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Theatre



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Adding It Up: The Status of Women in Canadian Theatre

**A Report on the Phase One Findings of
Equity in Canadian Theatre: The Women's Initiative**

Written by Rebecca Burton, Main Researcher
Equity in Canadian Theatre: The Women's Initiative

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Study Highlights

- In the Canadian theatre industry key positions of creativity and authority are primarily male dominated. Women currently account for 33% of the artistic directors, 34% of the working directors and 27% of the produced playwrights.
- Men are particularly hired as ADs, directors and playwrights in greater numbers than women at the larger, more established theatres, whereas women are found in greater numbers at smaller companies with modest to mid-size budgets.
- While women constitute one-third of the nation's artistic directors, people of colour comprise only 11% of these positions (6% female and 5% male).
- With 1,945 productions staged by 113 surveyed companies between 2000/01 and 2004/05, 68% of the plays were written by men, 27% by women, and 4% were developed as collective creations. People of colour comprised 9% of the produced playwrights, with 5% of the plays written by men and 4% written by women. Overall, Canadian playwrights accounted for 60% of the total productions.
- While companies with female ADs produce female playwrights 38% of the time on average, companies with male ADs do so only 24% of the time. Conversely, companies with male ADs produce work by men 76% of the time on average, while companies with female ADs stage work by men 62% of the time.
- Women directed 34% of the staged productions overall, men directed the other 66%, and people of colour directed not quite 6% of the plays (less than 3% for each gender). Companies run by men hired female directors 24% of the time, whereas companies run by women hired female directors 55% of the time.
- Men predominate in the theatre industry as actor hires (57% overall), translators (59%), set designers (66%), lighting designers (69%) and sound designers (85%).
- Women predominate as costume designers (filling 70% of the positions overall), and in behind-the-scenes production support roles, such as assistant directors (59%), dramaturgs and/or literary managers (60%) and stage managers (77%).
- Women also abound in administrative and customer service positions, forming 69% of the general managers (less than 2% are women of colour), as well as the majority of office and contract workers, part-time staff and box office employees.
- The mean average of women sitting on boards of directors is 56% (61% at companies with female ADs and 52% at companies with male ADs). People of colour are represented at only 29% of the surveyed companies, although companies run by women tend to have a greater number of people of colour on their boards than those run by men, but representation is meagre in both cases.

- Women outnumber men in the industry overall and are employed at 93% of the companies compared to 84% of the theatres that employ men. People of colour are employed at 40% of the theatres, and companies with female ADs have a higher incidence of people of colour than companies run by male ADs, although both groups generally report only one staff member of colour per company.
- Companies run by women have a lower incidence of incorporation, not-for-profit and charitable status, union hires, use of industry contracts, and wheelchair accessible venues than companies run by men. They also rent and change both rehearsal and performance venues more often than companies run by men.
- Companies with female ADs have a higher incidence of TYA activities, production tours, and use of non-traditional venues than companies with male ADs. They also produce more Canadian plays, play premieres, and co-pros.
- A large portion of the industry's employees work year-round (particularly ADs and GMs), especially at companies with male ADs, though workers tend to put in a greater number of hours per week at companies with female ADs. In both cases, people usually work a greater number of hours than that for which they are paid.
- Female playwrights and directors tend to receive lower rates of pay than their male counterparts, and companies with female ADs tend to pay their workers (GMs, dramaturgs, etc.) less than companies run by male ADs. This is partly due to the fact that women are usually involved in smaller, under-funded companies.
- In 2004/05, companies with female ADs generated only 61% of the total-revenues that companies with male ADs did (specifically, they received 55% of the earned revenues, 63% of the fundraising monies and 81% of the government grants).
- Companies with female ADs received more project grants (76%) than companies with male ADs (65%), while companies with male ADs received more operating grants (80%) from the arts councils than companies with female ADs (67%).
- Women now account for 47% of the applications made to the Theatre Section of the Canada Council (up 15% since the 1970s), they comprise 44% of the successful grant recipients, and they generally receive 42% of the total funds.
- Similar disparity exists at provincial levels: women comprise 45% to 52% of the theatre applicants, they account for 32% to 63% of the successful award recipients, but they only receive between 30% and 45% of the distributed funds.
- Female representation on the arts councils' jury selection committees generally falls in the 40-percentile range, with the exception of Saskatchewan (39% female), Toronto (67%), Manitoba (54%) and the Canada Council (53%).
- An estimated 59% of Canada's theatre-going audience is female.

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Notes on Methodology

The information presented in this study was gathered from a variety of sources: primary and secondary research materials concerning the status of women in Canada, Canadian theatre and theatre abroad; informal production polls; forum discussions; conference presentations; arts council statistics; and most significantly, a 2005 national survey of Canadian theatre companies. The survey component of the study was devised specifically for the purpose of the Equity in Canadian Theatre Initiative, and it was modeled, in part, on Rina Fraticelli's 1982 report, "The Status of Women in the Canadian Theatre." The methodological approach employed for the current study necessarily departed from Fraticelli's earlier effort, given that the Canada On Stage series utilized to generate the statistics in the early 1980s is no longer extant and has not been for some time. As an alternative measure, the Initiative decided that a comprehensive questionnaire addressed to theatre companies all across Canada would provide the most effective means for gathering the information required. The survey's format offered the additional advantage of allowing the follow-up study to expand beyond the parameters of Fraticelli's original report, which focused primarily on the "triangle" of artistic director, director and playwright ("Status" vi). The current study collected information on these and other industry positions, such as actors, designers, stage managers, dramaturgs, general managers and administrative staff. The Equity Survey also posed a series of questions related to company characteristics and operational practices not previously addressed by Fraticelli's study, and it additionally inquired about the numbers of first peoples and people of colour currently working in the Canadian theatre sector.

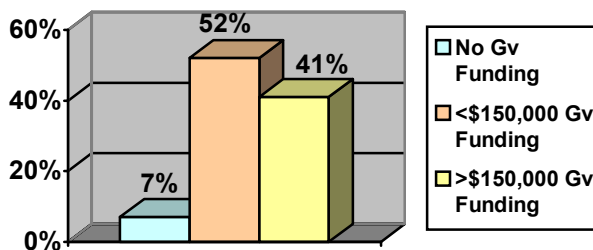
The survey instrument was developed by Hill Strategies Research Incorporated in consultation with the main researcher, the Equity in Canadian Theatre National Advisory Committee, the project's Survey Methodology Sub-Committee and the Diversity Committee of the Professional Association of Canadian Theatres (PACT). The questionnaire was originally sent out in the summer of 2005 to 333 theatre companies of all shapes and sizes situated in various geographic regions; 126 were drawn from PACT's membership base and the other 207 were suggested by the theatre community at large in response to a public appeal. Smaller companies were specifically targeted as they form the majority of Canada's theatre population, they are less likely to have been considered in past studies, and they quite possibly have a higher ratio of women to men. The original mailing list was eventually reduced to 273 companies, as many of the non-PACT theatres did not fit the intended parameters of the study. Excluded from the target population are amateur and semi-professional troupes, roadhouses, civic theatres and theatre festivals (such as the Fringe), as well as inactive, defunct or sporadically active companies presenting less than one production per year. Of those 273 theatres, 128 companies returned the Equity Survey; 84 of these were PACT members and/or affiliates, while the remaining 44 companies were not.¹ With a total population of 273 theatres, and a random sample of 128 questionnaires, the overall return rate for the Equity Survey was 47%, which is a fair and reasonable representation of the target population.

The survey returns were housed in a database, run through the SPSS statistical software program and subjected to four different modes of analysis, not all of which were

¹ The lower response rate of the non-PACT companies was due in large part to the companies' relative lack of resources, most particularly staff and time, which were required to complete the two to five-hour survey.

applied to every question or section of the survey. The first method tallied the information provided by the respondents to arrive at overall figures and statistical results. The second approach examined the survey data by dividing the companies into three separate groups designated according to financial standing as of 2004/05: 1) theatres without any government funding, 2) companies with less than \$150,000 in government grants, and 3) those receiving \$150,000 or more in government subsidy (see Chart N.1 for a breakdown of the survey returns).

**Chart N.1: Survey Returns
According to Fiscal Categorization**



The third method analyzed the responses in relation to geographical region – Atlantic Canada, Quebec, Ontario, the Prairies and the Yukon, and British Columbia (see Table N.2 for a breakdown of the survey returns according to region).²

Table N.2: Survey Returns by Geographic Region

Geographical Region	Percentage of Returns
Atlantic Canada	<13%
British Columbia	20%
Ontario	43%
Prairies and Yukon	>13%
Quebec	11%

Despite the many commonalities shared by Canadian theatre companies, the Equity Survey returns indicate that statistically significant differences exist across the country and in

specific regions, most particularly in Quebec. These differences can often be attributed to differing cultural traditions, performance canons, creative practices and institutional structures. Unfortunately, time and space have not permitted the situation in Quebec and Francophone theatre to be presented in any kind of detail here; as a result, most regional distinctions and observations have necessarily been relegated to the footnotes. Nevertheless, there was significant representation and participation with the Equity Survey from all regions, including Quebec and Francophone theatre companies.³ This only highlights the urgent and on-going need to address equity issues everywhere, and the Women's Initiative looks forward to collaboration with Francophone colleagues and companies in other regions of the country as the research initiative continues.⁴

The fourth and final method of statistical analysis separated the survey returns into two categories based on the gender (male or female) of the companies' artistic directors in 2004/05, thus providing an additional mode of gender-based investigation.⁵

² There were no survey respondents from the Northwest Territories or Nunavut.

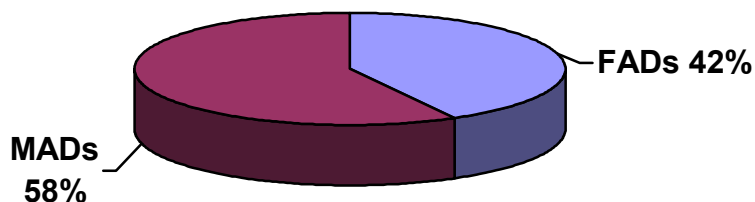
³ The geographical distribution of the Equity Survey returns is more or less in keeping with the distribution and numbers of (English) companies identified in Canada overall by PACT's 2005 [Theatre Listing](#).

⁴ Those interested in participating in the research are invited to contact the Initiative's Co-Chairs, Hope McIntyre (raregem3@hotmail.com) and/or Kelly Thornton (kelly@nightwoodtheatre.net), or the project's main researcher, Rebecca Burton (becca_burton3@hotmail.com).

⁵ In the event that a company had both a male and a female artistic director, the theatre was then categorized along with the female AD grouping in order to ensure the complete representation of women in the Canadian theatre industry.

As Chart N.3 indicates, 42% of the survey respondents have a female artistic director (AD) at the helm, but this figure is inflated and does not properly represent the larger theatre population. A disproportionate number of companies with female ADs completed and returned the survey in comparison to the number of companies with male artistic directors. While we are confident about the statistical soundness of our analysis, we caution readers that factors, which are themselves contributory to inequities in theatre,

Chart N.3: Survey Returns According to the Gender of the Companies' Artistic Directors in 2004/05



appear to have influenced which companies took the time to respond to the questionnaire.

A greater percentage of companies with female rather than male artistic directors provided us with data, thereby offering from the outset a

picture of the Canadian theatre industry in which women are more present than they are in reality. In actuality, women constitute between 30% and 35% of the nation's artistic directors (see Part One for details). The greater response rate of companies with female ADs does not mean that the study results are invalid or distorted beyond use, only that the figures derived from the Equity Survey offer an absolute "best case" scenario for the representation and participation of women in the Canadian theatre industry. When differences between the male- and female-run companies are identified as statistically significant, we can assume that such divergences are even more extreme in relation to the larger theatre population.

A 95% confidence level (the standard setting for research of this kind) was employed for the analysis of the survey data, resulting, on average, in a confidence interval of 6.32% for most questions, which means that if the majority of the survey respondents answered yes to a particular question, then we can be 95% certain that between 41% and 53% of the larger population would have responded in a similar manner. In certain instances, the response pool was much smaller, resulting in enlarged confidence intervals and less reliable results in relation to the larger population. Such was the case with the questions pertaining to the particulars of past productions, the responses to which were clearly affected by a time factor, as more companies provided production details for the 2004/05 season than they did for earlier years.⁶ Incomplete record keeping, changeovers in staff, and a general lack of time and resources contributed to the poorer response rate, as this was the most labour-intensive section of the survey.

⁶ For the 2000/01 season, 41 companies did not respond to the production questions, so the information is based on data from 87 companies only. For 2001/02, 40 companies did not provide the necessary responses, leaving only 88 companies for consideration. For 2002/03, 30 companies did not provide information, resulting in responses from a total of 98 companies. For 2003/04, 26 companies did not answer the corresponding questions, thus providing a total of 102 companies for consideration. For 2004/05, fifteen companies did not provide the necessary information, so the numbers for that year are based on the responses of 113 companies. The overall production totals quoted in the following pages of the report are an amalgamation of all five years (unless otherwise indicated).

Some of the questions relating to the numbers of people of colour employed by the theatres also garnered fewer responses than other survey questions. The reasons for this are varied and complex. Requesting information concerning racialized identities is a practice often viewed as inappropriate and, as a result, many people did not feel comfortable answering such questions.⁷ Moreover, given the nature of the survey, a single individual (usually) was called upon to assign a racialized “label” to his or her fellow co-workers, as opposed to allowing for self-identification, which, again, may have been an uncomfortable and unsettling task easier left undone. There were also companies that opted not to answer such questions as a matter of principle, given that this line of inquiry was occasionally interpreted as harboring a hidden agenda on the part of the Initiative, which might call for affirmative action on this front in the future.

Affirmative action is suspect in the theatre world (for a variety of reasons) and is often viewed as an act of transgression against creative authority and artistic control, the fear being that identity politics and/or political correctness might come to replace the primacy of artistic choice.⁸ Indeed, such arguments, most often based on concepts of meritocracy, have frequently been mobilized as a defense against demands for equitable representation, and it appears that this stance continues to pervade the field, denying the existence of systemic inequities and allegations of racism despite evidence to the contrary (such as that presented in this report). As a result of these and other related issues, the lower response rate for some of the questions pertaining to first peoples and people of colour reduced the response pool to an inadequate sample size and rendered the results unreliable in relation to the larger population and/or comparisons across groups. Although the results are deemed unreliable from a scientific point of view, the statistics regarding first peoples and people of colour most likely present a “best case” scenario of their representation in the industry. Companies that did not reply to the corresponding questions (many of which did not have first peoples and people of colour on staff to report in the first place) were not included in the overall tabulations, so despite the smaller response pools, the survey findings still provide useful insights in this area.

The Initiative’s desire to examine the representation of racialized groups in the Canadian theatre industry in tandem with gender turned out to be a more contentious and problematic endeavour than originally anticipated. In addition to the concerns and issues raised by some of the survey respondents, there was also the difficulty of dealing with the inadequacies of current language usage. The terms most often employed by federal agencies like Statistics Canada, such as “visible minorities,” or by community service organizations, such as “diverse peoples,” were rejected by the Initiative as misnomers

⁷ Our attempt to gather information of this nature was guided by the Initiative’s desire to analyze employment equity in terms of a broader representation of the workforce. Far from being an inappropriate activity, many organizations and agencies employ similar practices in their workplace audits as a primary step in obtaining the data necessary to adequately assess equity issues and diversity in the labour force.

⁸ The Equity in Canadian Theatre Initiative appreciates the legitimate nature of the concerns associated with affirmative action, but it also recognizes that discrimination based along gendered and/or racialized lines are interconnected phenomena with intersecting histories, and any study of the status of women in theatre must be inclusive of all women, particularly in the context of Canada, given the country’s multicultural identity. As of 2001, more than two million Canadian women, or 14% of the total female population, were members of a “visible minority” (26), and an additional 3% of the total female population was comprised of Aboriginal women (defined as North American Indian, Métis or Inuit), who accounted for 51% of the total Aboriginal population (Statistics Canada, Women 27). Racialization has an enormous socio-political impact and it should not be ignored or under-examined.

(although they are occasionally employed in quotations); the former because people who are not white do not in actuality form a minority (globally speaking, and in certain parts of the nation, such as Toronto), and the latter because it suggests an inclusive vision (of all people) rather than a concept exclusive of whites. Other phrases such as “culturally marginalized” are also inadequate, for white women and men may also be marginalized within a predominantly Anglophone and Francophone dominant culture. The phrase settled upon for the purpose of the Equity Survey was “people of colour,” defined as including “those who identify as Aboriginal, Chinese, South Asian, Black, Filipino, Latin American, Southeast Asian, Arab, West Asian, Japanese, Korean and Pacific Islander.” The chosen terminology is still imperfect, for all people – whether white, black or otherwise – have colour. Moreover, the phrase further generalizes and perpetuates binary thought, lumping together as it does a group of people who are defined in opposition to the perceived norm: whiteness. For this reason, the chosen wording is most appropriately written out with quotation marks enclosing the word colour (people of “colour”) in order to call attention to the artificial construction and imposition of the categorization. While this report does not employ the quotation marks in practice, for ease of style and readability, it should be understood that the punctuation is nonetheless implied throughout. As well, given the current mode of discourse regarding the concept of race as a social construction, the term “racialized” (as opposed to race) is employed in the report to highlight the process by which people of colour are defined and labeled according to visible attributes such as skin colour. We acknowledge that the adoption of these terms may re-inscribe racialized or essentialist categorizations, but the over-riding effort to establish equitable policies and practices makes this a necessary risk at this juncture.

Difficulties associated with terminology additionally extended into the very structuring of this report, for it was quickly discovered that quoting overall statistics and then separating out the numbers for people of colour resulted in a perpetuation of othering.⁹ Despite attempts to the contrary, the Initiative recognizes that this report may unintentionally contribute to an othering of people of colour. We take this risk, again, because we feel it is important to disseminate the information derived from the study rather than be silenced by the inadequacy of words and structures. There are no easy solutions to these difficulties, but it is imperative that we continue to dialogue and negotiate the terms of discourse if we are to ever overcome these problematic concerns.

The percentages quoted in this report have been rounded up or down, as appropriate, with the sum total occasionally exceeding or falling slightly short of 100%; such instances are usually identified by the incorporation of a less than (<) or greater than (>) symbol. The figures quoted in the following pages are valid percents, meaning that the numbers were arrived at based solely on the companies that responded to the questions; if a number of theatres did not answer a particular question, for instance, in relation to people of colour, then they are not represented in the statistics presented here. The report also includes references to the mean figures derived from the statistical data,

⁹ Framing the discourse as white people and “non-white” people in simultaneous accord proved an inadequate alternative as well, for such an approach also creates a binary situation in which people of colour are defined by what they are not – white. As well, there are those who would not be considered people of colour, such as Mediterranean folk, but who would also not necessarily self-identify as white, due to the racism frequently experienced as immigrants and people who are “white-but-somehow-not-quite-white-enough.”

which is the overall average of all the numbers reported. On some occasions, the median total is cited (that is the 50th item out of 100, or the exact middle placement and/or ranking of the figures provided). Unless otherwise indicated (by the chart and table titles), all of the statistical data provided in the accompanying charts and tables is derived from the 2005 Equity Survey findings. It should be noted that the survey respondents are protected by a confidentiality clause, with no individuals and/or companies singled out or named in the report in relation to the survey data collected.

A few acronyms are utilized throughout, such as FADs and MADs, designating the two different groups of companies analyzed according to gender, those with Female or Male Artistic Directors. The use of MADs and FADs is in no way meant to be reductive or insulting; rather, these short-forms are employed simply for expediency's sake. All acronyms are indicated the first time they are used; and there is a "List of Acronyms" in Appendix Three for general reference.

Lastly, it should be understood that the scope of the research presented here has certain limitations, as one survey and/or study cannot do all things and answer all questions. We do not consider the confines of the investigation to be a shortfall, however, but rather an opportunity for subsequent research and study. Areas requiring further examination are indicated at the end of each section and are additionally compiled *en masse* in the first appendix. Despite any limitations, this report offers one of the most comprehensive studies undertaken to date on the status of women in Canadian theatre.

Introduction

“Women – We’ll Settle for Half”
(T-shirt slogan)

The release of this report coincides with the 25th anniversary of Canada’s ratification of the United Nation’s Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (the most comprehensive international treaty for women’s rights designed to date), as well as the 36th anniversary of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women’s landmark report, which established the first benchmarks of equality for women in Canada. This report also comes almost 25 years after the release of Rina Fraticelli’s germinal report, “The Status of Women in the Canadian Theatre” (1982), which the current initiative drew upon as an inspiration, model and foundational base. These events stand as important landmarks in the history of the women’s movement, the first as a global initiative established to ensure the rights of women everywhere, the second as a Canadian venture with similar aims, and the third as a national cultural endeavour specifically designed to assess and redress gender discrimination in Canadian theatre. These anniversaries draw timely attention to the history and legacy of feminist activism, they stand as markers for us to live up to and surpass, and they aptly frame or bookend the need for continued efforts in the realm of human rights and gender equity; all of which underpin the Equity in Canadian Theatre study.

That said, this report does not offer an immediate or magical solution to the problems that have emerged over time in relation to women’s participation in the institution of Canadian theatre. Rather it is a first step for the 21st century (with many steps behind and many more to follow) on a journey that requires additional study, research, consultation, discussion, openness, consideration and action. Some readers may find the data generated by the Equity Survey to be shocking and abysmal, others may find the results to be perfectly logical and tolerable, and yet others may find the situation to be just as they expected. Whatever the reaction, the Initiative recognizes that statistics alone cannot account for something as seemingly ephemeral and elusive as equality. Statistics can, however, offer invaluable insight into current gender imbalances, and they can provide indicators for societal and/or industry trends, both of which help to shed additional light on areas in need of improvement.

Before delving into the specifics of the survey findings, it is first necessary to consider what constitutes gender equality. Can we quantify such a thing? And if so, how do we measure it, and according to what scale? Since the Canadian population was 50.5% female and 49.5% male in 2005 (Saumure), would this gender division in the theatre industry denote equality? Or perhaps the 47% marker identified in 2001 for the rate of female participation in the larger Canadian labour force provides a more appropriate indicator (1)? Or maybe the 54% participation rate of women uncovered for the overall arts sector offers a more accurate measurement, given that there is “a preponderance of women” working as artists in Canada (Hill, “A Statistical” 1)?¹⁰ In her 1982 report,

¹⁰ As a recent Hill Strategies study found, six of the nine arts occupations involved more women than men in 2001, not including the fields of acting, conducting and arranging, and producing and directing (“A Statistical” 9).

Fraticeili reasons that “if [women’s] participation in the profession were to directly reflect their participation as its students, volunteers, consumers and handmaidens, we should expect women to comprise not 51%, but between 2/3 and three quarters [sic] of the theatre employment figures” (9-10). Taken together, these various perspectives provide a number of possible scales for measurement and comparison, ranging from a 47% to a 75% rate of representation for women in the Canadian theatre sector. The same questions regarding measurement and scale must also be considered in relation to the study and exploration of the representation of people of colour in the industry. Rather than debate the applicability of the various and relative percentages that could denote equality, the Equity in Canadian Theatre Initiative has opted for the simplest scale possible, endorsing the T-shirt slogan cited above: “we’ll settle for half.”

Fraticeili’s 1982 Report: “The Status of Women in the Canadian Theatre”

Rina Fraticelli’s investigation into the status of women in Canadian theatre during the late 1970s and early 1980s proved to be both a crucial and efficacious project. The federal government had officially committed to women’s rights, societal rhetoric paid homage to equality and there was an increased visibility of women in the dominant culture. Accompanying this was an acknowledgement of the absence of women from the boardrooms and halls of Parliament, as well as from most factories and trades, confirming women’s first-hand experience and impression of discrimination, marginalization, and outright exclusion from Canadian society, including the cultural industry. In this climate, the Status of Women Canada, an arms-length agency of the federal government, commissioned a series of reports on the status of women in several artistic disciplines (including theatre, visual art, literature, music, film and video) for the impending Applebaum-Hébert review of cultural policy.¹¹ The results of Fraticelli’s theatre study confirmed the bleakest perception, demonstrating with concrete evidence and statistical fact that women were severely under-represented in the theatre sector.

Fraticeili’s report revealed that women comprised only 10% of the total number of produced playwrights, a mere 13% of the productions’ directors, and a paltry 11% of the companies’ artistic directors (5).¹² The largest numbers of women were located in theatres for young audiences, which traditionally garnered lower status, smaller budgets and associations with women’s conventional roles (28); “the worst offenders” concerning the employment of women were “The Group of 18” theatres which received “the highest level of Canada Council subsidization” (27).¹³ The painfully low numbers were particularly hard to comprehend due to the fact that women formed “the vast majority of theatre school graduates as well as the vast majority of amateur (unpaid), volunteer and

¹¹ Fraticelli’s study was solicited, along with reports in other artistic fields, as a proactive measure on the part of Status of Women Canada in preparation for the first review of Canada’s cultural institutions and arts policies since the Massey Commission (Lushington, “Notes” 10). Established in 1980 by the Liberal government, the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee came to be known colloquially as the Applebaum-Hébert review, named after the committee’s Co-Chairs, Louis Applebaum and Jacques Hébert (Berland).

¹² Fraticelli’s figures were derived from Canada On Stage, which listed 1,156 productions by 104 Canadian theatre companies for the years 1978 to 1981.

¹³ According to Fraticelli’s findings, the 41 theatres for young audiences considered between the years 1978 and 1981 employed female playwrights 25% of the time and women directors 30% of the time, an employment rate that was “approximately twice what women experience[d] in the theatre in general, and more than three times their rate of employment at The Group of 18” (28).

community theatre workers” (“Any Black” 9), in addition to the majority of theatre-going audiences (“Status” 8). As Fraticelli illustrates, the alarmingly low numbers were not the result of women avoiding the theatre profession; rather they indicated “only the small number of women theatre artists who were employed by, and whose work was visible in, the professional...Canadian theatres” (5). Describing the “relative absence of women from the power structure of the profession” as “the invisibility factor,” Fraticelli demonstrated that the reality of women in Canadian theatre had “fallen far short of the rhetoric” (v), and popular perception aside, in no way had equality been achieved in the industry (17). Indeed, “The Status of Women in the Canadian Theatre” report proved beyond a shadow of a doubt that women in Canadian theatre faced discrimination, and that the problem was symptomatic of a larger systemic condition.

Armed with statistical proof from Fraticelli’s report, and accompanied by calls for affirmative action, women appealed to the federal government, the arts councils and society at large to improve the plight of women in Canadian theatre. Unfortunately, Fraticelli’s report was marginalized, going unpublished and apparently falling on deaf ears in the theatre community and the mainstream,¹⁴ and no concrete government assistance or mandated equity resulted from the Applebaum-Hébert Review (Lushington, “Notes” 9-10). Nonetheless, Fraticelli’s study served as an important catalyst that helped galvanize the women in theatre community, resulting in the formation of associations, service groups, theatre companies, dramaturgical support programs and play-reading series, as well as theatre festivals, conference events and additional studies related to the status of women in Canadian theatre.¹⁵ This pro-active organizing brought a range of artists together to create strategies for a strong female arts community that worked to effect change and provide a tangible female presence in the cultural landscape. In addition to this legacy, Fraticelli’s report is of crucial importance today, as it provides the one and only national benchmark and point of reference against which to measure subsequent developments in the status of women in Canadian theatre.

¹⁴ As Kate Lushington writes, when the commissioned reports for the various disciplines were completed, “the feds hired someone to summarize their conclusions, to report on the reports, and the individual documents were effectively suppressed” (“Notes” 10). Fraticelli’s report was never published in its entirety, although articles on the study’s findings appeared in *Jeu*, *Fuse* and *A Room of One’s Own*.

¹⁵ Service and support organizations, such as Women in Theatre (WIT), formed to promote equal opportunities for women in theatre. WIT’s first project was a mass mailing of Fraticelli’s report to theatre companies and ADs all across the country, and the organization additionally sponsored other activities, such as monthly meetings, staged readings, seminar series, a newsletter, a resource library and lobbying efforts. Among the companies that formed were Alberta’s Hecate’s Players, Toronto’s Mean Feet and Theatre Asylum, and later, Vancouver’s Women in View Festival. Emergent playwriting initiatives included the Write on Women collective, coordinated by Lindi Papoff, and Annie Szamosi’s Scribbling Dames project. A series of interdisciplinary women’s festivals also emerged in Toronto during the early 1980s with the likes of Women Building Culture, Women’s Perspective ‘83, Alter Eros and Fem Fest ‘85. Conference events included WIT’s Forum ‘85 and “1985: The Next Stage, Women Transforming Theatre, A Conference of Women in the Theatre of the Americas,” organized by Rina Fraticelli and Joanne Gormley as part of Montreal’s Festival de théâtre des Amériques. In terms of additional studies, the Women’s Task Force of the Canadian Actors’ Equity Association released “Opportunities for Women in 32 Toronto Theatres, from 1980 – 1983.” The study revealed that 15% of the artistic directors were female, 7% of the directors were women and 21% of the “playwrights and composers” were female, thus illustrating that artistic directors and playwrights fared better in Toronto compared to the national averages revealed by Fraticelli’s study, although the percentage of female directors was lower (Women’s Task Force).

Equity in Canadian Theatre: The Women's Initiative

Since the turn of the 21st century, many artists still find themselves struggling, as women continue to experience marginalization and exclusion at the hands of the Canadian theatre industry. With the exception of Cynthia Zimmerman's 1996 survey of Canadian playwrights, no additional national studies have been conducted since Fraticelli's report, and without comprehensive, nation-wide data, the impression of women's marginalization is often dismissed as speculative. A report released by the New York State Council on the Arts in 2002 illustrated marginal improvements over time in the numbers of women involved in the professional theatre in the United States, and Jennie Long's 1994 United Kingdom study demonstrated stagnation and actual regression in the numbers of women working in theatres with arts council funding.¹⁶ People in Canada theorized that there had been little improvement, as in the United States, and this perception garnered great frustration since the popular perception seemed to be that gender inequity was no longer a pressing issue.¹⁷ Given the discrepancy between the first-hand, marginalized experiences of many women in the field, and the general societal and industry rhetoric that claimed gender equality had been achieved, calls to "re-open" Fraticelli's report were increasingly heard. How far had women come exactly? What was the current reality and status of women in Canadian theatre in the new century? Was there genuine equality, and if not, what could be done to remedy the situation? The posing of these questions, and the level of interest generated by the topic, led to the establishment of Equity in Canadian Theatre: The Women's Initiative and the subsequent development of the national survey project.

In the spring of 2003, a discussion arose on the Women's Caucus listserv for the Playwrights Guild of Canada (PGC) about the status of female playwrights in the Canadian theatre industry. The general consensus was that women were well represented at festivals and in playwriting contests, but that the larger theatres and mainstream repertoires featured plays by men far more often than plays by women (McIntyre 2-3). These concerns were discussed further at the Guild's AGM in May 2003, where the Women's Caucus expressed "unanimous support" for the launch of a new study on women in Canadian theatre in partnership with Nightwood Theatre (McIntyre 1). Shortly thereafter, the issue was raised publicly at a roundtable discussion on the status of women in Canadian theatre presented at the conclusion of Sarasvati Production's first annual FemFest, an eight-day celebration and staging of plays by women, held in Winnipeg,

¹⁶ In the UK, the 1994 study revealed that women held 34% of the industry's senior posts, which constituted only a 1% increase over a ten-year period. Productions written, devised or adapted by women or from books by women accounted for only 20% of all work performed in 1994, whereas ten years previous such productions accounted for 22% of the work. Furthermore, women controlled only 8% of the allocated Arts Council funds (Long 103). These statistics indicate slim improvement – stagnation even – from the 1980s to the 1990s, and in the case of staged productions, actual regression. The New York State arts council study demonstrated incremental improvements in the numbers of women over time (with annual fluctuations), most specifically at the Off-Broadway theatres rather than the larger mainstream theatres. At last count, with the productions presented by 1,900 Theatre Communications Group members in 2000/01, women directed 23% of the shows and female playwrights wrote 20% of the plays (Jonas and Bennett).

¹⁷ A perusal of the popular press and its treatment of so-called women's issues reveals that gender equality is generally and currently considered a "done deal." Take for instance Mindelle Jacobs' recent Edmonton Sun article regarding the federal government's cuts to Status of Women Canada, which included the following statement: "This endless quest for gender equality is quite tiresome at a time when virtually all the significant barriers to women's accomplishment have been smashed."

Manitoba in June 2003. The forum brought the many issues and problems facing female playwrights, which had partially provided the impetus for the festival in the first place, to the public's attention. As Claire Borody reported, the "discussion focussed on the current reality for female playwrights, the reasons for this, as well as strategies for change," and the participants "agreed that although the status of female playwrights had improved over time, there was much work to be done in the name of this cause" (92).

A subsequent event was hosted in Toronto by Nightwood Theatre and the PGC's Women's Caucus in November 2003 as part of Buddies in Bad Times' and Nightwood's Hysteria: A Festival of Women. A panel discussion, entitled "Re-Opening the Rina Fraticelli Report," provided a general overview of Fraticelli's findings and posed the question "have things changed?" which was considered by seven prominent Toronto theatre workers and debated by the audience members in attendance. Pat Bradley presented a draft of an Ontario Arts Council (OAC) ArtFacts/Artifaits publication entitled "The Status of Women in Theatre – The Ontario Experience."¹⁸ Based on theatre seasons from 1999/00 to 2002/03 (and including only English-speaking companies), the OAC found that the number of female playwrights was up 23%, women directors were up 15% and female artistic directors up 20% in Ontario in comparison to the findings of Fraticelli's national study twenty-one years previous (see Table I.1) (OAC 1).

Table I.1: Comparison of Fraticelli (1982) and OAC (2004) Study Results

Industry Position	Fraticelli's Findings	OAC Findings	Changes Over Time
Female Playwrights	10%	33%	23%
Female Directors	13%	28%	15%
Female Artistic Directors	11%	31%	20%

While these improvements were certainly welcome news, the expressed feeling was that women were unable to surpass the 33% marker and were thus stalled in their efforts to achieve gender parity in the industry. The OAC study also confirmed the continuance of Fraticelli's earlier finding that the larger the theatre company, the worse the offender for the employment of women, and it exposed a "profound" contrast between the level of participation of women in companies run by male as opposed to female artistic directors.¹⁹ Naomi Campbell and Yvette Nolan provided a national perspective and confirmed the trends identified by the OAC study by presenting an informal production poll of the 2003/04 main-stage seasons of 28 "sizeable theatres" culled from company brochures. The results were not as impressive as the OAC study, with only 17% of the playwrights, 21% of the directors, and 21% of the artistic directors identified as female (Campbell and Nolan). With the larger, predominantly male-run Canadian theatres, the representation of women dropped significantly from that revealed by the OAC study, hovering around the 20% marker (see Table I.2). These two studies provided the first concrete evidence that women were still not equitably represented in the theatre industry at the start of the 21st century. The lively and heated discussions that ensued

¹⁸ The OAC's study results on the status of women in Ontarian theatre were published in January 2004.

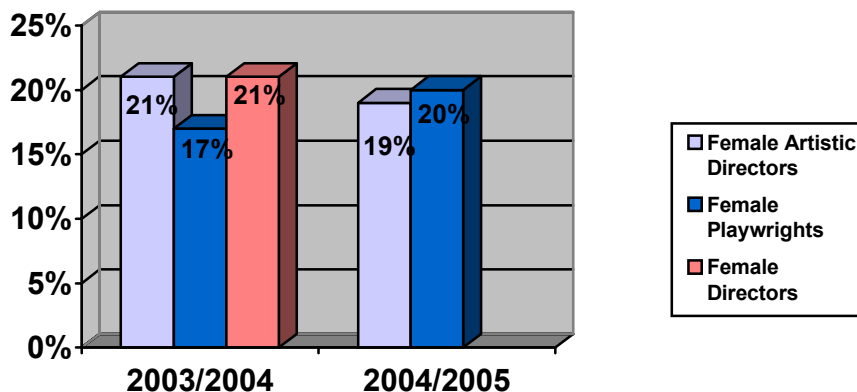
¹⁹ The OAC study discovered that "Across all sizes of theatres with women Artistic Directors, 61% of playwrights were women, and 70% of directors were women." These figures contrasted sharply with companies run by male ADs, "where 32% of playwrights and 20% of directors were women" (3).

demonstrated a vast amount of interest from the community at large, which further spurred the advent of the current Initiative and follow-up study.

Equipped with preliminary statistics and bolstered by community support, the Women's Initiative formed a national advisory committee, headed by Hope McIntyre and Kelly Thornton, and hired a main researcher, Rebecca Burton. The Committee held on-line forums and met for a two-day mini-conference to determine the specifics of the project, at which point a two-fold mandate was established: 1) to formally investigate and assess the current status of women in Canadian theatre, and 2) to develop social action plans to help redress existing barriers. A third goal, not directly incorporated into the mandate, is the creation of a network of theatre workers for support, community discussion and dissemination of the study's information. Due to the magnitude of the project, the proposed work was divided into a series of phases, as an ongoing and long-term endeavour for which additional funding would be required. With the support of the Canada Council, the first phase of the Initiative's work was designated as a follow-up to and expansion of Fraticelli's 1982 report (the results of which are presented here).

Equity in Canadian Theatre: The Women's Initiative officially launched in November 2004 with a performative mock debate on the status of women in Canadian theatre hosted by Elvira Kurt and presented as part of Nightwood/Buddies in Bad Times' Hysteria Festival. With a full house, and more men in the audience than at previous events, the mock debate generated awareness, project support and audience engagement. The Women's Initiative continued to raise consciousness and draw attention to the study with panel discussions at the 2004 PACT AGM and the 2004 Magnetic North Theatre Festival, presented that year in Edmonton. At the latter event, Naomi Campbell presented the results of a second informal production poll (see Chart I.2), which revealed that with 26 highly resourced Canadian theatres, only 19% of the artistic directors and 20% of the playwrights were women (the director figures were incomplete) ("Unscientific").

Chart I.2: Comparison of Campbell and Nolan's National Theatre Polls



The next event was a roundtable discussion held in St. John's, Newfoundland in preparation for a weekend-long conference and workshop entitled "Women in Theatre: The Maritime Experience," presented in Halifax during March 2005, which served as a catalyst for further research and roundtable discussions in relation to women's experiences in Atlantic Canada. A forum discussion was also held in Calgary during

March 2006 as part of the Alberta Theatre Projects' Enbridge playRites Festival of New Canadian Plays, and a smaller event (with a focus on developing actions) was hosted in Edmonton the following month. To further the discussion and raise additional awareness, the preliminary results of the Equity Survey were presented as part of the 4th Annual Playwrights Guild of Canada Conference, entitled "Canadian Women Playmakers: Tributes and Tribulations," as well as at the Association for Canadian Theatre Research's annual conference of theatre academics in May 2006. In June 2006, an information session concerning the Equity Survey findings was presented as part of PACT's annual conference in Stratford, Ontario, and other regional events have similarly drawn on the preliminary findings of the survey. With the release of this report, the Women's Initiative will continue to hold public events to disseminate the study's results, it will collectively generate appropriate action plans, and it will establish a network of theatre artists with a keen interest in redressing inequities in the Canadian theatre industry.

The *Raison d'être*

Many ask why a study of this kind is required, and why it is that the current status of women in Canadian theatre should be a matter of import to the larger community. At the outset, the Women's Initiative study offers the means to ascertain whether or not women are experiencing discrimination in the theatre industry at the beginning of the 21st century. As Kelly Thornton, the Artistic Director of Nightwood Theatre, observes, "equality among genders seemed a done deal to many, an issue that was passé," and yet, many women's personal experiences in the industry still do not align with the general societal perceptions of gender equity (Thornton 2). Past attempts to create systemic change and remedy the disadvantaged situation of women have often been deterred by a lack of concrete evidence, which is required to substantiate (or repudiate) claims regarding the under-representation of women. For this reason alone the current initiative is of vital importance as it has generated crucial and previously unavailable data. And as we shall soon see, the Equity Survey results confirm and verify the impression of the continued under-representation of women in the Canadian theatre sector.

In order to promote greater employment equity in the industry and transform the myth of equality into actuality, an accurate and comprehensive understanding of the situation at hand is required. The Equity in Canadian Theatre study provides a step in this direction. It enables the Initiative to pinpoint problematic areas in the industry, to potentially uncover root causes for the continued marginalization of women and, hopefully, to determine why and how it is that women's participation rates remain stalled. Backed with concrete evidence and statistical analysis, the Equity in Canadian Theatre project will build upon the first phase findings to develop social action plans and programs that will help to redress existing inequities, while simultaneously raising consciousness and promoting greater diversity in creation, programming, representation and productions at Canadian theatres. The Initiative's members believe that social actions and programs tailored to this purpose will benefit the industry as a whole, particularly female theatre artists, as well as theatre-going audiences. The study will also provide an opportunity to assess where challenges lie for established as well as youth and emerging artists working in the Canadian theatre industry.

In addition to these objectives, this report has been prepared and offered up to the public with the express purpose of encouraging the equitable participation of all in a civil

society. Fraticelli states in her 1982 report that the general lack of factual research on this subject “is in itself an expression of the low status accorded to women in the Canadian theatre” (vii). Since no comprehensive national studies have been conducted since Fraticelli’s, can we then extrapolate that there is still little interest in the situation of women in theatre, which would additionally signal women’s position as second-class citizens in the larger society? If so, the situation is unacceptable and cries out for change, particularly considering that the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms guarantees equality “without discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental and physical disability.” As columnist Kate Taylor notes, “Canadian theatre...simply cannot afford to ignore half of the available talent.” The “invisibility factor” of women in Canadian theatre, that is their relative exclusion from participating in the creation of the nation’s theatrical culture, indicates that an unbalanced and biased (usually white, middleclass, male) view of Canada and Canadian culture has been perpetuated and overstated, one that fails to represent the diversity of the nation.

Moreover, the relative absence of women feeds back upon the culture and further perpetuates the inferior status so often accorded women. As Fraticelli states: “This incapacity to (literally) see oneself reflected in the national culture then becomes a central link in the perpetuation of the cycle of women’s oppression: Women’s invisibility in the real world of cultural images confirms and propels her low status in society at large” (“Status” v). Elsewhere, Fraticelli further suggests that the relative absence of women “negates and undermines the version of reality which is actually lived by the women who comprise the vast majority of Canadian theatre audiences. Thus an internalized, perhaps unconscious, sexism becomes culturally-encoded and institutionalised. This is called systemic discrimination” (“Any Black” 9-10).

With this study, the Women’s Initiative intends to raise awareness about gender and racialized issues as they pertain to the theatre sector in the 21st century. With widespread awareness and societal consciousness-raising comes the potential to transform society, to actively undermine lingering and biased institutionalized practices, and to subvert entrenched patterns of systemic discrimination. It is our hope that the work of the Initiative will do just that, and that it might, by extension, also offer a working model of redress that can be applied as a corrective to other fields and industries. For these reasons, it is fitting that the release of the Equity in Canadian Theatre report coincides with the 25th anniversary of Canada’s ratification of the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. The nation, and the nation’s stages, must take heed and work with renewed effort to live up to the United Nation’s agreement, so that gender and racialized discrimination fade into the past once and for all.

Part One: Employment Patterns in the Canadian Theatre Industry

“At some point in thinking about gender and performance, questions will inevitably arise about the actual presence of women in the theatre world. Forget representations and theories – where are the real women doing the real work?”

(Sarah Werner 108)

At the time of Fraticelli’s study, women accounted for only 10% to 13% of the artistic directors, directors and produced playwrights, a disproportionate rate of representation that she characterized as “disturbing” (“Status”10). The current Equity Study reveals a similar pattern, although the statistics are somewhat less disturbing. The numbers of women working as artistic directors, directors and playwrights have risen across the board, at an equivalent rate of 10% per decade, currently capping (at best and as a mean average) at 35%. However, improvements in numbers aside, the overall distribution of male versus female employment patterns, in these and other industry positions, clearly demonstrates that conventional gender roles still hold sway and assert an active presence in the Canadian theatre industry. The following sections delve into the specific findings of the Equity Survey in relation to the sector’s employment patterns, starting with the triumvirate of artistic director, playwright and director (in addition to translators and assistant directors), before moving on to an examination of other production positions outside of the triumvirate, and then turning to a consideration of boards of directors, administration and office staff (the latter two sections offering insights into industry roles that were beyond the scope of Fraticelli’s 1982 study).

A. The Triumvirate of Power

In her report, Fraticelli referred to the positions of artistic director, director and playwright as the “triangle” by which “dramatic culture is determined for Canadian audiences – especially in the mainstream theatre” (vi). An in-depth examination of these positions is central to an understanding of the underlying systemic causes for the continuance and perpetuation of gender and racialized inequities, for it is within this “triumvirate of power” that most artistic decisions are made (not simply in terms of programming choices and hiring practices, but also in relation to the application of performance styles and traditions). The following section deals primarily with employment statistics, but underlying these findings are aesthetic concerns pertaining to the very nature of Canadian theatre in the new century. As will become evident, efforts to bring new voices and new experiences to the stage, to renew and revitalize Canadian theatre practice through experimentation, and to create an industry that is reflective of human diversity and equality, will remain thwarted and stalled as long as the triumvirate of power continues to exhibit an under-representation of women and people of colour.

Artistic Directors

In the 2004/05 season 58% of the surveyed companies’ artistic directors were identified as male, 5 % of whom were men of colour, and 42% were identified as female,

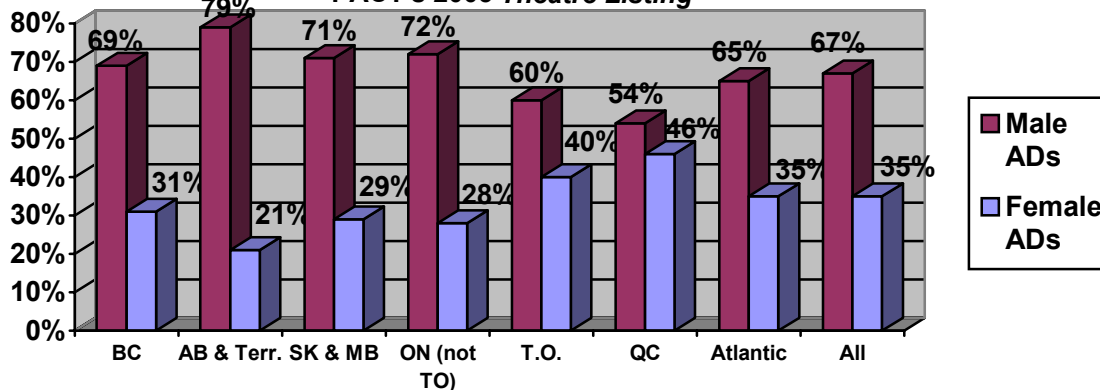
6% of whom were women of colour (see Table 1.1).²⁰ These figures indicate that there has been improvement in the numbers of (white) women accessing AD positions since Fraticelli's study, and if women truly constituted 42% of the nation's artistic directors, that would be cause for celebration indeed. But the survey results are misleading in this instance. As mentioned in "Notes on Methodology," the AD totals are skewed because companies run by female ADs were more inclined to complete and return the questionnaire than companies with male artistic directors, which resulted in elevated percentages for female ADs (and decreased figures for male ADs).

Table 1.1: Gender and Racialized Breakdown of AD Figures, 2004/05

% of Companies with White Female ADs	% of Companies with Women of Colour ADs	% of Companies with White Male ADs	% of Companies with Men of Colour ADs
36%	6%	53%	5%

In actual fact, as outside sources indicate, women constitute between 30% and 35% of the nation's artistic directors. An informal poll conducted by Tammy Isaacson for the province of British Columbia found that women accounted for 32% of the region's ADs in 2006 ("Today's Voices 5), the 2004 OAC study revealed that women comprised 31% of the ADs in Ontario between 1999/00 and 2002/03 (1), and in the Maritimes, women were identified as constituting 34% of the artistic directors for the 2004/05 season (Green and Burton). An analysis of PACT's 2005 Theatre Listing demonstrates a national average in keeping with the provincial numbers, with 33% of the country's artistic directors identified as female (see Chart 1.2).²¹

Chart 1.2: Artistic Director Totals by Geographic Region, Derived from PACT's 2005 Theatre Listing



With a 67% rate of representation at the AD level, men still predominantly run the

²⁰ Three companies did not provide the gender of their ADs, so only 125 companies were considered.

²¹ An informal poll of The Theatre Listing for 2005 indicates that 95 (or 33%) of the artistic directors were female and 190 (or 67%) were male, though the listing refers only to companies working (primarily) in English (see Table 1.2 for a regional breakdown of the figures). For this accounting, roadhouses, civic theatres, cultural centres and presenting houses were excluded, but festival theatres were included if an artistic director and/or artistic producer figure was named in the listing.

Canadian theatre industry, and the Equity Survey returns further indicate that the majority of these men are white (see Table 1.1).

The low numbers of people of colour in AD positions (11% overall) clearly point to under-representation in the industry, the continued existence of systemic discrimination, and the need for redress. The statistics also reveal a marginally significant finding in that companies run by male ADs have a comparatively lower incidence of people of colour serving as artistic directors than companies run by female ADs. Although women of colour outnumber men of colour as ADs, as Kate Lushington observes, “the Invisibility Factor [as identified by Fraticelli] increases exponentially when the woman in question is not white;” the current statistics bear this out (“Feminist Theatre” 21). Indeed, a Statistics Canada study found that “The workplace is the most common locale where visible minority women experience discrimination or unfair treatment,” and the Canadian theatre industry is apparently no exception (*Women* 255).²²

While 1/3 of Canada’s ADs are currently female, differences emerge according to region. The 2005 PACT *Theatre Listing* indicates that Alberta and the Territories have the lowest numbers of female ADs, whereas Quebec has the highest (see Table 1.2).²³ When the AD figures derived from the Equity Survey are subjected to a geographical analysis, similar regional trends emerge between provinces (see Table 1.3).

Table 1.3: Artistic Director Totals by Geographical Region, According to Gender and Racialization, 2004/05

Geographic Region	% of Companies with Female ADs	% of Companies with Male ADs	% of Companies with Women of Colour as ADs	% of Companies with Men of Colour as ADs
Atlantic Canada	45%	55%	0%	0%
British Columbia	35%	65%	0%	4%
Ontario	43%	57%	11%	6%
Prairies and Yukon	41%	59%	6%	6%
Quebec	53%	47%	0%	7%
Canada-wide	42%	58%	6%	5%

While BC and the Prairies and the Yukon have the lowest percentage of female ADs, Quebec has the highest, and it is the only region that reported more female than male artistic directors – not surprising perhaps, given that work by women and feminists was “recognized as a major cultural force” around the end of the 1970s, allowing Québécoise women to integrate into the mainstream far more successfully than women in other parts of Canada (Forsyth 204). Likewise, Atlantic Canada demonstrates numbers approaching gender equity, although the totals for female ADs benefited from the inclusion of one province in particular, for as Denyse Lynde points out, the vast majority of ADs in Newfoundland are female. Differences in the numbers of people of colour working as

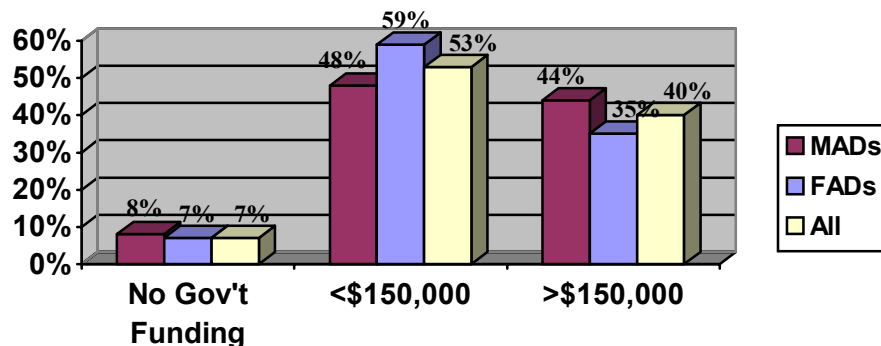
²² According to Statistics Canada’s 2005 *Women in Canada* report, “Women in a visible minority report experiencing discrimination or unfair treatment because of their ethnicity, culture, race, skin colour, language, accent or religion over five times more often than women in the overall population” (254).

²³ Toronto also has a comparatively high number of female ADs (40%) but the overall average shrinks to 35% when examined province-wide.

ADs also exist at the provincial level. Ontario has the highest rate of employment in this regard, followed by the Prairies and the Yukon, whereas Atlantic Canada has the lowest. This regional pattern is not unusual perhaps, given that the geographical distribution of people of colour living in Canada somewhat reflects the provincial variances found in the rates of representation for ADs of colour.²⁴

The distribution of male versus female ADs, as well as white people and people of colour, would benefit from further study, particularly in relation to the size and type of company at which they are most often employed. Are women (as well as men of colour) hired by boards of directors to run established companies with large budgets as often as white men, or do the majority go out on their own and form smaller, independent and, therefore, less financially stable companies? Fraticelli and the 2004 OAC study found the latter to be the case for women, which explains why Campbell and Nolan's polls, which include only highly resourced companies, found female AD levels to be sitting at the 20% marker, whereas the PACT Theatre Listing, which includes a number of small, project-based companies, reveals a higher figure of 33%. The Equity Survey results provide an additional glimpse into this area of study with a cross-tabulation of the gender breakdown of the companies' ADs with the three fiscal categorizations established for analysis. As Chart 1.4 illustrates, 48% of the companies with male ADs (MADs) fall into the second category (less than \$150,000 in government subsidy), while 44% are located in the third grouping (more than \$150,000 in government funding).

Chart 1.4: Government Revenues According to Gender and Fiscal Categorization, 2004/05

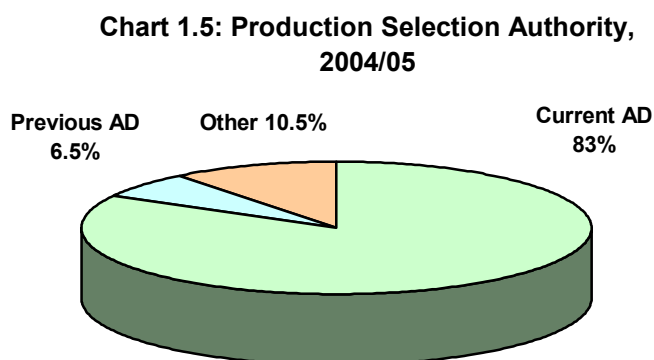


As for the companies run by female ADs (FADs), 59% are located in the second grouping and only 35% are found in the third category. The largest discrepancy between the two groups is found in relation to the third category in which 64% of the companies

²⁴ A Statistics Canada study determined that 62% of the women who self-identified as "visible minorities" in 2001 lived in Toronto, Ontario or Vancouver, British Columbia. Women in a visible minority made up 22% of the population of British Columbia (or 21% of the overall visible minority female population), and 19% of the population in Ontario (or 54% of the overall female visible minority population), which suggests that the representation rate for ADs of colour is somewhat lagging in British Columbia in comparison to the current demographics (27). According to the same study, "Aboriginal people make up the largest share of the provincial population in Manitoba and Saskatchewan," constituting 14% of all female residents in both provinces, whereas in the Yukon, Aboriginal people make up 24% of the female residents living in that territory, both of which might account for the comparatively higher numbers of ADs of colour found in this region compared to others (Women 27).

are run by male ADs, compared to 36% of the companies run by female ADs. These findings support those of Fraticelli and the 2004 OAC study, suggesting that men are hired more often than women as artistic directors at the larger, more established companies (those with more than \$150,000 in government subsidy), whereas women are more likely to run companies with small to mid-size budgets (drawing less than \$150,000 in government funding). There are a number of possible reasons for this discrepancy. Some are gender specific, such as the perception that women are not as capable as men when it comes to running large businesses. Other explanations have little to do with gender, for instance, younger theatre companies that came into the funding stream after the mid-eighties are disadvantaged as they have not been able to access substantial arts council funding, and they will not be able to do so unless drastic changes (such as significant budget increases) are introduced into the current funding system.

Perhaps the most promising discovery of the Equity Survey in relation to artistic directorship is that 58% of the questionnaire's respondents had a female AD, if not currently, then at some point in the past.²⁵ The numbers of women (and men of colour) accessing AD positions are of paramount importance to improvements in gender and racialized equity, for this position, perhaps more than any other, determines the character of Canadian theatre. Due to the authority granted over programming selections and hiring practices, it is the artistic directors who have the greatest opportunity to effect change; as Chart 1.5 illustrates, 90% of the companies reported that their ADs chose the productions staged in 2004/05.



When it came to the hiring of playwrights and directors, three-quarters of the companies reported that the decision rested solely with the artistic director (see Table 1.6).

Responsible Party	Production and Direction Selections (% of Companies)
Artistic Director	76%
General Manager	1%
AD & GM in Tandem	10%
Other	13%

Table 1.6: Playwright and Director Selection Authority

Invested with this level of power and authority, the companies' artistic directors are primarily responsible for the representation and distribution of women and people of

²⁵ While Fraticelli's study did not offer a comparative perspective, this finding potentially demonstrates a marked improvement over time, although too much stock should not be placed in this figure, for even if a company had a female artistic director in the past, it may have had four times as many male ADs.

colour currently found on the nation's stages and in the Canadian theatre industry. As we shall see in the following sections, the continued domination of (white) men as ADs concretely impacts on and perpetuates the phenomenon of male domination in respect to the other two triumvirate positions.

Playwrights (and Productions)

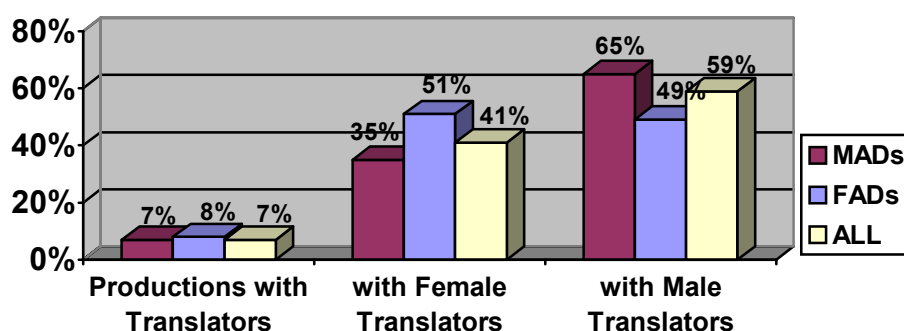
In total, 113 of the surveyed companies reported 1,945 productions staged between 2000/01 and 2004/05.²⁶ Female playwrights constituted 27% of the program selections, male playwrights were responsible for 68%, and collective creations (involving men and women) accounted for 4% of the productions (see Table 1.7).

Table 1.7: Production and Playwright Percentages, 2000/01–2004/05

Company Type	Overall % of Productions	% of Productions with Female Playwrights	% of Productions with Male Playwrights	% of Productions - Collectives
All Together	100%	>27%	>68%	>4%
FADs	33%	35%	58%	7%
MADs	67%	>23%	74%	2%

While the number of female playwrights produced on the nation's stages has certainly improved over time (up 17% since the release of Fraticelli's report), in no way does an overall representation rate of 27% even begin to approach the 50% marker that would denote gender equality. The related role of translator, although a somewhat rare position, demonstrates a greater gender balance than that of playwright, with 41% of the positions filled by women and 59% filled by men. There are differences in practices between the FADs and the MADs, however, with FADs employing female translators 51% of the time and MADs engaging women as translators only 35% of the time (see Chart 1.8).²⁷

Table 1.8: Translator Totals According to Gender, 2000/01-2004/05



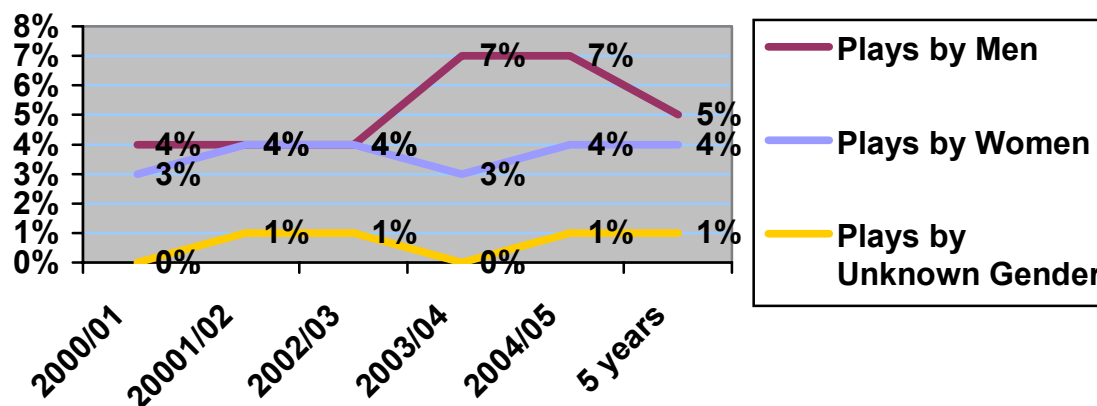
The data derived from the Equity Survey reveals that the racialized and gender imbalances witnessed at the AD level play out and reassert themselves with respect to the playwrights chosen for productions. People of colour account for only 11% of the ADs,

²⁶ Companies with female ADs accounted for 651 productions (with 46 collective creations), and companies with male ADs accounted for the other 1,294 productions (with 39 collective creations).

²⁷ Data pertaining to the numbers of people of colour engaged as translators was not requested.

and the figure drops further still – to 9% overall – in relation to playwrights. A gendered accounting indicates that in the five-year period under study, men of colour wrote less than 5% of the produced plays and women of colour less than 4% (see Chart 1.9).

Chart 1.9: Playwrights of Colour Totals by Gender and Year



While 33% of the nation's ADs are women, only 27% of the produced playwrights are female. The gender divide is especially apparent when the MADs are compared to the FADs.²⁸ As Table 1.7 illustrates, while FADs produce work by women 35% of the time, MADs do so only 23% of the time, resulting in a 12% difference between the two groups.²⁹ If collective creations are removed from the equation, women account for 28% of the playwrights, with MADs producing work by women 24% of the time, whereas the FADs are slightly more gender balanced, producing plays by women 38% of the time (see Table 1.10).

Table 1.10: Production and Playwright Percentages (Minus Collectives), 2000/01–2004/05

Company Type	Overall % of Productions	% of Productions with Female Playwrights	% of Productions with Male Playwrights
All Together	100%	28%	72%
FADs	33%	38%	62%
MADs	67%	24%	76%

The differences in male versus female representation exhibited between the two types of companies reveal a statistically significant relationship between the gender of a company's artistic director and the gender of the playwrights produced on stage, a correlation that likely applies to racialized rates of representation as well.

In the past, the low participation rate of female playwrights has often been attributed to the fact that there are fewer female than male playwrights. In 1996, 32% of

²⁸ The figures for playwrights of colour were not subjected to the MAD versus FAD gender analysis.

²⁹ Conversely, MADs produce work by men 74% of the time on average, whereas FADs stage male playwrights 58% of the time, thus demonstrating a 16% difference between the practices of the two groups in relation to the production of work written by men.

the Playwrights' Guild membership was female (Bolt 6), but as of 2005, women comprised 42% of the full memberships and 55% of all associate memberships, figures that clearly demonstrate the closing gap between genders in the world of Canadian playwriting (Semic). If not for demographics, how do we explain the current low rate of representation? Could it be that female playwrights do not submit their work for professional production in numbers equal to men? The discussion on the PGC's Women's Caucus listserv that sparked the implementation of this study "revealed that women are generally well represented at festivals and at new play contests.... Nevertheless, these numbers do not translate into professional productions of the plays" (Borody 90-91). The Equity Survey verifies the initial impressions of PGC's members: women formed 55% of the participants involved in the various companies' dramaturgical and/or playwright support programs (Chart 1.11);³⁰ accounted for 54% of the playwrights-in-residence (Table 1.12); comprised 46% of the commissioned playwrights (Table 1.13); made up 53% of the playwrights receiving staged readings; constituted 48% of all workshop productions; 49% of the festival productions; and 64% of all cabaret participants in 2004/05 (Table 1.14). Taken together, these figures demonstrate relative equality in the participation and representation of playwrights according to gender, that is, during *developmental* stages.

Chart 1.11: Gender Breakdown of Participants in Dramaturgical and Playwright Support Programs, 2004/05

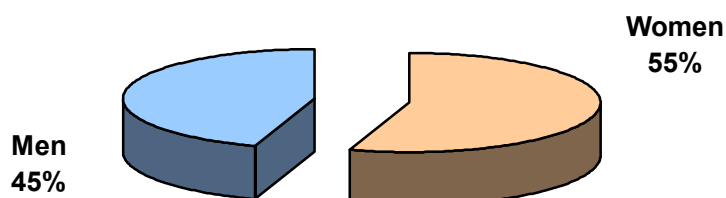


Table 1.12: Playwright-in-Residence Positions in 2004/05

Company Type	% of Companies with this Position	% of Female Playwrights	% of Male Playwrights	% of People of Colour Playwrights
All Together	20%	54%	46%	6%
FADs	17%	70%	30%	4%
MADs	22%	44%	56%	8%

³⁰ Fifty-one percent of the companies that responded to the Equity Survey did not have dramaturgical support programs in place, while the other 49% did.

Table 1.13: Commissioned Playwrights in 2004/05

Company Type	% of Companies with this Position	% of Female Commissioned Playwrights	% of Male Commissioned Playwrights	% of Commissioned Playwrights - People of Colour
All Together	46%	46%	54%	15%
FADs	22%	61%	39%	22%
MADs	24%	32.5%	67.5%	10%

Table 1.14: Additional Playwright Activities in 2004/05

Type of Activity	% Engaged in Activity	% of Female Playwright Involvement	% of Male Playwright Involvement	% of Playwrights of Colour	% of Canadian Playwrights
Staged Readings	43%	53%	47%	31%	100%
Workshop Events	49%	48%	52%	20%	87%
Festival Productions	15%	49%	51%	7%	44%
Cabaret Events	15%	64%	36%	36%	100%

Given that the number of female playwrights drops dramatically to 27% when it comes to fully-staged professional productions, an obvious and definite barrier is seen to exist for women attempting to access the country's main stages, what Avis Lang Rosenberg has characterized as "the gap between aspiration and legitimation" (qtd. in Fraticelli, "Status" 5). Moreover, as Tables 1.12 and 1.13 illustrate, there are major differences in the figures between the two sets of companies, even at the development level, with MADs employing women as 44% of their playwrights-in-residence and 33% of their commissioned playwrights, whereas 70% of the playwrights-in-residence and 61% of the FAD's commissioned playwrights are female. For people of colour, the gap between aspiration and legitimation is also evident and wide. Comprising 6% of the playwrights-in-residence, 15% of all commissioned playwrights, 31% of the staged readings, 20% of the workshop events, 7% of the festival productions, and 36% of all cabaret participants in 2004/05, playwrights of colour make it into the main-stage repertoires only 9% of the time. There are also demonstrated differences between the two sets of companies in this respect, with MADs employing people of colour 12% of the time as playwrights-in-residence and 6% of the time as commissioned playwrights, whereas FADs employ people of colour as 15% of their playwrights-in-residence and 9% of their commissioned playwrights.

The data generated by the Equity Survey in relation to playwrights was not analyzed according to the geographical categorizations, but regional trends are apparent nonetheless. Some provinces have lower rates of representation for female playwrights than others, the Atlantic region being a prime example. Playwright Catherine Banks identified the barriers in Nova Scotia as "Getting one's work produced outside the region, staying positive in a province that relentlessly cuts back on support to the arts, and having

[the] regional theatre stage *Cats* and *Rocky Horror Picture Show* and NO Atlantic Canadian plays on the main stage in the coming season” (“Women Playwrights” 11). These factors impact all playwrights of course, but women are particularly affected when there is fierce competition and limited resources. If Neptune Theatre opted to stage a work by an Atlantic-Canadian playwright, given that the company has a male artistic director, the odds are only 24% in favour of the selected playwright being a woman.

The presence of a female AD does not necessarily translate into greater numbers of produced female playwrights either. In Newfoundland, where the number of female artistic directors is quite high, “the number of produced female playwrights is very low,” for even though many write regularly for the theatre, often on commission, “their work doesn’t get on stage” (Lynde). If a playwright is unable to secure a first production in her own region, it is that much more difficult to export the work elsewhere, for there is no track record of achievement (and by extension, no publication, no opportunity for awards, and no inclusion in school curricula). As Catherine Banks argues, playwrights need a “home theatre, a nurturing place to bring their work,” and as difficult as it is for a male playwright to find such a space, generally speaking (for there are always exceptions to prove the rule), it is even more problematic for women since they are marginalized in the industry from the get-go (“Women Playwrights” 11).

To report a positive finding of the Equity Survey, 60% of the overall productions were identified as homegrown plays, which suggests that Canadian content issues are no longer the concern they once were (see Table 1.15).³¹

Table 1.15: Canadian Content Percentages According to Year ³²

# of Authors by Co. Type and Year	Canadian Authored Plays - Overall	Canadian Authored Plays – MADs	Canadian Authored Plays - FADs
2000/01	194	125	69
2001/02	190	127	63
2002/03	225	131	94
2003/04	227	146	81
2004/05	280	188	92
Overall Total	1116	717	399
Overall %	60%	57%	66%

This figure also counters the potential claim that the number of female playwrights is so incredibly low due to the fact that the Equity Survey did not differentiate between classical and other types of repertoires, the argument being that classical playwrights are overwhelmingly male, tipping the balance of the numbers in their favour (even though such an accounting provides an accurate picture of the nature of the Canadian theatre industry and its representation of women). With 60% of the productions written by Canadians, and an additional (though unknown) percentage of plays drawn from other

³¹ The figures for Canadian authorship refer specifically to the productions’ playwrights (identified as Canadian or not) and they do not account for translators and/or adapters (with second billing).

³² In this instance, the statistics are derived from a consideration of 1,856 productions, 1,116 (60%) of which were identified as written by Canadian playwrights.

countries and modern repertoires, classical productions are clearly in the minority and have not, therefore, unduly deflated the figures pertaining to female playwrights. When subjected to a gender analysis, differences emerge in relation to the practices of the MADs versus the FADs in regard to Canadian content: as an average mean, 57% of the productions staged by MADs were written by Canadian authors compared to 66% of the productions staged by FADs (see Table 1.15). These findings indicate that companies run by female ADs produce a greater percentage of Canadian playwrights than companies with male ADs, and given this information, we can further extrapolate that the theatres with the largest portion of government funding (64% of which are run by men) produce the smallest percentage of Canadian plays. Part of the reason for this discrepancy relates to the fact that female ADs are more likely to run small, artist-initiated companies that serve the interests (and stage the plays) of the individuals involved, rather than well-established, highly resourced mainstream theatres.

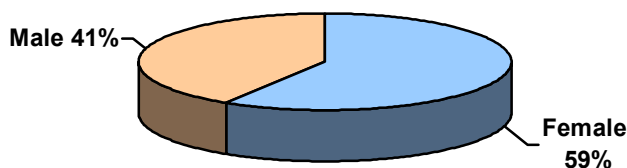
Given the prevalence of Canadian playwrights currently being produced, and the relative balance in the numbers of male and female playwrights aspiring to the profession, why is it that women are still so poorly represented on the nation's stages? Is it, as playwright Shirley Barrie and others question, because "women playwrights [are] that much worse at their craft than men?" ("Women Playwrights" 10). It seems unlikely, otherwise why would relatively equal numbers of men and women be commissioned, receive staged readings and be admitted into dramaturgical support programs? As columnist Kate Taylor observes, "Canada has such a healthy gender balance among its novelists, why not among its playwrights?" (Taylor). Much of the disparity can be attributed to the current gender imbalance at the AD level. As the playwright statistics illustrate, men tend to hire men (thereby excluding work by women), whereas women tend to hire greater numbers of women (though female playwrights are still in the minority even at the FADs). It seems probable that men unconsciously hire greater numbers of men than women, whereas women likely hire women consciously – precisely because they are aware of the difficulties and lack of opportunity frequently encountered by women in the industry. The two facilitators at the Equity Survey presentation for PACT's 2006 annual conference demonstrated this theory in practice, as Jackie Maxwell, Artistic Director of the Shaw Festival, revealed that she consciously contemplated gender in her decision-making process, whereas Wayne Specht, founder and Artistic Director of Vancouver's Axis Theatre, stated that he did not. It appears that men "unconsciously pick plays about male experience, which are more likely to have been written by men," which accounts in large part for the discrepancy in numbers found in this area (Taylor).

One of the most enduring perceptions that likely harms the production rate of female playwrights, as well as playwrights of colour (male and female), is the idea that both parties write with a different aesthetic than the conventional (western, male) norm. Whether or not a female or feminine aesthetic actually exists is a matter of contentious debate, but the idea certainly circulates in our culture, and it results in negative effects. Often the perceived difference is equated with an inferior and unpalatable product, what one critic has dubbed "wimmenkrap" (Morgan), which ultimately stigmatizes the work, rendering it undesirable and marking it as a seemingly risky business venture.³³ People of

³³ Historically, women's work has often been subjected to binary and reductive comparisons; for example, whereas men have been touted as writing from a supposedly universal perspective, creating the high art of philosophical tragedy, women have been perceived and dismissed as writing from a personal and limited

colour often experience similar reactions if their work fails to duplicate the western ideal of “good” theatre, for the incorporation of unfamiliar (or non-western) forms and structures is often regarded as confusing, messy and incoherent, as opposed to innovative and exciting artistry.³⁴ Much of this attitude has to do with traditional canonical practices that privilege, idealize and perpetuate a white, male, heterosexual, middle to upper class ideal of “legitimate” theatre, a position frequently invoked as a supposedly objective (rather than subjective) method for assessing artistic merit. Such practices are outmoded and elitist and they do a great disservice to us all, denying audiences the experience of viewing cultural images that represent and speak to the multiplicity of the nation. This situation is illogical, particularly considering that an estimated 59% of Canada’s theatre-going audience is female (see Chart 1.16),³⁵ and they would no doubt appreciate seeing

Chart 1.16: Estimated Percentage of Female Audience Members, 2004/05



their own demographic and experiences reflected on the country’s stage more often.³⁶

White women and women of colour (as well as men of colour) are able to appreciate the dramatic culture of the white male, so it seems only logical that men could also learn to appreciate and empathize with the experiences and representations of people who

are not white and male, and who make up the majority of Canada’s population. A revolution in consciousness needs to occur, particularly at the level of artistic directorship, so that white women, women of colour and men of colour can equitably access the stage and significantly contribute to the development and expression of the nation’s culture.

Directors (and Assistant Directors)

The statistics pertaining to directors are slightly better than those for female playwrights. With this accounting, the survey results reveal that women directed 627 of the identified productions, an average of 34% overall, and men directed 1,220 of the productions, which accounts for the other 66% of the work (see Chart 1.17).

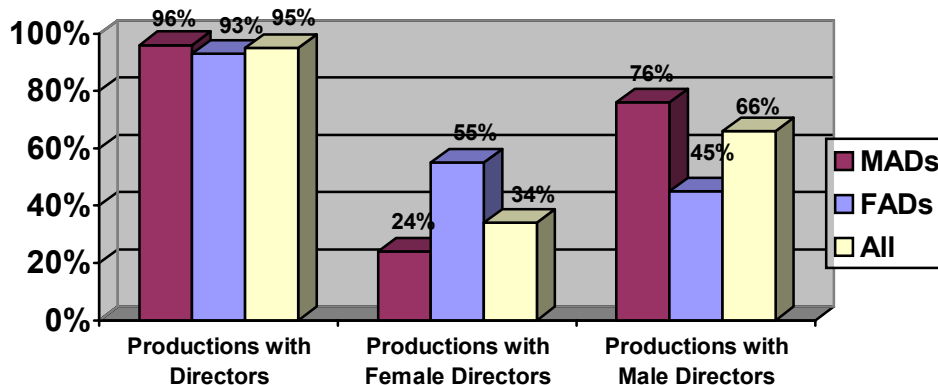
viewpoint that results in lower art forms, such as domestic or kitchen-sink drama. For further reading on this topic, see chapter two of Jill Dolan’s *The Feminist Spectator as Critic*, which provides “an excellent case study of the gender-biased politics of reception” surrounding Marsha Norman’s *Night Mother* (19).

³⁴ Djanet Sears briefly discusses this phenomenon in her article “Naming Names: Black Women Playwrights in Canada” (64), as does Marlene Nourbese Philip in “Gut Issues in Babylon” (20).

³⁵ Fifteen percent of the companies provided figures based on audience survey results, while the other 85% simply estimated the percentage of their female audience members.

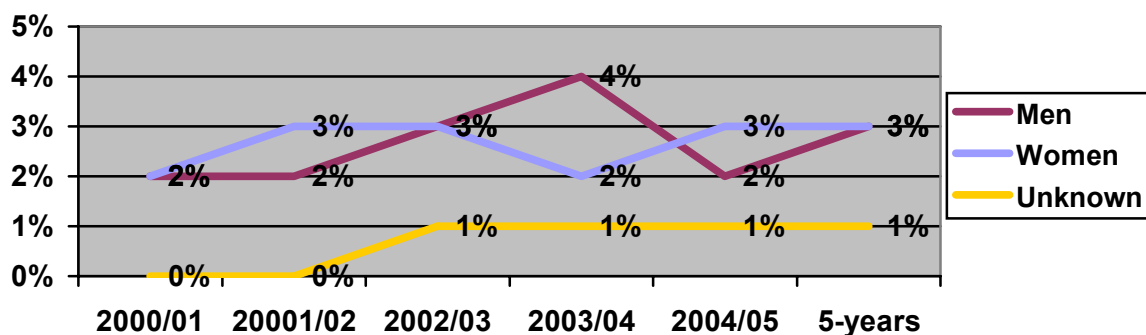
³⁶ Figures relating to the numbers of people of colour that comprise Canada’s theatre-going audiences were not solicited by the Equity Survey.

Chart 1.17: Director Figures According to Gender, 2000/01-2004/05



People of colour directed slightly less than 6% of the productions (see Chart 1.18).

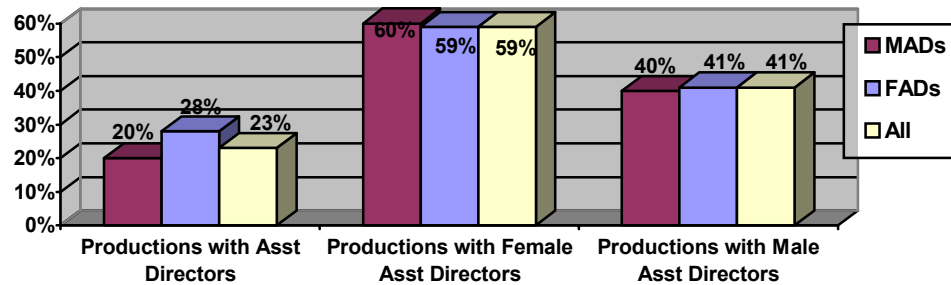
Chart 1.18: Director Figures for People of Colour, 2000/01-2004/05



Once again, there was equality in terms of the gender division amongst directors of color, but the exceedingly low participation rate illustrates the continued marginalization of people of colour in the theatre sector. Clearly there is a marked improvement in the participation rate of white female directors, as Fraticelli's study found that women directed a mere 13% of Canada's plays. Despite the improvement over time, it must be noted that the figures hardly constitute gender equity, and while the percentage for female directors is a good 6% higher than it is for playwrights, the disparity in practices between the MADs and FADs is greater here than in the other two triumvirate positions. Companies run by men hired female directors for 24% of their productions, whereas companies run by women hired female directors for 55% of their shows (see Chart 1.17). The statistical findings in this instance indicate that there is a definite and significant correlation between the gender of the AD and the gender of the chosen director, with a 32% difference in female hiring rates displayed between the MADs and the FADs. While FADs approach something akin to gender balance in their hiring of directors, MADs definitely do not.

The low rate of representation for female directors is particularly puzzling when placed against the figures for assistant directors. As Chart 1.19 illustrates, 59% of the productions' assistant directors were female and 41% were male.

Chart 1.19: Assistant Director Figures According to Gender, 2000/01-2004/05



This gender distribution suggests one of two things, or a combination of both: 1) that women are finally being mentored and granted opportunities in the realm of directing, and/or 2) that men predominantly work as directors (as outlined above), whereas women are relegated to secondary and assistant-type roles (as assistant directors). Only 24% of the productions employed assistant directors, with the FADs utilizing this position more often than the MADs; but both the MADs and the FADs hired women more often than men as assistant directors. Given that women constitute 59% of the assistant directors but only 34% of the productions' directors, as in the realm of playwriting, a significant gap exists for women between aspiration and realization.

Conclusions

The participation rate of women within the triumvirate of power has improved across the board in the last quarter century, resulting in an approximate increase in representation of 20% for each of the positions, with playwright figures lagging slightly behind those for female directors and artistic directors (see Table 1.20).

Table 1.20: Comparison of National Survey Results

Study Comparison	Playwrights	Directors	Artistic Directors
Fratlicelli's Findings	10%	13%	11%
Equity Survey Findings	28%	34%	42% (33%) ³⁷
Change in Percentage	18%	21%	31% (22%)

Improvements in numbers are cause for celebration; nonetheless, the statistics do not indicate that equality has been achieved in these key areas of creative and artistic authority. White men continue to dominate as artistic directors, further perpetuating their domination in the realm of playwriting and directing, which subsequently affects the nature and character of the theatrical products found on stage. The same observation also applies to racialized rates of representation: people of colour account for only 6% of directors, 8% of playwrights, and 11% of artistic directors, thus indicating their severe marginalization in the theatre sector in the 21st century.

³⁷ The figures for female (versus male) ADs derived from the Equity Survey are inaccurate and inflated due to the proportionately higher survey return rate of the FADs compared to the MADs. When employing the 33% figure for female ADs derived from PACT's 2005 Theatre Listing, then the change over time is 22%.

Additional and Future Study Recommendations

- Examine AD, playwright and director hires (according to gender and racialization) in relation to size and type of theatre company in order to ascertain if there are differences in practices and employment equity.
- Research and analyze the gendered and racialized composition with performances at the various festivals (e.g. Fringe) staged across the nation.
- Research and assess the considerations and concerns that ADs grapple with when choosing program selections and playwrights.
- Examine and compare regional variances in relation to the status of women and people of colour in Canadian theatre, particularly in relation to Quebec.
- Conduct audience identification studies that reflect the racialized composition of theatre-going spectators.

B. Outside the Triumvirate

Moving past the triumvirate of AD, director and playwright, the following section examines other production positions in the theatre industry and subjects them to a gender-based analysis. Looking specifically at actors, designers, dramaturgs and/or literary managers and stage managers, the Equity Survey results reveal that, much like the triumvirate, each of these roles has a distinct gendered and racialized dynamic. This discovery points further to the continued persistence of gender and racialized imbalances in the Canadian theatre industry at the start of the 21st century.

Actors

Female actors were involved in 1,577 of the reported productions, just slightly less than male actors, who were involved in 1,605 productions. People of colour performed in only 469 productions.³⁸ While the statistics are not nearly equitable for people of colour, on the surface, they do seem to indicate relative gender equality; however, a closer examination reveals some disparity. Overall, a total of 5,351 female actors and 7,208 male actors performed in the productions reported for the five-year period under study, which constitutes 43% and 57% of the labour pool respectively, resulting in a 14% difference between the rate of male and female actor hires. In each of the five years, more men were hired as actors than women but differences emerge between the MADs and the FADs: companies with male ADs hired men more often than women as actors (for 1,115 of the productions, compared to 1,043 productions with female actors), whereas companies with female ADs hired women more often than men (for 545 shows, compared to 490 productions with male actors). Once again, it is apparent that MADs tend to hire men more often than women, and FADs tend to hire women more often than men.

As Table 1.21 indicates, on average, only one female actor is usually hired per production (26% of the time), in contrast to the usual employment of two male actors

³⁸ The numbers of people of colour who performed as actors in the five-year period under study were not subjected to the MAD versus FAD gender analysis.

(23% of the time) per production, as demonstrated in Table 1.22, resulting in an average ratio of 2:1 for male and female actor hires.

Table 1.21: Female Actor Hires Per Production, 2000/01 – 2004/05

Number of Actors	Overall	MADs	FADs
1 Woman	>26%	<27%	<25%
2 Women	<24%	>24%	>24%
3 Women	>16%	<16%	>17%
4 Women	>12%	<13%	<12%
5 Women	>6%	6%	>6%
6 Women	>4%	>3%	<6%
7 Women	<3%	<4%	>1%
8 Women	>2%	>2%	<3%
9 Women	<1%	>1%	<1%
10 Women	<1%	<1%	<1%
11 Women or More	>3%	3%	>4%

Table 1.22: Male Actor Hires Per Production, 2000/01 – 2004/05

Number of Actors	Overall	MADs	FADs
1 Man	>19%	<18%	23%
2 Men	23%	>23%	>22%
3 Men	<17%	>18%	<14%
4 Men	<10%	>10%	<9%
5 Men	7%	>6%	<9%
6 Men	<4%	<4%	<5%
7 Men	<3%	<3%	<2%
8 Men	>2%	<3%	<2%
9 Men	<2%	>1%	>3%
10 Men	>2%	2%	>3%
11 Men or More	>10%	>11%	<8%

This inequitable distribution is particularly distressing when we consider that the number of women and men training as actors provides the exact inverse ratio, which once again points to a substantial gap between aspiration and legitimation for women attempting to access the acting profession.³⁹ While both MADs and FADs most often hire one female actor per production (followed by two female actors 24% of the time and then three female actors), differences emerge between the two sets of companies in relation to the engagement of male actors. MADs most often employ two men per production (23% of the time), followed by three men (>18%) and then one man (<18%); FADs usually hire one male actor (23% of the time), followed by two male actors (22%), and then three male actors (14%). This data indicates that men are advantaged as actors and are hired in greater numbers at companies run by men, which comprise the majority of the nation's

³⁹ As is discussed in greater detail in Part Five, women greatly outnumber men and form the vast majority of students training for the acting profession at post-secondary institutions.

theatre companies. MADs most often hire men and women at a ratio of 2:1, whereas the FADs most often do so at a ratio of 1:1.

The discrepancy in the number of male versus female actor hires between the MADs and the FADs can be attributed, in part, to financial factors. The survey statistics generally highlight the trend in Canada towards staging plays with small casts (thus influencing the numbers of actors hired), and while all companies must consider monetary concerns when programming and hiring, FADs are especially vulnerable to financial difficulties (as is illustrated in Part Three and Four), which necessitates fewer actor hires. The gender and racialized imbalance in the acting profession is additionally (and perhaps mostly) affected by the theatres' programming choices. Since the majority of the companies are run by (white) men, they tend to program work written by (white) men, which tends to contain more roles for (white) men than women, and this accounts, in large part, for the lower rate of hire for female actors and people of colour. This is especially true with companies that stage traditional canonical works and classical plays, though not exclusively so, for there are those that cross-cast, colour-blind cast, and search for plays drawn from outside of the canon. However, the gender and racialized breakdown of the actors is usually contingent on the nature of the plays that are chosen.

The Equity Survey did not assess actors and their rate of employment in relation to age, but it appears that ageism characterizes the industry, and older female actors are particularly disadvantaged in this respect. A study conducted by Quebec's Union des artistes (UDA), which represents actors working in theatre, film, television, publicity and voiceovers, found that women comprised 47% of the UDA's working members in 2004 (2). Women over the age of 45 accounted for 31% of the UDA's total female membership, but they only constituted 15% of the *working* members that year, whereas men over the age of 45 comprised 21% of the UDA's working members (4). The UDA report found that women are under-represented in the union and that the discrepancy is most marked in the 45 and over age category (5). Men and women in this age group constituted 17% of the UDA's total membership in 2001, but as of 2004 they made up 35% of the total membership, which suggests that the number of actors falling into this age range is growing, while the number of roles available to them likely are not (Descarries 4). As difficult as it is for women to access the nation's stages as actors, it is even more problematic for women over the age of 45, primarily because there are so few roles available to them.

The Equity Initiative is not solely concerned with the numbers of women accessing the nation's stages; there is also the matter of quality of representation. In the past, the characters that women have been hired to play have often been little more than stereotyped projections that serve as foils to the male characters. This assertion has been demonstrated time and time again by a number of studies,⁴⁰ and while improvements have been made in recent years, there is room yet to improve the quality and depth of female representation on stage. While it is generally difficult for women to obtain

⁴⁰ Feminist theatre theorist Sue-Ellen Case has established two categories: positive roles (independent, heroic and intelligent women) and negative roles (the Bitch, the Witch, the Vamp and the Virgin/Goddess) (6). Other critics have similarly assessed female roles in terms of positive or negative representation, such as film theorist E. Ann Kaplan, who based her criteria on a description of the fully autonomous woman (23). Academic Lesley Ferris has posited the Penitent Whore, the Speechless Heroine, the Golden Girl, and the Willful Woman, whereas Nancy Sorkin Rabinowitz, referring specifically to Greek drama, established the categories of the Sacrificial Virgin and the Vengeful Destroyer (the topic of her book, *Anxiety Veiled*).

substantial and weighty leading roles, particularly if they older, the parts available to women (and men) of colour are even fewer and farther between, and they too have often been stereotyped and clichéd projections of the cultural mainstream.⁴¹ Improvements in this area can be achieved by interrogating programming practices to further assess whose stories are being told, how they are being told, and who it is that is telling them, which will help to open-up the industry to a multiplicity of voices and representations.

Designers

Moving beyond the central role of the actor and the parameters of Fraticelli's original study, the Equity Survey results reveal that men outnumber women in most instances in the field of design. On average, men constitute 66% of the set designers, 69% of all lighting designers and 85% of the sound and music designers (see Table 1.23).⁴²

Table 1.23: Gender Distribution of Design Positions, 2000/01–2004/05

Employment Position in the Industry	Overall % of Women	Overall % of Men	% of Women - FADs	% of Men - FADs	% of Women - MADs	% of Men - MADs
Set Designers	34%	66%	42.5%	57.5%	30%	70%
Costume Designers	70%	30%	68%	32%	71%	29%
Lighting Designers	31%	69%	32%	68%	30%	70%
Sound Designers	15%	85%	21%	79%	12%	88%

Set designers worked on 91% of the reported productions, lighting designers on 86% of the shows and sound designers on 69% of the plays. In each of these areas, FADs hired a greater percentage of women than MADs, and MADs hired a greater percentage of men than FADs. In the field of set design in particular (though less so with sound design), there is a statistically significant relationship between the gender of a company's AD and the gender of the designer chosen to work on a given production. Only in the field of costume design, utilized for 86% of the productions, did women outnumber men, accounting for 70% of the overall positions, which indicates a reverse gender distribution pattern to the norm. In such instances, where female domination is both acceptable and accepted, companies with male ADs actually hire greater numbers of women than companies run by female ADs, highlighting the often more balanced and equitable hiring practices of the FADs in comparison to the MADs.

In terms of resident designers, the Equity Survey found that 15% of the companies have such a position, a number that is shared equally by MADs and FADs. On average, women constitute 56% of the resident designers, men account for the other 44%, and people of colour occupy less than 2% of these positions (see Chart 1.24). The higher numbers of women in this instance can be attributed to differences in hiring practices between the two sets of companies, with MADs hiring women 47% of the time and FADs contracting women 70% of the time.⁴³ It is also worth noting that the measly 2% of the

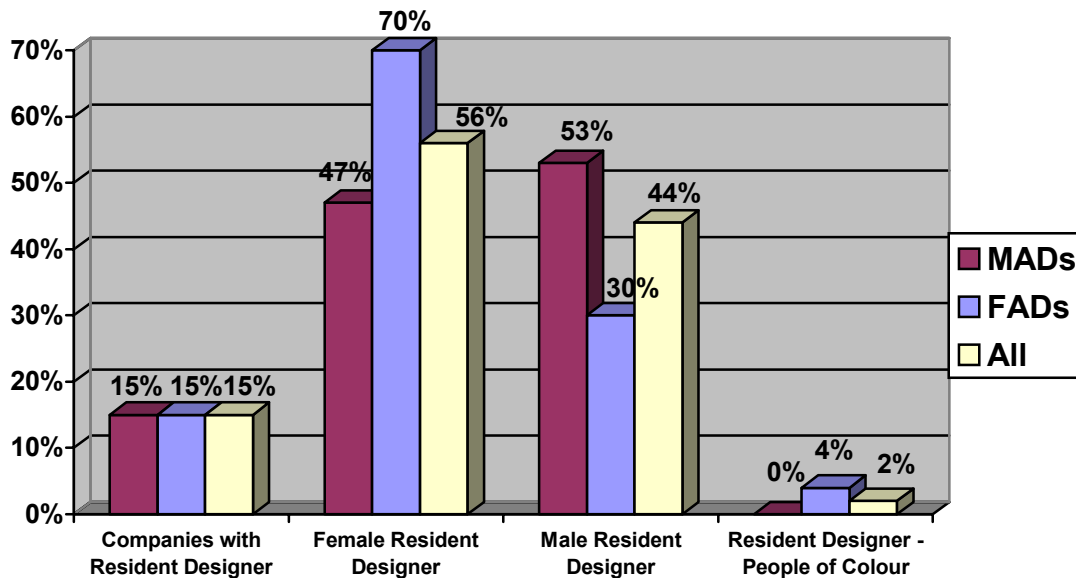
⁴¹ Djanet Sears briefly comments on this phenomenon in her article "Naming Names: Black Women Playwrights in Canada" (64).

⁴² The Equity Survey did not inquire about the numbers of people of colour working as designers.

⁴³ This is a rare instance in which the MADs have a more balanced distribution of genders than the FADs.

resident designers who are people of colour work at companies run by female ADs (constituting 4% of the FADs' overall hires in this area).

Chart 1.24: Resident Designer Positions in 2004/05



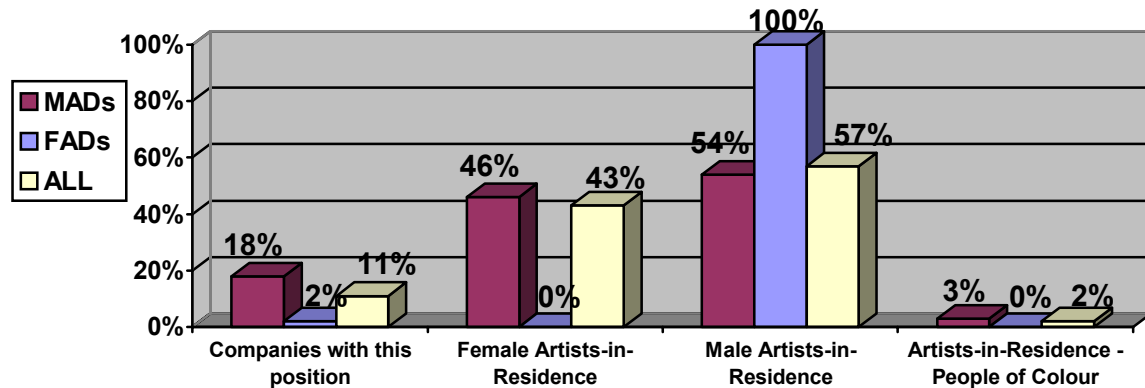
With women comprising between 15% and 34% of all designers (except in costuming, where they are found in larger numbers, and as resident designers, given the larger percentage of women hired by FADs), it is safe to assert that the field of design is male dominated. It may be that the technical demands associated with the work partially hinder the employment of women, as these areas are traditionally linked with masculine rather than feminine capabilities (the inverse of the situation found in costume design). Conventional stereotypes position women as incapable of working in technical fields, and as one woman commented about her training as a technician, the most important lesson she learned was “how to deal with men who don't like you because you are a woman and you are smart.” In the end, this woman “backed away from technical work” because she was no longer interested in the constant battle and the need to prove and justify her abilities (Lynde). Such experiences further augment the statistics and indicate that traditional conceptions of male and female gender roles still hold sway in the fields of design at the start of the 21st century.

Artists-in-Residence

The Equity Survey found that artists-in-residence, who may work on design-related elements, are contracted by 11% of the companies, 1% of which are FADs and 10% of which are MADs (see Chart 1.25). While the FAD grouping includes only one company with a male artist-in-residence, with the MADs, 54% of the positions are filled by men and 46% by women, and 3% of those are people of colour. Compared to the MADs, FADs have a significantly lower incidence of artists-in-residence, which suggests a statistical relationship between the gender of a company's AD and the likelihood of

engaging an artist-in-residence, an effect that is likely tied to a company's financial status and possibly to the possession of a permanent performance venue and/or office space.⁴⁴

Chart 1.25: Artist-in-Residence Positions in 2004/05

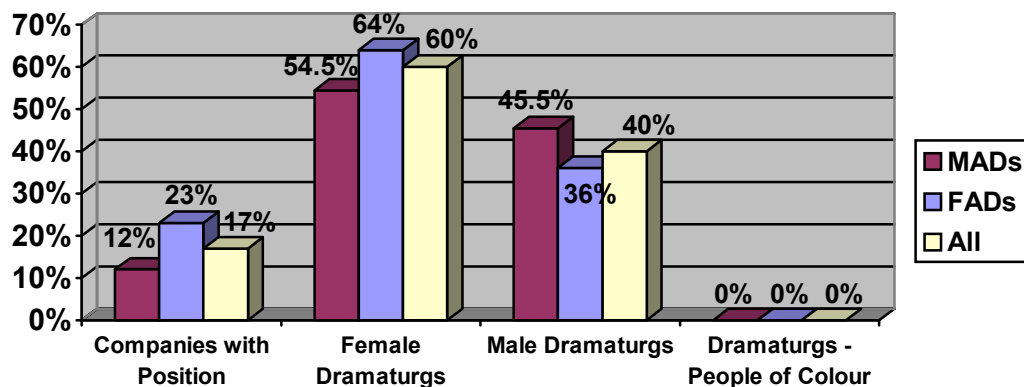


As with resident designers, the gender figures for the artists-in-residence are far more balanced than in other areas, with women accounting for 43% of the overall positions.

Literary Managers and Dramaturgs

In the 2004/05 season, 60% of the hired dramaturgs and/or literary managers were women and 40% were men (see Chart 1.26). Providing the one and only instance of zero representation, the Equity Survey found that not one single person of colour was employed as a dramaturg and/or literary manager in 2004/05; so while white women are well represented in this position, women and men of colour are not.

Chart 1.26: Dramaturg and/or Literary Manager Positions in 2004/05



It should be noted that these statistics specifically pertain to dramaturgs and/or literary managers as company hires in 2004/05, rather than dramaturgs who worked on individual productions in the 5-year period under study. Both MADs and FADs employed more (white) women than men in this position, and the survey additionally reveals a marginally significant higher incidence of FADs engaging dramaturgs than MADs.

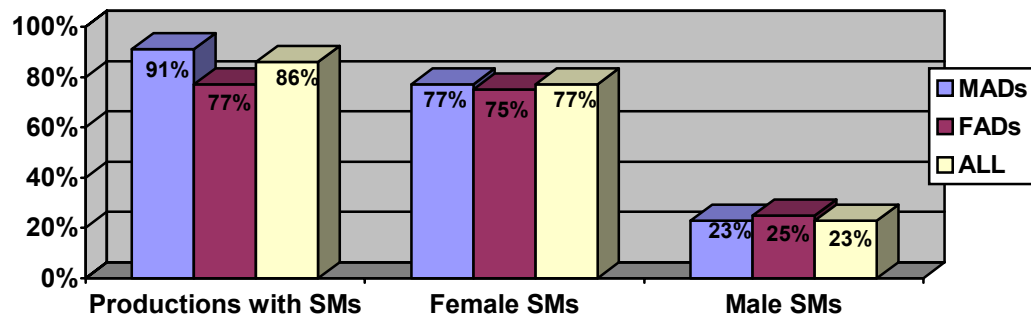
⁴⁴ While residency is not a literal requirement for engaging an artist-in-residence, in practice it often is, as companies with buildings and/or larger offices are better equipped to host residencies than those without. As we shall see in Part Three, MADs have a higher incidence of permanent or resident performance space than FADs, which may account for the lower incidence of artists-in-residence found with the FADs.

While there may be a variety of reasons as to why FADs employ dramaturgs more often than MADs, this condition is likely related to differences and/or preferences in creative processes and working methodologies. As well, FADs tend to produce more play premieres (see Part Three) and a greater percentage of original Canadian work, both of which necessitate a greater emphasis on dramaturgical development. It may also be that women generally dominate the field of dramaturgy due to the behind-the-scenes, supportive nature of the work, which is geared toward nurturing and assisting the playwright. Women often appear in great numbers in industry fields designed to support and materialize the creative efforts of the triumvirate of power.

Stage Management

As with dramaturgs and literary managers, the Equity Survey found that stage managers (SMs) are predominantly female. In fact, 77% of the reported productions employed women as stage managers, the highest rate of female employment for all industry positions identified by the Equity Survey (see Chart 1.27).⁴⁵

Chart 1.27 Stage Manager Totals According to Gender, 2000/01-2004/05



Once again, the large numbers of women in this area may be related to the nature of the work involved with the position, which is associated with organizational support and care. Both MADs and FADs employed similar percentages of women as stage managers, 77% and 75% respectively, and the only major difference between the two sets of companies is the frequency of employing stage managers, with FADs doing so 77% of the time and MADs doing so 91% of the time. The reason for the disparity between the rates of engagement is likely related to economics and differences in production practices, both of which are discussed in greater detail in Part Three.

“Other” Production Positions

The Equity Survey also inquired about “other” positions involved in the creation and staging of the country’s productions that were not included in the above categories. In total, 35% of the shows engaged other kinds of production workers, which could include assistant stage managers, movement coaches and/or choreographers, as well as dramaturgs hired on a per project basis from 2000/01 to 2004/05. The Equity Survey returns indicate that women were hired in other production positions 71% of the time, whereas men were engaged only 29% of the time (see Table 1.28).⁴⁶

⁴⁵ The Equity Survey did not inquire about the numbers of people of colour working as stage managers.

⁴⁶ The survey did not inquire about the numbers of people of colour working in other production capacities.

Table 1.28: “Other” Production Positions Totals, 2000/01–2004/05

Company Type	% of Productions with Other Artistic Positions	% of Productions with Women in Other Artistic Positions	% of Productions with Men in Other Artistic Positions
All Together	34%	71%	29%
FADs	38%	67%	33%
MADs	32%	74%	26%

It is statistically significant that women tend to be hired in other production positions more often than men, perhaps because of the secondary status and support aspect associated with some of these roles. Both MADs and FADs hire more women than men as other production workers, and the differences in hiring practices between the two sets of companies are minimal. As was the case with costume designers and stage managers, due to associations with and the impact of traditional gender roles, MADs actually hire a greater percentage of women in other production positions than FADs.

Conclusions

Outside the triumvirate of power, (white) male domination continues to characterize other key production positions, specifically the professions of acting and design (costuming excepted). Set, lighting and sound design form a second triumvirate or bastion of male influence, while costume design is dominated by women, excessively so; a distribution of roles that is likely due to traditional conceptions of prescribed gender roles. These same conventional associations impact on the gendered and racialized divisions of labour uncovered in relation to dramaturgs, stage managers and “other” production positions, all of which tend to be staffed by (white) women who support and execute the artistic vision of the primary (usually white male) creators. Only the artist-in-residence statistics demonstrate a relative gender balance. However, 1% of the FADs, compared to 10% of the MADs, actually employ this position, thus introducing another level of gender imbalance into a seemingly equitable distribution. As demonstrated with the positions discussed above, employment in the Canadian theatre industry is clearly organized along distinct gendered and racialized lines.

Additional and Future Areas of Study

- Study the participation rates of people of colour in industry positions not yet examined: translators, actors, designers, stage managers and “other” production positions. Subject the results to a MAD versus FAD comparison.
- Make a distinction between classical and other kinds of repertoires and analyze the differences that appear in gendered and racialized rates of representation.
- Interrogate the number and quality of roles available to female actors over the age of 45 to assess the degree to which they are disadvantaged in the industry.
- Investigate the roles available to female actors (conventional and stereotyped, or creative and challenging), particularly in relation to the Canadian canon.
- Critically examine programming practices to further assess whose stories are being told, how they are being told, and who it is that is telling them.

C. Boards, Administration and Office Staff

As will be demonstrated in the following section, the gendered and racialized dynamics identified as characterizing the Canadian theatre industry in the two above sections extend into the realm of office management, administration and customer service. In this sector of the industry, distinct employment patterns continue to prevail along gendered and racialized lines, with (white) women forming the vast majority of the workers in all areas but one. The distribution and patterning of employment in this segment of the industry adds additional weight to the argument that stereotyped conceptions of conventional gender roles are still firmly entrenched in the Canadian theatre sector at the start of the 21st century.

Boards of Directors

One of the most gender-balanced positions in the theatre industry uncovered by the Equity Survey is the membership composition of boards of directors. As Table 1.29 demonstrates, the overall mean average of men on boards is higher than that of women in all five years under study, but just barely. Differences are revealed between the two sets of companies, with MADs demonstrating greater numbers of men and FADs involving larger numbers of women, although the MADs actually have a higher mean average of women on their boards than FADs due to their generally larger board sizes.

Table 1.29: Board of Director Figures by Gender, 2000/01-2004/05

Board Totals by Year	Overall Mean Average of Women	Overall Mean Average of Men	Mean Average of Women - FADs	Mean Average of Men - FADs	Mean Average of Women - MADs	Mean Average of Men - MADs
2004/05	4.90	5.02	4.53	3.69	5.17	5.97
2003/04	4.75	4.86	4.38	3.78	5.01	5.66
2002/03	4.57	4.77	4.22	3.76	4.83	5.55
2001/02	4.41	4.42	4.15	3.55	4.59	4.06
2000/01	4.08	4.10	3.88	3.36	4.23	4.63

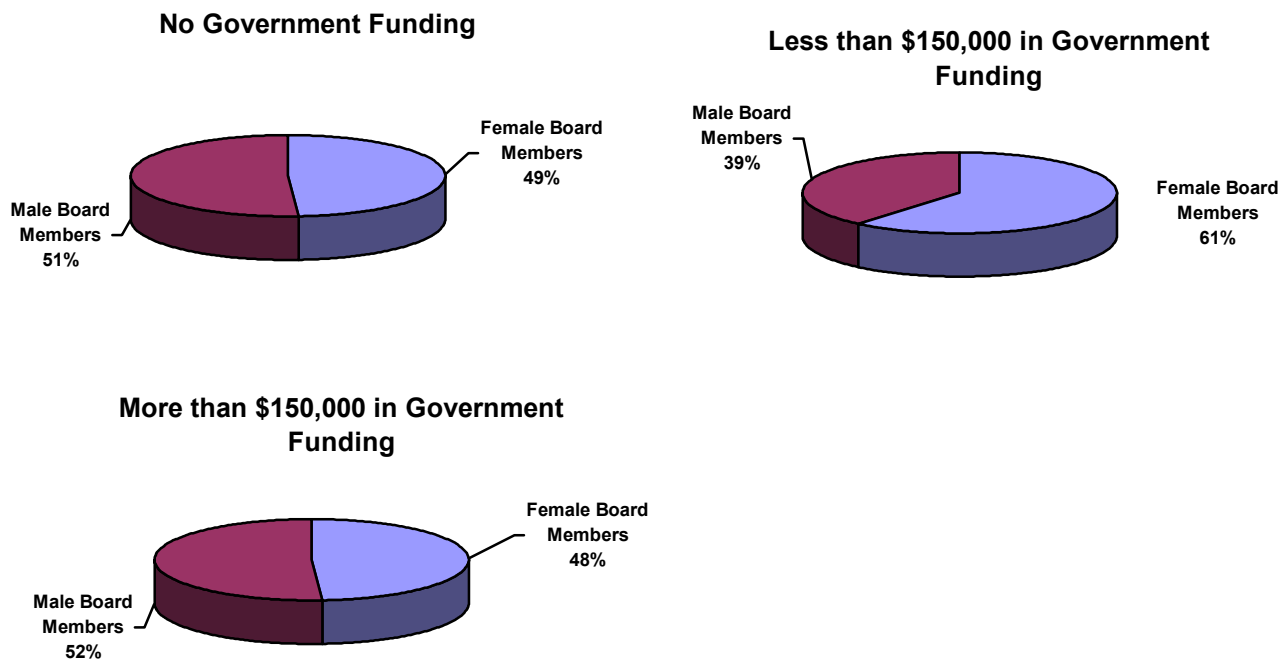
As Table 1.30 illustrates, MADs average 10 members per board, compared to the 8 participants usually found with FADs, which provides further evidence that companies with female ADs tend to be smaller entities than those with male ADs.

Table 1.30: Board of Director Totals and Distribution by Year, 2000/01-2004/05

Board Member Totals By Year	Maximum #	Mean Average Per Board	Maximum # with MADs	Mean Average with MADs	Maximum # with FADs	Mean Average with FADs
2004/05	48	9.92	48	11.15	37	8.22
2003/04	46	9.69	46	10.81	38	8.17
2002/03	50	9.31	50	10.31	35	7.98
2001/02	50	8.90	50	9.78	32	7.70
2000/01	47	8.16	47	8.83	35	7.25

An analysis of the data according to the three fiscal categorizations demonstrates a statistically significant relationship between the level of funding a company receives and the size of its board, as those without government funding and those with less than \$150,000 in subsidy average between 7 and 8 members per board, whereas in the third category companies receiving more than \$150,000 in grant money average 15 members per board. Aside from affecting the size of the respective boards, financial factors also influence and correspond with the numbers of women occupying these positions. As Chart 1.31 demonstrates, women are better represented with companies fitting into the second fiscal category than they are with the first and third groups. Men are found in greater numbers at the more established and larger budget theatres located in the third category, although the first and third groupings provide a more balanced distribution of genders overall.

Charts 1.31: Female Board Member Percentages According to Fiscal Categorizations, 2004/05



Regional differentiations in board composition are also evident, with Quebec having the smallest boards (averaging 7 people overall) and the Prairie and Yukon region having the largest (averaging 13 people per board) (see Chart 1.32). Regional differences, financial category, and company type aside, the overall mean percent for women sitting on boards of directors is 56% (see Chart 1.33), with FADs involving women 61% of the time and MADs doing so 52% of the time, indicating that although there are some disparities between the two groups, gender equity has largely been achieved in relation to the composition of the country's boards of directors.

Chart 1.32: Boards of Directors Totals by Geographic Region, 2004/05

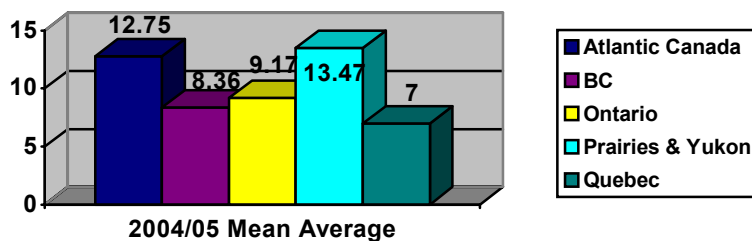
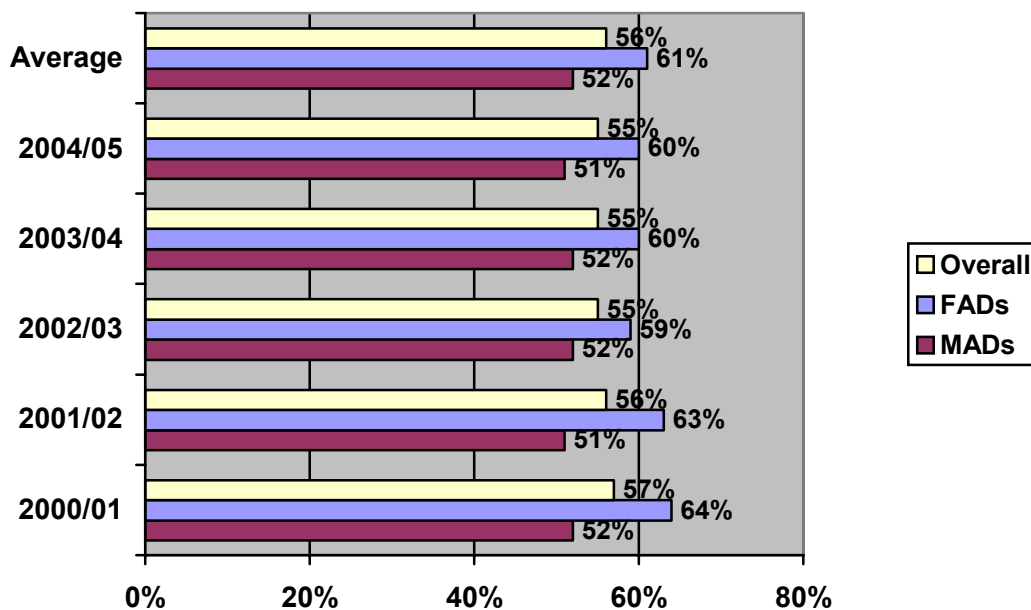


Chart 1.33: Percentage of Female Board Members, 2000/01-2004/05



Unlike (white) women, people of colour are represented on boards of directors at an average of 29% of the surveyed companies, which once again indicates significant under-representation and the need for redress (see Chart 1.34). Companies run by women tend to have a greater number of people of colour on their boards than those run by men, but representation is dismal in both cases, with neither group averaging one person of colour per board in the 2004/05 season (see Table 1.35). A regional analysis of the situation reveals similar findings; only British Columbia can claim one person of colour per board, while Atlantic Canada falls at the opposite end of the scale with an overall average of .13 people of colour per board.

Chart 1.34: Companies with Board Members of Colour, 2000/01-2004/05

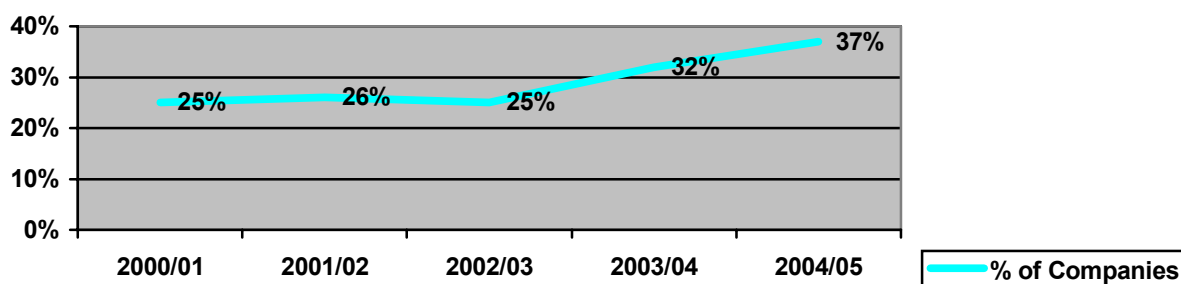


Table 1.35: Board of Director Totals for People of Colour, 2004/05

Company Type and Region	Minimum # Reported	Maximum # Reported	Mean Average Per Board
All Companies	0	8	.79
FADs	0	8	.92
MADs	0	7	.70
Atlantic Canada	0	1	.13
British Columbia	0	6	1
Ontario	0	7	.94
Prairies and Yukon	0	8	.76
Quebec	0	7	.57

The fiscal categorizations outlined in Table 1.36 reveal that the greater the funding category, the better the representation rate is for people of colour, though the findings are still meager, as none of the fiscal categories averages one person of colour per board. While gender parity appears to have been achieved on boards of directors, equitable rates of racialized representation certainly have not.

Table 1.36: Board Members of Colour According to Fiscal Categorizations, 2004/05

Fiscal Categorization by Company Type	Mean # of People of Colour
No Government Funding	.50
Less than 150,000 in Government Funding	.74
More than 150,000 in Government Funding	.80

Beyond the simple matter of equality of representation, the composition of Canada's theatre boards is of particular import due to the potential influence that can be exercised in relation to employment equity. The boards of directors at the larger, well-resourced companies play an especially crucial role in the selection and hiring of

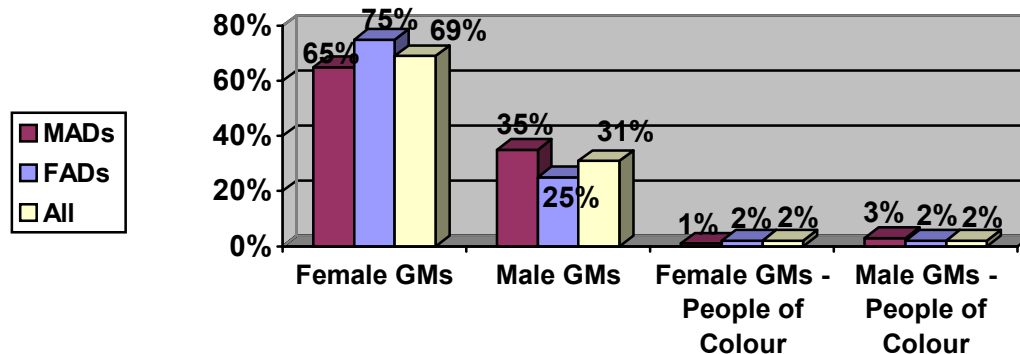
the companies' artistic directors, which as we have seen impacts on most of the other industry positions. It is incumbent upon the nation's boards to take an active role in encouraging women (and men of colour) to apply for key positions of authority in order to ensure that they have equal opportunities and access to the country's mainstream theatrical institutions. And although the presence of a female artistic director is no

guarantee that a theatre will necessarily program more work by women (particularly if there is a specific mandate to heed), such changes would likely help increase employment equity in the theatre industry all around.

General Managers

The Equity Survey returns indicate that the industry's general managers (GMs) are overwhelmingly female. In 2004/05, women accounted for 69% of the GMs and men comprised the other 31% (see Chart 1.37), figures in keeping with other studies, such as the 2004 OAC study which found that women comprised 67% of Ontario's GMs (4).

Chart 1.37: General Manager Percentages by Colour and Gender, 2004/05



People of colour constitute only 4% of general managers, with women of colour comprising less than 2% of the GMs in comparison with men of colour who make up just over 2%, demonstrating yet another albeit slight reversal from the gendered norm. In what is now a familiar pattern, the Equity Survey found that companies headed by female ADs hire more women in the GM position compared with companies run by male ADs, which hire proportionately more men in this position (with a 10% difference in the overall rates of hire). The survey also found a marginally significant difference in the numbers of companies that employ such positions, with MADs engaging GMs more often than FADs.

Finding so many white women situated in the upper management position of general manager may seem surprising at first, given that women tend not to be well represented in other positions of authority in the theatre sector. However, as with costume design and dramaturgy, the “maternal world of management,” as one woman referred to it, and administrative positions in general, may attract more women than men due to the nature of the work, which can be associated with secondary support efforts and what were once considered secretarial duties (Lynde). As Suzanne Haines, the Administrative Director at Gateway Theatre, observes, “In the AD... sessions at the PACT conference in 2004, there were 3 to 4 female ADs and the rest were male. In the GM session, there were 4-5 men and the rest were females” (“Today’s Voices” 5). With this general gender split, the two top positions in the upper echelons of the theatre industry are seen to reflect a kind of “mom and pop” working arrangement. As Haines further comments, “without a good relationship the GM has little to no input in programming [and] staffing choices” (“Today’s Voices” 6). According to the Equity Survey returns, and as Table 1.38 indicates, the GM is solely responsible for staff hiring decisions at only 13% of the surveyed companies, whereas the GM and AD make such decisions in tandem at 44% of

the overall theatres. This suggests that part of the authority exercised by the (usually female) GM is at least partially contingent on, or must be negotiated in tandem with, the (usually male) AD.

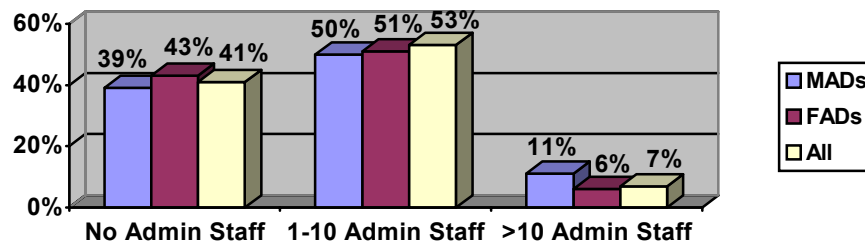
Table 1.38: Production, Direction and Staff Hiring Decisions, 2004/05

Responsible Party	Production and Direction Selections (% of Companies)	Staff Hiring Decisions (% of Companies)
Artistic Director	76%	26%
General Manager	1%	13%
AD & GM in Tandem	10%	44%
Other	13%	17%

Administrative Staff

Overall, 59% of the surveyed companies reported that they have administrative staffs, while 41% do not (see Chart 1.39), a working arrangement that is dictated in part by the financial standing of the theatres.

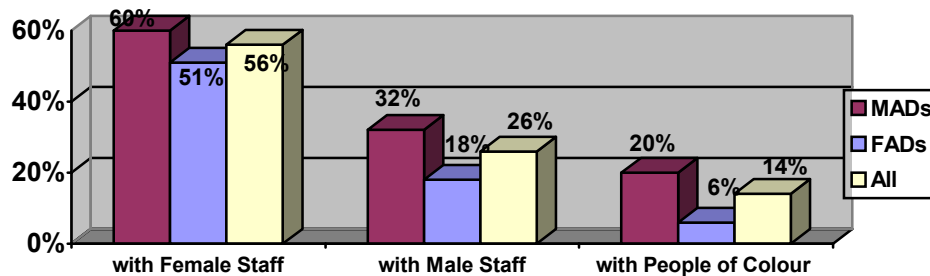
Chart 1.39: Distribution of Administrative Staff, 2004/05



The 41% of the survey respondents that receive more than \$150,000 in government subsidy all likely have administrative staffs, and the remaining 18% of the companies that do are most likely drawn from the second fiscal category, companies with \$150,000 or less in government grant money. Theatres that are not awarded government funding rarely have the resources at their disposal to hire administrative staff members. When the survey responses are analyzed according to gender, a greater percentage of MADs (61%) are found to have administrative staffs compared to FADs (57% overall). And while 50% of MADs and 51% of FADs employ 10 or fewer people, differences emerge at the top end of the scale, with 11% of the MADs employing more than 10 administrative staff members compared to only 6% of the FADs, a differential that is linked to financial standing and company size.

In total, 56% of the companies have female administrative staff members and 26% have male administrative staff members, while only 14% of the companies have people of colour as part of their administrations (see Chart 1.40). MADs have a higher percentage of companies with women, men and people of colour as administrative staff members than FADs do, although both sets of companies have higher rates of representation for women than men in these positions. That women dominate as administrative staff members is not surprising, given that the Canadian theatre industry is very much in alignment with traditional conceptions of conventional gender roles.

Chart 1.40: Administrative Staff Percentages by Gender and Racialization, 2004/05



Other Full-Time Salaried Staff

According to the findings of the Equity Survey, 66% of the companies do not employ other full-time salaried staff members, while 34% do (see Table 1.41).

Table 1.41: Other Full-Time Salaried Staff Totals, 2004/05

Company Type	% without Full-Time Staff	% with Full-Time Female Staff	% with Full-Time Male Staff	% with Full-Time Staff - People of Colour
All Together	66%	26%	26%	9%
MADs	58%	35%	33%	13%
FADs	76%	14%	16%	4%

For those that do, the statistics offer a rare instance of total gender equality, as men and women are both hired as other full-time staff members by 26% of the companies overall. Greater percentages of MADs hire people in other full-time salaried positions than FADs, and it is statistically significant in this instance that FADs have a lower incidence of hiring other full-time salaried employees than MADs, which, again, is likely related in large part to financial factors (discussed further in Part Two, Three and Four). In a reversal from the norm, MADs hire greater percentages of women than men as full-time workers, whereas FADs hire more men than women. People of colour are employed as other full-time salaried staff at 9% of the companies overall, with MADs hiring a greater percentage of people of colour than FADs.

Other Part-Time Salaried Staff

The Equity Survey returns indicate that 67% of the companies do not employ other part-time salaried staff, and the differences between the MADs and FADs in this instance are negligible. Overall, 27% of the companies have female part-time salaried staff members, compared to 17% with male part-time salaried staff members, and both sets of companies employ more women than men in this position (see Table 1.42). Whereas equal percentages of MADs and FADs employed men and women in other full-time employment positions, with part-time endeavours, women are hired in greater numbers by both sets of companies. A similar increase in numbers is not witnessed with regard to people of colour, who work as part-time employees at 8% of the companies overall, with the MADs hiring a greater proportion of people of colour than the FADs.

Table 1.42: Other Part-Time Salaried Staff Totals, 2004/05

Company Type	% without Part-Time Staff	% with Part-Time Female Staff	% with Part-Time Male Staff	% with Part-Time Staff - People of Colour
All Together	67%	<27%	17%	8%
MADs	68%	>27%	16%	10%
FADs	67%	25%	18%	6%

Other Contract Staff

Fifty-nine percent of the surveyed companies employed other contract staff in 2004/05 (see Table 1.43), with numbers ranging from one to 298 individuals.

Table 1.43: Other Contract Staff Totals, 2004/05

Company Type	% without Other Contract Staff	% with Other Contract Female Staff	% with Other Contract Male Staff	% with Other Contract Staff - People of Colour
All Together	41%	49%	41%	19%
MADs	38%	54%	46%	22%
FADs	47%	43%	33%	16%

A greater percentage of MADs (62%) than FADs (53%) employ other contract staff, again, likely due to financial standing, although both sets of companies hire more women than men in this position, but the differences between the two groups are statistically negligible. Marginal differences emerge between the two sets of companies in that a greater percentage of MADs engage people of colour as other contract staff than FADs.

Box Office Staff

The Equity Survey returns indicate that 38% of the companies do not have box office staff, while the other 62% of the companies do (see Table 1.44).

Table 1.44: Box Office Staff Totals, 2004/05

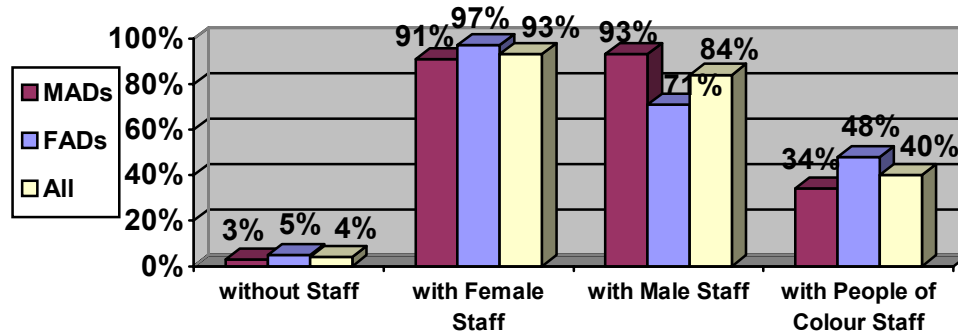
Company Type	% without Box Office Staff	% with Female Box Office Staff	% with Male Box Office Staff	% with Box Office Staff - People of Colour
All Together	38%	37%	21%	6%
MADs	40%	38%	26%	6%
FADs	35%	35%	14%	6%

In a reversal from the norm, a greater percentage of FADs (65%) have box office staff than MADs (60%). Both sets of companies demonstrate a higher percentage of female box office staff (37% overall) than male (21% in total), revealing a marginal difference, as FADs employ greater numbers of women and fewer numbers of men in comparison to MADs. While women clearly dominate in these customer service positions, once again people of colour do not, as they are employed as box office staff at only 6% of the companies, with no differences in hiring practices between the MADs and FADs.

Total Staff

When asked to report on overall staff numbers for the 2004/05 season, 96% of the companies indicated that they had anywhere from one to 600 people on staff (97% of MADs and 95% of FADs). The majority of the companies employ 10 staff members or fewer, and FADs have a higher percentage of companies with this number of workers than MADs, who have a higher percentage of more than 10 staff members. Women outnumber men overall and are employed at 93% of the companies compared to 84% of the companies that employ men (see Chart 1.45).

Chart 1.45: Total Staff Percentages, 2004/05



MADs have a higher percentage of companies employing men, whereas FADs have a greater percentage of companies employing women, illustrating once again that like tends to hire like. People of colour are employed as staff members at 40% of the companies, although the vast majority report only one person of colour on staff, with FADs exhibiting a higher percentage of companies with people of colour than MADs.

Conclusions

Women comprise the majority of general managers, box office staff, part-time employees, administrative workers and other contract hires. Only in the area of full-time salaried staff is there relative gender equality, and it is perhaps no coincidence that there is a reversal from the norm in that MADs hire more women than men and FADs hire more men than women. For all other positions, both MADs and FADs hire greater numbers of women than men, for just as certain production positions can be associated with conventional feminine roles, so too are administrative occupations, which might account in part for the large numbers of women found in these areas. As will be discussed further in Part Two, the preponderance of women in these positions is also likely related to the fact that the financial remuneration is relatively poor. People of colour are under-represented in each instance, across the board and without exception, although there is often relative equality between the genders in the meager statistics revealed in this realm.

Additional and Future Areas of Study

- Examine the role and extent of involvement of the boards of directors in selecting staff and influencing company policies, particularly across all sizes and types of theatres to ascertain if there are levels of difference in practices.
- Analyze the various administrative and office positions in relation to the size and type of the theatre companies for possible gender and racialized differences.

D. Overall Conclusions

The statistics derived from the Equity Survey provide a clear picture of the theatre industry's employment trends. With key production positions white men tend to predominate. In office-related functions and production support roles theatre workers are predominantly white and female. The overall totals reveal that MADs tend to hire greater numbers of men than women, whereas FADs tend to hire greater numbers of women than men (with some exceptions). MADs hire greater numbers of people of colour as office staff, whereas FADs hire greater numbers of people of colour overall, particularly in production positions, though the rate of representation for people of colour is woefully low in all instances. This employment patterning demonstrates an extreme or binary relationship between genders and racialized groups, with white men most often inhabiting positions of creative authority, white women most often working in secondary roles as satellites of support, and people of colour most often experiencing severe marginalization, and in one instance, outright exclusion. The end result is that women tend to be ghettoized in segregated pools of labour (though there are exceptions to prove the rule, such as with boards of directors where relative gender equality is demonstrated), whereas racial parity has not nearly been achieved in any of the industry positions. This situation suggests that the core of the industry has changed little as the sector continues to manifest a distinct gendered and racialized dimension, one that mirrors and perpetuates the dominant (white) culture and traditional conceptions of conventional gender roles.

While there has been definite improvement in the numbers of (white) women working in the industry, Rosenberg's gap between aspiration and legitimation, as cited by Fraticelli almost 25 years earlier, is still evident and firmly in place. Women's inferior employment status, and the financial disadvantage that accompanies it (discussed further in Part Two), must be considered not only in statistical terms but also in light of professional and creative aspirations. Few people enter the theatre profession (or any other cultural field for that matter) in search of a secure career or a high salary; rather they choose theatre as a result of artistic motivations. The employment patterns of the Canadian theatre industry clearly indicate that women's artistic aspirations are still being thwarted as a result of their secondary societal status and their exclusion from decision-making positions. The bottom line is that disturbing and unfair patterns of discrimination are still embedded in the industry, women are still not accessing key positions of authority in numbers equal to men (though they certainly aspire to it), and people of colour do not yet have equality of representation anywhere in the theatre sector.

Part Two: Labour and Economic Remuneration in the Canadian Theatre Industry

“2.8 million women (1 in 5) in Canada live in poverty.”
(Vancouver Status of Women Postcard)

Having examined the racialized and gendered distribution of the employment patterns that characterize the Canadian theatre industry, it is useful to move beyond the confines of Fraticelli’s study to investigate the industry’s occupations in relation to the labour that is expended and the rates of pay that are received in return, particularly to ascertain if differences in workload and remuneration are manifest along gender lines.⁴⁷ Generally speaking, employment in the Canadian theatre industry is synonymous with long hours and comparatively little financial reward, and the Equity Survey findings bear this out. While this is the case for most theatre artists, the survey results additionally indicate that women are particularly disadvantaged in the industry in terms of financial compensation. The following sections investigate these matters, starting with the triumvirate of AD, playwright and director, and then move on to other roles, specifically general managers, literary managers and/or dramaturgs, resident designers and artists-in-residence.⁴⁸

A. The Triumvirate

Artistic Directors

The greatest portion of the survey respondents (47.5% in total) indicated that their artistic directors worked 52 weeks a year in 2004/05; that is, without a single week off for vacation, respite or mental and physical health (see Table 2.1).

Table 2.1: Number of Weeks Worked by Artistic Directors, 2004/05

# of Weeks	All Companies	MADs	FADs
52 weeks	47.5%	>55%	>36%
50 weeks	11%	11%	>12%
48 weeks	10%	13%	6%
47 weeks	4%	>2%	6%
42 weeks	4%	>6%	0%
49 weeks	2.5%	0%	6%
45 weeks	2.5%	0%	6%
30 weeks	2.5%	>2%	3%
24 weeks	2.5%	>2%	3%
20 weeks	2.5%	>2%	3%
Other Responses	11%	>6%	18%

⁴⁷ The survey data relating to pay scales and workloads was not analyzed according to racialization, so statistics pertaining to the wages and time worked for people of colour are not available.

⁴⁸ Compensation rates and workload information were not requested in relation to assistant directors, translators, actors, designers, stage managers and “other” production positions.

Fifty-five percent of MADs reported that their ADs worked 52 weeks a year, compared to the smaller figure of 36% cited by FADs, which suggests that male ADs are more inclined to work year-round than female ADs. However, FADs have a higher percentage of ADs working 45, 47, 49 and 50 weeks per year than MADs; a more reasonable work load, and one that suggests female ADs work a greater number of weeks per year than male ADs once the percentages pertaining to the 52 work-weeks are taken out of the equation. The FADs also have a higher percentage of companies with ADs working 2 to 15 weeks per year, which suggests that female ADs work on a part-time basis more often than male ADs, probably because women tend to run small, project-based companies more often than they head up larger, well-resourced theatres.

When questioned about the number of hours ADs usually worked per week, slightly more than 19% of the companies indicated that 40 hours was the norm, followed by 50 hours a week for 18% of the companies (see Table 2.2).

Table 2.2: Number of Hours Worked Per Week by Artistic Directors, 2004/05

# of Hours	All Companies	MADs	FADs
40 hours	>19%	14%	27%
50 hours	18%	14%	23%
35 hours	13%	17%	7%
60 hours	>11%	17%	3%
30 hours	>11%	14%	7%
70 hours	>4%	5%	3%
55 hours	>4%	2%	7%
20 hours	>4%	5%	3%
Other Responses	>15%	12%	20%

While 27% of FADs report 40 hours a week as the norm for their ADs, followed by 23% reporting 50 hours worked per week, 17% of MADs indicated 35 and 60 hour work weeks respectively. These findings suggest that female ADs tend to work a greater number of hours per week at the top end of the scale than their male counterparts, as 63% of FADs report 40 or more hours worked per week compared to 52% of the MADs.

While only 19% of the companies' ADs reportedly work 40 hours a week, 47% of the companies indicated that their ADs are paid for a 40-hour week (see Table 2.3).

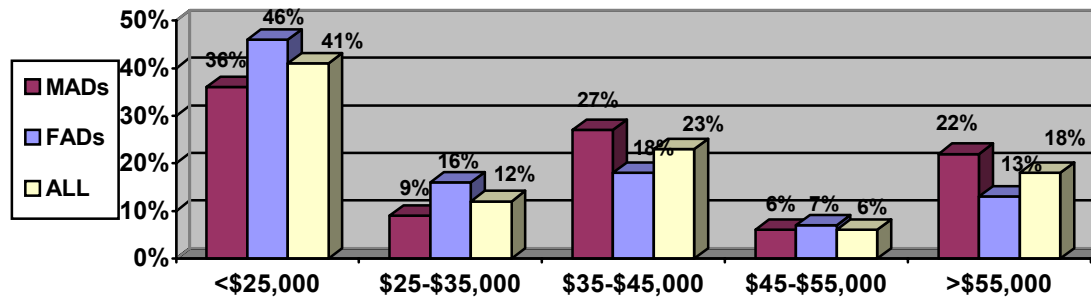
Table 2.3: Number of Hours Paid Per Week to ADs, 2004/05

# of Hours	All Companies	MADs	FADs
40 hours	47%	47%	46%
35 hours	>18%	<21%	15%
20 hours	10%	<15%	4%
30 hours	5%	<6%	4%
5 hours	5%	<3%	8%
25 hours	>3%	<3%	4%
1 hour	>3%	<3%	4%
Other Responses	>8%	<3%	15%

As the runner-up for the number of hours worked per week by ADs was 50 hours, the figures suggest that the majority of ADs are working more hours per week than they are compensated for, and this is the case for both MADs and FADs.

The income levels reported for artistic directors in 2004/05 reveal that 41% of the ADs fall within the lowest compensation range, less than \$25,000 a year (see Chart 2.4).

Chart 2.4: Compensation Ranges for Artistic Directors, 2004/05



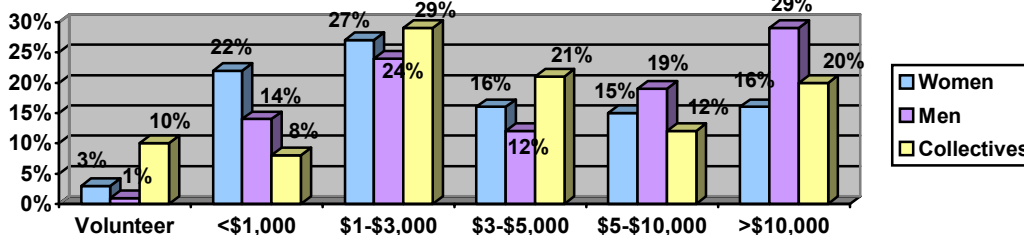
A comparison of MADs and FADs indicates that 36% of male artistic directors fall in the lowest compensation range, compared to 46% of female ADs, and 22% occupy the top compensation range, compared to only 13% of female ADs. These statistics reveal a marginally significant relationship between the gender of a company's AD and the amount of money received, as MADs have a lower number of ADs in the first two categories (less than \$25,000 and \$25-\$35,000) in comparison to FADs, who have a much higher incidence of ADs compensated at the lower end of the scale. Generally speaking then, female ADs tend to receive lower annual salaries than their male counterparts. The discrepancy in wages found here is likely due to the fact that more women run small project-based companies, whereas more men head up well-established (and better paying) theatres.

Playwrights

The information gathered by the Equity Survey in relation to playwrights was formatted in a different manner than that related to artistic directors, so data is not available for the number of hours and weeks worked. Instead, compensation ranges were requested in relation to specific productions, so comparative figures are available for male versus female playwrights, but not for a MAD and FAD comparison. As Chart 2.5 illustrates, the greatest number of male playwrights were compensated at the top of the pay scale range (in four out of the five years under study), as 29% were paid more than \$10,000 for a given production. Conversely, female playwrights found themselves in the low to mid range, with an overall average of 27% paid only \$1,000 to \$3,000 in three out of the five years, and the figures drop below that to less than \$1,000 in the other two years. Twenty-nine percent of the collective creations (which tend to be produced more often by FADs than MADs) were also compensated in the same pay scale range as women (\$1,000 to \$3,000) in three out of the five years under study; in the other two years, the average moved up to the next level (\$3,000 to \$5,000), rather than down as with female playwrights. These figures indicate that female playwrights were compensated at lower rates for individual productions of their plays than both male playwrights and collective teams of both genders. Fees for playwrights are usually

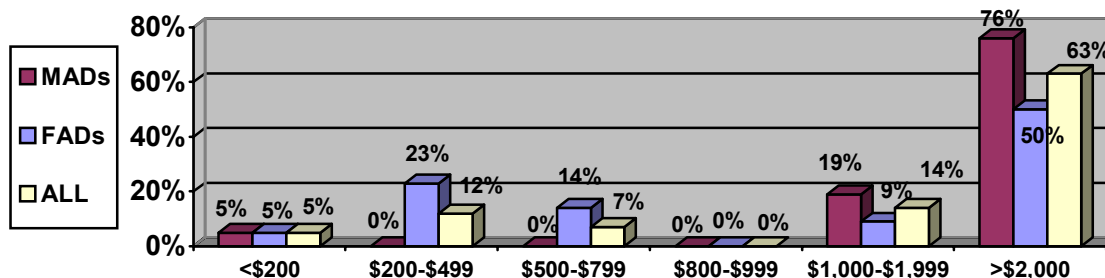
determined as a percentage of the box office, so these figures suggest that female playwrights are more likely to be produced in smaller venues with smaller house capacities, which results in less money earned.

Chart 2.5: Playwright Pay Scales for Individual Productions, 2000/01-2004/05



The Equity Survey also inquired about compensation rates for playwrights commissioned in the 2004/05 season, regardless of whether or not their plays were completed and/or staged. As Chart 2.6 demonstrates, the majority of the commissioned playwrights (63% in total) were compensated in the top category, although \$2,000 is hardly substantial remuneration, and only 46% of the companies actually had the resources available to commission playwrights in the 2004/05 season.

Chart 2.6: Compensation Ranges for Commissioned Playwrights, 2004/05



While 76% of MADs reported that their commissioned playwrights were paid in the top compensation range, only 50% of FADs reported the same pay scale for their commissioned playwrights. The remainder of the MADs' commissioned playwrights were paid in the second highest range (19%), followed by the lowest category (5%), whereas with the FADs, only 9% of the commissioned playwrights were compensated in the second highest range, and the remaining 42% were paid in accordance with the three lowest compensation ranges. The discrepancies revealed between the MADs and FADs are statistically significant, and they indicate that the gender of a company's AD has a tangible impact on the amount of money received by commissioned playwrights. The differences are likely due to the smaller company sizes (and budgets) of the FADs.

With the figures derived for playwrights-in-residence during the 2004/05 season it is possible to investigate the number of weeks and hours worked in relation to the remuneration received, though it must be acknowledged that such an examination is artificially contrived, as the majority of the playwrights-in-residence receive remuneration not from the theatre companies themselves but from arts council grants (submitted in tandem with the companies), and the number of hours that they work is

generally left to the discretion of the playwrights. Having said that, overall, 27% of the companies reported that their playwrights-in-residence worked 20 weeks a year, 13% indicated 30 weeks and 8 weeks a year respectively, and the remaining 47% reported individual responses ranging from 6 to 32 weeks worked per year (see Table 2.7).

Table 2.7: Number of Weeks Worked by Playwrights-in-Residence, 2004/05

# of Weeks	All Companies	MADs	FADs
20 weeks	27%	40%	0%
30 weeks	13%	10%	20%
8 weeks	13%	10%	20%
Other Responses	47%	40%	60%

Forty percent of MADs reported that 20 weeks a year was the usual average, whereas FADs reported a series of different totals ranging from 8 to 30 weeks a year, revealing a marginally significant finding in that FADs have a lower incidence of 20 weeks worked by their playwrights-in-residence than MADs.

In terms of the number of hours worked on average per week, 36% of the companies reported that 20 hours was the norm for their playwrights-in-residence and 27% indicated that 15 hours a week was standard (see Table 2.8).

Table 2.8: Number of Hours Worked Per Week by Playwrights-in-Res, 2004/05

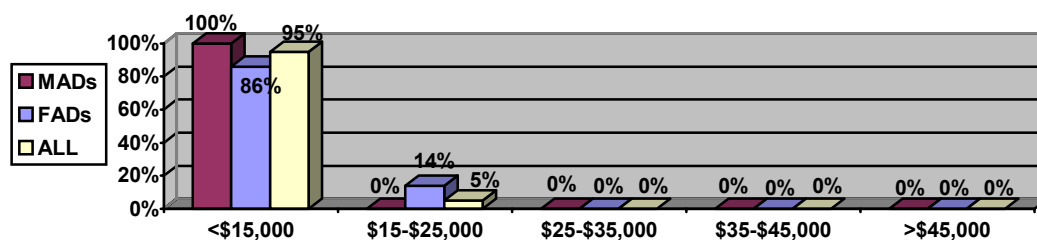
# of Hours	All Companies	MADs	FADs
20 hours	>36%	43%	25%
15 hours	>27%	>14%	50%
25 hours	9%	>14%	0%
18 hours	9%	0%	25%
10 hours	9%	>14%	0%
6 hours	9%	>14%	0%

Differences emerge between the two sets of companies, with 43% of MADs (compared to 25% of the FADs) reporting 20 hours worked per week by their playwrights-in-residence, whereas the majority of FADs (50%) reported 15-hour work-weeks for their playwrights-in-residence (compared to 14% of the MADs). These figures indicate that playwrights-in-residence generally work fewer hours per week at the FADs than they do at the MADs. Although more companies identified 20-hour work weeks overall, with the actual number of hours paid per week to playwrights-in-residence, 43% of the companies indicated that 15 hours was the norm, followed by 29% of the companies paying 20 hours a week, which suggests that playwrights-in-residence are working a greater number of hours per week than they are paid for (see Table 2.9). While the differences between the two sets of companies are minimal in this instance, it is evident that FADs have a much higher incidence of 15 hours paid per week to playwrights-in-residence than MADs. As 50% of FADs report 15 hour work weeks, but 67% pay for 15 hour work weeks, and as 25% report 20 hour work weeks but 33% of the companies pay for their playwrights-in-residence for 20 hours a week, the implication is that playwrights-in-residence are working longer hours than that for which they are compensated. This is also the case with the MADs, though the situation is less extreme.

Table 2.9: Number of Hours Paid Per Week to Playwrights-in-Res, 2004/05

# of Hours	All Companies	MADs	FADs
15 hours	43%	25%	67%
20 hours	29%	25%	33%
25 hours	14%	25%	0%
10 hours	14%	25%	0%

In terms of compensation ranges for playwrights-in-residence, the survey returns indicate a reversal from the pattern established above in regard to ADs, commissioned playwrights and playwrights for individual productions, as 100% of the playwrights-in-residence at the MADs received remuneration in the lowest category (less than \$15,000), compared to 86% of the FADs (see Chart 2.10).

Chart 2.10: Pay Scale Ranges for Playwrights-in-Residence, 2004/05

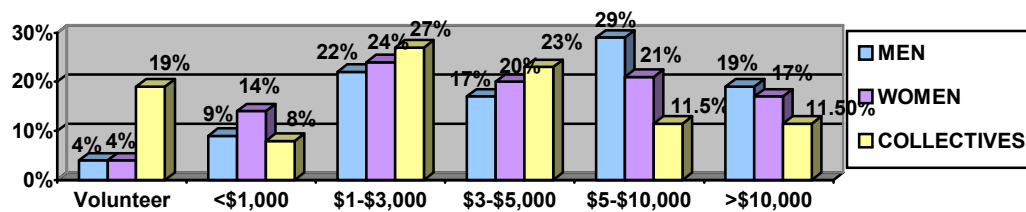
The remaining 14% of the FADs were situated in the second category of \$15,000 to \$25,000, thus drawing attention to a marginally significant difference between the two sets of companies, with playwrights-in-residence at the FADs receiving slightly higher wages than their counterparts at the MADs. That playwrights-in-residence received a higher rate of compensation at the FADs as opposed to the MADs is due, in part, to the amount of money that the playwrights receive from the granting agencies; the differences in remuneration do not reflect the individual companies' ability to pay higher wages, only their ability to secure grants for residencies.

Directors

As with the section on playwrights, the figures pertaining to directors were derived from individual production questions. Information regarding the number of hours and weeks worked is not available, nor is a FAD versus MAD breakdown, although comparisons in pay scales between male and female directors can be made. The findings uncovered by the Equity Survey for the compensation of directors are similar to those revealed for playwrights.⁴⁹ The greatest numbers of male directors (29%) were situated in the fifth compensation grouping, earning \$5,000 to \$10,000 per production, followed by 22% in the \$1,000 to \$3,000 range, and 19% in the top category (see Chart 2.11).

⁴⁹ For this aspect of the survey, the figures are based on 442 productions directed by women, 847 shows directed by men, and an additional 26 productions developed and directed by mixed gender collectives.

Chart 2.11: Compensation Ranges for Directors of Individual Productions, 2000/01-2004/05



The picture is quite different for female directors, with the largest number of women (24% overall) located in the third category of \$1,000 to \$3,000, followed by 21% in the \$5,000 to \$10,000 range, and 20% in the \$3,000 to \$5,000 range. While male directors tend to be paid at the top end of the scale 48% of the time, female directors are paid in the top two compensation ranges only 38% of the time. Collective creations receive the least amount of compensation of all with 27% earning \$1,000 to \$3,000, 23% earning \$3,000 to \$5,000 per production, and 19% volunteering their services free of charge.

It should be noted that the volunteer category for directors is possibly misrepresentative in this instance, as it likely includes artistic directors who directed shows in their own company's season. With some exceptions, it is common for ADs not to receive additional wages when they direct productions for their own companies; rather, the work is considered part of their annual salary. ADs aside, as with playwrights for individual productions, directors' fees are most often determined by the size of the venue and the potential box office of the theatre. Keeping this in mind, the statistics presented here demonstrate that women are financially disadvantaged as directors because they likely work in smaller venues and do not access the larger, mainstream theatres (which pay higher rates) as frequently as their male counterparts. This is further underscored by the greater numbers of female directors paid in the first three categories (\$3,000 or less), as this compensation range falls well below the rates of the Canadian Actors' Equity Association contracts, indicating the lack of access that female directors have to larger theatres and budgets.

Conclusions

Taken together, the above-cited figures indicate that the triumvirate artists tend to work longer hours and a greater number of weeks per year than that for which they are compensated. While male ADs tend to work a greater number of weeks per year, female ADs tend to put in more hours on a week-to-week basis. It is also evident that women are not only disadvantaged at the triumvirate level in terms of access and representation, but that they are disadvantaged yet again at the economic level even when they are able to access these positions. Women artistic directors, directors and playwrights (whether commissioned or on a production-to-production basis) tend to earn less money than their male counterparts primarily because they are engaged at smaller, under-funded companies. This observation is further highlighted by the fact that MADs tend to pay their workers higher rates of remuneration than FADs, with the exception of playwrights-in-residence whose compensation is based on the receipt of grant money rather than the individual company's financial standing. These characteristics speak to economic disadvantages for women in theatre at an institutional level, implying that women's work

is implicitly valued as less significant or less worthy than men's. The second-class status of women in the theatre industry is not simply mirrored in the distribution of the sector's employment patterns; it is also underscored and reinforced at the level of financial compensation.

Additional and Future Areas of Study

- Investigate workloads and compensation rates for people of colour in theatre to ascertain if differences are manifest along racialized lines.
- Examine labour and economic remuneration (for ADs, playwrights and directors) in accordance with the type and size of the theatre companies.
- Analyze the figures for commissioned playwrights at the top end of the scale (\$2,000 or more) to determine the upper limit of their pay scale.

B. Outside the Triumvirate

General Managers

The majority of the industry's general managers (at 54% of the companies) averaged 52 weeks of work in the 2004/05 season, indicating a heavy, non-stop and year-round workload (see Table 2.12).

Table 2.12: Number of Weeks Worked by General Managers, 2004/05

# of Weeks	All Companies	MADs	FADs
52 weeks	54%	60%	41%
50 weeks	19%	16%	27%
48 weeks	12%	11%	14%
49 weeks	>4%	2%	9%
30 weeks	3%	2%	4.5%
Other Responses	>7%	9%	4.5%

With the MADs, 60% of the general managers worked 52 weeks a year (compared to 41% of the GMs at the FADs), whereas 27% of FADs reported 50 weeks of work a year for their GMs (compared to 16% of the MADs), suggesting that GMs at the FADs tend to take two weeks off per year, unlike the majority of the GMs at the MADs. While MADs have a statistically higher incidence of GMs working 52 weeks a year, FADs have a marginally higher incidence of GMs working 50 and 49 weeks a year. In terms of the number of hours worked per week, 27% of the total companies reported 40 hours a week, at 26% of the MADs and 30% of the FADs. While FADs have a slightly higher percentage of 40-hour work-weeks for their GMs than MADs, the differences between the two sets of companies are minimal in this instance (see Table 2.13). In relation to the number of hours paid per week, 49% of the companies reported 40 hours paid to their GMs (see Table 2.14), but only 27% of the companies indicated that their GMs actually worked 40 hours; and while 18% of the companies reported that their GMs worked 35 hours a week, 23% reported that their GMs were paid for that time.

Table 2.13: Number of Hours Worked Per Week by General Managers, 2004/05

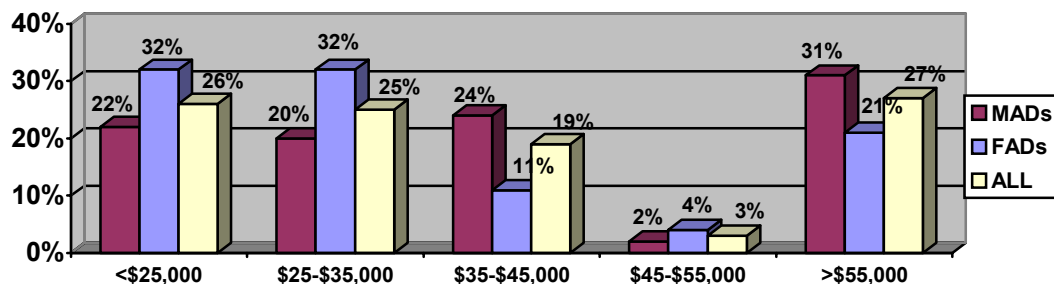
# of Hours	All Companies	MADs	FADs
40 hours	27%	26%	30%
35 hours	18%	19%	15%
50 hours	15%	17%	10%
30 hours	10%	10%	10%
45 hours	8%	10%	5%
60 hours	6%	7%	5%
55 hours	3%	2%	5%
25 hours	3%	2%	5%
Other Responses	10%	7%	15%

Table 2.14: Number of Hours Paid Per Week to General Managers, 2004/05

# of Hours	All Companies	MADs	FADs
40 hours	49%	<56%	37%
35 hours	<23%	<21%	26%
30 hours	<8%	<12%	0%
20 hours	<6%	<6%	5%
Other Responses	15%	<6%	32%

Following 40 and 35 hours, three of the four figures reported for the number of hours worked per week were greater than 40 hours, so we can deduce that general managers put in extra time for which they are not paid. Furthermore, 56% of MADs reported 40 hours paid per week to GMs, compared to 37% of FADs, a statistically significant finding that suggests GMs tend to be paid for 40 hours at the MADs more often than at the FADs.

With compensation rates, 27% of the companies paid their GMs in the top category (more than \$55,000 a year), and at the opposite end of the scale 26% of the companies paid their GMs in the first grouping (less than \$25,000) (see Chart 2.15).

Chart 2.15: Compensation Ranges for General Managers, 2004/05

Further light is shed on the extremity of these figures when we look at the FADs versus the MADs, as the MADs have a greater percentage of GMs at the top end of the scale and a lower percentage at the bottom end of the scale, though the most statistically significant finding is that the MADs have a higher incidence of paying GMs in the third category (\$35,000 to \$45,000 a year) than the FADs. Once again, as with playwrights and directors, general managers are usually paid less at companies run by female ADs than they are at companies with male ADs, and this is likely due to company size and financial

standing. The survey results also reveal a significant negative relationship between the gender of the GM and the rate of compensation received, which may explain in part why so few men occupy these positions.

Dramaturgs and Literary Managers

The figures pertaining to dramaturgs and/or literary managers cited below specifically relate to company hires (most often literary managers) in the 2004/05 season, as opposed to dramaturgs contracted to work on individual productions. Sixteen percent of the companies indicated that their literary managers/dramaturgs worked 4 or 6 weeks a year, another 11% cited 52 weeks worked per year, and the remaining 57% provided individual responses ranging from 1 to 50 weeks worked per year (see Table 2.16).

Table 2.16: Number of Weeks Worked by Dramaturgs/Literary Managers, 2004/05

# of Weeks	All Companies	MADs	FADs
6 weeks	<16%	>22%	10%
4 weeks	<16%	>11%	20%
52 weeks	10.5%	>22%	0%
50 weeks	>5%	0%	10%
48 weeks	>5%	0%	10%
44 weeks	>5%	>11%	0%
40 weeks	>5%	>11%	0%
Other Responses	<37%	>22%	50%

FADs have a lower incidence of 6 and 52 weeks worked per year than the MADs, whereas the MADs have a lower incidence of 4 weeks worked per year compared to the FADs, which suggests that dramaturgs and/or literary managers tend to work fewer weeks per year at companies with female ADs, which is likely related, once again, to the size and type of the company and the overall financial position of the theatre.

With the number of hours worked per week, overall, 21% of the companies indicated that 40 hours was the norm, another 21% identified 20 hours as the usual amount of time, and 14% of the companies responded with 10 hours worked per week by their dramaturgs and/or literary managers (the remaining 44% of the companies offered individual responses ranging from 2 to 35 hours worked per week) (see Table 2.17).

Table 2.17: Number of Hours Worked Per Week by Dramaturgs/ Literary Managers, 2004/05

# of Hours	All Companies	MADs	FADs
40 hours	>21%	>14%	28.5%
20 hours	>21%	>14%	28.5%
10 hours	>14%	>14%	>14%
35 hours	>7%	0%	>14%
30 hours	>7%	>14%	0%
28 hours	>7%	0%	>14%
Other Responses	>21%	43%	0%

With the FADs, 29% of the companies indicated that their literary managers and/or dramaturgs worked 40 and 20 hours a week respectively, whereas the MADs reported different totals ranging from 2 to 40 hours per week. The most significant difference between the two sets of companies is that the MADs have a comparatively lower incidence of dramaturgs working 28 and 35 hours a week compared to the FADs. The breakdown for the number of hours paid per week is somewhat similar to that reported for the number of hours actually worked per week by dramaturgs and/or literary managers. The greatest number of companies (21% overall) reported 35 hours paid per week to literary managers and dramaturgs (see Table 2.18).

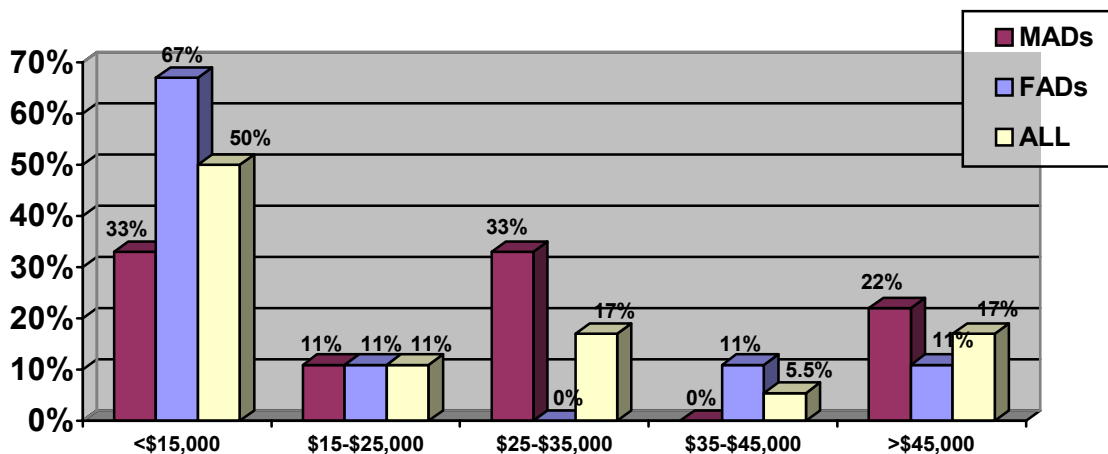
Table 2.18: Number of Hours Paid Per Week to Dramaturgs/Literary Managers, 2004/05

# of Hours	All Companies	MADs	FADs
35 hours	>21%	>14%	29%
40 hours	>14%	>14%	>14%
20 hours	>14%	>14%	>14%
10 hours	>14%	>14%	>14%
30 hours	>7%	>14%	0%
28 hours	>7%	0%	>14%
Other Responses	>21%	29%	>14%

MADs reported a series of individual totals ranging from 2 to 40 hours paid, whereas 29% of the FADs reported 35 hours, with the remainder of the companies providing a series of individual totals ranging from 5 to 40 hours paid to dramaturgs and/or literary managers per week. With this breakdown, MADs have a lower incidence of paying 5, 28 and 35 hours a week compared with the FADs; and once again, it seems that employees are working more than their number of paid hours.

With rates of compensation, 50% of the total companies indicated that their literary managers and/or dramaturgs were paid in the lowest category (less than \$15,000), while another 17% reported the third (\$25,000 to \$35,000) and fifth (more than \$45,000) compensation ranges respectively (see Chart 2.19).

Chart 2.19: Pay Scales for Dramaturgs/Literary Managers, 2004/05



The variances between the MADs and the FADs are quite telling in this instance, as 67%

of the FADs, compared to only 33% of the MADs, reported paying their dramaturgs in the lowest pay scale range, whereas 22% of MADs reported the top category, compared to only 11% of the FADs. Statistically significant in this instance is the FADs' lower incidence of the third compensation range, whereas the MADs have a lower incidence of the first and fourth categories, all of which suggests that dramaturgs and/or literary managers are generally paid less at the FADs than they are at the MADs, which is likely related to differences in company size and budgetary allowances.

Artists-in-Residence

Slightly more than 33% of the companies reported that their artists-in-residence worked 52 weeks a year in 2004/05, 22% indicated 40 weeks a year, and the remaining 44% provided individual responses ranging from 20 to 48 weeks (see Table 2.20).

Table 2.20: Number of Weeks Worked by Artists-in-Residence, 2004/05

# of Weeks	All Companies	MADs	FADs
52 weeks	>33%	37.5%	0%
40 weeks	22%	25%	0%
48 weeks	>11%	0%	100%
44 weeks	>11%	12.5%	0%
26 weeks	>11%	12.5%	0%
20 weeks	>11%	12.5%	0%

Only one of the companies with an artist-in-residence was a FAD, and it reported 48 weeks worked per year, a figure that was not cited by any of the MADs. With the companies with male ADs, 38% reported 52 weeks worked per year, followed by 25% reporting 40 weeks a year. Marginally significant here is the fact that FADs have so few artists-in-residence compared to MADs, and that FADs have a higher incidence of artists-in-residence working 48 weeks a year than the MADs.

Looking at the number of hours worked on a weekly basis by artists-in-residence, 22% of the companies reported 40 and 15 hours respectively, and the remaining 56% provided individual responses ranging from 10 to 38 hours per week (see Table 2.21).

Table 2.21: Number of Hours Worked Per Week by Artists-in-Res, 2004/05

# of Hours	All Companies	MADs	FADs
40 hours	>22%	12.5%	100%
15 hours	>22%	25%	0%
38 hours	>11%	12.5%	0%
30 hours	>11%	12.5%	0%
25 hours	>11%	12.5%	0%
20 hours	>11%	12.5%	0%
10 hours	>11%	12.5%	0%

The one FAD company reported that 40 hours was the weekly norm, whereas the greatest percentage of the MADs (25%) indicated that 15 hours was usual. The actual number of hours paid per week was not provided by the single FAD company that responded to the

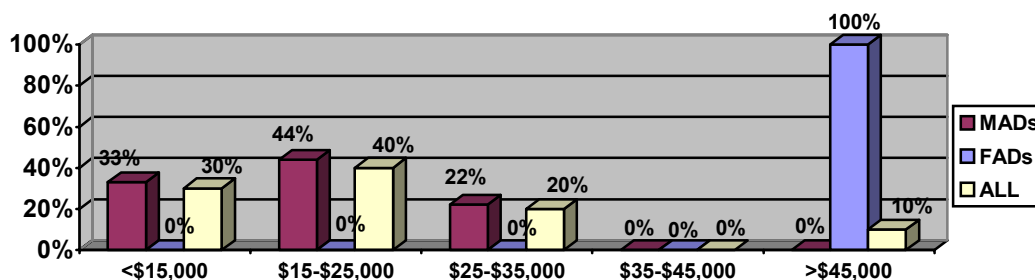
questionnaire, but MADs indicated a range of responses from 10 to 40 hours for the number of hours worked per week by artists-in-residence (see Table 2.22).

Table 2.22: Number of Hours Paid Per Week to Artists-in-Residence, 2004/05

# of Hours	All Companies	MADs	FADs
40 hours	20%	20%	N/A
38 hours	20%	20%	N/A
30 hours	20%	20%	N/A
20 hours	20%	20%	N/A
10 hours	20%	20%	N/A

With actual rates of compensation, 40% of the companies indicated the second pay scale range (\$15,000 to \$25,000) for their artists-in-residence, 30% selected the first category (less than \$15,000) and 20% cited the third (\$25,000 to \$35,000) (see Chart 2.23).

Chart 2.23: Pay Scale Ranges for Artists-in-Residence, 2004/05



As with playwrights-in-residence, artists-in-residence are generally compensated with grant money (not the theatres' own funds), which explains why the statistics for the FADs demonstrate higher fees and a reversal from the norm in relation to the other industry positions, as the one FAD company indicated a significantly higher rate of pay (\$45,000 or more) than that found at the MADs, most of which compensated their artists-in-residence in the second pay scale range (\$15,000 to \$25,000).

Resident Designers

With resident designers, 27% of the companies reported that 6 weeks worked per year was the norm in 2004/05, 18% of the companies indicated 48 weeks, and the remaining 55% provided individual totals ranging from 3 to 40 weeks (see Table 2.24).

Table 2.24: Number of Weeks Worked by Resident Designers, 2004/05

# of Weeks	All Companies	MADs	FADs
6 weeks	>27%	<17%	40%
48 weeks	>18%	<17%	20%
40 weeks	9%	0%	20%
30 weeks	9%	<17%	0%
20 weeks	9%	<17%	0%
8 weeks	9%	0%	20%
4 weeks	9%	<17%	0%
3 weeks	9%	<17%	0%

MADs reported a series of individual responses ranging from 3 to 40 weeks worked per year, while 40% of the FADs reported 6 weeks worked per year by their resident designers. In this instance, it is marginally significant that the FADs have a higher incidence of 6 weeks worked per year, and that the MADs have a lower incidence of 8 and 40 weeks worked per year by their resident designers. On a weekly basis, 50% of the companies reported that their resident designers often worked 40 hours (see Table 2.25).

Table 2.25: Number of Hours Worked Per Week by Resident Designers, 2004/05

# of Hours	All Companies	MADs	FADs
40 hours	50%	20%	80%
42 hours	10%	20%	0%
30 hours	10%	0%	20%
20 hours	10%	20%	0%
6 hours	10%	20%	0%
5 hours	10%	20%	0%

The MADs provided a series of different figures ranging from 5 to 42 hours a week, whereas 80% of the FADs reported 40-hour work-weeks (the other 20% indicating 30-hour work-weeks). It is marginally significant that FADs have a higher incidence of 40 and 30 hours worked per week compared to MADs, which suggests that resident designers work more hours per week at the FADs than they do at the MADs.

With the number of hours paid per week to resident designers, 43% of the total companies indicated that 40 hours was the norm (see Table 2.26).

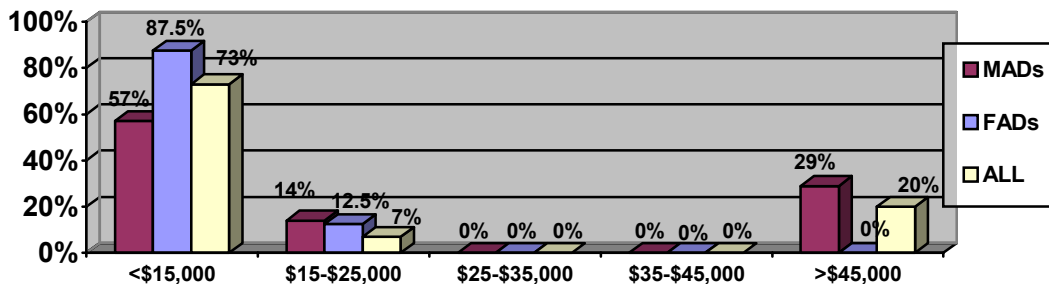
Table 2.26: Number of Hours Paid Per Week to Resident Designers, 2004/05

# of Hours	All Companies	MADs	FADs
40 hours	43%	>33%	50%
30 hours	>14%	0%	25%
20 hours	>14%	>33%	0%
5 hours	>14%	>33%	0%
1 hour	>14%	0%	25%

Differences emerge between the MADs and the FADs, with 50% of FADs reporting 40 hours paid per week compared to 33% of the MADs, suggesting that resident designers are employed on a full-time basis more often at the FADs than they are at the MADs. The other 33% percent of the MADs reported 20 and 5 hours paid per week respectively, whereas the other 25% of the FADs cited 30 hours and 1 hour paid per week respectively, which further suggests that resident designers tend to work on a part-time basis more often at the MADs than at the FADs, who have a higher incidence of paying resident designers for three-quarter time.

In terms of the actual rate of compensation, 73% of the companies cited the first pay scale for their resident designers (less than \$15,000), 20% indicated the top range (more than \$45,000) and 7% cited the second category (\$15,000 to \$25,000) (see Chart 2.27).

Chart 2.27: Pay Scale Ranges for Resident Designers, 2004/05



Significant differences emerge between the MADs and the FADs, as 29% of MADs paid their resident designers in the top range, while none of the FADs did so; and 88% of FADs paid their resident designers in the lowest compensation range, compared to only 57% of the MADs. These findings indicate that resident designers are generally paid more money at the MADs than they are at the FADs. It should be noted that the resident designer position is somewhat unusual, as it is employed at large theatres, like Stratford and the Manitoba Theatre Centre, as well as at smaller companies, such as Caravan Theatre and Rosebud Theatre. In some instances, a resident designer may receive an artist-in-residence grant, but in other instances s/he is paid directly by the company.

Conclusions

Both general managers and artists-in-residence tend to work 52 weeks a year and 40 hours a week. It is more likely that these occupations receive two or three weeks off at the FADs than at the MADs, although people in these positions tend to work a greater number of hours per week at the FADs than they do at the MADs. Literary managers and/or dramaturgs and resident designers tend to work only 6 weeks a year, but they put in 40-hour weeks, particularly at the FADs. In all cases, it appears that the actual number of hours worked exceeds the number of hours for which these positions are compensated. With GMs, literary managers and resident designers, MADs consistently pay out higher wages than FADs, and it is only in the case of artists-in-residence, who receive remuneration from grants, that FADs pay their workers more money than MADs.

Additional and Future Areas of Study

- Conduct studies on pay rates that include assistant directors, translators, actors, designers, stage managers and “other” production positions, as well as box office, administrative, contract and office staff.
- Evaluate pay scales and the hours and weeks worked using appropriate measures to factor in differences between full and part-time workers.
- Assess the primary source of remuneration for resident designers.
- Analyze specific rates of compensation and differences between grant-based positions such as resident designers, playwrights- and artists-in-residence.
- Examine the various positions and levels of remuneration according to the size and type of the theatres in order to ascertain where discrepancies lie.

C. Overall Conclusions

Both the triumvirate of power and the positions located outside of the triumvirate work a greater number of hours per week and a greater number of weeks per year than that for which they are compensated. At companies with male ADs, employees tend to work a greater number of weeks per year, whereas workers at companies with female ADs tend to put in a greater number of hours per week, whether part-time or full-time. With the exception of playwrights- and artists-in-residence, who are directly compensated with grant money, all of the positions discussed above receive less remuneration at the FADs than they do at the MADs, primarily because FADs tend to be smaller, artist-driven companies with limited resources and less substantial budgets. This situation is clearly unfair: regardless of gender and/or venue size, high-quality, innovative work is deserving of appropriate funding and support. Employment equity has not yet been achieved in the theatre industry; in addition to inequitable access and rates of representation, women are disadvantaged once again, this time on the economic plane.

Since theatre workers tend to be over-worked and under-paid, many would opt to work where the compensation is best, if they have a choice in the matter, and that would not be at a company with a female artistic director in most instances. The implications of this financial gender imbalance are profound for both the companies in question and for the people who are employed by them. Since the FADs are unable to pay top rate, it follows that they likely experience greater difficulties in attracting professionals who are at the top of their field. This limits their choices for personnel, which potentially impacts on the quality of the theatrical process and product as well as the reception of the work. On an individual level, women find themselves over-worked, under-valued and under-compensated. These disadvantages can affect the quality of their work, threaten their financial stability (and possibly their very survival), and they additionally contribute to the feminization of poverty that is currently underway in Canada.

Part Three: (En)Gendering Canadian Theatre Companies

“The theatre may be a place where a woman can work, but it’s certainly not a place where a feminist can work; unless she runs the shop.”
(Fratlicelli qtd. in Lushington, “Notes” 11)

Given that women have historically had a difficult time accessing the nation’s stages, in the mainstream in particular, and given that they often face a limited choice of roles in the industry, it is not surprising that many start their own companies in order to control the means of production, a phenomenon that has contributed to the increase in the figures for female ADs over time. As will be illustrated in the following sections, when a woman heads up a theatre company, her gender continues to have a tangible and often negative impact on the material and financial conditions surrounding theatrical production. This is not to imply that companies become more disadvantaged if a woman assumes the leadership role, rather that women are offered jobs at more disadvantaged theatres to begin with, or they start their own from scratch, which is also a material and financial disadvantage. As demonstrated in Part One, a number of differences exist between companies run by female versus male artistic directors. FADs employ general managers, stage managers, playwrights-in-residence, artists-in-residence and directors⁵⁰ with less frequency than companies run by male ADs, and fewer FADs have administrative employees, other full-time workers and contract staff members.⁵¹ Financial factors are responsible for these differences in large part, for as Part Two illustrated, just as female theatre practitioners are economically disadvantaged in relation to their male counterparts, so too are the majority of the companies headed by female ADs. This information provides a picture of the Canadian theatre industry in all its gendered glory, and it is an image that can be augmented further with additional findings from the Equity Survey, which reveal that gender impacts on a variety of fronts previously unconsidered by Fraticelli’s study.

A. Company Status and Characteristics

Aside from financial considerations, it may be that FADs employ stage managers and directors less often than MADs and that they are more inclined to work with dramaturgs and assistant directors because they practice the art of theatre in a collaborative (and perhaps less hierarchical) fashion. While the majority of both the FADs and the MADs are run by a single AD figure (94% and 97% respectively), the survey returns indicate that there is a greater likelihood of two or more individuals sharing the AD position at companies with female, as opposed to male, leadership.⁵² Consider that at companies headed by female ADs collective creations account for 7% of

⁵⁰ It may be that artistic directors at the FADs direct a substantial number of the companies’ plays, so they are not necessarily going without directors, rather they might contract outside directors with less frequency than the MADs.

⁵¹ Conversely, companies with female ADs tend to have a more equitable ratio of male to female actors and they employ translators, assistant directors, dramaturgs, “other” production positions and box-office staff with greater frequency than MADs.

⁵² Of the 52 companies that reported female artistic directors, 49 of those were solo ADs (94%), 2 were Co-ADs (4%), and 1 was a tripartite of ADs (2%). Of the 73 companies that reported male artistic directors, 71 were single ADs (97%), 1 was a shared position (>1%), and 1 was a tripartite (>1%).

the overall productions, compared to only 2% of the work produced by companies with male ADs (see Table 1.7). The collective form is often associated with female and feminist performance traditions, so these differences in practices are not surprising perhaps, although the roots of our homegrown Canadian theatre tradition are also steeped in collectivity, making it a noteworthy observation that female theatre practitioners are carrying on the legacy in the 21st century to a greater degree than companies run by male ADs. The general tendency on the part of FADs to work in a more collaborative manner than MADs is but one of many characteristics that set the two groups apart.

The survey findings additionally indicate that 14% of the respondents self-identify as Theatres for Young Audiences (TYA), and another 26% of the companies self-identify as community and/or popular theatres (presumably, the remaining 60% of the companies are “regular” theatres). Fraticelli’s study found that TYA theatres had greater numbers of female artistic directors (and by extension female playwrights and directors) particularly in relation to the prestigious Group of 18 (companies that received \$150,000 or more in Canada Council money).⁵³ With a total of sixteen theatres designated as TYA, 8 MADs and 8 FADs, the Equity Survey returns indicate that the trend identified by Fraticelli has continued into the present. While the numbers of MADs and FADs engaged in TYA present an even 50/50 split, seemingly suggesting equality in this area, in actual fact, given that there are fewer FADs in existence than MADs, the group of companies with female ADs has a comparatively higher incidence of TYA theatres, accounting for 16% of the theatres, compared to only 11% of the MADs (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1: TYA and Community and/or Popular Theatre Company Totals

Identification	Overall %	% of FADs	% of MADs
TYA	13%	16%	11%
Non-TYA	87%	84%	89%
Popular	26%	27%	25%
Non-Popular	74%	73%	75%

It must be noted that the Equity Survey did not specifically target TYA theatres, so given the random nature of the survey sample it may be that the statistics are not entirely representative of the TYA sector as a whole.⁵⁴

In total, 98% of the companies indicated that they have “not-for-profit” status, though FADs fall slightly below the numbers of MADs in this instance.⁵⁵ The vast majority of the companies are also incorporated (87% overall), although marginally

⁵³ As noted in the Introduction, TYAs employed female playwrights 25% of the time and women directors 30% of the time, a rate of employment that was “approximately twice what women experience[d] in the theatre in general, and more than three times their rate of employment at The Group of 18” (“Status” 28).

⁵⁴ When the survey findings for the TYA figures are analyzed according to geographic region, the following breakdown is revealed: none of the Atlantic region theatres self-identify as TYA companies, two of the companies in Quebec do, eleven of the companies in Ontario do, two companies in the Prairie and Yukon region do and two companies in BC identify as TYA. Statistically significant here is the fact that Ontario has a higher incidence of TYA companies than any other region, and marginally significant is the fact that the Atlantic region has none, although it has the highest incidence of TYA programming at the “regular” (or non-TYA) theatres. Overall, 45% of the non-TYA theatres produce some kind of TYA programming (27 male run companies and 21 female run companies), while 55% of the companies do not.

⁵⁵ It may be worth noting that the two companies identified as “for-profit” are both FADs based in Ontario.

significant differences emerge between the two sets of companies, with 84% of the FADs being incorporated, compared to 89% of the MADs (see Table 3.2).⁵⁶

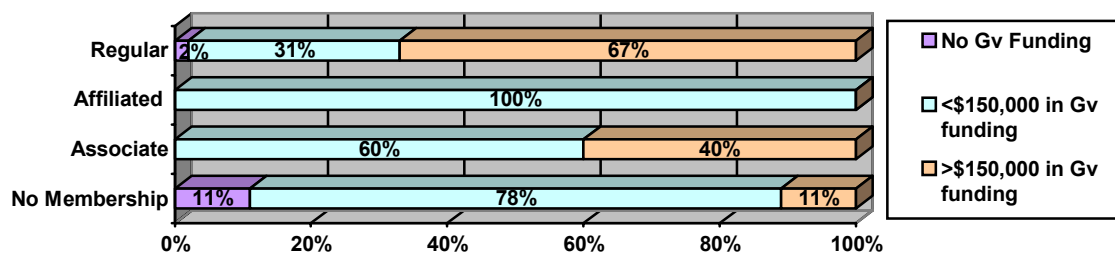
Table 3.2: Company Status and Memberships as of 2004/05

Company Status	Overall %	% of FADs	% of MADs
Not-for-Profit	98%	98%	100%
Incorporated	87%	84%	89%
Registered Charity	83%	69%	93%
ACT Membership	7%	9%	6%
PACT Membership	63%	63%	64%

The majority of the companies also have registered charitable status (83% in all), but significant statistical differences exist between the MADs and the FADs in this instance, indicating a connection between the gender of a company's AD and the likelihood of obtaining charitable status, as only 69% of the FADs have registered charitable status compared to 93% of the MADs.⁵⁷ The disparity in numbers found here could be the result of the size and age of the companies that women tend to operate, as a theatre must have an established body of work before applying. Changes in application criteria introduced a few years back have also made it more difficult for some of the younger theatres to obtain charitable status, since they must fit into certain categories falling outside of arts and culture, such as education or social/community work. The differences revealed between the two groups in relation to these company characteristics are significant, since such factors contribute to and often impact on other areas of import like funding opportunities, tax breaks and credits, as well as a company's overall profile in the larger community.

An examination of the theatres' professional memberships, specifically with the Professional Association of Canadian Theatres (PACT) and its French-Canadian equivalent, the Association des compagnies de théâtre (ACT), highlights the importance of such affiliations, as the Equity Survey found a statistically significant correlation between regular PACT membership and the level of government funding received by the companies, in that theatres with more than \$150,000 in government subsidy have the highest percentage of regular PACT memberships (see Chart 3.3).

Chart 3.3: PACT Membership Correlated with Fiscal Categorizations



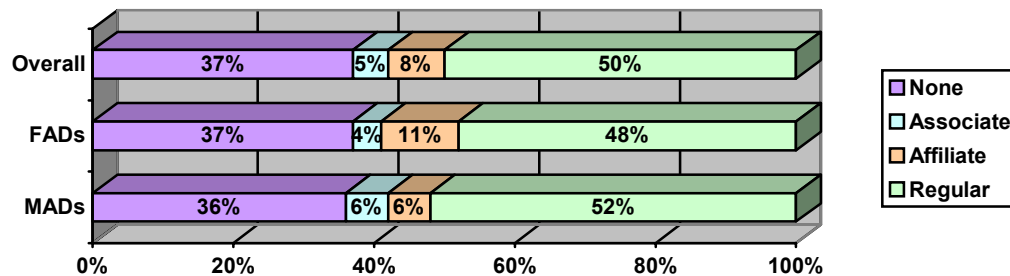
In total, 63% of the surveyed companies have some sort of PACT membership, and

⁵⁶ Regional differences also emerge, with Quebec having a lower rate of incorporation than other regions.

⁵⁷ In terms of regional differences, the Equity Survey found that BC has a significantly larger portion of companies with registered charitable status, whereas Quebec has a marginally lower incidence.

differences in the numbers between the MADs and FADs are minimal in this instance, with the exception perhaps of affiliate memberships (see Chart 3.4).⁵⁸

Chart 3.4: PACT Membership Breakdown as of 2004/05



Only 7% of the companies have ACT membership, indicating that the majority of the respondents work in English (see Table 3.2). The differences between the MADs and FADs are negligible in this instance, although companies with female ADs have a slightly higher incidence of ACT membership, drawing attention to the greater numbers of women working as ADs in Quebec, and additionally suggesting that French-speaking FADs have a higher level of recognition and stability than English-speaking FADs (who have a slightly lower incidence of professional membership in comparison to MADs).

Additional and Future Areas of Study

- Study the TYA industry on its own to ascertain if differences in practices and representation are manifest along gendered and racialized lines.
- Investigate the size, type and age of the theatres specifically in relation to company characteristics (such as incorporation, charitable status, etc.).

B. Operational Practices

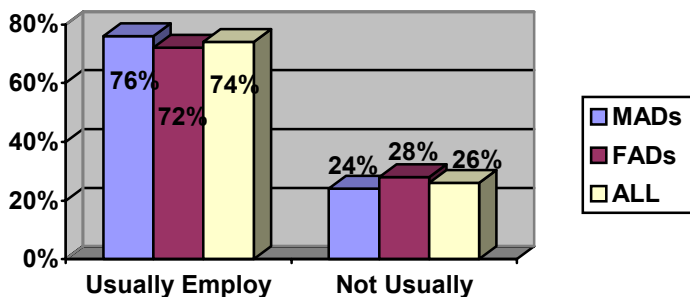
The Equity Survey posed a series of questions related to the use of union hires and the types of contract agreements usually employed by the companies. Overall, 74% of the theatres usually employ Canadian Actors Equity Association (CAEA) and/or Union des artistes (UDA) contracts, and while the differences between the MADs and FADs are fairly minimal in this instance, it is worth noting that companies with female ADs have a slightly lower incidence of employing union hires than companies with male ADs (see Chart 3.6).

⁵⁸ When the data is subjected to a geographical analysis (see Table 3.5), the Quebec region is identified as having the lowest number of PACT memberships and a comparatively higher number of companies with associate status (presumably because French-speaking companies are regular members of ACT).

Table 3.5: PACT Membership According to Geographical Region, 2004/05

Membership Type	Atlantic	BC	Ontario	Prairies/ Yukon	Quebec
None	14%	27%	39%	18%	2%
Associate	0%	33%	17%	0%	50%
Affiliate	33%	11%	56%	0%	0%
Regular	12%	19%	44%	15%	10%

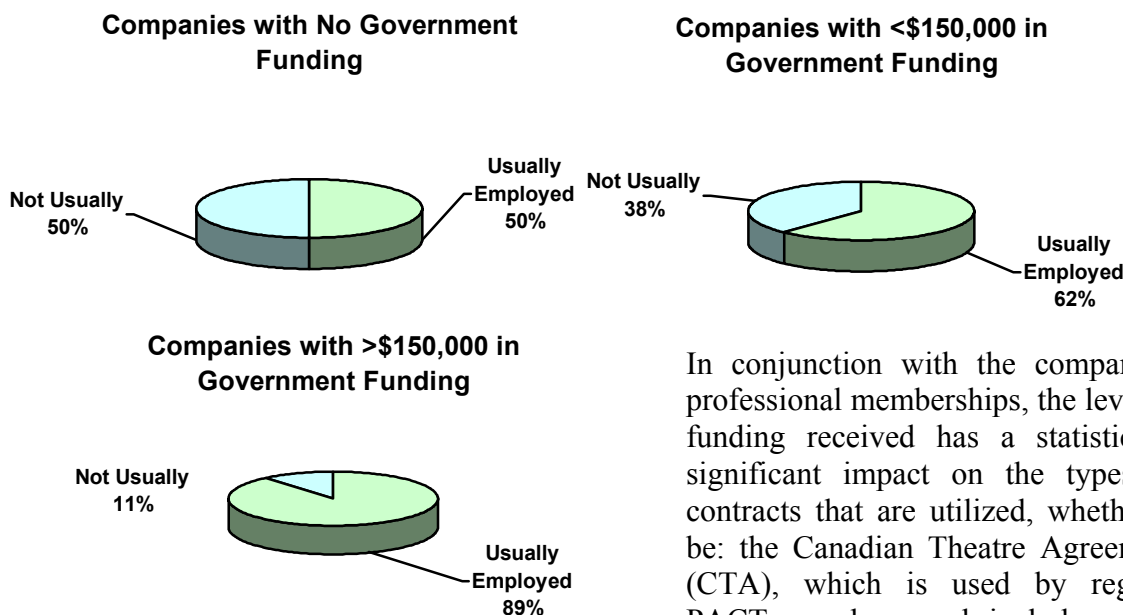
Chart 3.6: CAEA and/or UDA Hires



As Chart 3.7 demonstrates, the Equity Survey returns reveal a statistically significant correlation between the companies' level of funding and the hiring of CAEA/UDA members, as the third category (companies with more than \$150,000 in government grant money) has a decidedly higher

incidence of employing unionized workers than the companies in the other two groups.

Charts 3.7: CAEA and UDA Hires Cross-Tabulated with Fiscal Categorizations



In conjunction with the companies' professional memberships, the level of funding received has a statistically significant impact on the types of contracts that are utilized, whether it be: the Canadian Theatre Agreement (CTA), which is used by regular PACT members and includes some

higher scales of fees; the Independent Theatre Agreement (ITA), which is designated for non-PACT companies; or none at all.⁵⁹ As Table 3.8 indicates, companies without government funding tend not to use such contracts, companies in the mid range tend to use a greater number of ITA contracts than the other two groups, and companies in the largest funding category employ CTA contracts far more often than the other two groups.

⁵⁹ Other options also exist for smaller theatres interested in engaging CAEA members, such as the Independent Theatre Artists contract, the Small-Scale Theatre Addendum, the Co-operative Guidelines and the Guest Artist Agreements, but the Equity Survey did not specifically inquire about these alternatives. As a result, the UDA and Guest Artist contract figures cited in Tables 3.8 and 3.9 may not be representative of the larger population, since the survey respondents were only asked to chose between CTA, ITA and not applicable; nonetheless, certain companies opted to write in their UDA and Guest Artist contract usage.

Table 3.8: Contract Usage According to Fiscal Categorizations

Contract Type	No Government Funding	< \$150,000 in Government Funding	> \$150,000 in Government Funding
CTA	40%	36%	83%
ITA	0%	29%	>2%
UDA	0%	4%	>7%
Guest Artist	0%	9%	2%
Not Applicable	60%	22%	5%

Overall, the majority of the companies utilize CTA contracts more than any other kind (55% in total), and this is true of both the MADs and the FADs (see Table 3.9).

Table 3.9: Contract Type Most Often Employed by MADs and FADs

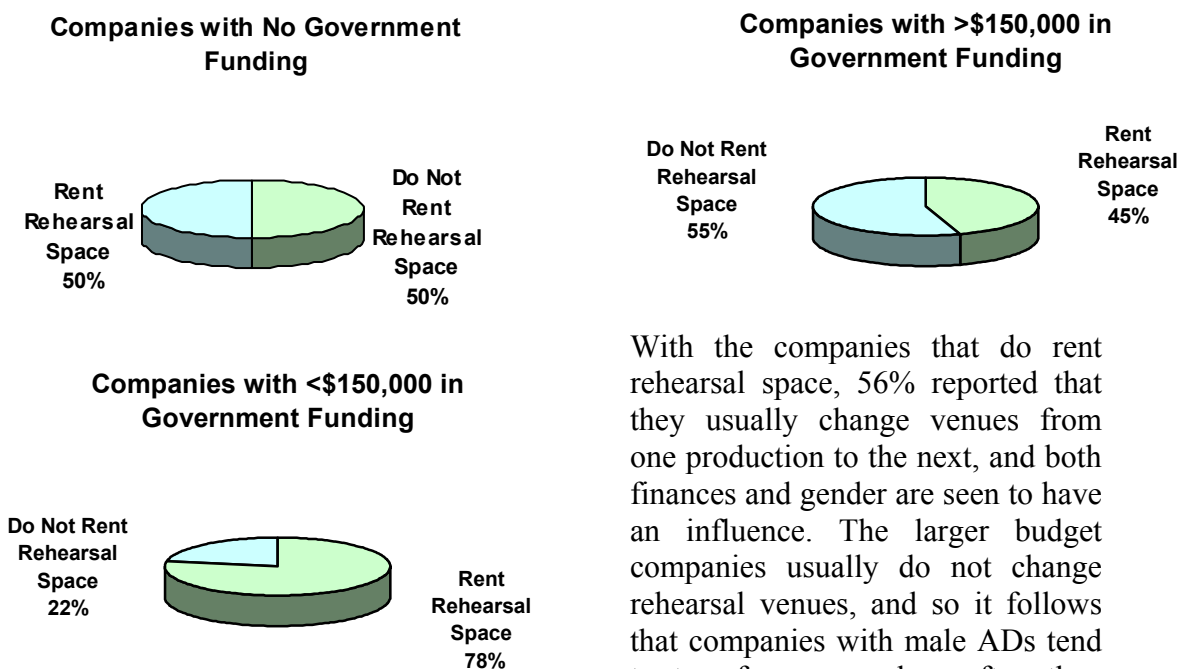
Contract Type	Overall %	% of FADs	% of MADs
CTA	55%	54%	56%
ITA	17%	>8%	23%
UDA	4%	>8%	2%
Guest Artist	7%	>8%	6%
Not Applicable	16%	21%	13%

Statistically significant differences emerge between the two sets of companies in relation to ITA contract usage, as MADs employ this type of contract far more often than FADs, whereas the FADs have a much higher incidence of not employing either kind of contract. This finding suggests that FADs are more likely to work outside of the mainstream contract policies and that they are less likely to employ CAEA members. Once again, the disparity in practices found here between the FADs and the MADs is related, in part, to funding levels, as many of the FADs cannot afford the rates set forth by industry contracts. It may also speak to additional differences in production practices and the types of working models employed by the two sets of companies.

The Equity Survey also generated information related to rehearsal and performance venue practices. When asked if companies usually rent their rehearsal space, 64% of the theatres responded in the affirmative (see Table 3.10). Both financial standing and gender (and the intersections between the two) are seen to have an impact on this aspect of the companies' activities, as theatres with \$150,000 or more in government funding have a proportionately higher incidence of not renting rehearsal space (see Chart 3.11), and companies run by male ADs have a proportionately lower rate of renting performance space than the FADs (see Table 3.10).

Table 3.10: Rehearsal Venue Rentals and Changeover Totals

Companies that (Usually)...	Overall %	% of FADs	% of MADs
Rent Rehearsal Space	64%	69%	60%
Change Rehearsal Venues	56%	60%	53%

Table 3.11: Rehearsal Space Rental According to Fiscal Categorizations

With the companies that do rent rehearsal space, 56% reported that they usually change venues from one production to the next, and both finances and gender are seen to have an influence. The larger budget companies usually do not change rehearsal venues, and so it follows that companies with male ADs tend to transfer venues less often than companies with female ADs (see

Table 3.10). The differences in company practices in relation to rehearsal venues indicate that theatres with female ADs are slightly disadvantaged as they rent more often and change spaces more often, which can impact on a company's stability and financial resources.

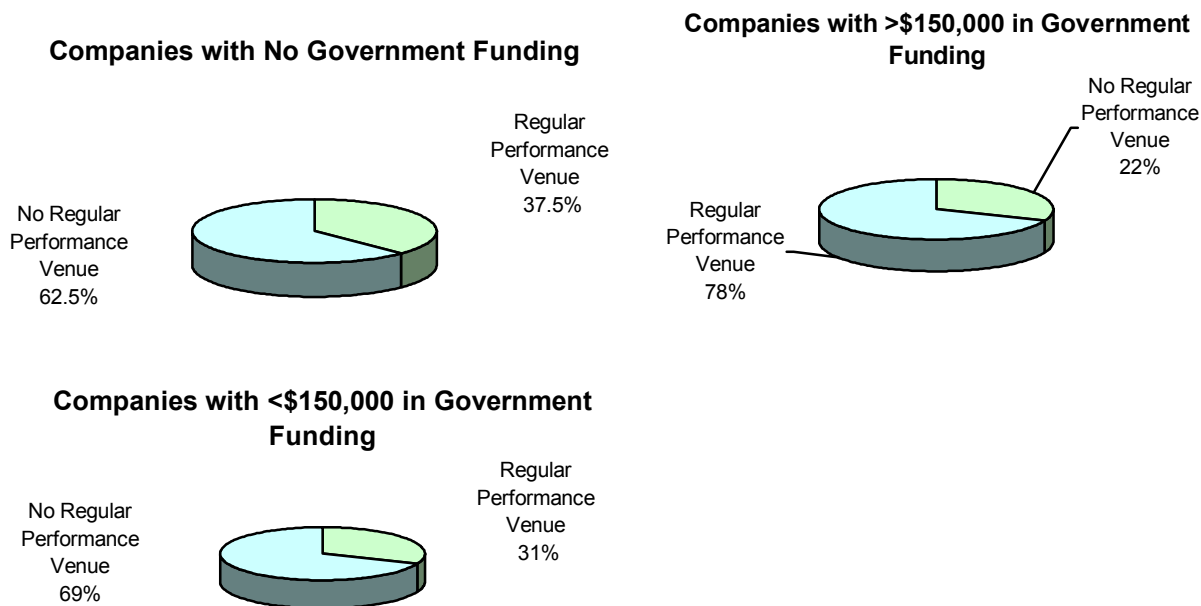
In relation to performance venues, 49% of the companies reported that they have a regular or resident performance space. There is a definite statistical relationship between the gender of a company's AD and the likelihood of obtaining a regular performance venue, as only 38% of the FADs possess such a space compared to 57% of the MADs (see Table 3.12).

Table 3.12: Performance Venue Characteristics

Companies that (Usually)...	Overall %	% of Companies with Female ADs	% of Companies with Male ADs
Have a Regular or Resident Venue	49%	38%	57%
Operate their Own Performance Space	50%	43%	55%
Rent their Performance Space	66%	69%	63%
Change Performance Spaces Often	53%	60%	48%
Use Wheelchair Accessible Venues	90%	85%	94%

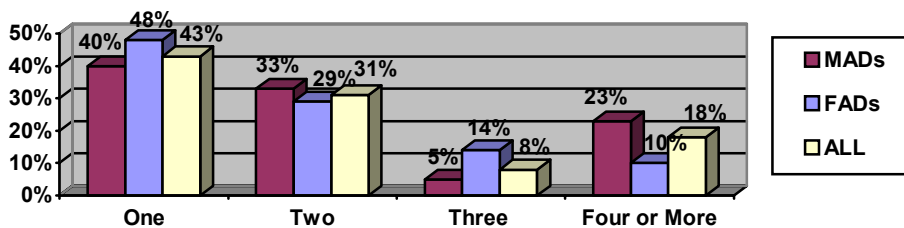
Logically, there is also a direct correlation between funding level and the likelihood of obtaining a resident space; the number of theatres in the second grouping that do not have a regular space is comparatively high, whereas in the third group the number of theatres who do not have such a space is disproportionately low (see Chart 3.13).

Charts 3.13: Resident Performance Space According to Fiscal Categorizations



The majority of the companies with a resident venue have only one performance space, although the FADs have a higher percentage of one and three spaces in comparison to the MADs, who have a greater number of two and four spaces (see Chart 3.14).⁶⁰

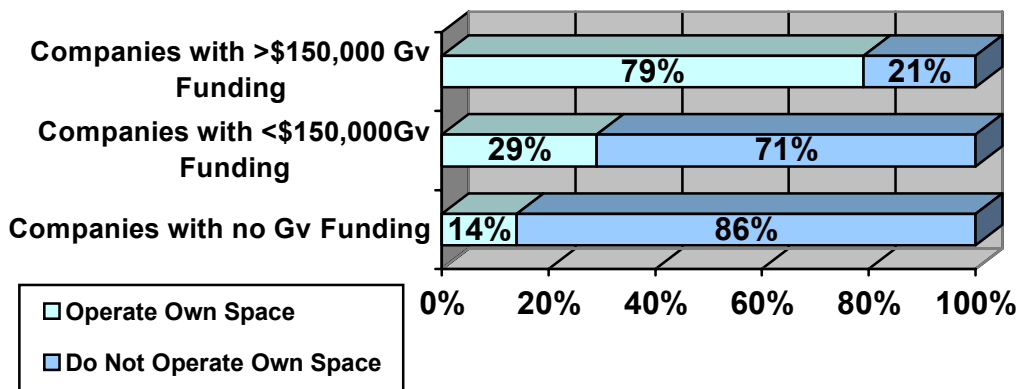
Chart 3.14: Number of Performance Spaces with "Venued" Companies



Half of the companies with a resident venue operate their own space (see Table 3.12), and financial standing proves to be an influential factor once again (see Chart 3.15).

⁶⁰ An analysis according to geographical region reveals that Quebec has a higher incidence of companies with three spaces in comparison to other regions, Ontario has the highest incidence of four or more spaces compared to other regions, and it is marginally significant that British Columbia did not have any companies operating four or more spaces.

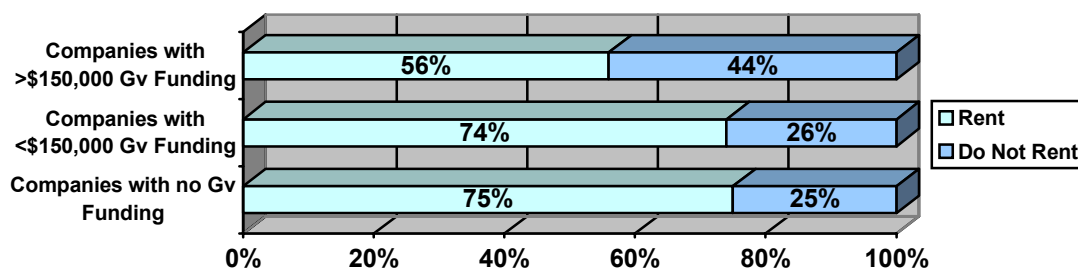
Chart 3.15 : Percentage of Companies Operating Resident Performance Spaces According to Fiscal Categorizations



It is marginally significant that MADs have a higher incidence of operating their own spaces than FADs, which makes sense, considering that the MADs have a higher incidence of possessing resident performance space than the FADs (see Table 3.12).

In total, 66% of the companies rent their performance space, and the Equity Survey found that the same trends uncovered in relation to rehearsal venues apply here as well – financial ranking is a factor (as companies with \$150,000 or more in government subsidy have a higher incidence of not renting performance space – see Chart 3.16), as is gender (as FADs are more likely to rent their space than MADs – see Table 3.12).

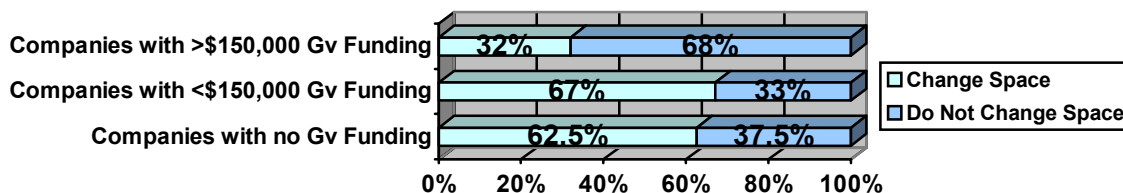
Table 3.16: Performance Space Rental According to Fiscal Categorizations



The same factors apply once again with the necessity of changing performance venues: there is a statistically significant relationship between level of funding and the need to change performance venues (as Chart 3.17 indicates, first and second tier companies do so with greater frequency than third tier theatres), and there are marginal differences between the MADs and the FADs, with FADs changing venues 60% of the time, compared to only 48% of the time at the MADs (see Table 3.12). Lastly, hovering between marginal and significant is the fact that companies run by male ADs have a higher incidence of employing wheelchair accessible spaces, whereas companies run by female ADs have a comparatively lower rate of utilizing wheelchair accessible spaces (see Table 3.12). All of this information clearly indicates that money and gender are

interconnected, and that both have an impact on a company's ability to secure rehearsal space and appropriate performance venues for its productions.

Table 3.17: Percentage of Companies Changing Performance Space According to Fiscal Categorizations



Additional and Future Areas of Study

- Investigate other types of CAEA contracts not considered in the Equity Survey (specifically Independent, Cooperative and Guest Artist Agreements), as well as UDA contract usage.

C. Financial Status

Many of the discrepancies uncovered between the MADs and the FADs described above can be attributed in large part to financial standing. The lower percentage of registered charities, the differences in contract usage, the lack of rehearsal and resident performance space, and possibly even the less frequent utilization of wheelchair accessible venues exhibited on the part of the FADs can be tied to monetary concerns, specifically a relative lack of funds. Certainly the theatres' ability to pay their employees well is also connected to the amount of money at their disposal. All theatres struggle with economic difficulties and challenges, and while financial standing has a significant impact on the activities of all companies, the Equity Survey findings reveal that there is a gendered element to monetary concerns, which substantially influences the FADs' operations in particular.

Table 3.18 outlines the distribution of revenue for the MADs and the FADs in 2004/05, including earned revenues, fundraising monies and government grants. It must be noted that the mean averages are inflated by the significantly larger budgets reported by a few companies at the top end of the scale, so overall median figures are additionally provided to act as corrective indicators. If funding sources are ranked by the medians, then government funding provides the largest piece of the pie (\$96,791), followed by private sources and fundraising efforts (\$66,768), and then earned income (\$66,266); the order is the exact opposite if the mean averages are employed instead. Companies run by female ADs have significantly lower revenues all across the board in comparison to companies run by male ADs, although the mean figures rather than the medians must be employed to examine the differences between the two groups. Overall, the mean total-revenue income of companies with female ADs in 2004/05 is only 61% of that acquired by companies with male ADs. To dissect that figure further, the mean earned revenue of the FADs is 55% of what companies with male ADs earned on average. This is logical,

given that there are fewer FAD companies overall (although the FADs had a disproportionately higher survey return rate), and this affects the amount of money generated at the box office. Based on the average means, however, earned revenues constitute 66% of the MADs' total revenues, compared to only 59% of the FADs' total budgets. The largest discrepancy between the two groups in relation to income is found here, suggesting that the MADs generally have greater box office success (or larger house capacities) than the FADs. In the realm of private donations and fundraising efforts, the FADs raised only 63% of the funds that the MADs did, but this revenue stream accounted for 19% of the budgets for both sets of companies.

Table 3.18: Company Revenues Reported for 2004/05

Revenue Type	Overall Maximum	Overall Mean	Overall Median	Mean for the MADs	Mean for the FADs
Total Revenues ⁶¹	\$50,184,143	\$1,589,945	\$256,737	\$1,923,493	\$1,165,275
Earned Revenues	\$41,005,468	\$1,018,427	\$66,266	\$1,270,065	\$695,998
Donations/ Fundraising	\$6,724,675	\$302,385	\$66,768	\$361,068	\$227,506
Government Revenues	\$2,456,675	\$281,091	\$96,791	\$307,192	\$247,416

Revenue generated from government funding sources provides the most equitable distribution of money found between the two sets of companies, with FADs receiving 81% of the funds that the MADs did. Differences emerge between the two groups, as government funding accounts for 21% of the FADs' incomes compared to only 16% of the MADs' total revenues (but again, this is based on mean averages rather than median figures). So while the MADs have a higher percentage of earned revenues than the FADs, the FADs derive a larger portion of their budgets from government revenue than the MADs. An examination of the distribution of the arts councils' project grants in comparison to operating grants provides additional insight into the gender disparities. Overall, 70% of the surveyed companies received project grants in 2004/05, with the federal government figuring prominently as a major source of funding (see Table 3.19).

Table 3.19: Percentage of Companies with Project Grants, 2004/05

Project Grants	Fed. Only	Prov. Only	Mun. Only	Fed. & Prov.	Fed. & Mun.	Prov. & Mun.	All Levels	None
All	<17%	13%	4%	<15%	<2%	<4%	16%	30%
MADs	16%	10%	<5%	18%	2%	3%	11%	35%
FADs	18%	18%	4%	12%	0%	4%	20%	24%

A greater percentage of FADs (76%) received project funding than MADs (65%), revealing a marginally significant relationship between the gender of a company's AD

⁶¹ Overall, 42% of the companies reported that their total revenue figures included facilities-related revenues, and 35% of the companies indicated that their figures included revenues related to the presentation of work by other companies.

and the likelihood of obtaining project grants (in that the FADs have a greater success rate with this level of competition). A greater percentage of companies with female ADs obtained project grants from the provincial level and awards from all three levels of government simultaneously in comparison to the MADs. While these figures suggest that women are advantaged in this area, in actual fact the statistics point to further disadvantage as the situation reverses itself when it comes to the more prestigious and sustaining operating grant awards, as theatre companies cannot receive project grants if they have already been awarded operating funds (though there are a few exceptions with specific grant awards). Overall, 73% of the companies received operating subsidy (27% did not), a greater percentage than those with project funds, with simultaneous awards from all three levels of government constituting the most significant revenue stream (for 42% of the companies) (see Table 3.20).

Table 3.20: Percentage of Companies with Operating Grants, 2004/05

Op. Grant	Fed. Only	Prov. Only	Mun. Only	Fed. & Prov.	Fed. & Mun.	Prov. & Mun.	All Levels	None
All	<1%	<7%	<8%	<6%	2.5%	<8%	42%	27%
MADs	0%	>6%	>9%	>9%	3%	>9%	43%	20%
FADs	2%	8%	<6%	2%	<2%	6%	41%	33%

Particularly telling is the fact that 80% of the MADs compared to only 67% of the FADs benefited from such subsidy, demonstrating a marginally significant relationship between the gender of the AD and the likelihood of obtaining operating funds (in that MADs are more successful at this level of competition). MADs are particularly advantaged with the federal and provincial grants combined, as well as at the federal level (though less so).

These figures reveal that companies run by male ADs are more likely to obtain operating subsidy, providing somewhat stable and ongoing sources of government revenue, whereas companies with female ADs are more likely to be awarded smaller amounts of funds on a project-to-project basis, resulting in greater uncertainty, instability and financial duress. This situation is not simply or solely related to the gender of the ADs of course. In order to obtain operating funds a company must have first received a number of project grants (sometimes consecutively), so considerations such as the age and output of the company factor into the equation. Moreover, the councils are only rarely able to add new companies to the operating roster, given the current financial climate, and more recently, the announcement of further cutbacks (and the grants that are dispensed in this area are often quite modest in any case). That said, the evidence still indicates that the FADs are economically disadvantaged over the MADs due to their lower incidence of receiving operating funds; although it is promising news that a number of female-run companies are waiting in the wings to grow their companies.

Additional and Future Areas of Study

- Further investigate the breakdown of the revenue streams so that median figures (rather than inflated mean averages) can be used to more accurately compare and contrast the MADs with the FADs.

D. Production Practices

In spite of serious economic disadvantages, companies headed by female ADs manage to out-perform companies with male ADs in certain instances, bringing the differences between the two sets of companies into sharper relief. As mentioned in Part One, MADs stage Canadian authored work 60% of the time whereas the FADs do so 67% of the time (see Table 3.21).

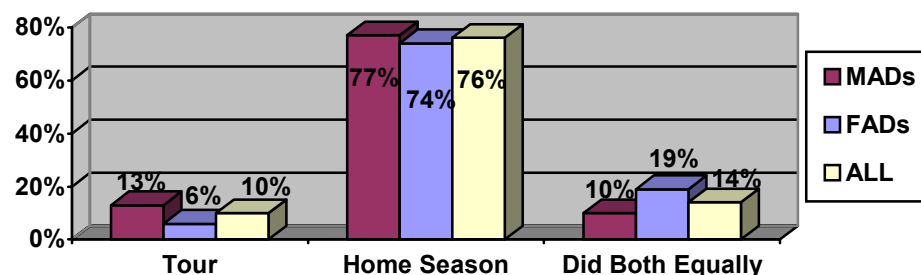
Table 3.21: Production and Playwright Information, 2000/01-2004/05

Plays That Were...	% of All Companies Together	Overall % of Female Playwrights	Overall % of Male Playwrights	Overall % at FADs	Overall % at MADs
Canadian	63%	36%	64%	67%	60%
Commissioned	20%	34%	66%	20%	20%
Premiered	34%	37%	63%	38%	32%
Co-Produced ⁶²	15%	36%	64%	16%	15%
Toured	21%	39%	61%	25%	20%

The FADs also stage a greater percentage of play premieres than the MADs (38% and 32% respectively), which is likely linked to the fact that they produce more plays by (Canadian) women overall. FADs are also engaged in more co-productions than MADs (16% and 15% respectively), a working arrangement usually devised to help offset the financial burdens of production. In the area of commissioned playwrights, the MADs and the FADs demonstrate equal percentages for the five-years under study.

When it came to presenting performances in the 2004/05 season, the majority of the companies opted for home seasons (76% overall) rather than tours, although there are differences between the FADs and the MADs in this respect as well (see Chart 3.22).

Chart 3.22: Percentage of Companies Touring Versus Home Seasons, 2004/05

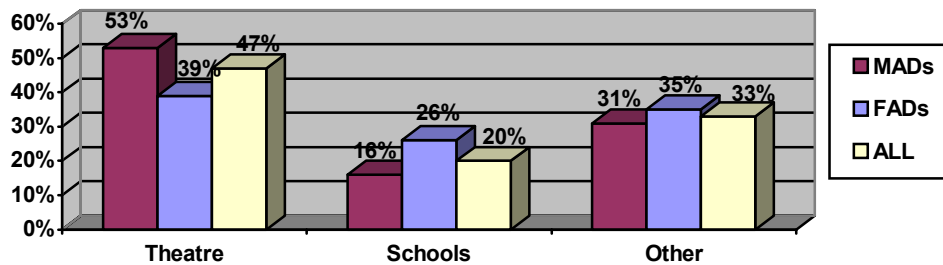


The MADs exhibited a home season the majority of the time (77% overall), followed by touring (13% of the time), and then a combination of touring and a home season (10% of the time). The FADs also employed a home season most often (74% of the time), but second in line is a combination of touring with a home season (19%), followed by touring 6% of the time. Even though a greater percentage of MADs toured than FADs in

⁶² The statistics for co-productions cited in Table 3.21 may be slightly askew, since individual productions may have been counted twice (once per company), that is if both companies completed the questionnaire.

2004/05, when taking all of the productions into consideration for the 5-year period under study, the FADs actually toured a greater percentage of their shows than the MADs, doing so with 25% of their productions, compared to 20% of productions with the MADs (see Table 3.21). With the companies that toured, traditional theatre spaces were most often employed, constituting 47% of the overall venues, followed by other kinds of spaces 33% of the time, and school environments 20% of the time (see Chart 3.23).

Chart 3.23: Types of Venues Played When Touring, 2004/05



Once again, differences appear in the practices of the FADs compared to the MADs. Both the MADs and the FADs follow the overall pattern outlined above, but the FADs perform on traditional stages less often than the MADs (only 39% of the time, compared to 53% of the time at the MADs), and more often at schools (as well as other venues), lending additional credence to the observation that greater numbers of companies with women at the helm are engaged in TYA activities.

The number of performances presented on average per production also unearthed some differences. The FADs had a higher mean average in relation to the number of performances per production than the MADs in three out of the five-years understudy, but due to some extremely high numbers reported by the MADs in the other two years, companies with male ADs came out with a much higher average overall. Whereas the highest number of performances reported by the FADs for an individual production was 400, the MADs reported 6,500 one year and 2,829 in the other year (see Table 3.24).

Table 3.24: Number of Performances Per Production, 2000/01-2004/05

Company Type	Minimum Reported	Maximum Reported	Mean Average
All Together	0	6,500	38
FADs	0	400	29
MADs	0	6,500	43

These figures suggest that companies with male ADs perform their productions more often than companies with female ADs, but the averages are too inflated to be certain. The figures pertaining to the house capacities that the companies played to reveal that differences exist between the two sets of companies in this area as well. The mean average for the various house capacities worked out to 394 people overall, with the MADs averaging 389 people and the FADs averaging 406 people (see Table 3.25).

Table 3.25: Average House Capacities for 2000/01-2004/05

Company Type	Minimum Reported	Maximum Reported	Mean Average
All Together	0	7,200	394
FADs	0	3,200	406
MADs	0	7,200	389

In this instance, the figures are confusing and difficult to comprehend. In four out of the five years studied, the MADs reported larger house capacities than the FADs, and in terms of overall numbers, the MADs played to greater numbers of people than the FADs. And yet, when arriving at the average mean totals, the FADs came out with higher numbers than the MADs in each of the five years. The gender imbalance of the survey returns may have impacted on this aspect of the survey, as the majority of the country's largest theatres (such as the regionals) are run by male ADs. If more of these companies completed the Equity Survey, the numbers pertaining to house capacities would have been much higher for the MADs. As the survey results now stand, despite the smaller numbers of companies with female ADs, it appears that they tend to play to larger houses than companies with male ADs (on average but not overall).

Additional and Future Areas of Study

- Investigate touring activities and the various kinds of venues played in relation to the size and type of the theatre companies (for instance, TYAs).
- Examine the number of performances per production and the house capacities of the larger theatre population to offset the inflated figures.

E. Audiences

The total audience attendance figures reported for 2000/01 to 2004/05 result in a mean average of 9,497 people for each year. However, once again, the numbers are potentially inflated due to the very large attendance figures reported by a few companies at the top end of the scale. Companies with male ADs demonstrated an average maximum attendance of 210,297 per year, which resulted in a (potentially skewed) mean average of 9,852. Companies with female ADs had an average maximum attendance of 65,757 per year, which resulted in a mean average of 8,900 (see Table 3.26).

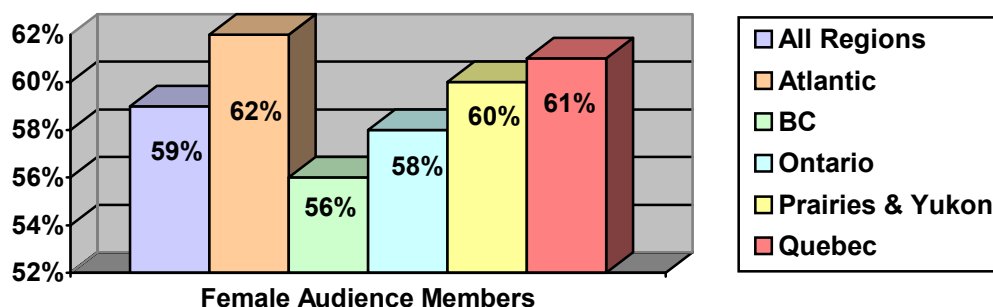
Table 3.26: Total Audience Attendance Figures for 2000/01 - 2004/05

Audience Attendance	Overall Minimum	Overall Maximum	Overall Mean	Overall Mean for FADs	Overall Mean for MADs
Totals	0	246,240	9,467	8,900	9,852

Aside from potentially inflated numbers, the significantly higher audience attendance figures demonstrated by the MADs in comparison to the FADs are likely the result of the fact that male ADs tend to head-up theatres with larger venues and house capacities.

The Equity Survey also found that, on average, 59% of the companies' audiences are generally comprised of women (see Chart 3.27).⁶³ That women form the majority of audience members is confirmed by other studies, such as one conducted by Hill Strategies Research in 2003, which found that men accounted for 41.5% of the performing arts audiences in 1992 and 36.3% in 1998, whereas women accounted for 43.4% in 1992 and 38.9% in 1998 (1). A provincial analysis of the Hill data indicates that women constitute the majority of performing arts audiences in every province except Newfoundland (statistics were not provided for men in PEI) ("Performing Arts" 7). This latter finding contradicts the Equity Survey somewhat, which found that the Atlantic region has the highest estimated percentage of female audience attendance.

Chart 3.27: Regional Breakdown of Female Audience Totals, 2004/05



Though the Hill figures are much more conservative than those found in the Equity Survey, the discrepancy may be due in part to the fact that the Hill study examined performing arts attendance in general, rather than focusing specifically on theatre (in relation to gender).

The Hill study also found that performing arts attendance has been declining over the last decade.⁶⁴ Critics such as Kate Taylor have postulated that the decrease in theatre attendance may be related to the fact that artistic directors are "thoughtlessly out of sync with their audiences: They only need to look out at the house to know that theatregoers are more likely to be female. And among the couples in the crowd, it's usually the woman, not the man, who initiated the outing and bought the tickets." As women form the majority of theatre-going audiences and often instigate the outings, perhaps audience attendance figures could be improved if companies made a concerted effort to gear their programming choices towards the majority of the patrons who are inclined to attend and support the work.

⁶³ Fifteen percent of the companies provided figures based on audience survey studies, while the other 85% estimated the percentage of their audience that is female.

⁶⁴ The 2003 Hill Strategies' study found that performing arts attendance decreased 5% overall between 1992 and 1998, and in the realm of theatre, audience attendance figures dropped from 24.3% in 1992 to 21.7% in 1998 ("Performing Arts" 1).

Additional and Future Areas of Study

- Re-examine total audience attendance figures to reconcile and account for the potentially inflated numbers derived from the Equity Survey.
- Conduct audience surveys to ascertain the effect and impact of programming choices on audience interest and attendance.

F. Overall Conclusions

Many of the disadvantages experienced by companies with female ADs can be attributed to financial factors, most particularly, to the substantially lower revenues generated by the FADs in comparison to the MADs. While all theatre companies must deal with disadvantage and economic hardship, the Equity Survey findings indicate that gender has a definite and tangible impact on the degree of adversity experienced, compounding instability, scarcity of resources, and potential burnout for women in the industry. It can be argued that these deficiencies additionally influence the overall quality of the theatrical experience, as well as critical and audience reception. Financial disparity also goes a long way in explaining why it is that the FADs tend to pay their employees less money on average than the MADs (as discussed in Part Two). Differences in revenue also account for many of the characteristics and practices that further distinguish the two sets of companies. Generally speaking, FADs have a lower rate of incorporation, significantly fewer companies with charitable status, and higher instances of not employing industry contracts and CAEA and/or UDA actor hires than MADs. FADs also have fewer resident performance spaces, fewer companies operating their own spaces, a higher percentage of theatres renting and changing both performance and rehearsal venues and, perhaps most importantly, lower audience attendance figures, which is likely related to the size and type of theatre company at which women are most often employed. On the flip side, FADs tend to have a greater propensity for collaboration (in terms of organizational structures and creative practices), a higher number of TYA companies, and they make greater use of schools and non-traditional performance venues. They also tend to produce greater percentages of Canadian plays, premieres and co-productions, and they tour their work more frequently than companies with male ADs. Taken together, these characteristics demonstrate that women are generally disadvantaged in the theatre industry in comparison with their male counterparts, as their engagement in cultural production is fraught with inadequate access and the concomitant difficulties that arise as a result of financial inequities.

Part Four: The Arts Councils

“The exclusion of women from cultural production excludes the expression of their vision, their experience – that is, their version of reality – from the cultural bank of the community. And the consequent absence of women’s reality from the cultural vocabulary continues to instruct women about the[ir] position and value in this society more forcefully than any other lesson.”

(Fratlicelli, “Status” v)

Due to the cuts made to the Canada Council’s budget in the mid 1990s, many theatres suffered substantial financial losses, some even folded. Although project funding has increased in subsequent years, operating grants have not changed substantially, and the recently elected Conservative government has decided not to follow through on the previous party’s commitment to arts funding. According to the Equity Survey returns, government grants provide the largest and most equitable slice of the revenue pie for Canadian theatre companies, that is if the median figures are employed rather than the mean averages. As female ADs constitute only 33% of the company heads (as derived from the 2005 PACT Theatre Listing), and given that women are better represented as the fiscal size of the companies decrease (as discussed in Part One), the disparities revealed between the MADs and the FADs in relation to government funding in Part Three are likely even more extreme in regard to the larger theatre population. With a cultural sector that is seriously under-funded, and a government granting system that is already over-taxed, the prospect of redistributing government grant monies – of cutting up an already too small pie into a different configuration – is difficult to fathom, even if necessary.

Nonetheless, since government grants provide a major avenue of support for theatre companies and individual artists, and considering that women have historically received fewer of these awards (as Fraticelli’s study attests), and given that women continue to face economic disadvantages at other levels in the industry (as evidenced in Parts Two and Three), it is necessary to examine the granting activities of the nation’s arts councils to see where change needs to occur in the interests of gender parity.⁶⁵ Why do FADs receive less money than MADs? Do individual female artists also receive fewer funds than individual male artists? Do women apply for grants in numbers equal to men? Do their applications succeed as often? Do they receive a fair proportion of the distributed funds? Are they well represented on the jury selection committees that decide the fate of the applicants? Investigating these questions, to determine where improvements have been made, where inequities still lie and where change needs to be implemented, will help in the effort to realize gender equity, not only in representational terms, but on the economic plane, one of the most significant and persistent areas of disadvantage currently faced by women in the Canadian theatre industry.

A. The Canada Council for the Arts

In the past, women did not access national arts council funding in numbers equivalent to men. In the nine-year period between 1972 and 1980, Fraticelli found that women accounted for less than one-third of the grant applicants made to the Theatre Section of the Canada Council (2), they comprised 33% of the successful applicants, and

⁶⁵ The Initiative did not obtain statistics for the representation of people of colour from the arts councils.

they were awarded 30% of the total funds dispersed (“Status” 1). To provide a point of comparison for the present day, the Women’s Initiative asked the Canada Council to provide current statistical data relating to the numbers of women and men applying for theatre grants, the numbers of successful men and women receiving grants, and the dollar value of the funds distributed to both women and men by the Theatre Section between the years 2000/01 and 2004/05. The Council was able to provide only the numbers of eligible and successful applicants (not the dollar amount), and they did so for the years 1998/99 to 2003/04, as figures for 2004/05 were not yet available. The information provided by the Canada Council clearly demonstrates that a great deal of improvement has occurred in the interceding years since Fraticelli’s study.

The figures provided by the Canada Council indicate that women now account for 47% of the Theatre Section’s applicants (see Table 4.1), demonstrating substantial improvement in the numbers and relative gender parity (McCaughney).

Table 4.1: Canada Council for the Arts, Individual Grant Applications Submitted to the Theatre Section, 1998/99 to 2003/04

Year	Men	Women	Unknown Gender	Overall Totals
1998/1999	205	187	16	408
1999/2000	223	190	2	415
2000/2001	183	182	6	371
2001/2002	144	125	2	271
2002/2003	255	218	2	475
2003/2004	199	191	3	393
6-Year Total	1209	1093	31	2333
Average %	52%	47%	1%	100%

Whereas women comprised only 33% of the successful applicants at the time of Fraticelli’s report, the current figures reveal that women now account for 44% of the Theatre Section’s successful grant recipients (see Table 4.2), a slight slip in the numbers from the percentage of women who currently apply for assistance.

Table 4.2: Canada Council for the Arts, Individual Grant Applications Awarded by the Theatre Section, 1998/99 to 2003/04

Year	Men	Women	Unknown Gender	Overall Totals
1998/1999	98	83	2	183
1999/2000	129	75	2	206
2000/2001	111	103	5	219
2001/2002	80	79	2	161
2002/2003	130	93	1	224
2003/2004	99	83	1	183
6-Year Total	647	516	13	1176
Average %	55%	44%	1%	100%

The Council did not provide the dollar amount of the disbursed funds, so while women account for 44% of the successful grant applicants, it may be that the percentage drops

further yet when it comes to remuneration, as was the case with Fraticelli's study. To investigate this matter further, the Initiative examined the financial information provided on the Canada Council's website for the years 1998/99 to 2000/01 and 2003/04 (information is not available for 2001/02 and 2004/05). Looking solely at grants made to Individual Theatre Artists (not including travel grants), in all but one of the four years, women received a lesser portion of the funds than men, and the overall totals confirm a slippage in the percentages from the number of successful recipients (see Table 4.3).

Table 4.3: Canada Council for the Arts, Individual Theatre Grant Monies Awarded by the Theatre Section, 1998/99 to 2000/01 and 2003/04

Year	Men	Women	Unknown Gender	Overall Totals
1998/1999	\$296,000	\$270,000	\$19,000	\$600,000
1999/2000	\$355,000	\$176,000	\$54,000	\$585,000
2000/2001	\$263,500	\$315,500	\$27,000	\$606,000
2003/2004	\$422,700	\$318,700	\$12,000	\$753,400
4-Year Total	\$1,337,200	\$1,080,200	\$127,000	\$2,544,400
Average %	53%	42%	5%	100%

While 47% of the applications to the Theatre Section of the Canada Council were submitted by women, only 44% were successful, and that 44% received only 42% of the funds on average. These statistics demonstrate a marked improvement from those in Fraticelli's report, but they also indicate that additional changes are still required, so that the percentages for women no longer drop in incremental amounts with each step.

Additional and Future Areas of Study

- Request a gender breakdown of the complete dollar amounts disbursed by the Canada Council to companies and artists for the five-year period under study, once the data becomes available.
- Assess arts council funding at the federal level in relation to the number of eligible and successful applicants and the monies disbursed to companies with people of colour at the helm.

B. Provincial Arts Councils

Given the regional differences evident in the study of women in Canadian theatre (for instance, with the rates of representation for female ADs), a comprehensive analysis of the industry must also take regional differences into consideration in relation to arts council funding. As Fraticelli's study did not provide an examination of the provincial arts councils, the recent figures provided by the Canada Council will serve as a comparative point of reference. Many of the provincial councils did not provide the information requested by the Initiative, most specifically British Columbia, Nova Scotia, the Northwest Territories, PEI, Quebec and the Yukon, and other provinces were able to

supply only certain aspects of the requested data.⁶⁶ Despite the fact that information is available for only half of the provinces in question, the data nonetheless provides some insight into the level of gender parity achieved at the provincial arts councils. For the most part, the pattern found at the Canada Council for the Arts – relative gender equality in the numbers of applicants with comparative and incremental slippages in the numbers of successful female applicants, and a further drop in relation to the total percentage of funds dispersed – also appears at the provincial level, with some exceptions.

The Alberta Foundation for the Arts (AFA) submitted figures that tracked their Project Grant applications (for both companies and individual artists) for the years 1999/00 to 2004/05.⁶⁷ The AFA did not include figures for the number of male versus female applicants, but the data indicates that on average women currently account for 32% of the successful grant applications made in the province of Alberta (see Table 4.4).

Table 4.4: Alberta Foundation for the Arts, Project Grants Awarded in Theatre According to Gender, 1999/00 to 2004/05

Year	Men	Women	Unknown Gender	Overall Totals
1999/2000	13	9	12	34
2000/2001	11	5	14	30
2001/2002	13	11	6	30
2002/2003	21	16	11	48
2003/2004	24	16	13	53
2004/2005	19	22	10	51
6-Year Total	101	79	66	246
Average %	41%	32%	27%	100%

This figure is reminiscent of that found for women at the national level in Fraticelli's report nearly two decades ago, and it is substantially lower than the 47% marker found at the national level. Only in one of the six years did the number of successful female applicants exceed the number of successful male applicants, though the percentage of unknown genders is particularly high, which might account for some of the discrepancy. Nonetheless, these findings indicate that Alberta has the lowest rate of successful female applicants of all the provincial arts councils that provided data. When it comes to the actual distribution of funds, the numbers slip even further, as they do at the national level, with successful female applicants receiving on average only 30% of the grant money (see Table 4.5). Only in 2004/05, when there were more successful female applicants than male, did women receive a larger proportion of the funds than men (though, again, the number of unknown genders is particularly high in this instance) (Dickinson).

⁶⁶ The Initiative asked the provincial councils to supply a gender breakdown for the number of applications received and approved, for the gender distribution of the funds dispersed, as well as for the composition of the assessment juries for the years 2000 to 2005. The Nunavut Department of Culture, Language, Elders and Youth provided statistics pertaining to the number of eligible and successful applicants, as well as the total amount of funds dispersed between 1999/00 and 2005/06. Unfortunately, the Department could not provide a gender breakdown along with figures, so the information is not included in this report.

⁶⁷ For applications submitted by theatre companies, the gender of the artistic director and/or project applicant determined the categorization of the company (grouped either as a FAD or a MAD).

Table 4.5: Alberta Foundation for the Arts, Project Grant Monies Awarded in Theatre According to Gender, 1999/2000 to 2004/2005

Year	Men	Women	Unknown Gender	Overall Totals
1999/2000	\$58,200	\$21,200	\$43,100	\$122,500
2000/2001	\$42,068	\$29,949	\$52,983	\$125,000
2001/2002	\$36,410	\$22,934	\$8,300	\$67,644
2002/2003	\$71,513	\$43,765	\$33,150	\$148,428
2003/2004	\$81,810	\$54,929	\$55,480	\$192,219
2004/2005	\$71,255	\$79,200	\$41,005	\$191,460
6-Year Total	\$361,256	\$251,977	\$234,018	\$847,251
Average %	43%	30%	28%	100%

One province east, in Saskatchewan, the same pattern is seen to replicate itself, but with substantial differences in the overall numbers. The Saskatchewan Arts Board (SAB) provided figures for the Individual Assistance Grant Program from October 2001 through to the first round of competition in 2005, which indicate that women currently account for 52% of all the theatre applications submitted to the SAB (see Table 4.6).

Table 4.6: Saskatchewan Arts Board, Individual Assistance Grant Program Applications According to Gender, 2000 to 2005

Year	Men	Women	Overall Totals
2001	4	5	9
2002	7	10	17
2003	13	11	24
2004	9	15	24
2005	8	3	11
5-Year Total	41	44	85
Average %	48%	52%	100%

While the number of female applicants suggests parity in this area, and offers a great improvement on the statistics uncovered for Alberta, the picture is drastically altered in relation to the success rate of the female applicants. Even though women form 52% of the applicants, they succeed in the competitions only 37% of the time, whereas men, constituting 48% of the applicant pool, are successful 63% of the time (see Table 4.7). As Table 4.8 illustrates, the numbers for the distribution of funds drop further still, with women receiving only 35% of the total grant money awarded, and men receiving the other 65% (Allen). While the Saskatchewan Arts Board attracts relatively equal numbers of men and women, improving on the numbers found at the Canada Council, the difference between the amount of funds distributed to men in comparison to women indicates that the financial gap is wider here than at the national level, as well as in relation to Alberta where fewer numbers of women likely apply overall.

Table 4.7: Saskatchewan Arts Board, Individual Assistance Grant Program Awards According to Gender, 2000 to 2005

Year	Men	Women	Overall Totals
2001	1	1	2
2002	4	2	6
2003	3	3	6
2004	5	4	9
2005	6	1	7
5-Year Total	19	11	30
Average %	63%	37%	100%

Table 4.8: Saskatchewan Arts Board, Individual Assistance Grant Program Monies Awarded According to Gender, 2000 to 2005

Year	Men	Women	Overall Totals
2001	\$2,000	\$8,000	\$10,000
2002	\$16,013	\$5,100	\$21,113
2003	\$10,671	\$13,703	\$24,374
2004	\$20,123	\$7,500	\$27,623
2005	\$21,000	\$3,000	\$24,000
5-Year Total	\$69,807	\$37,303	\$107,110
Average %	65%	35%	100%

In Manitoba a similar pattern is repeated, though there are significant differences in the numbers yet again. The Manitoba Arts Council (MAC) provided information for the years 2000 to 2005 for Individual Grant requests, which includes two programs, Commission and Development for Playwrights (both emerging and established) and Theatre Production. During this 6-year period, women accounted for 46% of the total applications submitted (see Table 4.9), a figure in keeping with that found at the national level.

Table 4.9: Manitoba Arts Council, Individual Project Grant Applications According to Gender, 2000 to 2005

Year	Men	Women	Overall Totals
2000	33	25	58
2001	35	36	71
2002	32	25	57
2003	30	20	50
2004	27	18	45
2005	23	29	52
6-Year Total	180	153	333
Average %	54%	46%	100%

In a reversal from the pattern established at the other councils discussed thus far, women comprised a striking 63% of the successful grant applicants (see Table 4.10).

Table 4.10: Manitoba Arts Council, Individual Project Grant Awards According to Gender, 2000 to 2005

Year	Men	Women	Overall Totals
2000	14	11	25
2001	19	17	36
2002	11	14	25
2003	4	16	20
2004	3	15	18
2005	6	23	29
6-Year Total	57	96	153
Average %	37%	63%	100%

Unfortunately, the numbers completely reverse themselves at the level of financial reward, reverting to the usual pattern established above, with 63% of the successful female applicants receiving only 37% of the total funds (see Table 4.11) (Mohr).

Table 4.11: Manitoba Arts Council, Individual Grant Monies Awarded According to Gender, 2000 to 2005

Year	Men	Women	Overall Totals
2000	\$65,496	\$36,994	\$102,490
2001	\$79,776	\$48,550	\$128,326
2002	\$68,355	\$29,280	\$97,635
2003	\$59,240	\$38,270	\$97,510
2004	\$70,000	\$37,800	\$107,800
2005	\$42,022	\$38,253	\$80,275
6-Year Total	\$384,889	\$229,147	\$614,036
Average %	63%	37%	100%

These statistics reveal a huge discrepancy (of 26%) between the percentage of successful female applicants and the amount of funds distributed to them, the largest gap of all the regions. It would be useful for future studies to assess the level of funds requested of the arts councils according to gender to ascertain if imbalances are due to women applying for smaller amounts of money than men. That might explain why it is that 23 women were rewarded \$38,253 in comparison to the six male applicants who were granted \$42,022 in government subsidy by the Manitoba Arts Council in 2005.

Continuing to move east, in the province of Ontario, there is a slight reversal to the established pattern, although no financial figures were provided by the Ontario Arts Council (OAC) to determine whether the amount of funds distributed to women is proportionately representative of the number of successful applicants. As Table 4.12 demonstrates, women accounted for 48% of the overall grant applications submitted to

the OAC for Theatre Projects, which include playwright residencies and company projects, keeping on par with the figures found at the national level.⁶⁸

Table 4.12: Ontario Arts Council, Playwright Residency and Theatre Project Applications According to Gender, 2000 to 2005

Year	Men	Women	Overall Totals
2000/2001	51	61	112
2001/2002	73	61	134
2002/2003	84	72	156
2003/2004	85	71	156
2004/2005	81	77	158
5-Year Total	374	342	716
Average %	52%	48%	100%

The number of successful female applicants goes up from there, settling at an average of 51% overall (see Table 4.13), but as we have seen in Manitoba, just because the majority of the successful applicants are female does not necessarily mean that they are receiving a proportionate share of the funds dispersed (Bradley).

Table 4.13: Ontario Arts Council, Playwright Residency and Theatre Project Awards According to Gender, 2000 to 2005

Year	Men	Women	Overall Totals
2001	15	21	36
2002	23	17	40
2003	24	25	49
2004	24	14	38
2005	23	35	58
5-Year Total	109	112	221
Average %	49%	51%	100%

Evidence suggests that the pattern found in the above provinces and at the national level is manifest in the Atlantic region. The Newfoundland and Labrador Arts Council (NLAC) provided figures for its Theatre Project Grant Program (which funds individuals, groups and organizations) for the years 2000 through to the first round of competition in 2005.⁶⁹ During this 6-year period, women submitted 46% of the grant applications, outnumbering male applicants in two of the six years (see Table 4.14). As in Manitoba and Ontario, the percentage of successful female applicants outweighs that of the males, with women comprising 53% of the award recipients (see Table 4.15).

⁶⁸ Groups and organizations applying to the OAC for Theatre Project funding were categorized as male or female depending on the gender of the project's artistic leader. In the case of co-artistic directors, if one of the two ADs was a woman, then the project was counted as originating from a female.

⁶⁹ Organizations were grouped as male or female depending on the gender of the artistic director.

Table 4.14: Newfoundland and Labrador Arts Council, Project Grant Applications According to Gender, 2000 to 2005

Year	Men	Women	Overall Totals
2000	15	18	33
2001	18	15	33
2002	22	22	44
2003	29	16	45
2004	22	16	38
2005	11	14	25
6-Year Total	117	101	218
Average %	54%	46%	100%

Table 4.15: Newfoundland and Labrador Arts Council, Project Grant Awards According to Gender, 2000 to 2005

Year	Men	Women	Overall Totals
2000	12	16	28
2001	17	13	30
2002	17	18	35
2003	10	13	23
2004	10	12	22
2005	7	10	17
6-Year Total	73	82	155
Average %	47%	53%	100%

However, when it comes to the total amount of funds dispersed, the ratio is reversed, with women receiving 45% of the money, compared to male applicants who were awarded the other 55% of the funding (see Table 4.16).

Table 4.16: Newfoundland and Labrador Arts Council, Project Grant Monies Awarded According to Gender, 2000 to 2005

Year	Men	Women	Overall Totals
2000	\$24,857	\$20,380	\$45,237
2001	\$30,069	\$14,030	\$44,099
2002	\$25,386	\$22,554	\$47,940
2003	\$24,850	\$18,654	\$43,495
2004	\$19,324	\$20,427	\$39,751
2005	\$14,689	\$18,800	\$33,489
6-Year Total	\$139,175	\$114,836	\$254,011
Average %	55%	45%	100%

While women received a greater percentage of the funds in two of the six of years under study, the awards dispersed in 2000 draw attention to the overall gender imbalance in funding practices, and again calls into question the amount of money that was requested in the first place, as 16 women were granted \$20,380 compared to the \$24,857 that was awarded to 12 men (Murphy). Despite the disparities in funding distribution, overall, the

figures for male and female rates of representation are somewhat equitable in Newfoundland and Labrador. Arts New Brunswick provided the Women's Initiative with one aspect of the requested information, which revealed that, similar to Newfoundland and Labrador, between October 2001 and February 2005, women accounted for 45% of the Individual Theatre applications submitted in this Maritime province. How many of those female applicants were successful is currently unknown, but the funds distributed would have been equal between individuals, given that the Creation Grants to which the statistics refer usually award \$7000 to each recipient (Barriault).

Additional and Future Areas of Study

- Conduct studies of provincial arts councils not included in this analysis, specifically in relation to British Columbia, Nova Scotia, the Northwest Territories, PEI, Quebec, the Yukon and Nunavut.
- Analyze the amount of money requested of the arts councils by men and women, as that may account for the discrepancies that are manifest along gender lines in relation to the total amount of funds disbursed.
- Distinguish between applications submitted by emergent as opposed to established playwrights along gender lines to account for differences.

C. The Toronto Arts Council

At the municipal level, only the Toronto Arts Council (TAC) provided information for the study, and it was limited at that, primarily because the agency has only recently started to track its figures according to gender. Data was provided for the Playwrights Program only, and it was restricted to the years 2004, 2005 and 2006, as playwrights were previously grouped with the Literary Program (along with novelists, poets and so forth). For the three years for which data was provided, women accounted for 57% of the TAC's playwright applicants, a higher percentage than that found at the national level or in any of the provinces discussed above (see Table 4.17) (Charlton).

Table 4.17: Toronto Arts Council, Playwrights Program Applications According to Gender, 2004 to 2006

Year	Men	Women	Overall Totals
2004	25	38	63
2005	32	41	73
2006	46	55	101
3-Year Total	103	134	237
Average %	43%	57%	100%

In terms of the overall success rate, the ratio is reversed, with female playwrights constituting 47% of the grant recipients from 2002 to 2005. The average bumps up to 52% when 2006 is included however, as women were particularly successful in the last round of competition, though a 5% drop in the figures is evident between the numbers of women who applied and the numbers who actually succeeded (see Table 4.18).

Table 4.18: Toronto Arts Council, Playwrights Program Awards According to Gender, 2002 to 2005

Year	Men	Women	Overall Totals
2002	7	4	11
2003	4	3	7
2004	4	6	10
2005	10	9	19
2006	9	15	24
5-Year Total	34	37	71
Average %	48%	52%	100%

The amount of funds distributed to individuals by the TAC was equal in this instance, as emergent playwrights received \$2,000 and established playwrights \$7,500. To examine these figures further in relation to gender, with the Level 1 competitions for emergent playwrights, 43% of the applicants were male and 57% were female, demonstrating that emergent female playwrights aspire to and apply for TAC funding in greater numbers than men (in all three years under study) (see Table 4.19).

Table 4.19: Toronto Arts Council, Playwrights Program Applicants and Awards for Level 1 Competitions

Year	# of Male Applicants	# of Males Awarded	# of Female Applicants	# of Females Awarded	Total # of Applicants	Total # of Awards
2004	14	2	16	2	30	4
2005	22	8	29	6	51	14
2006	24	6	35	8	59	14
Total	60	16	80	16	140	32
%	43%	50%	57%	50%	100%	100%

Once again, however, the percentages for women drop further when it comes to their actual success rate, as women were granted 50% of the awards (rather than 57%), providing the one and only instance of completely equal representation of genders at the arts councils. For the level 2 competitions, those pertaining to established playwrights, women accounted for 49% of the applicants, indicating relative equality between genders in terms of the number of people who applied for such awards (see Table 4.20). With the success rate of the established playwrights, women comprised 62% of the TAC's award recipients, second only to the figures uncovered in this regard for the Manitoba Arts Council. The inclusion of the 2006 competitions helped boost the mean average of the successful female applicants, moving it from 55% in 2004 and 2005, up to 62% overall (Charlton). The increased success rate of the female applicants who applied to the TAC's Playwrights Program in 2006 bodes well for future funding opportunities, provided that the increase is not simply a one-time anomaly.

Table 4.20: Toronto Arts Council, Playwrights Program Applicants and Awards for Level 2 Competitions

Year	# of Male Applicants	# of Males Awarded	# of Female Applicants	# of Females Awarded	Total # of Applicants	Total # of Awards
2004	15	2	18	4	33	6
2005	12	3	10	2	22	5
2006	22	3	20	7	42	10
Total	49	8	48	13	97	21
%	51%	38%	49%	62%	100%	100%

Additional and Future Areas of Study

- Conduct studies of municipal arts council activities in other regions.
- Distinguish between emerging and established artists (such as playwrights) according to gender to ascertain the degree of difference that is manifest in relation to the total amount of funds awarded (as with the TAC figures).

D. Arts Council Juries

The most consistently equitable area in terms of gendered representation and the arts councils is that of the jury selection committees, which are composed of industry peers who assess the various applications and recommend the awards' recipients. Gender balance is a criterion in jury composition at most (if not all) of the arts councils, and the effectiveness of an internal policy mandating gender equity is clearly demonstrated by the parity found in relation to the composition of the selection committees. At the time of Fraticelli's report, "among jurors for all individual theatre awards at the Canada Council women comprised only 24% between 1972 and 1981" ("Status" 6). During the three-year period between 2000/01 and 2003/04, the Canada Council reported a total of 274 jurors; 144 (53%) were female and 130 (47%) were men (see Table 4.21) (McCaughey).

Table 4.21: Canada Council for the Arts, Theatre Section, Peer Assessors by Gender, 2000/01, 2002/03, and 2003/04

Year	Men	Women	Overall Totals
2000/01	45	55	100
2002/03	37	39	76
2003/04	48	50	98
3-Year Total	130	144	274
Average %	47%	53%	100%

As these statistics demonstrate, significant improvement has been realized over time, as women now form the majority of the Canada Council's jury members. The greater numbers of women currently serving on the peer assessment juries likely has a trickle-down effect on the numbers of women chosen as award recipients, but given the number

of variables for consideration there is no guarantee that equitable representation on the committees will necessarily translate into greater numbers of women receiving grants.

Discrepancies in jury composition emerge at the regional level, as only the TAC, averaging 67% female jury members (see Table 4.22), and the Manitoba Arts Council, with 54% female selection committee members (see Table 4.23), demonstrated a higher percentage of women than men for peer assessment purposes (Charlton; Mohr).

Table 4.22: Toronto Arts Council, Jury Selection Committee, Playwrights Program According to Gender, 2004 and 2005

Year	Men	Women	Overall Totals
2004	1	2	3
2005	1	2	3
2006	N/A	N/A	N/A
2-Year Total	2	4	6
Average %	33%	67%	100%

Table 4.23: Manitoba Arts Council, Jury Selection Committees According to Gender, 2000 to 2005⁷⁰

Year	Men	Women	Overall Totals
2000	110	121	231
2001	106	126	232
2002	58	68	126
2003	110	102	212
2004	63	81	144
2005	86	135	221
6-Year Total	533	633	1,166
Average %	46%	54%	100%

Given that the TAC (in the second level of competition specifically) and the Manitoba Arts Council have the highest percentages for female success rates, it may well be that the greater presence of women on the respective juries has positively influenced the numbers of women chosen as grant recipients. The lowest rate of female representation is found at the Saskatchewan Arts Board, where 14 (or 61%) of the jurors were men and 9 (or 39%) were women (see Table 4.24) (Allen). The inequitable gender distribution found on the SAB committees may well account, at least in part, for the poorer success rate of female applicants in that province.

⁷⁰ The jury committee figures provided here include all disciplines, as MAC juries are often multidisciplinary, making it impossible to separate figures specific to theatre.

Table 4.24: Saskatchewan Arts Board, Theatre Jury Selection Committees According to Gender, 2001 to 2005

Year	Men	Women	Overall Totals
2001	1	1	2
2002	4	2	6
2003	3	3	6
2004	4	2	6
2005	2	1	3
5-Year Total	14	9	23
Average %	61%	39%	100%

Following in ascending order, Arts New Brunswick engaged more female than male jurors in all disciplines between 2000 and 2005 (103 of 202 jurors were female), but in the Theatre Section 10 (or 43%) of the 23 jurors were women and 13 (or 57%) were men (Barriault). For the 6 years under consideration at the Alberta Foundation of the Arts, women constituted 44% of the jury committee members (see Table 4.25) (Dickinson).

Table 4.25: Alberta Foundation for the Arts, Theatre Jury Selection Committees According to Gender, 1999/00 to 2004/05

Year	Men	Women	Unknown Gender	Overall Totals
1999/00	37	40	5	82
2000/01	35	29	9	73
2001/02	26	25	3	54
2002/03	21	23	7	51
2003/04	30	22	7	59
2004/05	21	24	5	50
6-Year Total	170	163	36	369
Average %	46%	44%	10%	100%

In Newfoundland, during the same six-year period, on average women constituted 48% of the jury members (see Table 4.26) (Murphy).

Table 4.26: Newfoundland and Labrador Arts Council, Theatre Jury Selection Committees According to Gender, 2000 to 2005

Year	Men	Women	Overall Totals
2000	1	5	6
2001	4	2	6
2002	4	2	6
2003	3	3	6
2004	3	3	6
2005	2	1	3
6-Year Total	17	16	33
Average %	52%	48%	100%

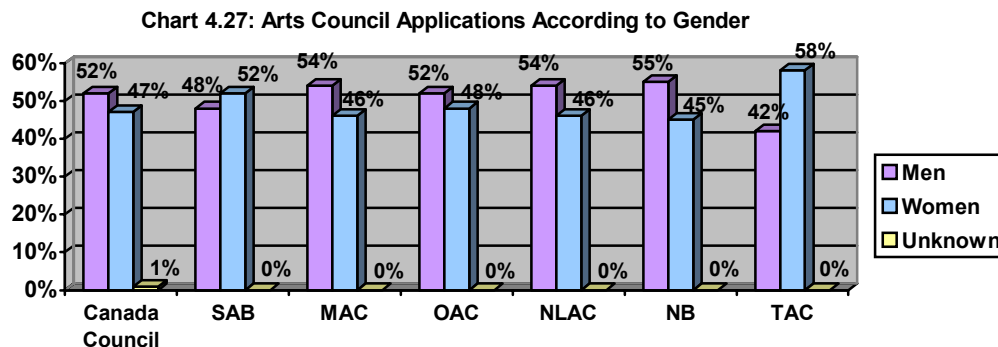
Overall, female representation on the jury selection committees of the arts councils usually falls in the 40 percentile range, with the exception of Saskatchewan on the low end, and Toronto, Manitoba and the Canada Council on the high end, which clearly illustrates that a marked improvement has occurred over time, as peer assessment committees now demonstrate relative equality.

Additional and Future Areas of Study

- Conduct an analysis of the gender (and racialized) representation found on the arts councils' jury selection committees and compare the findings with the numbers of women and men receiving awards to see if a direct correlation exists between the two.

E. Overall Conclusions

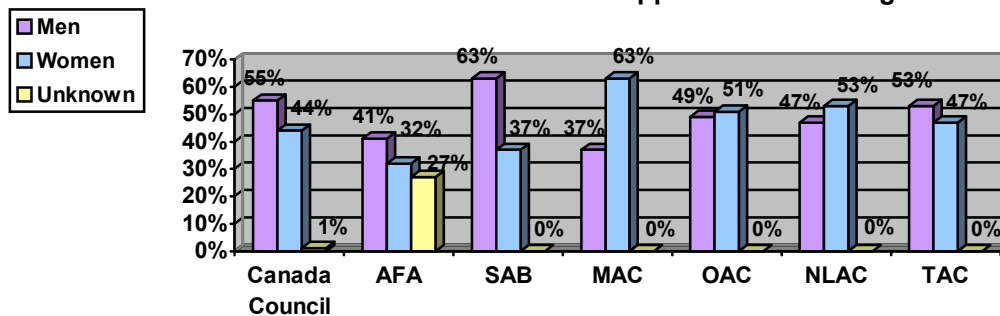
At the time of Fraticelli's report, women received a disproportionately lower amount of the arts council funding than men, primarily because they did not apply for subsidy in numbers on par with men. Fraticelli's explanation for this phenomenon was that "women self-select to a much greater extent than men do," as they "have a tendency to apply for positions of responsibility only when undisputedly qualified...." Inexperience with structures of power (cultural or otherwise), unfamiliarity with the mechanics of business, and fear of rejection were also implicated as contributing factors ("Status" 65). Women still suffer from these problems, but whether due to a loosening of the councils' criteria or the development of a more business-oriented approach on the part of female artists, the bottom line is that women are now meeting the eligibility requirements of the arts councils in greater numbers than ever before. Women currently comprise 47% of the Canada Council's eligible applicants, a figure that is reflected at the regional level by the 45% marker at the bottom of the scale in New Brunswick and the 58% figure situated at the top of the scale with the TAC (see Chart 4.27 for comparisons according to region). These findings indicate that there is something akin to gender equity in the numbers of men and women who apply to the arts councils.



While the number of successful female award recipients (33%) was greater than the number of eligible applications submitted by women (30%) to the Canada Council at the time of Fraticelli's study, present-day statistics indicate a reversal of this trend. While 47% of the eligible applicants were female, the percentage slips down further (rather than moving up) to 44% in relation to the number of successful female applicants. Regional

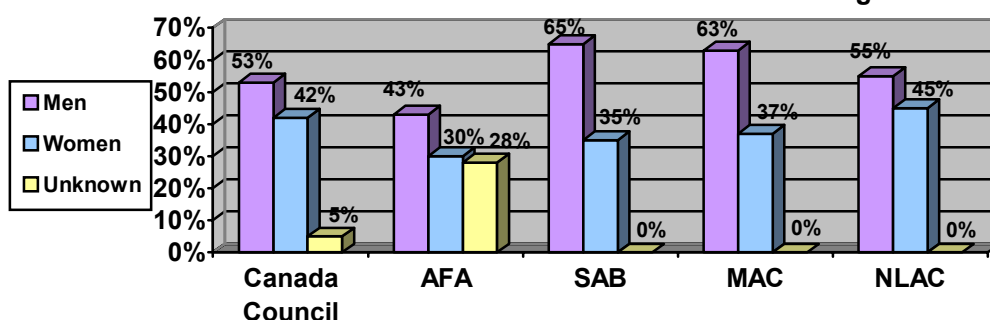
differences emerge at the provincial arts councils with women exceeding and/or falling short of the national average, the worst offender being the Alberta Foundation for the Arts (with a 32% success rate for women, though the number of unknown genders is particularly high) and the best-case example being the Manitoba Arts Council (with a 63% success rate for female applicants). See Chart 4.28 for regional comparisons.

Chart 4.28: Successful Arts Council Applicants According to Gender



Regardless of whether the success rate of the female applicants fell above or below the percentage of eligible applicants, in all but one case, the percentage of money distributed was less than the overall percentage of women awarded grants. Only at the TAC with the Level 2 Playwrights Program did the percentage of successful female applicants exceed the percentage of women applying, resulting in established female playwrights receiving a greater proportion of the overall funds than their male counterparts (though the individual award amounts were set). On average, the Canada Council distributed 42% of its funds to 44% of the successful female applicants, while the figures for the provinces range from 30% in Alberta up to 45% in Newfoundland and Labrador (see Chart 4.29).

Chart 4.29: Distribution of Arts Council Funds According to Gender



Some regions are clearly better off than others in this respect, but again, in all but one instance, the amount of money received by women was proportionately less than that received by the male applicants, revealing the continued persistence of a gender gap or imbalance in government subsidy to theatre artists and companies, one that may well be related to the amount of funds requested in the first place.

For the most part, the statistics presented in this section have related primarily to project grants made to individual artists and organizations. As was demonstrated in Part Three, women do not fare as well with operating grants as they do with project grants, primarily because they tend to run smaller, younger companies. As a result, the gender imbalances at the councils uncovered in regard to project funds are likely even more extreme when it comes to operating funds. Fraticelli found that women were “most

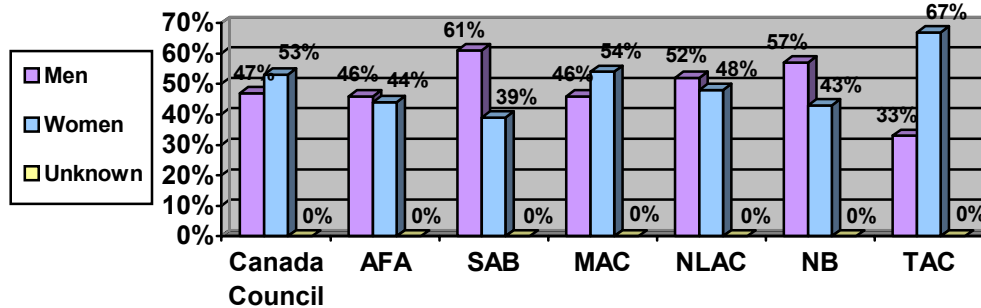
visible among the recipients of Project Cost Grants,” as opposed to the more prestigious “A Grants” which were then available, and this is likely the case today, despite changes in the award categories, as only 30% to 35% of the nation’s ADs are female, and an even smaller fraction of that percentage actually receives operating subsidization (“Status” 62). The Ontario Arts Council provided information pertaining to operating grants, not in relation to the application rates or the specific dollar amounts disbursed, but rather in terms of the male and female rates of representation found at these theatres. Between 1999/00 and 2004/05, with the exception of playwrights, all of the figures for companies receiving OAC operating funds fell below the national averages uncovered by the Equity Survey, illustrating once again that the best-funded companies have the worst track records for the employment of women, or rather that women are still unable to access the larger, mainstream theatres with sustained funding in numbers equal to men (see Table 4.30) (Bradley).

Table 4.30: Female Representation at Companies with OAC Operating Funds, 1999/00 to 2004/05

Year	Total # of Companies	% of Female Directors	% of Female Playwrights	% of Female ADs	% of Female GMs
1999/00	43	26%	30%	31%	62%
2000/01	46	31%	35%	25%	58%
2001/02	47	28%	33%	27%	61%
2002/03	43	29%	36%	30%	68%
2003/04	46	29%	37%	32%	58%
2004/05	45	28%	28%	29%	61%
Average	45	28%	33%	29%	61%

With the established theatres firmly entrenched at the councils, and with no new (or limited) funds available for the operation of younger and smaller companies (where the numbers of women are more prevalent), the implication seems to be that female theatre artists must simply bide their time and wait for an opening. As a result, the majority will likely never achieve operating status, unless significant changes are implemented at the arts councils.

It is only in regard to the peer assessment juries that women experience relative equality of representation at the arts councils, as this is often a mandated policy (see Chart 4.21 for a comparative perspective of the juries across regions). This example goes a long way to illustrating how changes in cultural policy at the level of the government funding agencies can positively influence the overall character of an industry that relies heavily on subsidy. As Fraticelli reasoned in her report, “There would, arguably, be no Canadian theatre to speak of without the programme of encouragement and subsidy created by governments to promote the production of Canadian works by Canadian companies through those years needed for Canadian audiences to develop an appreciation for their new national theatre” (25). If the arts councils made gender and employment equity a key priority, as they did with Canadian plays years ago, then perhaps a similar revolution could occur in relation to the representation of women in Canadian theatre.

Chart 4.31: Arts Council Assessment Juries According to Gender

As it is now, few arts councils offer special incentives for female artists, with the known exception of the Rhonda Payne Award, which is a \$500 grant offered by the Newfoundland and Labrador Arts Council to support the development of female theatre artists (Murphy).⁷¹ While the award is hardly substantial in monetary terms, other arts councils could take a page from NLAC's book and institute similar program practices to help bridge the gender (and particularly the financial) gap often experienced by women in the industry.

The support of the arts councils is not only crucial for the financial stability and survival of Canadian theatre companies; it is also integral to professional recognition and validation. Official government support bestows such qualities upon a company and can potentially influence future awards, corporate sponsorship, fundraising initiatives, and a myriad of other (non-financial) factors. If women are adversely affected at the level of government funding, then the problem (of discrimination and marginalization) will only trickle-down and impact on other aspects of the companies' activities, such as the material conditions of production outlined in Part Three and the ability to pay employees a decent wage, as discussed in Part Two. While preliminary research indicates that substantial improvement has been made in the relations between female theatre artists and the arts councils, there is room for additional improvement yet, so that full equality can be realized. Allocations made by the arts councils should reflect, serve and support all of the nation's theatre workers, and those who could potentially be theatre workers, the majority of whom are not white and male.

Additional and Future Areas of Study

- Analyze the distribution of operating grants according to gender.
- Conduct a gender-based analysis of the councils' executives to determine the numbers of women and men employed.
- Investigate along gender lines the kinds of projects and the types of theatre companies that most often receive government funding.

⁷¹ The peer assessment juries choose the award's candidates from the project grant applications and then the arts council board makes the final decision as to the recipient of the award (Murphy).

Part Five: The Barriers that Remain

“Any discussion of the changing status of women in theatre needs to take into account the wider cultural context.”
(Susan Bassnett 87)

The data gathered from the arts councils and the 2005 Equity Survey clearly indicates that while improvements have been made over time, women are still under-represented and materially disadvantaged in the Canadian theatre industry. Fewer numbers of women than men access key positions of authority, particularly at the more prestigious and better financed theatres, and for women who circumvent the traditional hierarchies, starting their own companies and placing themselves in positions of power, there are a host of other inequities (particularly financial) that further hinder their advancement. Thus far, the discussion of women in theatre has largely been devoid of references to the outside world and the larger societal context, but the theatre cannot and should not be separated out, hived off, and/or examined in isolation from the rest of society, given that the field is directly informed and shaped by socio-economic and cultural trends. To provide a more holistic view of the situation at hand, the following sections of the report investigate areas that technically fall outside the confines of the Initiative’s first phase of study, specifically, the position of women in the larger Canadian labour force, the phenomenon of double-duty for women balancing family obligations and career demands, and the training environment encountered by women at educational institutions. While certain aspects of these topics have been slated for additional study in subsequent phases, a preliminary analysis is included here due to the significant influence that these elements exert on women working in or aspiring to the theatre profession.

A. Labour Force Trends

The often-disadvantaged situation of women in Canadian theatre is not the result of an industry-wide male conspiracy; rather it is indicative of a societal (and global) predicament issuing forth from the current patriarchal and capitalist order. Theatre practitioners adhere to similar regulations and organizing principles as workers in other industries, and likewise engage in the same social relations. Whether we like to admit it or not, theatre is not only an art form, it is also a competitive business, and in many respects theatre artists are entrepreneurs, particularly if they run their own companies. In this context, areas of overlap between the experiences of women in the larger Canadian workforce and their position in the theatre sector bring the status of women and the challenges they face into sharper relief.

The increased participation of women in the paid work force has been identified as “one of the most significant social trends in Canada in the past quarter century” (Statistics Canada, Women 103). According to recent census data, 58% of all Canadian women aged 15 and over are part of the paid workforce, comprising 47% of all employed workers in 2004 (103). In the performing arts sector, women account for 52% of the labour pool; one of only three sub-sectors in which women frequently form a majority of the labour force (Singh, “Female” 6).⁷² Most Canadian women are employed full-time, but Statistics Canada found that women are more likely to work part-time (meaning less

⁷² The other two sub-sectors with women in the majority are heritage and advertising (Singh, “Female” 6).

than 30 hours a week) than their male counterparts.⁷³ Likewise, the Equity Survey findings reveal that greater numbers of women work part-time in comparison to their male colleagues, and companies with female ADs employ slightly more part-time workers than companies with male ADs. Statistics Canada further discovered that women are far more likely than men to work part-time “because of child care or other personal or family responsibilities,” a tendency that is likely duplicated in the Canadian theatre industry. However, a substantial number of women in the larger workforce are employed part-time simply because they cannot find full-time employment (Statistics Canada, Women 109), and this may be the case in the theatre sector as well, in regard to the triumvirate and design positions anyway, as male artistic directors, directors, playwrights and designers (costuming excepted) are hired more often and in greater numbers than women.

Despite the dramatic increase in the participation rate of women in the paid workforce, the majority “continue to work in occupations in which women have traditionally been concentrated” (Statistics Canada, Women 113). In 2004, two-thirds of all employed women worked in teaching, nursing and related health occupations, clerical or other administrative positions, and sales and service occupations.⁷⁴ A similar pattern is revealed in the Canadian theatre industry, for while the numbers of women accessing the profession have increased over time (as in the larger labour force), for the most part, women find themselves concentrated in particular occupational categories very much in alignment with traditional gender roles, specifically, as customer service and box office representatives, administrative staff, costume designers, and workers who primarily function in behind-the-scenes support roles (such as dramaturgs, stage managers and assistant directors).

Comparisons can also be made in relation to the experiences of women at major business corporations, such as those listed in the Financial Post (FP) 500, and the mainstream (or “CEO level” [Lynde]) theatres with the largest budgets. For just as women’s advancement in FP 500 leadership roles has demonstrated limited growth in the 21st century (Catalyst, “Rate”),⁷⁵ women’s success rate for accessing leadership positions at the “CEO level” theatres has similarly revealed limited growth, as only 20% of the highly resourced theatres polled by Campbell and Nolan had women at the helm. Government studies further indicate that as managers women are “better represented in lower-level positions as opposed to those at more senior levels” (Statistics Canada, Women 114). Women clearly have a difficult time accessing senior management positions in the theatre sector, particularly artistic directorships, as fewer women than men are employed in these positions, particularly at the more prestigious mainstream theatres; this situation can easily be equated with that of top corporate leadership roles.

⁷³ In 2004, 27% of the total female labour force worked part-time (compared to 11% of the working male population), constituting 7 out of every 10 part-time workers (Statistics Canada, Women 109).

⁷⁴ Women currently account for 75% of all clerks and other administrators and 57% of those working in sales and service (Statistics Canada, Women 113).

⁷⁵ According to a recent Catalyst study, as of 2004, women held 14.4% of the corporate officer positions in the FP 500, up from 14% in 2002, although the number of companies with at least one female corporate officer actually decreased to 61.4% from 62.4% in 2002. Neither the number of women who hold corporate officer line positions (9.4% in 2004 compared to 9% in 2002), nor the number of women who hold “clout” titles (7% in 2004 compared to 6.7% in 2002), have increased meaningfully (“Rate”).

More often, women head-up smaller, independent companies, which can arguably be associated with lower-level management positions (despite similar job titles), given the hierarchical nature of the industry and the differences in status and financial standing. And while white women have generally made “minor advances to leadership positions” in both the corporate world and the institution of theatre, studies have found that women of colour are “severely underrepresented” at senior levels in business corporations (Catalyst, “Blending In”). As we have seen with the Equity Survey results, this is also the case in the theatre industry, as only 6% of the ADs and less than 2% of the general managers were women of colour in 2004/05. White women access general management positions in large numbers, but this tendency only underscores the predominance of women in clerical and administrative positions that is evident in the larger workforce.

Ironically, the FP 500’s chief male executives cite “a lack of significant general management or line experience” as the top barrier to women’s advancement in the corporate world, although the example of the Canadian theatre industry, with its large numbers of female GMs, certainly challenges this perception in practice. Corporate women report that the most significant challenge to their advancement is “male stereotyping and preconceptions of women’s roles and abilities” (Catalyst, “Closing the Gap”). Studies of European and North American businesses reveal that, “across cultures, managers consistently perceived differences in leadership behavior and effectiveness of women and men, even though prior research showed that leadership traits of men and women are similar” (Catalyst, “Barriers”). As demonstrated in Part One, stereotyped perceptions of women and traditional gender roles still assert an active presence in the Canadian theatre industry, barring women from key positions and resulting in occupational segregation along gendered (and racialized) lines. As the Catalyst study surmises, “Stereotyping clearly undermines and undervalues women’s leadership capabilities. In this increasingly competitive global marketplace where companies must fully leverage all talent, they cannot do so if stereotyping of women prevails” (Catalyst, “Barriers”). The general stereotyping of women’s abilities in the larger workforce clearly replicates itself in the theatre sector, actively undermining women’s participation and hindering the progressive development of both the companies and the industry itself.

Most significantly, stereotyping has resulted in inequities with earned wages, as women’s incomes are “still substantially lower than those of men,” even when employed on a full-time basis, and regardless of age or educational attainment (Statistics Canada, Women 138). In 2003, “women working fulltime, full-year had average earnings of \$36,500, or 71% [of] what men employed fulltime, full-year made that year” (139).⁷⁶ While there have been some year-to-year fluctuations, the gap between the earnings of women and men “has not changed substantially in the past decade,” and the incomes of women are well below those of men in *all* occupational categories (139). Not surprisingly, the overall earnings in the arts and culture sector are lower than the national averages for the larger Canadian workforce,⁷⁷ and with the exception of library and archive staff, all of the culture occupations demonstrate “higher earnings for men than women” (Singh, “Earnings” 3). Culture-support occupations receive less money than core

⁷⁶ That same year, in the labour force as a whole, “employed women had average earnings of just under \$25,000, a figure that was only 64% that of all men with jobs” (Statistics Canada, Women 138).

⁷⁷ In 2000, the average employment income earned by cultural workers was \$30,149, compared to \$32,123 for all workers in Canada (Singh, “Earnings” 1).

culture occupations (2), and more women are located in support rather than core culture roles, perhaps due to the “striking [societal] consensus around stereotypical beliefs that women are better at ‘taking care’ (i.e., supporting others) and men are better at ‘taking charge’ (i.e., influencing superiors)” (Catalyst, “Barriers”). Not surprisingly, the greater numbers of women in culture-support occupations generally earn “far less than women working in core culture occupations” (Singh, “Earnings” 4).⁷⁸

As we have seen with the Equity Survey results, women are found in large numbers where the pay is poorest – in support rather than core theatre occupations. This information provides added weight to the assertion that women dominate as general managers and in other administrative capacities primarily because these positions receive comparatively low remuneration. While the Equity Survey did not track the specific earnings (only the income ranges) of men and women in the theatre industry, the findings clearly demonstrate that women generally receive lower rates of remuneration than men. The Union des artistes’ 2004 study also bears this out, as it found that contract amounts for male members were generally greater than those for its female members, with women consistently making approximately 75% of what men earned between 1999 and 2004 (Descarries 10).⁷⁹ Moreover, companies with female ADs usually have less money at their disposal, resulting, among other things, in a tendency to pay their employees less than companies with male ADs. And while income inequities impact on all women, women of colour are particularly affected, as they generally receive even lower earnings than their white counterparts in the larger workforce.⁸⁰ Although the Equity Survey did not track remuneration according to racialization, the patterns in the larger labour force tend to duplicate themselves in the theatre industry, making it possible that women of colour experience a greater degree of discrimination than white women in relation to earned wages. Regardless of colour, the bottom line is that women comprise “a disproportionate share of the population in Canada with low incomes” (Statistics Canada, Women 143),⁸¹ thus highlighting the feminization of poverty currently underway in both the larger Canadian workforce and the Canadian theatre sector.

Despite evidence of these inequities, many people still argue that gender parity has been achieved in the Canadian theatre industry and that women currently enjoy the same opportunities as men. Similar impressions also circulate in the larger economy, as one study found that three-quarters of chief male executives “believe that women’s opportunities for advancement have improved greatly or somewhat,” whereas only 56% of their female counterparts believe that to be the case (Catalyst, “Closing the Gap”). Statistical evidence demonstrates that such assertions are false in relation to both the

⁷⁸ “In 2000, women earned only 57 cents for every dollar earned by their male co-workers in culture support occupations compared to 81 cents for a dollar for core culture occupation categories” (Singh, “Earnings” 4).

⁷⁹ According to the UDA findings, male actors earned an average total income of \$21,534 in 2004, whereas women earned only \$16,324, almost 76% of what their male counterparts made (Descarries 6).

⁸⁰ According to Statistics Canada, in 2000, the median income for Aboriginal women was \$12,300, approximately \$3,000 less than that of Aboriginal men and about \$5,000 less than that of non-Aboriginal women (199). “Visible minority” women earned about 10% less than their non-visible counterparts (252), and about 70% to 76% of what their male counterparts made (253). Immigrant women generally earn the same as other women in Canada, although the incomes of recently arrived female immigrants are relatively low, approximately 70% of that of their male counterparts (Women 226).

⁸¹ In 2003, women accounted for 53% of all Canadians classified as having low incomes (Statistics Canada, Women 143).

larger society and the theatre sector. In addition to limited access and representation, financial inequity serves as one of the most significant and persistent barriers to plague women today. It connotes the inferior and secondary status accorded women by the institution of theatre and the larger society, and it simultaneously and concretely impacts on the livelihood, and possibly the very survival, of more than half the nation's theatre workers and almost half of the country's working population.

This contextual comparison of the larger labour force and the institution of Canadian theatre is in no way meant to let the theatre industry “off the hook” (so to speak); rather it is introduced to call attention to the magnitude and severity of a very urgent and deep-seeded societal imbalance. As one of the industries with the highest rate of female participation, the performing arts sector (and the mainstream in particular) must adjust its practices and actively pursue greater employment equity in the effort to adequately and fairly reflect the nation's demographic reality, both on stage and off. As with the larger economy, Canadian theatres must consciously work to put an end to the occupational segregation, stereotyping, inferior and low-status assignments, and inequitable rates of remuneration so often encountered by women (and by companies headed by women).

Additional and Future Areas of Study

- Conduct a detailed study of theatre workers' salaries and annual incomes to assess the degree of disparity between genders.
- Analyze financial compensation rates along racialized and gendered lines to ascertain whether discriminatory differences exist.

B. Motherhood and Eldercare

A significant and enduring societal factor that affects the participation of women and creates barriers to success in the larger workforce, as well as in the theatre sector, is their continued responsibility as the primary caregivers and family support providers. The Equity Survey was not able to delve into the intricacies of the complex relationship and often-difficult negotiations involved in balancing career and family, but this aspect so affects the participation of women in the industry that some provisional observations must be attempted all the same. The following section draws heavily on information from Statistics Canada, as well as on the groundbreaking work of Corinne Rusch-Drutz, possibly the only scholar currently investigating the impact of “mother-work” as it specifically relates to the Canadian theatre industry.⁸²

Over the past two decades there has been a particularly sharp growth in the employment rate of women with children. Statistics Canada found that 73% of all women with children under age 16 living at home were part of the paid workforce in 2004 (105).⁸³ There have especially been major increases in the numbers of women working

⁸² “Mother-work” is a term employed in motherhood discourses derived from the work of Molly Ladd-Taylor who defined the expression as an example of both “child rearing in the home, and the maternalist reform activity characterized as ‘social motherhood’” (qtd. in Rusch-Drutz 272).

⁸³ “The vast majority of women with children hold full-time jobs. Indeed, in 2004, almost 3 out of 4 women with at least one child under age 16 at home were employed full time” (Statistics Canada, Women 105).

while responsible for young children; in 2004, 65% of all women with children under the age of 3 were employed (105). Whether by choice or circumstance, women are also increasingly going it alone these days, currently comprising the vast majority of lone parents (38).⁸⁴ The share of female lone parents with jobs has also “risen dramatically,” sitting at 68% overall in 2004, which, given women’s generally lower wages, has additionally contributed to the feminization of poverty. As of 2003, “43% of all children in a low-income family were living with a single female parent, whereas these families accounted for only 13% of all children aged 17 and under” (Women 144).⁸⁵ Primarily due to financial necessity, though not exclusively so, women are increasingly balancing the double-duty of paid employment and childrearing, in both the society at large and in the Canadian theatre industry, and this trend often magnifies the level of difficulty experienced by women in the workforce and on the home front.

Conventional stereotypes and divisions of domestic labour dictate that mothers (as opposed to fathers) assume primary childcare duties, resulting in childrearing being viewed as a woman’s “personal predicament” rather than a societal responsibility (Rusch-Drutz 270). As Rusch-Drutz writes:

Ostensibly, patriarchal divisions of the private and public spheres of life have deliberately regarded women’s theatre practice as outside their domestic responsibilities by seeing childrearing as women’s work that is separate from any they might perform in the public realm. But as [Adrienne] Rich and other feminist theorists have taught us, motherhood is part of the paid labour force and is present in each and every sector in which women participate. (228)

Just as theatre cannot be separated from its larger social context, neither can women’s experiences with childrearing be detached from their daily activities in the labour market; the reality is that the two must always be negotiated in tandem with each other. The often-unacknowledged demands of juggling these two elements contribute to additional psychological and material disadvantages for women.

Given the magnitude of the double-duty, and with the clock ticking, women often feel that they must choose between career and family; a difficult and stressful ultimatum that can potentially impact on a woman’s sense of self and life goals, particularly as mothers tend to surrender their careers more often than fathers when someone is needed on the home-front. If women do opt to work while raising children, they must additionally wrestle with the specter of the “postmodern *übermom*,” that remarkable (and fictional) woman who against all odds successfully and easily manages career and family duties. The development of the *übermom* has only added to the internal and external pressures and the strains of guilt that women must contend with while working and rearing children, prompting Rusch-Drutz to identify the phenomenon as “one of the most toxic ideologies” that the female population currently faces (237).

Societal norms dictate that a mother must put her children before all else, career included, but the working world demands that career be a top priority (whether openly acknowledged or not), and these competing forces often place women in a precarious

⁸⁴ There were over 1 million female-headed lone-parent families in Canada in 2001, with women constituting 81% of all one-parent families, and one in five of all the families with children in 2001 (Statistics Canada, Women 38).

⁸⁵ According to Statistics Canada, “lone-parent families headed by women have, by far, the lowest incomes of all family types” (Women 134).

position.⁸⁶ A recent Catalyst study found that 61% of female corporate officers agreed that “in order to advance, women must put career before personal or family life,” whereas less than one-half (44%) of the chief male executives concurred with this assessment. And whereas only 5% of the women cited family responsibilities as the main reason they would leave their current organization, 31% of the male executives believed this to be the case (Catalyst, “Closing the Gap”). In actual fact, research suggests that, “pregnant women and new mothers often work themselves harder in order to maintain the occupational standard, to avoid being perceived as inadequate, lest they risk ‘punishment on the job’” (Rusch-Drutz 252). Women are increasingly shortening their maternity leaves or deciding not to take them at all, lying about family responsibilities and medical appointments for fear their standing at work will be jeopardized (252). The impressions of the male executives (specifically that women will leave the workforce if they have children), demonstrate why it is that women with children often feel the need to work themselves harder, or to pass themselves off as non-mothers altogether – for fear that their maternal status, which is viewed as incompatible with and separate from the business world, will negatively affect their advancement in the paid workforce.

This situation also appears in the theatre industry, as women’s labour on the home front is viewed as “separate and distinct from theatre and its practice” (Rusch-Drutz 267), that is, as “an individual problem” rather than “one of structural inequity” (268). In the theatre sector, as in the larger workforce, the separation of the public and private spheres has resulted in “a community environment that promotes inequality amongst its members by privileging those who are or appear to be without children” (266-267). As Rusch-Drutz argues, “women may enter the cultural locus of artistic creativity, providing they identify with male experience and represent themselves in a similar fashion,” meaning they must “pass” as non-mothers in order to get ahead (232).⁸⁷ As Fraticelli observed back in 1983, and as is still the case today, “There is nothing in the organization of the theatre industry which *acknowledges*, much less includes, the existence of children,” and this causes considerable stress for mothers working in the industry (“Any Black” 14).

While most women experience a shift in priorities and greater trouble juggling responsibilities when motherhood is negotiated alongside career, the nature of the theatre industry exacerbates the problem further. Long hours are frequently required (particularly during tech-week and previews), late nights abound (making childcare arrangements that much more difficult), and if the company tours, then extended periods of time are spent away from one’s children (again, making childcare a difficult and costly arrangement). Moreover, a substantial investment of time, energy and resources are demanded in the theatre; mobility and flexibility are often required, as is an incredible amount of multitasking, and uncertainty and duress are often heightened by the contract-to-contract basis of most work. This, combined with low remuneration, makes theatre an impractical choice for women with outside demands and responsibilities, and many drop out of the industry as a result. Certainly a lone female parent would have an incredibly difficult time supporting and caring for her family with the low rate of pay and the need for

⁸⁶ It is no coincidence perhaps that almost 50% of the female academics employed in Canada between the ages of 35 and 39 do not have children under twelve years of age at home (Czernis).

⁸⁷ As theatre theorist Elaine Aston writes, “The pressure on women to ‘appear’ to be without children is particularly acute – especially for women working in professional theatre,” who often feel that they must “pass” as non-mothers in order to get ahead in the industry (qtd. in Rusch-Drutz 230).

extensive daycare if long hours are spent away from home. If she works in one of the support occupations such as administration, as many women do, the hours may be more set and regular, but it makes a great deal of sense to quit the theatre for another industry where the same skills and abilities are more amply rewarded, at least in financial terms.

As in the larger society, the Canadian theatre industry does little to promote the necessary policies and flexibility required to keep women with children working in the field. Childcare provisions are especially needed, and although there have been repeated efforts throughout the past few decades to implement a national childcare program, the recent election of the Conservative government has stalled real progress on this front. Nonetheless, theatres should consider childcare provisions and devise methods to help alleviate the difficulties mothers currently experience in the industry. As several women at a Newfoundland roundtable discussion commented, they managed to continue working in the theatre while raising their children “because of the sharing and caring supportive community” in which “someone would be babysitting at the [RCA] Hall while an actor/mother would be performing, and so on” (Lynde). This communal arrangement made it possible for the mothers to care for their children and pursue their careers, though it additionally demonstrates regional variances, as a shared childcare situation of this nature is not widely practiced in the industry.

For expectant mothers, paid maternity leaves are few and far between: the Equity Survey findings reveal that only 30% of the respondents have women on staff who have ever taken maternity leave, and not necessarily paid ones at that. The relatively low incidence of maternity leave is not simply or solely a result of the theatre industry, however, it is primarily related to government rules and regulations. While policies vary from province to province, most theatre professionals are considered “independent workers” who do not qualify for government assistance (Rusch-Drutz 253).⁸⁸ With few exceptions, theatre artists are classified as self-employed because they usually work on a contract-to-contract basis, which effectively renders them ineligible for assistance from Human Resources and Development Canada (nor do they receive the usual “top-ups” from industry unions).⁸⁹ There are some exceptions for full-time salaried positions, such as artistic directors and administrators at large companies, and there are some provisions for long-term full-time technicians through the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees (IATSE) union (256).⁹⁰ Exceptions aside, as most cannot afford to go without pay, women must return to work early or go without an official maternity leave altogether, thus adding to their mental and physical stress. As Rusch-Drutz observes, “in Canada there are very few formal professional allowances for childbearing, adoption and

⁸⁸ In Ontario maternity leave can only be administered if an individual has worked 600 hours in the last 52 weeks. Individuals who are self-employed cannot usually file for government assistance unless they can prove an income based on 600 hours from “other work” than that which is considered a self-employed activity (Rusch-Drutz 253).

⁸⁹ CAEA and PACT have “minimal provisions for maternity because the majority of their constituencies are made up of artists and freelance employees, who are considered by the government to be ‘self-employed,’ rendering them ineligible for federal benefits” (Rusch-Drutz 254).

⁹⁰ The IATSE exceptions apply to large, long-running companies with one-year contracts (such as commercial theatres with extended runs), “which allow for statutory parental obligations on the theatre’s part, prohibiting the actor’s termination within one year of returning to work.” The Stratford Addendum provides another such exception, boasting the most progressive policy in the industry (254). But smaller companies do not have the necessary funds to implement their own benefit programs (Rusch-Drutz 261).

maternity/parental leave in theatre; instead the onus is placed upon the individual to make her own financial and health-related arrangements” (255).

It must also be noted that women’s duties on the home front are not simply restricted to motherhood; there is also the maintenance of the domicile and the care of other family members, particularly elderly parents and relatives, which many women find especially draining and exhaustive as they attempt to balance career and family obligations with relatively little outside support. A 2006 study revealed that a gap between genders exists amongst academics in relation to “unpaid eldercare time,” in that the greater the amount of time required for care, the greater the numbers of hours that women as opposed to men put in (Robbins and Ollivier).⁹¹ Women’s unpaid work in raising children and caring for others limits their ability to improve their economic circumstances, it potentially impacts on their overall performance in the home and at work, and it additionally results in the phenomenon of severe “time poverty.”

Given the overall climate, the Canadian theatre industry cannot be described as particularly “family friendly,” not for its workers anyway (262). As Rusch-Drutz asserts, “Because theatre sees motherhood as a privatized activity, it is firm in its reservation to redefine practice to include parenting by mothers and other caregivers,” as is also the case with eldercare (265). Neither of these activities are “a solo performance,” as they require “support and encouragement not just from the private domesticity of one’s home and family life, but from the culture at large” (229). There has been much concern expressed of late about the nation’s declining birthrate, and yet few incentives have been developed to ease the double burden that women face, which obviously impacts on fecundity rates. It is imperative that a cultural shift be introduced, so that larger numbers of men, and formal government policies, assume greater responsibility for children and elders. The theatre industry needs to re-evaluate its practices, “to provide a greater variety of options for women,” which would additionally strengthen the community as a whole (Rusch-Drutz 271). The larger society needs to do the same, re-evaluating its policies and procedures, particularly in relation to the performing arts sector. For while the nation’s theatre artists financially contribute to government assistance programs, they often cannot access the benefits when needed, as with maternity leave. These policy shortfalls affect women in harmful ways, denying them security and financial stability in an industry that is already less stable and financially secure than most others.

Additional and Future Areas of Study

- Conduct studies to ascertain the number of women currently working in the theatre industry with additional responsibilities to children and/or elders.
- Examine different sizes and types of theatre companies to assess and compare the level of “family-friendliness” that currently exists in the institutions.
- Identify obstacles encountered by women in relation to the double-duty of family and career, particularly those specific to the theatre industry.

⁹¹ The 2001 study of academic women’s “unpaid eldercare time” revealed an increasing gender gap: 1-4 hours a week – women 65.2%, men 75.9%; 5-9 hours a week – women 21.1% and men 16.6%; ten hours plus per week – women 13.7% and men 7.6% (Robbins and Ollivier).

C. Theatre Training and Educational Institutions

The representation and involvement of women in theatre training programs and university institutions is an area of research that has been earmarked for the Initiative's second phase of study, but some preliminary observations can be offered at this point. As with mother-work and the labour force, the trends identified in the larger culture – this time in relation to women and education – also pertain to and impact upon the theatre sector. The importance of training and education cannot be underestimated, for it is in the schools, conservatories, colleges and universities that successive generations of theatre practitioners acquire their basic knowledge of theatre. Some of the barriers and disadvantages that women experience in the theatre sector are similar to the experiences and inequities encountered at the educational level, which are subsequently reproduced over and over again as each new generation trains for the profession.

That women continue to encounter entrenched patterns of discrimination in the Canadian work force (including the theatre industry) is especially perplexing given the substantial gains that women have made in recent years with occupational training and post-secondary education. Women accounted for just over 78% of the growth in university enrolment from 1997/98 to 2000/01 (Statistics Canada, "University Enrolment"), and as of 2000/01, they made up 58% of all Bachelor and first professional degree students, 51% of those enrolled in Masters programs, and 46% of those earning doctorates (Statistics Canada, Women 91).⁹² So dramatic and impressive is this increase in numbers that Statistics Canada has dubbed it "one of the real success stories" of Canadian women (89). While women are still less likely to hold a university degree than men, the gap is narrower now than ever before, with women forming a decided majority of the student population. Female "visible minorities" in particular are obtaining post-secondary education in great numbers, as 21% held degrees in 2001 compared to only 14% of other Canadian women (Statistics Canada, "Women").⁹³

Just as greater numbers of women are obtaining post-secondary education overall, so too are large numbers of women attending university and college institutions to train for the theatre profession. As Fraticelli observed in her report, "While there is no single path to the profession of playwright or director, nor any single indicator of vocation or ability, the enrollment and performance of women in professional training programs gives us one gauge of their career aspiration" ("Status" 7). According to Fraticelli's report, in 1972/73 women comprised 58% of the student body in the performing arts; a figure that increased to 68% by 1980/81 (8). These statistics provide evidence to debunk one of the oft-cited claims for the predominance of men in the theatre industry – that practitioners tend to work with the people they went to school with, which, it is theorized, might account for any "old boys club" currently in effect. As Fraticelli's statistics clearly demonstrate, women have formed the majority of theatre students for over 30 years now, so this postulation alone is insufficient to explain the low numbers of women who succeed in the industry, particularly in high profile positions.

⁹² Women also comprise the majority of part-time university students; in 2000/01 they made up 61% of the part-time undergraduate population and 58% of the part-time graduates (93). At community colleges, women formed 54% of the full-time students in 1999/00 (Statistics Canada, Women 94).

⁹³ It should be noted that while visible minority women are generally better educated than other Canadian women, they are somewhat less likely to be employed (Statistics Canada, "Women in Canada").

In the performing arts and communication and technologies fields, women currently comprise 68% of the student enrollment, although the grouping of communication and technology with the performing arts may have resulted in slightly deflated figures for the numbers of women enrolled in the performing arts (Statistics Canada, “University Degrees”). Theatre students at Newfoundland’s Memorial University are predominantly female, except in the new Diploma Program in Performance and Communications Media (a combination of video, film and theatre), which consistently attracts more men than women.⁹⁴ Such exceptions aside, it appears that more women aspire to the theatre profession than men, as women continue to comprise the majority of university students enrolled in undergraduate theatre programs. Over the course of the last decade, the Theatre Department at York University “has consistently attracted and retained a ratio of male to female students of... 25% to 75%” (York U). Similar numbers are found at Dalhousie University in Halifax where “the Theatre Studies, Acting and Scenography programs from 2000 to 2004 were 70% female and 30% male” (O’Brien qtd. in Green and Burton 29).⁹⁵ As with the larger workforce, however, the higher up the ladder one travels, the greater the decline in the numbers of women. Although, in the field of arts and communications women still form the majority, comprising 61% of all doctoral students in 2003, compared to the 45.6% marker set for female PhD candidates in all disciplines (Robbins and Ollivier). Whatever the level of post-secondary education, these statistics clearly demonstrate that women aspire to and train for the theatre industry in numbers greater than their male counterparts.

In her 1982 report, Fraticelli related an anecdote about two female students who discussed the “problem” of high female enrollment at their school. Apparently, the “prevailing feeling in the department was that ‘something had to be done’ about the fact that the school was graduating far more women than the industry could employ.” The department proposed that, “female enrollment be limited to a percentage which would reflect the real possibilities for their eventual employment” (20). Coming at the “problem” from the wrong end, the powers that be decided not to adjust their programs and practices to facilitate the large numbers of women, nor did they look to the industry to do so, rather they decided to correct the imbalance by restricting the number of women permitted into the program. In the 21st century, the “problematic” nature of high female enrollment has still not been remedied for the most part. Thankfully, most institutions have shifted their perspective away from a focus on industry demographics. As Diana Belshaw, Director of the Theatre Performance Program at Toronto’s Humber College, commented, “we used to have primarily men – but I suspect that might have been because men were kept over women because of the perception that there was work out there for men but not women. We don’t make determinations based on those kinds of ideas anymore so the balance towards women seems to have shifted” (“Today’s Voices” 7). While the balance has clearly shifted in favour of women – and while this shift has become an accepted fact of life at university and college institutions – there are still a

⁹⁴ As Denyse Lynde, the Coordinator of the Diploma Program in Performance and Communications Media noted, the reversed gender distribution pattern may be due to “the highly technical nature” of the program, however, as it is “only a few years old, it is too soon to make any major conclusions about this seemingly different gender picture.”

⁹⁵ These numbers exclude students graduating from the department’s Costume Studies program. Of the 87 students graduating from Costume Studies from 2000 to 2004, only four were men (Green and Burton).

number of programs that have not adjusted their practices to reflect the current demographics.

Generally speaking, students learn little about women in theatre history, they are not educated as to the legacy of female theatrical practice, nor do they have the opportunity to read and perform a significant number of plays by women. There are usually fewer roles and opportunities available to women, particularly for female actors, who receive substantial and weighty roles less frequently than men. While there are many universities attempting to address these problems, such as York University and Humber College (for instance, by presenting plays with large female casts), there are still many schools that do not. Tessa Mendel, educator and Artistic Director of Halifax's Women's Theatre and Creativity Centre, recalls her own experience teaching in university theatre programs during the late 1990s, where "she encountered female students who wanted to be professional actors, and who, after three years of study, had never had a part in a play" (qtd. in Green and Burton). Some training institutions are reticent to adjust their programs to accommodate the numbers of women they accept, and as a result, as Kelly Thornton, Artistic Director of Toronto's Nightwood Theatre points out, "these women begin their professional lives with less experience than their male peers: When the theatre class stages any classic, the juicy roles inevitably are male ones. That pattern repeats itself in professional theatre where it's notoriously difficult to find good roles for women in the existing repertoire" (qtd. in Taylor). Further, the training institutions often fail to adequately prepare women for the reality of the profession and the challenges that they will encounter upon graduation.

Moving from the student body to the numbers of women teaching and working as theatre educators, a pattern of gender imbalance emerges again, this time the inverse to that found in the student body, but one in keeping with the trends found in the larger labour force. According to Fraticelli's report, "Between 1979 and 1982, women comprised between 20% and 30% of the faculty at Canadian conservatories and undergraduate theatre departments; in the graduate departments they were even less visible, and fading each year: 28% in 1979/80, 20% in 1980/81 and 19% in 1981/82" (6).⁹⁶ The Women's Initiative has not yet generated comparable figures to assess Canadian theatre departments as a group, but there are general statistics related to women working in higher education that are likely applicable. In 2002/03, women accounted for "30% of all full-time academics – a notable improvement from 20% a decade earlier," but a number not that much different than the figures reported by Fraticelli for theatre programs back in 1982. Despite the seeming stagnation in numbers, incremental gains have been made by women in several important areas, such as new academic appointments, positions leading to tenure, tenured appointments and full professorships (Statistics Canada, "Study"), and we can only hope that this is also the case in the discipline of theatre.⁹⁷ However, once again, the higher up the ladder one travels, the worse the representation is for women. Women accounted for only 15% of the prestigious

⁹⁶ As Fraticelli additionally noted, "Typically, women figure far more prominently at the less prestigious, [sic] community colleges where salary scales tend to be lower. There the proportion of women teachers rose 22% in 1979/80 to 33% in 1980/81 and 40% in 1981/82" ("Status" 12).

⁹⁷ The number of female full-time university teachers jumped by over 50% between 1990/91 and 2002/03, whereas the number of male full-time faculty declined 14%. Women accounted for 39% of all new academic appointments in 2002/03, 38% of the positions leading to tenure, 26% of all tenured staff, 17% of the full professors and 36% of the associate professorships (Statistics Canada, "Study").

Canada Research Chairs at the Tier 1 level and 26% of the appointments in the second tier, holding 21% of the positions overall in 2005 (Robbins and Ollivier), a severe gender imbalance that has led a group of eight female academics to take legal action on the issue through the Human Rights Commission. As one Statistics Canada publication concluded, “While they have yet to reach the high concentration held by their male colleagues (nearly 80% of whom held the rank of full professor or associate professor...) women's standing appears to be slowly improving” (“Study”).

If the general pattern of university employment is mirrored in the theatre departments, the slow improvement in the numbers of women is of particular relevance; without adequate female role models and concrete examples of professorial and industry success, female students, no matter how great their numbers, are additionally disadvantaged on a psychological level because they do not have the benefit of witnessing first-hand that women can accomplish and succeed at such activities. The relative lack of female professors reinforces the socialized sense of inferiority that women often experience, which can easily translate into lower confidence levels, fear of leadership positions and, ultimately, less experience for women in comparison to their male counterparts. Without role models, peer support and mentors, as Fraticelli argued, “women operate on the basis of functioning invalidation of their artistic existence. Thus lack of confidence and even failure are, to a very high degree, built in” (“Status” 21). Female students are further disadvantaged by the comparative lack of female educators as a successful transition from student to emergent practitioner involves establishing credibility in the field, which is usually bestowed by “sponsorship from influential former teachers” (Fraticelli, “Status” 17). Fraticelli noted that the transition to professional artist is “frequently accomplished through the assistance of a network of introductions, recommendations, contacts composed of former classmates, teachers, and their professional colleagues: that is, the ‘old boys’ network” (“Status” 16-17). Without a complete dismantling of the conventional structures, or the implementation of a counter “old girls” club (which is hardly desirable), women aspiring to work in the professional theatre industry are often effectively shut-off from the usual channels of advancement, and since theatre is an interconnected and interdependent art form, that exclusion can have a serious and tragic impact on women’s career goals.

Given the lack of opportunity, experience, and preparation, it is not surprising that many women (actors in particular) give up on the theatre industry right after school (“Today’s Voices” 7), once they have discovered that there are limited roles and twice as much competition to contend with as for their male counterparts. Beginning in the early eighties up to the present day, women have aspired to work in the professional theatre in large numbers, but for a variety of reasons, significant barriers exist that prevent them from the actuality of realizing their objectives, what Rosenberg has termed “the gap between aspiration and legitimation” (qtd. in Fraticelli, “Status” 5). Considering that the numbers of male and female theatre students provide the inverse of the numbers for artistic directors in the professional industry, it is difficult to understand the current 30% to 35% marker for women in this position. The gap experienced by women between aspiration and legitimation is clearly not the result of disinterest in the industry (as indicated by the high numbers of women enrolled in the country’s theatre programs), nor is it due to a perceived lack of talent (in which case such high numbers of women would not be accepted into the training programs). As Fraticelli observed, “although our

graduation seems to mark the end (rather than the beginning) of most of our professional careers, the achievement records of women theatre students offer us absolutely no clue to explain this phenomenon” (“Any Black” 9). Clearly the explanation is situated elsewhere, within the institutions themselves and the particulars of the theatre industry, as well as the patriarchal culture in which we live.

Additional and Future Areas of Research

- Conduct a detailed analysis of the female student population at all levels of training in university and college theatre programs.
- Investigate the gender and racialized distribution of faculty and staff members working at the nation’s university/college theatre departments.
- Examine the university and colleges’ production seasons to assess the number and quality of roles available to female students.
- Analyze the curricula of Canada’s various theatre programs to uncover the degree to which gender and racialized elements are present.

D. Overall Conclusions

Women are not only disadvantaged in the theatre industry, but in the culture as a whole, manifesting in educational, familial, financial and labour inequities that compound and contribute to the disadvantages experienced in the theatre sector. Theatre practitioners engage in the same educational practices, social relations and labour activities as workers in other fields, but often without the same benefits or checks and balances to ensure gender and employment equity. In order to relieve some of the unique problems and stresses associated with women’s social standing and gendered obligations, alterations need to be made not just in the theatre industry but in society as a whole. The particulars of the female experience mean that women often require different kinds of support mechanisms than men in order to effectively and efficiently carry out their work. At school, they require improved learning opportunities, greater instances of mentorship, and formalized introductions to artists and networks that will help smooth the transition from student to professional theatre worker. As mothers and eldercare providers, women need greater assistance from men and society in general, particularly in relation to maternity and childcare demands. In the labour market, women would benefit greatly from improved employment equity, particularly in relation to earned wages and access to positions of authority. Improvements in these areas are first contingent on a complete dismantling of the stereotypes and traditional conceptions of gender roles that currently hinder women and bestow second-class status. Only when this occurs can the remaining barriers that prevent women’s full access to and participation in the theatre industry be removed. Clearly changes need to be implemented not only in the theatre sector, but also in educational institutions, the larger workforce, the various levels of government, and most particularly, in the consciousness and activities of the overarching culture.

Part Six: Conclusions and Recommendations

As Fraticelli states in her 1982 report: “It is no single closed door, but a series of diverse and deeply systemic obstructions which define the exclusion of women from the Canadian theatre,” and clearly the situation has changed only a little over time (26). For the most part, women remain stalled in the professional theatre industry because they are stalled in the larger culture, subjected to continued marginalization, stereotyped preconceptions and second-class citizenry. The present-day scenario experienced by women in the Canadian economy is duplicated in the cultural sector, and as the Equity Survey findings reveal, it is prominently manifest in the Canadian theatre industry.

Naomi Campbell conducted a follow-up to the national Canadian theatre polls for the 2006/07 season; the results, as Campbell commented, “are hard to believe” (“Re: Equity”). At 41 theatres (mostly “venued” or highly resourced companies but also including a few “un-venued” companies with significant seasons in their region), presenting a combined total of 298 productions, only 22% of the artistic directors and 18% of the produced playwrights are women (see Table 6.1),⁹⁸ and only 29% of the directors are female (though another 4% are working in conjunction with male directors) (see Table 6.2).⁹⁹

Table 6.1: Campbell’s 2006/07 National Poll of Canadian Theatres Working in English, AD and Playwright Totals

Gender Breakdown	% of Artistic Directors	% of Produced Playwrights
Female	22%	18%
Male	78%	74%
Unknown Gender	0%	8%

Table 6.2: Campbell’s 2006/07 National Theatre Poll, Director Totals

Gender Breakdown	% of Directors
Female	29%
Male	67%
Male and Female	4%

Clearly, sexist theatre practice is alive and well in the new century, as men still run the majority of the “big business” theatres, taking full advantage of a large portion of public funds. Campbell’s poll reminds us how far we have to go in the name of gender and employment equity, as women are clearly not well represented in the triumvirate of power, particularly at the most established theatres. Rather, the majority of the female ADs head-up smaller, under-resourced and financially unstable companies, and they are often stigmatized and labeled “special interest groups” as a result of their decision to stage plays by women, an appellation that male-driven companies (programming mostly male playwrights) do not have to contend with. This position is not only unfair, it also

⁹⁸ The statistics pertaining to female playwrights include shows co-authored by women and men, even if only one woman in a group of eight was listed (for instance with musicals), which means that the 18% figure offers a best-case scenario for the current representation of women playwrights at these theatres.

⁹⁹ The director figures for Campbell’s 2006/07 theatre poll pertain to 205 plays, as 93 of the 298 productions did not list their respective directors on their promotional materials and/or websites.

hinders experimentation and creative innovation, necessary elements to continually reinvigorate and refresh theatrical practice and production. The low numbers of female playwrights produced overall additionally attest to the fact that women's creative work is still misguidedly viewed as inferior or risky, and this perception results in exclusion and under-representation, particularly in the mainstream. Cultural production must cease to be elitist and exclusionary, and it must reflect the stories of all, as this provides social recognition of the value of women's lives and creative endeavours, while simultaneously celebrating the stories of those who have historically not been seen and heard. To this end, unexamined assumptions regarding criteria for aesthetic value and artistic excellence must be brought to light in order to expose and eradicate the biases that are frequently perpetuated in the theatre.

While women are not found in great numbers in the triumvirate of power where such changes are most easily made, they abound in industry support occupations that serve the main creative figures, for example, as assistant directors, dramaturgs, administrative staff and box office workers. The distribution and division of labour that characterizes the theatre profession demonstrates that traditional conceptions of conventional gender roles are largely holding firm: women are still relegated to areas associated with domesticity and so-called feminine abilities in the organizational realm, such as costume design, stage management and general management. The Equity Survey results further reveal that like attracts like: women tend to hire greater numbers of women and men tend to hire greater numbers of men, additionally influencing the nature of the content and representation found on the nation's stages.

The same observations can likely be applied to the employment of people of colour, and while this study does not even begin to grapple with the intricacies of the industry situation for women and men of colour, it is apparent that systemic discrimination is still a major factor to contend with in the theatre sector. The statistics pertaining to people of colour generated by the survey are reminiscent of the figures that were uncovered for women in Fraticelli's report back in the early 1980s, which might suggest that it will be another 25 years before we can expect to see marginal growth in the numbers of people of colour working in the industry, perhaps moving all the way up to the 33% marker as the numbers of women currently have. Such incremental improvements in the statistics are deceiving in any case; they provide the impression that great strides have been taken and that societal change has been effected, when, in actual fact, the more things change, the more they stay the same. The same entrenched patterns of gender and racialized discrimination continue to manifest themselves in the 21st century.

One of the most persistent and harmful inequities experienced by women in Canadian society and the theatre industry is the disparity experienced in terms of financial remuneration, first as individuals (for example, as ADs, directors, playwrights and actors), and second, as gendered representatives of formal theatre organizations (FADs), both of which point to the country's feminization of poverty. The economics of remuneration and cultural funding provide strong indicators of the well-being of women in the cultural sector; while discrimination and stress take their toll, women find themselves working for less money and putting in more unpaid time on a weekly basis. Companies with female ADs tend to generate significantly lower revenues, and they receive a disproportionately smaller amount of arts council funding in comparison to

companies run by male ADs. With gender impacting on financial standing, the FADs have a more difficult time with the material aspects of production: they are far more likely to rent and change rehearsal and performance venues, they are less apt to employ CAEA and/or UDA actors, and they are less likely to obtain registered charity status. These factors contribute to, or rather undermine, the companies' stability and profile in the larger community. Furthermore, it is clear that the financial disadvantages of the FADs have a trickle-down effect, impacting not only on the conditions of production, but also on their ability to pay their employees well; with the exception of artists- and playwrights-in-residence, in all instances, FADs reimbursed their workers with lower wages than MADs. Surprisingly, despite such disadvantages, companies with female ADs manage to outperform companies with male ADs in a few crucial areas, such as TYA activities, Canadian content, play premieres, and frequency of touring.

Unfortunately, given the larger societal context, the often-disadvantaged position of women appears before they even enter the industry proper. While there are large numbers of women in the training institutions, they have fewer opportunities, fewer role models, fewer mentors, and fewer examples of the performance history of their own gender. These disadvantages impact on women's skill-sets, as well as on their ability to enter the profession, given the interconnected nature of theatrical employment and production. The result, often, is a significant gap for women between aspiration and legitimation. If women do access the profession (usually with less experience), the poor wages, long hours, inflexible business models and lifestyle demands can prove to be incompatible with family responsibilities and the desire to "have a life" outside of work. The segregation of the private and public spheres, and the double-duty of balancing career with family obligations, further interrupts and impacts on the participation of women in the theatre sector. The combined effect of all the above circumstances is a cultural sub-sector that too often excludes, marginalizes and discriminates against more than half of the industry's workers.

Recommendations

If nothing else, the Initiative hopes that this study will raise awareness about equity issues as they pertain to women and people of colour in the theatre and arts funding communities (as well as beyond). The intent is to reactivate people's consciousnesses, to place gender and racialized concerns centre stage, so that entrenched patterns of discrimination can be eliminated once and for all. There is much that can be done to improve the experiences of women in the Canadian theatre industry, and while the Equity Initiative has not yet completed the additional phases of its study, it is possible to offer some suggestions for action, realignment and redress given the information generated thus far. The following recommendations have been derived primarily from Rina Fraticelli's 1982 report, "The Status of Women in the Canadian Theatre Industry," the first phase findings of the Equity in Canadian Theatre study (most particularly the Equity Survey results), as well as outside research, personal anecdotes, and plain old common sense and extrapolation. Following Fraticelli's example, recommendations and potential actions are described below for educational institutions, theatres and arts councils. We have also included potential actions to be undertaken by the Women's

Initiative in order to provide examples of activities that can be implemented by groups of concerned citizens banding together to work for social change.

A. Educational and Training Institutions

As many of the problems encountered by women training for the theatre profession identified by Fraticelli in 1982 still remain, the Initiative endorses many of the same suggestions put forth almost 25 years ago. These are preliminary suggestions, however, as the Initiative has not yet completed a detailed analysis of the educational sector:

- 1) Departments should establish equal opportunity committees comprised of faculty and students to address internal and external issues of inequity. These committees should be invested with the necessary power and authority to advise and contribute to department planning, particularly in relation to such areas as curriculum, main-stage production selections and community liaisons.
- 2) Departments should create career development programs to help female students recognize the symptoms and effects of their disadvantaged status, and to provide appropriate support and counsel to help overcome obstacles and barriers.
- 3) Departments should specifically assess and revise curricula to reflect the contributions of women to the history of theatre in Canada and the world, including improving the number of plays by female dramatists that are studied and performed. This will provide female students with greater opportunities for study and roles in production, thus improving their knowledge and experience.
- 4) As many theatre departments currently focus on acting, directors are often drawn from the acting pool, and due to the “old boys” network that “tends to favour men,” the majority of hired directors are male. As Kate Taylor suggests, departments should develop “a more codified system for training directors” to help counter the tendency toward gender imbalance in the field (Taylor).
- 5) While university and college programs are required to abide by the same equity rules as other government-assisted bodies, adherence to such regulations should be monitored and enforced, particularly in relation to programming, curricula, summer programs, apprenticeships and contracts with outside theatres.

B. Theatre Companies

Given the low rates of representation for women, particularly in key industry positions, and the common problems that they frequently encounter, the Initiative suggests that the theatre sector in general and individual theatre companies in particular consider the following implementations:

- 1) Companies should educate their executives and board members about equity issues and the need to actively seek out and facilitate contracts with women and men of colour, particularly when hiring at the larger mainstream companies.
- 2) Companies should especially increase female representation at the level of artistic directorship by actively soliciting applications from qualified women.
- 3) Companies should make a conscious effort to produce the work of Canadian women dramatists; contact the PGC’s Women’s Caucus to obtain information on plays by women and opportunities for commissioning new works.
- 4) Companies should pro-actively search for female directors and designers for both extra space and main-stage productions.

- 5) Companies should develop training programs and apprenticeships (as well as mentorship and sponsorship) for young female theatre artists to prepare them for various industry positions, such as artistic direction and general management.
- 6) Companies should introduce initiatives to meet daycare needs of permanent and temporary employees, as well as audience members attending performances.
- 7) Companies should create equity action plans with both male and female employees to proactively address difficulties experienced by women.
- 8) Companies should establish networks and opportunities for collaboration that allow women to share their concerns, their work and their strategies for survival.
- 9) Companies should lobby funding agencies to introduce gender equity issues and incentives for employment equity as factors in grant applications and awards.

C. Arts Councils

The federal, provincial and municipal arts councils have both a responsibility and the ability to support improvements related to the status of women in Canadian theatre. To this end, the Initiative suggests the following recommendations be pursued by the councils:

- 1) Councils should become actively involved in and supportive of improving the status of women in the theatre industry and educational training programs.
- 2) Councils should create standing committees with women from every area of the industry to make recommendations about the agencies' policies and programs.
- 3) Councils should establish gender equity policies and/or special incentives for employment equity for theatre companies receiving government subsidy.¹⁰⁰
- 4) Councils should recognize and implement childcare costs as legitimate professional expenses covered by grants made to individual artists.
- 5) Councils should provide incentives as well as support to individual companies that provide employees and patrons with childcare services and/or subsidy.
- 6) Councils should develop methods to familiarize women with available funding opportunities and actively encourage them to apply for all levels of funding, for instance, with workshops on tips for completing grant applications.
- 7) Councils should create incentives for the publication of plays and anthologies that highlight the contributions of women in Canadian theatre.
- 8) Councils should support research, documentation and publications that ameliorate the current imbalance in the scholarship on women in Canadian theatre.
- 9) Councils should establish special funds of considerable value to subsidize special programs aimed at assisting women in the production of theatre (e.g. training, apprenticeship and mentorship programs, artists' colonies for women, showcases or festivals of women's work, newsletters and/or arts advocacy organizations).
- 10) As government agencies, arts councils should require theatre companies to comply with the international and national human rights and employment equity

¹⁰⁰ Efforts to increase Canadian content with Canada Council policies in previous decades clearly had an impact, as homegrown productions are now in the majority. If the arts councils similarly and officially supported gender equity then we could perhaps see substantial improvements within a generation. While affirmative action is a problematic response, the introduction of special incentives on the part of the arts councils would certainly be beneficial.

agreements set forth, for instance, by the Federal Contractors Program for all government funded entities. This legislation applies in all areas of federal jurisdiction, and that should include the Canada Council and its award recipients.

D. The Women's Initiative

As an on-going project for research and redress, Equity in Canadian Theatre: The Women's Initiative will continue to research the status of women in Canadian theatre (dependent on funding) and it will spearhead the development and implementation of concrete, practical action plans. The following list offers examples of activities that can be undertaken by any committed group of individuals:

- 1) Publicize and distribute information related to the status of women in Canadian theatre in theatre journals, newsletters and other media sources.
- 2) Conduct media campaigns and interviews to educate the population about the situation of women in Canadian theatre, both at home and abroad.
- 3) Stage regional events to disseminate the information far and wide.
- 4) Hold community meetings to assess the reception of women's theatre work, communicate with theatre publics to nurture demands for theatre in Canada to renew itself, rectify inequities, and reflect the experiences of all Canadian people.
- 5) Create a network of organizations, associations, educators and practitioners who can share resources, implement action plans and monitor the resultant actions. Ensure that these networks are inclusive of women of colour and actively work to decrease alienation and industry exclusion for women and people of colour.
- 6) Establish working relationships with service providers, industry unions and grassroots organizations to assist in the development of policies, legislation and social actions designed to improve gender and racialized equity.
- 7) Meet with representatives from educational and training institutes, theatres and arts councils to work towards the implementation of equity recommendations.
- 8) Develop mentorship programs for women with established theatre artists who will work with and support emergent female artists.
- 9) Update and report on the status of women in Canadian theatre at designated intervals in order to track progress and changes over time.
- 10) Create a database of plays by Canadian women to encourage the selection, study and production of work by women in schools and the industry at large.
- 11) Pursue additional research topics related to the status of women in Canadian theatre, such as those suggested in the pages of this report, to improve upon our collective knowledge, histories and responses to the situation at hand.

APPENDICES

Appendix One: Recommendations for Future and Additional Areas of Study

It should be noted that the recommendations for future and additional study compiled in this appendix are not addressed to any one person, theatre function or organization. As the inequities are systemic, and since theatre in Canada is not a monolithic structure, these recommendations are made urgently to everyone. All people engaged in Canadian theatre have a responsibility to recognize the inequities and to do all they can to put an end to discrimination once and for all. The power and ability to make a difference is available in varying degrees to everyone. Canadian theatre will only play its role as a major cultural platform and will only achieve its highest potential for excellence once it offers the fullest range of creative opportunities to all of Canada's citizens. In order to do this, future and additional research is necessary so that informed and appropriate changes can be implemented throughout the theatre industry and beyond.

Part One: Employment Patterns in the Canadian Theatre Industry

A. The Triumvirate:

- Examine AD, playwright and director hires (according to gender and racialization) in relation to size and type of theatre company in order to ascertain if there are differences in practices and employment equity.
- Research and analyze the gendered and racialized composition with performances at the various festivals (e.g. Fringe) staged across the nation.
- Research and assess the considerations and concerns that ADs grapple with when choosing program selections and playwrights.
- Examine and compare regional variances in relation to the status of women and people of colour in Canadian theatre, particularly in relation to Quebec.
- Conduct audience identification studies that reflect the racialized composition of theatre-going spectators.

B. Outside the Triumvirate:

- Study the participation rates of people of colour in industry positions not yet examined: translators, actors, designers, stage managers and "other" production positions. Subject the results to a MAD versus FAD comparison.
- Make a distinction between classical and other kinds of repertoires and analyze the differences that appear in gendered and racialized rates of representation.
- Interrogate the number and quality of roles available to female actors over the age of 45 to assess the degree to which they are disadvantaged in the industry.
- Investigate the roles available to female actors (conventional and stereotyped, or creative and challenging), particularly in relation to the Canadian canon.
- Critically examine programming practices to further assess whose stories are being told, how they are being told, and who it is that is telling them.

C. Boards, Administration and Office Staff:

- Examine the role and extent of involvement of the boards of directors in selecting staff and influencing company policies, particularly across all sizes and types of theatres to ascertain if there are levels of difference in practices.
- Analyze the various administrative and office positions in relation to the size and type of the theatre companies for possible gender and racialized differences.

Part Two: Labour and Remuneration in the Canadian Theatre Industry

A. The Triumvirate:

- Investigate workloads and compensation rates for people of colour in theatre to ascertain if differences are manifest along racialized lines.
- Examine labour and economic remuneration (for ADs, playwrights and directors) in accordance with the type and size of the theatre companies.
- Analyze the figures for commissioned playwrights at the top end of the scale (\$2,000 or more) to determine the upper limit of their pay scale.

B. Outside the Triumvirate:

- Conduct studies on pay rates that include assistant directors, translators, actors, designers, stage managers and “other” production positions, as well as box office, administrative, contract and office staff.
- Evaluate pay scales and the hours and weeks worked using appropriate measures to factor in differences between full and part-time workers.
- Assess the primary source of remuneration for resident designers.
- Analyze specific rates of compensation and differences between grant-based positions such as resident designers, playwrights- and artists-in-residence.
- Examine the various positions and levels of remuneration according to the size and type of the theatres in order to ascertain where discrepancies lie.

Part Three: (En)Gendering Canadian Theatre Companies

A. Company Characteristics:

- Study the TYA industry on its own to ascertain if differences in practices and representation are manifest along gendered and racialized lines.
- Investigate the size, type and age of the theatres specifically in relation to company characteristics (such as incorporation, charitable status, etc.).

B. Operational Practices:

- Investigate other types of CAEA contracts not considered in the Equity Survey (specifically Independent, Cooperative and Guest Artist Agreements), as well as UDA contract usage.

C. Financial Status:

- Further investigate the breakdown of the revenue streams so that median figures (rather than inflated mean averages) can be used to more accurately compare and contrast the MADs with the FADs.

D. Production Practices:

- Investigate touring activities and the various kinds of venues played in relation to the size and type of the theatre companies (for instance, TYAs).
- Examine the number of performances per production and the house capacities of the larger theatre population to offset the inflated figures.

E. Audiences:

- Re-examine total audience attendance figures to reconcile and account for the potentially inflated numbers derived from the Equity Survey.
- Conduct audience surveys to ascertain the effect and impact of programming choices on audience interest and attendance.

Part Four: The Arts CouncilsA. The Canada Council for the Arts:

- Request a gender breakdown of the complete dollar amounts disbursed by the Canada Council to companies and artists for the five-year period under study, once the data becomes available.
- Assess arts council funding at the federal level in relation to the number of eligible and successful applicants and the monies disbursed to companies with people of colour at the helm.

B. Provincial Arts Councils:

- Conduct studies of provincial arts councils not included in this analysis, specifically in relation to British Columbia, Nova Scotia, the Northwest Territories, PEI, Quebec, the Yukon and Nunavut.
- Analyze the amount of money requested of the arts councils by men and women, as that may account for the discrepancies that are manifest along gender lines in relation to the total amount of funds disbursed.
- Distinguish between applications submitted by emergent as opposed to established playwrights along gender lines to account for differences.

C. Civic Arts Council:

- Conduct studies of municipal arts council activities in other regions.
- Distinguish between emerging and established artists (such as playwrights) according to gender to ascertain the degree of difference that is manifest in relation to the total amount of funds awarded (as with the TAC figures).

D. Juries:

- Conduct an analysis of the gender (and racialized) representation found on the arts councils' jury selection committees and compare the findings with the numbers of women and men receiving awards to see if a direct correlation exists between the two.

E. Overall Conclusions:

- Analyze the distribution of operating grants according to gender.
- Conduct a gender-based analysis of the councils' executives to determine the numbers of women and men employed.
- Investigate along gender lines the kinds of projects and the types of theatre companies that most often receive government funding.

Part Five: The Barriers that RemainA. The Labour Force:

- Conduct a detailed study of theatre workers' salaries and annual incomes to assess the degree of disparity between genders.
- Analyze financial compensation rates along racialized and gendered lines to ascertain whether discriminatory differences exist.

B. Motherhood and Eldercare:

- Conduct studies to ascertain the number of women currently working in the theatre industry with additional responsibilities to children and/or elders.
- Examine different sizes and types of theatre companies to assess and compare the level of "family-friendliness" that currently exists in the institutions.
- Identify obstacles encountered by women in relation to the double-duty of family and career, particularly those specific to the theatre industry.

C. Training and Educational Institutions:

- Conduct a detailed analysis of the female student population at all levels of training in university and college theatre programs.
- Investigate the gender and racialized distribution of faculty and staff members working at the nation's university/college theatre departments.
- Examine the university and colleges' production seasons to assess the number and quality of roles available to female students.
- Analyze the curricula of Canada's various theatre programs to uncover the degree to which gender and racialized elements are present.

Appendix Two:
Committees and Participants

A. The National Advisory Committee:

Co-Chairs:	Hope McIntyre (Winnipeg, MB) Kelly Thornton (Toronto, ON)
Assistant to the Co-Chairs:	Erika Kopyto (Toronto, ON)
Advisory Members:	Carmen Aguirre (Vancouver, BC) Susan Bennett (Calgary, AB) Naomi Campbell (Toronto, ON) Louise Forsyth (currently Calgary, AB; formerly SK; Francophone representative) Lorena Gale (Vancouver, BC) Cynthia Grant (Toronto, ON) Aida Jordão (Toronto, ON) Denyse Lynde (St. John's, NF) Lori Marchand (Kamloops, BC) Jackie Maxwell (Niagara-on-the-Lake, ON) Yvette Nolan (Toronto, ON) Mieko Ouchi (Edmonton, AB) Diane Roberts (Montreal, QC) Judith Rudakoff (Toronto, ON) Jan Selman (Edmonton, AB) Nancy Webster (Toronto, ON) Kathleen Weiss (currently Edmonton, AB; formerly BC)
Past Participants:	Maria Campbell (Saskatoon, SK) Jessica Schneider (Vancouver, BC)
Project Advisor:	Rina Fraticelli (Vancouver, BC)

B. The East Coast Regional Committee:

Members:	Catherine Banks (Halifax, NS) Reina Green (Halifax, NS) Gay Hauser (Halifax, NS) Tessa Mendel (Halifax, NS)
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C. The Survey Methodology Sub-Committee:

Chair: Susan Bennett (Calgary, AB)

Members: Naomi Campbell (Toronto, ON)
Aida Jordão (Toronto, ON)
Shannon Pidlubny (Toronto, ON)
Corinne Rusch-Drutz (Toronto, ON)

Main Researcher: Rebecca Burton (Toronto, ON)

D. PACT's Diversity Committee:

Current Chair: Suzanne Haines (Richmond, BC)

Past Chair: Jessica Schneider (Vancouver, BC)

Members: Emmy Alcorn (Guysborough, NS)
Katrina Baran (Toronto, ON)
Cristina Blesa (Toronto, ON)
Ann Brophy (St. John's, NF)
Linda Gorrie (Vancouver, BC)
Ivan Habel (Vancouver, BC)
Lynda Hill (Toronto, ON)
Kristen Kamper (Toronto, ON)
Lori Marchand (Kelowna, BC)
Haleema Mini (Montreal, QC)
Shahin Sayadi (Halifax, NS)
Jovanni Sy (Toronto, ON)
Nancy Webster (Toronto, ON)
Lucy White (Toronto, ON)

Appendix Three:
List of Acronyms

ACT	Association des compagnies de théâtre
AD	Artistic Director
AFA	Alberta Foundation of the Arts
CAEA	Canadian Actors Equity Association
CTA	Canadian Theatre Agreement
FADs	Companies with Female Artistic Directors (survey grouping)
FP 500	Financial Post 500
GM	General Manager
IATSE	International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees
ITA	Independent Theatre Agreement
MAC	Manitoba Arts Council
MADs	Companies with Male Artistic Directors (survey grouping)
NLAC	Newfoundland and Labrador Arts Council
OAC	Ontario Arts Council
PACT	Professional Association of Canadian Theatres
PGC	Playwrights Guild of Canada
SAB	Saskatchewan Arts Board
SM	Stage Manager
TAC	Toronto Arts Council
TYA	Theatre for Young Audiences
UDA	Union des artistes

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