normal school" (teacher training). Harrington's year away from home at the University of Toronto was scrupulously scrutinized by the family with whom she lived, as their religious values matched those of her parents.

For Fowke, neither religion nor finance played a role in her attainment of a university education. She described her parents as "moderately well-off" and, given her scholarly inclinations, it was felt that she "ought to have

an "education" beyond the high school level. Fowke did admit, however, that because of her predilection for reading, she was considered "a little peculiar." It was not clear from her response whether this was due to her gender, or to her Saskatchewan environment, which she considered not to be intellectually stimulating.

Allen, in her discussion of her aspirations to attend university, touched upon an issue--the role of her husband--that was to become meaningful in defining more particularly the "conditions" under which not only Allen was able to be a prolific radio dramatist, but the other interviewed prolific women as well. Allen described her husband, whom she married before finishing university, as very encouraging of her continuing education.

Traditional gender-role expectations in terms of the interrelationship of marriage, motherhood, and career were explored by asking related questions directly. Given that all five of these women were married at the time they were involved in writing original radio drama, they were asked about the nature of their husbands' occupations (at the time of the golden age), and whether or not their husbands were supportive of their career activities outside the home.

The general scope of the questions elicited a variety of interpretations and responses from the women who were directly asked about these issues. One of the most interesting themes to surface has been alluded to above--

the role of husbands--in encouraging or facilitating their wives' career aspirations. The first piece of interesting data to illustrate this theme was the congruence of husbands' and wives' career interests. Fowke was the only woman, who did not have a husband whose activities were not in some way associated with writing and the arts as a writer, an actor or as in the case of Harrington's husband, a photojournalist. Fowke's husband was an engineer. Indeed, the most prolific radio dramatists, Waldman and Allen, had husbands who were writers.

Marian Waldman and her husband, writer Mort Forer, "rarely worked together," despite their parallel career interests. Their relationship did not include a working partnership because as Waldman explained, their styles of creativity and composition were very different. Forer had some experience writing for radio, and he and his wife collaborated on two original radio plays in the mid-1950s, but this was the extent of their radio drama partnership. Nevertheless, Waldman remarked that they did have a type of working relationship that she affectionately characterized as one of mutual support:

I helped him with some of his revisions, I was good at it! I read everything of mine to him--when he was gone she has been recently widowed there was no one to bounce ideas off of. He encouraged me.

What was most revealing in terms of the analysis of women dramatists' prolificacy was the interrelationship between marriages and careers in radio drama. It has been mentioned previously in this thesis that Allen was not initially a writer, but a painter and teacher of fine arts. Her husband, Robert Allen was the writer in the relationship, and the changeover to writing for Rita Greer Allen came about as a result of a series of pivotal events in her marital relationship. She described three factors that transpired to evoke the changeover: (1) her painting and his writing were getting in the way of their relationship; she characterized the differences between their interests and activities as creating a "wall" between them; and (2) she had heard an original radio drama written by Fletcher Markle, that she (and her husband) both considered to be "marvelous", and (3) she felt it was more possible for her to "enter his world", i.e. writing, as she had done "rewrites" for him, than for him to enter her world, the world of painting and fine art.

Having acted in a radio play once previously, Rita Greer Allen knew what a radio script "looked like," and Robert Allen had the makings of a radio play in a novel he had been writing. The resolution then of the conflict between Allen and her husband was perceived by her to rest in their collaboration in writing radio plays. She had decided that she could not be both a professional painter and a professional writer at the same time. Thus, writing

radio plays was a means for her to be creative, to have a profession and, most importantly, to transcend every barrier in the relationship with her husband.

Harrington also mentioned that her writing was transformed from writing primarily fiction to non-fiction, so that she could collaborate more with her husband's interests. It has already been mentioned that Harrington's husband was a photojournalist. She decided to travel with him and write the text to accompany his photographs for publication. Harrington laughingly remarked that her husband was supportive of her work, "yet he is not so interested in my fiction because he's not a part of it." The point must be raised that perhaps both Allen and Harrington had their creative directions coopted by their husbands in one way or another. For Allen, perhaps this was an added factor in her prolific participation in writing original radio drama, whereas for Harrington, her orientation away from writing fiction--fundamental in her mind to writing drama--was a factor in her reduced prolificacy in writing original radio drama. It must also be mentioned at the same time, that there were advantages to both women in the collaboration with their husbands, Allen learned to become a fine writer, and Harrington travelled the world and has published hundreds of articles and books about her travels.

Murray described the relationship between her work life and home life as a wonderful but hectic blend. During

the golden age of radio, Murray was involved in radio as an actress and writer, in addition to being John Drainie's wife and the mother of their six children. Radio actor, Drainie, had been Murray's second husband. During the dissolution of her first marriage, she met and fell in love with Drainie while they were both acting together at the Vancouver Community Playhouse, in the early 1940s. They were to continue their careers in acting for radio and the theatre together for 20 years. Murray gave the impression, however, that Drainie's radio career was primary in their relationship--in effect, he was "the star" in the family. He was not only a gifted actor, but his career garnered the major source of income for the family. This was not to suggest that Murray was not also a fine actress committed to her career, but she was equally committed to taking care of her husband and household. Ultimately, Murray gave birth to six babies, and thus, her radio career was eclipsed by her domestic activities.

The Murray-Drainie household became a meeting place for the circle of people involved in the production of various CBC radio drama programs in the 1940s. Thus, it may be suggested that the separateness of work and family life, the boundaries between public and private spheres, were transcended in the context of Murray's life experience. The nature of the work, i.e. acting and writing for radio, was such that a portion of it could be carried out at home. For

example, she described the process of a typical day in the production of the Jake and the Kid serial:

Rehearsals in the morning--then everyone would come to our house and then back to the studio in the evening for the broadcast ... Billy Mae ("the Kid") and I would make mountains of sandwiches--this was our break--we didn't go to a restaurant--then back to the studio and did the show--this was our routine.

Their friends were also "in the business," these people (actors, writers, producers, technicians) were "always in and out of the house." Thus, not only did the work transcend the traditional public/private dichotomy, but the friendships as well. Murray and Drainie "did a lot of entertaining." They would have parties with these friends, and "stay up all night arguing about acting."

Some statements Murray made typified the hectic but dynamic interplay of work and family life, e.g. simultaneously ironing and learning her lines; collaborating with Drainie on writing, "it would be in the middle of cooking and taking care of the children." When the first of the babies came along, she continued to act, however, maybe not coincidentally, she stopped writing original radio dramas in the same year, 1945. She continued to do some writing, for example, "a whole series for Heinz baby food," but her attention was being focussed on her domestic roles. By this time, she had had five children,

and could only find the time to write "after the last feeding, I would sit down and write, then, finally, I gave it [writing] up." Not surprisingly, her acting and writing careers took second place: "I wasn't that dedicated, it was something I did. I wasn't 'actressy,' 'theatrical' or the 'artistic' type--not in my nature at all."

Besides Murray, Waldman was the only other dramatist to mention children. Harrington and Fowke have not had children, and Allen was not asked about children (and no mention of them was made in her interview). In contrast to Murray's biography, Waldman's children were adopted at a later point in her career in the late 1950s and this did not intervene in the first 15-to-20 years of her writing and acting for radio and television. She admitted that, after the arrival of her children, she "probably didn't write as well--with the two of us [Waldman and Forer] and without the children, when it was my time to write I would lock myself in and do it." Thus, not only her energy was diverted to her children, but the creative process was compromised as well. It must be mentioned here, that the arrival of children for Waldman and Murray was not a hindrance or encumbrance to their lives, but a welcome addition. Nevertheless, in abstract and structural terms, maternal responsibilities intervened in Waldman's career and most especially, Murray's career.

Fertility, therefore, was a factor in two of the four prolific women dramatists' lives. Fowke, the only

non-prolific woman dramatist of the group was not a mother. It was noteworthy, that only two of the five married women were mothers. Thus, what may be surmised from this information is that motherhood as an aspect of traditional female gender-role expectations did not translate into three of the five women's biographies. As far as what might be said about prolificacy versus non-prolificacy in writing original radio drama, the two women who were mothers were also prolific radio dramatists. Yet, it must be added that Waldman's children came later in her career, and Murray's children effectively halted her writing. Thus, it would be difficult to form an equation between childlessness and a productive writing career in radio drama. Looking beyond these women as radio dramatists, it would be easier to formulate an equation between childlessness and writing in general. Among the five, Murray was the least prolific writer.

Of the five women, four (Waldman, Murray, Harrington and Fowke) reported that the division of tasks in the household ran along the traditional gender lines, as they performed the primary caretaking and domestic activities. Waldman mentioned that, at a later point in her marriage, her husband volunteered to take over some of the laundry and cooking chores, when he became sensitive to the issues of egalitarian housekeeping practices. Conversely, Harrington welcomed the manual chores, indeed she found the "breaking of strides" as advantageous to her writing.

"Routine jobs don't require mental efforts--it is a good change from creative activities which can leave you tired and drained."

Of the five women dramatists, only Murray did not consider herself to be a "full-time writer or actress" throughout her career. Waldman and Allen stated that they have always worked, and felt the responsibility to contribute financially to the household. These feelings were also reflected by Harrington and Fowke. Fowke mentioned that her "housewife role was not the primary role." Indeed, unlike Fowke's husband, the other four husbands had all been "freelancers." All five women had been freelance writers and actresses as well. Therefore, there was always present, the risk not only of being out of money at any one point, but out of a career as well, if the job market in acting and writing dried up.

Structural-Relational Factors

Leaving the questions of socialization and gender-role expectations aside, the discussion will proceed with an analysis of the structural-relational factors defined previously as: (1) the possibility for women to access both the art form of radio drama and the cultural industry of the CBC (see previous section for a breakdown of sub-factors involved in this question); (2) the economic versus the aesthetic impetus for writing radio drama; (3)

the class position of women radio dramatists, or their being born into artistic families or into families associated with the CBC; and (4) the personal or professional networks of women radio dramatists.

The five women interviewed were queried directly using a variety of questions intended to probe the issues raised above. With respect to the first factor, it has already been mentioned that men radio dramatists did in fact outnumber women radio dramatists by a proportion of approximately five-to-one. It was also the case, that significant male radio dramatists were much more prolific than the most prolific women radio dramatists. There were scores of radio plays authored by such men as Lister Sinclair, Fletcher Markle, Len Petersen, Alan King, Mac Shoub, and Joseph Schull. In an effort to further understand the imbalance in male and female prolificacy, as well as the imbalance in the number of men and women who obtained the opportunity to create original radio drama, the five interviewees were asked to describe how their first association with CBC radio drama came about.

The general impression given by Waldman, Allen and Murray was that there was a great deal of "work" (writing and acting) available within the CBC. These women remarked that there was plenty of drama production, both in the individual and serial formats, most especially during the 1940s and the early 1950s. Therefore, there were indeed

genuine opportunities for men and women to write for and act in CBC radio drama productions.

The "way in" for Waldman was via her radio acting in Winnipeg. While performing with Beth Lockerby's group from the Winnipeg School of Radio Dramatics, radio producer John Kenowen liked her work and offered her a letter of introduction to radio drama producer, Rupert Caplan, who was at that time National Supervisor of Drama in Toronto. Waldman made her way to Toronto, was auditioned by Caplan, and he was the one to give her "the break" she needed into full-time acting for the CBC. The transition to radio writing came a few years later, when Andrew Allan, who succeeded Caplan as Supervisor of Drama in Toronto, heard of a series Waldman had written for the American CBS network. Allan asked her to adapt the series on Huckleberry Finn for CBC broadcasting, and subsequently impressed by her style, invited her to write an original radio play. The drama was entitled "This Man Was My Father", a highly innovative and successful radio play, that starred actors Lorne Greene and John Drainie. In retrospect, Waldman believed that writing "This Man Was My Father" was her initiation into a prolific and successful career writing original radio drama.

Although Allen has a brother, Ron Weyman, who was involved with a children's radio series for the CBC, this was not the impetus that led to her first association with radio drama and the CBC. That story has been told

previously, and when she and her husband, Robert Allen, decided to collaborate on a radio play in 1944, they simply mailed it off to Drama Supervisor, Andrew Allan. They soon received a phone call from his assistant, Alice Frick, who was delighted with the quality of their work, and immediately asked them to write more. Frick went so far as to meet with the Allens, and spent a weekend with them, socializing and talking about the world of CBC radio drama. Rita Greer Allen remarked:

It was very exciting and extraordinary to finally have the door open--to have someone to say, we want whatever you can give us.

Murray, like Waldman had, been an actress for radio first, before she became a writer of radio drama. Unlike Waldman, however, Murray had also been a stage actress in amateur theatre in Vancouver. Her husband (then boyfriend), John Drainie, whom she met in the Vancouver Community Playhouse in 1938, was at that time an announcer with the CBC. Before acting on the CBC with Andrew Allan, who had not yet arrived in Vancouver, "they" (Murray, Drainie and others) were performing on a rival network for Fletcher Markle. For their labour, they were receiving no financial remuneration, but invaluable remuneration in terms of radio and acting experience. In addition, Murray and her friends were having a great deal of fun, "time meant nothing to us," she recalled. There was the excitement of being

involved in, and in fact creating, a brand-new medium, radio.

There were two additional factors in the early days of the golden age of radio, first, there were few people available with any radio experience, and second, there were great expanses of air time to fill. An anecdote from Murray's experience captured the sometimes frenetic atmosphere of radio in the early 1940s in Vancouver. She spoke of one of the radio programs that was essentially a radio transcription of scripts from Hollywood movies. While the actors were "on the air" performing the script, a friend of Murray's who was also a typist, would be handing the actors the pages as they were being transcribed, straight from the typewriter.

Claire Murray remembered that her circle of acting friends were all very excited to hear that Andrew Allan "this marvelous person" was taking over as head of drama at CBC Vancouver:

... we all auditioned for him. We all had radio experience [as a result of] our year with Fletcher Markle. There was really no one else to call on. In Vancouver, we were in at the very beginning of radio drama.

As a result of their previous experience in radio acting, and then of their subsequent experience and friendship with Andrew Allan, Murray and her husband,

Drainie, also began to write original radio plays for him. Murray stated it simply as "Andrew needed the scripts!"

Murray also reflected that, when the centre of radio drama production shifted to Toronto, Andrew Allan also moved, and in his wake followed a huge influx of radio people--writers and actors from Winnipeg and Vancouver. According to Murray, there was a welcome lack of conflict with radio personnel in Toronto. She was making specific reference to their integration into the Toronto milieu of radio writers and actors. She attributed this lack of conflict to the abundance of radio work for everyone who desired it.

Harrington was already a writer before she began writing for radio. Through a contact made through her association with the Canadian Women's Press Club, Harrington approached CBC Radio Talks Producer, Marjorie McEnaney, about submitting a script for radio. The script was written by Harrington and produced by McEnaney, as a "docu-drama" entitled "Footloose in Kilimanjaro." This was Harrington's initiation into the world of scriptwriting for CBC radio; she was also to write scripts for children's serials, in addition to her scripts about her world travels.

Fowke gained access to the CBC in much the same way as Harrington, through contacts and information gleaned about "who to see in the CBC" by her association in the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), the Women's

International League for Peace and Freedom, and also "through people I knew in the adult education field." The person to see, according to her contacts, was Harry Boyle:

I didn't know Harry Boyle--but I knew who he was at the CBC. I called him and went to see him with my idea of doing a folksong program for radio. He was quite approachable, and he liked my idea.

Fowke was, therefore, first, involved in organizing a radio program called "Folksong Time" prior to her first attempt at writing radio drama. When she decided to try writing original radio drama, she, in her straightforward manner, approached J. Frank Willis, as "he was the person in charge of producing drama."

Thus, only one of these women initially began their association with the CBC as a writer of original radio drama, she is Rita Greer Allen. It would seem from the above discussion that the opportunities to write were available, gender notwithstanding, yet some apprenticeship either in writing, or acting for radio was a necessary prerequisite to the writing of original radio drama.

Waldman, the most prolific of the five dramatists under discussion, and the second most prolific of all the dramatists in the sample, began her writing career by writing adaptations, and then co-authoring original radio drama with John Meyer in 1944. Allen remarked in her interview that initially the bulk of the writing--the ideas and the format--were the brainchild of her husband, who was

the original writer in the partnership. When Robert Allen was sent overseas for military service in 1944, during the first years of their collaboration, Rita Greer Allen was overwhelmed by the responsibility of not only carrying on the writing they had launched together, but the still-weightier responsibility of carrying on at the calibre of their "enviable, country-wide reputation." She remarked that it was a "very tough" experience: "I went down to 87 pounds--I worked day and night--I wrote and wrote." The working collaboration had hinged on the basic material coming out of Robert Allen, who always wrote the first draft.

In an effort to understand the career activities of the five women during the golden age of radio, they were asked to describe their relationship to radio drama as an occupation.

Waldman defined writing radio drama as her primary occupation, but, with some regret. In retrospect, Waldman felt that she had traded earning a living by writing in radio and television, for the status and recognition of being a writer in the traditional mould:

Alas! yes, I wouldn't do it again. The work vanished into an abyss. A handful of people in Canada consider me a writer. Most don't know that I exist. It's frustrating because I think I'm as good as the others. I made a choice to make money. If you had a family, you could make a

living by writing for radio. I couldn't starve by writing novels and poetry.

Allen's transition to writing for radio has already been described. During the late 1940s and early 1950s, she was preoccupied on a full-time basis both writing original radio plays, as well as scripts for other radio programs and serials, e.g. the School Broadcasts.

Both Waldman and Allen not only wrote original radio drama, as previously defined in this thesis, but also radio scripts for various programs and serials. The definition of original radio drama was problematic in the interview situation, as Waldman commented that all of her scripts were original compositions. Furthermore, she felt that the 27 original radio plays attributed to her did not adequately reflect what in actuality was a very large corpus of her originally-conceived radio and television scripts.

Thus, for Waldman and Allen, their radio scriptwriting was not only reserved for producing original radio drama, but for other programs and media as well. In this way, they considered themselves to be fully employed in writing drama for radio. Allen also co-authored a number of original radio plays with her husband Robert Allen. Moreover, both Waldman and Allen wrote adaptations of other texts for radio, that not only supplemented their income, but required artistic craftsmanship and radio drama expertise. Indeed, Allen adapted Hugh MacLennan's Barometer Rising

into a five-part dramatization for radio, that MacLennan later acknowledged to her was the best adaptation he had heard.

Radio acting was Murray's primary career, not writing original radio drama. Moreover, Murray's writing was only one facet in the diversity of her participation in the golden age of radio. The practice of writing was in some ways easy, but in other ways difficult. It was clear from Murray's responses, that writing was not her "metier":

I always wrote in longhand. I wasn't a good typist. I was a good dialogue writer--I discovered this--I didn't know it until I did it. Nobody had to change my lines, as an actress, I knew a natural line. I hated writing prose--I would try to get John [husband] to do it. They say the art of writing is rewriting--I know that's why I'm not a good writer--I can't rewrite! Andrew Allan used to laugh at me, because he said "lucky, you write a tight script, I don't have to change anything."

Harrington did not describe herself as a radio dramatist. Writing radio drama was only one part of her writing career. She remarked that "there wasn't the singlemindedness devoted to it, because of my other writing activities." When asked, she confirmed the theory that, in order for her to have a full-time career as a writer, she had to write for many media. During the period of the

mid-to-late 1950s, in which she wrote her original radio drama, Harrington considered herself to be primarily a magazine (non-fiction) writer.

Fowke, as the non-prolific writer in the group, described her relationship to the occupation of writing radio drama as "peripheral." Her primary interest was in developing her radio program using folklore and folksongs. She frankly stated that her single original radio drama, and the seven adaptations, were written to augment her meagre income from her radio program.

In summary, it seems obvious that only two of the five women have described themselves as fully occupied with creating original radio drama for the CBC, during a particular time in their careers. By the mid-1950s, both Allen and Waldman were moving into the medium of television, as the demise of the golden age of radio was imminent. Waldman and Allen were the only ones to have been motivated to write original radio drama as a full-time occupation, and to have been successful in having the plays received and produced by the "gatekeepers" to the medium. In both cases, Andrew Allan and/or his assistant, Alice Frick, were the "gatekeepers," the two persons who not only encouraged Waldman and Allen in their creativity, but also, paid them for their work.

In contrast to the full-time participation of Waldman and Allen, Murray, Harrington and Fowke only participated marginally in writing original radio drama as a career

activity. These three women simply had abiding interests that lay elsewhere, i.e. acting, magazine writing and organizing a radio program on folklore, respectively. The impression was that there were no barriers to two of the three women's participation in writing radio drama, in any form, be it gender discrimination or impenetrable bureaucratic procedures, imposed by the CBC or its personnel in charge of the production of original radio drama.

The question of whether these women were helped or impeded by overt or covert sexism on the part of significant men or women involved with radio drama and the CBC was not directly addressed to the five women. Given that the issue of sexism on the part of significant individuals, did not surface in the interviews, there was the impression that it either did not exist, or if it did exist, it existed in a form that was either not obstructive or destructive to these five women in their activities. Harrington did raise the issue of sexism, but in response to the organization of the CBC, and this matter will be dealt with in the subsequent discussion. Allen was the only one to volunteer the question and then answer it, with an anecdote based on her post-radio career in television. Allen emphasized the positive encouragement and support during her radio career, by producer Andrew Allan and his assistant, Alice Frick. Indeed, Andrew Allan was a figure

unanimously loved and respected by the three women who had worked with him, i.e. Waldman, Allen and Murray.

The question of whether the placement of women in the hierarchy of the CBC, and the policy guidelines for the hiring of women, had any implications for these women radio dramatists was not directly applicable. All five women in their employment relationship with the CBC were freelance writers, therefore, they were not subject to the policy guidelines for CBC staff members. Allen recounted the history of certain married women, on staff with the CBC in the 1940s, who were asked to give up their jobs for the men who were coming back from overseas at the close of World War II. Frick was one of these married women, and she, in collaboration with McEnany (with the Talks and Public Affairs Department) had a struggle to retain their jobs. McEnany was an important figure to the radio drama careers of both Allen and Harrington. McEnany was identified by Allen as one of her mentors (in addition to Frick and Andrew Allan), and the person to give Harrington her first radio scriptwriting opportunity. Thus, in terms of the mentorship, if by the hiring guidelines of the CBC, it had succeeded in firing Frick and McEnany, this may have had serious implications for the careers of both Allen and Harrington.

In conclusion to this section on the factors influencing the possibility for women to access both the art form of radio drama and the cultural industry of the

CBC, the five women were asked whether the practice of play writing or acting in the theatre (and thus radio theatre), as a traditional domain of men, or the practice of theatre as public, therefore, unfeminine display, had any impact on their lives and careers.

Waldman replied that she had never encountered any of the above practices carried out in either attitudes or behaviors by men or women in her life experience. Simply stated, it was her feeling that women worked like men (her mother had always worked) and there were no differences between the sexes:

I thought of myself as a "working woman" like other working women. I just had different hours. People thought it was glamorous, but it wasn't-- it was hard work.

Allen was not asked this question. Yet at the end of the interview, as mentioned above, she did volunteer to answer the following question: "One of the things you did not ask me, and I think is pertinent is whether in the work field as a female writer--what were my male associates' feelings?". Her response to her own question was as previously outlined above, that she had never encountered any sexism except for two minor instances: (1) with a newsman in Vancouver, who thought she knew nothing about the news and (2) an incident much later in television.

Murray responded in kind, as she "never felt put down because I was a women. As a matter of fact, I always

received a lot of encouragement--[people thought] I should be writing." Murray was also able to deflate the idea of the glamorous image of acting and theatre with the following words:

Everybody knew about my acting. My mother's friends would come to see me. To this day, people think it is glamorous. It's not--it's hard work, and also not knowing where your next meal is coming from. The season used to end in late May, and not start until September. For many years, when September came, we were down to our last \$50, or we were overdrawn.

Harrington was the only writer to respond in the affirmative to the question of her experiences in encountering attitudes and practices of the medium as the traditional domain of men. Harrington spoke at length about her early- and long-term involvement with the Canadian Author's Association. For the organization's sixtieth anniversary, she was the one to write its history entitled, Syllables of Recorded Time: The Story of the Canadian Authors' Association, 1921-1981. In her remarks, she referred to the implicit sexism in the attitudes of such well-known Canadian literary figures as Louis Dudek and P.R. Scott in their early condemnation of the Canadian Authors' Association for fostering and nurturing Canadian writers. P.R. Scott's famous poem "The Canadian Authors Meet" sums up his early attitudes towards the organization,

in a scathing critique that attacks the women, who according to Harrington, were the backbone of the organization:

The women in the Canadian Authors' Association were the nurturers--the organizers, and the stuffers of envelopes. They [the women] were there from the beginning. Also, the women were the writers to a great extent, although they were not necessarily among the best writers. They [the women] had been disregarded so often.

Thus, according to Harrington, the organization's biographer, the Canadian Author's Association was an early and continuing attempt not only to foster and support Canadian writers and literature, but to a very large extent to nurture Canadian women writers and their literature as well.

Harrington was the only writer in the group of five women to encounter difficulties in her association with the CBC. As a writer, who was not a consistent member of any CBC milieu, she implied that the organization of production was such that it was not only a hindrance to her employment opportunities, but to other women as well:

You had to be tripped over to be seen--you had to be down in the lobby to be seen ... not very convenient when you had other activities to pursue ... not convenient for a housewife ...

When presenting a story idea, you had to be there

for at least two interviews, and this was only the beginning of the process.

As Harrington was writing for the CBC in the latter years of the golden age of radio, she was aware that as a writer for children, there was beginning to be very little for children on the CBC. The available programs were closed to freelancers, e.g. "The Friendly Giant" which had a regular staff of writers. These problems, Harrington characterized as being particularly difficult for her as a "woman" writer, because of her housewife activities, and her expertise in writing for children.

Fowke mentioned that she was very much aware that women have been excluded from certain professions in the public realm, but in her case "I have never been conscious of anything keeping me from doing anything I wanted to do."

It has already been made clear, that the five women wrote radio drama to earn money. During the golden age of radio, both Waldman and Allen derived a full-time income from this activity. Waldman, Allen, and Murray mentioned in one instance or another, that the new medium of radio provided a source of work and income for their talents and abilities that was more difficult to acquire elsewhere. For Murray, Harrington and Fowke, the money they received writing radio drama was only an occasional supplement to their incomes from other sources. The money available in radio could also have been somewhat of a trap for certain other individuals. It has already been mentioned that

Waldman felt that she had sacrificed her status as a bona fide writer, because she chose to write drama for radio and television, rather than for the print medium.

Although these women were writing to help earn a living, they were concomitantly writing with the integrity of both their individual creativity and the medium of radio drama in mind. Waldman asserted her belief that she was contributing to the "literature and stage of Canada," and that in her efforts "she had done her damndest." This remark was representative of the ambivalence she felt about her work in radio drama: that it was meaningful and important, but dissipated and devalued because it had not been bound between covers. From a field note made on the termination of the interviews, it was the impression of the interviewer that all of these women were not writing radio drama simply to make money--as Fowke remarked she could more easily have earned money working as a secretary--but to test both their writing skills and the medium of radio drama.

Both Waldman and Allen were able to express their creativity in interesting ways that have made original contributions to the medium of radio drama. It was Waldman's impression that she was the first radio dramatist to write an original radio drama about a Jewish family in "This Man Was My Father." As a woman of Jewish cultural origins, she was able to draw on this background, and adapt some of the cultural aspects to her production of original

radio drama. For example, she predated "Fiddler on the Roof," by creating original radio plays on the betrothal stories from "the old country." Waldman believed this was "the first time this was done in Canada." Waldman also remarked that the plays she wrote for the School Broadcasts were also "very satisfying things," as the writers had "carte blanche."

Allen was initially attracted to writing radio drama because she was impressed by Fletcher Markle's original radio plays produced by Andrew Allan. Prior to hearing Andrew Allan's productions, it was her impression that "radio before this was just junk." The fact that two very creative people, Rita Greer Allen and her husband Robert were attracted to the medium and combined their talents to create radio drama, spoke well for the integrity of the genre, especially the work produced by Andrew Allan.

Rita Greer Allen, in the interview, spoke very eloquently of the intense personal struggle that underscored her creativity in writing original radio drama. It was not only her attempt to learn the craft of writing, and to maintain a reputation, but to probe her personal values and "various moral aspects of the society" such that she could communicate them publicly to a listening audience through radio. Allen's most personally satisfying and exciting work came when she "started to write out of myself--myself as seeing the world through my own growing child's eyes," in the mental health series As Children See

Us, produced by Esse W. Ljungh for an adult listening audience. Allen's commitment to quality and authenticity in creating original radio plays also carried over to her adaptations of other people's work, notably Hugh MacLennan's Barometer Rising, in her attempt to retain the essence of the original author's creation in the radio series.

It has already been noted that Murray's approach to her work in writing and acting for radio was never that "dedicated." Nevertheless, it was her choice to devote her time and energy to the medium, when making a living at these activities was risky business. Both she and her husband were never certain of a contract from one season to the next, and they were careful with the little money they had. Murray spoke fondly of her participation as the character "Ma" in W.O. Mitchell's radio series Jake and the Kid. Indeed, it was Murray's personality that helped create the character in Mitchell's mind:

Bill Mitchell said to me, he didn't know how to write for women very well. We had to audition, [and] after he heard me, he said "You know, Claire, after I heard you then I knew how to write it. I could never figure out Ma's part until you created her, then it was easy."

The Jake and the Kid series was a very popular program, "a cult show," according to Murray, because it was "a comedy, so different from the usual tragedy [that

characterizes] Canadian literature." Insofar as her writing of radio drama was concerned, she remarked on the popularity of one of her original radio plays, a Christmas drama called "Santa Had a Black, Black Beard," that was rebroadcast four times over the CBC. The reason for its popularity, Murray wryly explained, was best described by Andrew Allan's assessment, "Claire's not afraid to be corny!"

Murray herself was not personally preoccupied with the ponderous task of creating a Canadian National Theatre on the radio. It was essentially Andrew Allan, the producer, who inspired her about this issue: "He inspired everybody. He made us want to do something. We all tried our best." Harrington remarked that her radio drama was "largely entertainment with a gram of education." As a writer of magazine articles, writing radio plays was a chance for her to flex her "fiction muscles." Harrington remarked that her original dramas "had a freshness and knowledge--and a vigor of prose"--skills in craftsmanship, that were proudly remembered.

Fowke's contribution was primarily through her adaptations of original stories, including some Canadian stories, for radio drama. This work in writing adaptations was reflective of her primary identification as a folklorist, whose concern was with acquainting Canadians with their folklore. Therefore, her work in radio drama represents this preoccupation, as she wrote only one

original radio play, and several adaptations. Fowke's "heart," however, was not in writing or adapting stories for radio drama, but in her research on Canadian folklore for her own radio program:

I didn't think my dramas were that important. I simply found a story I liked, and if it could be dramatized, I would try it.

The question of whether or not the class position of women radio dramatists, or their birth into artistic families somehow aided involvement in the medium of radio drama has indirectly been answered in this thesis. Firstly, not one of the women were born into the privileged classes, moreover, these women vividly remembered the difficulties their parents had in trying to make a living during the Depression of the 1930s. Secondly, not one of the women was born into "artistic families," where one or the other parent was actively engaged in literary or theatrical occupations. It has already been mentioned that the family environment was conducive to their daughter's creativity, but in an indirect way, their parents neither encouraging nor obstructing their reading, writing or acting.

Aside from the nebulous influence of Allen's brother, Ron Weymen, who was active in radio, none of the other women were born into families whose members were involved in any way with radio or the CBC.

What was significant, however, was the role of the five women's husbands in encouraging their various writing

activities. In fact, from what has already been described in the thesis, all of the women except Fowke, married into artistic relationships, wherein the couple's occupations were somehow linked to creative activities. The husbands of the most prolific women radio dramatists, Waldman and Allen, had literary careers as writers. Three of the most prolific women writers, Waldman, Allen and Murray had husbands who, at some point in their careers, were actively engaged in writing or acting for CBC radio drama. Thus, the point may be raised, that Waldman, Allen, Murray, and Harrington chose husbands who were like-minded in terms of creative interests and aspirations, and, thereby, created a supportive foundation from which the couple's mutual talents and creativity could be sustained.

Four of the five (all except Allen) were asked about their personal or professional networks of people, and whether any of their friendships or involvements in professional associations facilitated their participation in writing original radio drama. It was discovered that not one of these women were involved in a group or organization that was founded either by women radio dramatists, or organized specifically to address their particular needs. They were also not aware of any such type of organization, for either women or men radio dramatists.

Nevertheless, two of the five women, Harrington and Fowke gained access to the CBC through their contacts made through various political and special interest groups.

Harrington met the CBC's Marjorie McEnany at the Canadian Women's Press Club, while Fowke found out about the CBC's Harry Boyle through her contacts in the CCF, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and other adult education organizations. Also, Harrington was actively involved in the Canadian Authors's Association, a group dedicated to the fosterage of Canadian writers and literature.

What was perhaps more significant was the combined personal and professional networks of friends and co-workers in which the three most prolific women radio dramatists were involved. For Waldman, Allen and Murray, their husbands and their mutual friends were involved in either the literary scene or the CBC. Thus, their contacts were not only doubled, but the quality of the contact was enhanced at a professional level and at a personal level. Murray's description of the producer Andrew Allan lounging in her living room, casually remarking that he needed someone to write him a radio play for Christmas, to which Murray casually offered to reciprocate, characterized the unstructured informality in which an original radio drama could be commissioned. It has already been described that Allen's first contact with Frick evolved into a friendly professional relationship. Allen's husband, Robert, continued his activities in radio after the war, and then as soon as television started he switched to that medium. All of their friends were involved either in radio, or

later in television. Allen, herself, later moved into television when she felt she had finished her work in radio. For Allen and her husband Robert, both Frick and Andrew Allan were described as their early mentors.

It was Murray's memory that linked many of the familiar names of the golden age of radio, including two of the writers interviewed for this thesis. Her memory of the following people, at least from her time in radio, was that "we all worked and wrote together:"

Patricia Joudry, Dorothy Jane Goulding, Marian Waldman, Babs Hitchman, Roxana Bond, Robert Allen, Rita Greer Allen, Ruth Springford, Alice Mather, Lister Sinclair, Len and Iris Peterson and Alice Frick.

Chapter VI: Conclusion

This thesis was written in order to "dis-cover" the activities of Canadian women in one practice of the arts, CBC radio drama. The discoveries included some description of the "creative contexts" for 70 of the 250 women radio dramatists. By the term "creative contexts" is meant the combination of "conditions" whereby particular women come to write original radio drama for the CBC.

The research into women as creators of culture involved an investigation of three substantive areas in Canadian sociology, i.e. women, art and literature and radio drama, with additional direction from the discipline of women's studies.

It was concluded that as many as 250 women wrote radio drama. The analysis attempted to describe the variability of women's productivity, by a juxtaposition of non-prolific and prolific radio dramatists, via their career activities in relation to their radio drama careers. A typology was created to describe the typical occupational patterns of both prolific and non-prolific radio dramatists in three general areas: 1) literary occupations, 2) radio occupations and 3) other occupations. The typical non-prolific radio dramatist was of the first type, that is, she was primarily engaged in writing traditional literature, most often for the stage. The typical prolific radio dramatist was active in all three occupational areas,

that is, in addition to writing original radio drama for the CBC, she was also engaged in: 1) writing traditional literature, 2) writing or acting in radio and 3) writing or editing for magazines or newspapers. Generally, women radio dramatists began to write original radio after their involvement in one of these three occupational categories.

The fullest information in terms of understanding the creative contexts for Canadian women came from the five interviews. All five women were of the third type, that is, in addition to their radio drama they had combined activities in radio (and literary) occupations, and other occupations. The timing of their radio drama activities followed their involvement in these other occupations. The interviews provided a more profound and personal insight into the process of participation for these women. The specific conditions for their creativity in radio drama were uncovered--those that had not been clearly shown in the general analysis. It was only through the interviews that the full impact of socialization and gender-role expectations, the interrelationship between marriage, motherhood and career, and structural-relational factors were disclosed.

Especially illuminating was the discomfort Edith Fowke, Lyn Harrington and Claire Murray felt with the label "radio dramatist." The interviews, moreover, revealed that these three women were not conscious of their having a significant "voice" in their contribution to radio drama.

The research has proved that for the majority of radio dramatists, this is true, since their prolificacy was limited to 1 or 2 plays per person. However, the theory framing the research has focussed on the "inclusion" rather than the "exclusion" of women as cultural producers. The opportunities to be creative have varied across time and space. Therefore, the contexts for participation were important to probe, analyze and understand in order to gain an overall picture of women's activities in radio drama.

The findings pointed to certain aspects of socialization, gender-role expectations, the interrelationship of marriage, motherhood and careers, in addition to structural-relational factors, which were the principal conditions whereby these women came to write original radio drama.

It should be noted that one of the major implications of this research points to the necessity of uncovering the complex of practices in which individual creators are immersed. It is generally accepted that any complete study of creative work must take into consideration the mode of organization of the art, the formations to which the artists belong, and the products or "texts" themselves. This research adds yet another dimension; it calls for a necessary examination of the artists' day-to-day personal situation with respect to social, familial, and occupational/career obligations.

It should be acknowledged that women have made a stronger contribution than would appear from a cursory glance at the list of "feminine" names. Marian Waldman, in particular, was anxious that her radio drama should be acknowledged for its contribution to Canadian culture. The extent and importance of women's creativity has been clearly demonstrated in this thesis.

It follows that future research in this area could elaborate considerably on the activities of the women dramatists. For example, our understanding would be enhanced if the plays written by these women were to be analyzed in terms of their internal structures, and in terms of the particular CBC programs over which they were aired, e.g., drama series, documentary series; public affairs, etc. Furthermore, a comparative study with respect to men dramatists following along the same lines as this research would provide a complete understanding of radio drama practices.

For myself, I was surprised and impressed with the extent and the importance of the work of women writers. I hope this thesis will encourage others to value and explore further the pioneer work of the Canadian women involved in early radio drama.

Notes

¹ See John D. Jackson's "From the Social Democrats of the 1940s to the Liberals of the 1950s: A Content Analysis of CBC English-Language Radio Drama," and John D. Jackson and Howard Fink's "The State and Social Values: The Case of CBC English Language Radio Theatre."

² As above. Also see Rosalind Zinman and John D. Jackson's "Social Formations in Media Production: Pre 1960 CBC English Radio Drama."

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Appendix A: List of Canadian Women Radio Dramatists*

Allan, Dora
Allen, Iris
Allen, Nancy B.
Allen, Rita Greer
Anderson, Elsie
Andrews, Lillian
Bagg, Catherine
Bakalyar, Florence
Baker, Phyllis
Barker, Aileen
Barnhouse, Dorothy P.
Barrett, Pauline
Beaufort, Aileen
Belfrage, Frances
Benham, Mary L.
Bethune, Jessie
Blair, Margaret S.
Bourne, Ruth
Bragg, Betty
Brampton, Joan
Brown, Dorothy
Brownhill, Catherine

* List compiled from Howard Fink's Canadian National Theatre on the Air, 1925-61: CBC-CRBC-CNR Radio Drama in English, a Descriptive Bibliography and Union List.

Bruce, Nancy Lyle
Buckley, Connie
Burns, Katherine
Butts, Grace Q.
Cameron, Hope Morrill
Carrington, Elaine
Casel, Joannes
Chambers, Ruth
Clements, Muriel
Coates, Eleanor
Coghill, Joy
Coleman, Audrey
Coleman, Peg
Colman, Mary Elizabeth
Conover, Dora Smith
Cook, Charlotte
Copithorne, Margery
Corley, Ruth
Cormack, Barbara Villy
Cox, Dorothea
Creighton, Sally
Daughen, Catherine
Davidson, Ida Marion
Dawson, Elizabeth
De-Graff, Rosemary
Deakin, Dorothy
Deeder, Peg

Dixon, Janet
Druce, Jeanette
Duffies, Maureen
Edwards, M. Kay
Eggleston, Magdalena
Essipoff, Marie
Fine, Libby
Fine, Vivian
Flavell, Anne
Fletcher, Susan
Foss, Della
Fowke, Edith
Fowke, H. Shirley
Fowler, Dorothy
Fox, Elizabeth
Fox, Estelle
Francis, Anne
Freeman, Mary Wilkins
French, Helen
Freshley, Margaret
Frizell, Margaret
Gibson, Pauline
Gillanders, Beth
Glaspell, Susan
Glaze, Harriet
Goodine, Patricia
Goulding, Dorothy-Jane

Gourlay, Elizabeth
Gow, Jean
Gowan, Elsie Park
Grannan, Mary E.
Grant, Margaret
Grantmyre, Barbara
Green, Peggy
Greene, Kathleen
Halman, Doris
Hannah, Olive T.
Hannant, Jean
Harding, Peggy
Harrington, Lyn
Harris, Christie
Harris, Ellen
Harris, Marcia
Harshman, Betsy Southgate
Head, Patricia
Heine, Nancy
Hewitt, Virginia
Hill, Kay
Hinds, Jean Lillian
Hitchman, Babs
Holland, April D.
Hood, Margaret Laidlaw
Hotchkiss, Barbara
Houghton, Gabrielle

Howland, Cicely
Humphrys, Ruth
Hutchison, Margaret
Irving, Adele M.
Janisch, Grace
Jaquays, Constance
Johnson, Audrey St. Denys
Johnson, Vera
Jones, Catherine
Jordan, F. Marjorie
Joudry, Patricia
Juttner, Irene
Kallen, Lucille
Kay, Ada F.
Kellett, Winnifred
Kennedy, Margaret
Kent, Priscilla
Knox, Olive
Laidlaw, Margaret H.
Lamb, Mildred
Lambert, Betty
Lane, Myrtle
Lang, Margaret
Langston, Corinne
Law, Margaret E.
Lawrence, Irene
LeBourdais, Isabel

LeMaster, Catherine
Lean, Kathleen
Leete, Marjorie
Lennick, Sylvia
Lewis, Therese
Lillico, Eileen
Livesay, Dorothy
Low, Jean
Lysenko, Vera.
MacKenzie, Laura Hunter
MacLaren, Peggy
MacPherson, Margaret L.
Maddox, Diana
Marcuse, Katherine
Marr, Kay
Marriott, Anne
Marsden, Esther
Marshall, Valda
Marven, Ruth
McAlpine, Mary
McDougall, Roberta
McFadden, Isobel
McGarvey, Rita
McInnes, Joan
McIntyre, Peggy Green
McKenzie, Poppy
McLaren, Floris

McPhee, Janet

McPherson, Beryl

McRae, Kae

McTaggart, Effie

Miller, Alice Duer

Moore, Charlotte

Moore, Nancy

Morgan-Jones, Elizabeth

Mulcahy, Joan

Murray, Claire

Newton, Elizabeth

Newton, Gloria

Nicholson, Sally

O'Connor, Mary

Orchard, Jean

Ormsby, Margaret A.

Parsons, Ruth

Pattison, Mary Rogers

Pearce, Diana

Petter, Angela

Phillips, Dorothy Sanburn

Phillips, Sallie

Piggott, Audrey

Pilcher, Winnifred David

Pinney, Gladys Wagstaff

Polson, Philipp

Powell, R. Janet

Price, Marjorie
Purvey, Marjorie
Quinan, Dorothy Cheney
Quinie, Charlena
Rant, G. Muriel
Read, Elfreida
Reed, Dena
Reid, Joan
Ridge, Antonia
Ringwood, Gwen Pharis
Rivers, Claire
Robb, Dorothy E.
Robertson, Eileen
Robinson, Hazel
Robinson, Irene
Rorke, Lucille
Ross, Dorothy
Rowland, Beryl
Ryan, Josephine
Ryerson, Florence
Salverson, Laura Goodman
Sandbrook, Elizabeth
Seymour, Katherine
Shepherd, Jean
Simmons, Stella
Sinclair, Kay
Sleigh, Barbara

Smith, Lucille

Speirs, Ann K.

Sprigge, Elizabeth

Stemo, L. Johanne

Stoddart, Morna Scott

Stott, Mary Dale

Stuart, Miranda

Sutherland, Maxine

Thomas, Lillian Beynon

Thompson, Marjorie

Thornton, Dorothy

Tooke, Rae

Townshend, Elizabeth Morison

Traile, Millicent

Tranter, Gladdis Jay

Tremain, Barbara

Tucker, Mary

Turnbull, Winnifred H.

Tweedsmuir, Lady

Urbanek, Sheila

Van-Dyke, Ina

Van-Siller, Hilda

Vyvyan, Gladys

Wade, Kathleen

Waldman, Marian

Warren, Phyllis Haynes

Whitelaw, Virginia

Williams, Mary

Wilmot, Cynthia

Wilson, Adelaide

Wilson, Ethel

Wilson, Mrs. G.M.

Winston, Helene

Winters, Diana

Wolfe, Barbara Alice

Wood, Nora

Woodcock, Ingeborg

Woodworth, Nancy

Wynter, Sylvia

Appendix B: List of Canadian Radio Dramatists--Gender

Unknown*

Allen, Merritt P.

Arnaud, Bonneviere

Arnold, Lyn

Banks, Shirley

Beifrage, Joyce

Bennett, Jay

Bett, S.G.

Bird, J. House

Blatt, M.

Block, Toni

Bonaccorsi, A.P.

Boyce, Burke

Brauer, V.T.

Breen, Melwyn

Brown, G.C.

Brundin, Maj

Buckerfield, E.H.

Bullock, MacCallum

Burch, E.T.

Bury, Alix

Butling, G.A.

* List compiled from Howard Fink's Canadian National Theatre on the Air, 1925-61: CBC-CRBC-CNR Radio Drama in English, a Descriptive Bibliography and Union List.

Byrne, Stafford

Campbell, Jan

Charles, B.D.

Coady, B.J.

Collins, Dale

Conger, Lesley

Coppard, A.E.

Cox, Wesley J.

Cram, J.M.

D'Easam, Lille

Dane, Clemence

Daniels, D.S.

Deane, Chris (pseudonym: Christina Donaldson)

Delston, Vernon

Diamond, Muni

Durham, Lyn

Fates, Gil

Ferguson, J.A.

Field, Salisbury

Fisher, Ameal

Fraser, Hermia Harris

Fraser, I.S.F.

Fromberg, G.

Gamble, H.E.

Garberry, Evelyn

Garstang, Tremain

Giddy, Horton

Gillis, D.J.

Greene, F.L.
Guttormsson, R.
Harvey, Aaron
Herbert, Marion
Hill, Fitzmaurice
Howard, Sidney
James, R.S.
Joslin, W.L.
Kean, A.D.
Kenyon, R.F.
Klenning, Maj-Lis
Lambert, J.O.
Lambertson C.L.
Laurence, J.D.
Lucas, E.A.
MacKenzie, A.B.
MacLaren, D.H.
MacLeod, A.M.
Manners, J. Hartley
Marcourt, Lee
Marsh, F.W.
Mason, Drury
Mason, T.H.
Matheson, A.H.
McArton, Sidney
McCaffery, M.L.
McFadyen, A.B.

McIlroy, Kimball

McLaughlin, R.N.

Miller, Maridon

Miller, Orlo

Munro, C.K.

Munro, E.V.

Newman, C.J.

Nielsen, Leslie

Nugent, Lilo

Orde, Julian

Patrick, O.

Paul, D.K.

Peach, L. DuGarde

Pedrick, Gale

Phillips, A.L.

Price, Evadne

Rahmel, Fern

Reman, Elohim

Rennie, Hamilton

Robinson, Berton E.

Robinson, Meredith

Sandler, Jesse

Saunders, J.A.

Schacter, Lee

Slater, Clare

Smiley, W.F.

Smith, Robin

Stanwood, Shirley

Stern, Sandy

Street, A.B.

Strong, L.A.G.

Suttles, Shirley

Sweet, H.C.L.

Taylor, Marion

Thompason, Aimee

Thompson, Burke

Turolla, G.P.

Walker, J.A.L.

Wellwood, S.

Whatsley, Alwyne

Willcock, R.W.

Williams, Emlyn

Wills, Terry

Woodman, I.G.

Appendix C: List of Abbreviations of Headings in
Occupational Categories for Tables 2 and 4

Literary Activities

Playw.	- Playwright
Playw.C.	- Playwright for Children
Novels	- Novelist
Hist.W.	- Historical Writer
Poetry	- Writer of Poetry
S.Stories	- Writer of Short Stories
Travel	- Writer of Travel Books
Child.Lit.	- Writer of Stories and Novels for Children and Juveniles
N-fiction	- Writer of Non-fiction
Mus.Rev.	- Writer of Musical Revues for the Stage
Autobio.	- Autobiographer

Radio Activities

Amer.Rad.	- Writer for American Radio
Writer	- Writer for Radio (includes general and/or unspecified writing activities in radio)
Cont.Writer	- Continuity Writer
Script.W.	- Scriptwriter
S.Story W.	- Short Story Writer
Actress	- Actress
Producer	- Producer

Comment. - Commentator
 Wom.Dept. - Unspecified Activities in the Women's
 Department
 Announcer - Announcer
 Singer - Singer
 Steno. - Stenographer
 Musician - Musician
 Cont.Ed. - Continuity Editor
 Researcher - Researcher

Other Activities (Teaching, Writing-, Theatre-,

Media-related Activities, and Activities in the Arts

Schoolt. - Schoolteacher
 Drama T. - Teacher of Drama
 Radio A.T. - Teacher, Academy of Radio Arts
 Radio D.T. - Teacher of Writing Drama for Radio
 Playw.T. - Teacher of Playwrighting
 Creative T. - Teacher of Creative Writing
 Music T. - Teacher of Music
 Art T. - Teacher of Fine Arts/Painting
 Dance T. - Teacher of Modern Dance
 Mag.Ed. - Magazine Editor
 Mag.Writer - Magazine Writer
 Poet.Mag.F. - Founder, Poetry Magazine
 News.W. - Newspaper Writer
 News.C. - Newspaper Contributor
 News.Ed. - Newspaper Editor

News.Rad.C. - Newspaper Radio Critic
Text.W. - Textbook Writer
Owner - Owner, School of Radio Drama
Theat.Dir. - Theatre Director
Theat.Exec. - Theatre Executive
Theat.Act. - Theatre Actress
Play.Dir. - Director of Plays/Musical Revues
Film W. - Writer for National Film Board of
Canada
T.V.Actress - Television Actress
T.V.Writer - Television Writer
T.V.Singer - Television Singer
Musician - Musician
Painter - Painter in the Fine Arts
Artist - Artist (Book Illustrator and
unspecified)
Singer - Singer (Concert Soprano)
S.Worker - Social Worker
Child.Lib. - Children's Librarian
Secretary - Secretary (stenographer/typist)
Tourist. - Tourist Resort Operator

