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Female Journalists in New Zealand Daily Newspapers:
From Early Career to Gender Gap in Editorship

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of PhD in

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Abstract

This thesis looks at the gender power imbalance in New Zealand newspaper journalism. The balance between male and female journalists in news media has been under the research spotlight for almost four decades. Earlier New Zealand studies showed female journalists lagged well behind their male colleagues in jobs, pay, and seniority. More recent studies, however, concluded that women dominate journalism, meaning the majority of employees were women. Despite the large number of female journalists in the industry, a different picture emerged from detailed studies, particularly of the daily newspaper industry, which suggest women are relegated to lower career levels, and are almost invisible at the editorial and executive level. The same imbalance is well-documented in overseas studies of daily newspaper industries. However, the studies do not identify specific reasons to explain it.

The vexing question of WHY women seem to be scarce at the top level of daily newspaper journalism led to my interest in examining the state of female journalists in New Zealand's daily newspaper industry. Previous research overseas identified a specific culture in journalism newsrooms, a hegemonically masculine culture that seems to transcend national borders. The global nature of the journalism culture was a testing point for my study, and the conclusions indicate New Zealand is similar to other countries in supporting a daily newspaper culture that presents ingrained barriers for women to climb the career ladder.

My study firstly identified the gender imbalance in authorship of metropolitan newspaper news articles; secondly, examined what factors influence young journalists to remain in or depart daily newspaper careers; and thirdly explored the barriers and enticers for female

journalists going into management careers. This is the first study of those rare female journalists who do become daily newspaper editors, with in-depth interviews of all nine women who have been daily newspaper editors from 2000 through 2009. The interviews are buttressed with interviews of highly-skilled and experienced female journalists who remained long-term in the industry, but shunned the top position of editor. The interviews also include two male executives who were responsible for hiring and promoting editors.

This study is also the first to examine the other side – New Zealand female journalists who left the industry. An attitudinal survey of early-career journalists revealed that there is a large group of female journalists who exit newspaper jobs early in their career and some of their reasons for departure are due to the gendered nature of the newsroom culture.

This study concludes with recommendations to industry to help retain female journalists. These recommendations are based on three models developed by this research: the Funnel Shaped Career Path model that describes female journalists' career flow in newspaper journalism, the Glass Bubble model based on the enticers for female journalists to leave the industry early in their career, and the Collegial Wilderness model that demonstrates a major barrier for female journalists to remain as an editor long term.

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Chapter One: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The balance of genders in the New Zealand newspaper newsrooms looks very healthy on the surface: recent surveys concluded that more than half the country's reporters are women (GMMP, 2010; Hollings, 2007; Lealand, 2004) and the majority of journalism students are women (Densem, 2006 ; NZJTO, 2006). On closer scrutiny, however, the gender make-up of the newsrooms seems lop-sided, with women mainly on the lower-paid, and less so on the more powerful senior levels (Hollings, Lealand, Samson, & Tilley, 2007). This large bulge of incoming female journalists fails to flow through to the upper levels of editorial jobs; in fact, at the time this research started, only one of the daily newspaper editor positions was held by a woman (Strong, 2008).

This chapter explores how this research project came to focus on the topic of the gender power imbalance in New Zealand daily newspaper journalism, and how the current situation, both within this country and globally, led to the research questions. The chapter also explains my personal experience with the topic, as well as outlines the content of the following chapters.

The lack of gender diversity throughout the levels of the newsroom is concerning because the top editorial job of daily newspaper editor is one of the most powerful and influential positions in all news media (Made & Morna, 2009). The power and influence of daily

newspapers led the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) to draw attention to the lack of sufficient numbers of women newspaper executives in its 2006 review. In response, the New Zealand government agreed to aim for a 50:50 balance of gender in media management (Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2006).

My research builds on two recent surveys. The first was Hollings (2007), which examined total numbers of journalists listed in the New Zealand 2006 National Census, in order to quantify the number of journalists in New Zealand, as much as quantification is possible. Unlike the United States, which is the subject of much research into female journalists, New Zealand has no central organisation that regularly gathers statistics on journalists. Prior to this study, I was part of a research team that examined journalist attitudes in New Zealand and found the only way to obtain statistics on journalist staff numbers or their demographics was to extrapolate from volunteer survey responses. Hollings acknowledged limitations in using the Census in that it does not offer detailed information, and he also acknowledged limitations for previous volunteer surveys because of the method used to gather data. Nonetheless, the Hollings study suggests that a large proportion of women work at the reporter level in New Zealand media, and there is a large pay discrepancy with men who are in more senior-level jobs. This is yet another indication that female journalists remain at the lower levels. The second previous study that underpins my research is McGregor (2006a), which examined the gender ratio of newspaper editors. At the time the data was gathered in 2005, there were four female editors, representing 17% of the country's newspapers. The combination of survey results from Hollings and McGregor painted a picture of a skewed

career path for women journalists – they dominate the lower newsroom reporter level, but dwindle to a minority at the upper editor level.

Despite the quantitative analyses provided by Hollings and McGregor, there is still little indication of why women remain at the reporter-level and if/when/why they depart from the industry. This question is not only of interest to the academic community, but also to the New Zealand media industry. The industry is openly concerned about keeping journalists within the newspaper industry and also keeping them at the same newspaper long enough to develop a career path, as seen by the actions of the largest newspaper chain in New Zealand, Fairfax Media, which initiated an intern programme that bonded young journalists for two years (Fairfax Media, 2006). Fairfax chose students at the beginning of the course year, mentored them during the year while they studied for their Diploma in Journalism, and refunded student fees at the end. In return, the students committed to work at least two years with a given newspaper. The Fairfax scheme is not exclusive to one gender; in fact the first intake was almost equally balanced between male and female. However, this media group's editors have noted that their female staff members do not seem to stay long and as a result they have resigned themselves to expecting women to leave within a couple of years (C. Lind, personal communication, September 4, 2008).

This country's editors have brushed off the reasons women leave the industry, saying it is inevitable when women want to raise children (Strong, 2005). However, an industry survey by the New Zealand Journalist Training Organisation (2006) reported that women do not leave for the traditional "family reason", although the report did not offer insights into why

women did leave their newspaper jobs. Therefore the reason seems to be deeper than simply women leaving the workforce to pursue traditional gender-specific family duties.

Although there is a limited amount of national research on the low retention of female journalists, there is no paucity of international research into the phenomenon of journalism gender balance. It is valuable to review the overseas research as it offers some possible insights into the New Zealand situation.

1.2 International Context

Overseas research mirrors the findings in New Zealand regarding the lack of retention of female journalists, but has gone further and reported that the lack of females occurs more than just at the editor level; that there were also proportionately fewer women at intermediate positions (Frohlick, 2008; Made & Morna, 2009; Poindexter, 2008a). This has not been measured in New Zealand yet, and further research would better identify at what stage women leave the newspaper journalism career path.

In addition, overseas studies examined the reasons women leave newspaper journalism. In fact, in April, 2009 one academic website listed at least 27 recent academic papers in the USA alone on the topic “why women leave newspaper journalism” (All Academic, 2009). The international research will be further described in Chapter 2, but it is significant to note that there are inconclusive reasons for the exodus, and also no agreed solution. My research

puts New Zealand into the investigation, and it fills a gap in qualitative research into gender and the media in this country.

It is ironic that New Zealand shares the same basic conundrum as other countries, considering its special place in the global history of women's achievements. New Zealand was the first country to give women the vote, and in recent times women filled many top positions in government and corporations (Fountaine, 2005b). Given this conundrum, it is timely to provide an in-depth research on the New Zealand newspaper journalism gender balance.

This research aims to provide a closer analysis of female journalists' career path from student to editor. It used qualitative and quantitative methods to explore at what stage women leave the newspaper news industry, and why women in particular leave after a short duration. This research examined where the female journalists shift to, and if the decision to leave is a push or pull stimulus; that is, do they leave because they are pulled by something more attractive, or because something unattractive pushes them away. Finally, it examined the obstacles and opportunities that faced women who did gain the top editor status. This is one of the first research projects of this type; certainly the first time all New Zealand female editors from 2000 through 2009 had the opportunity to give comprehensive in-depth interviews to describe their working lives.

1.3 Personal Position in Relation to this Research

The research topic is a personal journey for me, as someone who is a former daily newspaper journalist, a founder of Media Women, and mother of a female journalist. In various career capacities, I have been involved in research of women working in the media for three decades.

One of my first journalist jobs exposed some gender employment issues on the very first day. I was hired by a large American newspaper to work on the women's pages. However, after taking the compulsory battery of intelligence quotient tests I was called into the editor's office to be told I was "too intelligent" to go to the women's page. I was assigned to local politics, which is hard news compared to the women's pages soft news. The startling part was that I worked alongside many young men who entered the industry at the same time I did, but whose IQ tests probably were irrelevant to which section of the newspaper they worked in. There was not an equivalent soft news men's section, hence the young male journalists immediately started their career in the high priority hard news, whereas women had to prove themselves first before gaining an opportunity to cover hard news.

The excitement of chasing fast-breaking front-page news stories gave me little time to ponder the sociological sub-culture in the newsroom. The newspaper made me its first female police reporter, and the first reporter sent in the middle of the night into a city that was destroyed by a series of tornados. I later worked in newsrooms in four countries, and always felt at home in the newsroom. The theorist Pierre Bourdieu (Marchetti, 2005) would have described someone with my experience, as a female journalist who had merged with the hegemonic

masculinity of the *social field*. His theory will be discussed further, in Chapter 2, as it provides a framework for conceptualising the results of the empirical data.

Although there were gender boundaries in my career, at that time I felt my professionalism made me immune to the barriers. Coincidentally, this practice of female journalists being blind to the gendered culture of the newsroom has been studied intensely by my former neighbour, Dr. Pam Creedon. She developed a global expertise in gender and media with such classic textbooks as the three editions of *Women in Mass Communication* (1989, 1994, and 2007). Although I had been blind to the genderised culture early in my career, things changed for me at the International Year of the Women's conference in Christchurch in 1976. Like many other female journalists, I attended the conference on my personal time, leaving few senior female journalists in the newsroom to "cover" the conference. Radio New Zealand, therefore, sent a male reporter, who was booed, hissed and barred from attending by conference delegates. I was among a small group of women who supported his inclusion, and we started talking among ourselves to discover we were all journalists. We knew what it was like to be barred from doing a story because of our gender, and we opposed a male being barred solely because of his gender. However, we were the minority. We realised that female journalists have unique standards and viewpoints that set them apart from male journalists, and also set them apart from other career women. This event brought together former BBC World sub-editor Karen Barnsley, Listener magazine editor Helen Paske, and myself to start a group for equality-focused women journalists, called Media Women. The group spread throughout the country and lasted for several decades.

Even in those early days, we saw the value of academic study in the field. Media Women raised funds for an independent social research company to survey the position of New Zealand female journalists, which concluded with Alison Gray's *Women in the Media* (1984). This publication stood for more than a decade as the baseline study of gender in New Zealand journalism.

Later, I was asked to facilitate a training programme in Kuala Lumpur of women radio broadcasters from throughout India, Asia, and Pacific Islands. This training course was my first encounter with the UNESCO facilitator, Dr. Margaret Gallagher, who at that stage had just completed the iconic international study in women in the media, *Unequal Opportunities: The Case of Women and the Media* (1981), which will be explored more in Chapter 2. She went on to establish the largest longitudinal study of the media, the Global Media Monitoring Project, which is now in its 15th year (GMMP, 2010).

While Dr. Creedon and Dr. Gallagher carved out global reputations as media scholars, I remained a journalist, and raised three daughters. One daughter, Amanda, led me full circle in this quest to use systematic research methods to explore the position of gender balance in the media. This stems from Amanda being a journalist, and, like me, feeling at home in the eight newsrooms where she has worked in three different countries. Like so many of her female journalist colleagues, however, she says "I think I'll just do this for awhile then move on to a real job" (personal communication, June 23, 2009). Although she did not become part of an ethnographic study for me, she still epitomised the phenomenon under scrutiny in this research.

My journalism background proved to be an asset to this research in two areas. The first was that I was known to many of the survey participants and the interview participants, which aided the rapport-building stage. The second benefit of my journalism background was my knowledge of industry jargon and personalities, which helped the in-depth interview flow smoothly without interruptions from unnecessary clarifying questions. Nonetheless, my background did present some drawbacks, which are discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

1.4 Gender and Daily Newspaper Foci

The relevancy of researching gender balance within daily newspaper media has been highlighted by many previous scholars who believed both gender balance and the news media are worthy topics to explore. As an example, the largest global media content analysis, the Global Media Monitoring Project, has analysed the global news media four times in the past 15 years and focused specifically on gender. Following the fourth study, the founder of the project, Dr. Margaret Gallagher wrote that the study documents the “deep denial of women’s voices in the world’s news media” and that this is caused by the news media’s “tangled gender-based evaluations and priorities” (GMMP, 2010, p iii).

An even longer qualitative examination of female exclusion from the news media was spearheaded by Dr. Pam Creedon in three text editions spanning 30 years that gathered global scholars in gender and media (Creedon, 1989; Creedon, 1993; Creedon & Cramer, 2007). Creedon contended that women have a right to equality, and that includes within the news media hierarchy. Creedon and Cramer said in the latest edition that it was “disturbing” to

realise after three decades the gendered decision making within the media had not changed (p. 276).

It is not only the Western world that finds gender equality in the media a significant topic. A study of 14 countries in southern Africa also put the spotlight on gender equality of journalists, because it felt that a balanced newsroom would be more likely to produce balanced articles that it believed was crucial to the region's democratisation efforts (Made & Morna, 2009). The authors even asked journalists in those countries if gender equality in the newsrooms was an issue. More than half the men and the women respondents said more women in the newsroom "affects the way that men think and behave" (p. 94). In addition, some managers said gender balance is good for democracy, but for them it was also good for business, as female journalists produce stories more relevant to female readers.

Gendered story selection was also a justification given for focusing on gendered media by de Bruin and Ross (2004) who lauded research since the 1990s that looked at the newsroom structures and practices that create a one-sided view of the world. They felt that much of the media research prior to 1990 was only statistical breakdown of employees, and that it held the naive belief that more women entering journalism would create more gender-balanced treatment of news. They also criticised earlier assumptions that the media was gender-neutral. They saw newsrooms as a masculine culture that sees employees and practices in terms of gender.

My study embraces the aforementioned researchers' thoughtful examination of gender and media and builds on their insights to better understand the New Zealand situation. Moreover,

this study further hones the media landscape to focus particularly on daily newspapers, as generators of information on current events. The significance of news is well described by gender and media scholar Louise North in nearby Australia, who states “The news media represents the world to us, shapes our knowledges and histories, and influences our thinking about everything from seemingly simple and non-political issues such as fashion and health, to international politics” (2009, p. 23).

There are four reasons why daily newspaper journalism is the emphasis of this study, as compared to other news media such as radio, television, or community newspapers. The first is that daily newspapers are still the prevailing news source in the country. They make up the medium that generates the highest proportion of unique news stories, meaning they originate news stories rather than simply re-process existing news issues, according to an executive of New Zealand’s Fairfax Media, which owns the largest share of the country’s newspapers (Pankhurst, 2008). This view is supported by Rick Neville, national executive of APN, the second largest owner of the country’s newspapers: “The newspapers are still setting the agenda. I’d say 80% of big stories ... have been found by newspapers, and then they become general mainstream news media stories and run by television and radio and internet (personal communication, September 2, 2008).

The second reason to focus on daily newspapers is that they give more space to national news events, compared to other media such as community newspapers, magazines, or broadcasting (where an average topic would be 270 words, compared to a daily newspaper giving the same topic perhaps 1500 words in two or three articles). This influence of daily newspaper generated articles is particularly pertinent in New Zealand because the most popular internet

news sites are distributed and owned by the daily newspaper companies (www.stuff.co.nz and www.nzherald.co.nz). Although the internet news websites may have a larger readership than the newspapers, the articles and pictures are a simple re-distribution of the daily newspaper articles. The reporters, photographers and editors producing the websites are from the daily newspapers. The internet news staffs and management tiers are the same as their corresponding daily newspapers. The words “daily newspaper” and “internet news sites” could be interchangeable in the current New Zealand environment; however, it is still the newspaper that employs the staff and creates the newsroom environment, so this thesis will use “daily newspaper” to cover both outputs.

The third reason for studying daily newspapers is that previous research has focused on this medium (Ferkins, 1992; Fountaine, 2005b; McGregor, 2006a) and it would be more robust to continue researching in the same site to facilitate the comparisons. These New Zealand studies are in line with the abundance of studies in other countries specifically on female journalists working for daily newspapers. The rationale is adequately elucidated by the authors of the Global Media Monitoring Project, who pointed out that having mainly men as news media owners and editors means the news is constantly reported from a male point of view. “The media after all are the main setters of public agenda – and they choose what they consider important enough to be news” (GMMP, 2001, p. 5).

The fourth reason, and perhaps more significantly for this country, is that gender balance of journalists within newspapers has been identified as a problem by the New Zealand government, as reported by the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). The Equal Employment Opportunity Commissioner said,

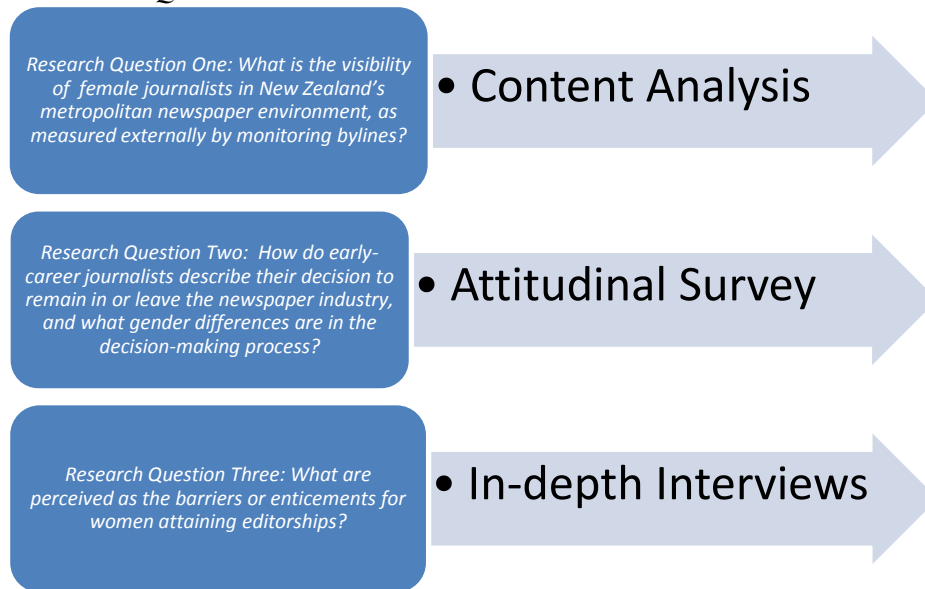
“Women are making snail-like progress to get to the top in terms of editorship... women’s participation in and representation by the media has been of continuing concern worldwide” (McGregor, 2006a). New Zealand has signed a protocol with CEDAW to aim towards more gender balance in newspaper management.

1.5 Research Questions

This study, therefore, shares the government’s and other academic scholars’ focus on gender and on the daily newspaper industry. The combination of unexplored academic questions and indicative results from international research has led to the research questions guiding this study. The overall question for my research is: *To what degree are women journalists integrated into the New Zealand daily newspaper culture?* This is underpinned by three research questions, shown in Figure 1.1.

To answer first research question I used content analysis to gauge the relative visibility of female-produced content versus male-produced content in the country’s top five newspapers. For the second research question I used a survey to explore the attitudes of young journalists towards a newspaper journalism career. The third research question used in-depth interviews to examine the perceived barriers and enticers for female editors.

Figure 1.1 Research Questions and Method



The theoretical underpinning of this research is that newspaper newsrooms have their own unique culture, and that this culture permeates national borders and social cultures, as suggested by researchers such as Bourdieu (2005), de Bruin and Ross (2004), Melin-Higgins (2004), North (2009), and Poindexter (2008a). These same researchers posit that the pervasive newsroom culture is masculine, and a very aggressive, tough style of masculine culture that prohibits easy entry by the average female professional. The unique journalistic culture, described in Section 2.2.1 has been a specific focus by many media academics, but aspects of it are also approached by industrial psychology research and feminist research, as described in Section 2.2.2 and Section 2.2.3.

1.6 Overview of the Chapters

The research is described and explained in the following seven chapters. Each chapter covers a specific aspect of the research. The chapters are incremental and build on each other in the chronological order determined by the research.

Chapter 2 reviews the existing national and international academic research. The chapter examines the theoretical context for viewing gender and the media phenomenon, and the way Bourdieu's *social field* theories (2005) relate to the plethora of empirical data produced on the topic. This chapter gives an overview of the relevant results of quantitative surveys, and explores the reasons other researchers gave for focusing on gender, and focusing on the newspaper industry. The literature review positions this research in the existing body of academic knowledge and describes how it will add to this knowledge.

Chapter 3 describes the three approaches used in this study. The methods used mixed-method qualitative and quantitative approaches in three methods, which were a content analysis, an attitudinal survey, and a series of in-depth interviews. This chapter describes the procedures for determining samples and collecting data, and also describes the process for coding data and for analysing results.

Chapter 4 reports the data results of the content analysis to answer the research question of how gender-balanced is the authorship of stories printed in New Zealand newspapers. These results stem from an analysis of more than 13,000 newspaper articles from the country's five

largest newspapers. The analysis monitored every article in the newspapers for a 30-day period.

Chapter 5 reports the results of the attitudinal survey of early-career journalists who entered the profession this millennium, from 2000 to 2008. The 171 respondents were former journalism students at the school of journalism in Wellington, and were scattered throughout the world. They gave the reasons they initially entered journalism, and the reasons they have decided to either work in journalism or leave it for another profession.

Chapter 6 reports the findings of 14 in-depth interviews with key leaders in the daily newspaper industry. The first results are from the interviews of the nine women who were daily newspaper editors from 2000 through 2009, believed to be a total census of female editors during that decade. The second set of interview results are with two media ownership executives, who were responsible for placement of editors. The final set of interview results are from three female senior journalists who decided against pursuing editorships in daily newspapers.

Chapter 7 discusses and analyses the results of the three research stages in relation to the research questions. The analysis also positions the results in the current global research as outlined in the literature review. The results are explored in terms of the Bourdieu (2005) and Melin-Higgins (2008) theoretic framework, and how these frameworks present a deeper understanding of what otherwise appears to be a conundrum in the gender imbalance of newspaper journalists in 21st century New Zealand.

Chapter 8 concludes the study, and presents pragmatic recommendations on retention and gender balance within the management level of the newspaper industry. The chapter also describes areas of possible further research that would build on the results of this thesis.

1.7 Summary

Before New Zealand enters the international academic debate on why women journalists leave newspapers, it is prudent to verify the level of gender balance currently in daily newspapers. This baseline research began with a content analysis to empirically pinpoint how gender balance is demonstrated by production output. Once the disparity was identified, the research sought career attitudes of journalists who had entered the industry between 2000 and 2008. This study was unique in that it gathered attitudes of those who have left newspaper careers, as well as those who are still working within the industry. The selected sample eliminated as much as possible, other factors in their career path (such as different training, different localities, and different geographic setting.) The ultimate sample was journalists with similar background, who had the same opportunity to work in daily newspapers. This study enabled an analysis of the elements that led some journalists to shun the newsroom while others to thrive in it.

Understanding the reasons some journalists abandoned a newspaper career still left a question as to what characteristics or experiences lead some female journalists, a very small number, to remain in the newsroom and develop the skills, leadership qualities, networks, and attributes to become an editor. The final part of the research is in-depth interviews with the

nine women who have held this exigent executive position during this millennium, the two media executives responsible for hiring them, and three female senior journalists who give reasons why they eschew editorship.

In summary, the research explores the phenomenon of an imbalance of gender in newspaper journalist from three viewpoints: from the external consumer, from the entry level and from the top level. The foundation for these research stages are the work and theories produced previously by scholars both here in New Zealand and in other countries. The next chapter reviews the existing literature on the topic of gendered daily newspaper journalism.

Chapter Two: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

To better understand the relationship between female journalists and the newspaper industry in New Zealand, it is useful to examine the existing literature on gender and journalism and the newspaper culture. Literature from overseas, particularly North America, has delved into the problems facing female journalists and female editors in their careers, which creates a clearer picture of the gender gap phenomenon in newspaper leadership. From this background of overseas experience, Chapter 2 reviews the existing literature to examine how New Zealand research fits into the existing global research and which research questions remain to be answered.

Although the first New Zealand newspaper was published in 1839 by Samuel Revans, there has been only a small amount published about the press and journalism outside of the historic libraries (McLintock, 2009). Even less is known about the position of early female journalists, except that it was 1920 before a woman (Elsie K. Morton at the *New Zealand Herald*) reached senior reporter level (McCallum, 2009). According to Coleman (2007), up until World War I only female journalists with connections to the publishing world were able to achieve employment, and even then they were mostly confined to covering stories associated with women and children. After World War I, however, women were encouraged to enter the workforce and, despite being confined to covering women's issues, female

reporters had the opportunity for political reporting because of the increased political activity of women's rights groups (ibid.). Although a little is known about individual early female daily newspaper journalists, such as Mary Ann Colclough in the 1870s and Dulce Cabot in the 1890s (ibid), not much has been published about specific career paths for female journalists. Formal journalism education started in the 1960s and was taught to both male and female students, although Joyce (2005) said that in the early years training institutes bowed to industry pressure to ensure women were not more than half the students on the courses. The media landscape has changed considerably, with 23 daily newspapers currently operating in New Zealand, many having changed their name, or merged with another newspaper, since their inception (McLintock). New Zealand's oldest daily newspaper still publishing, the *Wanganui Chronicle*, started in 1856, and had its first (and only) female editor in 2006. This was Kirsty Macnicol, interviewed as part of this research.

This chapter is divided into two segments: The first reviews the theoretical concepts germane to the research questions, and the second reviews the empirical studies that have contributed to the body of knowledge about female journalists and also female newspaper editors.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

The topic of gender differences within the news media has been explored by several different academic disciplines, including communications, business and feminist studies. The theoretical framework for my research borrows from all three, but relies heavily on the theories of journalism culture, as discussed in the next section. In addition, there are three

other concepts that particularly help to understand the gender gap phenomenon in journalism leadership specifically, and intertwine with concepts of journalism culture to create a foundation to discuss the findings in Chapter 7. They also underpin the conclusions of this study in Chapter 8. The first concept, from industrial psychology theorists, posits that tacit management styles hamper female inclusion in some industries, and the feeling of exclusion further hampers the productivity of female executives. The second concept, from feminist theorists, accepts the argument that activists should strive to change the existing media to make it become more gender balanced, rather than trying to replace it with new streams of media (such as women-only media). The third concept reviewed under this subsection is the glass ceiling theory, developed and refined by scholars in a wide range of disciplines. Gender and media scholars in recent years have relied on this theory to generate an explanation for the lack of gender balance in journalism leadership.

These theories are supported by a myriad of empirical studies from around the globe that rely on quantitative methods to investigate the state of women working within the media at any one time. The chapter reviews these studies, and, draws a parallel between the findings overseas and the findings of the limited number of studies done so far in New Zealand.

2.2.1 Journalism Culture Theory

Culture is “a set of meaning, ideas and symbols that are shared by the members of a collective and that have evolved over time” (Alvesson & Billing, 1997). The journalism culture under review is the daily newspaper industry, which, as North (2009, p. 23) asserts,

“has its own mythologies, ideologies, and gendered ways of being that individuals call on to negotiate the newsroom”.

The French sociology theorist Bourdieu (2005) described the journalism newsroom as a separate “social field” that has its own unique relationships with other professions, as well as among journalists within the field. Bourdieu went further in investigating the journalism culture and identified the existence of a system of power among staff, based on the style of reporting and writing they did within the newsroom, which had no connection to the commercial value of the particular style of reporting (p. 37). Bourdieu posited that the newsroom culture consisted of “invisible relationships” (p. 31) and that its rules and priorities were almost-secret to outsiders. Bourdieu termed the informal standards encompassing the hierarchy of task, *habitus*, and the internal language and relationships, *doxa* (Bourdieu, 2001). The *doxa* description is all the “social beliefs or practices which are seen as normative, as going unsaid, as being outside the framework of challenge and criticism” (¶18). Bourdieu clearly criticised the journalism culture as heavily masculine to the point of excluding feminine styles, and he believed any masculine-dominated industry needed to be neutralized.

Although Bourdieu wrote in the 1970s and 80s from his perspective in France dealing mainly with European media, his theory that rules and language are part of an unwritten masculine hierarchy has been reflected in writings of researchers in other regions particularly in America, Australia and Europe. For instance, Australian researcher North (2009) reported that female journalists, even those without children, are paid less than their male counterparts are, and that men dominate in the more powerful newspaper positions. “Men’s superiority to

women is asserted and women are viewed and experience the workplace as outsiders, or inferior others” (p. 214). The Swedish researcher Melin-Higgins (2004) contended that the journalism culture is not homogeneous, but rather has a dominant culture that is male. She said the culture defines the industry’s values and attitudes, and views the opposing culture, which is female, as “deviant” (p. 196). Ross’s 2004 study of British female journalists led her to conclude that the journalism culture in many newsrooms is “one that masquerades as a neutral ‘professional journalism ethos’ but is actually organized around a man-as-normal and woman-as-other structure” (p. 146). Ross also contended that the masculine culture is entrenched, and covert, and therefore almost unnoticed by even the journalists within the newsroom. These studies in America, Australia and Europe provide increasing evidence that Bourdieu’s theory of journalism’s ingrained masculine-based culture is applicable internationally.

De Bruin and Ross (2004) asserted that gaining more women in journalism would not on its own overturn the hegemonic masculinity of newsrooms. These authors maintained that both female and male journalists interact within the practices of a culture that is based on gender identities: “They choose the analysis of gendered symbols, values, meanings and significations as the key to understanding relationships in organizations, rather than power differences based on organizational rank” (p. viii). De Bruin and Ross’s study brought together research from ten different countries that underscored the similarity of ingrained newsrooms’ masculine culture, such as Sweden, Estonia, Africa, India, as well as Britain, USA, and Canada.

Even the news content itself can be divided into male and female areas, where topics are assumed to be written for readers and by reporters along the “familiar stereotypes between men and women” (Djerf-Pierre & Lofgren-Nilsson, 2004). ‘Female’ news revolves around home and family, such as health, education, and home improvements, while ‘male’ news is everything else, but particularly crime, wars, politics, technology, business. This genderised topic division is undesirable, “because the definitions are based on traditional notions about male and female qualities, they might be perpetuating traditional values rather than contributing to positive change” (ibid. p. 84).

One example of the gendered news content is the relative importance placed on hard news (such as crime and politics) over soft news (such as features on health guidelines or the latest child-raising trends). Researchers such as Poindexter (2008a) and Melin-Higgins (2008) reported that this distinction is rarely verbalised, but that women are often shunted into soft news assignments and therefore are never promoted in newsroom career positions. One reason for a lack of women in hard news, particularly in Britain and the USA, was described by Chambers et al. (2004) as related to women being discouraged from entering or progressing in these areas, and instead being urged to stay in distinctively female areas, which they called the female “ghettos” of the newsroom (2004, p. 92).

Bourdieu (2005) said journalists acknowledge that those who specialise in soft news have less power in the newsroom hierarchy, but the soft versus hard news power-play is not apparent to outsiders. Despite the non-verbalised rules, and “murky distinctions” (p. 37) Bourdieu described how it was still clear to journalists that those who concentrate on soft

news will progress in their career slower than those journalists who concentrate on hard news.

The relative value and power of hard news reporters is not confined to Western countries with a long history of media industries. In Africa, researchers examined the news media in 14 countries in the southern part of the continent and found women were routinely relegated to soft news. They called for more women to be assigned hard news stories so they could then be considered more important reporters and join the upwardly mobile career path (Made & Morna, 2009). In New Zealand, the relative undervaluing of soft news is clearly stated, despite Bourdieu's contention that it is non-verbalised. For instance, a Massey University journalism course guide defined soft news as "stories less important in a news sense, than hard news, focusing on interesting but less urgent news and issues" (Samson, 2007).

Nonetheless, there is still general agreement that many of the rules and connotation of language within the newsroom are only internally understood, or, as Bourdieu (2005) posits, the *doxa* is "vague, fuzzy" (p. 36). An important aspect for gender balance is, he said, that the *doxa* is partially hidden from less powerful journalists, even though the power placed on some tasks and some definitions are clearly male and female. Melin-Higgins (2008) reported that Bourdieu's definition of *doxa* means tacit industry rules and hierarchy are so vague that outsiders would have difficulty understanding the connotation of certain language, or the relative importance put on some events or tasks.

So, we see that journalism culture theorists agree that the newsroom culture is strongly ingrained, crosses national borders, and has been in existence for many decades. Some

aspects of the newsroom culture are common to other industries, particularly at management level (Highhouse, 2008). The next section reviews relevant theories (not all specific to journalism) that have been developed in the broader context of industrial psychology, which encompasses the study of how individuals cope within a given industrial setting. As explained below, while some of the theories are not new, they nonetheless are still applicable to the industrial relationships in the 21st century.

2.2.2 Management Theory

Bourdieu's theory around *doxa* was not new, and in fact he built on the work of Kant who used the word "schema" to describe an industry's private language and properties (Bourdieu, 1984; Bright, Hurson, & Pakzad, 1992; Radford, 2005). Schema (plural is schemata) is the underlying biases and beliefs that people obtain from their early life and then later use to make decisions (Widmayer, 2005). Often schema is refined as a person obtains more experience and knowledge, but sometimes the early schema remains the basis of decision-making for a person's whole life. More pertinent to this study is the gender schema theory (Bem, 1981) which posits that people learn to identify others by gender characteristics early in their life, and they never stop identifying people in gender terms. Bem conducted a series of clinical blind studies where people were told to judge someone sight-unseen. The study found that the respondents judged people differently once they knew their gender. Bem concluded that society should temper its reliance on judging people quickly by their gender and "should stop projecting gender into situations irrelevant to genitalia" (p. 363).

In addition to Bourdieu's *doxa* and Kant's *schema*, other researchers have examined the unwritten, informal rules of an industry, which they termed tacit management, or more informally "gut feeling management" (Khatri & Ng, 2000). Studies found that many businesses still rely on tacit management to make key decisions, particularly staff employment and promotion decisions, when more objective methods are available. Highhouse (2008) has compiled many of these studies and concluded that managers still have a "stubborn reliance" on the outmoded tacit management (p. 333). Tacit management is criticised, as it supports the status quo and inhibits entry of some types of potential employees (Argyris, 1999). The fact that gut feeling management supports the status quo is seen as particularly detrimental to women's attempts to enter an industry or corporation that has been traditionally male-dominated (Sandico & Kleiner, 1999).

Being outside the dominant culture puts an employee into a position of feeling excluded, or not belonging. Belonging and exclusion have been studied for more than 60 years, following the initial work of Maslow (1943). According to the classic Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs, employees who lack a feeling of belongingness have a lower level of productivity. His theory suggests that for employees to be productive they must have certain needs met, in an order of priority to progress up the management ladder. The lowest level of productivity requires one to satisfy physical needs such as food, warmth, rest. The next level, which increases productivity relatively, is to satisfy social needs such as belonging and affiliation with others, etc. At the higher end of the model, which are the requirements for successful managers and chief executive officers, is the need for esteem and approval.

Over the past 60 years, Maslow's theory has become one of the most popular and often cited theories of human motivation (Huitt, 2007). Maslow's theory ties in well with journalism cultural theories which suggest that female journalists – who do not feel they belong to the dominant, male culture – are prevented from achievement in their media careers (North, 2009; Ross, 2004a). According to Kovack (2001), despite decades of study, managers still have not heeded the significance of ensuring employees feel included in the workplace culture. Building on Maslow's theories, Kovach found the motivation for career advancement for women was different from men – that women wanted more verbal appreciation. “Female employees may place greater importance on interpersonal relationships and communication than do male employees, a difference that should be noted by managers” (p. 61). He went farther and criticised supervisors for neglecting and ignoring the well-tested theories of motivation. Despite Kovach's study being conducted in 2001, it built on a myriad of other similar studies that have supported Maslow's (1943) theory. The industrial psychology studies were conducted from the point of view of industry leaders, and concentrated on ways to gain increased productivity from their employees. The next section reviews the perspective of feminist scholars, who view the lack of female managers in terms of women's rights to equal opportunity.

2.2.3 Feminist Theory

The feminist movement is widespread and has led to research on almost every aspect that can be considered unfair to one gender or the other. One of the central topics for feminist study is the media. A Google search of feminist media theories lists more than 25,000 scholarly publications produced just in the past ten years, and this does not include the multitude of

book chapters also dedicated to the topic. Feminist activists see the media as a powerful tool that can be used to challenge or support gender stereotyping in the community. The founder of the long-running Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP), Margaret Gallagher, explained that the significance of women in media is based on the “distribution of narrative resources” (GMMP, 2010, p iii), whereby girls develop an image of themselves based on media portrayals that are not influenced by women, and the GMMP builds on previous research:

For decades, feminist scholars and activists have focused attention on the cultural dimensions of power, and the media’s role in reproducing particular patterns of gender inequality (ibid.).

Early GMMP research was a simple quantitative statistical analysis of global media based on content analysis. Over the years this further developed with qualitative analysis to focus more on what it sees as evidence of the underlying media industry’s culture and its slowness to change (GMMP, 2000). GMMP aimed to keep the spotlight on media production in an attempt to help change the practices of the news media. The same goal to change the existing media underpinned research in Pamela Creedon’s three books on gender and the media published over the past 30 years. In the most recent edition, Creedon and Cramer (2007) shifted the study’s emphasis away from simply exploring the media, and instead towards developing possible solutions. The authors’ mission is what they termed Transformative Feminism, which is the goal of transforming the existing media system to one that is less based on gender stereotypes.

Research on mainstream media, such as the GMMP and Creedon (1989; 1993), has not always fitted comfortably into mainstream feminist theory, as these writers focused on the existing media industry and other feminists felt the industry was too hegemonically masculine to ever change. Some feminist theorists considered previous research ignored the gender exploitation of mass communication, and thereby that research accepted the male-style culture as normal. These writers urged feminist researchers to put gender as the centre of their focus (Miller & Treitel, 1991). The postmodern feminist ideology likewise criticised research that constructed an impersonal narrative that made no attempt to “challenge the relations of dominance” (Lather, 1991, p. 52). Some feminist media researchers expounded the fruitlessness of working within an existing system, which was deemed a male paradigm no matter how many female employees were involved (Baehr, 1981). Radical feminist theorists espoused the view that women’s oppression would not be cured by a social revolution. This body of thought “rejects as an end goal equality for woman in the existing social structures” (Cirksena, 1987, p. 19), and sees media companies as having an ingrained sexism and being unable to change. This paradigm tended to build a schism between radical feminist researchers and gender media researchers who theorised that a more efficient methodology was changing the environment within the existing industry (Gallagher, 1981).

Since the 1980s, research has continued to focus on the existing media, and feminist media theorists have developed a more complete body of knowledge of the journalism culture. Researchers such as Creedon and Cramer, as well as Byerly (2004), and Lavie (2004), have examined the media culture and described its gendered culture as unique, but at the same time they acknowledge it embodies some of the same problems at management level as other industries, commonly called the glass ceiling theory. They maintain that no matter what rules

and guidelines are put into place within a newsroom, women do not progress into management because of an invisible barrier that stops them, but allows entry to their male colleagues.

According to an Annenberg Public Policy Center (2003) report on women leaders, the 'glass ceiling' is a term coined in 1981 by magazine editor Gay Bryant to describe the invisible barrier for women progressing past middle management. That same year the National Organisation of Women (NOW) adopted the term and publicised the problem of women attaining executive positions. NOW Chair Muriel Fox said the glass ceiling was a barrier in the middle of the career ladder, but was invisible and women "cannot move beyond it without the women's movement" (McCormack, 1985, p. 1). Ten years later, the United States set up the Glass Ceiling Act in an attempt to curtail barriers for women and minorities obtaining top management positions (Falk & Grizard, 2003). A key element of the definition was that women rarely were able to progress up the career path, that they "earned less than men, and they were prevented from gaining necessary experience for the positions" (ibid, p. 6). This definition is important to the conclusion of my study and will be discussed again later.

The facts were easy to ascertain, but the reasoning behind it was more difficult. The facts were that when the Glass Ceiling Act was enacted, female business graduates earned 12% less than their male colleagues in their first jobs and progressed slower up the career ladder (Castro, 1997). A decade later, female business graduates managers still earned less, with those being able to attain management level earning 27% less than their male colleagues (Catalyst, 2000). The Annenberg Public Policy Center reported that some researchers claimed that the glass ceiling was in place simply because men were better managers, but on

the other hand a large body of thought laid the blame on women's need to combine work and family responsibilities (Falk & Grizard, 2003). However, the Center was not convinced these two factors led to the glass ceiling preventing women progressing to executive positions. Instead, the Center concluded that the glass ceiling would remain intact until businesses took a positive step to remove it: "Theories as to why the glass ceiling continues in corporate America are varied. Most research on the topic points to stereotypes, lack of efforts to recruit women, and lack of women in important pipeline positions" (p. 8).

The previous three sections outlined theories that form a framework for this study. The journalism culture theory presents a picture of the journalism workplace as being ingrained with practices that subtly prevent female journalists from competing on an equal field with male journalists. The embedded nature of the media's culture is well argued by Bourdieu (2005), Creedon (1993), Melin-Higgins (2004), and Ross (2004), as well as others. Tacit management theories, while developed by industrial psychologists and not applied to the journalism industry, offer some insights into how cultural practices may be perpetrated within the newsroom. Likewise the theory that a glass ceiling prohibits female employees attaining top management positions has been asserted by a broad range of industry researchers, not simply confined to media. With this theoretical framework in place, the literature review now considers the empirical studies that have investigated the place and progress of women in the news media industry.

2.3 Gender Equality in the News Media

Literature on the gender disparity in the news media has been plentiful since the 1970s. This section first reviews international studies, followed by New Zealand studies, then examines the literature in two particularly gender-skewed areas of news media, sports journalism and editorships. Because my study focuses specifically on female editors, this section concludes with a review of the literature on mentors for female editors, as other scholars have identified mentoring as a key component in the development of successful female executives.

2.3.1 Global Studies on Gender Equality in the News Media

The documentation of women journalists being aware that they were treated differently from their male colleagues stems back many decades, in fact about a century. The development of the professional women journalists' movement could probably be said to go back to 1908, if the United States is taken as one of the first cultures to embrace the need for tertiary training in the profession (Elsaka, 2004).

Journalism schools, which were part of the university system of four-year degrees, came into existence just after the turn of the 20th century in the United States. In 1909, the University of Washington became the second journalism school in the country, and within a year of its inception seven of its female students started Theta Sigma Phi, now known as the Association of Women in Communication (WomCom, History, nd). It is probably not a coincidence that this was the same year the Society for Professional Journalists was founded, which banned female members, only allowing them membership fifty years later in 1969 (SPJ, History, nd). Theta Sigma Phi, however, grew quickly and within six years it had chapters in seven other

states. Not all universities accepted women as journalism students. As recently as the late 1960s, for instance, the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism limited its enrolment of women to 10% of the class (Pantin, 2001). Theta Sigma Phi noted that after World War I, more women were able to move into all aspects of the newspaper industry while the men were overseas. However, this changed after the war, and when the depression hit in 1931 “female journalists couldn’t get reporting jobs at the same pay as similarly qualified men” (¶ 7).

The 1970s feminist movement put the spotlight on all discriminatory practices, and newspaper journalism was no exception. This was a time when women entered the industry fairly easily, but were usually given the soft “women’s page” stories while their similarly-qualified male colleagues were assigned harder-edged stories such as politics, crime, etc. (Chambers, Steiner, & Fleming, 2004). Researchers started surveying newsroom practices and trying to statistically profile women’s integration, or lack thereof, in the newsroom. Trying to conduct research through a survey of management turned out to be too dependent on management’s interpretation of issues. This form of research was shown to be unreliable in the late 1970s, when many newsrooms were under the spotlight from the United States Equal Employment Commission. Initial surveys sent to media management showed a very low proportion of women working in the newsrooms, but after publicity about these low figures, later surveys showed high proportions of female media employees (Eddings, 1980). As an example, within a relatively short timeframe one news organisation announced that it had an additional 2,000 female journalists, even though its overall employment figures were not significantly higher. According to Eddings, when the Federal Communications Commission required statistics from US broadcasting corporations it turned out there were

many incidents of phoney titles and paper promotions, where female secretaries and receptionist all of a sudden were given new job titles that sounded more as if they were journalism staff. This changed the statistical reports about the newsrooms, but was not an actual change in gender division of work.

About this same time, the researcher Margaret Gallagher, with funding from UNESCO, released her groundbreaking multi-national research into women working in the media, which showed women journalists had not gained equal status in newsrooms despite antidiscrimination laws in the previous decade (Gallagher, 1981). It concluded that “only 30% of those working in the media in any country were women” (p. 87). In the print media this figure was even lower, at about 25%. Gallagher also identified that for the most part women were clumped in certain areas, such as writing for women’s pages or covering stories in education and health.

These statistics did not improve much over the next decade; however, the survey methods used did. Gallagher initiated a massive global content analysis of the media, the first one ever attempted (Turley, 2006). The Global Media Monitoring Project enlisted the expertise of academic researchers in dozens of countries to take a snapshot survey of the media on one particular day. These external observations eliminated the potential skewing of figures by management when providing internal employment figures. The researchers tabulated the gender of reporters for each news item, which more accurately quantified the visibility of female journalists versus male journalists. Another limitation of previous statistical surveys was that they did not directly measure the visibility of female journalists. This was addressed by the GMMP, which used content analysis to measure the extent to which readers, listeners

or viewers actually saw female journalists. The limitations of the GMMP survey were that it was only a one-day snapshot of the news segments of the media, but when it was repeated in 2000, 2005 and 2010, comparing the data sets provided strong evidence of the shift in gender equality in the media. The 1995 study of 71 countries showed 25% of newspaper reporters were female, compared to 15 years later when the study included 109 countries and showed 37% of newspaper reporters were female (GMMP, 2010).

The finding that female journalists comprised only one-third of the newsrooms was backed up by other studies. Media Awareness Network (2005) reported that in 2001 only 38% of working journalists internationally were women. The Network reported that in Canada, although more than half of the country's journalism graduates were women, only 30% of newspaper articles were written by women, and women were virtually invisible on Canadian television news. Deuze (2002) found female journalists accounted for only about 30% of journalists in four countries – Australia, America, Britain, and the Netherlands. The American Society of News Editors' annual survey of daily newspapers in the United States conducted in 2009 showed that for the previous five years women had made up 39% of reporters in daily newspapers (ASNE, 2009). In non-Western nations the imbalance was shown to be even more pronounced (GMMP, 2005). As Turley wrote, "Unfortunately, GMMP 2005 confirms the findings of earlier GMMP studies and countless other research findings that the marginalisation of women in news media is still very much reality" (2006, p. 2). As an example, a Nigerian study found that virtually no women worked as newspaper journalists in the country and news stories about women accounted for no more than about 20% of newspaper stories (Okunna, 2005).

GMMP assessed the visibility of newspaper journalists by measuring authorship, the incidence of bylines, which is the only information readers have on who is reporting the print news. Another study on authorship gender found an even wider discrepancy. Weiss (2005) tallied the number of female and male bylines for 11 major intellectual and political magazines in the United States. Weiss found that male bylines outnumbered female bylines at all the magazines, the ratios ranging from 2:1 through to 13:1. Some issues of some publications contained no female bylines at all.

In Australia, a content analysis of television reporting found that, despite a great influx of females into journalism in previous years, female reporters accounted for only 30% of all reporters (Cann & Mohr, 2001). Their studies also found that male reporters dominated in the high-status areas of politics and male sport, whereas female reporters dominated health topics.

Similarly, in the USA, Theus (1985) reported that although female graduates then made up most members of the journalism course at the University of Maryland, female graduates tended to be paid less and had less job satisfaction than their male counterparts had. Females were 13 times more likely than their male counterparts to have an interrupted career because of family responsibilities or child rearing. One respondent stated, “The responsibility of family and childbearing is devastating for the careers of women in the journalism field. When you drop out of the job market for five years, it is hard to get back” (p. 49).

Various reasons have been put forward to explain the under-representation of women in the authorship of news media stories, including the role family and other commitments play in

making it difficult for women to work the flexible hours required of journalists, as well as outright sexism (Lafky, 1993; Lavie & Lehman-Wilzig, 2003). Some of the outright sexism includes the pay disparity between the genders. Lafky (1989) examined journalist pay rates by gender in the United States. She noted that whereas in the early 1970s female journalists earned about 35% less than their male colleagues this wage disparity had reduced to about 30% in the early 1980s. However, this improvement appeared to be largely caused by reductions in male journalists' incomes as the industry became increasingly feminised and overall wages fell. She noted that this was in line with the relatively low pay earned in other female-dominated industries, such as nursing and teaching.

Lafky (1989) found that only half of the disparity between male and female wages could be explained by such market factors as skills, efforts and education. The rest was due to sex discrimination. In a later study, Lafky (1993) suggested this discrimination existed because a successful journalism career requires journalists to be able to work flexible hours and to pursue an uninterrupted career path. This requirement does not suit women, who often need time out to raise children. As a result, female journalists are more likely than their male colleagues to be single, and less likely to have children. But studies have also found evidence of sex discrimination in the journalism workplace, in that the male journalists had more children on average than the female journalists (3 to 1). The researchers said this was a reflection of the round-the-clock requirements of journalism, which deter women from remaining in the industry (Beasley, 1989; Lavie & Lehman-Wilzig, 2003).

The southern African researchers Made and Morna (2009) tried to determine more precisely why there were fewer women than men in senior media positions. They asked 471 journalists

from 126 newsrooms what they thought. The three main reasons given were that women are blocked by the old boys' network, the media houses have no policies to help advance women, and that men are taken more seriously. These reasons were proposed equally by male and female employees. A limitation of this survey is that employee's opinions of the reason holding back women may not be the real case, but it does shed light on the impressions in a wide variety of newsrooms.

Made and Morna (2009) also tackled the question of why gender balance is important in the newsrooms by asking the opinions of the same 471 journalists. Almost half of the respondents, both male and female, felt it was a combination of two reasons: one was that women should have the democratic right to the same advancement, and the other was that women bring a different perspective. The managers they interviewed were more forthright about the need for more women in the newsroom, as they said it was good for democracy, but more importantly it was good for their publication's business. A Tanzanian sub-editor said the type of stories produced by female journalists attracted more female readers. This sub-editor's opinion, however, is not universally accepted, and studies have resulted in conflicting conclusions.

Although many research studies support the view that women influence the treatment of stories, other research shows the opposite. Some scholars argue that if women had a higher presence in the newsroom, stories might increasingly reflect female characteristics of harmony and co-operation, and more stories about women would be told (Covert, 1981; Gallagher, 1981; Rakow, 1993). Indeed, Pantin (2001) reported that when female editors and journalists swapped roles with their male counterparts at a Texan newspaper, a heated

discussion erupted regarding what should be the lead story. The men wanted a police story on a peeping tom, the women a story about women fighting for their rights. On the surface there is clear indication that, in general, newsrooms lean towards using male sources for their stories. The content analysis of television reporting in Australia referred to above (Cann & Mohr, 2001), also found that male expert sources were in the majority in all areas except female sport. This could be a gender bias in selecting sources, the researchers argued, or simply the fact that most expert commentators are men. An American study of business magazines also found that female sources were under-represented, particularly where female sources did exist, but were not used (McShane, 1995). UNESCO's March 8, 2000 initiative to put women in charge of all positions in more than a thousand media organisations in 56 countries for one particular day led researchers to the same conclusion (Fountaine, 2005a) , that female reporters tended to use more female sources for their articles.

The 2005 Global Media Monitoring Project noted that, globally, women reported 37% of news, items but were only 21% of news subjects. Five years later, in 2010, women reported exactly the same 37% of news items, and the figures on women as news subjects improved slightly to 24%. More significant to my research, however, was that women were news sources more often when it was a female reporter (25%) writing the story, than when it was a male reporter (20%). Fountaine's (2005) analysis of the New Zealand data from this project showed that this gap was even more pronounced here, and also it was a much stronger pattern in New Zealand for women to appear in a news story if it was written by a woman reporter. "29% of subjects in stories written by women are female, compared to 21% of subjects in stories written by men" (¶ 9).

However, not all researchers have found gender differences in what constitutes newsworthiness. When a University of Maryland report was published arguing that recent female journalism graduates found discrimination in the workplace and speculating that the nature of news might change if women became the majority in the newsroom, the report was greeted with a hostile reaction from some female journalists (Beasley, 1989). These female journalists said they were every bit as driven by hard news values as their male co-workers. Beasley argued that the hostile reaction from some female journalists missed the essential point of the report, which was that female journalists are paid less than men.

Similarly, a survey of both male and female journalists and journalism students in Israel found no significant differences between male and female journalists or between the male and female students in their assessment of what constituted newsworthy stories (Lavie & Lehman-Wilzig, 2003) The researchers concluded, “In Israel at least, ‘news is news’; it has no gender for those already working – as well as those planning to work – in journalism” (p. 16). They argued that this was because the readership was an approximately equal balance of male and females, and so journalists sought to provide their readers with a mix of stories to appeal to both sexes. The researchers also suggested that a fairly rigid newsworthiness scale exists in Israel, with security issues firmly at the top.

Even when there is a strong presence of women in the newsroom, it may not affect who is interviewed for articles. A study of press coverage in the United States examining 16,800 news stories from 45 different news items found that only one-third (33%) of the articles contained a female source, compared to three-quarters (76%) of stories containing male sources; this trend continued despite increases in female staff (PEW, 2005). Further studies

in both Ireland and New Zealand indicated that female politicians received different media treatment compared to that given male politicians, no matter what gender the reporter. The researcher (Ross, 2009) asserts this was because editors were male.

Overseas literature, then, highlighted three basic concerns about the lack of gender balance in newsrooms. The first is that the media may not reflect the viewpoint of women, secondly that female journalists are less visible than their male counterparts, and thirdly that a male-dominated newsroom may produce stories that emphasise male sources and male characteristics, and overshadow female sources and interests.

Although conflicting studies indicate there is not strong evidence to support these concerns, there is strong and conclusive research on the low participation of women in media production. There is uneasiness that female journalists produce only one-third of news stories, despite women making up half the population and women being more than half the students in journalism schools. New Zealand is no exception to the global trend of a shortage of female journalists, particularly in key senior media positions, as the literature review reveals in the next section.

2.3.2 New Zealand Studies on Gender Equality in the News Media

On the surface, New Zealand appears to have full gender equality in regards to the media, and compared to other countries this may be true, but traditional simple measurements hide some of the significant gender imbalance. It is now 30 years since the 1975 International Year of the Woman and the inception of the Media Women group in New Zealand which was set up

to increase the proportion of women journalists working in mainstream news media. This was almost 60 years after similar female journalists' groups started in the United States. The New Zealand group, however, started strong with more than a dozen senior-level journalists as founders and the ability to fund a nationwide gender survey of the media. This survey (Gray, 1984) is discussed in more depth later, as it was a significant academic achievement for New Zealand journalism research.

New Zealand is a young country and many things, such as professional tertiary training for journalists, were initiated later than some other parts of the world. Tertiary journalism training did not start until the 1960s, and training, even to the present time, is usually less than a year long, compared to a four year degree in the United States. These early journalism schools admitted women from the beginning, but there were quotas in the early days to ensure women made up only half of the class (Joyce, 2005). Quotas are no longer in practice, and now the situation is that more women than men go into tertiary journalism training (McGregor, 2006b). There are ten journalism schools in New Zealand, all offering the National Diploma of Journalism or its equivalent. For several years all ten schools reported more women enrolled as students than men (Densem, 2006).

New Zealand, however, has persistently created an environment of gender equality in a wide range of disciplines, particularly women involved in traditionally male-dominated industries. Starting with being the first country to give women the vote, the country recently saw women holding some of the top government and corporate positions. Within the last decade, both the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition were women, as well as the Governor

General, Chief Justice, senior Cabinet Ministers, CEO of two telecommunication companies, and heads of several large government ministries.

The strong gender-balance branding of the country is also underscored by the Global Media Monitoring Projects. In GMMP 2000, New Zealand gained prominence when it had the highest proportion of female news sources in political news stories. (Fountainaine & McGregor, 2002b). In GMMP 2005, New Zealand stood out with female reporters accounting for more than half (56%) of the newspaper stories, against the global average of less than one-third (29%) (Fountainaine, 2005a). These statistics look healthy, but the one-day snapshot has its limitations. Besides the obvious weakness that it is only one day out of 1800 days in the five year cycle, another limitation is that researchers coded only the first five pages of the newspaper, and did not further analyse other types of stories.

Other research, however, also showed New Zealand as a leader in gender equality in journalism employment. A quarter of a century ago, Gray's pioneering nationwide survey of the New Zealand media showed women journalists fared better than their counterparts overseas, as about half the staff of most newsrooms were females, compared with only one-third of journalists globally being female (Gray, 1984). This was not a true balance, however, as Gray pointed out that women were not at decision-making levels; were better qualified than men at the same level; and tended to be bunched up at the lower, less-paid levels. Almost half the women were young and had worked in the media less than five years, compared to the majority of men surveyed who had been in the industry for more than ten years.

Following Gray's research, opt-in surveys of the country's journalists frequently concluded that women dominated the media, especially newspapers, as they were the major respondents to the survey. These surveys were three conducted by Lealand in 1994, 1998, and 2004; and one by the Journalism Training Organisation in 2006. A later fifth survey of 514 working journalists, of which women comprised almost three-quarters (70%) of full time reporters, concluded, "Demographic data suggest the workforce is becoming more feminised (as earlier surveys have suggested), with disproportionate numbers of younger women and an apparent pay disparity between male and females" (Hollings, Lealand, Samson, & Tilley, 2007, p. 177).

Hollings et al.'s study sought to ascertain the opinions of journalists on a wide variety of political and social topics. The researchers admitted there were limitations in the survey as a statistical tool as respondents were self-selected. They concluded that the survey showed a shortage of middle-level journalists in the country, but as the research limitations explained, that this could simply be because middle-level journalists did not respond to the survey. In a follow-up project, Hollings (2007) analysed the official results from Statistics New Zealand's mandatory national Census of 2006, which listed 4,284 journalists in New Zealand. Hollings referred to the four previous surveys and concluded "the response rates have raised questions about the representativeness of the data" (p. 183). The Census showed slightly more than half (54%) of the journalists were female, although the data is not sufficiently detailed to determine what sort of journalism they were employed in, such as a trade magazine versus a national daily metropolitan newspaper.

In fact, all of these studies raise further questions regarding the exact positioning of the women journalists. There is little indication of exactly where the women work (community newspaper, daily newspaper, or broadcasting) or their position within the newsroom (hard news, soft news, business section, sports section, etc.). These facts help determine what, or if, there are employment discrimination issues to analyse. The studies tended to look at all media outlets, and therefore did not identify any particular strengths or weaknesses with the higher profile news outlets, such as daily newspapers versus a small trade magazine, nor with different topic sections within each medium.

However, other studies, particularly overseas, have identified two newspaper industry areas that are particularly male-dominated, and preclude women's inclusion: sports and management. Both are discussed separately below, first sports, followed by the top management position in a newsroom, editorship.

2.3.3 Lack of Female Sports Journalists

Sports journalism is a clear journalism sub-culture to analyse from a gender basis, because the gaps are so pronounced, and also because there has been very little movement in gender balance over the decades. The International Sports Press Survey of 10 countries calculated only 5% of sports articles were written by women (Rowe, 2004). A British survey showed 9% of the sports journalists in the national UK press were women (Boyle, 2006). Hardin and Shain reported that women made up 11% of those working in sports departments of the top 200 American newspapers (2006).

In general, sports journalism has had the perception of being a male bastion (Bruce, 2000; Lowes, 1969) and this situation is not improving. A comprehensive analysis of the status of female journalists in American and Britain reported, “Sports news is home to one of the most intense and most historically enduring gender divisions” (Chambers, Steiner, & Fleming, 2004, p. 111). In the mid 1990s it was well documented that women had made very little progress in joining the ranks of sports journalism (Boswell, 1994; Fleder, 2004; Hargreaves, 1994; Wojciechowski, 1990). This seemed to stem from the gender imbalance in the subject itself, as noted by Hargreaves, that male hegemony in sports “has been more complete and more resistant to change than in other areas of culture” (p. 23).

Too often, female sports writers are conspicuous by their absence, especially in lists of excellence. “Fifty Years of Great Writing” reprinted articles published in the popular Sports Illustrated magazine between 1954 and 2004 (Fleder, 2004). Of the 52 writers, none were women. “The Best American Sports Writing” (Boswell, 1994) listed 94 sports writers from throughout the United States who were considered “notable”, but only 5% were women. The situation was similar across the Pacific Ocean in Britain as reported in Boyle’s sports journalism textbook. “There remains little doubt that across the journalistic spectrum, women remain woefully under-represented in sports journalism in the UK” (2006, p. 149).

Despite the plethora of statistics to show this imbalance, there has not been a significant shift in the 21st century. There have been notable exceptions, with high profile female sports journalists in most English-speaking countries, but for the general newsrooms, sports is still a gender-specific environment. A focus group of 20 female sports journalists attending the 2004 annual convention of the Association for Women in Sports Media “almost unanimously

expressed frustration with their ‘second-class’ status in the newsroom” (Hardin & Shain, 2006, p. 329). The former president of the Associated Press Sports Editors, Bill Eichenberger, was proud of his organisation’s attempts to place more women in sports newsrooms, but admitted it was only a small improvement in the overall numbers and concluded, “The sad truth is that we are failing in our efforts to diversify” (2004, ¶3).

In the United States, Claringbould, Knoppers and Elling (2004) questioned sports journalists to identify the reasons why so few women entered the profession. Male sports journalists said women lacked the knowledge and experience to do the job, adding that, because of family and other commitments, women were frequently unable or unwilling, to work the flexible hours required of sports journalists. This rationale seems peculiar in light of the fact that many other newspaper departments attract a large proportion of women journalists and these departments require the same kinds of specialised knowledge and flexible hours. However, Hardin and Shain’s (2006) survey of female sports journalists found many examples of ingrained sexism on the sports desk, with the researchers concluding that it was simply a case that men monopolise sports journalism because men continue to monopolise sports.

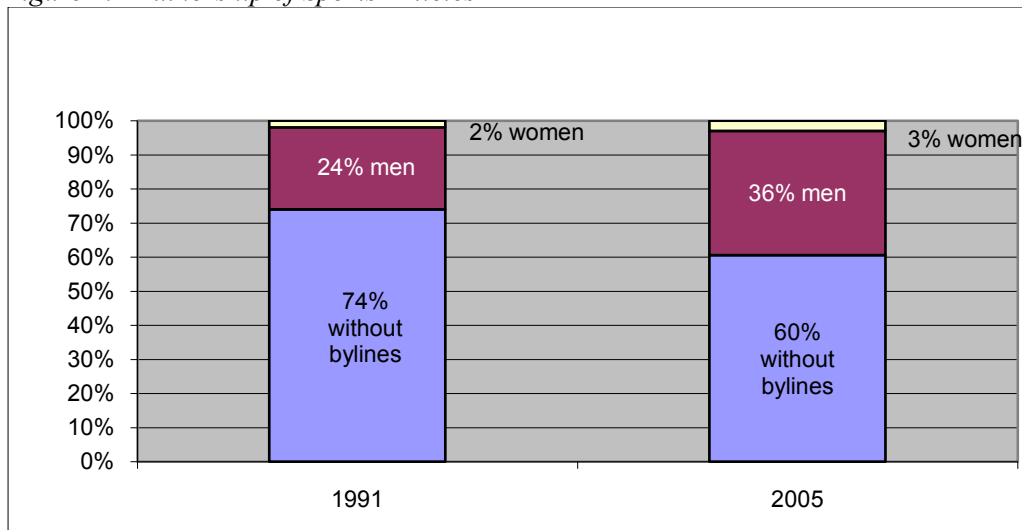
An Australian study, however, indicates the situation seems to be improving for female sports reporters. The Australian government commissioned a study on how the media portray women’s sports, after a Senate Estimates Committee inquiry in 2006 expressed disappointment about the poor manner the media publicised women’s sports. The “Towards a Level Playing Field” report (Australian Sports Commission, 2010) examined media in 2008 and 2009, showing that only 8.7 % of sports stories were about women’s sports (316 of 3616

media reports). However, the study concluded that despite the low amount of coverage, women's sports received favourable treatment by the media, and it was an improvement over a similar study 12 years previously. "There was a remarkable absence of stereotyping of female athletes. They were very rarely portrayed in a sexual way and most frequently portrayed as competitive and successful" (p. v). There were also positive findings on the gender balance of sports reporters. The study noted that seven of the top 13 named reporters monitored were female, and the largest number of stories published by a single journalist was written by a female, Merryn Sherwood of the *Canberra Times*. The Australian Sports Commission study indicates an improvement from a study three years earlier by Strong and Hannis (2007) that showed female reporters accounted for only 6.3% of the bylined sports stories in Australia's five largest daily newspapers.

The situation in New Zealand seems similar to that described in Britain and America. In 1991 a survey of female bylines on sports articles published in New Zealand metropolitan newspapers concluded that a miniscule amount (2%) were produced by female reporters compared to almost a quarter (24%) by men (Ferkins, 1992). Bylines were used to measure authorship of the sports articles. The majority of articles had no bylines (74%). This survey method was repeated, with the same five New Zealand metropolitan newspapers, 14 years later (Strong, 2005). Female bylines increased, but only minimally, from 2% to 3%. Male bylines, however, increased from 24% to 36% over the same time period. More articles contained bylines compared to the previous study, but the extra bylines were provided by male journalists, not females.

The two studies are able to be compared, as shown in Figure 2.2, because both studies used the same method with the same publications. Therefore the 14-year gap between the two studies shows a clear picture of very little movement in female journalists' authorship of sports news in New Zealand daily newspapers.

Figure 2.1 Authorship of Sports Articles



A qualitative study uncovered some of the reasons female journalists do not become sports reporters in New Zealand daily newspapers (Strong, 2007). The reasons were not entirely that the industry closed them out, although many of the female journalists felt the opportunities were not offered to them. Women already working in the daily newspaper industry said they shunned transferring to the sports departments because the sports journalists they worked alongside were often unprofessional, unethical and uncouth. The female journalists spurned working in sports because they felt the experience would not be an advantage in their journalism career. Some also felt it was too difficult to break into the club-like atmosphere of the sports reporters, when the disadvantages outweighed the advantages to their career. The decision to avoid sports reporting was a big step for some of

the respondents because they liked the topic, or thought sports would be another reporting experience to add to their skills (similar to politics, business, courts, etc.)

The New Zealand experience of a strong dominance of sports journalism by men is in line with experience in other countries, making the lack of female sports journalists a global issue. As stated before, there are two journalism areas that are heavily dominated by men. This section has discussed sports, and the next section discusses the other newspaper area of gender imbalance – editorship.

2.4 Growing Focus on Lack of Female Editors

Research has shifted from only investigating the general number of female journalists in the newsroom, to also focusing on the paucity of female editors in the newsroom. It presents a phenomenon, particularly considering that over the past 15 years the proportion of women journalists in the newsroom has remained static, 39% of United States journalists (ASNE, 2007), and hovering at 50% in New Zealand (Gray, 1984; Hollings, 2007). These are healthy proportions overall, albeit not reaching parity with males, but there are still questions of why these qualified and experienced women journalists are not flowing up to editor positions. There has been some research into whether the new-entry women are treated differently than their male counterparts, but only in recent years has in-depth research focused on the editors' positions, as reviewed below.

One of the specific complexities about studying female editors is that there is at least lip service by the newspaper industry that it wants more women editors, but this still has not happened. The US newspaper industry funded one of the most comprehensive research studies on the topic, *The Great Divide: Female Leadership in U.S. Newsrooms* (Falk & Grizard, 2003), which surveyed 273 top editors of daily newspapers with circulation above 50,000, comprising 202 men and 71 women. Some of the findings relevant to my research were that more women, than men, did not want to move up to a management position in the newspaper industry. Only one in five women wanted to move up, compared to one in three men. But more significantly, it showed that more women than men had some plans to leave the industry: 23% of men and 35% of women were “on track to move up to a position outside the newspaper industry” (p. 9). This result identified that women tended to have an Option B, meaning they were prepared to bail out of their existing newspaper office if the situation was no longer attractive to them. This seems somewhat similar to New Zealand lower-level journalists, as McGregor (2006a) reported that women journalists tend to leave newspapers to work in public relations, which offers them more remuneration and more regular work hours. Fairfax Media executive Clive Lind confirmed that there is a general perception that female journalists leave for the lucrative communications industry and female managers leave daily newspaper work for other types of journalism, such as small community newspapers (personal communication, September 4, 2008). There has been no New Zealand research into the extent to which women are more likely to leave the industry than males, or their reasons.

Falk and Grizard’s (2003) study also identified a subset of the female editors the authors called “career-conflicted.” These women were the most likely to be making plans to leave

the newspaper industry. They were younger, in the larger newsrooms, less comfortable with the existing news judgement of their newspaper, and also less likely to have a mentor (44%) to help them succeed in their current job. The sample was from editors and managing editors of newspapers, so it is significant to the future of female editors that such a large proportion of these obviously capable women editors felt alienated. They seemed to be highly qualified, career-focused individuals, given the fact that they attained management position without mentors, and with perceived sexual discrimination.

Although this study did not find that the executives – male or female – planned to leave the industry because of “family reasons”, it did find that this was a reason women refused promotion. Almost half of female editors who said they do not want to move up further in the executive ladder said one reason was they wanted more family or personal time. However, this was only one reason this group gave for refusing promotion and a more common reason was they were happy in their current job (72%) or did not think the promotion would be fun or rewarding (55%). These were similar reasons given by men, but a significantly lower proportion of men said they would forgo promotions (27% men compared to 47% women).

Despite the historic and current dearth of women editors, the industry seems to accept this imbalance – at least on the surface. The American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) in 2005 produced a special edition of *American Editors* on the topic of women editors. An interesting point, however, was that the ASNE president, Rick Rodriguez, wrote the introduction to the edition and did not mention any concern or interest in women editors, while at the same time listing his concerns in the industry (Rodriguez, 2005). His concerns

included the lack of ethnic reporters, lack of investigative skills, and low readership and low subscriptions to newspapers. Nevertheless, the industry did show concern by the American Press Institute and the Pew Centre for Journalism Excellence funding Falk and Grizard's (2003) research into female editors and the Robert R. McCormack Tribune Foundation funding Hemlinger's (2001) research into female newspaper managers.

A more pragmatic commitment was shown by the Knight Foundation, whose late benefactors John S. and James L. Knight established the large Knight Newspaper chain. The Foundation founded the Media Management Center at Northwestern University. The Center's robust compilation of research *Women in Media 2006: Finding the Leader in You* (Arnold & Nesbitt, 2006) will be discussed later in this paper. However, significant to this observation of industry commitment is the link to the Knight Newspaper chain. There have been many mergers and takeovers since the Knight Newspaper chain held an esteemed journalistic position in the USA in the 20th century; however, its flagship newspaper where John S. Knight remained as editor until his retirement was the *Akron Beacon Journal*. This particular newspaper stands out as unusual in having women as two recent editors – Janet Leach and Debra Adams Simmons.

One former successful editor of the *Akron Beacon Journal*, Janet Leach, left the position when her children reached school age because "she could no longer juggle competing demands" (Anger, p. 6). When asked what could be done to keep women like her in editor positions, she said that among other things, "I'd make sure women, especially middle managers, have flexibility to accommodate sick kids, snow days, and volunteering, and band

boosters. That would involve salary, vacation, flexitime and adaptable colleagues” (ibid p. 6).

Her predecessor Debra Adams Simmons, also a woman, said she was able to shed the guilt at not taking her young school-aged children to events, which she left to her husband to do. However, she did put a lot of credit on her newspaper's owners. "Knight Ridder's commitment to grooming women senior leaders is an even greater variable. Publisher Jim Crutchfield's belief that I could handle the job was perhaps the most critical variable" (Simmons, 2005, p. 12).

This need for management grooming was echoed by Kay Addis, editor of the *Virginia Pilot* newspaper, who has been in the industry for 35 years and was part of a 50-editor forum in America to determine how to help more women reach top editor positions (Addis, 2005). She identified that women tend to have fewer female role models and mentors, and to have more complications in their lives such as the need to merge family and career. Her advice to newspaper executives was "to do more than sit back and hope" more women become editors (p. 8). She urged executives to create formal mentor programmes for high-potential women.

Lack of Female Editors Globally: The exact number of female editors is hard to determine, and only a few research studies focused specifically on media editors, or specifically on daily newspaper editors. Although the newsroom editor is the single most powerful news person in a media industry, some studies (e.g. Hemlinger, 2001; Made and Morna, 2009) lump together the top three tiers of managers. The few editor-specific statistics, however, depict a dire state of affairs. In nearby Australia, one survey showed only one major metropolitan newspaper,

the *Sunday Telegraph*, was edited by a woman, and only 15% of the country's media executives were women (Goward, 2006). Goward, who was Australia's Federal Sex Discrimination Commissioner, blamed the low numbers on the culture of masculine hegemony, and she suggested female journalists "are party to this hegemony ... by taking on the cultural tone of the dominant gender as if it were common sense and also sexualising the minority 'other' gender" (p. 16). The symptom of hegemony is a "code of silence about sexual harassment within a profession.....and the absence of a women's ginger group" (p. 16). Goward contended that women's groups, which lobby, support, and network, are plentiful in other professions; hence the conspicuousness of their absence in the newspaper journalism profession in Australia. It is significant to note that there is no longer an active Media Women or similar group in New Zealand.

The record in the United States is slightly better, according to one survey that concluded that 22% of top¹ editors are women, and 40% of managing editors are women (Arnold & Nesbitt, 2006). The number of women editors in the USA, however, is a steep growth curve over very recent years. Less than ten years ago, only 13% of the country's 100 largest newspapers had women editors (Simmons, 2005; Sullivan, 2005). Sullivan noted that, although there were few female newspaper editors, women dominated the ranks of journalism students, new-entry positions, and also the highly competitive editorship of magazines. "In other words, it is not editing competence, or even managerial capacity, that is to blame for this absence of women from top positions on the dailies" (p. 15).

¹ "Top" being defined as editing newspapers with more than 85,000 circulation. As a point of comparison, only three of New Zealand's daily newspapers would fit this category – *The New Zealand Herald*, *Dominion-Post*, and *The Press*.

Lack of Female Editors in New Zealand: The lack of women in the position of editor of major newspapers is clear. In 2006, none of the five New Zealand metropolitan newspapers had a women editor, only four daily newspapers in the country had a woman editor and only one of the three Sunday newspapers was edited by a woman – a total of 19.2% editors who were women (McGregor, 2006a). Judy McGregor herself was the first female to edit a major newspaper in New Zealand, a Sunday newspaper in the mid 1980s, and has maintained an interest in the growth, or lack, of women in editor positions over the past 20 years. This interest has continued in her current position as Equal Employment Opportunities Commissioner. She called the low number of female managers and editors a “snail-like progress” (p. 29) and was critical of the other commentators saying the country has feminised media because of the high percentage of women in journalism. She also called it a “myth” to believe that women will eventually rise to the level of editorship if they stay within the industry long enough (p. 29).

One of McGregor’s findings, significant for my research, is that, although 19% of the editors were women in her 2005 survey, 32% of the executive team of the five metropolitan newspapers were women (p. 26). This raises further questions as to why women attain these top executive positions, but not the ultimate editorial job of editor (which carries the day-to-day-power over the output of news media). As raised in Falk and Grizard’s (2003) study of American managers, another question is whether the limited number of women editors stems from their abhorrence of the top position, or does it stem from lack of opportunity to attain it – attractiveness versus opportunity. This has not been explored in current local research, but there is a hint in the New Zealand survey of women journalists’ viewpoints of the other male-dominated position, sports journalism, as outlined in Section 2.3.3. In-depth interviews with

successful new female journalists concluded that they shunned sports journalism because of the perceived lack of professionalism and distasteful “jockish” type men in that particular journalism subset (Strong, 2007). The women did not find sports journalism work attractive enough to offset the distaste they felt for the workplace culture.

A similar distaste for the workplace culture was suggested by McGregor (2006b) as one of the reasons women decide against going into editorships. McGregor gave three reasons that women do not attain positions of editorial authority. One was that the newsroom culture is uncomfortable to women and other minorities; secondly was that the fast pace of the newsroom made it difficult for managers to make meaningful cultural changes; and thirdly:

The uncomfortable reality for those who work in the news media is that in general, media companies are traditionally renowned for their ruthless approach to people, and in particular to journalists... many women opt not to seek senior editorial roles given this environment (p. 29).

Personal correspondence with the two major newspaper companies in New Zealand confirmed the industry's identification of low numbers of women editors. It also highlighted that the media executives have a concern about the slow pace of women attaining editorships. Fairfax Media, an Australian company that owns nine of New Zealand's daily newspapers², is concerned that women are not staying in the industry long enough to become editors, according to executive Clive Lind (personal communication, January 24, 2008). In addition, the Australasian executive of APN newspaper group that owns eight of New Zealand's daily

² Fairfax daily newspapers: *Dominion-Post*, *Manawatu Standard*, *Marlborough Express*, *Nelson Mail*, *The Press* (Christchurch), *Southland Times*, *Taranaki Daily News*, *Timaru Herald*, *Waikato Times*.

newspapers³, Terry Quinn, said they do not hold gender-based data of their employees, but "we do know that unfortunately there are very few women editors" (personal communication, September 10, 2005).

Mentors Missing for Female Editors: The recommendation from former *Virginia Pilot* newspaper editor Kay Addis, reported earlier, that mentors would make a positive difference to prospective female editors, has not been researched among New Zealand newspaper managers. However, a study among general female executives may relate to the media industry. The study of 30 New Zealand executive women found that successful executives in the public and private sector credited some part of their success to having a mentor (Pringle & Olsson, 2002).

Although US studies indicated mentors are important to those who become editors (Selzer, 2002), it is clear that mentoring is not a normal process within the newspaper industry. Lisa Gross, managing editor/presentations and operations at *The Miami Herald* said that "newsrooms are lousy at succession planning and mentoring, but being dominated by males, they provide a natural structure for advancement of that [male] group" (Anger, 2005, p. 7). She also pointed out that the newsrooms have not made any moves to create a family-women friendly environment. "Most women I know who have made into the top are single, divorced, widowed or have exceptional domestic arrangements" (ibid, p. 7). June Nicholson, associate professor at Virginia Commonwealth University said that when the chips are down

³ APN daily newspapers: *Bay of Plenty Times*, *Hawkes Bay Today*, *Rotorua Daily Post*, *The Daily Chronicle (Levin)*, *The New Zealand Herald*, *Wairarapa Times-Age*, *Wanganui Chronicle*, *Whangarei Northern Advocate*,

men, "tend to hire men, people who think like them....women are excluded from the networking" (ibid, p.7).

In New Zealand, the news media industry seems to similarly cling to a culture that revolves around the employee having a traditional male lifestyle (McGregor, 2006b). According to McGregor, female journalists will continue to be unrepresented in media management as long as the media companies continue their current "rigid employment practices" and their "indifference to women's perspectives" (p. 32). McGregor further maintained that many women with families choose not to make the sacrifices required to successfully climb the career ladder in news media.

2.5 Summary

The literature reviewed presents a picture of New Zealand mirroring the global trend in the media – of a large proportion of women entering the journalism profession, but very few flowing up to the top newsroom management position of editor. Some New Zealand researchers (such as Hollings and Lealand) say the news industry is dominated by women, while others (such as McGregor and the Ministry of Women's Affairs) say the industry is failing women in terms of this lack of women in powerful management positions.

The lack of female editors is particularly true of the influential daily newspaper industry, despite a steady flow of female journalists into the lower ranks of the profession. Hence, a

gender gap phenomenon in daily newspaper leadership has been identified in New Zealand. The journalism culture theory positions media newsrooms as a unique social field with unique hierarchy and internal rules. Scholars in America, Australia, Britain and Europe have insisted that the culture crosses geographic borders and national cultures. Indeed, the journalism culture theorists also portray the newsroom culture, particularly newspapers, as strongly hegemonically masculine.

The hegemonic masculinity of the newsrooms also positions the industry within other male-led industries that blame a glass ceiling for preventing women from easily attaining top level jobs. Although it has not been tested among media industries, in other industries it has been found that female employees are hampered from career advancement by embedded management styles that rely too much on gut feeling rather than systematically administered policies. These theories have not yet been tested in New Zealand.

On the specific focus of daily newspaper production, there has been little research to date on the level of gender difference in the content of the newspaper, such as whether or not female journalists in New Zealand are relegated to only soft news as described in other countries. Knowing more about the attitude of female journalists to careers in the daily newspaper industry may shed light on why they do not attain editor positions.

Previous literature has positioned the daily newspaper editor, who makes the final decision on the content of the publication, as an influential position significant to the community and needing to demonstrate gender balance. Studies show a paucity of female editors in New Zealand, but there has been little research on what female editors themselves perceive as the

barriers and inspirers to attaining the editor position. Exploring these research questions would help clarify why the gender gap exists and lead to possible solutions.

This thesis will focus on answering these questions, and thereby add to the body of academic research on New Zealand media. The three research questions as outlined in Chapter 1 are:

Research Question One: *What is the visibility of women journalists in New Zealand's metropolitan newspaper environment, as measured externally by monitoring bylines;*

Research Question Two: *How do early-career journalists describe their decision to remain in or leave the newspaper industry, and what gender differences are in the decision-making process;* and Research Question Three: *What are perceived as the barriers or enticements*

for women attaining editorships?

Although all three research questions relate to the overall topic of female daily newspaper journalists in New Zealand, each one focuses on a different aspect of the topic. This multi-faceted focus required three different research methods, which are described next.

Chapter Three: METHODS

3.1 Introduction

This study used a combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods to explore the position of women in the daily newspaper industry of New Zealand. This chapter outlines the methods used to explore the three research questions: content analysis, attitudinal survey, and in-depth interviews. The chapter acknowledges the qualitative versus quantitative debate, and describes how this study used both paradigms, combining them within each of the three research questions. The qualitative and quantitative research methods have been chosen to be complementary, both in interpreting the context and in illuminating the position of female daily newspaper journalists. The review in Chapter 2 of the existing research, both globally and within New Zealand, provided the basis for the research questions and determined the selection of methods.

With the overriding research aim of investigating the gender power imbalance in New Zealand newspaper journalism, the first stage examined the gender balance of authorship in five New Zealand metropolitan daily newspapers. This was primarily quantitative content analysis of more than 13,000 articles; however, I also collected opinions on the results from

editors of the metropolitan newspapers that had been the subject of the content analysis. The second stage explored attitudes of 171 early career journalists to working in daily newspapers. This was an internet-based attitudinal survey. It collected quantitative data from closed-ended questions and also the qualitative attitudes given by respondents in their responses to open-ended questions to invitations to expand on their answers. The third stage employed was a series of face-to-face in-depth interviews with nine female daily newspaper editors, three female senior journalists, and two male media company executives.

It is always important to first define the population focus of the study (Bryman, 2004), which was journalists and editors working in daily newspapers, as opposed to other areas of the media, because of the perceived influence of daily newspapers as detailed in Chapter 1. Naturally, the results show small numbers, which is expected with the small population of New Zealand, a country of only four million people. However, working with a small population has the advantage of being able to analyse a higher proportion of the media and journalists. As outlined in Chapter 1, this study is like many other global studies in its focus on female journalists producing content for the daily newspaper industry. Like previous researchers, I agree that the influence of the media is such that it should reflect the viewpoints of both genders, and also that women should reach all senior positions in the media.

3.2 Qualitative vs. Quantitative Debate

This research acknowledges the decades-long debate over mixed methodology research, and has firmly adopted a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. The earliest type

of journalism research was content analysis, a quantitative methodology that fitted comfortably within the academic environment of the 1950s, which tended to use quantitative methods and a positivist paradigm (Bryman, 2004; Tashakkori & Teedlie, 2003). The empirical methodology gave weight to journalism research in the mid part of the 20th century, when it struggled to be recognised as an academically respectable part of the social sciences. Tashakkori and Teedlie (2003) said that as content analysis was in line with acceptable science research it gave journalism researchers academic standing in being able to quantify their findings into statistics or tables. Qualitative methodology and the constructivism paradigm emerged later in the century, and gained “widespread acceptance” by the 1980s (ibid, p. 5). Those who used the two different methods developed a fierce loyalty to their approach, which polarised academic researchers and led to what Tashakkori & Teedlie called the “paradigm wars”, Bryman called the “divide”, and Lincoln & Guba (2000) called “methodological revolution” of the qualitative revolutionaries over the quantitative traditionalists.

Eventually some researchers employed both styles, such as Denzin in 1978 who formalised the concept in sociological studies to combine data sources and methodologies to study the same issue. Hammersley (1996) proposed that multi-strategy research “arises when one research strategy is employed in order to aid research using the other research strategy” (p. 46). Bryman (2003) wrote, “Multi-strategy research becomes both feasible and desirable” (p. 454) and advocates it “when the researcher cannot rely on either a quantitative or a qualitative method alone and must buttress his or her findings with a method drawn from the other research strategy” (p. 458).

This study adopted mixed methods, to similarly buttress the emerging findings. For instance, in my study the quantitative data from the newspaper content analysis indicated low levels of women's authorship of newspaper articles, but there was no indication why this proportion was low until qualitative interviews were carried out. Conversely, the results from the quantitative part of the survey are statistically too low to extrapolate conclusions on their own, but combined with the results of the qualitative content analyses it presented a fuller picture. My study mixed qualitative and quantitative methods, following the example of similar gender and media research, such as that carried out by Willard (2007) and the GMMP (2010).

The overseas studies by Willard (2007) and GMMP (2005) gave rise to the question of whether or not New Zealand female journalists also were excluded from the newspaper culture. It was known that very few New Zealand women became daily newspaper editors (McGregor, 2006a), but her finding came out at the same time as Hollings' (2007) survey concluded that the newsrooms were dominated by women journalists. This led to questions about exactly how much, if any, influence female newspaper journalists had on news content. To find out this information, this study analysed the editorial output of daily newspapers. The method chosen to determine this was a content analysis of story authorship, similar to previous research on sports articles in New Zealand metropolitan newspapers (Ferkins, 1992), on USA news magazines (Weiss, 2005), and on international news media (GMMP, 2005). As overseas research indicated that the female exodus from daily newspapers was very early in their careers, this study also used a survey to investigate the career path and attitudes of journalism graduates who worked in daily newspaper newsrooms, as well as

those who chose to work in other employment. The incremental approach to this study led to the next paradox to explore, those women who achieved top status in daily newspapers.

The very low number of female editors seemed strange, considering the very high numbers of women entering the profession. It was decided that the best method to explore the barriers, challenges, and attractions for female editors was to conduct in-depth interviews, which would also allow comparison with a similar study in North America, Selzer's 2002 work, *The Great Divide: Female Leadership in U.S. Newsrooms*. To get other viewpoints on the challenges and influencers on women on the editor career path, I interviewed two executives who were responsible for hiring editors, both males. As well, I interviewed three senior female journalists who had been urged to become editors, but declined.

In summary, this study combined three methods: a content analysis of 13,147 metropolitan newspaper articles to assess the authorship of women journalists, an attitudinal survey of 171 female and male journalists who entered the profession between the years of 2000 and 2008, and in-depth interviews with 14 daily newspaper editors, senior journalists and executives.

3.3 Census

The research questions for this study seek to explore the gender power imbalance in those working as journalists on daily newspapers. However, at the time the study commenced, there was little firm evidence about gender ratios either at the editor level or at the journalism school level. Therefore, I provided a firm basis for the investigation by conducting two

censuses to confirm that large numbers of women were entering the profession but very few women were becoming editors. The methods for these censuses are now described.

3.3.1 Census Spread of Female Daily Newspaper Editors

A census of the gender ratio of daily newspaper editors was conducted by telephone or personal contact with staff at each of the 23 daily newspapers in the country. Because of the regular turnover of staff, the census was repeated regularly through the period of completing this doctoral research, from 2007 through 2010. McGregor's previous census of major newspapers conducted in 2005 included the three national Sunday newspapers along with the 23 daily newspapers, and relied on data printed in various media directories (2006b). My study, however, focused only on daily newspapers and omitted all periodicals with only weekly deadlines. Daily newspapers were chosen to enable comparisons with similar overseas research (GMMP, 2005; Willard, 2007), and also because daily newspapers shared common characteristics of heightened deadline pressures and sustained fast pace (King, 2004). The census showed that at one time there was only one female editor, and at the most four female editors of daily newspapers in New Zealand from 2000 through 2009.

3.3.2 Census Spread of Journalism School Gender Ratio

The second census was of journalism schools, and also relied on my personal contacts and experience. Telephone calls and face-to-face contacts were made with all 10 journalism schools in the country. The schools teach about 250 students total each year. This census was repeated in three different years to confirm the trend. The results were that women

comprised 76% of journalism students in 2005, but dropped to 63% in 2007, and grew back to 70% in 2008. Hence this provided further evidence of a phenomenon, shown by the high proportion of new female journalists compared to the low proportion of female newspaper leaders.

Journalism education in New Zealand does not mirror the system in other countries, such as Australia, USA and Canada, where it is a university degree. A journalism qualification is not required to work in the media, and a quarter of journalists have no formal qualifications (Hollings, 2005). Ten tertiary institutes offer an industry-recognized journalism course, monitored and accredited by the Journalism Training Organisation, which is a government approved industry training provider. A typical course is one academic year long, and includes a prescribed list of skills, such as court reporting, sub-editing, shorthand, etc. Three universities, AUT University in Auckland, Canterbury University in Christchurch and Massey University in Wellington, offer journalism diplomas. The other seven providers are polytechnics that do not require a degree for admittance, and can accept students straight from secondary school, aged about 16 or 17. These are: Aoraki Polytechnic in Timaru, NZ Broadcasting School in Christchurch, Southern Institute of Technology in Invercargill, Waiariki Institute of Technology in Rotorua, Waikato Institute of Technology in Hamilton, Western Institute of Technology in New Plymouth, Whitireia Community Polytechnic in Wellington.

3.4 Content Analysis Method

I relied on the content analysis method to carry out the investigation into Research Question One: *What is the visibility of female journalists in New Zealand's metropolitan newspaper environment, as measured externally by monitoring bylines?* The method analysed the topic and relative importance of articles written by female journalists. Content analysis seeks to quantify content of media publications in terms of predetermined categories (Bryman, 2004). The strength of using an empirically based research framework, such as content analysis as the basis of this project, is that it is transparent, repeatable, and, more importantly, unobtrusive. It was essential to be unobtrusive in order to avoid spotlight contamination, which is when the issues being researched are altered once the subjects know they are being researched. This unobtrusiveness is seen as one of the strengths of content analysis by Webb et al. (1966) as quoted in Weber (1985):

Compared with techniques such as interviews, content analysis usually yields unobtrusive measures in which neither the sender nor the receiver of the message is aware that it is being analysed. Hence there is little danger that the act of measurement itself will act as a force for change that confounds the data (p. 10).

Spotlight contamination is a real concern for this type of research, as the journalism fraternity in New Zealand is relatively small: only 4278 of the population referred to themselves as fulltime journalist, in any media in the national 2006 Census (Hollings, 2007), and all daily media outlets are owned by fewer than ten corporations. This could lead to a possibility of cross contamination if the subjects changed their practices once they discovered they were being studied.

There is some debate about the exact definition and boundaries of the content analysis methodology, so it is worthwhile to go back to the original development of it in academic social science research. The person who first coined the term “content analysis” (first undertook codification of this method, and urged its use for journalism research) was Bernard Berelson, who introduced it to professors at the University of Washington who taught me in the 1970s. As the developer of this methodology, Berelson’s definition from 1952 remains valid: “a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication” (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 19). One requirement Berelson placed on the methodology was that the data collection and analysis be replicable. These requirements were met in this project, as very clear guidelines were set for the coding, as described below; and, in fact, two other researchers reached the same code tallies when it was piloted.

The sample included the five largest-circulation daily newspapers, which are considered the country’s metropolitan newspapers, and this sample is similar to those used in other New Zealand studies (Ferkins, 1992; Fountaine, 2005a). The sample units were *New Zealand Herald* (Auckland), *Dominion-Post* (Wellington), *Waikato Times* (Hamilton), *The Press* (Christchurch), and *Otago Daily Times* (Dunedin).

The sample consisted of 30 consecutive days, a month’s worth of publications, for each newspaper, from 1 July to 31 July, 2005. It collected every article in the newspaper, rather than limiting it to only those in the first five pages as did the GMMP’s four studies (1995, 2000, 2005, and 2010). Although other studies used fewer publications, for instance Armstrong (2004) covered three weeks, and Cho (2004) only six days, this study consisted of

an entire month to help eliminate aberrations caused by unusual news episodes or staff roster abnormalities. The sample was taken for the year 2005 to coincide with the same year that the GMMP took its sample. The month of July was chosen because it had the least days that could skew results because of staffing issues during statutory holidays, summer season, or political elections.

Bylines were coded by gender. The byline is of growing prominence in newspaper articles, and is a more robust method of collecting the sample than it would have been 30 years ago when newspapers were less generous with bylines, and a reporter earned a byline only on special merit and sometimes only after being at a newspaper for several years (Reich, 2008). Currently, however, the majority of masthead-produced articles carry bylines, and, in fact as Reich argued, “now a missing byline raises suspicions” (ibid, p. 3). As an example, the historically significant *New York Times* adopted a byline policy in 2003: “Anyone who reports and writes a spread-length story for the *Times* (typically 300 words or more) will ordinarily receive a byline. This rule applies to stringers and clerical staff members, as well as to staff journalists” (ibid, p. 8). Such a policy may not be set out so rigidly in the New Zealand newspapers, but the observed practice is similar, with almost all locally produced stories given a byline, as well as most New Zealand produced stories generated from other newspapers, and in some cases even stories generated by overseas news agencies (Strong & Hannis, 2007).

All articles, distinguished as text having a headline (Dominick, 2009) were coded by the type of story, in line with the normal organisation of staff assignments within the newsroom. These article types were: *business, commercial features, farming, front page national/local*

news, news features, opinion pieces, sports, and world news. Most newspapers group articles in pages with these same topics to satisfy the various interests of the newspaper readership (ibid). Often these pages are produced by separate and semi-autonomous divisions within the newsroom, which was significant to my conclusions.

Each article was counted as one, with no distinction as to its length or significance on the page. Double bylines were rare, but counted twice. The tally was divided by gender, based on the byline at the top of the article. The gender of the byline name was name-specific or determined by personal knowledge. Where this was not sufficient, ambiguous first names (such as Terry/Shannon or only an initial letter) were verified by contacting the newspaper concerned. The level of measurement (gender of the author) used in this study falls into the category of “nominal” because gender has only two choices and the units do not overlap, so in fact are clearly mutually exclusive and exhaustive (Shoemaker, 1996).

The recording sheet, in Appendix 3.1, was divided into two columns, the first with nine rows labelled for the nine story types, and the second column with space to allow for a tally of articles for each issue of the newspaper. The NZ National Library and Wellington City Council library services were used to access hard copies of the newspapers. They were monitored and coded one page at a time, from front to back. Totals from the recording sheets were entered onto an Excel spreadsheet and then calculated in statistical form.

3.5 Attitudinal Survey Method

The second part of the research used an internet-based survey to focus on a closed field of journalists to address Research Question Two: *How do early-career journalists describe their decision to remain in or leave the newspaper industry, and what gender differences are in the decision making process?* The aim was to garner information to help bridge the information gap between the plethora of women entering newspaper journalism, and the trickle of women progressing to editorships. The qualitative part of the survey also aimed to gain a description of the newsroom culture.

De Vaus (2002) defined an attitudinal survey as a technique of using questionnaires to collect data on “what a person regards as desirable” (p. 356). The definition fits the focus of my study, which examined what new entry journalists found desirable or undesirable about a daily newspaper career. The method was an externally distributed self-administered questionnaire that relied on both qualitative and quantitative questions to draw out attitudinal responses. Because of the large numbers of possible respondents, up to 200, the most practical method was an attitudinal survey, rather than personal interviews (Bryman, 2004). In contrast to other previous surveys conducted among New Zealand journalists (Hollings, 2007; Hollings et al. , 2007; Lealand, 1994; Lealand, 2004), this one obtained responses from not only currently employed journalists, but also people who had decided against newspaper careers, defined as those who had devoted the time and energy to gain journalism qualifications and basic experience, but later left the industry. Surveying both current and

previous newspaper staff presents a sample similar to that used by Willard (2007), who felt that excluding those who have left the industry gives skewed results.

The questions for this survey were developed after interview sessions with a reference group of nine journalists, described in Appendix 2. The three sessions with the journalist, followed the guidelines set out by Minichiello, Aroni, & Hayes (1995), who acknowledge that a reference group is a type of focus group interview, but differs in that the interviews are specifically to help the researcher prepare for a wider study or survey. Minichiello et al. say reference groups can “alert the researcher/s with regard to what is considered significant or contentious within that arena” (p. 62). Indeed, the reference group sessions discussed specific criticisms and attractions of the newspaper industry, which provided a list used for Likert scale questions in the following attitudinal survey of former journalism students. The Likert questions used a standardised selection of “strongly agree, agree, disagree, and strongly disagree” (de Vaus, 2002, p. 360). The survey, therefore, allowed the opinions built up by the small reference group to be tested more widely by a general survey.

The strength of a survey is its sample, according to deVaus, and in this case the sample was former journalist students from the school of journalism in Wellington, who attended the professional course between the years 2000 and 2008. This criterion netted tertiary qualified journalists whose vocational training was aimed at newspaper journalism, including both those who continued in the industry and those who chose to leave it. The overarching requirement of this primary sample scheme was to standardise the background of the respondents as much as possible, to better determine the gender implications, as de Vaus recommends fewer variances in the sample decreases sample errors (p. 82). Standardising

the respondents' backgrounds was intended to minimise possible non-gender variable factors, such as a difference in pre-entry experience or training.

Previous New Zealand surveys were widely distributed opt-in surveys that had limitations in standardising respondents' qualifications, as some responding journalists had no previous training prior to gaining a job (Hollings, Lealand, Samson, & Tilley, 2007). The previous surveys also excluded those who had left the industry. A study into the reasons women leave newspaper careers in the United States by Willard (2007) criticised these types of studies for under representing or omitting female newspaper journalists who have left the industry. She pointed out that researchers sometimes used assumptions to conclude why women left, rather than gaining their opinions first hand (p. 25). This survey set the sample frame as qualified journalists, whether or not they were still working in journalism, which would help further clarify the results of previous New Zealand studies.

There were three reasons to select the Wellington School of Journalism, now administered by Massey University: it is the longest running journalism school in the country and industry surveys have upheld its strong reputation (G. Davis, personal communication, October 8, 2006); it had a consistent curriculum, selection process, and student profile for this millennium (G. Hannis, personal communication, February 25, 2009); and it was possible to obtain some class lists of former students. The survey spanned an eight year period, long enough to avoid aberrations of a particular class or year. It eliminated graduates after the year 2008, as these students were only just entering the industry and some were still finding jobs. During the given years, about 250 students completed the one-year vocational graduate course (A. Samson, personal communication, October 13, 2008). Besides the consistency in

curriculum and selection process, during these years there was also consistency in the number of lecturers and tutors, and in the physical resources available for the course. This helped standardise the sample, as these factors would lead to a conjecture that the students received a similar quality of teaching no matter which year they attended the course. For the purpose of this research, “completed” the course meant to continue studying the entire year. The sample did not discriminate against those who were unsuccessful in passing the course. Head of the Department Dr. Grant Hannis said it is common for students to fail one paper, such as shorthand, and return in the future to complete it, and successfully work in journalism in the meantime. The sample naturally included a high proportion of women (62%), in line with the high proportion of women on the class rolls during those years (ranging in year from a low of 63% and a high of 80%). The sample had a slightly higher proportion of males compared to the class rolls, and this is a limitation discussed below in Section 3.5.6.

The overall sample size of 171 respondents for the survey was in line with similar attitudinal journalist surveys in overseas research. As an example, a similar study in the USA of female journalists who left the profession (Willard, 2007) surveyed 167 respondents; and a study of former journalism students in Scotland (Firth & Meech, 2007) included 50 respondents.

The margin of error was less than .03 as calculated by the formula produced by Bartlett, Kotrlik and Higgins (2001). My survey sample is based on the estimated population of journalism school graduates over an eight year period of 2,000 (approximately 250 students nationwide each year x 8 years=2000). My survey, however, was non-random and by ensuring all respondents had the same educational background it limited the population variables, which Bartlett et al. contend increases the reliability of responses. Therefore my

potential sample was 250, or 12.5% of the population, and the response rate (described more fully in Chapter 5) of 171 was 8.55% of the population, again a satisfactory amount to ensure a low margin of error of .03 (Schonlau, Fricker, & Elliot, 2002).

3.5.1 Internet Generated Survey

An external web-based survey vehicle was chosen because its anonymous quality often encourages more honest attitudinal discourse from the respondents, according to Schonlau et al. (2002). Although face-to-face interviews are usually considered most effective for gaining attitudinal data, this is not always the case, as de Leeuw (1992) reports that interviewer-administered survey modes, particularly face-to-face ones, yield answers that are more socially acceptable than do self-administered modes. Sproull and Keisler (1986) also pointed out the value of self-administered surveys over personal interview to gain more honest opinions was that it altered the information given for sensitive topics. They felt self-administered surveys should be used for sensitive questions. Some questions in this survey could be considered sensitive and difficult to answer. An example was identified in the reference group discussions, where participants demonstrated a feeling of failure if they left journalism. Also some reference group participants indicated that they would be honest about some of the reasons they were drawn to journalism only if they knew the answers would be anonymous. An example is in the question of why they liked working in daily journalism, of which three members of the reference group said to me privately that they liked the power of getting revenge on errant politicians or the power of making someone famous. All three said they would never give that answer publically or if they could be identified.

Another benefit of the internet survey is that answers are downloaded directly into the database, thereby avoiding data transcription errors that can be an issue with conventional surveys. Schonlau et al. (2002) consider digital downloading a major advantage of internet programme surveys because of what they say is a common problem with data entry errors in other types of surveys such as handwritten or research-administered surveys that require re-entry of data. Schonau et al. also found that internet surveys of “closed populations”, similar to my survey, tend to net high response rates (p. 75). However, they also cautioned that mix-mode surveys in the internet tend to fail to attract sufficient number of responses. This caution was acknowledged, but, as described in Chapter 5, the response rate and expanded essay-type responses were very high for my survey.

Postal questionnaires were prepared, as recommended by Bryman (2004), but all individuals in the sample preferred an internet-distributed questionnaire. The survey was distributed through Survey Monkey online survey website. One advantage of this particular programme is the responses could be controlled, to accept only those from a list pre-submitted by the researcher, rather similar to an invitation-only list. The computer programme would generate a list of who had not yet responded, and sent a reminder message. The survey and reminders were sent to respondents from the website, not the researcher, so there was an environment of anonymity, which encourages more open attitudinal answers (Schonlau, Fricker, & Elliot, 2002). This website programme also provides the results in several forms (SPSS, Excel, cvs) and can be cross tabulated.

3.5.2 Survey Questions

The survey contained 36 questions, of which 15 were asked of all respondents, and the rest divided among three self-determined sub-samples: those still working in journalism, those no longer working in journalism, and those on “overseas experience” (which is the New Zealand practice of young adults working and travelling overseas for several years before settling into a career). The full list of questions is in Appendix 3.

The 15 questions asked of all respondents were a series of multiple-choice questions or open-ended questions on demographic information. The first set of questions including such information as what year they attended journalism school, at what age, where they now lived. They were questioned on marital status and whether they had children. The second set of questions gathered information on their current employment, such as the location, which medium, job title, and how long they worked in daily newspapers. All respondents were then asked to rate 11 reasons they originally entered journalism, ranging from wanting a secure job, or bylines, to wanting to contribute to society or being able to use writing/interviewing skills. They were given an opportunity to expand on the reasons.

Five of the attitudinal questions were based on the classic Likert scale, which is considered the best system for gauging attitudes (Waddington, 2000) and employed the recommended five degrees of agreement/disagreement for each attitudinal question (Meric & Wagner, 2006). The questionnaire presented attitudes that had been culled from previous reference groups with New Zealand journalists as well as previous literature.

The first sub-sample, those still working as journalists, was asked six further questions about what keeps them still involved in journalism and/or daily newspaper journalism. Respondents were also asked about the likelihood of their shifting to public relations careers. The working journalists were also given the opportunity to expand on their reasons. There was no word limit on how much they could write in these expanded answers.

The second sub-sample, those who no longer worked in journalism, were asked seven further questions to determine where they currently worked, and their attitude to their previous career in journalism and their likelihood to return to a job in journalism and/or daily newspaper journalism. They were asked to rate 16 reasons they left journalism, and rate 12 reasons that they might return to journalism, and 12 reasons they might return to daily newspapers. This sub-sample was also given the opportunity to expand on their reasons for leaving journalism, and for preferring public relations (if they had chosen to move into public relations.).

The third sub-sample, those on “overseas experience” was asked eight additional questions on their attitude towards returning to New Zealand, returning to journalism, working in the future in daily newspapers, and working in the future in public relations.

3.5.3 Sample’s Contact Details

Confirming the roll of students for each year, and obtaining current contact lists was a major challenge for this research project. The journalism school in Wellington is the longest-serving journalism school in the country, and has produced a reputable curriculum. Many former students have gone on to be highly placed editors, columnists, and parliamentary

journalists. However, Massey University took over the journalism school from Wellington Polytechnic in the middle of this decade, and the new institution did not keep class lists nor administration information. Additionally, there had been a turnover of individual journalism lecturers. Fortunately one of the journalism lecturers, Alan Samson, tried to re-construct the class lists over the past few years, and updated contacts from 2004, when he joined Massey University. These lists were only names without any contact information.

A second stroke of luck was the 40th anniversary dinner of the journalism school in 2006, where I was part of the organising committee. Many former students attended the dinner and were happy to share contact details for themselves and some former classmates. Additional to this, obtaining contact information for the ex students was done by searching through the phone book or media offices to find one person, who would have contacts for a few more, then repeating the exercise.

3.5.4 Maximising Responses

Many surveys of journalists within New Zealand have noted their low response rate or the difficulty of getting surveys returned (Griffin & Strong, 2005; Hollings, 2007; Lealand, 2004; NZJTO, 2006). This experience is shared with those who have conducted surveys in other countries (Bryman, 2004; de Vaus, 2002). There were two practices employed to encourage increased response rates. First, prior contact was made with most of the sample members at least a month before the survey was sent to them, as recommended by the University of Texas's Division of Instructional Innovation and Assessment survey guidelines (DIIA, 2007). Former students were emailed or telephoned to ask if they would participate, to gain contact

details for other class mates, to explain the purpose of the survey, and to assure confidentiality of the data. This is in line with Massey University's ethics guidelines, as well as best practice recommendations by DIIA and de Vaus (2002).

The second practice to encourage increased response rates was forewarning the respondents of the nudge system used by the survey website. Explaining this system to the respondents beforehand was intended to give them confidence that their responses were confidential and not being vetted by anyone. Survey Monkey identifies which respondents have not completed the survey and can be programmed to send out reminders, which are worded and timed by the researcher. In the end, reminders were sent out eight times over a six week period from September 1, to October 10, 2008. An anecdote of the effectiveness of using the reminder notices was shown at the completion of the data gathering stage. The last reminder sent out October 8 to non-respondents stated that this was the last opportunity to fill out the survey before it was to be closed off – this generated 30 responses in the following 24 hours (19% of the total responses).

Another positive outcome of the responses was that a high proportion of respondents took up the opportunity of giving expanded answers to the questions. These questions were optional, but in some cases (for example, why those still in journalism enjoyed the work, and also the reason others left journalism), as many as 90% of the respondents took the opportunity to give further explanations for their answers.

3.5.5 Limitations

The research had limitations in relation to using the results to generalise about all journalists or all former journalism students. One limitation of the study was the relatively small numbers of the sample, which prevents extrapolation of the results. As recommended by survey experts (Bryman, 2004; de Vaus, 2002; Schonlau, Fricker, & Elliot, 2002), statistical reliability is more secure in samples of more than a thousand. Although many of the results are put in statistical tallies in Chapter 5, these cannot be considered indicative of all journalists in New Zealand. However, stringent efforts were made to standardise the sample so that the attitudinal results can be of interest and can be useful to better understand the gender differences of retention rates in newspapers. As explained earlier in this section, other studies, such as Willard (2007) in the USA and Firth & Meech (2007) in Britain, surveyed fewer journalists than in my study.

A second limitation is that the survey was administered to graduates from only one journalism school. Widening the sample to graduates of all ten journalism schools may have produced different results, especially as each school has different entry requirements and lecturer qualifications (JTO, 2006). There were valid reasons to emulate Firth & Meech's (2007) study of journalism culture, which relied on graduates from one particular Scottish journalism school for its sample. They felt that other studies had great difficulty in getting journalist respondents, but that their study had a good response rate and sample size by using their own graduates. They acknowledged the limitations in extrapolating the results, but at the same time felt their sample exemplified the attitudes of university-trained journalists, which was their topic. Besides the practical problems of gaining contact details of previous students

at all journalism schools, surveying students from all schools would create additional sample variations.

A third limitation was the slight skew of the survey respondents towards males (38% of respondents were male, compared to each class year having between 37% to 24% male students). The slightly smaller than ideal number of female respondents could be attributed to the practice of women changing their last name when married, and hence being more difficult to contact when researchers only have their previous name.

3.6 In-Depth Interviews Method

A series of individual in-depth interviews was used to explore Research Question Three: *What are perceived as the barriers or enticements for women attaining editorships?* The participants were the nine women who are or have been daily newspaper editors from 2000 through 2009, three women who have the qualifications but not the inclination to be an editor, and two media company executives who promote journalists to editor positions. In-depth interviews are considered a strong method for gaining historical perspectives, breadth of coverage and focused topic line (Bryman, 2004).

3.6.1 Interview Type

The choice of interview type hinged on the previously-discussed plan to mix qualitative-quantitative analysis. One form of data collection that lends itself well to this study is what Kvale (2007) and Minichiello (1990) term focused semi-structured interviews with key

informants. Researchers conducting this type of interview prepare an outline of the question line, but the interview is designed to be altered in line with what the interviewee is saying. The key informants are those who have experienced the phenomenon being studied, or witnessed it firsthand. Minichiello, Aroni and Hays (1995), advise that the interview may follow a different path with each person, but in fact the researcher always keeps the discourse focused on the research question.

The interviews of the female editors fit neatly into these definitions, with their focus on the sequential order of events that led the participants to become editors, with the underlying purpose of seeking insights of other female journalists' experiences in the newsroom. As there has been very little prior qualitative research into New Zealand female editors, it seemed valuable to encourage them to explain their experiences in their own way.

Because of the subjective nature of the interviews and requirement for unstructured follow-up questions, it was appropriate for them to be face-to-face, rather than some of the other less personal types of information-gathering (Denzin, 1994). One of the drawbacks of doing the interviews face-to-face is the cost and time involved:

The researcher has to conceptualize the project, establish access and make contact with participants, interview them, transcribe the data and then work with the material and share what he or she has learned....Any method of inquiry worth anything takes time, thoughtfulness, energy, and money (Seidman, 1998 , p. 80).

The time and cost of carrying out interviews was a factor in this study, especially as many of the female editors lived in various parts of the country. However, I felt it was important to

interview the participants in person, and because of their busy schedules this meant my doing the travel rather than them.

There were several shorter contacts with each woman prior to the interviews, in which I gathered basic personal and professional data, detailed the focus of the interview, and set up ongoing dialogue. Before the interviews, participants were given an information sheet, in line with Massey University's ethics protocol, and at the time of the interview they were again given this information verbally and in writing, in Appendix 7. Because all the participants were journalists used to the normal aggressive style of media interviews, they were reminded that, unlike in the course of a media interview, they could retract anything they said at any time during the course of the doctoral research. After the interviews, further information or clarification was gathered by email or personal contact.

As an experienced broadcast interviewer and teacher of interviewing skills, I approached this part of the research with some confidence. However, I also felt it was important to examine and assess other styles before deciding on the method for the question line. My normal news media interview style is using open-questions as much as possible, with many follow-up questions based on the participants' responses. My demeanour is one of respect for the person and for their opinions, but at the same time asking them questions to probe their opinion and challenge their statements. This leads to an analysis that may look very different from the raw interview, in both structure and language.

Exploring styles different from my usual style led to Bourdieu as methodological theorist on in-depth interviews. His interview style is intertwined with analysis style because the end

report is a raw transcript of the interview, which aims to let the reader travel to the conclusion in the same manner the researcher did. The Norwegian guru of academic in-depth interviewing style, Kvale (2007), strongly supported Bourdieu's methodology, where it reports "a little explicit textual interpretation of their interviews ... mainly let the many interviews reproduced in the text speak for themselves" (p. 118). Kvale cautioned that raw interview data only works when the report gives the social structure of the interviews beforehand. He also lauds Bourdieu for using the type of question line that leads the interviewees to give a self-analysis.

However, Bourdieu's method of question lines displayed the underlying dynamics of an interview as an interaction between researcher and subject. He called them "tape-recording sociologies" (Kvale, 2007, p. 4). In reality, however, his method was subjectively confrontational and alien to what other researchers consider good, objective question lines (Metzler, 1977). In a copy of his transcript in "The weight of the word – social suffering in contemporary society," he used sharp leading questions, even needling questions of two youths, such as the questions: "You are not telling me the whole story" or on another segment "What were you doing, bugging him?" (reprinted in Kvale p.4).

In the end, I discarded Bourdieu's style of interview method as described by Kvale because of the overtly confrontational style. Instead, I opted to use a more conventional method of probing questions, which still plays devil's advocate, but uses subtle techniques to draw out further information. Examples of this approach are acknowledging, contradicting, challenging, pausing, direct question, and procuring details, as recommended by Minichiello, Aroni and Hayes (1995). They advocated using *acknowledging*, which is a technique used

also in longer journalism interviews to link together the questions, which is in line with my own style to re-order and re-word the questions during the interview to fit in with the interviewee's speaking style. The follow-up questions would be drawn from the language or content of the participant's responses. This may sound spontaneous to a casual observer, but each question was carefully crafted to lead to the pre-arranged inquiry line, hence aligned to the "semi-structure" method defined by Minichiello (1990):

Semi-structured or focused interviews are modelled more closely on the loosely structured model of interviewing, than on the structured interview model. This means that while the topic area guides the questions asked, the mode of asking is closer to the more loosely structured interview process. Both loosely structured and semi-structured (or focused) interviews involve an in-depth examination of people and topics, and this is the most widely used format of qualitative interviewing (p. 52).

The question lines combined fact-finding and attitudinal exploration style questions as suggested by Minichiello et al. (1995), Metzler (1977), and Kvale (2007). For the most part the questions encouraged the editors to expand in their own narrative form. They elicited factual information, and then used more open-ended questions to gain attitudinal responses. Probing follow-up questions were used to clarify or expand areas of particular use to the research questions, such as when an editor revealed that she had cried in the newsroom I asked what were the circumstances and what was the reaction.

3.6.2 Researcher/Participant Relationship

Qualitative research relies on subjective analysis of the information, and in-depth interviews, in particular, requires subjective analysis at both the data-gathering stage and the data analysis stage. Researchers, therefore, must be aware of their own cognisance of the topic, which Elliot (2007) said is commonly called self-reflexivity. She argued that reflexive awareness is important in qualitative approaches, and she urges researchers to verbalise their relationships to the topic and participants.

One attribute of the in-depth interview method is its acknowledgement that the data collection may be ontological, but the data analysis relies on a complex relationship that is heavily dependent on the researcher's knowledge of what Bourdieu (1984) calls the *doxa* of the social field, which is the customs, non-verbalised rules, and taboos inherent in the newsroom environment. An important factor in these interviews was that I, as the researcher, previously had a career as a daily news journalist in New Zealand, and had worked alongside some of the journalists interviewed in this research. Having previous industry experience and personal relationships with participants has, as outlined by Minichiello, Aroni and Hays (1995), both strengths and limitations, and this is discussed further below. They said the advantages of being an "insider" are it offers better entrance to the field, an insight into topics that may escape other researchers, and that participants may have more trust of them (p. 188).

An academic researcher with previous journalism experience with the interview subjects has precedence in recent media research. One very similar example is journalist-turned-academic Louise North who conducted a comprehensive study of journalists in Australia (2009). North

argued that, “Experience in journalism and in the newsroom offers a significant insight that can be utilised to support theories and interview material” (p. 29). She also found during the course of her research interviews that “Academic research, therefore, allowed me access to journalists who would share ideas with me in a way that I had not previously experienced as a journalist” (p. 31). Other examples of journalist-turned-academic interviewing journalists were Alan Samson’s study on New Zealand newsroom plagiarism (2005), Amber Willard’s study of female journalists who have left the profession (2007), and Barbi Pilvre’s study of gender in the Estonian journalism culture (2004).

Although the interviewees told a chronological story of how the participants became editors, the analysis done later needed to put this into a contextual framework, in a method explained by Elliot (2007).

Much of the information about the social world that is available to sociologists is likely to be in narrative form.... Researchers make selections, have opinions about what is significant and what is trivial, decide what to include and what to exclude, and determine the boundaries, or beginnings and endings of their accounts (p. 14).

In the same vein, Kvale (2007) insisted that much of the success of a research interview is the trust built by the researcher. He emphasised that the researcher’s skill and ethics are paramount to the collection of the scientific knowledge (2007). The knowledge produced depends on the relationship of the interviewer and interviewee, which again rests on the ability to create a stage where the subject feels free to safely talk of private events for later use. North (2009) said this requires a delicate balance between the interviewer’s concern of pursuing knowledge and ethical respect for the integrity of the interview subject.

With these guidelines in mind, and my prior acquaintance with many of the interview participants, I put great emphasis on obtaining informed consent, and also ensuring the participants knew their rights in the interview. As all participants were journalists themselves and well experienced in news interviews, it was important for them to realise the difference between media interviews and academic interviews. The main foreignness for them was the softer interview approach, but more importantly was the retained possession they had over their words. In journalism interviews, once the interviewee is told something, it is “on the record”. Everything said is ethically and legally able to be distributed to a wider audience via the mass media (Metzler, 1977). The interviewee is not able to censor words once spoken. This is the environment to which the interviewees in this research were accustomed. During these interviews, however, they were told at the beginning that the research interviews were different: they could alter, delete or add to anything they said, even at a much later time. They were given this information at the set up stage, at the beginning of the interview, and again at the completion of the interviews.

Although Kvale (2007), Denzin (1994) and Minichiello (1990) put much emphasis on the researcher’s part in the interview, my extensive experience and knowledge of the newsroom environment could have been both a value and a detractor, in much the same way as described by Minichiello, Aroni, and Hayes (1995) above. The value of having previously been a journalist helped me translate the interviewee’s newsroom jargon without interrupting the flow of the interviews with unnecessary explanatory questions. It was valuable in helping interviewees pinpoint dates and extraneous events that were hazy in their recollection. It was also valuable in that I had the ability to put the information into context based on historical experiences with the same people, events and environment described in the narratives. One

other possible value may have been the interview participants' readiness to be interviewed. It is not clear if they would have been so open to another academic researcher, but they very quickly agreed to be part of this study, many saying it was an examination long overdue in New Zealand. I contacted all the female editors on the same day to tentatively ask if they would participate, and within 24 hours all had responded positively and with suggested times and dates for the interview. The two media company executives, who had worked closely with me as a journalist in previous years, also both shifted their schedules to ensure time to be interviewed for this research.

However, the drawback to the interviewee and interviewer sharing the newsroom culture was that it puts additional pressure on the researcher to remain objective in observing the information from an academic point of view. As an example, the researcher has to exercise restraint and the appearance of objectivity by not interrupting the interview or cutting the response off by agreeing too readily to a description a participant may give of another person or event when it is a shared opinion. Also the participants/researchers also need to avoid making assumptions based on their own opinions and experience.

Some of these limitations of being a journalist-academic were overcome by repeating back information to the interviewees to give them a chance to correct misrepresentations, and also by cross-checking observations with other similar studies overseas, as was done with the Checklist described in Chapter 6. One other practice I employed in an attempt to help the participants not slip into too much of a friendship style chat was to use a large audio recorder that was put obviously within their eye line. Although many researchers advocate using tiny unobtrusive recorders (Ross, 2009), I decided that more important than relaxing the

participants was ensuring they remembered this was a formal discussion with their comments going into an academic study.

3.6.3 Theory Construction

This study developed questions based on responses from a prior reference group of daily newspaper journalists. The ensuing in-depth interviews were not trying to prove or disprove a particular theoretical concept. Instead, they began with observations, and used these to later develop theories, as prescribed by Bryman (2004). Although the interviews explored various theories with the interviewees, such as Bourdieu's social field theory (2005), and Melin-Higgins's (2008) gender coping strategies, the planning stage of the interviews did not hypothesise a theoretic model. It was later that the interviews were analysed with a view to developing the theoretical model reported in Chapter 8.

3.6.4 Interview Sample

The sample to be interviewed initially was women who were currently daily newspaper editors. However, when the research method was being determined, there existed only one female editor in the country. A single interview would be unlikely to lead to useful analysis. In an attempt to widen the sample to gain more insight into female editors, the sample criteria was expanded to include all women who had been daily newspaper editors from 2000 to the beginning of 2010, whether or not they were still editors. Limiting the sample to these dates ensured that participants' experiences were relatively recent; that this was the same period used for the survey of journalists in Research Question Two; and it gave a healthy sample size of nine female editors.

This sample seemed to be a census (everyone in the population of influence) as there are indications from the industry and other journalism academics that I interviewed the complete list of women editors since 2000. The names were determined by personal knowledge, by contacting management at the newspapers, and talking to the executives of the two largest media chains, Fairfax and APN. The participants had a range of editorial experiences. One woman is believed to be the most successful woman editor in New Zealand history, having been an editor for 10 years, stepping down only because of ill health, and had edited two of the country's five metropolitan newspapers. A second woman had edited two provincial newspapers over a five-year period. Another three women had recently gained editorships at the time of the interviews, although one had been an editor previously in Australia. (All except one resigned their editorship before I got to the analysis stage of this research.) Four other women had previously edited provincial newspapers and had left the position after serving from between two and five years.

In addition to interviewing the female editors, I also conducted in-depth interviews with three women who had attained senior management positions. One was editor for five years of a high profile Sunday newspaper; one held editorial management positions in two metropolitan newspapers for 26 years; and one was an award-winning reporter for two metropolitan newspapers over the past 14 years. The specific criteria for this sample were that the female journalist, had attained a significantly-senior level, was well-experienced in daily newspaper journalism, and had some management experience.

After conducting the interviews, it emerged that most of the female editors had been heavily influenced in their decision to apply for the job by two particular men. These two men were also interviewed as part of the research. They were both no longer involved in the newsroom, but at the time of the interviews were media executives coincidentally in charge of hiring newspaper editors, and worked for competing media companies.

The majority of the female editors indicated that this was the first time they had ever been asked in-depth questions about their career path to editorship. There were other indications, however, that some were reluctant to talk candidly to executives within the industry about their decisions to leave the position, but were happy to share information with me as an independent academic researcher for this study. All were extremely cooperative and supportive of this research and were generous with their time. Most participants were happy to have their names used, but for consistency it was decided that all comments would be anonymous, and the researcher would take precautions to ensure confidentiality surrounded key information. However, all participants agreed to have their names and editorship mastheads listed in Chapter 6.

The structural elements of the interview can be a vital part of the process and provide an important link between the research and the narrative, as argued by Labov and Waletzky (1967). Therefore, this section outlines the careful consideration given to the structural elements of these interviews. Each interview was conducted at a quiet venue at a time and date most appropriate for the respondent. The majority were conducted at a neutral venue, such as a café or library, away from their work. Two were done in their office at their request. One was conducted at her home, again at her request. Seven required travelling to

other cities, and one had to be conducted on the telephone. All were done in the middle of the day, either when the participants were on a break from work, or on a day off.

In summary, in-depth interviews were conducted with 14 industry leaders in 2008 and 2009, comprised of nine female editors who served from 2000 through 2009; two male executives of the main newspaper companies in New Zealand; and three senior female newspaper journalists.

3.6.5 Interview Questions

The questions were conducted in the traditional style set out for focused semi-structured interviews (Bryman, 2004; Elliot, 2007; de Vaus, 2002), which requires a general question guide, but offers latitude to the interviewee to bring in extraneous information and offers flexibility to the researcher to alter the order and wording of the questions to suit the individual. The question line had a clear focus on their editorial career, given to the subject beforehand. The detailed question line is contained in Appendix 4. There were five parts to the question line. The first four were background information, their views on being a daily newspaper editor, their views on being a female daily newspaper editor, and their opinions on academic theories in newsroom culture (Bourdieu's and Melin-Higgins's). The final part of the question line was the checklist of factors they thought helped their career.

The first ten questions were closely structured to gain background information, such as the participant's formal qualifications, what newsrooms she had worked in, how long she was an

editor, etc. This information, however, was not slavishly asked in questionnaire style. The researcher asked how they got to be an editor. Often the answers to the basic ten questions came out during the opening response, which is a common occurrence in in-depth interviews, as described by Elliot (2007).

Following the opening responses, the interview turned to their opinion of being an editor and being one of the few female editors. The question lines during the interview were altered to flow with the conversational style of the interviewee. I also used the journalistic method of follow-up questions, whereby a comment from the interviewee's response is used to bridge the next question to the intended focus (Metzler, 1977). This meant that each interview took a different and unique flow, but still extracted the same information from each editor. This technique relied on Metzler's theory of "aggressive listening" which recommends researchers come to the interview process well-prepared in order to then be able to hear the nuances and slight deviations from the expected responses.

Prior to the interviews the participants were given the areas of discussion that would be covered in their interview, and were sent this email from me:

The main thrust of my questions will be to get your thoughts on what characteristics a woman needs to become an editor, and why so few women attain that position (especially considering the high proportion of women as junior and intermediate reporters). I also want to know why you originally got into journalism.

This preview ensured they were well aware of how the interview would be structured and the expectations for the narratives. Aligned with my clear focus for the questions was the data sheet and previous conversations with each respondent.

The interview started with the question “how did you get into journalism” which allowed the participants to describe in their own style why and when they began their journalism career. They were asked follow-up questions in order to get the background information on their age and education when they first entered journalism, which media they had worked at, and what rounds or positions they held, how long they have been in journalism (if there were any breaks), and how long they had been an editor.

The second set of questions asked their viewpoint of being an editor, such as how they became an editor, why did they rise to that level when others didn’t, what characteristics are needed to be an editor, how/when did they decide to become an editor, what are their future plans.

The third set of question focused on their opinion of being a female editor. They were asked to explain the barriers and encouragements they faced, the difficulties they saw for other women, the reasons they became one of the few women to become an editor, and the reasons other women left the industry earlier in their career. They were then asked what they had to sacrifice to be an editor, and how they balanced family with the job.

In addition to the traditional question-and-response interview style, the editors were asked to agree or disagree with a written checklist of opinions about their career path, as shown in Appendix 5. The checklist used the same method and wording as a survey of top editors of American daily newspapers of more than 50,000 circulation, *The Great Divide* (Selzer, 2002). This exploratory approach provided an opportunity to gauge similarities and

differences in how editors in the two countries saw their career. However, different methods used in the research meant the answers given by editors in the United States and New Zealand cannot be compared directly. The checklist for the New Zealand editors was developed from Selzer's research and contained 23 factors editors thought helped them in their career (such as having started in a larger newspaper, won awards, found a mentor) and 17 factors editors thought that given the chance they would have done differently to help their career (such as gaining further education, being more self-promoting, and getting more reporting experience). An additional question asked about the value of gaining an overseas fellowship, as there were indications that fellowships were seen important to New Zealand journalists, although American journalists had not mentioned this factor. In Selzer's research, however, the American participants were not given a list of factors to tick as were my participants. Selzer's participants were asked open ended questions and the checklist was developed from common themes or answers from more than 200 respondents. These included assistant editors as well as editors. My method included only nine female editors, who were asked to tick off a pre-printed checklist of possible changes they would have made to their career.

The last part of the interview gave the participants the chance to give their opinion on two newsroom culture theories. They were shown a short paragraph explaining the theory, and it was explained verbally. The first was Bourdieu's theory that newsrooms have their own unique culture, and it is a culture particularly more comfortable for men. They were asked if they had observed this, and if so to give examples and explain how they personally overcame it. The second was Melin-Higgins's theory that female journalists who work long term in daily newspapers adopt one of four coping tactics: Opting Out (by freelancing or contract

work); by Adopting Softer Jobs (such as advertorials, newsroom administration, light features); Becoming Masculine-Like (hard-talking and being “one of the boys”); or Specialising (being the best political reporter, best business reporter, etc.). At the conclusion of the interview the participants were asked if they had any further comments or observations.

3.6.6 Interview Transcription

The interviews were recorded on a digital recorder with a unidirectional external microphone. This was placed comfortably near the participants, but still visible and obvious. Before and after the interview participants were reminded that they could withdraw any comments they had made at any time. This recording was then uploaded in a single digital file to a computer, where the researcher transcribed it into text, as a “clean” transcription, which eliminates non-lexicon utterances, false starts, pauses, intonations, etc. (Elliot, 2007).

The planning stage identified that the transcripts would be used to analyse content, not conversational style, so, as advised by Elliot, the detailed verbal interaction was not needed. Nevertheless the digital recording was filed in its totality in case this extra information was needed later. The respondents were told verbally and in writing that the recordings and transcripts would be destroyed at the end of the project, as set out in the Interview Information in Appendix 7. The interviews, conducted between September 2008 and January 2009, lasted between 60 and 90 minutes, although there was considerable communication prior to and after the interviews by telephone, face-to-face or internet.

3.6.7 Interview Ethics Considerations

As required by Massey University's research guide lines, and also as considered to be good interview practice (Kvale, 2007; Minichiello, Aroni, & Hayes, 1995), an information sheet was provided to respondents before the interview, which outlined safeguards for their information. Massey University's Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations Involving Human Participants is in line with Section 6 of the Education Act 1989. The code stipulates researching staff are "required not only to abide by ethical principles such as justice, truthfulness, confidentiality and respect for persons, but also to attend to the evolving understanding of how these principles are expressed in society at particular time" (MUHEC, 2006, p. 5).

This research had no implications for the Treaty of Waitangi, but did fall into the category of being vigilant about informed and voluntary consent. The code specifies:

Participation in any research project, teaching or evaluation programme must be voluntary and based on understanding of adequate and appropriate information about what such participation will involve. Researchers have a responsibility to provide prospective participants with all information relevant to their decision to participate, in a manner comprehensible to prospective participants (p. 8).

The information sheet outlined the project, the confidentiality given to the participants, and the guarantee that the material would be destroyed at the end of the project. Each interviewee signed a form to agree to the interview being recorded. The participant who was interviewed on the telephone was given the agreement verbally, captured on the recording and filed with the transcript, in accordance with the code's recommendation for these instances, "A spoken

statement on a tape or a list of participants at a *hui* would be appropriate in such circumstance” (p. 8).

To ensure confidentiality, I transcribed the interviews myself, and filed them on my personal computer hard drive. The hardcopies were kept in a secure folder along with their approval forms. Also in line with University procedure, this project was screened and filed as notification of low risk research/evaluation involving human participants, completed on July 24, 2007.

3.7 Summary

The examination of research methods concluded that three approaches, which combine mixed qualitative and quantitative methods, would be used to explore the three research questions. A content analysis of 13,147 newspaper articles in the five metropolitan newspapers would be used to answer Research Question One. A survey gaining attitudes of 171 new-career journalists would be used to answer Research Question Two. A series of 14 in-depth interviews exploring the barriers and enticers faced by female daily newspaper editors would be used to answer Research Question Three. The combination of these three different research approaches lead to a better understanding of the overall question about the gender power imbalance in New Zealand newspaper journalism. The following three chapters report the results of the three research approaches. The first is Chapter 4, which includes the results of the content analysis to measure, compare and contrast the visibility of female produced content in the five metropolitan newspapers.

Chapter Four: RESULTS of CONTENT ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter reports the results of the first of the three research approaches used to explore the gender power imbalance in New Zealand newspaper journalism. The first method was a content analysis of five metropolitan newspapers, which examined the level of gender balance in the authorship of articles over a four week period in July 2005. This chapter also includes the results of a small survey of the sample newspaper editors' opinions on the results of the content analysis. It examines the data and opinions in light of Research Question One.

RESEARCH QUESTION ONE: What is the visibility of female journalists in New Zealand's metropolitan newspaper environment, as measured externally by monitoring bylines? Two sub-questions provided a sharper focus: 1(a) What percentage of the bylines overall and by topic area (called "rounds" within the industry) is produced by women journalists? 1(b) What are the reasons for the results, according to the metropolitan newspaper editors?

The authorship was measured by tallying bylines. These consist of the name of the reporter or reporters who wrote the article and are usually placed between the headline and the story. This chapter first reports the overall tallies from all five newspapers, followed by disaggregated figures by newspaper, and finally disaggregated figures by newspaper topic section. Then, in section 4.6, it presents the comments of editors from four of the five metropolitan papers on the authorship figures.

Content analysis is a vital part of this research because it is an unobtrusive method of examining how the newspapers are treating stories written and produced by female journalists, as described in Chapter 3. This became a foundation for the subsequent research investigation and questions, as it pinpointed what topics female journalists were assigned to cover, and the relative importance they were given in the newspapers.

4.2 The Collection Sample

The sample covered the daily newspapers in the five metropolitan areas: *New Zealand Herald* (Auckland), *Dominion-Post* (Wellington), *Waikato Times* (Hamilton), *The Press* (Christchurch), and *Otago Daily Times* (Dunedin).

The number of articles printed in the five metropolitan newspapers during the time period from July 1 to July 31 of 2005 was 13,147 articles, and those with bylines coded and recorded for this study made a total of 6,686. This was a comfortably large sample compared to other nationwide gender and media content analysis, such as 137 articles in the New Zealand part of the Global Media Monitoring Project (Fountain, 2005b), 458 articles in Cho's (2004) study of Korean newspapers, 900 articles in Armstrong's (2004) study of gender correlation of reporter and source for the story, and 1,400 articles in Craft and Wanta's (2004) study on the effect female editors had on the news agenda.

Usage of bylines varied from newspaper to newspaper as well as among sections within the newspaper. The *Otago Daily Times* put bylines on almost every article written by one of its journalists, no matter how small the story, and also on commercial features. It used more photographs of reporters alongside the bylines compared to other newspapers. The *Waikato Times*, on the other hand, put bylines only on articles more than 16 centimetres in length. *The Press* tended to use more multiple-bylines (three or more authors) and bylines on international articles, whereas other newspapers left international articles un-bylined. The *Dominion-Post* included bylines on more front page articles compared to other newspapers. In all the newspapers, the articles without bylines tended to be those authored by journalists, not employed by the newspaper studied, such as agency copy, articles from overseas, and media releases.

During the collection period, the newspapers covered a wide variety of stories that were often of localised interest to each newspaper, but there were two notable events that commanded headlines in all newspapers. The first was the bombing of the London underground subway system on July 5, 2005, which affected many New Zealanders. All newspapers placed several stories on this topic on their front pages for two days. The second notable event was the Lions Rugby Tour of New Zealand, with stories about this often placed in the sports section, unless the team was playing within a newspaper's circulation region at which time it was placed in the news section. The Lions tour also impacted on the tally of gender authorship, as Fairfax Media assigned a female journalist, award-winning feature writer Keri Welham, to travel with the team and cover the tour from a features point of view, rather than a sports point of view. Her stories were counted as sports stories if they ran in the sports section, otherwise they were counted as national/local news, and in many instances as front

page news. Other notable news events that appeared in all of the newspapers during the sampling period were the announcement of the date of the national elections, and the opening of the New Zealand located film, King Kong.

4.3 Data Coding

The data were collected from hard copies of the newspapers, every edition for the month of July 2005. As detailed in Chapter 3, the year was chosen to coincide with the same year monitored in the Global Media Monitoring Project 2005, thereby allowing a direct comparison of the results. July was chosen because it avoided any significant event that would skew results, such as elections, statutory holidays, or monumental overseas events such as the Tsunami six months earlier that dominated the News sections for six weeks. Unlike studies in the northern hemisphere, July is mid-winter, so unlikely to have many regular staff on summer break. A four-week period ensures that most staff rosters would have revolved at least twice, and any significant reporters on annual holiday would have returned within that period.

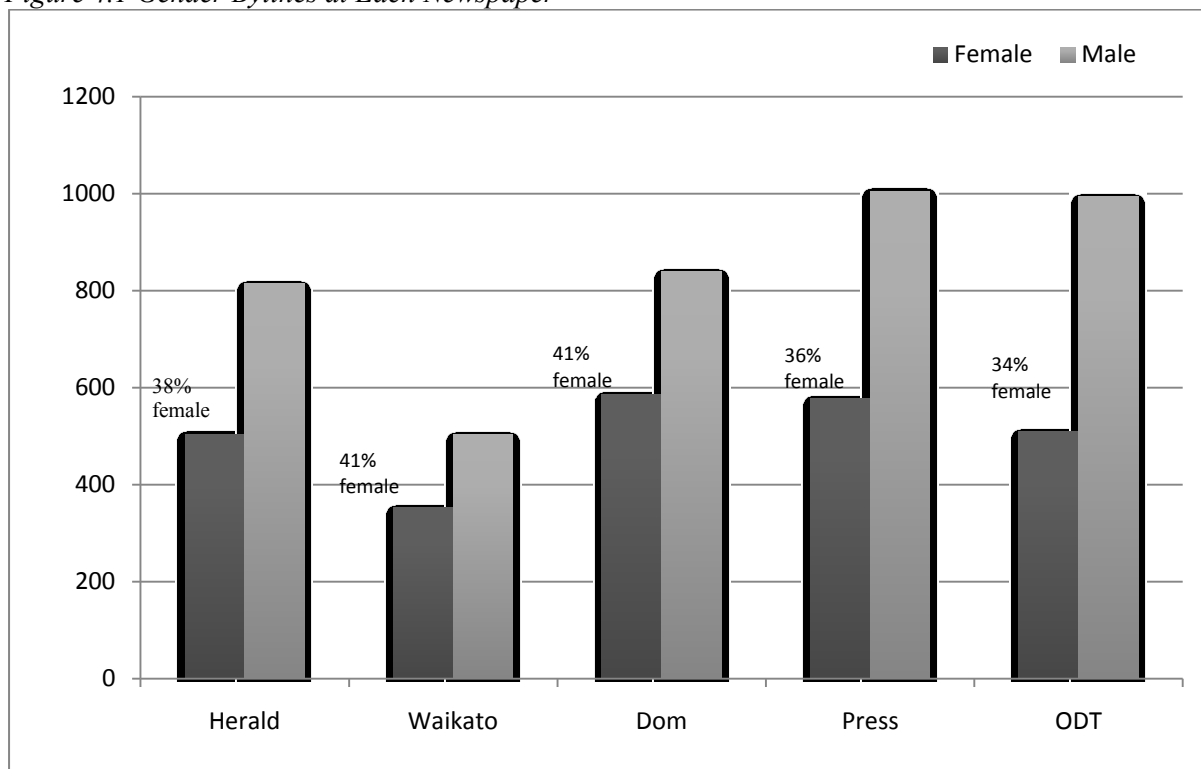
The data coding was corroborated with Massey University researcher Dale Pfeiffer. There was a 15% double coding schedule, with a 90% correlation rate. Shoemaker (2003) advises that above 80% is considered “very good”. Data were sorted into articles with male bylines, and those with female bylines. An article would count double, or even triple, if it contained more than one byline, although this was a very small proportion. If the gender of the reporter

was not clear from the name or personal knowledge, the newspaper or providing news agency was contacted. The results of six different reporting topics were examined (in alphabetical order): business, editorial/opinion, features, front page articles, national/local news, and sports. As described in Chapter 3, these are the same organisational sections of the newspaper with separate section editors and designated journalists. The original coding included farm news articles as a separate segment, but, because of the small number of articles, they were combined with national/local news. The original coding also included news features and commercial features; however, I later realised that features did not need to be sub-divided so minutely. Because the number of articles was small and the proportions of the gender of authorship were similar, both types of features were combined into one category.

4.4 Overall Results

The results clearly showed that the majority of articles were authored by men, with female bylines accounting only about a third of all the bylines. In all sections of every newspapers females authored 2529 (38%) articles and males authored 4157 (62%) of the articles.

Figure 4.1 Gender Bylines at Each Newspaper



Herald (*New Zealand Herald*), Waikato (*Waikato Times*), Dom (*Dominion-Post*), Press (*The Press*), ODT (*Otago Daily Times*)

The same trend was evident in each of the individual newspapers. The difference between them was inconsequential, with female bylines ranging from 36% to 41%. Some newspapers ran more articles than others, and some ran more bylined articles, compared to un-bylined articles, but this did not skew the overall percentages to any great degree. As seen in Figure 4.1, the *Dominion-Post* and the *Waikato Times* both owned by Fairfax Media, had the best gender balance in terms of bylines (both 41% female bylines). The worst gender balance was the independently-owned *Otago Daily Times* (34% female bylines). The largest circulation newspaper in the country, APN-owned *New Zealand Herald* came in third (38%) followed by another Fairfax-owned newspaper, *The Press*.

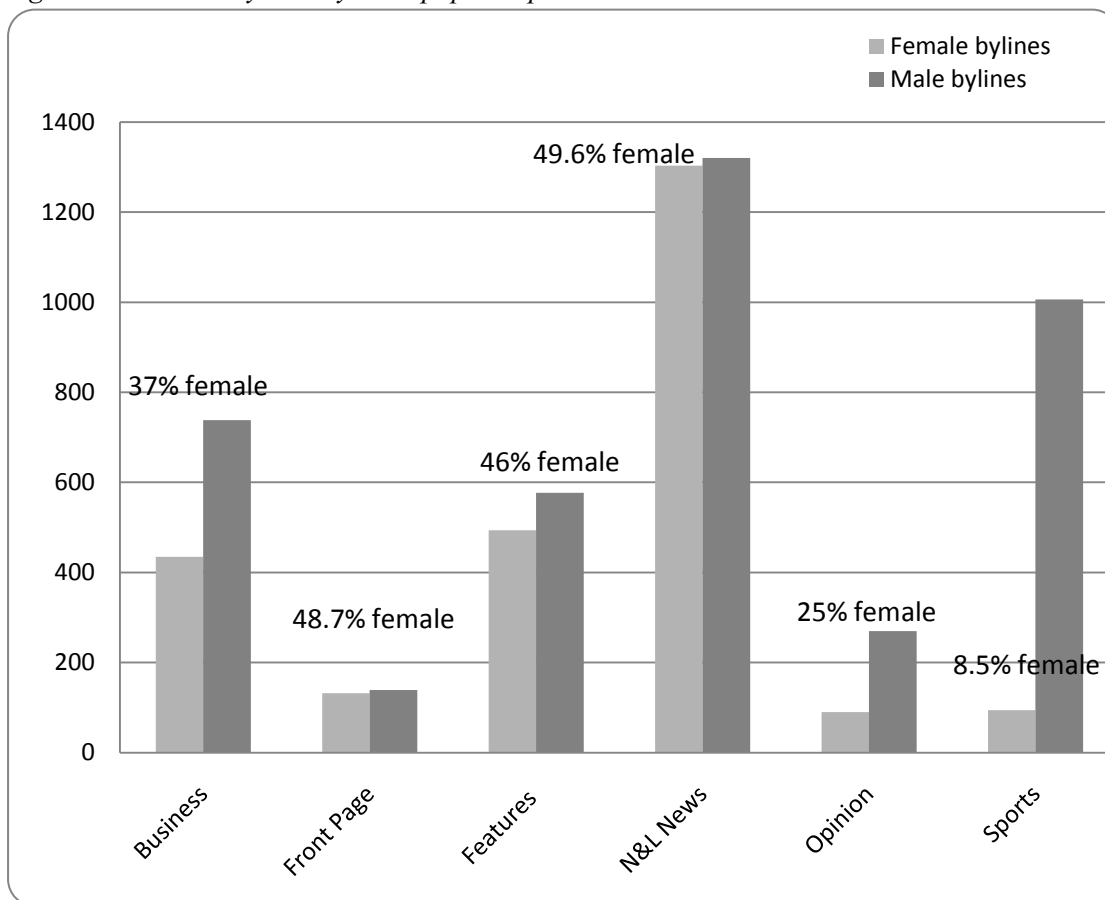
4.5 Disaggregation by Newspaper Topic Section

These overall figures do not show the whole story, as there were some large variations between different sections of each newspaper. Figure 4.2 illustrates that the majority of articles were national/local news, followed by sports, business and feature, with the smallest number in editorial and front page.

National/Local news was the largest category, and is an area of newspaper management influence, as this topic is covered by the newspaper's own staff in the way of reporters, stringers, and gallery staff. The 2,623 articles in this section included the hard news subjects of crime, local authority, national politics, transport, etc., as these are seen as directly affecting the newspapers' target audience. The graph (Figure 4.2) shows the gender division of bylines for national/local news was just about even, with female 49.6% and male 50.4%.

Front page articles were similarly fairly gender balanced: female bylines (48.7 %) and male bylines (51.3%). This is a significant category as the front page is where the management places the best and most important articles, traditionally considered the "hardest" news of the day. Each front page had only about three articles each day; hence the overall number of articles in this section is small, only 271. As shown in Table 4.1, the largest-circulation newspaper in the country, *The New Zealand Herald*, stood out in its high ratio of front page stories written by women journalists, at 64%, followed by the capital city's *Dominion-Post* with 55%.

Figure 4.2 Gender Bylines by Newspaper Topic Section



Feature section articles were authored more by men than women, but again, like front page and national/local news, it was nearly a balanced ratio. Female bylines were on 494 feature articles (46%) and male bylines on 577 articles (54%). The *Dominion-Post* had the highest percentage of features written by women (50%) which was an exactly even division on gender authorship. The *Otago Daily Times* had the lowest percentage of articles written by women (40%) with the rest of the newspapers in between these two results. Feature articles included consumer interest and in-depth political and health articles, as well as the more commercial columns that included reviews of travel, books, food, real estate, gardening, etc., the type of articles considered “soft news”.

Business section articles totaled 1,173 and showed a wider gap between female bylines (37%) and male bylines (63%) than the previously discussed sections above. Business articles usually were printed in a separate fold-out section of the newspaper, and some newspapers gave the topic more emphasis than others did. The *Dominion-Post* stood out as publishing more business articles than the other newspapers. Its female business reporters turned out highly-placed articles on a regular basis, frequently dominating the front of the business section. In addition, many of the stories were reprinted in other Fairfax-owned newspapers. However, the tally of all articles for the month revealed that female journalists overall still accounted for only 38% of the bylines in the *Dominion-Post* business section. It was a similar percentage at *New Zealand Herald* (30%). The *Otago Daily Times* ran fewer business articles, and only had 13 female bylines in this section in the entire month (10%). The *Press*, on the other hand, printed more business articles with female bylines (51%) than males, and the *Waikato Times* printed an almost equal number of business articles with female bylines (47%).

Opinion articles were very male-dominated, with only 25% written by women. This gender imbalance is made further visible to readers by the page layout, as most articles included the picture of the writer as well as his or her name. Opinion sections included unsigned editorials written by the newspaper and letters-to-the editor, both of which are not considered “articles” for this analysis. The majority of articles in this section, however, were opinion columns written regularly by senior journalists and community leaders. Opinion articles are usually commissioned by the newspaper editor, and run every week or fortnight over a long term. There were often only six each day; hence the low overall numbers (360). The *Waikato Times* stood out with almost half of its opinion columns written by women (47%). At the

other end of the spectrum was the *Otago Daily Times*, which printed a very small percentage of opinion columns by women (7%), and the majority of these were written by a university student representative.

Table 4.1 Percentage of Female Bylines by Newspaper and Topic Section

% female bylines	NZ Average	<i>Dominion Post</i>	<i>NZ Herald</i>	<i>ODT</i>	<i>Press</i>	<i>Waikato Times</i>
Business	37	38	30	10	51	47
Opinion	25	28	27	7	20	47
Features	46	50	47	40	44	49
Front Page	48.7	55	64	36	39	44
National & Local News	49.6	56	51	47	44	55
Sports	8.5	11	9	5	11	9

Sports articles showed the widest gap between male and female bylines. Overall female bylines accounted for only 8.5% and males 91.5%. Sports news was a significant part of all five of the sample newspapers, with 2,769 articles, 1,100 of them had a byline. In some newspaper's sport sections only a small handful of articles contained bylines by women. None of the newspapers showed any leadership in balancing the gender make-up of their sports section. The lowest was 5% in *Otago Daily Times* and the highest was 11% at two Fairfax newspapers, *The Press* and the *Dominion-Post*.

4.6 Editors' Comments on the Observed Figures

The statistical results of the content analysis raised questions of why female journalists produced significant amounts of news for the “hard” sections but were noteworthy as a minority in opinion and sports sections. The editors of the newspapers included in the survey were approached and asked to suggest reasons for the results obtained. All five editors are men, and four responded to the request. They have not been named here in order to facilitate open discussion.

In general, the metropolitan newspaper editors said the reason for a high proportion of female bylines on national/local news stories was simply because half of reporters employed in this area are female. One editor wrote:

We place an emphasis on health, education and crime stories (probably like the other major papers: there's no mystery here, readership studies have shown these are of high interest). Both our health reporters are women, our two education reporters were, until recently, both women and one of our two crime reporters is also female. There's no deliberate policy to place women on those rounds...we simply review the staff we have and decide who has the reporting skills needed.

However, the editors noted that women do not tend to stay in the journalism industry long term, thereby not working up to the specialised areas of business and opinions. “Women tend to stay less time in the game, getting out before they get to senior ranks,” said one editor,

“Sometimes it’s frustration at the time it takes to get there, better alternatives, family or child pressures and financial pressures as well.”

On the subject of the low proportion of females writing opinion pieces, one editor said the problem was finding reliable female correspondents:

[W]e have had a bad slew in favour of male columnists... We consider this a problem and are always searching for women who can write regularly and effectively... The difficulty is finding those who can write well, make a cogent argument and sustain this contribution 52 weeks a year.

Another editor noted that this just reflects society:

In general terms, more men are still in positions of influence in academia, business, politics, and government than women (although, of course, that is changing), and those are the usual writers of op-ed pieces.

This comment was made at the same period that women held many of the very top jobs in government and corporations, such as the country’s prime minister, chief justice, governor general, and CEO of Telecom.

Sports was the section with the lowest proportion of female journalists, and one editor noted that there is very low turnover of staff in sports; hence fewer opportunities for young journalists to break into this area. The general feeling among the editors was that, in the relatively rare cases where positions as sports journalists arise, women are not interested or competent to fill them. “I haven’t had a quality female writer apply for a sports job here in three years,” one editor said. Another suggested a list of reasons why women do not enter

sports journalism: “little interest in sport, too blokey a sector, limited career path, has to be a former player to really get a chance.”

Despite more women than men training to become journalists, the editors said many do not stay in the industry long term, nor do they wish to do sports or opinion pieces. While the editors suggested the demands on journalists do not suit women, none of the editors suggested in the open-ended questions that the newspapers needed to change their workplace practices or culture to improve matters. The workplace practices and culture are discussed further in Chapter 7.

4.7 Summary

This part of the study used content analysis to measure bylines to answer Research Question One, on the visibility of female journalists in New Zealand’s five metropolitan daily newspapers. The answer was fairly clear, female journalists’ bylines accounted for only 38% of bylines, despite the fact females comprise half the population and, according to other studies, they dominate the media industry. The results show that all five metropolitan newspapers published considerably more articles by male journalists.

In each newspaper, the ratios were similar, with female journalists accounting for 34% to 41% of the bylines at each newspaper. The highest female ratio was 41%, at both the *Dominion-Post* and *Waikato Times*, and the lowest was 34% at the South Island *Otago Daily Times*. There was no trend in the figures as to ownership of the individual newspapers.

The disaggregated results also showed that articles authored by women did not exceed those by men in any section of the newspapers. Female bylines were lacking particularly in sports, business and opinions. On the positive side, women produced an almost equal number of stories in the “hard” news sections, which are the front page and national/local news.

However, the situation is more complicated than it first appeared. When the different sections in each individual newspaper were examined, sub-question 1(a), it appeared that there were pockets of female byline dominance in some newspapers. Female bylines were the clear majority on front page stories on two newspapers, the *New Zealand Herald* and the *Dominion-Post*. They were also prevalent in the national and local news section of three newspapers (the *New Zealand Herald*, the *Dominion-Post* and the *Waikato Times*), as well as in the business section of *The Press*. At the other end of the spectrum, however, female journalists were relatively invisible on the sports pages and in opinion pieces of all newspapers.

The second part of the research question, sub question 1(b), asked metropolitan newspaper editors to comment on the reasons for the percentages. They said that in general newsrooms tend to be half female, and this accounts for the high proportion of female bylines on the national and local news pages. However, the editors said many women subsequently leave the industry and few make it into a senior position, which is required to write for business or opinion pages. Looking at the sports desk, the editors confirmed staff levels are overwhelmingly male and unlikely to change because of entrenched staff and the attitude that women cannot do the job nor want to do the job. The editors said the relative lack of female opinion writers may reflect a lack of females in senior positions in the community at large,

although they made no comment about the country's high number of female politicians and corporate leaders at the time of the survey.

It appeared from the research results that the relative feminisation of this country's newspaper newsroom is confined to the ranks of young news reporters, and judging from the editors' comments this will continue if the current newsroom culture remains the status quo. It appeared from the editors' comments that gender balance in authorship is hampered by the exodus of female journalists early in their newspaper career. The findings of this chapter prompted the attitudinal survey of new journalists to further ascertain the apparent exodus of some journalists from newspaper journalism. The next chapter describes the survey results and examines the reasons some journalists leave the newsroom early in their career.

Chapter Five: RESULTS OF ATTITUDINAL SURVEY

5.1 Introduction

This chapter reports the results of the second research method, a closed-sample web-based survey of journalists conducted in late 2008, which explored the attitudes of new-career journalists towards employment in the newspaper industry. This survey followed from the content analysis in the previous chapter, which paints the daily newspaper industry as a workplace staffed by competent new-entry women journalists who are given the respected hard news assignments. However, these women apparently (as demonstrated by the content analysis and confirmed by interviews with newspaper editors) seldom transfer to the more stable senior assignments such as business, editorial, and sports.

Using this picture of the environment, the survey explored the challenges and barriers as perceived by formally trained journalists. The journalists were previously students at Wellington School of Journalism from the years 2000 to 2008, thereby having reputable qualifications even before entering the industry. The surveyed journalists were asked their opinion of the industry when they first entered, and how that may have changed after working in it. The chapter presents the responses in light of the two-part second research question.

Research Question Two: How do early-career journalists describe their decision to remain in or leave the newspaper industry? What gender differences are there in the decision-making process?

First, the chapter covers the survey's response rate and the demographic profile of the respondents. Then it moves to their answers to questions about what originally enticed respondents into journalism, and if their experience in newspapers met those expectations. Those who still worked in daily newspapers were asked to give the reasons they remained in the industry. Those who had left the industry were asked to give the reasons they left and where they were then employed. Finally, the ex-students who were on their pre-career overseas experience were asked about their future intentions to work in daily newspapers. The main findings are presented first, followed by a detailed explanation and disaggregation of the survey tallies.

5.2 Survey Response Rate and Profile of Respondents

The response rate from those in the closed target sample who were sent the survey was very good by international standards for web-based surveys. Contacts were found for 237 former students: 171 of them completed the survey, representing 72% of the potential sample. The average response rate for an online survey is 30%, and anything over 60% is considered "good" (DIIA, 2007).

The rate of responses can be assessed from another viewpoint, looking at the total possible sample members (population of inference) rather than the total contacted sample members (response rate as discussed above). According to historic class lists, there were 261 students during the years of 2000 to 2008 and the members of the sample were the 237 whose current contact information was found. The survey was not able to be delivered to 33 email

addresses because they were no longer operative and other contact details were unavailable. The 171 responses, therefore, represent 65.5% of the population of inference over the eight year period, and again this is considered a strong response (Schonlau, 2002).

The high response rate could be attributed to the fact that I followed the suggestions from the University of Texas's Division of Instructional Innovation and Assessment (DIIA, 2007) to correspond with potential respondents beforehand to alert them to why and when the survey would be distributed. Another reason for the high response could be the familiarity with my name, as my prior experience as a New Zealand journalist and journalism academic meant that many had worked or studied with me previously.

The spread of respondents over the eight years ranged from 11 to 23 per course year. The general profile of the respondents mirrored the class roll profile over this period, which is described in Chapter 3 as a high percentage of women and largely between the ages of 19 and 26 at the time of the course. In line with this, the survey's respondents were 62.6% women, and 74.1% started journalism when aged in their 20s. The current location and domestic situation of the respondents also mirrored the demographics of New Zealanders; it has been estimated that a quarter of those in their 20s go overseas after graduation, leaving three-quarters (75%) still in New Zealand (Collins, 2005). In this survey 128 (74.8%) of the respondents were still in New Zealand, and the bulk of those who were overseas were in England or Asia. About half of the respondents were single (48.8%) and a considerable majority had no children (82.4%). The profile of the survey's respondents is set out in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1 Survey Respondents' Profile

Gender	Response Percent	Response Count
Female	62.6%	107
Male	37.4%	64
Married status:	Response Percent	Response Count
Single	48.8%	82
Married/partnered	47.6%	80
No longer married	3.6%	6
<i>answered question</i>		168
Dependent children:	Response Percent	Response Count
None	82.4%	136
one or two	14.5%	24
more than two	1.2%	2
all grown	1.8%	3
<i>answered question</i>		165
Age when started journalism (not including the journalism course)	Response Percent	Response Count
under 20	5.4%	9
21 to 24 years old	48.8%	81
25 to 26 years old	11.4%	19
27 to 29 years old	13.9%	23
30 to 40 years old	13.9%	23
older than 40	6.6%	11
<i>answered question</i>		166
Current location	Response Percent	Response Count
North Island	66.1%	109
South Island	11.5%	19
Australia	5.5%	9
Pacific Islands	0.0%	0
England	9.1%	15
Europe	1.2%	2
North America	0.6%	1
Asia	6.1%	10
<i>answered question</i>		165

Now the profile information turns to what the respondents were doing currently with their journalism qualifications. This information aggregates the respondents by gender.

As Table 5.2 shows, the overall results for the 171 respondents who had completed their journalism training since 2000 showed that 101 (59%) were currently working in journalism. It also shows that men were more likely to still be working in journalism than women – 70.3% of the male respondents compared to 52.4% of the female respondents. Although the majority of former journalism students are in fact working in the media, more than a third of the women (37.4%) have left journalism completely compared to a fourth (25%) of the men who left.

However, as will be described later, the 56 respondents (32.7% of the sample) working outside journalism were not necessarily working outside the media. Many were in a field related to journalism, thereby using some of the skills and knowledge from their previous experience and education. Another 8.2% of the respondents were on their Overseas Experience, which is the traditional New Zealand practice of young adults going abroad for a few years after completing their education and before starting their career path. This group is examined separately, in Section 5.12.

Table 5.2 Respondents' Current Journalism Position

Currently working in journalism N=171	Female	Male	Total Sample	
Yes	56 (52.4%)	45 (70.3%)	101 (59.1%)	
No	40 (37.4%)	16 (25%)	56 (32.7%)	
On their OE (overseas before starting a career)	11 (10.2%)	3 (4.7%)	14 (8.2%)	
<i>Totals</i>	<i>107</i> <i>(100%)</i>	<i>64</i> <i>(100%)</i>	<i>171</i> <i>(100%)</i>	
Current journalists by medium N=101	Female	Male	Total Sample Percent	Total Sample Count
Daily newspaper	15 (26.8%)	19 (46.3%)	37.0%	34
Community newspaper	8 (14.2%)	7 (17.1%)	16.3%	15
Magazine	6 (10.7%)	3 (7.3%)	9.8%	9
Trade magazine/newspaper	2 (3.6%)	1 (2.4%)	4.3%	3
Television	6 (10.7%)	4 (9.8%)	10.9%	10
Radio	9 (16%)	4 (9.8%)	14.1%	13
On-line (or convergence)	3 (5.4%)	4 (9.8%)	7.6%	7
News agency	7 (12.5%)	3 (7.3%)	10.9%	10
<i>Totals:</i>	<i>56</i> <i>(100%)</i>	<i>45</i> <i>(100%)</i>	<i>(100%)</i>	<i>101</i>

As detailed in Table 5.2, daily newspaper was the most popular medium in which these journalists were working at the time of this survey, with 34 of the respondents there, followed by 15 in community newspapers, 13 in radio, 10 in television, 10 in news agency, 7 in on-line news, and 12 in various types of magazines, newspapers, or specialty periodicals. Gender was roughly even in each branch of the media, except in daily newspapers.

Newspaper journalism was still the most popular journalism field for women, as it was for men, but there was a much smaller ratio of women respondents working in newspapers compared to the ratio of men working in newspapers at the time of the survey. The proportions must be taken with care, however, because there were more women than men in the survey sample, (107:64) so the raw number of women in each field is more than the percentages suggest.

5.3 Reasons for Originally Entering Journalism

In the attitudinal part of the survey, the respondents were asked why they originally entered journalism, by rating eleven possible answers, shown in Table 5.3. As described in Chapter 3 the list of reasons were compiled from other similar studies and from responses from the reference group of nine journalists who were interviewed prior to designing the survey. Women were similar to men in rating most highly the response that they wanted to use their writing and interviewing skills (Likert rating average for female 4.49 and male 4.31 out of possible 5). The next most important reasons for deciding to study journalism were that they felt they could contribute to society and also that they wanted to be in the midst of current events. This was the same priority for both genders. The table shows that priorities were almost identical between the genders for all 11 reasons. The slight variations were that women wanted to contribute to society more than men (women 4.18 compared to men 3.68 out of a possible 5) and that men were more likely to enter journalism because they had a family member or friend who was a journalist (women 2.46 compared to men 2.71).

Table 5.3 Reasons For Originally Entering Journalism

	Female N=95	Male N=54
I could use my writing/interviewing skills	4.49	4.31
I believed I could contribute to society	4.18	3.68
I wanted to be in the midst of current events	4.09	3.65
I saw myself progressing up in the career	3.47	3.18
I felt there would always be a job	2.58	2.17
A family member or friend was a journalist	2.46	2.71
I wanted the bylines or being on air	2.33	2.02
It was a secure income	2.25	2.02
I wanted to meet famous people/sports stars	1.98	1.96
I liked the idea of having power	1.67	1.79
I never wanted to go into journalism	1.36	1.00

The respondents were asked to comment further about why they entered journalism, and 26 took the opportunity to do so. A woman who has been a journalist for six years wrote: “I like writing. It makes me happy.” A woman who left journalism after two years wrote: “I just wanted to write and learn about the world.” Positive comments about being able to write for a career were repeated in different words by about three-quarters of the women who chose to comment.

The six men who explained further why they went into journalism mainly expressed a passion for learning new things. One said, “I was/am a news junkie”, a second said, “to be constantly learning new things and to have a good general knowledge of what is going on around me,” and a third said, “I wanted to hear about interesting events first-hand. I wanted to tell stories.”

Other comments from women supported their original aspiration to be in the midst of current events. These quotes focused on the passion and excitement of news and especially on being

able to learn new things or keeping up with events in the world. As an example, a woman who worked in a news agency said, “I felt a passion for journalism; I like writing and talking to interesting people ...” and a woman who worked four years in journalism before going into public relations wrote, “I loved news and current affairs, and was interested about the world.” In addition, many originally joined the course because of the social importance, as one woman put: “I believed it was a necessary requirement for a democracy,” and simply put by another woman, “It’s an important job.”

However, there were also pragmatic reasons for selecting this career, and three women mentioned it was a portable job they could use while travelling, or they could depend on a reliable paying job while saving up to go overseas. Another three female respondents said that the reason they went into journalism was to gain skills that would allow them to continue working after they had children. A woman who worked six years in journalism and was on maternity leave wrote, “I wanted a portable career, and one I could do from home when I had children.” A high profile reporter who had been in daily newspapers five years and had no partner said she liked “the idea of being able to freelance if I ever had a family.” Only one male said he wanted to combine work with his pastime, “I wanted to get paid to watch sport.”

5.4 Reasons for Remaining in Journalism

Only those who were working in journalism at the time of the survey were asked what they liked about working in journalism, and 88 of the 101 responded. The highest rated reason for staying in journalism was that the journalists enjoyed the basic skills of writing and

interviewing (Likert rating average for females 4.76 and males 4.26 out of a possible 5). The next most popular attractions to stay working in journalism were to be in the midst of current affairs and to contribute to society.

Table 5.4 Reasons Current Journalists Remained In the Career

	Female N=50	Male N=38
Journalism suits my skills	4.76	4.26
I like writing, interviewing	4.71	4.37
I want to be in the midst of current affairs	4.29	3.53
I contribute to society	4.15	3.51
I like the good social environment	3.98	3.32
I'm progressing up a career path	3.78	3.16
The job is portable	3.57	3.12
I'm receiving mentoring	3.50	2.61
I like a steady job	3.13	3.03
It pays adequately	2.86	2.48
I like flexible work hours/days	2.67	2.04
I like the decisive style of my supervisor	2.08	1.96
I like a high profile	1.64	1.89
I get to be with famous people/sports stars etc	1.33	1.35
I like the power – “to make or break” someone	1.21	0.94
I plan to quit soon	0.75	1.44

There were only small differences between female and male respondents in their reason to remain in journalism, except for one factor. The most noticeable difference between genders was their viewpoint about gaining mentoring. Women rated this 3.50 while men rated it 2.61 on the Likert scale. This answer does not necessarily mean women receive any more mentoring than men do, but it does indicate that women report that they appreciate and value it more than men do.

These reasons for enjoying journalism were similar to the reasons given for originally

deciding to enter journalism school. The survey gave the respondents an opportunity to add comments in their own words, and 55 of the respondents wrote enthusiastically about the fast pace and variety of the newsroom, such as, “Breaking stories is exciting,” and another said, “I like the changing unpredictable nature of my work - never know what will happen - and I like shortish deadlines - the thought of working on a 3-month-long research project leaves me cold.”

As reported above, the respondents were asked for their attitude to working in journalism, including all parts of the media. As the focus of this doctoral study is on daily newspaper journalism, the respondents were also asked their attitude to this section of the media in particular. Thereby, a comparison is able to be made between attitudes to journalism in general compared to daily newspaper journalism.

5.5 Reasons for Remaining in Daily Newspapers

The 34 respondents who were currently working in daily newspapers were asked to describe the appeal of remaining in daily newspapers, versus other fields of the media, and 30 (13 female/17 male) opted to give expanded opinions. As the focus of this study is on female journalists, the responses were divided by gender.

Thirteen of the 15 women wrote answers to this question, 80% of them using words like “the thrill of deadlines,” and “fast and furious” to describe why they are still working in the industry. A woman who had worked four years in daily newspapers wrote: “High adrenalin

= fun; always something new and unexpected.” Another woman who worked three years for the same daily newspaper wrote: “I love the daily deadlines, the variety, and the opportunity to meet so many different people. And I love to write.” Several of the respondents expressed satisfaction with the basic newspaper task of being independent and developing relationships with their sources to obtain or verify news stories. An indicator of their positive attitude to the newsroom experience was that almost every comment used the word “loved” or “liked” or “adored”. Although the number of respondents was small and cannot be considered indicative of a wider population, it was also worth noting that when this group was cross-tabulated with the multiple-choice answers shown in Table 5.4, seven of the 15 women currently working in newspapers felt they got good mentoring in the office, and a third (5/15) said being mentored was an important or very important reasons for their staying in the job. The feeling of getting career support by the daily newspaper journalists is worth noting as it is in direct contrast to the experience of women who left the industry, as reported in more detail in Section 5.7.

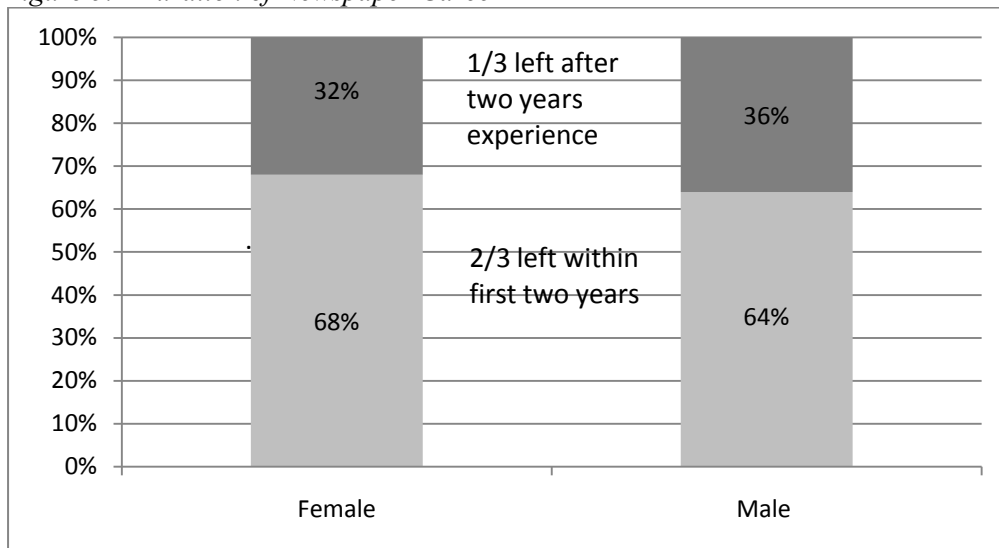
The comments from the 17 (out of 19) male newspaper journalists were less positive and superlative than their female colleagues, in answering why they preferred working in daily newspapers compared to other media. Like the women, a majority of the men also valued the variety and immediacy of work, such as the one who said he liked the constant flood of current events because “I’m a human ADSL cable”. Another wrote, “Picking up a story, finding a fresh angle and pursuing it to an end.” However, some comments contained a caveat that indicated less enthusiasm, such as the one who wrote, “Something different every day, the immediacy and pressure is exciting, sometimes.” Further analysing the language of the responses, however, it appeared that men, contrary to women, couched the comments in

comparison to other media jobs they thought were inferior; in other words, there was an indication that this job was simply better than other options. Some typical comments include “I’d freeze up in front of the mike or camera”... “no time to over-think or over-write”... “not getting bogged down with any one thing,”... “weeklies or magazines would be hard yakka, motivation-wise” ... “compared to community journalism I feel I’m writing about things that matter more.” The survey question did, in fact, invite a comparison, but none of the 15 women respondents said anything negative about other media options, whereas eight (36%) of the men did; in fact, three of the men were very negative towards their workplace and indicated they were looking to change careers. These men had worked in newspapers much longer than any of the women surveyed.

5.6 Gender Difference in Duration of Daily Newspaper Career

All respondents were asked how long they had worked in daily newspapers, if at all. The results showed that 101 had worked in daily newspapers at some time over the eight year period. They were also asked to give the duration of their employment at newspapers.

Figure 5.1 Duration of Newspaper Career



The majority of the respondents who had previously worked in daily newspapers left within two years. As shown in figure 5.1 the difference between female and male was minor, indicating that for many journalism graduates, going into daily newspapers is a short term experience, not necessarily a career.

In unit numbers, more women than men went into daily newspapers early in their career, but a higher proportion of women, compared to men, left the medium. Table 5.5 shows that 57 female respondents entered newspaper employment after gaining their qualifications, but 77% left for other employment, compared to the 52% men who left. This table shows that in general terms there is a steady exodus of both genders from newspaper employment, but that women leave at a faster rate.

Table 5.5 Exodus from Daily Newspaper Career

	Females entered dailies	Females remaining in dailies*	Males entered dailies	Males remaining in dailies*
2007	5	4	9	7
2006	9	3	6	3
2005	8	1	4	1
2004	10	1	5	1
2003	11	5	4	1
2002	4	0	6	4
2001	2	1	1	0
2000	8	0	6	3
TOTALS:	57	15	41	20
	77% females left dailies		52% males left dailies	

**respondents still in daily newspapers at the time of the survey*

As an example, the earliest course year surveyed, 2000, showed eight women had worked in daily newspapers, but none were still there when this survey was conducted eight years later. Conversely, for the same 2000 course year, seven men entered newspapers, and three were still there. Considering that there were more women students in each class, it is understandable that overall more women than men go into daily newspaper work at some time in their career. What is evident, however, even in such a small sample, is that a high percentage of women leave the field, so in the later years men become the more experienced journalists in the newsroom.

5.7 Reasons for Leaving Journalism

The next part of the research question was to explore the attitudes of the other group of former journalism students, the ones who no longer work in journalism. This group of 52

respondents (38 female and 14 male) were asked their reasons for leaving journalism. (This is not all the respondents who work outside of journalism, as some never worked in journalism after gaining their diploma). They rated (on a Likert scale) 16 possible reasons for leaving, which were developed from the literature and the reference group discussions. The non-journalist respondents were then asked what would attract them back into a journalism career, and also what would attract them back into daily newspapers (in contrast to returning to journalism in general).

The most highly rated factor given by both male and female respondents for leaving journalism as a whole was the better pay available elsewhere, as shown in Table 5.6. However, the Likert scale results show a difference in weighting by the two genders. It heavily influenced men's reason to leave (4.33 out of possible 5), and all other reasons were less important to them. For women, however, it was a lower weighting (3.69 out of possible 5) and was given the same importance as leaving to go overseas and to find a workplace with better hours. The comments related to this response included "I am earning 3x what I was as a journalist, with career options"... "I have a mortgage now, which I could never have managed on a daily newspaper salary"... "I couldn't make enough to pay back my student loan" and a woman who previously worked four years in newspapers, "I thought, if I can't earn good money here I may as well travel and have a great time."

The desire for better pay was coupled with a desire for better working hours for most of those same respondents. This was the same impetus to leave the jobs for both men and women, although women make up the bulk of those who left journalism for the better-paying jobs of public relations (18 women and 9 men). These respondents did not express animosity

towards the industry they left; in fact on the comment section more than 90% said they would return to journalism given the right circumstances.

Table 5.6 Reasons for Leaving Journalism

	Female N=38	Male N=14
Better income elsewhere	3.69	4.33
I went overseas	3.69	2.80
Better hours elsewhere	3.56	3.20
Better supervisors elsewhere	3.25	2.18
Personal circumstances	3.06	3.91
Disillusioned with journalism values	2.96	3.58
No jobs where I now live	2.54	3.00
Family commitments	2.53	2.80
The newsroom environment	2.50	1.73
I wasn't encouraged	2.40	2.33
I didn't pursue it after the course	2.38	3.50
The job dissolved	2.27	4.00
Too brusque or harsh supervisors	2.13	2.20
Tired of being confrontational to interviewees	2.08	1.11
No promotion in sight	2.00	1.86
My friends left	0.20	1.00

In analysing the reasons why respondents left journalism, there were no major differences between genders for many options, although there were three notable exceptions. One was that the men respondents put more emphasis on leaving journalism due to their job dissolving (over the recent few years there have been many redundancies in the media industry because of economic problems.) This was displayed in males rating higher than females that they left because the job dissolved (4.00 male/2.27 female) and/or there was no job where they were living (3.00 male/2.54 female).

The other two gender differences in why respondents left journalism were seen in the answers from women who said an important reason for leaving their job was there were better supervisors elsewhere (female 3.25 compared to male 2.18 on the Likert scale of 5) and

because of the newsroom environment (2.50 compared to males 1.73 on the Likert scale of 5). These two gendered results give an indication that women in particular leave because of the newsroom culture and its management. The particular reasons respondents left journalism is further explored in the interviews of senior newspaper journalists in Chapter 6, and is discussed in Chapter 7.

5.8 Family Commitment and Journalism

When cross-tabulating the answers, another profile that emerged as a gap between those in journalism and those outside was their domestic status. The gap was particularly evident in daily newspapers. Only 37% of those working in daily newspapers were married, which was similar for other areas of journalism, and this applied to both male and female respondents. But for those who left journalism, both women and men, it was a different picture, with 60% married or partnered. This was similar for whatever profession they entered after leaving journalism. However, most of these non-journalists do not have children, so we cannot assume that “family life” encouraged them to leave the high pressure journalism career; in fact only three respondents said they left to raise children. “Personal reasons” was ticked by 21 respondents, which included a wide array of issues, which the respondents defined for themselves, such as family illness, the newspaper downsizing, being lured by a better job, or going overseas.

5.9 What Would Attract Respondents Back To Journalism

Respondents who no longer worked as journalists were asked what would attract them back to journalism, and they could give multiple selections from the list of 12 possible reasons (therefore the totals are more than 100%). The main incentive, given by 75% of the females and 64.4% of the males, was “better income”, which correlates with the previous table that showed income was the main reason they left in the first place. This was the only option that more than half the respondents agreed on.

Table 5.7 What Would Attract Respondents Back To Journalism

	Female N=36	Male N=14
Better income	27 (75%)	9 (64.4%)
Better career path	14 (38.9%)	6 (42.9%)
Getting to writing and interviewing etc	13 (36.1%)	2 (14.3%)
Better hours	12 (33.3%)	3 (21.4%)
Part time/ job share	12 (33.3%)	1 (7.1%)
A promotion, or offer of a better job	9 (25%)	2 (14.3%)
Better supervisors	8 (22.2%)	3 (21.4%)
Nothing	4 (11.1%)	3 (21.4%)
If I had a bigger say in the news selection	4 (11.1%)	5 (35.7%)
If I didn't have to interview etc	3 (8.3%)	0
I probably will return in the future	17 (47.2%)	3 (21.4%)
I'm looking for a position	1 (2.8%)	1 (7.1%)

The next most frequently chosen incentives that would attract respondents to return to journalism were, better hours (33% of females and 21.4% males), and/or better career path (38.9% females and 42.9% males). Surprisingly, almost half the female non-journalism respondents said they would probably return to journalism in the future (47.2%), if they were offered a good job with good pay, which indicates a pragmatic exodus from the newsroom rather than a philosophical one. Male respondents were not as enthusiastic about returning to

journalism, only 21.4% predicted they would return in the future. About one-fifth of both females and males wanted the newsroom to have better supervisors before they would consider returning.

Only 11.1% females and 21.4% males said that nothing could entice them back to journalism. This was a contrast to the responses from the question about their viewpoint on returning to the daily newspaper side of journalism, which is discussed next.

5.10 What Would Attract Respondents Back to Daily Newspapers

The enthusiasm for returning to journalism in general, however, did not extend to returning to the daily newspaper side of journalism. Only half of those who were open to the idea of returning to journalism said they would be as open to returning to daily newspapers, and in addition, about a quarter were adamant that nothing would entice them to daily newspapers (25% females and 28.6% of males). This compares to only 11.1% who said that nothing would entice them back to journalism in general. Although much of the negativity centred on pay, income was not the only reason. Table 5.8 shows that some ex-journalists also wanted better hours and a better career path before they would consider returning to the daily newspaper industry.

The comments from respondents showed that another factor against working in newspapers was the perceived poor office environment and lack of support for workers. These comments came through the survey especially from female respondents. Eight women (22.2%) who left

newspaper journalism expressed criticism of an unsupportive work environment, especially for new people, whereas none of the male respondents mentioned it. One woman who had previously held a senior level job in dailies said, “The environment was harsh, the hours were a nightmare, it was a largely thankless, exhausting, competitive and support-less place.” Another woman wrote, “frustration with inadequate management...no training, no performance appraisal,” and yet-another woman said, “the negativity of newsroom ground me down.” These comments about the newsroom culture point to how it influenced some female journalists to leave, whereas it was not mentioned by the men who left journalism. This must be viewed, however, alongside the results reported in Section 5.5 where men were more pessimistic about their still working in newspapers compared to their female counterparts who expressed enthusiasm for the job.

Table 5.8 What Would Attract Respondents Back To Daily Newspapers

	Female N=36	Male N=14
Better income	23 (63.9%)	7 (50%)
Better hours	10 (27.8%)	3 (21.4%)
Nothing	9 (25%)	4 (28.6%)
Better career path	9 (25%)	4 (28.6%)
I probably will in the future	8 (22.2%)	2 (14.3%)
Part time/ job share	8 (22.2%)	1 (7.1%)
Getting to write & interview	7 (19.4%)	2 (14.3%)
Better supervisors	6 (16.7%)	3 (21.4%)
A promotion, or offer of a better job	4 (11.1%)	0
If I had a bigger say in the news selection	3 (8.3%)	3 (21.4%)
If I didn't have to interview etc	1 (2.8%)	0
I am looking for a newspaper position	1 (2.8%)	0

5.11 Where Respondents Go After Leaving Daily Newspapers

The respondents who had previously worked in daily newspaper did not necessarily leave the

journalism industry. The survey results indicated a clear exit path that forked into two major directions. These two main directions were towards other journalism media or towards public relations. Some, however, went to other media and then later to public relations.

Table 5.9 Where Respondents Went after Leaving Daily Newspapers

	Female	Male	Total
Media (other than daily newspapers)	27	13	40
Public Relations	6	5	11
Other	9	3	12
Total:	42	21	63

Flow to other media – A sizable number of the 63 respondents who previously worked in daily newspapers, 40 (63%), shifted to other media such as community newspapers, broadcast media, or magazines. As an example, all eight of the women respondents who currently work in community newspapers and four of the six in television had previously worked in daily newspapers. Extrapolating the open-ended comments volunteered in the survey showed the common reasons they valued their current job, subdivided by media type. Those working in community newspapers attributed their attraction to the job as the opportunity to talk to community-level people and help the community by means of the articles the journalists wrote. Those in broadcasting valued the rapid turn-around in stories and the ability to talk to powerful people about significant issues. However, as depicted in Table 5.2, it was in these “other” media that the gender dichotomy was made obvious: although more men than women were in daily newspapers at the time of the survey, more women than men were in all the other media – community newspapers, agencies, online, broadcasting.

Flow to public relations – The second most popular career for those who left daily newspapers was public relations or communications positions, and it was a similar ratio for

both male and female. This is not surprising, considering that those who left journalism (not just daily newspapers) went on to work in public relations. Many who took up this alternative career and commented on it said they liked it better than they expected, as one wrote about working in public relations, “It’s not the be all and end all. I moved to PR to test it out and see if I like it. I am enjoying it so far.” Almost a third of this group specifically mentioned that they still are able to write in the public relations job. One woman typified this response: “I still get to use my writing skills, which was the major reason I was interested in journalism in the first place.” Another said, “I get to write more (ironic),” and a woman who stayed only 6 months in journalism and shifted to public relations wrote, “I get to write and interview on topics I am in control of.” In all, ten respondents gave similar comments.

Many of the same respondents who had moved into public relations said an additional reason they left journalism was because it was unsupportive and unappreciative, and they found the public relations environment the opposite. One-third of the women (6/18) took the option to add specific comments about how the workplace environment improved when they shifted out of journalism. None of the men mentioned the culture, although four of the six wrote about the better pay and/or hours, and two criticised their previous employer’s news judgement. A woman who spent six years in journalism, four of them on daily newspapers, wrote, “In newspapers your feedback is usually negative – in communications your colleagues actually say thank you, treat you with respect, and acknowledge that you are a professional.” A woman who worked three years in journalism said she now preferred public relations because of “the lack of daily deadline, the teamwork, and the chance to have more say in what I do,” and a woman with five years previous journalism experience said she left because of “poor support and management within news organisations.” The comparison in

workplace environments was put descriptively by a woman with three years journalism experience before shifting to public relations several years ago: “the tendency of newsrooms to employ young, poorly paid reporters has done media in NZ a lot of damage in my view, and the only real stalwarts in the industry seem to be grumpy, verging-on-abusive aging men.”

Some wrote wistfully of having to leave the energetic journalism field behind, but thought the increased income and better work environment compensated: “I miss out on adrenalin of discovery at times, but doesn’t make up for the gains I have with hours, in particular, and pay to lesser extent,” and another, “I DO miss the creativity and ability to write more in journalism, however, my communications work environment is much friendlier and more relaxed than a newsroom, my boss is very interested (and takes a proactive role) in my professional development...” More than ten respondents expressed similar comments about the fun aspect of their previous experience working in journalism.

5.12 Respondents on Overseas Experience

This survey segregated responses from those who were not working in journalism because they were on their Overseas Experience. The OE usually entails travelling and frequent change of residence, thereby necessitating working in temporary jobs. There were 14 in this category, and the majority said they planned to work in journalism when they returned to New Zealand. Most said that the intended length of the overseas experience was two years.

When asked why they would be attracted back to journalism, the most popular reason was

that the industry was a good fit with their personal skills (4.57 of a possible 5 on Likert scale). But other significant reasons (>4 on Likert scale) were that they wanted to be in the midst of current affairs, enjoyed writing and interviewing, and that they thought it would be a good social environment and would also would provide a career path.

Despite their saying they planned to return to New Zealand and work in journalism, particularly daily newspapers, some participants did criticise the industry. Four of the 14 respondents on their overseas experience commented on the low pay, especially in their personal situation of still having student loans to pay off. Four commented negatively on the working conditions at New Zealand newspapers, what one termed “a critical office environment”. In addition to their plans to return to journalism, more than half of this group (57%) also said it was a strong possibility that they would eventually work in public relations.

5.13 Summary

The research results in this chapter addressed Research Question Two: *How do early-career journalists describe their decision to remain in or leave the newspaper industry, and what gender differences are there in the decision-making process?* This section summarises the findings, which will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

The respondents were 171 journalists who earned their qualifications between 2000 and 2007 from Massey University in Wellington, New Zealand. The sample included both men and women, which provided the opportunity to cross-tabulate attitudes and examine the

dichotomy of female newspaper journalists and other journalists with similar qualifications.

The raw figures concluded that women left newspaper careers at a faster rate than men. Of the 57 female and 41 male journalism graduates who had started a career in daily newspapers, only 23% of the females, compared to 48% of the males, still worked in dailies at the time of the survey.

The quantitative result also showed that women, more so than men, left daily newspapers to pursue careers in other parts of journalism such as community newspapers and broadcasting. Both female and male respondents left at the same rate to work in public relations. In addition, both genders said they left newspapers, and left journalism mainly for better pay, but also for better working hours. Reasons for leaving that were more often given by women involved lack of mentoring, feeling they were not encouraged to remain, not seeing a promotion in the future, and thinking the supervisors were poor.

The expanded answers to the survey allowed qualitative analysis to further develop an understanding of the attitudes of journalists towards their industry environment. Working in daily newspapers is tough, with long hours, unrelenting deadlines, and constant pressure to find better and more exciting stories. This high pressure environment is a newspaper's strength and also its weakness, as reported by the female journalists in this survey. They expressed an attraction for the excitement of the industry, which is a unique environment of time pressures and race for front page scoops. The women who studied journalism at Massey University were more than satisfied with the exciting pace of the newsroom. Many had originally gone into journalism training because they liked being in the midst of current

affairs, and they wanted to use their writing and interviewing skills. The newspaper newsroom did not disappoint them in this sense.

Women, like men, said they enjoyed daily newspapers because of the fast pace and being in the middle of significant news issues. They also valued being able to apply their unique skills of writing and interviewing. This is the reason they entered journalism, the part of the newspaper job they liked, but also what they valued in public relations when they shifted to that industry. Some women sounded as though it was a love affair with their career. Many women used the words “love” or “adore. They wanted to use their skills and also to add something to society, and they could do this. This enthusiasm about journalism’s contribution to society was expressed by respondents who had left newspaper journalism as well as those still working in it. But the survey results suggest that reality stepped in after a few years working in newspapers. Women and men left daily newspapers to pursue better paying options, with men mainly going to public relations while women mainly went to other parts of journalism before also going to public relations.

Exactly why some women remain in the newsroom and some leave is difficult to answer, but in this survey women who stayed in newspapers felt they received good mentoring, while those who left felt they lacked it. This came strongly from eight women now working in public relations who criticised the lack of support and unfriendliness of news media management.

In conclusion, this exploration of Research Question Two shows that the bulk of women who initially went into newspaper careers stayed for less than two years (68%), hence there were

fewer women in the industry with more than 24 months of experience. This sheds some light on the results of the byline analysis and explains why women tended to write fewer of the specialist articles, which normally require more than two years experience in the industry.

A second conclusion is that the negative newsroom culture contributed to the reasons women leave the career, which means those who remain in the newsroom need to manoeuvre through this culture. So we have a clearer picture of why women leave daily newspaper journalism. The next question, therefore, is how some women became successful in the industry and were able to achieve the top position of editor.

The survey results also give a hint of what motivated some women to remain in the newsroom long enough to progress up the career ladder to editorship. Those who remained in newspapers indicated they obtained mentoring, or at least felt they had support in their professional development, which is contrary to those who left and said they lacked support and backing.

This feeling of being mentored and supported will be further explored in Chapter 6, which looks in-depth at those few women who have attained editorship of a daily newspaper during this millennium. The next exploration uses in-depth interviews to probe key informants on the perceived barriers and enticers to become an editor. They are key informants because nine of them were female editors themselves, two of them were male media executives charged with hiring and developing editors, and three of them were senior female journalists who had been in the daily newspaper newsroom long-term but did not become editors.

Chapter Six: RESULTS of IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter reports the results of the third research approach, 14 in-depth interviews of three sub groups: nine women who were newspaper editors between the years of from 2000 through 2009; two male media company executives responsible for hiring editors at the two major media companies in New Zealand, Fairfax Media and APN; and three non-editor senior level female journalists who decided against being daily editors. The chapter analyses the interviews in light of Research Question Three: *What are perceived as the barriers or enticements for women attaining editorships?*

The nine female editors were asked for demographic information with the aim of demonstrating commonalities and variations in their career path to editorships. They were asked how they initially entered journalism and what sort of positions they held before becoming editor, and what was their family situation. They were then asked a series of open-ended questions on their viewpoint of characteristics needed to be an editor, and special barriers or enticers for females to become editors. They also filled out a checklist (Appendix 6) to indicate what factors they felt helped them in their career, and what they would have done differently.

The in-depth interviews followed the participants' histories in the way they wanted to express them. This exposed other unplanned issues, which were then explored. During each interview the participants were also asked their viewpoint on Melin-Higgins' gender coping theory, further described below.

The two male media company executives gave their views on the strengths, weaknesses, motivators and barriers facing female editors and also facing potential female editors as they progress to editorship. They presented their personal views and what they perceived as industry viewpoints on: the relative value of having more women as editors of daily newspapers; how the industry encourages women to become editors; characteristics required for an editor; the problem of balancing family life and editorship; and the gender difference in duration of the position.

The three non-editor senior female journalists provided yet another perspective on the barriers and challenges for women pursuing an editor's career. These women have made a conscious decision not to pursue the top position of daily newspaper editor, even though they have all attained a level of seniority as a journalist and all have been encouraged to become editors. As potential editor candidates, they gave their firsthand accounts of what dissuades women from aspiring to an editor career, as distinct from other career paths within the newspaper industry.

6.2 Interviews of Female Editors

This section reports the results of the interviews with all nine women who held the position of editor of a daily newspaper in New Zealand from 2000 through 2009. As described in Chapter 3, each interview lasted about 90 minutes and was one-to-one with the editors: eight in person and one on the telephone. All of the female editors gave approval to use their names and details of editorships; however, they were informed their specific comments and views would be reported anonymously. This was to encourage open dialogue and detailed responses.

The interviews had three parts, as detailed in Chapter 3. In the first part the participants filled out a written checklist survey of their views of what helped their career. This checklist mirrored a similar survey of female editors in the United States, except the inclusion of a question on the value of overseas fellowships, scholarships or industry-backed trips. This question was included because of information gained in an earlier pilot interview, and it would understandably be more relevant to a small country like New Zealand rather than the expansive USA where the previous research was conducted. This checklist questionnaire is in Appendices 5 and 6. The second part was a semi-structured series of questions and answers on their experience as editor, their opinion on female journalists gaining editorships, and opinions on the industry's gender environment. The question guide is in Appendix 4. The third part of the interview asked editors for their view on gender coping tactics. It was explained that Melin-Higgins (2004) theorised that female journalists succeed in the masculine-style newsroom by adopting one of these four coping tactics:

- Opting out – such as freelancing or contract work,

- Staying in “softer” jobs that are not on a management career path – such as writing advertorials, light features, or newsroom administration,
- Becoming one-of-the-boys – such as joining the pub culture, taking on an aggressive speaking style, choosing not to have children, and concentrating on “hard” news rounds,
- Specialising – creating a parallel environment where they can attain the top position on their terms, such as the “best political editor” or the “best business editor”.

The editors interviewed for this research were asked if they had observed these four mechanisms in the newsroom, to give examples if they had, and to describe what they thought were their own coping strategies.

The explanation of this theory required some background on the theories of journalism’s *social field* (Bourdieu, 1984, 1991) which was done verbally. This explanation referred to the specific description of newsroom culture being a global sub-culture and also having unwritten priority values, such as a journalist specialising in hard news is more valued than a journalist doing soft news.

6.2.1 The Participants

The female editors interviewed were those who had been a daily newspaper editor at any time during the years 2000 through 2009. There were nine female editors during this time, and all agreed to be interviewed. Overall, the participants tended to shrug off their achievements, by saying they simply were in the right place at the right time. As reported later in this section, however, the participants made clear that they had to break away from the mainstream group of female journalists to reach the top, although they did not use the term “glass ceiling.” The full list of participants and their editor positions is in Table 6.1 and further details of their editor postings and career highlights are summarised below.

Table 6.1 Female Editors Interviewed

	Editorships
Suzanne Carty	1992-1995 Waikato Times 1995-2001 Evening Post
Venetia Sherson	1997-2003 Waikato Times
Laura Basham	2001-2006 Marlborough Express
Karyn Scherer	2002-2005 Daily Post
Jo Myers	2003-2005 Manawatu Standard
Laura Franklin	2005-2008 Northern Advocate 2008-2009 Bay of Plenty Times
Kirsty Macnicol	2006-2008 Wanganui Chronicle
Natalie Gould	2004-2008 (Australian daily newspapers) 2008-2010 Hawke’s Bay Today
Bernadette Courtney	2008-2008 Manawatu Standard 2008- Dominion-Post

Suzanne Carty was the most successful woman daily newspaper editor in New Zealand, in terms of length of time in the position, and the size of newspapers she edited. She was an editor for ten years, stepping down only because of ill health. In addition, she was editor of two of the five largest metropolitan newspapers in the country, the *Waikato Times* and the former *Evening Post* in Wellington. Earlier in her career she was the first woman to be a chief reporter of a major New Zealand newspaper. In 2008, she was made a Member of the New Zealand Order of Merit for services to journalism. At the time of the interview she was letters editor at the *Dominion-Post*.

Venetia Sherson was the second longest serving editor, and it is worth noting that her career path included being deputy editor to Suzanne Carty. Venetia edited the metropolitan *Waikato Times* for six years, which gained runner-up to Best Newspaper of the Year after her first year, and increased readership 12% in her final year. At the time of the interview she was a media management consultant.

Laura Basham was the first woman editor of the *Marlborough Express*, there for five years. In her final year she took it to the “best read daily newspaper in the country”, as audited by the Nielsen Media Research Regional Readership Survey based on percentage of the region who read the newspaper. Prior to that, she was the first woman deputy editor of the *Nelson Mail*. At the time of the interview she was rural reporter at the *Nelson Mail*.

Karyn Scherer was the first woman editor of *Rotorua Daily Post*, and previously was the first woman business editor of the *New Zealand Herald*. She was among the youngest of the interviewees to become an editor and the only one to do so with pre-school children; in fact,

she gave birth to her second child while serving as editor. At the time of the interview she had returned as business editor of the *New Zealand Herald*.

Jo Myers was the first woman to be editor of the *Manawatu Evening Standard*, and had the unusual experience of being editor of a newsroom at the same time her husband worked there as a journalist. At the time of the interview she was editor of the *Feilding Herald* group of weekly community newspapers.

Laura Franklin was one of the few women to have been editor of more than one New Zealand daily newspaper. She was the first woman to be editor of Whangarei's *Northern Advocate* and then shifted to be the first woman editor of the *Bay of Plenty Times*. She was New Zealand APN Editor of the Year 2008. Since the interview she has left to become editor of APN's regional weekly newspaper hub.

Kirsty Macnicol was the first woman to be editor of the *Wanganui Chronicle* in its 150 year history. She was one of the youngest editors, at age 35 when she was first appointed. She had previously worked at the *Southland Times* and at radio in the south part of the South Island. At the time of the interview she was owner and editor of the *Fiordland Advocate* weekly community newspaper.

Natalie Gould was the first woman to be editor of the *Hawke's Bay Today* in the 150 years of either the *Herald-Tribune* or the *Daily Telegraph* that merged in 1999 to form the *Hawke's Bay Today*. Previously she had been editor of two daily newspapers in Australia, where she was Australia APN editor of the year 2008. Since the interview she has left the *Hawke's Bay*

Today and returned to Australia.

Bernadette Courtney became an editor the *Manawatu Standard* towards the end this study's data-gathering period of 2008. Within six months of getting that position, however, she was made editor of the largest Fairfax newspaper in New Zealand, the *Dominion-Post*. She was the first graduate of Fairfax's new one-year leadership programme to become an editor.

Table 6.2 Profile of Female Editors Interviewed

N=9			
Entered Journalism:	17-19 years old	20 years old	mid-20s
	6	2	1
Journalism Education:	Less than a year	2-3 year cadet	3 year university
	6	2	1
Journalism experience prior to becoming editor:	25+ years	18-20 years	14 years
	4	4	1
Family Situation:	No children	Grown children/shared responsibility	Husband took home responsibility
	3	2	4

As the summary data in Table 6.2 shows, there was a general commonality in the background of the women before they became editors-- the young age they entered journalism, the limited formal education before entry to journalism, the relatively long work period in the newsroom before becoming editor, and the lack of child rearing responsibility.

Initial career entry age – Six of the nine (66%) editors entered journalism as teenagers, between the ages of 17 to 19. These same six editors had less than one year's training before

becoming a journalist, gaining the qualifications straight from secondary school. The other three had more comprehensive qualifications. Only one had a university degree, and two had cadetships (which are no longer offered, but were two or three years of apprenticeship-type training while working in the industry). Those listed with less than a year's training included one without any tertiary education, and five with a certificate in journalism from a polytechnic (a fulltime course lasting one academic year). The certificate course is now called a diploma course and is still the major entry into journalism in New Zealand, although currently a higher percentage of students go into these one-year courses already with a university degree (Tucker, 2006). In other countries, such as Australia, Canada and the United States, entry-level journalism courses are university degrees.

Two decades' prior experience – The participants' pre-entry journalism training was short by international standards and practices of having university degrees (Becker, Vlad, Vogel, & Wilcox, 2008), but the participants had sizeable expertise and experience in journalism prior to applying for an editor position. All except one had more than 18 years experience in newspaper journalism before becoming an editor, and four had more than 25 years prior journalism experience. The participant with less experience, 14 years, was the same one who entered the industry slightly older than the others – in her mid-20s, rather than as a teenager.

The participants also had a large breadth and variety of journalism experience: all had spent time in the two major areas of the newsroom (reporting and production), and most also had several years in a position of selecting and assigning stories to reporters. All except two had substantial periods of reporting at least five different major rounds. Two also had experience in radio newsrooms. Three had been involved in special project teams within the newspaper,

such as to redesign the front page, or to review the layout template.

The participants felt having a wide breadth of journalism experience was necessary to gain respect from their staff. One participant, who edited one of the larger newspapers said:

When editors move in and have never had anything to do with the subbing or the production side, it takes a while to win those people over. I always find that helps a lot. When you move into a newsroom and you have done those people's jobs at some point, you have some understanding of what they do.

Another participant, who has been editor at two newspapers, said: "To be a good editor you have to have the knowledge and be able to say 'I've been there, done that.' And so if you don't have confidence in your own skills, well, that will have an impact."

Non-traditional family life – Answers to the question on participants' domestic situation showed a strong trend for the female editors to be either childfree or to have a partner (generally described by participants as their "househusband") who took over the home and child responsibilities. Three women had no children; one had adult children; the other five had dependent children and said they were able to hold down the editor position only because of the support of their partners and family. Four of the participants' partners gave up their career, or even gave up all employment, to care for the children. In most cases the partner also shifted when the women took up an editor position in another city. For those without children, one had a three year period of her husband living and working in another city, and another had six months of her partner living in a different city.

The participants with children found that having a husband who did not have a competing

career was an important factor for the women because of the need to shift cities as part of the career path to editorship. Several acknowledged the industry's tacit requirement to work in different newsrooms in order to "get on" in newspaper management, and they had rearranged their family life to allow it to happen. Four women had worked at more than five different newsrooms (two of these women had been at more than seven newsrooms) before becoming editor. Even after gaining the editor's position, four shifted newspapers in order to further progress their career.

6.2.2 What Helped Their Career

The participants selected which factors from a checklist of 23 items most helped their career, shown in Appendix 6. Multiple selections were allowed. The results from the census of nine New Zealand women are too small to have statistical relevance (Schonlau, 2002), but nonetheless it is put in statistical form in Table 6.3 as a form of comparison with the American survey, and to note the priorities given to each item.

The small New Zealand sample makes the percentages look larger than they might otherwise be in a large sample. One New Zealand editor represents 11% while one American editor represents 1%. Hence the actual percentages may not appear to correspond, in addition to the different methodologies. The American respondents did not see a checklist, and their answers were tabulated from open-ended answers. The New Zealand respondents, however, were given the checklist to tick items they agreed with.

Table 6.3 Factors That Helped NZ Female Editors' Careers

<i>Compared with USA Male and Female Editors</i>	NZ women (n=9)	USA women % (n= 71)	USA men % (n= 202)
Open to ideas/ challenges /learn new things	89% (8)	14	4
Worked hard/ did my best / showed up every day	67% (6)	14	23
Led my staff/ recognised my staff	67% (6)	0	2
I became a journalist	56% (5)	1	2
I took on many tasks/projects	56% (5)	4	4
Overseas fellowship or posting	56% (5)	N/A	N/A
I became an editor	44% (4)	7	5
Applied and won awards	44% (4)	0	1
Finding a mentor	44% (4)	1	2
Gained experience/ develop my skills	44% (4)	3	5
Changed jobs/newspapers/ moved cities	33% (3)	9	11
Took changes/risks/pushed myself	33% (3)	9	4
Worked my way up	33% (3)	0	2
Communicated a passion for journalism	33% (3)	0	2
Got involved with management/business side	33% (3)	4	2
Spoke up for myself/ learn to say no	33% (3)	4	4
I went to university	22% (2)	3	6
Came to my current paper	22% (2)	7	8
Listening to others	22% (2)	3	3
Started at a small newspaper	22% (2)	1	1
Nice/fair/honest to people	22% (2)	0	2
I was surrounded by talented People	22% (2)	0	1
I implemented technology with my work	0	0	1

Comparing the two studies has additional limitations because of the different cultures of the two countries and slight time lag (USA 2002 versus NZ 2008), as well as different methods. There is value in a comparison, nonetheless, because the American study was the only large-scale research of its kind to date.

The results indicated that the New Zealand female editors felt it was important to their career that they took on new challenges and were open to new ideas. This was selected by eight of the nine participants. This corresponded with the information they gave in the interviews reported below. The next most important factors participants believed were important for getting ahead in their career were working hard and also being a team leader for their staff. These two factors were selected by six of the nine participants. This result, too, is reflected in the information they revealed in their interviews. The female editors mentioned the long hours (10 to 11 hours a day) they normally worked, and the satisfaction they got from leading and motivating staff. As is shown in the table, the value of “working hard” was shared by all the American editors.

There were two notable items that New Zealand editors thought important to their career path that were not mentioned by many of the American editors. One was the value given to “leading staff”. This was selected by six of the nine New Zealand participants. Gaining overseas fellowships or industry trips was also considered important to the New Zealand editors, with five indicating this, while it was not on the list for American editors. (The list was devised from open-ended responses from the American participants.) The international difference is understandable, given the variance in size of the two countries. However, the significance to NZ female editors is noted.

Another factor considered important by the New Zealand women was the importance of applying for or winning awards. Almost half the New Zealand female editors felt this helped their career. As awards are an external recognition of a person’s achievements, perhaps this is perceived similarly to overseas fellowships, in that they are tangible and external

acknowledgements of journalism standards.

Five participant editors thought that “taking on many tasks and projects” was significant. This factor could seem similar to “open to challenges and learn new things”, but discussions with the editors illuminated the perceived difference in these two factors. They felt their careers progressed because they were willing and confident to take on projects that were new to the company, not simply additional tasks. This is apparently further displayed in the lack of any importance given to “I implemented technology with my work”.

In summary, the New Zealand female editors felt a variety of factors helped their careers. Similar to their American counterparts, they felt they progressed up the career ladder because they were open to new ideas and challenges, and worked hard each day. In contrast to their American counterparts, however, they also thought that leading their staff and winning awards helped their career.

The following section presents the qualitative analysis of the narrative interviews of the nine female editors. The interviews explored participants’ perceptions of their career paths, such as what enticed them to become an editor, how they prepared for it, and their assessment of the experience of being an editor. They also explored how long they remained in the position and why. This section also reports additional themes that emerged through analysis of the interviews. These are the participants’ views on the gender difference in management styles, what would encourage more women to become editors, gender coping theories and also the existence of intuitive leadership, especially as it pertains to hiring and retention.

6.2.3 How Participants Rose to Editor Level

The female editors were asked open-ended questions on how they rose to editor level, and what factors helped them get to the level of being prepared to apply for the position. They were asked particularly what was unique about them, when many of the female journalists with whom they began their career are now out of the industry.

Table 6.4 Key Events Prior to Becoming an Editor

	N=9
Shoulder tapped by one manager	8
Selected for overseas fellowship	5
Shadowed an editor	5
No formal management training	6

When participants reflected on their pathway to editorship, although they used different terminology, there was some agreement to the importance of three factors: being approached by a manager, which they called being ‘shoulder tapped’; having an overseas experience, such as a media fellowship; and being deputised by a particular editor, called ‘shadowing’ in management terminology (McDonald, 2005).

In addition, there was a strong theme of their not having prior management training. This was not a factor that helped their career, as the other factors above, but it was a common factor for most female editors interviewed and therefore worth noting. This lack of training will be further discussed in Chapter 7.

One of the common threads among the interviews was that the participants described themselves as drifting into the profession, and having no formal career plan. This seemed a trend for the editor’s initial decision to enter journalism as a teenager, as well as other

decisions through her career. The majority gave comments that it was a fluke they became journalists, or they flowed into it because they enjoyed writing. Subsequent career steps were described by seven of them with similar comments like being “assigned” to a new position, or shifted to another newspaper because of personal reasons or a short term fascination with the venue or job. One admitted changing jobs and city because of a failed romance.

Eight of the nine editors said specifically that they lacked career development plans. All of the participants also reported a lack of any previous urge or intention to become an editor. When describing how they progressed up the management careers, while other female journalists remained behind, several participants used words such as “fortunate”, “lucky”, and “they must have seen something in me”. One woman used “lucky” twelve times in response to how she progressed up the career ladder.

Below is a more detailed analysis of the importance the editors placed on three factors: being singled out by a manager, awarded an overseas fellowship, and being given the opportunity to shadow an experienced editor. In addition, there are details of a common, but not positive, factor of having been given no prior management courses before taking on the editor position.

Shoulder tapped by a manager – Eight of the nine participants said that a major contribution to their decision to climb the career ladder was being singled out, or shoulder tapped, by a manager. Six of the women identified the particular incident and conversation when the manager approached them. The reason the incident was memorable was because they had not previously considered themselves as a prospective editor. Most of the women

had held senior responsibility journalism positions in the newsroom for the previous decade before being approached, but still had not thought of being an editor. They reported feelings of being “surprised” and “enthused” when the manager first encouraged them, but also a new sense of professional confidence. One award-winning editor echoed the comments of most of the others: “It wouldn’t have happened if someone hadn’t come along and tapped me on the shoulder. That’s it. I wouldn’t have thought I was ready to put myself at that level.”

Selected for overseas fellowship – Five women gained the same sense of professional confidence when they were selected for a special industry fellowship or industry posting overseas, all to Britain or Europe. Three said it was a turning point in their career path, and one said it was the most significant episode to give her confidence to apply for an editor’s position. Three participants explained that the mere fact that someone thought they were important enough to be sent overseas redirected their view of their own managerial potential. They also reported that the overseas experience gave them invaluable industry knowledge that helped their career. One said of her winning a fellowship:

I came back and had the impetus to do something more, that someone showed confidence in me...If I hadn’t gone and done that I would still be in the back room and not expanding my skills, rather than shifting into newsroom management. I think it was a huge encouragement.

Besides fellowships, three others had worked as journalists in Britain and another participant had been a journalist and editor in Australia before coming to New Zealand for her current job. Two who worked in Britain said the overseas experience gave them additional skills, but also gave them confidence in their ability.

Shadowed an editor – Five participants received a form of informal management apprenticeship, similar to shadowing. They were put in a middle management position, such as chief reporter or deputy editor, and from there were invited to join all the editor’s meetings and participate in the editor’s decisions. Two thought later that this arrangement was specifically to prepare them for higher management. A third said the shadowed editor simply liked to delegate unwanted tasks to those staff members he could rely on. Later in this chapter, however, are reported comments from that particular male editor, who reminisces that he did in fact feel this woman had editor potential and wanted to extend her capabilities.

Additional to these normal involvements, the female editors reported they were subtly drawn into involvement with decisions above what would be expected for someone in their position at that time. Five participants described shadowing a previous editor prior to applying for an editor job, and this arrangement extended over a period of years in some cases. These were often at a newspaper different from the one where they eventually became editor, although usually within the same media company. Hence, the male editor’s steps in developing the female editor were not a benefit to his own newspaper or his own staffing plans. The shadowing procedure was informal and lacked assessment or an appraisal stage to it. None of the participants considered it “mentoring” and the practice did not follow that of normal mentoring schemes, which are systematic and have support and feedback (Business Dictionary, 2009). Therefore, this research retains the term “shadow” and not “mentor”.

A long-term editor said she believed she was “lucky” her editor was confident to delegate authority, which often consisted of the tasks he did not particularly like doing himself. Another participant said her previous manager “made sure I was involved in all discussions

and I got a lot of firsthand knowledge of how to deal with different situations. It was hugely beneficial.”

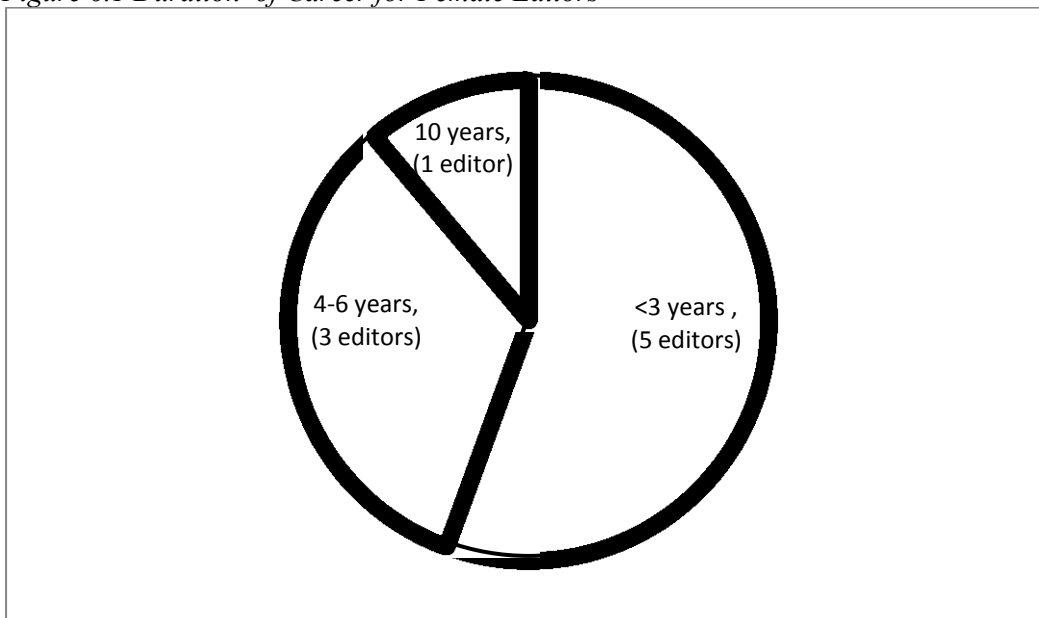
No formal management courses – Another common trait among the participants was that the majority lacked any management training before taking over the position, and lacked any significant mentoring along their career. Six said they received no training at all. One summed it up as, “In a word, none.” The six were given an editor’s position on the strength of their journalism skills. They were given no training or indoctrination for the specific management part of the editor job. One editor received a series of training sessions while at an Australian newspaper company, a second was sent on a short residential management course, which she said “the industry doesn’t do enough of”. A third editor, however, completed the first in-house year-long management training being offered by the biggest newspaper company in New Zealand, Fairfax Media. She was the first person from this new training initiative to become an editor.

6.2.4 Short Duration of Editor Career

The average length of time the participants remained in the position was five years. Only two held the position longer than this. This is a mathematic average, however, and more revealing is that more than half the female editors left the position within three years as the pie chart (Figure 6.1) demonstrates,. The only participant who was still holding an editor position at the time of these interviews had been in the job less than two years. In addition to her, three left after two years, one after three years, one after four years, one after five years, another after six years, and the longest-serving editor was in the position for ten years. One

short term editor said, “The research question shouldn’t be how to get more female editors, but how to get them to stay longer than two years.”

Figure 6.1 Duration of Career for Female Editors



These women left for a combination of reasons, and this research is limited to what the women revealed during their interviews, acknowledging that the situation may have been more complex than described. Four said they stepped down for reasons of ill health of themselves or their partners; two said it was for “frustration” at the job, in particular dealing with staff and budgets. The seventh simply said “I was getting near exhaustion. I was getting burned out, mentally.” The remaining two left their job after our interview, without any information on the reason.

Most female editors commented on the low pay given an editor and the lack of management help available, such as not being given a personal assistant. They pointed out that executive salaries and benefits would be provided in other industries where the person in the top position managed a staff of dozens plus a budget of more than a million dollars. The female

editors, however, made it clear that the lure of the position was not salary, and that they could easily find an easier job with higher pay if that were their career agenda.

In addition, these participants tended to end their editor careers relatively abruptly. One editor said she quit hastily within days of making the decision, three others quit suddenly giving the minimum contractual notice, some with little explanation. A fourth quit unexpectedly when her contract finished, despite the media company's expectations she would continue.

An interesting statistic is that all of those who resigned the editor position are still working in the newspaper industry; in fact, all except one are still within the production side of the newsroom. As will be discussed further below, most went into jobs in publications with weekly deadlines rather than daily deadlines. Four became editors of community newspapers or sections of daily newspapers. One of these editors has purchased a community newspaper as well as being editor. Only one participant was still a reporter at a daily newspaper. This is interesting when compared to the senior female journalists in Section 6.4 who spent an equal amount of time in daily newspapers, but left for completely different occupations.

6.2.5 Overall Assessment of the Editor Experience

Looking at the editor position overall, the female editors said they enjoyed the challenges and satisfaction of holding the position. Even those who held the position for a relatively short time spoke enthusiastically about “the buzz” of being an editor. A woman who quit from exhaustion used the word “loved” seven times when talking about the positives of being an

editor. Here are comments from the eight participants; the ninth was omitted as she had only just started the job at the time of the interview:

- “The best job I ever had! You would have heard of the long hours and pressure, but the pleasures outweigh the pressures. The joy of being at the wheel.”
- “What made me stick to it is that I enjoyed it. Maybe I had a lack of imagination, but I couldn’t imagine doing anything else. I really loved the (newspaper) and it meant a great deal to me.”
- “The satisfaction of when you look at the newspaper and you think ‘yes, I’m responsible for pulling that all together’, and know that sense of achievement.”
- “Steering the whole product is pretty cool.”
- “It is a privilege to be the editor. I considered it an honour to even be considered...I enjoyed being a leader. I enjoyed working with people... I loved it, really loved it.”
- “Knowing that this product that comes out every day is something you had a huge part in, and you are responsible for. It is satisfying, hugely satisfying.”
- “It was very rewarding. It was very fulfilling. We did some fantastic campaigns, fought some good battles, which is what journalism is all about in the end – to make the world a better place. It was wonderful to do this.”
- “I just love working with a team, and with the newsroom that is firing, the trouble shooting, the pulling things together in a hurry with a team of skilled people, and the laughs you have with a team of people. I’d miss it.”

These comments underscore the atmosphere of the in-depth interviews, where the participants spoke positively about their experience in the top newspaper position. On the surface the

superlative quotes seem incongruous with the fact that they spent almost 20 years working up the journalists' ranks to attain an editorship that they kept for only three years. The next sections analyse what they felt were the positive and negative aspects of being editor.

6.2.6 Positive Aspects of the Position

The positive part of being an editor fell into three categories: creative satisfaction, liaising with the community, and working with a team. This list was developed after careful assessment of the themes most often mentioned by the participants. They did not necessarily use these terminologies, so in some cases they were later asked to confirm that these categories accurately reflected their opinions.

Creative satisfaction – The most often-cited positive factor of being an editor was the creative aspect of coordinating many elements to produce a quality publication every day. This was identified by six of the editors when asked the open question “What did you particularly like about the job?” The content production was seen as having a creative license with the newspaper, especially the responsibility of filing an entire newspaper each day. Some talked about the satisfaction of turning a blank canvas into a commercial product; some said part of the creative element was the combination of moulding the staff, the stories, and the page design each day to complete the task. “You go in the morning and see the big reels of empty newsprint, and before lunchtime you have filled those with what you hope is the best product, with the best news of the day, and you can see that,” said a five-year-term editor.

Liaising with the community – The second positive factor of being an editor was working with, and on behalf of, the community, which was mentioned by five editors. Most saw the editor as a leader in the community, but in a special position also as guardian of public information, because the newspaper was often the main published information within a community. They described their self-expectations to attend community meetings, accept speaking requests and network with a wide variety of community leaders. Knowledge of community viewpoints is useful for the editor's responsibility to write regular opinion pieces in the newspaper, which are meant to reflect an issue relevant to the readership. Some editors expressed a dislike of writing editorials, mainly because they had to come up with a different controversial topic each day, and had to be well researched enough to take a stand on it. Nonetheless, they were still enthusiastic about the liaison with the community. One said, "I really liked dealing with the community, hearing what they had to say. It was a buzz." Five women criticised specific male editors who held back in engaging with the community, and thereby caused friction between the community and the newspaper. One participant, who had to rebuild relationships neglected by a previous non-involved editor, went to community events four nights of the week: "It's been said I'd go to the opening of an envelope, but I think it is important." Several women outlined specific campaigns they led to change or encourage a community project. As one said, "I loved campaign journalism, bringing some change that wouldn't have happened otherwise."

Working with a team – The third major positive aspect of being an editor, reported by participants, was working with the newsroom team. Five women gave this as one of the major positive aspects of the position. These five spoke enthusiastically about nurturing new journalists, and being able to fit the right person into the right position. They indicated they

had autonomy to choose staff and create a team. One editor consistently referred to “we” in describing the jobs and responsibilities she did. Another gave an example of working with an inherited non-productive staff member to turn him into a “star” staff member. A third described the joy of hiring young reporters: “I love the excitement of when you offer someone a job and they scream excitedly down the phone, because they finally got that break. I love that part.” However, two editors were not enthusiastic about the staff interface, and in fact said this was one of the frustrations that led them to quit the job. It is interesting to note that these two women inherited an established, stable staff and lacked the opportunity or ability to hire in new people. There were indications that this lack of autonomy in team management may have contributed to the frustrations of these two editors and led to their early exit.

6.2.7 Negative Aspects of the Position

The aspects of being an editor the participants considered negative fell into two categories. One was collegial loneliness or isolation, often exacerbated because of the lack of same-gender peers. The other was the stress in trying to balance work and family life because of the long hours and stressful work environment. The work environment stress reportedly most often came from intra-office battles over budgets, redundancies or ideological differences with sales and marketing departments.

Collegial isolation – Isolation was given by seven of the eight experienced editors as a major problem being an editor. (The ninth participant was not asked, as she had only taken up the job at the time of the interview.) One part of this isolation was that the participants were

required to shift environments and in most cases shift geographic locations in order to take up a sole management position. Further, the management position was sole responsibility, in stark contrast to their previous journalism position in a highly gregarious newsroom environment where reporters often socialised both at work and out of work with the same people for years. The participants described having spent many years in a “party” or “pub-going” culture, often exclusively with other journalists, a uniting bond necessitated by the odd working hours not shared by other occupations. As many of these editors had been newsroom journalists for up to 20 years prior to being editors, the relationship forged with colleagues was very close. But once they became an editor they had to distance themselves, mainly to avoid the temptation, as one put it, to “get involved in office gossip”. Two participants had become editors in the same newsroom where they had previously worked as journalists. As editors they had personal information on staff, and human resource issues with previous friends, which they could not discuss. “You can’t tell people a lot of stuff about your day because of the confidential nature of it. So it is incredibly lonely,” said a current editor. “I had friends in the newsroom, but it was a different relationship. I never violated confidences, but I had to work at different relationships with friends I’d had for many years,” said a metropolitan editor.

However, a more pressing form of loneliness they discussed was the lack of collegiality with other editors. They gave examples of wanting to discuss editorial issues with peers, but not being able to, mainly because there was a lack of reception from other editors, but also because the mechanisms for discussion did not exist. Five participants described a gender-specific dichotomy in career paths. They reported that men often knew earlier in their career that they would become editors and therefore bonded with similar upwardly mobile men well

before they became editors. Women, on the other hand, did not see themselves as potential editors until later in their career, so did not necessarily bond with upwardly mobile journalists in the early stages of their career. Two of the participants described this dichotomy as leading to new female editors having to “prove themselves” to the other editors, whereas male editors did not have that need. One editor described an incident when she pushed ahead with an email discussion forum with other editors, using the topic of a controversial decision on a story placement. However, the forum was rebuffed by the other male editors who did not see the need for discussion, and even sent what she called “very patronising” comments back to her. So she ceased further attempts at professional collegial discussions. Another, younger editor said: “Occasionally you could ring up and have a laugh with other editors, but it was a bit tricky because I was the only woman and most others were fuddy duddy old men, and not the kind you can ring up and feel comfortable talking about the job issues.” Another participant said: “I could make decisions, but at times wanted to discuss it with other editors. This wasn’t possible. They didn’t want to question their own decisions.”

However, the lack of collegiality is not confined to female editors, as the participants described an industry-wide difficulty in finding time and opportunity to liaise with their peers in other cities. Several said it was only their company annual editors’ conference that gave the opportunity to discuss issues with their peers. One participant said:

Isolation is something every editor is talking about. It comes up a lot at the editor conferences. When they ask what they could do to make it more attractive to be an editor, it is the number one thing we tell them. We say train them before they take the job, then mentor them, and don’t leave them alone once they get into the job. But it doesn’t happen on any official level.

This same editor also said the isolation changed for her after a few years in the position: “When I was brand new I was probably trying to put on a front.” But she described how more and more of her friends (male and female) became editors and she created a new network where she could bounce ideas and share frustrations:

The more useful thing is getting to know these people personally. We keep in touch. We had two new guys jump up to be editor and we made it clear that if they are having one of those days, ring us. We just do this among ourselves.

Long hours, stressful work environment – The other major negative part of the job was the long hours, with six participants reporting that they regularly spent 11 hours a day in the office. This caused problems keeping commitments with family members, and, for one editor who shifted to another city to take up the editorship, it also meant losing long term friends with whom she could no longer keep in contact. Several participants discussed in detail how the recent economic problems within the industry have led to a reduction in staff numbers, with even more work for those remaining. The participants pointed out that an editor is the sole person with the responsibility to ensure the job is done before the newspaper is due for publication each day, despite staff cuts made by their corporate media company. They said this combined stress and long hours. “I couldn’t delegate because everyone else had a heavy work load,” said one. Another said: “People get burned out quickly because there is a thin veneer of people at the top doing the job.”

Four female editors specifically stated that added stress was caused by the constant “battles” with the sales or marketing segment of the newspaper who wanted stories cancelled, often

because they conflicted with a lucrative advertiser. Although the editorial and sales agenda traditionally has been tense in the newspaper industry, the participants said it is much more so with the restructuring of newspapers over the past decade to give the profitability aspect higher priority. Three women said their departure from the position in the end was partially over budget cut issues, although they agreed that this was exacerbated by the long hours, stressful work, and lack of family time.

The lack of family time was also a result of the irregular hours. As sole overseer of the newspaper production, the editors stayed at the office later if there were any production problems or unexpected developments. In addition, the participants also frequently attended community meetings and events outside of work hours.

The long hours were not identified as a problem in themselves, but rather they were also stressful hours for most of the participants. Three pointed to budget cuts as a major cause of stressful interactions, noting that they had neither management nor accounting training prior to taking the position. They indicated they were ill-equipped to debate on an equal footing with the sales and marketing divisions of the newspaper. One participant said many battles were over what she considered basic journalism issues of printing a story that would normally be considered good journalism, but that others within the office argued against printing it because of the commercial interest of the newspaper. "I find that harder than explaining to the mayor why we had to write a particular story, or explaining why we ran a court story. It is much more difficult when you are fighting a battle within your own newspaper," she said.

6.2.8 Perceived Gender Difference in Management Styles

When asked what difference a woman editor brought to the position, the majority said their news judgment would be similar to that of their male colleagues. In fact, all who directly answered this question gave this opinion. Two spoke strongly about news judgement having no gender-bias. Two others, both younger editors with less experience, said a female editor would have a better idea of what would interest female readers and purchasers, and one of these felt strongly that a woman editor could bring a completely different view to marketing to female readers. This question was asked of all participants, and they were allowed to discuss it as little or as much as they wanted. Later in this chapter we will see that the media company executives disagreed, and did see female editors as bringing different aspects to the job.

In relation to the topic of management style, several participants made a point in the interviews of specifying that they had experienced no overt sexism in their career. One younger editor said that her gender neither helped nor hindered her career. Another longer-term editor acknowledged that the editorship was not a traditionally-female journalism position but that “if you want it you can get it, but you have to really want it.”

Nonetheless there were three difficulties with the job that several participants thought were gender specific, although just as many participants thought otherwise. The first difficulty was the editors’ sensitivity to public criticism, which is commonly from politicians or letters-to-the-editor. The second was the editors’ personal demonstration of stress or frustration, which could be described as “anger” for men and “tears” for women. The third difficulty

discussed by some participants was the Imposter Syndrome and how it affects female editors, in a similar manner to female executives in other industries. These three themes are now described in more detail.

Reaction to public criticism – Public criticism was described by a majority of participants as unpleasant to receive, but there was mixed reaction to whether this impacted female editors differently than male editors. One editor said letters-to-the-editor criticising her were “vicious”, but she was unsure if this was because she was a woman or some other reason. She had been warned previously that this particular newspaper readership was harsh on editors. A second editor said politicians’ criticism was one of the most difficult things in the job, as the mayor often publicly criticised her. Again, she was unsure if this would be the same for a male editor. A third editor also was stunned when she took up an editor position and “wasn’t prepared for the mayor’s viciousness,” which she thought was at least partially caused by her gender. A fourth editor said of her sensitivity to public criticism:

I don’t know if that is me personally or me as a woman, because I’ve seen male editors where it is like water off a duck’s back. I guess it is because I put such personal pride in and work so hard in my role. I find it quite, yes, upsetting.

However, three other participants dismissed public criticism saying it was part of the job, although one older editor put it:

I used to get upset if the paper or me personally would be criticised for a particular story. I learned not to respond immediately. I didn’t get used to it, though. I think I’m quite thin-skinned. Well, I did get used to it, but I didn’t like it.

Personal reaction to stress – The other gender specific characteristic of a woman editor identified by the participants was the inescapable threat of shedding tears in public. All said the stressful newsroom environment created situations that would often lead to tears of frustration, for journalists of both gender. All of the responding woman editors agreed that women have a greater tendency to burst into tears than men do, although most of the editors related incidents of male journalists who worked for them suddenly crying, too, when frustrated. From a manager's viewpoint, the female editors were generally non-judgemental about staff members who showed tears when stressed or had personal problems. One participant said she would want to tell staff "to get yourself together," but held back. Overall, the participants tended to be understanding of staff who cried.

Despite this acceptance of staff members' display of emotion, most participants did not accept their own display of emotional tears, saying said it was unacceptable and harmful for their career. Most of the women admitted that they tried very hard to control themselves from shedding tears in front of staff. Three talked about leaving the building urgently to walk around the block until they cooled down. Another one did cry while in a heated exchange with a corporate manager. "I was very embarrassed with myself for doing it. It made me feel inadequate." Another who started weeping at work said she left the office abruptly, "so I didn't do that thing." The idea of staff or other managers seeing them show frustration by tearing up was abhorrent to most of the participants as shown in the following comments:

- "You would lose everybody's respect."
- "It is still necessary not to alienate the other men. Sadly I think they are very distrustful of women, and women crying freak them out. They don't like any sign of weakness."

- “I don’t do tears, not at work.”
- “They’d see it as a sign of weakness.”

In contrast, the participants gave mixed reactions to the question asking their opinions about the more aggressive demonstration of stress and frustration, which they described as swearing, slamming phones, shouting, throwing things, and so on. Three said such behaviour was not tolerated in their newsrooms, while three others said it was part of the newsroom culture and was excusable. A majority of the women admitted to swearing themselves, although three said it was rarely. (During the interview three participants used coarse language as part of their normal vernacular, such as “f---”, “shit”, etc.) Overall, the participants agreed with the suggestion that the newsroom environment accepts displays of anger but not tears. Although five said they tried to run a newsroom that disallowed overt displays of anger, they admitted to sometimes resorting to angry language. On the other hand, however, they all said they would never want themselves to be seen weeping in anger or frustration in the newsroom.

Imposter Syndrome – Although the original interview topics did not include a question specifically about the imposter syndrome, which is also called the fraud syndrome (Reis, 1987), three participants referred to the syndrome during the discussions. This arose from the question line about their feelings of competency. The participants strongly agreed that they fell into the position of doubting their own ability to be included in the editor arena, and therefore they put in more hours and preparation than needed. Two additional editors described their personal drive to over-achieve. There was a general theme to their narrative that this drive to over-achieve or over-prepare may have led to their having waited so long

(average 18 years' experience) before considering themselves ready to apply for editorship. The longest serving editor seemed to be very aware of how she fitted into the model. She described an incident where she reviewed an American book about women's imposter syndrome and suddenly realised she was not alone:

I thought, F---, someone was reading my mind, that I too thought that some time someone is going to find out what I don't know... Because of feeling like that I over-prepared for everything, always worried about the one day someone would ask something I didn't have the answer to... Blokes are so good at pretending they have all the answers, but I never liked to bluster.

Another long-term editor saw imposter syndrome type of self-doubts in another woman editor, but later realised it was exactly the same for herself: "I shared it with others, and it may have been seen as a weakness, but I coped with it by relentlessly being over-prepared for everything." A third editor said: "The hard part of the job is always living up to my own unrealistic expectations."

6.2.9 Ways to Encourage More Women to be Editors

The participants were asked for their view on enticing more women to aim for editorships. There was a mixed reaction; and, in fact, a lack of strong cohesion even on the premise that there is a particular need to encourage more women. The majority agreed more woman editors would be valuable to society in general, but some felt there were other key positions within the industry that should also be more gender balanced, such as lower management positions like news editor. The consensus was that women leave the newspaper industry faster than men do, so there are fewer of them to apply for any type of management position.

There was also consensus that other female journalists lacked a strong career plan and lacked ambition to climb the career ladder in that structured manner. Some participants said they had approached other senior women to encourage them to editorships, but that these senior women were happy being the top of their journalism sub-section (for instance the best political editor, the best business editor, the best sub-editor, etc.). Three participants prepared for this research interview by asking other female journalists in their current newsroom what would encourage them to be editors. They reported that their informal survey netted a resounding reaction against aiming for editorship from the female journalists. In one newsroom the younger journalists said they were dissuaded from aspiring to be an editor when they saw how hard and unrewarding it had been for their female editor. The second editor reported similar responses, where the other newsroom women said that if they were going to work that hard they would want a job that paid better (such as in the related field of public relations). In the third case, the other female journalists held extremely powerful positions within the newspaper, but not the sole responsibility of editor. These women said they wanted to retain professional autonomy, and also the flexibility to quit at any time if the balance with family life got too strained. They felt that it was more difficult to step down from the editor position because of the time lag to find a replacement.

There were also comments from four participants that the new generation of journalists lacked the drive to work the required years to attain the tacit knowledge of the industry. Several gave examples of younger people wanting to be editor with only a few years experience, who then lost interest in the career path when they were told it takes longer. One participant said, "They don't realise that they can't just get the knowledge someplace else.

They have to put in the years.” Although the discussions did not approach the topic of tacit knowledge specifically, this reference to learning on the job was one of several references by the editors to the value of the unwritten or unstructured knowledge needed to gain a management position in the industry. The trend of tacit management is expanded in Section 6.2.10.

The question of how to encourage more women to become editors led to a discussion with each participant on why anyone would want the job, especially if they had a family life they valued, or planned to have a traditional family life in the future. One participant suggested that the industry should make the position of chief reporter/chief of staff easier, so more women aspire to it and would thereby start the step into a management career. In New Zealand this position is regarded as the first step into newsroom management, and traditionally is a high pressure job because the person is the link between the newsroom and management. Typically in New Zealand the chief reporter/ chief of staff also makes the day-to-day decisions on which journalist covers which story, therefore the person works long hours and can be on-call when they go home.

Three participants summed it up by saying that other female journalists shunned striving for an editorship because it was unrewarding: “You face a lot of criticism; you fight a lot of battles. Many women wouldn’t want that,” said one. A second participant said: “They look at the desk and think ‘what a stressful job. Why would I want to do that – the hours, the pressure from all angles?’” A third said: “Many people I have worked with have left to go to PR or government jobs because they have more family-friendly hours Either they have children, or thinking of having them, or do it to save a relationship, save a marriage.”

One participant suggested that a systematic nurturing system would help. She drew on her experience in Australia, where she was one of 14 new daily newspaper editors within the same media company. One particular newspaper tended to produce more editors from its pool of journalists than any others, and these upcoming editors were given prior training and encouragement. She believed that women responded well to this systematic approach, and said the programme started with 14 lower management journalists and five years later there were only four remaining, but three of the four were women.

Two participants suggested more female editors would encourage more female journalists to strive to become an editor. Besides providing role models, they thought it would create a critical mass to provide an easier career path for other women.

Most of the female editors criticised the new economic model of newspapers, where editors need to put less time into journalism and editorial decisions, and instead concentrate more time on profit-making strategies. The economic position meant added pressure to cut staff, the very staff members who were part of the editors' close collegial team before they became editors. Although this problem was not confined to female editors, the participants thought less economic pressure and staff cutting pressure would make the job easier to combine with family life.

6.2.10 Intuitive Leadership

One theme that emerged from each interview was the newspaper industry's reliance on "gut

feeling” by managers in carrying out staff hiring, retention and promotions. The participants described how they were a product of a manager who used tacit knowledge in assessing staff. In turn some of the participants described using this same tacit knowledge when assessing the potential of young staff.

Earlier in this chapter the practice of “shoulder tapping” was described in relationship to the participants being directed towards applying for an editor’s position. Some of these same women in turn “shoulder tapped” staff to encourage them to aim for management positions. When asked what characteristics they found in prospective managers, the responses were fairly vague. They described a tendency to rely on tacit knowledge, or more the gut feeling of the individual editor.

These descriptions flowed through to participants’ views of how they gained their own leadership qualities, especially in light of the fact that the vast majority of the participants had no previous formal management training. One credited her management characteristics to the fact that “my mother was a librarian,” another said “I had a stroppy mother” and another said “I was class leader from primary school.” These can be taken as frivolous comments, perhaps in an attempt to sound modest; however, in combination with other comments, they displayed a culture of depending on an intuitive decision-making style they obtained as a child rather than formally learned management styles. One participant felt she was shoulder tapped for a management career because a media executive saw she had the same organisational style as he did. Four other participants described other aspects of gut feeling management, in how they dealt with some staff:

- “You just know if they are going to be any good.”

- “You had to find the kindest way possible of letting them down, because they were never going to be like that, they were just not made that way.
- “Having the right DNA.”
- “There are only a few people, male and female, who have all the elements to come together to make that person a multi-tasker that is going to be a good chief reporter or editor... You know when you see it.”

Perhaps related to these comments is the industry’s heavy reliance on and valuing of a person’s decisiveness. Most participants reflected the need for a hierarchical type of authority system in the newsroom, necessitated by the tight deadlines for decision making. This was accepted for editorial decisions but also for staff management issues. One experienced editor put it this way:

In the end you have a job to do, against the deadline, and you have to remind people that this isn’t a democracy. Sorry, I get to make the decisions. When you want to make the decisions you go for my job when I’m not here anymore. And the reminder, that has been said on more than one occasion, if you don’t like it you don’t have to work here.

Hence a theme gleaned from the in-depth interviews was a culture of reliance on tacit knowledge within their newsrooms, which included both the major media companies in New Zealand. This tacit knowledge seems particularly strong in the arena of identifying journalists for promotion or career development. This concept is further highlighted in the analysis of the in-depth interviews with the media executives.

6.2.11 Viewpoint on Gender Coping Theories

The female editors were asked their opinion on the validity of Melin-Higgin's gender coping tactics (2004), after they had been shown a summary of the theory. This theory posits that female journalists who stay long term in the hegemonically masculine newsroom adopt one of four tactics: opting out of mainstream newspapers, taking softer jobs within the industry, creating a parallel environment they can specialise in, or adopting masculine traits.

None of the editors had previously heard of this theory, nonetheless there was consensus that a large number of the female journalists who stayed long term in newspaper did fall into these categories. Five of the participants listed many female colleagues who had accepted "softer" jobs in order to balance work and lifestyle. All participants agreed that many of their original colleagues from their earlier days in the industry had "opted out" into related work such as public relations for the same reason, in addition to better pay. After some cogitation, the participants also agreed that many female journalists who would be qualified to be editors have settled into "specialist" jobs, and four participants felt this best described the position they had taken after terminating their editorship.

The fourth tactic of "becoming masculine" drew conflicting viewpoints, with two women saying that this was no longer necessary for advancement. Two others initially took the same stand, but after reviewing the list agreed that many women have to go through a stage of "being one of the boys" in order to set their place in the newsroom. Seven participants agreed that they knew women who had, in fact, adopted masculine characteristics to fit into the news culture, as described by Melin-Higgins. Five of the nine female editors interviewed

put themselves outside of the list, saying they did not see themselves as fitting any of the categories. One suggested it is probably easier to categorise other people and not be objective about your own position.

The women agreed with Bourdieu's basic social field theory that newsrooms had their own unique culture, and that it was hierarchical and masculine. The interview did not explore their views on other aspects of Bourdieu's theory, and this may be a topic for future research.

6.3 Interviews of Media Company Executives

This section outlines the pertinent themes from the interviews of two male executives, representing the two main newspaper owners in New Zealand, Fairfax Media and APN. Although the media companies are owned by overseas corporations, both the men are New Zealanders and have long histories of involvement in the New Zealand daily newspaper industry. Both have been editors of daily newspapers themselves, and have been, or are, in the position of appointing editors to a majority of the country's daily newspapers.

Importantly for this research is that both men, coincidentally, have been identified by several of the woman editors in this research as the single person responsible for their editor career path. As discussed above, the women could pinpoint a particular person who shoulder tapped them to encourage them to apply for an editor's vacancy; four of the woman editors named one of these executives. Hence, the two executives were asked what they look for in a potential editor, particularly why they shoulder tapped the female editors they did, and what

they saw as the strengths and weaknesses of a female editor.

They were also asked about the barriers and motivators for female editors, which led to their views on problems of integrating family life with editorships. For the purposes of clarity in this discussion, and to keep identification anonymous, the two interviewees will be identified as Executive1 and Executive2.

6.3.1 Benefits of Additional Female Editors

Prior to the interviews in 2008-2009, both executives had been involved in discussion within their respective companies on encouraging more woman editors. One executive had initiated discussions within his company on the topic. The other has a personal interest in gender balance as his wife and two daughters were journalists.

However, both made it clear that the drive for more female editors is a commercial imperative, not confined to gender equality issues. They both provided statistics that show women are the readers and the purchasers who are important for revenue of the newspapers. Executive2 pointed out that many of the management groups making significant decisions in the media industry are made up completely of men, and he felt that they would be missing a crucial female viewpoint in making those decisions:

How dumb is it to keep that representation out of your management team, or out of your business, when so many of the buying decisions for our products, our publications or our services, or the things that are advertised in our papers are appealing to women who are making those purchasing decisions. Why wouldn't you

want a strong female influence in the kind of products we are putting out?

Executive1 said the industry needs more women as editors:

Because a newspaper needs fresh minds, fresh thinking, so if you don't have a woman in the top three positions of the newspaper, you are an idiot. ...My view has been shaped by the commercial reality that women buy our products and how stupid is it not to have women in senior positions in media companies, when so many of our products are bought by women, or our advertising and marketing services are aimed at women.

He also said that providing “good blokey stuff” in the treatment or selection of stories for the newspaper would tend to dissuade female readers. He felt strongly that female editors had an “intuition” about what would appeal to female readers.

6.3.2 Encouragers for Female Editors

Although several of the female editors identified these two men as significant in their path to being editor, both the media executives downplayed their contribution; in fact, both said they were simply at the right place at the right time, and perhaps other media executives would have promoted the women the same way. They both also made it clear that they encouraged the women because these particular women were strong candidates for the job, not because of their gender.

However, they both also pointed out specific strengths of female journalists compared to

men, although they were cautious about making gender labels. Executive1 said female managers helped increase readership: “A lot of those senior female journalists that I’ve known are incredibly intuitive about what readers like. They aren’t into old boys club and those sorts of things. They know what readers like, and so I encourage them.” Executive2 said, “It’s dangerous to talk about differences between genders, but so many women can work so hard. I’ve always been hugely impressed with the work ethics of a lot of women.”

6.3.3 Characteristics Required for an Editor

The daily newspaper environment was described by the two executives as tough and aggressive, and required an editor able to fit into this team, someone “robust”. Part of this harsh environment is traditional, but another aspect is the current economic squeeze on newspapers, as described by Executive2:

A newsroom has the aggressive adversary atmosphere with lots of testosterone floating around. I think the other problem these days is that the industry is seen as unrelentingly hard. Media is under pressure everywhere. And most newsrooms are operating with fewer staff, greater competitive pressures, and shareholder expectations, and for a lot of people, not just women, they are seeing it as too tough.

The two executives described how their companies informally monitor, over a period of years, the work of senior journalists who are given extra responsibility. They both put high value on the person’s journalism skills. They also monitored the journalist’s ability to succeed in a variety of environments, which usually meant having to shift to different newspapers. Being an editor who can achieve change, or is flexible enough to accept new

projects, was a key to being noticed by the executives. The main pathway, according to these executives, was that a journalist would have some sort of management or leadership experience, similar to an apprenticeship, before applying to be in an editor's position. They also said that while unobtrusively monitoring their journalists, they tried to measure the potential editor's ability to carry out the functions of the editor that are additional to other journalism jobs. This is expressed by Executive2:

You are looking for that incredible star, enthusiasm for life. You are looking for someone who is prepared to speak out, to challenge. A good ambassador can represent the newspaper in the community, and is quite important. You need someone who can front a group. Editors are expected to talk to a lot of groups. We place quite a lot of stock on that. We have problems with editors who are real cynical and disaffected with their communities. And that happens. I've seen that quite a lot. You need people who can deal with adversaries in the community without breaking off relationships.

These comments stemmed from the two executives being asked what they looked for in a potential editor. An interesting omission from the list of candidate requirements was prior formal management training. When asked about this omission both admitted that the industry is poor at providing training in business and management for journalists progressing to editor. Prior to 2008, a journalist was likely to become an editor with no formal training at all, although both executives said there had been attempts to introduce internal workshops or short courses. From 2008, however, APN has supported editors who wanted to take specific work-related courses through outside providers, and Fairfax has run a comprehensive, formally recognised year-long leadership course for mid-level staff identified as potential

managers.

6.3.4 Balancing Family Life and Editorship

The difficulty of fitting family life into the high pressure job was recognised by the media executives. They acknowledged the additional problems for women aspiring to be editors of having to shift around the country for promotion, and having to put in extremely long hours at the office and thereby being away from home and children. Both referred back to their own experience as editors and said it can be a lonely job for editors of both genders, and it can be difficult for both genders to cope with the personal attacks from politicians or the public. This segment will outline the executives' comments on collegial loneliness, difficulties in the requirement to shift cities, and the emergence of the "househusband" or non-traditional family structure.

Collegial isolation – Both executives said that comradeship or editorial networks are usually formed decades earlier, when the "bright editor prospect" journalists worked together as juniors, and were given indications from their supervisors that they were on a management career path. Executive1 admitted that when he was an editor he had a close friendly relationship with other editors around the country because they were his long-term friends stemming back to when they had worked together as junior and intermediate journalists. He agreed that this long-term comradeship might not be available to women as they were not necessarily identified as editor prospects early in their career. He suggested that in previous years this would have been the case because most editors were men, and management may not have seen past this gender divide, thereby overlooking any female prospects. However,

he said identifying prospective female managers earlier in their career has changed only slightly, because in more recent years the newspaper management is aware that the majority of women leave the industry within a short timeframe, so they do not immediately consider them editor prospects.

But Executive1 pointed out that feeling isolated stems from more than a lack of peer networks. He believed that part of the job which causes much concern for both genders is being isolated from community networks, because the relationship changes once the person becomes editor of the local newspaper.

Yes, it is the loneliest job in town. I wouldn't think it is worse for women. As an editor you have a huge number of acquaintances and only a few friends. And they get fewer and fewer if you are doing your job properly, because you will offend them.

Both executives said that part of the isolation and loneliness is the abrupt change in relationship with other journalists. Long-time newspaper journalists form close ties with colleagues, which includes spending work and social time together, often going to the pub, and sharing personal information. These activities are curtailed when the person becomes an editor and has personal staff information that cannot be revealed, and is then part of the management that journalists often criticise. As described above, the female editors thought the isolation was a major problem for women.

Shifting cities requirement – The requirement to shift cities to work at different newspapers was highlighted by the editors as a barrier for women as well as some men. Executive2 was adamant that shifting in order to get experience at different newspapers is a requirement for an editor, and they must do so “to be a good editor”. He reported that some men refused to

uproot their family, and thereby passed up opportunities to be considered for an editor's position. He said it was a fact of life for journalists wanting to be editors:

You have to be prepared to move, or to let someone else in, otherwise the product just stultifies. This is the same for men and women. And that is because for men most of their wives are working now so they have their jobs or connections in the community. Also people are trying to be better parents now. Being a decent parent is more important to them now.

Executive1 agreed it seemed harder for women to shift, but he did not have a reason.

Why men are able to do that, talk their wives into moving, while women are grounded? Some women are like that, and some aren't. I don't know the answer to that... whereas once upon a time we were all prepared to move for promotion, pack up our bags and make massive chaos for everybody. That was the way you got promotion, and it is still the case. Corporate owners are quite tough about it.

The problem facing women with families who aspired to be a daily newspaper editor is also highlighted below by the senior female editors who decided not to pursue editor positions. The requirement to shift locations leads to a problem with work/family life balance and is discussed in Chapter 7.

Non-traditional family structure – The concept of “househusband” described by the female editors in Section 6.1 was a factor outside the scope of hiring requirements for the media companies, of course, but it was an aspect the two executive participants observed as being important for women who were able to become editors. Executive2 said he has noted that “a lot of men now seem to be accepting this secondary role or that prime caregiver role. That is a big change. I've noticed that in the last five years.” He identified several woman

editors appointed in the last decade whose partners took up the major role of domestic duties. This was not necessarily a fulltime occupation for the partner, but did require them to work part time, or take on less stressful and less professional jobs. Some men had changed their careers in order to shift with their editor wives to another city.

Executive2 said more women were able to become editors in recent years because more partners were willing to work outside the traditional family roles. He saw a big change in attitude since the 1980s, when he was a young editor, and proffered that this would have been less acceptable at that time. “That would have been an attack on our manliness. I couldn’t possibly have done that,” he said.

6.3.5 Short Duration of Editor Career

As reported in Section 6.2, several women tended to hold the position of editor for a much shorter time than men. However, this is not possible to quantify since the number of female editors was so small overall. The media executives interviewed in this section confirmed that anecdotally men stayed in the job longer, but both qualified that this was a generality, and said that more recently some male editors had left the job after a short time to avoid the undue pressures, especially pressure on their home life.

Both executives also pointed out that some male editors remain very long term in the editor position, but Executive2 pointed out this is not necessarily beneficial for the industry:

Look at all the editors who have achieved great things. They may have achieved it when they were in their 30s, but by the time they are in their 40s they’ve been editor

for 5 or 10 years and say “hey I’ve been here too long, someone else should have a crack, but what do I do next?” That is quite a problem.....I think a lot of men hang around because what options have they got?

Conversely, both executives said women tend to be happy to give up the pressure of editorship much more quickly, and are happy to take what might look like a demotion as a more mainstream journalist within a newsroom. Executive2 said this could be because many women, as opposed to many men, have an additional income stream:

Woman editors may have male partners who are good earners, who can earn too. So they feel protected economically; whereas the male editor may be the sole earner and would have to drop \$30k a year to go back down to the newsroom. He might find that very difficult.

The issue of women having a short editor-career life was verified by both the media company executives and the group of female editors. Neither group, however, proffered a specific reason or solution. This research, however, further explores the phenomenon in Chapter 7 and also recommends possible solutions in Chapter 8.

6.4 Interviews of Non-Editor Female Journalists

This part of the chapter reports on the interviews with three women who were not daily newspaper editors, but who had attained senior positions within the newspaper industry, and had the experience and seniority required to apply for an editor’s position. The participants

present an alternative viewpoint of the editor position, and the type of women who become editors. They had held management or senior positions in daily newspapers during their career, and at the time of the interview were high profile journalists in New Zealand.

6.4.1 Profile of Female Non-editors

Two of the participants held positions that controlled publications with larger circulation and larger budgets than most of the daily newspaper editors who were interviewed, while the third has won dozens of media awards and was considered one of the nation's top journalists. The distinction between these three women and the previous group of female editors is that this group had attained levels of responsibility other than daily newspaper editor, such as weekly newspaper editor, or section editor. They also, at the stage of the interview, had made a conscious decision to not pursue a daily newspaper editorship. They were asked similar questions as the female editors, about the advantages and disadvantages of being an editor, and what they saw as the particular challenges for women.

Some themes that emerged from the analysis of the female editor interviews took a different hue with the senior women. An example was the strong journalism collegiality, which both groups saw as a beneficial strong bonding unit for those within. However, the female editors were outsiders and felt isolated while the senior female journalists were still within. Hence this chapter analyses the differing viewpoint of collegiality, mentoring, and being shoulder tapped. The first theme, however, is a distinction made by the participants between editing a daily versus weekly newspaper in gender terms. The chapter then examines in more detail

what the three female journalists saw as the positive and then negative aspects of becoming a daily newspaper editor. The participants are not named to encourage open dialogue. Below is a brief description of the three participants.

6.4.2 The Participants

The first participant was editor of a large circulation, competitive weekend newspaper for five years. She previously had been a section editor at a daily newspaper, and in recent years had been asked to apply for editor positions at daily newspapers. She said she declined the daily newspaper job offers primarily because of the improbability of balancing the job with her family life. She had been in journalism for 22 years, and was married with children. At the time of the interview she had just resigned to work outside the industry. For the purposes of this research she will be called Senior1.

The second participant was assistant editor to the largest daily newspaper in the country. She held powerful positions within the newspaper as sections editor, and had previously edited a weekend newspaper and a national weekly women's magazine. She did not apply for editor of newspapers in other cities as a career step because she said it would unsettle her family. She had been in journalism for 26 years, and was married with a daughter, and her husband had a stable professional position. At the time of the interview she had just resigned for a "break" from the industry for a year in order to regain her energy and enthusiasm, as she said she was "burned out". For the purposes of this research she will be called Senior2.

The third participant had been a senior award-winning reporter at three of New Zealand's

metropolitan newspapers. She had been a journalist for 14 years, and, in addition to daily newspapers, had previously worked at a large circulation weekend newspaper. She had been encouraged to apply for management positions, but said that after reflection she looked at those who were in newsroom management and “didn’t want to be that type of person”. She was married with no children. At the time of the interview she was a high profile journalist at one of the largest metropolitan newspapers, but was scaling down that job in order to build up her own business. For the purposes of this research she will be called Senior3.

Participant profile comparisons to female editors – These three participants are similar to the female daily editors interviewed, in that they studied journalism in a one-year-journalism programme before entering the industry. Two were teenagers when they entered the industry, and the other was aged 26 and had previously earned a university degree. At the time of the interviews, two were aged in their mid 40s; the other mid-30s. Like the editors, they had undertaken a variety of roles in the newsroom, and had worked at several different media organisations.

In contrast to the female editors interviewed, however, all participants were married to men with their own careers, although one said she was currently supporting her husband who was retired. Since participating in these research interviews, the three women have left the industry, although they each say this may be temporary and they plan to return in the future.

Profile comparison to other female journalists – One aspect mentioned by all three women was that they believed they were an oddity for remaining in journalism so much longer than their journalism school classmates did. Even the one with the least amount of experience said

her 14 years in newspaper made her “a dinosaur” in the newsroom. This longevity gave a special value to the interviews and analysis of the viewpoint of these senior female journalist participants. They were unusual in not being the average female journalist who stayed a relatively short time in newspapers, but on the other hand were not on a career path to become a daily newspaper editor. (Caveat: their intention at the time of writing was to shun a job as daily newspaper editor, but as all are mid-career it is possible they could change their mind in the future and be enticed back to the industry.)

6.4.3 Daily Newspaper vs. Weekly Newspaper Deadlines

All three participants had substantial experience in weekly publications as well as daily publications and had strong views on the additional problems a daily deadline placed on an editor’s family life. Two of these participants had more managerial responsibility and larger budgets than most of the daily newspaper editors interviewed in Section 6.2.

The three senior female journalists contended that a weekly deadline newspaper, no matter how large and competitive, is easier to integrate with family life, compared to a daily deadline newspaper. Editing a daily newspaper means facing the stress of production deadlines every 24 hours, while a weekly editor faces this only every seven days. Editors need to be in the office until all content is sent to the printers, which is six days a week for dailies, and once a week for weeklies. Therefore a weekly deadline allows editors time early in the production cycle to take off for family commitments. One participant who had several children and a retired husband said she was probably still in journalism at the time of the interview only because she was at a newspaper with a weekly deadline. “Daily newspapers

are more punishing. From a family point of view things that are achievable on a weekly aren't available on a daily," she said. Another participant said "the weekend newspaper was my spiritual home." It is worth noting that four of the female editors in Section 6.2 had left the daily newspaper editor position to take up a job with a weekly deadline.

6.4.4 Positive Aspects of Remaining in Newspaper Journalism

The three participants' responses to why they stayed in newspaper journalism mirrored the responses that female editors made in Section 6.2: creativity within the job, working with and for the community, and working within a team. As a weekly-publication editor, Senior1 was enthusiastic about "being able to shape the whole paper." Senior3 said she had a deep passion for everything about creating a story:

When I fell in love the first time, I knew what it was because it was the feeling I had with journalism. It was the all encompassing, took over my life, nothing else mattered, it was the focus.

As for liaising with the community, Senior2 said she purposely took on some management roles that allowed her to get out of the office and into the community, which she said her newspaper did not do enough. She felt it was a responsibility of a newspaper to develop a connection with its readers. On the other hand, Senior3 differentiated "community" from "people" and said that her motivation was to discover the unique stories of various people: "I loved the access it gave to people and their stories, and then I was able to serve them up to my readers. I loved reflecting the world around me."

Working with a team was very high on the list of positive aspects of an editor's position for Senior1, who said her success was due to creating and developing a good team environment. She even turned down a job because she would not have been able to bring her whole team with her. "I'm only as good as my team," she said.

These positive aspects, however, were able to be attained by these three women without taking over the top position of editor. All three had positions of autonomy, and two had complete control over their publications, albeit weeklies, so could control the creative aspect of layout as well as text.

6.4.5 Encouragers to Aim for an Editor Job

The three participants agreed that the industry informally shoulder tapped people they wanted to move into management. Senior1 said, "Editors in the past were shoulder tapped, with a predictable job sequence, and were invariably male." Senior3 said she was approached to go into management, but it was with the tone that she "owed" it to the industry and giving up reporting to go into management would be "giving something back to the industry".

All said that overseas experience was crucial for their continuing in the industry as long as they did. One had won a scholarship, one had worked at an Australian newspaper, and one had worked in Britain for several years. Senior1 said that, unlike New Zealand, the overseas positions forced women to take more of a leadership role: "Yes it was valuable...you are expected to be verbal and expected to be outspoken," said Senior1.

However, unlike the female editors earlier in this chapter, these three participants lived in a more traditional family structure, and the balance of work and family life seemed particularly important to them. None had househusbands nor commuter marriages. Senior2 made it clear that her husband's stable professional job prohibited her shifting locations, and that she would not "uproot" her daughter. Senior3 said that finding a partner changed her previous practice of putting the job as her first priority:

A major turning point in my life was meeting my husband. That changed my whole perspective and how much I was up for this all-encompassing job. How much do I really want to surround myself with negativity, when I have someone lovely to go home to every night? Do I really need to be spending my days locked in battle with [media management]?

The industry's practice of providing little or no preparation for prospective editors was criticised by the three women, especially the lack of training. Senior1 said, "You learn on the job...You are in charge of a six-million-dollar budget and there is no training for it." Senior3 was offered a management position, but she told her executives that she would first want a Masters in Business Administration because she did not "want to go into it and be useless".

All participants said they received no mentoring during their career, with Senior2 saying, "I had lucky breaks, but I couldn't say I was sponsored through my career by anybody." Senior1 particularly criticised the industry's lack of mentoring for prospective editors. Once she got into management level herself she realised she needed a mentor, and eventually convinced her media company into funding a formal mentor for her from outside the industry. On the other hand, Senior3 felt that she was "supported and treasured" when she

first entered journalism. She felt that once she won a national media award, two editors seemed to think it was “worth investing the time in me,” and she could meet with these two editors at any time to discuss her career. However, she agreed these relationships did not fall into the definition of mentoring in the sense of systematic and regular feedback and support.

One participant described an incident when the topic of “stress management” was surprisingly put on the agenda of an annual editor’s conference, and the media company brought in an external consultant to lead a presentation. The consultant reportedly told the group to think about it a different way: ‘if you don’t think it is stressful, it won’t be.’ Within a week, two editors resigned:

There were hideous issues going on, that we were all aware of at that table, but they were never discussed. No formal mentoring going on. And this was the quality of the message: just get your heads sorted guys.

The use of the word “mentor” was not common within the newsroom, therefore the interview sessions included a segment for me to clarify that the meaning of mentor is a regular and systematic support for an employee.

6.4.6 Negative Aspects of Daily Newspaper Editorship

All participants still expressed a passion for journalism and spoke in glowing terms of their accomplishments for their newspaper, and for the community. They elaborated their answers when asked why women tend not to become daily newspaper editors. The responses fell into several themes, which mirrored opinions expressed by the female editors in Section 6.2.

These were: a perception of a thankless job (the long hours, stressful work environment, changing emphasis on commercial success versus journalistic success, lack of role model), the rigidly male culture (which the literature in Chapter 2 terms masculine hegemony), and lack of collegial support as they climbed the career ladder. The participants were also asked about moves within the industry to gain more gender balance in management, and their views on coping techniques of female journalists. Their viewpoints are examined below.

Perception of a thankless job – The three experienced female journalists indicated that they had ample time and opportunity to observe daily newspaper editors at work and could see nothing enticing enough for them to want the position full time for themselves. Senior2 thought her metropolitan newspaper editor was overworked, overstressed, preoccupied with commercial decline, and “in a very invidious position.” She thought being an editor “had more intrinsic value 10 years ago” when the content of the newspaper was paramount. She said that now the editor is only one of six executives on the newspaper and the sales and marketing had a bigger say in the final product. Senior1, who resigned from editorship of the large weekly newspaper soon after the interview, also pointed to the constant budget cuts that negatively affected the journalistic job she could do. “There needs to be an increase in research and reporting and less processing,” she said. The younger Senior3 said, “It looks like a frustrating slog,” and described the editors’ extra stress and work that took them away from creative journalism. She also thought the newsroom fostered negative personalities, and did not want to become like one of her managers: “He is a very manipulative and very antagonistic man.”

The participants knew that as editors they would work long hours, but more important to

them was that the long hours were not in journalistic pursuits. They particularly wanted to avoid what one termed, “frustrating battles with marketing and sales”. Two participants were regularly in top level management meetings and witnessed the regular economic debates. As described by Senior1, “The media is going into this paroxysm – with the new media, uncertainty, and no optimism.”

It would be impossible to overemphasise the level of frustration expressed by these three interviewees on what they saw was a lack of focus by the newspapers, and lack of quality priorities. All three spoke very passionately about the problems resulting from newspapers’ changing news values and ensuing stress on managers. They saw unrewarding stress on the faces of their current managers and executives, which did not give them role models to aspire to, whether male or female.

Masculine Hegemony – The three participants were adamant that the daily newsroom culture is aggressive. The culture was described by each one at various stages of the interviews as “bullying.” There was some discussion on the use of the term “masculine” culture, as these participants said many men were as uncomfortable in the environment as women, but it was described as a culture that applauded heavy alcohol drinking, loud arguments, and aggressive personalities. However, the culture, despite being aggressively masculine, was also a very close-knit culture that was very familiar to them. Two participants agreed that they fitted in easily with the culture, at least in the earlier stage of their journalism career. Senior3 said she loved the atmosphere where work and pub intertwined, and her work colleagues were also her best friends and her only social network: “Such a sense of camaraderie.”

The other two also described the professional collegiality as fun, but warned that it could be suffocating and controlling because of its exclusivity. They described various newsroom anecdotes to underscore that newspaper journalists create a social network, exclusive of most other social networks. Senior 2 said:

Journalism is a social job, mixing with other journalists; but anti-social in mixing with the community at large. Unless you have a passion, it is hard to maintain that day, nights, and weekends.

One participant had a slightly different experience, when she took over a newsroom with “a heavy drinking, partying culture”. She was heavily criticised for not partying late into the night and drinking with the other reporters, and instead going home to her family. “There were costs for me in taking this stand. There is camaraderie in the boozy culture, and this camaraderie is powerful,” she said. The inference made is that a single or childless person would be more likely to blend into the social scene. She later created a new culture in the newsroom that took account of both male and female journalists’ family situations. She did this by allowing staff to work from home at times, providing office social events in the late afternoon so staff could participate and still get home to families, and keeping abreast of staff members’ personal lives and providing extra support when needed when they were having family difficulties.

The masculine style environment seemed to permeate both the newsroom and the boardroom. All three participants gave examples of verbal aggression and confrontation within boardroom meetings. “The bullying culture is very much at management level without a

doubt. You cope by becoming tough,” said Senior1. And she did become tough, admitting that she learned to be verbally aggressive at meetings in order to have her opinion heard:

Toughness is valued. Resilience is valued. The ability to get knocked down and stand back up, the ability to be criticised, the ability to give criticism--these are all ingredients of the traditional mainstream media. This ruthless outfit is the model. They role model that, absolutely they do. There isn't any room for any alternative way of being.

Senior2 also admitted to having the traits that fit the model of the newsroom, and could argue strongly and loudly at meetings and know how to get her way:

But as I got older I became much more aware that you are women and you can't pretend to be a bloke. But I do have those alpha personality traits. That probably helps my voice be heard.

Senior3 was very critical of some of her managers who she felt contributed to a bullying environment:

One of the things that has really stopped me along the way is the idea that I would have to battle it out with these men, these men who are prepared to build their entire lives around getting that job. They are bullies. I think the industry attracts bullies.

Despite the observations that the newspaper newsroom can be intimidating, the three participants coped with it well enough over many years to create successful personal reputations. The two more experienced participants gave anecdotes of getting used to being the only woman in a meeting or conference. Senior2 also pointed out that more women started taking senior roles several years ago, but then it dropped back down this century to small numbers again:

The reality is that conferences are male dominated, senior jobs are male dominated. And for some people that is a real challenge. For other people it is a turn off. Combine this with the hours and working condition; journalism has a big burn out factor.

The three participants acknowledged that they had become almost gender-blind because they were in all-male environments so much. Senior2 actually counted the number of women at editorial meetings during the past decade and could describe how the ratio of women was getting towards 50% for a few years, and now it is back down to her often being the only woman present. Although the participants coped with the environment, they all acknowledged that it was a deterrent for other women.

Lack of Collegial Support – The hegemonic masculinity of the newspaper offices described by the senior female journalists was connected to the lack of collegial support they felt in their career path when in management positions. The participants described a career path where women rose up the career ranks and had to leave the newsroom journalists' collegiality, but did not seem to join the management collegiality. From their observations and previous experience, they described going into management as leaving behind a unique journalism culture. Two likened it to retreating from all-consuming collegiality, and retreating from an environment of blurred boundaries between work and home lives.

They described a situation where women come into management from a different path than men, so they do not fit comfortably into the management-level collegiality. The different career paths into management were described graphically by Senior3. She explained that she often shied away from applying for management positions because she felt unready. She felt

she “only had 14 years experience”, but then watched men with half that amount of experience apply, and obtain, the position. She said, the younger men were invisibly groomed from early days as potential managers and therefore had the confidence “to put their hand up” for job openings. She felt women were not groomed and therefore lacked confidence. The other two agreed that the boys’ network collegiality helped give men confidence to apply for positions earlier in their career.

Along the same vein, Senior1 described frequently being an outsider at high level meetings where she was the only woman. She said she had to be aggressive for her opinions to be heard the same as others at the meeting. Although male editors did not support her, she felt they did not particularly support each other either because of “puerile” competition:

I was surprised, and I guess I shouldn’t have been. But I was surprised at just how un-collaborative other editors were, how unsupportive other editors were of each other. It’s really regarded as a fiercely competitive environment, where the papers are competing against each other, even within the same stable.

Senior3 also gave examples of her direct manager publicly humiliating female staff members who won awards or did well in the journalism field, but never did the same for successful male journalists. She felt his collegial relationship with the male journalists protected them from his public criticism.

6.4.7 Intuitive Leadership

The place of tacit knowledge was not specifically explored with each participant, but there was indication from some responses that they experienced hiring and promotion based on

their managers' gut feeling. There was also indication that they too relied on intuition for management decisions. Senior2 said, "A lot of the way I operate is instinctive, but I think I have a lot of logical underpinning." Senior3 talked about news judgement, "just feeling" what was a good story. She used terms frequently such as "you know when you see it" and "I instinctively know the next step" and "some journalists are born with it". These comments most often related to content production in the industry, such as selection of stories or angles within a story, rather than other management decision-making.

6.4.8 Forecast for Balanced Gender Leadership

All three participants felt there were no changes on the horizon for the newspaper newsroom environment, in regards to a friendlier or less aggressive atmosphere. The aspects each one abhorred were going to continue unabated; hence their individual decisions to leave the industry at this stage. The younger one, Senior3, felt that the manager that she thought was a bully would continue getting promotions because of his style. Senior2 said she had lost confidence in her media company being able to take time to look at social issues, as it was preoccupied with economic survival.

Economic survival was also the reason given by Senior1 for her media company not making any progress on trying to get more gender balance in editorial management. She said the company acknowledges it is a problem, but still she is the only woman at conferences or at the boardroom table:

The gender problem at that level is invisible. It is not even on the agenda. And I think that is due to the fact that it has been overtaken by far more pressing problems

like circulation, and revenues, and the internet, and how to retool the print industry. And so in that kind of revolutionary context, issues of gender equity have just become absolutely of no interest to them. There is no impulse whatsoever to address them.

Senior1 felt an additional problem was that women were not actively striving for editor positions, and not applying for them, which she said was amazing considering the high ratio of women in the reporter level of the newsrooms. She said that women not applying for the jobs gave male executives an additional excuse to ignore the gender disparity. However she contended that the underlying problem was the industry did not made the job enticing for females:

Women look at these roles now and see they are no longer desirable roles. The days unfortunately when editor was desirable, swan around having lunch with x number of people, they aren't there. Those days are over. Women see the role as incredibly stressful, more and more managerial, and less and less journalistic. In other words, it's not worth the ticket. There are no concessions for women with children.

The above quote is a strong summation of the current situation by a woman who could be considered an insider, with several years being at the executive conferences and meetings with daily newspaper editors in the large media company. Her viewpoint that editorships simply are undesirable is a graphic way of describing what female editors in Section 6.2 also said in slightly less-direct ways. Senior2 and Senior3 both said their partners and homelife were more important than being an editor. The female editors themselves demonstrated the undesirability of the editor position by their actions – most stayed only a short time before quitting to move to more comfortable jobs. Furthermore, as reported in Section 6.3, the two

media company executives admitted that media companies were having difficulty finding female editors. The undesirability of becoming an editor for female journalists will be discussed further in Chapter 7 and is the focus of the Glass Bubble model in Chapter 8.

6.4.9 Viewpoint on Gender Coping Theory

All participants were provided with a verbal and written explanation of Melin-Higgins's theory that female journalists are able to cope in the masculine culture by adopting one of four tactics: opting out of mainstream newspapers, taking softer jobs within the industry, creating a parallel environment they can specialise in, or adopting the masculine traits. These three participants agreed that most of their female colleagues fell into these categories. They also readily put themselves into a category. Senior1 thought she had "specialised" by creating a new environment at her newspaper that was more conducive to her family life style. Senior2 said she had adopted masculine traits, being verbally aggressive and "a sports nut" and trying to avoid any hint of being "a girly type". Senior3 labelled herself as "opting out" since she had resisted going into management and was at the time of the interview starting to work only part-time in the newspaper and part-time in a related field.

6.4.10 Male Editors' Coping Tactics

Although this research focuses only on female editors and not male, these three participants were asked their opinion on the reasons men put up with the long hours and stressful environment while women either shun it or stick with it for only a short time. Although these were their personal opinions, this outside perspective was worth exploring because of the participants' long experience in the newspaper industry.

In general the participants felt men became trapped into the power and pay of the job and were unable to give it away for a less prestigious job. They all agreed that after working in newspaper journalism for many years, a person has highly-refined skills that are not of use in any other industry; hence anyone who left would be starting over in a new career. The interview then led to a discussion on the reasons women are willing to “go down” into a less prestigious, but also less stressful position, while men did not. All participants made it clear that many men do suffer from the aggressive and stressful environment. They gave numerous examples of men having emotional breakdowns, or leaving the industry, or otherwise not fitting into the mainstream culture.

However, focusing on the men who do stay long term, they all said they felt that these men are very much defined by their position, their title of being “editor”. Stepping down would be a blow to their social standing, as well as difficult on their income expectations. Senior3 thought the power of the job was enough of an incentive for men, while women could easily be happy with the less powerful job of reporting as an incentive.

Senior1 also thought that the added problem of childcare made the situation doubly difficult for women: “It has got to be where the cost benefit analysis goes, and women are judging it differently from men. Men are obviously still seeing enough in the baubles of the office to make it attractive.”

6.5 Summary

The 14 newspaper professionals interviewed for this stage of the research had remarkably

similar views on what the barriers were for women becoming daily newspaper editors, despite their coming from the perspective of female editors, senior female journalist non-editors, and male media company executives who hire editors. At the beginning of the study there were very few hints of what would be the conclusion for Research Question Three: *What are perceived as the barriers or enticements for women attaining editorships?* However, from the 14 in-depth interviews there emerged a list of themes that the participants perceived to be significant to gender diversity of newspaper leadership, *Table 6.5*. In conclusion, not only do the ten main themes cogently answer the research question, but they also reflect issues that are significant to the promotion and subsequent retention of female journalists.

Table 6.5 Themes that Emerged from the Interviews

Themes	Factors Mentioned
Career path determined by external factors	Shoulder tapped by an executive manager Overseas fellowship or experience Ability to have a non-traditional family structure
Negative factors of the editor career path	Lack of mentoring Lack of management training Lack of role models Collegial isolation – male culture
Positive factors of being an editor	Creative satisfaction (journalistically) Community liaison Team building Continue their passion for journalism
Negative factors of being an editor	Collegial isolation Conflict with corporate commercial agendas
Negative factors on family-life balance of being an editor	Long hours Unpredictable hours Stressful work environment Requirement to shift cities
Gender difference in management style	Reaction to criticism Demonstration of stress Imposter Syndrome
Intuitive leadership	Reliance on gut feeling or tacit knowledge
Short editor career life (≥ 5 years)	Female editors abruptly quit their editor career Female ex-editors remain in the industry
Collegiality	Team bond among journalists is strong Journalism bond is severed with editorship Team bond among editors is weak
Four female-journalist coping techniques	Women opt out, take softer jobs, specialise, or adopt the masculine culture

The 27 factors that make up the themes show that three events that encouraged women to apply for editorship all came from factors external to their job achievements – being shoulder tapped by a manager, gaining an overseas fellowship or trip, and having a husband willing to

take over running the home and family. The obstacles to women aspiring to the editor position were the lack of mentoring, the lack of management training, the lack of female role models, and a predominately masculine culture.

Once attaining an editorship the positive factors were the creativity of having complete control of the content of each day's newspaper, being able to liaise and work with community issues, and developing the editorial team on the newspaper. The negative factors of the actual work of being an editor were collegial isolation and frequent conflict between journalism and commercial pressure. In addition to these negative issues, however, were the impositions on the family life – long hours, unpredictable hours, stressful work environment, and requirement to shift cities to gain promotion.

There were also perceived additional difficulties for female leaders: their reaction to the public criticism commonly levelled at editors; how the women show stress or are able to suppress any tears of frustration; and the imposter syndrome of always feeling inadequate and having to put in extra time and effort to over-prepare.

The participants said they felt women remained editors for less time than men did. This perception of women's short duration in the editor seat was validated by this research when the data showed all except two female editors in the past ten years stayed in the job less than five years, with half of them holding the position for less than three years. Another interesting trend was that it seemed they ended their career abruptly, rather than gradually easing out over a long period.

The issue of collegiality arose in various aspects. A major finding from the interviews was that female editors felt their job was much harder because of the lack of professional collegiality, that they felt isolated. This is in contrast to those journalists who are not in management positions. Journalism has an intense work routine and fosters a close network among practitioners. Although this closeness is seen as a strength of the newsroom for those within the collegial network, it created a void for those who were excluded when they were no longer within the social group, such as journalists who move into management. This is even more difficult for female editors in two ways. For one, they do not flow into the editors' social group as a replacement, apparently because of their gender. The second is that, unlike male editors, they have been part of the journalists' social group much longer, almost two decades in the case of the female editors interviewed.

The last theme is related to the Melin-Higgins theory of female journalists' coping techniques. The anecdotal view from the 14 interview participants was that this theory did indeed capture the general career flow of women in the newspaper industry in New Zealand. Although all the editors worked at different newspapers in different parts of the country, they readily identified that their colleagues fit into the theory. Although Melin-Higgins's research was based in Europe and Britain, it seems the theory is relevant to discussions of New Zealand journalism.

The ten themes in Table 6.5 bring the newspaper environment into clearer focus, especially as it pertains to female leadership. These themes were a general consensus from women who had been daily newspaper editors, as well as senior female journalists who had not been editors, and the male media executives who hire editors.

At this stage of the thesis we now have a better picture of how female journalists are integrated into daily newspapers careers through the content analysis, attitudinal survey, and in-depth interviews. The answers to the three research questions help put this picture into focus. We see that female journalists do a lot of writing and reporting of hard news items, but do not stay as reporters long enough to produce articles on more specialised topics, as answered by Research Question One: *What is the visibility of female journalists in New Zealand's metropolitan newspaper environment, as measured externally by monitoring bylines?* We also see that female journalists tend to have a passion for newspaper journalism, but many quit the career after about two years because of the negative newsroom culture, as well as the low pay and erratic hours, as answered by Research Question Two: *How do early-career journalists describe their decisions to remain in or leave the newspaper industry.* The answer to the second part of RQ2, *and what gender differences are in the decision making process,* was that women are particularly influenced to leave by poor management support. The lack of management support is also one of the reasons female journalists left the editor position, and left after only three years at the helm, as answered by Research Question Three: *What are perceived as the barriers or enticements for women attaining editorships?* In essence, we see that many of the barriers could be avoided by different management cultures.

In conclusion, we see that women are not fully integrated into the daily newspaper journalism careers. Many do not remain long enough in the career to attain powerful positions, and those who do remain longer and become editors are powerless to make the job fit their lifestyle and needs.

This clearer picture of the gender power imbalance in New Zealand daily newspaper leads to the next question, which is how the New Zealand scene fits with the theoretical framework described in Chapter 2 Literature Review. The next chapter discusses the results of each Research Question and how they correspond to other academic studies on newsroom culture.

Chapter Seven: DISCUSSION

7.1 Introduction

The focus of the discussion chapter will be to show how the newsroom culture theory applies to New Zealand, despite being developed in countries on the other side of the globe. New Zealand has led the world in many gender milestones, such as the first to give women the vote and one of the few western countries to have women dominate the prime minister position over the past decade. However, my research indicates the extent to which the newsroom culture is still archaically hegemonically masculine.

The foundation for my research is the newsroom culture theories, developed by such scholars as Bourdieu (2005), Ross (2004), Poindexter (2008a), and North (2009), that contend that daily newspaper journalism newsrooms have their own culture of hierarchy, rules, and standards which conform to the aggressively masculine culture. It is not easy for females to transcend the status quo because the ingrained protocols are unwritten, non-verbalised, and not obvious to those outside the culture. The hegemonic masculinity of the newsrooms is so intrinsic that those who succeed in it often normalise the gender imbalance, and no longer see that the aggressive nature is part of the system. The newsroom culture theorists maintain that the existing culture does not exclude women, but rather it dissuades women who do not accept and normalise the aggressively masculine style. Despite almost a century of women flowing into journalism, and decades of women's rights putting the spotlight on sexist

treatment in journalism, the newsroom culture has remained intrinsically masculine.

The second theory that applies to New Zealand is Melin-Higgin's (2004) gender coping tactics, which sets out four methods that female journalists use to survive the overly masculine newsroom culture. Three of these remove women from being able to compete for management jobs – to opt out of the newsroom by doing freelance or contract work, to be satisfied with soft news jobs such as advertorials or news administration, or to build up a specialisation in a side career such as the best political or health reporter. The fourth tactic is to become “one of the boys” and adopt the culture of the newsroom men. Melin-Higgins contends most women who gain editor positions have adopted this fourth technique.

My research explored what specific practices continue to support the genderised culture in the newsroom. The first underlying practice for the conduit of the masculine hegemony in the newsroom is tacit management. This is the unspoken, unwritten management guidelines that dictate which new employees are encouraged to stay and which ones are not. Section 7.4.3 discusses the lack of resources that affects all editors in the current economic climate, Section 7.4.4 discusses how tacit management pervades the newsroom environment, and Section 7.4.5 discusses how other research contends this style of management hampers female employees in particular. Tacit management, also called gut feeling management, supports the status quo, which in the case of daily newsrooms is aggressively masculine. Tacit management leads to many women being prevented from joining the normal flow into management; hence those who do enter management have to take a circuitous career path. The female career path limits their ability to develop necessary management resources for the editor's job, such as professional collegiality (Section 7.4.5) and family-work life balance

(Section 7.4.6).

Despite acknowledging the strong masculine culture that pervades the industry (discussed further in Section 7.4.1), in this chapter I then question the existence of the glass ceiling in the New Zealand newspaper industry (Section 7.5). Although many media gender scholars before me have attributed the low number of female media managers to the existence of a glass ceiling, I will describe another aspect, that of an invisible shield. This invisible shield, called the glass bubble, is advantageous to individual women, but a disadvantage to the overall growth of female editors. It is an advantage to individual women who want to leave newspapers for a better career, but it is a disadvantage to an industry trying to build up the number of female editors.

In exploring the culture of the newsroom, the following discussion uses the term “masculine”, but it should be noted that in fact many men eschew the environment as much as women. I will, however, continue using the term, as it is the language adopted by previous gender and media research (Bourdieu, 2005; Chambers, Steiner, & Fleming, 2004; Melin-Higgins, 2004; North, 2009; Ross, 2009), with the understanding that in using “masculine” we are describing a culture that has traditionally been attributed to masculine characteristics. This does not mean all men fall into this category, nor do all women fall outside the category. What it does signify is that the culture is aggressive, macho, and combative (Byerly & Ross, 2006; Ross, 2004) and symbolically violent (Bourdieu).

The three research methods I used (content analysis, attitudinal survey, in-depth interviews) worked incrementally to build a clearer picture of female journalists’ attitude towards newspaper careers. The incremental aspect of this research led to the requirement for

Research Question One to be answered before the next two research questions could be explored. Hence, the first method was a content analysis of the largest daily newspapers in New Zealand to ascertain to what extent there existed a gender difference in authorship of content produced by the five New Zealand metropolitan newspapers. The results were that female journalists produce a low proportion of news content (38% of bylined articles). This led to the second research question to explore the differences between male and female journalists in their attitude to working in daily newspapers. The results indicated women were more likely than men to leave a daily newspaper career because of the newsroom culture. The final step was to investigate more fully those who did not leave, and how experienced journalists perceive their career. The in-depth interviews underscored that most women would not, or could not, fit into the gruelling senior management culture of daily newspapers, and those who did attain that position said they lacked proper training beforehand, and proper support during their tenure, resulting in most leaving the job after only three years.

This chapter will discuss how the research results combine with existing literature to better understand the gender phenomenon in newspaper journalism. The discussion will first answer each of the three research questions, and then will explore issues that have emerged from the research that influenced the career path of female editors. These issues are divided into positive and negative influences, and the discussion then centres on how these combine to influence a newsroom culture that prevents some women from climbing the career ladder.

7.2 Research Question One:

What is the visibility of female journalists in New Zealand's metropolitan newspaper environment, as measured externally by monitoring bylines?

The overall results of the content analysis of bylines in the five largest metropolitan daily newspapers for July 2005 concluded that women authored only 38% of bylined newspaper articles, compared to men's 62%. These findings put New Zealand in line with most other studies of overseas newspapers that conclude that most newspaper articles are written by men. The Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP, 2010) surveyed 108 countries and reported that 35% of newspaper articles were written by women. The American Society of News Editors' annual tally indicated 37.7% of newspaper newsroom personnel were women (ASNE, 2009); and in a study of nine European countries it was reported that only one-fourth of the journalists were women (Byerly & Ross, 2006). There is no official register of journalists in New Zealand.

My study's results of 38% female authorship look healthier than overseas studies', however they were lower than the New Zealand section of the 2005 Global Media Monitoring Project. Although that study analysed articles from the same year and same basic newspapers as my study, it reported 56% of newspaper articles were written by female journalists in this country (Fountain, 2005a). This variance, however, is explained by the different research method, and number of articles analysed. My study included 13,147 articles, from all sections of each newspaper over a 30 day period, compared to the GMMP's one-day snapshot of 137 articles. While the GMMP concentrated on the hard news in the first few pages of each newspaper,

my study included all sections and thereby produced more comprehensive results.

The comprehensive results showed that across all five newspapers, men produced the majority of articles in all individual sections of the newspaper: business, features, front page, national and local, opinion, and sports. However, closer analysis of the newspaper authorship did point to a greater gender imbalance in the authorship of three significant specialised areas of reporting – business, opinions, and particularly sports. The low number of women who contribute to opinion articles (25%) is not unique to New Zealand. Steiner (2008) expressed concern about the lack of female opinion writers in the United States, and also about the media's insistence that female opinion writers concentrate on only family/gender issues. The *Los Angeles Times* was publically scolded by one of its female opinion writers for its lack of support for gender balance in the opinion page (Gibbons, 2002) and Harvard University's research center Press, Politics and Public Policy held a summit specifically on the lack of women authoring newspaper opinion articles. Similarly, business, which is considered one of the more prestigious hard reporting rounds (Poindexter, 2008a) has been seen to attract more males, as they use it as a career step.

According to the newspaper editors interviewed in Chapter 4, a reason for the lower proportions of women in opinions and business in New Zealand could be attributed to these sections requiring more seasoned reporters to apply; hence, a lack of senior women would lead to a lack of applicants. This hypothesis is supported by my attitudinal survey discussed below that showed a high ratio of female journalists leave the industry early in their career.

The third section, sports, is a severe oddity in gender balanced reporting. It was dramatically

at the bottom of the list in this research for gender balance, with women authoring only 8.5 % of sports articles, compared to men's 91.5%. Some researchers consider sports hard news (Made & Morna, 2009) but others put it outside the mainstream journalism fields (Mason, 2005, Wojcierchowski, 1990). Nonetheless, researchers in other countries also found a low proportion of sports stories authored by females, such as 9% in Britain (Boyle, 2006), 6% in the United States (Dharmaraj & Ortiz, 2006) and 5% in ten European countries (Rowe, 2004).

My quantitative analysis used a slightly different method than previous New Zealand research of female sports writers, but all concluded that newspaper sports reporting is heavily dominated by men in New Zealand. Unlike my study, two previous studies included non-bylined articles in the tally – female journalists produced only 2% of sports articles compared to men's 24% in 1991 analysis (Ferkins, 1992) while 14 years later the 2005 analysis (Strong, 2005) showed only a slight change, with females producing 3% of sports articles compared to men's 36%.

Previous qualitative research indicated that New Zealand female journalists actively spurn working in the sports department because they consider it less professional than other departments, as well as being too hegemonically masculine (Strong, 2007). Young female newspaper journalists said they would be interested in being a sports journalist to round out their experience, but saw it as a detour, rather than a positive step, in their careers. However, overwhelmingly they said they did not want to work with sports journalist colleagues who they saw as jockish, loutish, unprofessional, and too blokey. They felt that the actual work was not attractive enough to have to put up with the low-class masculine culture. This

intolerance with the masculine hegemony may be the same reason women shun working in newspaper management, as gleaned from the in-depth interviews with newspaper editors, managers, and senior journalist staff (Chapter 6). The masculine culture is discussed in Section 7.4.1 below.

On the positive side, however, the content analysis indicated that female journalists have the full range of news assignments available to early-career journalists. This is unlike overseas studies that conclude women are given less prestigious assignments, and are relegated to soft news assignments: in African countries (Made & Morna, 2009), in Britain (Chambers, Steiner, & Fleming, 2004), and the United States (Poindexter, 2008a). In contrast, here in New Zealand, female and male journalists were almost on an equal basis in covering the prestigious hard news assignments. In fact, the country's two biggest newspapers, the *Dominion-Post* and *New Zealand Herald*, had more women than men author articles for the influential front page. The female saturation of the front page news in these two large circulation newspapers, however, did not flow on to other sections of the same newspapers. Hence, when all segments were tallied the overall average for all segments of all newspapers was the low 38%.

This is the first time a comprehensive analysis of New Zealand newspaper authorship content has been carried out, therefore the first time a clear pattern has emerged regarding female journalists being congregated into the faster-paced hard news section of the newspapers. This is in contrast to the scene described in other regions around the globe, where the complaint has been that women are relegated to the soft news areas and the call has been for more women to gain hard news experience (Chambers, Steiner, & Fleming, 2004; GMMP, 2005;

Made & Morna, 2009). These same researchers contend that hard news reporters have more prestige and esteem within the culture compared to soft news reporters. As maintained by Bourdieu (2005) journalists need to concentrate on hard news assignments in order to progress up the career path.

Although it appeared that New Zealand female journalists broke out of the stereotype of being subjugated to soft news assignments, it was not all good news for gender equality. For one thing, they were still congregated in one area, albeit the higher-status hard news sections. Although female journalists are not relegated to soft news, as is the case in other countries, what did not change was the low ratio of women flowing into the highest position of editor. As reported by McGregor (2006a), only four of the top newspapers had a female editor.

Thus the analysis of the content of five metropolitan newspapers presented a clear picture of where women journalists tended to be employed within the newspaper industry. That answer was that they were in the prestigious hard news sections, but they tended to remain in those areas and not progress up to specialised reporting areas or to management.

The statistical analysis was backed up by comments from the metropolitan newspaper editors who were asked to comment on the findings of the content analysis. To answer the question of why women were nearing 50% of bylines in hard news, the editors said it was simply that more women work in the hard news sections of newspapers. Indeed, recent surveys of the New Zealand journalism industry by Hollings (2007) and also Lealand (2004) found that women account for more than half of the journalism workforce, at the same time that Demson

(2006) and Strong (2005) indicated women make up the majority of journalism students in New Zealand.

The number of female journalists was also the reason given for the low number of female bylines in the specialist areas of business stories, opinion pieces, and sports stories. The editors noted that women do not tend to stay in the journalism industry long enough to qualify for these specialised areas. One editor said the female journalists leave before attaining senior level. Another editor said his newspaper is always on the search for female opinion writers, but unsuccessful in finding appropriate ones.

A summary of Research Question One is that, in line with overseas research, there is a gender gap in the authorship of New Zealand daily newspaper articles (females produce only 38% of the bylined articles in five metropolitan newspapers). Therefore, the gap warranted further investigation of the gender power imbalance in the newspaper industry. The results also indicated that female journalists appear to be treated equally in their early career, not shunted into soft news as is evidently the practice overseas. However, the female journalists did not remain in newspaper careers long enough to progress up to the more senior positions required for some production areas, such as opinions and business.

Content analysis is a useful tool to answer the question of “what” and “where”, but to answer “why”, attitudinal surveys and interviews are more useful research tools (Bryman, 2004). Hence, the next part of this chapter answers Research Question Two, which explored the attitudes of new-entry journalists towards working in daily newspapers.

7.3 Research Question Two:

How do early-career journalists describe their decision to remain in or leave the newspaper industry, and what gender differences are in the decision-making process?

The next question of why female journalists tended not to flow into more senior positions was more vexing to answer. Overseas, there is ample evidence that women do not remain long term in daily newspapers. Research studies, such as Weaver et al. (2006) and Reinardy (2009), show that men leave too, but women at an earlier time and much higher rate. It is clear in the USA the problem is not a lack of enough qualified women, as the majority of journalism students are female (Becker, Vlad, Vogel, & Wilcox, 2008), but females still make up only slightly more than a third of daily newspaper journalists (ASNE, 2009).

Much of the quantitative research lacks conclusive reasons for the exodus. However, the newsroom culture theorists maintain that women who enter the newsroom find it too hegemonically masculine to survive long term (Chambers, Steiner & Fleming, 2004; Reinardy, 2009; Ross, 2004). Too often, female journalists have to deny the female side of their own being, suppress female viewpoints, and pretend to be one of the men (Melin-Higgins & Djerf Pierre, 1998). Also they may simply find it too difficult to have to constantly fight against sexual stereotyping and to have to be aggressive in editorial discussions (Gallego, Altes, Canton, Melus, & Soriano, 2004). Ross says that the stereotyping and gendered practices are not only deep-rooted, but that they are “fiercely defended and controlled” (p. 156), which Gallego et al. contend leads to young female journalists having to quickly learn to give up previous socialising styles and adopt the newsroom culture’s inflexible socialising style.

In order to pinpoint the reasons some journalists leave and others remain in New Zealand daily newspaper work, I conducted an attitudinal survey of 171 journalists who had completed their one-year university training between the years of 2000 and 2007. My study explored the attitude of early-career journalists to decipher the different attitudes they had to daily newspaper careers compared to other journalism careers, and also the different attitudes of females compared to males towards daily newspaper careers. The results are based on the respondents' degree of agreement or disagreement to questions, as rated on a Likert scale from 0 to 5.

The answers to the questions showed that men and women initially went into journalism for the same reasons. These were to write and interview (female 4.49/male 4.31), to contribute to society (female 4.18/male 3.68) and to be in the midst of current affairs (female 4.09/male 3.65). The survey results also indicated there was no major gender difference in the reasons they continued working in journalism once they became employed. Mainly, they said that they felt the job suited their skills (female 4.76/male 4.26) and they liked to write and interview (female 4.71/male 4.37).

However, there were notable differences in the proportion of women leaving, and in the reasons they left daily newspaper journalism compared to men. Although more than half the women went into daily newspaper employment after they completed their training (53%), within two years a majority (77%) left daily newspapers to work in other related industries. By comparison, only half (52%) of the male journalists left. On the surface, the female journalists indicated that they left the daily newspaper industry for similar reasons male

journalists left. The number one reason for both was to pursue a career with higher pay. The second reason for women was for better working hours, while for men it was that they had lost their job in some way. (During the course of this study, one daily newspaper closed and others downsized because of economic problems.) However, further analysis indicated women were also unhappy with the lack of encouragement from management, and also the lack of what they considered should be a supportive environment. Women were much more likely to say they left because of the newsroom environment (2.50) than were men (1.75). More than one-fifth of the women who left daily newspapers criticised the newsroom culture for lacking support, using such terms as “harsh...support-less” and that “the negativity of the newsroom ground me down”.

No men gave any specific comments about the newsroom culture, which was an interesting contrast to the women’s strongly-worded comments. These comments were in answer to the question “Why did you leave journalism?” (Question 22 in Appendix 3), which listed 15 choices to tick, none of which referred directly to the newsroom environment, but gave respondents the opportunity at the end to expand their reasons if they wanted. The female respondents’ actions in using their own language to write extra comments indicate a strong commitment to their opinions.

The survey of early-career journalists also indicated that women were more adamant about their dislike of working in daily newspapers. Of 38 women who had previously worked in daily newspapers and now work elsewhere, 11% said they would “never” go back into journalism, but 25% of the same sample said they would “never” go back to daily newspaper journalism. This difference in rating shows that women see a clear difference between daily

newspaper newsrooms and other journalism daily newspapers as clearly less desirable place to work than other newsrooms.

The complaint about management is similar to research findings in other countries. The gender and media scholars Creedon and Cramer (2007) maintained that both women and men find the journalism profession a less attractive option in the recent decade because of low pay and high stress. However, they reported that women in particular leave for more rewarding careers, escaping newspaper's lack of mentors, professional development opportunities, and work-family balance. A comprehensive study of 1,149 journalists in all forms of media in the USA also found women leave the profession much earlier than men (Weaver, Beam, Brownlee, Voakes, & Wilhoit, 2006).

So we see there is a global trend of women leaving newspaper employment at an alarming rate; however, there is conflicting evidence of why they leave. Although the Weaver et al. study indicated that women left because of family reasons, this was disputed by Willard's (2007) subsequent study of 167 women who had previously worked in daily newspapers: "Management and salary issues also topped the list of concerns when newspaperwomen were asked about influences on their job turnover decision" (p.3).

Willard's (2007) study is relevant to my study because of its research method. She surveyed those who had left the profession, while most other studies focused only on journalists who were still employed. She contended that she was able to extract more complex motives. My study went further, in studying both those who were still working in journalism, and those who left. Nonetheless, Willard and I both found that women did not leave because they were

starting a family, but rather because they were dissatisfied with newspaper environment, and had better options for employment.

The 171 former Massey University journalism student respondents to my survey were generous with their time and effort in the survey and many gave longer expanded answers to questions about why they did or did not remain in daily newspaper careers. These expanded answers gave a deeper analysis of what prompted them to look for better jobs elsewhere. The basic findings (Table 5.5) were that 42 (77%) women who had worked in daily newspapers had subsequently left, and that the majority left after only about two years. A strong indication was that the women rejected daily newspapers and not journalism. This was illustrated by the fact the majority of them (two-thirds) then went on to work in other areas of the media such as community newspapers or broadcasting (although many later shifted careers again, and went into public relations).

This short career in daily newspapers helps explain McGregor's (2006a) findings in New Zealand and Falk and Grizard's (2003) findings in the USA that women were not progressing into management positions, or into more senior journalism positions. Staying in the industry for only two years would naturally prohibit a journalist from gaining senior standing. Although overseas surveys have not pinpointed the short two-year career length as precisely as my survey was able to do, they also concluded that women leave journalism at a faster pace than men do. This was particularly evidenced by the large longitudinal study of American journalists by Weaver et al. (2006) that showed the faster women's exodus has been consistent over their four surveys, spanning from 1971 to 2002.

The New Zealand women's truncated daily newspaper career is even more of a phenomenon when considering the hurdles young journalists face gaining the necessary qualifications to gain entry-level jobs in the first place. The Massey University journalism school used for the sample has high standards and highly competitive entry – some years only one-third of the applicants were accepted onto the course (G. Hannis, personal communication, October 12, 2008). In addition, the curriculum particularly focused on the career of daily newspaper journalism, rather than other areas of journalism. Nonetheless, the respondents were able to gain entry to this highly competitive training, spend almost a year in fulltime training, yet at the end spent only a short time in daily newspaper journalism. After the effort put in by the respondents, it seemed that there must be significant influences to turn them away and deflect them from their chosen career after such a short time.

Reviewing the reasons people first decide to study journalism, previous research in both New Zealand (Densem, 2006) and Australia (Grenby, Kasinger, Patching, & Pearson, 2010; Pearson, 1988) indicated that women in particular go into journalism because of the lure of writing creatively, and because they are good at English. Grenby et al. were concerned that girls were being encouraged to study journalism by well-meaning high school teachers who focused only on magazine-type features, but these skills were not necessarily the best ones for daily journalism.

Male and female journalists in my survey agreed that enjoying writing and interviewing was the top reason for their career choice, but they went into media also because they liked to be in the midst of current affairs (female 4.09/male 3.65), and to contribute to society (female 4.18/male 3.68). The journalists also reported that once employed by newspapers, these were

the same reasons they enjoyed the work.

The next question, however, was why they left after such a short duration. One factor that can be discounted is that they lost passion for daily newspaper journalism; in fact, it was the opposite. The respondents displayed a fondness for the time they worked in journalism. Several gave positive descriptions of the fast-pace, the variety, the interaction with the people in the community, and also the social importance of daily news. Several also indicated that although they left the industry, they still laud the community impact of a daily newspaper reporter. As evidence, a large proportion (64%) of women who left daily newspapers then took up employment in other parts of journalism, such as weekly newspapers, broadcasting or trade magazines.

In the survey results, both men and women respondents said the main reasons for leaving daily newspaper jobs was to gain better pay. Some respondents said they could not get a home mortgage or start to pay off their student loan on a junior newspaper reporter salary. These are lifestyle choices, and related to both genders, although men overwhelmingly left for better pay (4.3) while women gave similar weighting (3.6) to better pay, better hours, and going overseas. Like Willard (2007), my study showed no correlation with women leaving for “family reasons”, as very few respondents left to have children.

Therefore the question of why some women remain in the newsroom and some leave is more complex to answer. A hint was gleaned from women who stayed in newspapers who said they felt they received good mentoring, while on the other hand those who left felt they lacked mentoring while they were in journalism. Women were more likely than men to say

they left because of poor supervisors (female 3.25/male 2.18) or to get away from the newsroom environment (female 2.5/male 1.73). The criticism of lack of management support came particularly from women who had shifted eventually to work in public relations. Six respondents (33% of those who left newspapers to work in public relations) strongly criticised the lack of support and unfriendliness of management, and compared it to the friendlier, more supportive environment in public relations.

These findings are similar to Willard's (2007) examination of female journalists in America. Although she said there were many factors that influenced women to leave newspaper journalism, she added that "Management rises to the top among the causes of women leaving newspaper positions" (p. 27). However, she concluded that it was not simply one factor but rather there is a "compelling influence of achievement, management and salary on newspaperwomen's job feelings" (p. 27). Therefore, her study and my study discount those commentators, such as Weaver et al. (2006), who make assumptions that women leave daily newspapers because of commitments to children.

In contrast to women who left journalism, those in my survey who were still working in daily newspaper said they felt supported by management. The results showed that the women who felt they obtained encouragement remained in the industry, while those who felt they did not get support left the industry. According to Melin-Higgins (2008) and Poindexter (2008a), this would be due to management accepting those who fit into their hierarchical style, who appeared to hold the same values as the newsroom culture. The comments from the New Zealand respondents were only short written notes less than 100 words long, so there is no clear message of being treated differently by management because of something such as

being more similar to others in the newsroom culture. However it was clear that one group of females felt differently than other respondents about being encouraged to stay. When feeling that they do not belong is coupled with the promise of better job opportunities outside the daily newspaper industry, young female journalists would naturally seriously consider a career change.

Whatever the reality, women who leave daily journalism early reported that they lacked a feeling of being supported and mentored, as 22.2% commented on the unsupportive environment. They reported a lack of appreciation, of politeness, and of performance appraisals. In addition, 22.4% said that they would never consider returning to daily newspaper careers, and a further 16.7% said they would return if they could count on working with better supervisors. In an industry that is based a lot on tacit practices (Bourdieu, 2005), it would be logical for young journalists to try to read unwritten cues on their performance and on their ability to fit into the environment. Nonetheless, if the young journalists felt they did not fit into daily newspapers, they continued to value their journalistic skills and their love of writing and working with people in the community. Hence, it was an easy transition to a related career where these same skills are valued: other forms of journalism and the competing career of public relations.

In addition to being a career that requires the same skills and basic qualifications as journalism, as pointed out by McGregor (2006b) and Tilley and Hollings (2008), public relations also provides a higher salary and regular work hours. The lure of public relations is a pragmatic decision for many journalists of both genders. For young females, however, the attraction of public relations is even stronger when they know and see other former young

female journalists leave newspapers to take this more rewarding, satisfying route. In essence, they have role models in the public relations industry. In contrast, we know from the tiny number of female editors that the early-career editors had very few female role models at the management level of newspapers.

In summary, the answer to Research Question Two is that female journalists love working in daily newspapers because of the opportunity to use their writing and people skills, and the fun and excitement of being in the midst of current affairs. However, they saw disadvantages in daily newspapers of a negative atmosphere, low pay, erratic working hours, and lack of encouragement, support and appreciation. Hence, the majority spent less than two years in the career, and then shifted to a related career with similar advantages but with fewer disadvantages. In short, there are indications that the female journalists liked the work, but not the workplace.

The responses from individual journalists in my survey described an environment that fits with overseas scholars' theory of a hegemonically masculine culture in the newspaper newsroom. As an example, North's study into Australian newspaper culture reported that 13 years after a report showed a lack of promotional opportunities and prevalence of sexual harassment for newspaper women, there was no movement from the industry, nor from the union (2009). She concluded, "Journalists enter the industry with idealism and after a very short time become cynical about the profession and what they have to do to survive in it" (p. 222).

De Bruin and Ross's text *Gender and Newsroom Cultures* (2004) brought together studies

from more than a dozen countries that described a newsroom culture that creates embedded barriers to female journalists. These studies did not use the word “glass ceiling” which is a term that implies an active focus to exclude females. Instead, the studies described a subtly entrenched culture that has developed over decades and is seen by journalists as “newspaper culture” rather than the masculine culture it is. In other words, the journalists accept the masculine hegemony as normal and become blind to its existence. “The authors in this volume interpret behaviour of female and male journalists in media organizations as the result of practices and interaction in a culture in which gender is a major ‘given’” (p. viii).

These overseas conclusions accurately described the situation experienced by many of the early-career journalists in my survey. The New Zealand female journalists felt uncomfortable in the daily newspaper newsroom, and felt much more at home when they shifted to a community newspaper or to public relations. It is difficult to pinpoint exactly why someone leaves a career, and Willard (2007) is probably accurate in saying it is never just one single issue, but a complex combination of issues. What seems to be the situation is that female journalists in New Zealand do not feel at home within the daily newspaper newsroom culture and quickly and quietly vote with their feet by simply leaving for another job.

The picture of women leaving the newspaper industry at a rapid rate is only a trend, and simply shows the flow of the majority of female journalists surveyed. The other side of the picture, however, is the women who remain in the industry and successfully climb the career ladder to editor level. The final part of the examination of the gender power imbalance in New Zealand newspaper journalism is an exploration of the female editors and others who

have developed a long career in daily newspaper journalism. Research Question Three used in-depth interviews to investigate the experiences and attitudes of these key newspaper leaders.

7.4 Research Question Three:

What are perceived as the barriers or enticements for women attaining editorships?

When this project began in 2008 there was an auspicious atmosphere for predicting more women would rise into leadership of daily newspapers in New Zealand. The media executives from the two main newspaper groups said they were actively trying to encourage women to get the necessary skills and experience to apply for the positions. Overseas, the American Society of Newspaper Editors set up a work party to encourage more women into editorships, and more women were editors of American newspapers than in any previous time in history (Nicholson, 2007).

These encouraging signs for a promise of more gender diversity in newspaper leadership, however, failed to bear fruit during the course of this research. Despite the industry concerns, one of the constant factors throughout the years of this study was that the number of women editors in New Zealand continued to remain only few, and they tended to stay in the job only a short time. There were only nine women who had been an editor of any of the country's daily newspapers during the years 2000 through 2009, and for half their editor career life was only three years long.

The slow flow of women into editorships was not unique to New Zealand. Despite the enthusiasm for more women becoming editors, only about a quarter of top editors in America were women (ASNE, 2005), and the increase is so slow that it was described as “glacial rate” according to Des Moines Register editor Paul Anger (2005). The flow of women to the top was hampered by women flowing away from newspaper careers altogether. A survey of 273 top USA daily newspaper editors by the American Press Institute and Pew Center for Civic Journalism also showed that women editors were much more likely to leave the job than men (Selzer, 2002). Although the study did not delve into the reasons why women in particular leave the job, it did indicate that more women than men stated that more training would have made editorship an easier career. It also showed that more than half the women senior managers did not want to move up to editor because the job did not look attractive or fun.

The lack of fun, or rather the perception that the job of editor was too difficult to enjoy, came through from all segments of the New Zealand female journalists in this study. From my survey of early-career journalists, 18 women shifted out of newspaper journalism into public relations, and most said it was a nicer and friendlier place to work (Chapter 5). In addition, all nine female editors interviewed, said the job was very difficult – challenging and stimulating – but hard work and long hours (Chapter 6). Furthermore, two female editors interviewed had asked their female staff if they would consider being editors, and the response was a resounding “no” because they could see how difficult and thankless it was for the existing female editors. One of the senior female editors (Section 6.4) said she avoided management jobs because she did not want to become cynical and ill-tempered like the colleagues she watched go into management.

The in-depth interviews of female editors in New Zealand shed some light on the obstacles that prevent more women gaining leadership status in the country's daily newspapers. There was remarkable commonality in the background of the nine female editors who had been a daily newspaper editor from 2000 through 2009. With at least seven (78%) having similar profile, the picture was of a woman who entered journalism aged 20 or younger, completed a one-year journalism course, went straight into newspapers, had experience in all areas (sub-editing, layout, reporting), worked in the newsrooms more than 18 years, and employed at five different newspapers before becoming an editor. The women felt they flowed into journalism, and never thought about being an editor until a particular manager tapped them on the shoulder and told them to consider it. Five had overseas fellowships or awards, which they said was a major help to their career. At the time that they became an editor they had no children or their husband took over the family responsibility. All except one had no prior management training before being encouraged to apply for an editor's position.

The research analysis presented a picture of incredibly focused and talented women who made the leap into editing a daily newspaper. The female editors were able to juggle journalism and management, often with very little formal education to aid them. They were willing to go into what could be considered alien environments: a new newsroom, new city, new staff, and unfamiliar political and community issues to master. In addition, female editors had to readjust their family life to fit in with the career, meaning that for most, they had to adopt a non-traditional family structure. This took the form of having house husbands or commuter marriages, and being willing to shift to a new location that required children to change schools and friends, as well as partners to readjust to a new environment. Every editor with children gave credit for her success to her family who was willing to adapt to the

non-traditional structure and to the lack of her work-family life balance.

On the other hand, the three senior women interviewed who did not become editors were not willing or able to put their personal life through the upheaval. They, too, loved their daily journalism vocation, but were satisfied to remain in powerful senior positions rather than accept the personal constraints to become a prestigious daily newspaper editor. Male media executives said all editors have to uproot their families to shift cities for promotion; to put in incredibly long hours at the office; and thereby depend on partners to manage the home and family. However, they said it was still considered non-traditional for a husband to accept the role of major homemaker. This was well summed up by the male media executive aged in his 60s who said he and other men his age would have felt being a house husband as an affront to their manhood. This comment may be an indication of the dichotomy for female editors, in that they live a modern non-traditional life, but work with male colleagues who find it strange to comprehend.

American studies of female newspaper journalists also identify family life as a major barrier to going into management positions. Almost half the women editors in one study said they decided not to progress further up the career path because “they want more personal or family time” (Selzer, p. 10). This was not the major reason, however, given by women in that study for not progressing, as almost three-quarters of them simply said they were happy with the position they had, therefore they saw no benefit into moving into a less enjoyable job. Everback’s (2008) in-depth interviews with 26 American female journalists concluded that they “continue to assume most of the responsibility for childcare and housework, even with high-pressure journalism jobs; individual newsroom supervisors strongly influence how

much work flexibility journalists receive; and younger journalists are more focused on family than older journalists” (p. 17). An interesting point is that her study concluded that female journalists did not leave the job because of family commitments, but rather because their supervisors refused to be more family-friendly in the way they managed staff. American News Editors Association executive Paul Anger’s insight into reasons for the low number of female editors was:

Men still tend to hire editors in their own images, and society is still hard-wired to make women the chief caregivers. That brings a stress on mothers that many men can’t quite grasp, and a reality that most newsrooms, however enlightened, find hard to deal with (ASNE, 2005, p. 5).

The New Zealand newsroom did not make it easy for the female editors in my study to merge family and work life. Two had lived in a different city than their partner for some of the time, and another four had husbands who changed their careers to take over the home responsibilities. Having non-traditional family structures further supports the profile of female editors as unique employees. However, this is in addition to being among the rare group of females who remain in newspaper work long term, which in their case was about 20 years before becoming an editor. Even the three non-editor senior women interviewed said they were a rarity (a “dinosaur” according to one) in remaining in daily newspaper newsrooms so long. Even remaining 14 years was considered extraordinary, according to the interviewees.

Therefore, the female editors were atypical – in remaining in newspaper work so long, in having both editorial and production experience, and in being able to re-adjust their family

life to suit the newsroom culture. This exclusivity of the female editors leads to a small and limited number of potential editors the industry can draw on. As discussed later in this chapter, this small pool of potential female editors also leads to a scarcity of peers and the inability to develop professional collegial networks.

Research in North America indicates that being the lone female working in newsroom hierarchy is a common story from senior journalists. A typical comment from female editors was that having more women at the top might make it easier (ASNE 2005). The Boston Globe Opinion Page editor Renée Loth (2005) spent decades being the only senior-level female journalist at editorial meetings in various newsrooms. She admits that it limits how a female presents her news ideas, and how comfortably she fits into the all-male collegial network. She lauds the increasing number of women coming into the top in the USA, and said this has made a cultural difference for her, “The very possibility that I might not be flying solo — that the men in the room might be the ones puzzled by a passing cultural reference or inside joke — is powerfully liberating” (p.9).

Being the only woman at editorial meetings was common for the senior New Zealand female journalists interviewed in Chapter 6. One senior journalist said she got so used to it that she no longer noticed that she was the lone female. She had become blind to gender differences. She pointed out that the rest of the group, however, seemed to always see her in gender terms and would try to assign her soft or women topics, and assume she did not understand rugby even though she described herself as a “rugby nut”.

7.4.1 Masculine Culture

The female editors said there were no obvious sexual stereotyping barriers to their gaining the position of editor. However, the senior women who decided against becoming editors saw it differently. They described a bullying type of atmosphere that was allowed to permeate some newsrooms. All three of the senior female journalists gave detailed accounts of harsh interaction within the boardroom, and many examples of how male journalists belittle and deride others in professional discussions. They described the need to be verbally aggressive, whether male or female, to get on successfully at management level. One admitted that she was a tough and forceful battler in boardroom discussions, but when I interviewed her she had just quit the newsroom after more than 20 years because she felt burned out. In addition, some of the younger female journalists surveyed were also critical of the environment for being *negative*, *competitive*, *support-less*, and *harsh*. These adjectives are those used by researchers such as Bourdieu (2005) to describe a masculine-style management.

Nonetheless there seemed to be a dichotomy in perception by the women who overcame the newsroom culture in order to climb to editor position, and those who did not remain working in daily newspapers, such as the 77% of early career female journalists in my study who left daily newspapers jobs. How the female editors survived long-term when so many others did not is not clear, but newsroom culture theories offer an explanation.

Melin-Higgins (2004) says one survival technique is that the women who remained positive in the newsroom adopted a blinkered type of coping technique, one that shielded them from seeing aggressive behaviour as negatively as others do. As outlined in Chapter 2, Melin-

Higgins' newsroom coping tactics theory sets out four techniques female journalists employ in order to cope long-term in a journalism career. The tactics are to become one of the boys; to opt out of mainstream media and work as a freelancer or contractor; to concentrate on "softer" jobs so as not to compete with career oriented men; or to concentrate on a specialization that is outside the management career path. It is interesting to note that Melin-Higgins changed her description of the coping techniques after more studies. She originally called them "strategies", but later changed it to "tactics" because female journalists did not have the power to develop long-term career plans (North, 2009). The female editors I interviewed described their career plan in exactly this sort of "tactic" language. They described how they "drifted" into journalism, and "flowed" into management, Section 6.2.3. They described being satisfied with their life in the newsroom until someone shoulder tapped them to suggest they become an editor. These stories do not show a strategic control of their career.

Melin-Higgins contends that the women who adopted these coping techniques were not necessarily aware that they were doing so in order to survive in hegemonically masculine culture. Nonetheless, the editors I interviewed agreed that many female journalists who survive long-term in the newspaper industry have adopted one of these coping techniques. One editor said female colleagues who had been journalists the longest with her had become specialists. She urged one to become an editor but that woman preferred remaining a highly-regarded parliamentary reporter. Another editor counted 10 women she knew would be good editors, but they remained in softer jobs to retain regular working hours. The female editors were reluctant to label their own technique, but two said that they thought most long-term female journalists went through a stage of being one of the boys in an attempt to fit into the

culture.

In addition, Melin-Higgins (2004) found that female journalists who adopted male characteristics, and became one of the boys were the ones who succeeded in progressing up the management career, compared to female journalists who adopted other coping techniques. Most of the female editors in my research lacked the outward appearance of having become one of the boys, in fact somewhat the opposite, in that many felt they had taken more of a “nurturing” role in the newsroom. However, they gave examples that showed they had become more tolerant and more inclusive of what others thought was unacceptably coarse behaviour (such as frustrated reporters swearing and yelling). Another illustration of their adopting masculine rules was they all were adamant they would never shed any tears in the newsroom and let anyone see their soft side. Even though they all agreed the newsroom culture accepted journalists showing anger such as shouting, stomping, throwing things, or over-drinking, they knew the culture would not accept showing frustration in the more feminine style of shedding tears.

The editors had worked in several different newsrooms in their pre-management career, some up to seven different newsrooms. This gave them the ability to shift out of unacceptably aggressive environments. Nonetheless, whatever the underlying reason, the strong picture being presented is that female journalists somehow have to circumvent a masculine newsroom if they want to be successful enough to reach editor level.

Further to the newspaper newsroom in general being a masculine environment, the senior journalists and editors reported that the management level in itself is yet another masculine

environment. The newspaper management was described as being similar to the ultra-masculine environment of the newspaper sports department as described by Boyle (2006) and Hardin and Shain (2006). Both management and sports in the newspaper industry are predominantly male; both have a low turnover because many men remain in the same position for a relatively long time (Strong, 2007). Sports departments are actively shunned by young female journalists who see them as staffed by loutish type male journalists (ibid). In Strong's study, mid-level female journalists said they felt they would be assigned to sports if they strongly pursued it; however they did not pursue a sports position because they felt repelled by the thought of having to work alongside what they saw as unprofessional sports reporters.

The senior female journalists who chose not to enter management indicated they shunned the top editor position for similar reasons – that the editorship is seen as “too blokey”, similar to how sports reporting is seen by some female journalists. As quoted in Chapter 6, a senior journalist said she rejected a career in management because she did not want to become the type of personality she saw in the managers around her. In addition, several early-career journalists described the senior staff in the newspaper in disparaging terms, such as “grumpy, verging-on-abusive aging men.” Several other respondents – both male and female – described those in the newsroom culture as male and stale. This creates a picture of journalists viewing their managers or long-term daily newspaper journalists as a group they do not want to emulate.

7.4.2 Negative and Positive Aspects of Being an Editor

Following the analysis of the in-depth interviews with female daily newspaper editors, there surfaced a lucid depiction of the parts of the editor’s role they considered positive and the parts they considered negative. The list of themes in Table 6.5 listed 27 factors that were sub grouped into ten themes. As shown in Table 7.1, these themes have been condensed into three positives and four negative issues that female editors perceived as significant to women’s careers.

Table 7.1 Female Editors’ View of the Job

POSITIVES	NEGATIVES
	General Disadvantages: Long, stressful hours; low pay; lack of resources.
Creative Satisfaction	Lack of Preparation (tacit management)
Team Development	Lack of Professional Collegiality
Community Liaison	Lack of Balance with Family Life

Three primary positive aspects were the creative satisfaction of production, the team development of the newspaper staff, and the community liaison. The creative aspect was having overall responsibility of developing a publication from a blank roll of newsprint to a finished product each day. This was a cohesive facilitation of all the journalist skills of writing, interviewing, photography, page design, etc. The second positive aspect, team development, was the human resource side of the management role. It entailed motivation, supervising and hiring various journalists. The third positive aspect of community liaison was the unique role the editor had in being a community leader. The editor attended many public functions and often acted as an intermediary between powerful community units (city

council, hospitals, courts, etc.) and less powerful individuals.

Journalists tend to enter the profession to create news content and to help the community in this way by promoting social justice (Dominick, 2009; Rodman, 2010), and this motive is even more true for female journalists who see it as their mission for their jobs (Djerf-Pierre & Lofgren-Nilsson, 2004). However, the creative aspect also seems to be a special motivation for women going into journalism. A British paper contended that women go into journalism because they like writing and interviewing, and have empathetic qualities to assess the subtleties of a situation, thereby being effective interviewers who can produce valuable feature articles (Day, 2004). An Australian study (Pearson, 1988) found that young females went into journalism because they enjoyed English, and that the respondents saw journalism as a creative occupation.

It is not a coincidence that both early-career female reporters and female editors identified the same positive aspects of their jobs: the writing, team work, and community liaison. These are the reasons young women went into newspapers in the first place, as discussed in Section 7.3; therefore, it seems congruous that the satisfaction involved in being an editor comes from being at the top management level with even more concentration on these same three aspects. The focus changes for editors, as they have more power in how the writing, team work, and community liaison is carried out, but, on the other hand, they have to spend less time on them and more time on stressful administration and management tasks. During the in-depth interviews, in fact, four editors said they left their job partly because of too much staff administration or internal office negotiations, which diluted how much time they could spend on what they saw was real journalism.

The former editors' actions, rather than their verbal responses in the research interviews, gave support to the conjecture that the editors still valued their core journalism skills. After leaving the powerful post of daily newspaper editor, most stayed within newspaper work in a position that allowed them more time for writing, team work, and community liaison. Three were editors of weekly publications, and another three moved into other positions within daily newspaper production.

The negative aspects of the editor's role were more complex, and as illustrated in Figure 7.1, they are weightier than the positives. The media executives and female editors pointed out that the job is stressful for both genders, and men, too, find it difficult. However, on top of the general difficulties, women face additional negative issues, which are the lack of peer collegiality, the hardship of balancing family and work life, and the difficulty of fitting in with tacit management styles of their executives. The negatives were divided into those that are faced by all editors because of economic constraints (Section 7.4.3 below) and those faced primarily by female editors because of the newsroom culture (in the subsequent three sections).

7.4.3 Lack of Resources (General Disadvantages)

There are many disadvantages to the role of editor, which affect males and females alike, such as long hours, staff cuts, lack of additional staff to delegate responsibility, and stressful relationship between editorial and commercial divisions within the newspaper ownership (North, 2009). These hardships are a characteristic of the newspaper industry, which is a

labour-intensive industry that requires tight deadlines and daily production. In addition it is currently in the middle of a transitional struggle with finding its place within the burgeoning internet (ASNE, 2009). This research does not minimize the very real generic problems facing editors; however, these problems affect both genders and do not completely explain why so few women, compared to men, join the management team, or remain in it.

Nevertheless, this research has identified three key areas that appeared to have an impact specifically on female editors. These are the tacit management model that leads to a lack of systematic professional development from the women's early stages in the industry; family life hardship including the additional stress of a non-traditional family structure; and collegial isolation, which stems from a lack of management collegiality as well as being cut off from newsroom collegiality.

All three of these factors are brought about by the underlying culture of the daily newspaper industry, a culture described by other researchers as being hegemonically masculine and deeply ingrained (Byerly & Ross, 2006; Creedon & Cramer, 2007; de Bruin & Ross, 2004; Poindexter, 2008b). This label does not imply that any individual within the industry purposely sets out to promote an environment that excludes or denigrates females. It means, rather, that there is an underlying culture that has developed over decades that favours one gender over the other, a culture described as existing in other countries too.

7.4.4 Lack of Preparation (Tacit Management)

The female editors went into the powerful editor position with very little preparation for the

responsibility and skills required. All except one said they received no prior management or financial training, no mentoring, and very little coaching. Most said they had not thought of themselves as editor material until approached unexpectedly by a manager who suggested they apply for a vacancy. Except for one editor, they all said there was no systematic career progression, or incremental training for prospective managers. Although later, four said they realised that there were some signs that they were considered possible candidates for management careers, the signs were too subtle and non-verbal for them to recognise. Seven of the nine female editors said they could not decipher the standards being used to measure their success.

This style of non-verbal rules and standards is called tacit management, and business researchers have criticised its tendency to reinforce the status quo culture of a profession, meaning a traditionally male culture will tend to remain so (Argyris, 1999; Bem, 1981; Highhouse, 2008; Sandico & Kleiner, 1999). In the case of newsrooms, tacit management leads to retention of their heavily masculine type of culture because management are hiring the same type of people. Argyris said the self-reinforcing practices tend to reduce inquiries into gaps and inconsistencies in the tacit knowledge (p. 123). Bem's gender schema theory posits that people unconsciously process new information based on sex-linked associations, which she describe as "society's ubiquitous insistence on the functional importance of the gender dichotomy" (p. 354). Applying it to this topic, the gender schema means the newspaper views all journalists first in terms of their gender rather than their professional ability or potential. Therefore the existing literature offers support for the view that gender inequality stems from tacit management styles.

A vivid example of gender schema came from one male editor who was part of the reference group used to develop the survey questions in this research. In an incidental comment it came out that he had hired an unqualified, untrained young man for a substantial newsroom position because the young man reminded him of himself as a youth. After five months, the employee had to be let go from the job for poor performance, but it was only later in the midst of this research that the editor assessed the situation and realised he used homophily (the tendency to bond with people similar to yourself) to hire an unqualified person – which he admits he would not have done for a female applicant. Relying on homophily to assess a potential employee tends to lead to retaining the ongoing culture of the newsroom, which in this case is masculine. Management theorists describe this as leading to a work force overloaded by staff with the same strengths, but also same weaknesses (Bem, 1981; Highhouse, 2008).

This relates back to the newsroom culture theory that the media operations are based on unwritten rules and regulations. Bourdieu (2005) contended that the secret language and code of conduct gave strength to those already ensconced within the culture, and thereby prohibited outsiders from attaining power. He said a newsroom had a unique sub-culture with its own language and unwritten hierarchy; and that this sub-culture was masculine (2001). Bourdieu theorised that the newsroom's overt male style and unique, unwritten cultural procedures prohibited outsiders such as women from comfortably engaging in it.

It could be asked why there was an abundance of female entry-level journalists, if in fact the gut feeling model favours male employees. The answer is that the industry in New Zealand does not directly select who gains journalism qualifications. This is done by the tertiary

education institutes that manage the ten accredited journalism schools (three universities and seven polytechnics). The current practice is that schools select the students without gender quotas. This was not always the case. Three decades ago, in an attempt to appease the industry, there were gender quotas on journalism schools limiting female students to less than half the class, but later that was abandoned for merit-based criteria entry (Joyce, 2005).

Therefore, the newspaper industry is forced to initially accept new female journalists even if there is a feeling that the female journalists will not cope or be acceptable in a male newspaper culture (Joyce, 2005). Nonetheless, it appeared from my study that women flow into newspaper journalism at a high rate, but that once they enter the industry they are not happy with the newsroom environment and leave. Again, this trend was similar to findings in other countries with many women entering the profession (Becker, Vlad, Vogel, & Wilcox, 2008), but also a high proportion leaving early in their career (Weaver, Beam, Brownlee, Voakes, & Wilhoit, 2006).

Bem's (1981) theory that tacit management lacks overt standardisation and relies on the "feeling" of individual managers appeared to match the narrative from the New Zealand editors. The main factor that lifted the women who became editors from the pool of staff journalists was the direct and clear encouragement from one particular manager. Most of the female editors (five of the nine) interviewed pinpointed a particular event when a particular editor urged them to prepare for a career as an editor. They said this was a turning point in their careers and the five women admitted they would never have considered becoming editor if this particular person had not encouraged them to apply for a vacancy. The media executives, however, said they usually watch a journalist's progress over several years before

deciding to urge them into an editor's position. This almost-tacit mentoring also manifested itself in the women gaining an overseas scholarship or study trip from the industry. Four of the five female editors who had won overseas fellowships earlier in their career said that only when looking back did they realise that perhaps management had already identified them as possible editors. At the time, however, some had no inkling they were considered prospective management material.

The tacit style of management was underscored in many of the interviews. The media executives talked about having a gut feeling that a female journalist would make a good editor. In tandem, the female editors themselves talked about having a gut feeling about a young journalist they thought would or would not be a good senior journalist or manager.

Although the existing literature does not explore the length of time it took for female journalists to become editors, this was a recurring theme in my study. The tendency of women to wait until they were shoulder-tapped before they aimed at being an editor meant they were in the newsroom more than 18 years before transitioning to top management, and for four of them it was more than 25 years in the newsroom beforehand. They had two decades of being comfortable and competent within their environment in the journalist-level of the newsroom, rather than the management level. Being an editor was an abrupt disruption to what was described as having been a pleasant lifestyle for a very long time. Journalism – not management – was the basic fabric of their professional life. According to the media executives and some of the editors interviewed, men ascend to management earlier in their career, meaning they leave the journalist environment they were ensconced in for only ten years, a much shorter time, hence a much easier transition.

In addition, according to the two media executives interviewed, men seemed to have been groomed from an early time in their career. The executives described “young bucks” who came into the newsroom and within a few years knew they and their male colleagues were being considered as prospective editors. One executive said they would see their colleague who had entered the industry with them become editor and know their time would come soon. Women, however, lacked the management grooming earlier in their careers.

Selzer’s (2002) study of American female editors found that those who were confident about moving into an editor position were those who had, in fact, been groomed for it. They said they had received training, seminars, scholarship, etc. that were tangible proof that management had faith in their ability to progress up the career ladder. The study found that women who did not receive this grooming were considering shifting out of journalism to another profession, or remaining in their existing position long term.

In New Zealand, we see that without career grooming over their earlier journalism career, women experienced an abrupt shift in mindset to suddenly discover they were considered management material. One female editor described it as a “shock” to suddenly be in charge of a multi-million-dollar operation with a staff of dozens without any training or preparation. Another, who had been in many conferences of newspaper editors, said it was a tendency for the industry to abruptly pluck women out of the newsroom and put them into management positions without preparation.

Using Bourdieu’s terminology (1984), the women not reading the unspoken and unwritten

signs about management grooming, were missing the *doxa* of the newsroom management culture (Bourdieu, 1984). Although Bourdieu used the term to refer to the jargon and practices within newsroom that were not understood by outsiders, the term could in fact refer to practices within divisions of the newsroom too. As described in the in-depth interviews, one media executive kept his eye on a prospective female editor for many years, whereas the woman said she was oblivious to the favoured position she held.

One reason women missed the signs is that they were not part of the existing social network that knew what talent scouting was operating, mainly because it was, and still is, mainly male. The second reason is that this may be part of the *doxa* that women fail to notice. They may be able to read the internal tacit rules for journalism, but they are illiterate in the tacit management rules. Hence, the situation appears to be that the two genders speak different languages.

In fact, the female editors interviewed agreed that the newsroom is a unique culture that many outsiders do not fully understand, as posited by Bourdieu (2005) and Melin-Higgins (2004). However, there seemed to be a second layer of the secret language that is only able to be translated by the journalist who makes the transition towards management career. This newspaper management *doxa* is learned by the bright young male prospects in the many years they are being groomed for editorships. The women, on the other hand, do not have time to learn the *doxa* in the short time they are abruptly identified as a potential editor job applicant. Two of the senior female journalists said clearly that they had to learn male-style arguing tactics to survive editorial management meetings.

Some researchers maintain that men and women in management do, in fact, communicate differently, and even use different language (Coates & Cameron, 1988; Netshitangani, 2008). The newsroom, however, seems to be more closely aligned to Bourdieu's theory of a secret language, a tacit understanding of how certain things work. The theory of invisible guidelines within journalism is supported, albeit with different terminology, by researchers in other countries. Australian North (2009) wrote that journalism "has its own mythologies, ideologies, and gendered ways of being that individuals call on to negotiate the newsroom" (p. 23); and American Poindexter (2008a) described the newsroom values and assumptions as "entrenched" with members being unconscious of the culture's influence on them.(p. 69).

Whatever the theoretical explanations, however, it does seem clear that the New Zealand female journalists did not receive encouragement early enough. This was depicted by the young journalists surveyed who said they left the industry, many within two years, because they did not perceive they were getting support. It was further demonstrated by the female editors who did not recognise their ability to become an editor until they had served at least 18 years in the newsroom first. Furthermore, my study showed that the females who finally attained editor status often became disillusioned and left fairly soon. The short amount of time the women stayed as an editor is a crucial finding of this study. The average length of the editor career for females was only five years, and half of them were in the position only three years before quitting. The key issue is that the female editors did not realise they were being groomed for an editor's position. They were not told explicitly, or even implicitly, that they could be considered for management level careers. It appears this was caused in part by a management style based on tacit communication. In addition, they were not given any training or preparation for the position either, and when they moved into the editor's office

they did not get help or support from their peers, such as demonstrations of professional collegiality.

Much of the literature from studies in other countries focused on the problem of younger female newspaper journalists who leave the industry, such as 27 papers listed on allacademia.com (April 1, 2009). Very few have examined the small sample of women who remain in the industry and progress up the career path to management. As my study showed, these women, too, find it difficult to fit into the environment. One difficulty at management level is breaking into the systems of professional collegiality, which is discussed next.

7.4.5 Lack of Professional Collegiality

Collegiality is an important part of a work environment, which is seen to improve professional vitality, and not as simply personal networking or social interaction (Rogers & Holloway, 1993). Collegial discussions are informal dialogues with peers on issues such as industry, personnel, current affairs, or company policies. These are the topics members of a peer group discuss and debate as peers, without formal structure or any fear of retaliation for giving opinions or observations (Reinken, 1998). As an example, Little (1990) examined the education profession and found that professional collegiality helped teachers “cope with the complex, non-routine work, that requires them to adapt flexibly and quickly to varied and specific demands.... and made their work easier, more self-fulfilling and meets personal needs” (as quoted in Reinken, p. 9).

There were two levels of collegiality difficulties for the female editors. One was leaving the

collegiality of the newsroom team of other journalists, which they described as a friendly close-knit group of people. As examples, Senior3 described the comradeship as so all-encompassing that she did not need friends outside of work. Senior1 also described how the social life among work colleagues is important to the culture, and it too is aggressively masculine with late hours and raucous drinking. An important aspect of the newsroom collegial relationship is that most female editors were journalists for almost 20 years before becoming an editor. As a result, this newsroom collegiality was durable, and sustained the network for many years.

The second level of collegiality difficulty was trying to join the new management network. Entering management required an abrupt curtailment of the previous collegial relationships; however, there did not seem to be another new collegial relationship group to replace them. In other words, the new problems and job demands could not be shared with the vast professional network the editors had previously enjoyed and relied on. Once they stepped into the editor's role, the long-term journalism networking had to cease. The editors said the difficulty was that the newsroom collegiality was not replaced by new supporting groups.

The women were outside the boundaries of management collegiality for two reasons. One was being the sole female in a newsroom management culture overwhelmingly populated by men; the other was the path they took into editorship. The career path of women going into editorships had subtle, but key, differences to the career path of male editors. The analysis of the in-depth interviews indicated that men were identified earlier in their career as potential managers, and they were very familiar with the other young men who were going up the same career path. They formed informal networks that lasted throughout their career, as

described by the media executive interviewed in Section 6.3, and as a result, when they became editors they were acquainted with the personalities and characteristics of their fellow editors.

In contrast, women were not part of this early team of young potential editors, because women are not identified early in their career in the same way. As mentioned earlier, women did not recognize themselves as potential management material until someone specifically pointed it out to them, hence the women would not have joined the team of young-journalists-on-the-way-up earlier in their career. Therefore, they said they entered the management network without any prior indicators of the characteristics of the other individual editors, or the ingrained dynamics of the group. They also felt they lacked some prior management grooming and preparation. Half of the female editors felt they did not belong at the high level, that they were not worthy. Some editors later realised that what they felt were aspects of the classic imposter syndrome. This posits that highly-placed corporate women feel less qualified than their other colleagues do, and feel that they are imposters carrying out a pretence that they warrant being at the same boardroom table.

The second factor affecting the different professional networks of men compared to women is that men shifted out of the newsroom's collegial relationships sooner than women did, perhaps after only seven years or ten years, as described by some editors and senior journalists. This means they left behind professional relationships that were not long-term. Also, some of the closest relationships in the newsroom were likely to be with other pre-management journalists who then shifted up with them.

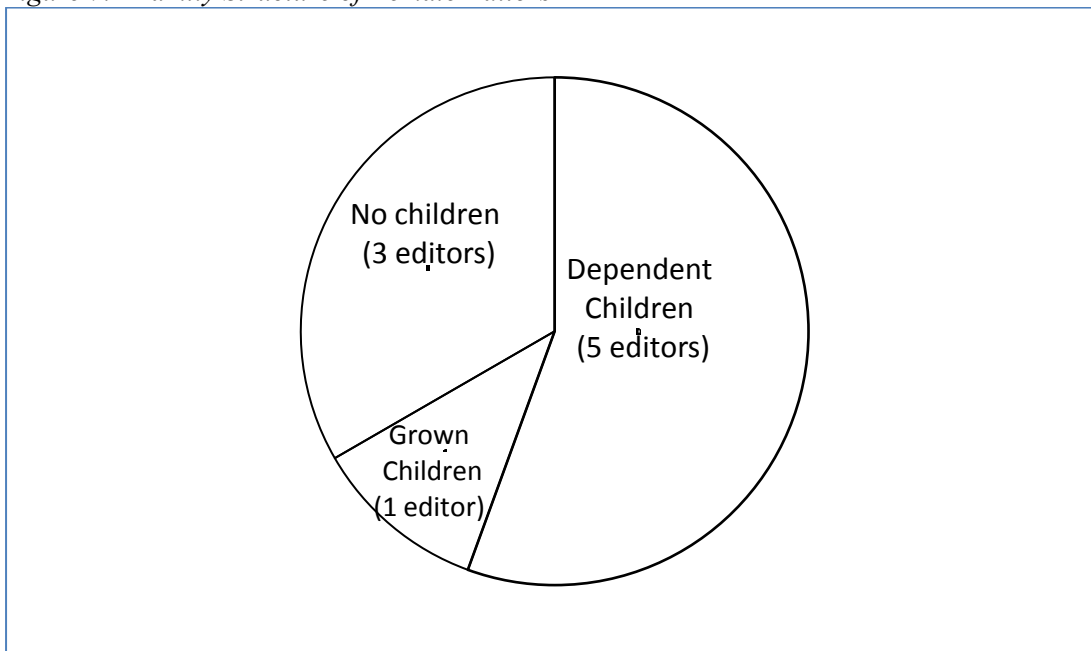
In addition, once the female editors entered the new management level they said they felt like the new kid on the block with male editors who were already well-bonded with each other. In essence, they would be trying to join in on a group of men who had forged relationships throughout their newspaper career. The women were outsiders to this management culture. From a collegial point of view, they felt left out in the wilderness.

7.4.6 Lack of Balance with Family Life

The third major negative issue identified by female editors was trying to balance work with their home life. Many overseas researchers put family commitments as a major barrier for full parity with men in the work place in journalism. In one study, Lafky (1993) found that the requirement for journalists to work irregular hours and to have no interruptions to their career path meant women missed out. Lafky found female journalists were more likely to be single and childless than their male colleagues were. However, Lavie and Lehman-Wilzig (2003) found male journalists had three times more children than female journalists, indicating that men do not endure the same ratio of home responsibilities as women.

As described earlier in this chapter, all editors, no matter what their gender, face difficulties balancing work and home because of the long, stressful hours and irregular work times and days. According to the media managers interviewed, however, male editors often benefit from having a traditional family structure where the wife takes over the children and house management, whether or not she also works outside the home.

Figure 7.1 Family Structure of Female Editors



The female editors, however, were in a non-traditional family structure. This affected not only themselves, but also their partners and children. The newspaper industry's requirement for editors to shift cities in order to be promoted, as explained by the representatives of the two major media companies, was considered extremely hard on families who had to uproot and change locations. This meant the husbands could not pursue their own careers, and in four cases the husbands changed their occupations, or stayed at home, so they could shift cities easily when their wives were promoted. Research on househusbands shows they face difficulties of exclusion and lack of peer groups (Kiwi Families, 2009; Smith, 1998). Four of the editors said this was extremely difficult for their husbands. In another three cases, when the husband became ill it created major conflict in commitment for the female editors. In all three cases the women said this led to their resigning from the editor position and finding a less stressful journalism position.

Having to regularly work 11 hour days – not being able to get home for dinners, count on being at family activities, or take care of a sick child or spouse – was considered by these female editors as a very difficult part of being an editor. The female editors and the media executives explained that the underlying reason for the long work hours was the tight financial position of the industry. There were no deputy editors to fill in for the editor. One editor told me she did not even have a personal assistant (P.A.). She thought it was incredible that she, and another female editor she knew, were running multi-million dollar operations without the help of a P.A. She was not sure if male editors had a P.A. (However, an interesting note to this research is that the editor made this point to other editors after our interview, and by the time I interviewed the second female editor she had been given a personal assistant by the media executive.)

The lack of resources at the newspaper office to allow the editors to have home time when needed is a worldwide problem at the moment because of the economic fragility of newspapers. Advertising revenues are estimated to have dropped 36% between 2005 and 2010 according to the Columbia Journalism Review (Chittum, 2009), and the 2008 American News Editors Association conference was cancelled because editors could not afford to leave their newspapers to attend (ASNE, 2009). The ASNE editor that year, Marty Kaiser, said most newspapers faced shrinking staff, and declared the profession was in crisis (Favre, 2009).

A summary of Research Question Three is that the barriers to women becoming editors are twofold, those that affect both genders, and those specific to women. The female editors and the senior female journalists concurred that it is a thankless, stressful job. They contended

that until there is a higher salary and more help to ensure fewer hours, it will remain a thankless job. Some hinted, and others said outright, that they simply were burned out because of the long, stressful hours. As females, they all said they felt isolated, and unprepared for the job in terms of prior training, especially in finance, management, and accounting. They also felt that if there were more female editors, or like-minded male editors, they would create their own collegiality that would help in finding solutions to some of the staff management and financial problems their newspaper faced. Most of those with a partner, and all with dependent children, said the editor's position is extremely hard on their family life.

All of the issues above culminate in the comment by the senior female journalist, Senior1, who said the low number of women in editor positions is the fault of the industry. She said executives have not made the job attractive for women. She said it was a difficult job for anyone, but if executives made a concerted effort to make it easier for women with families, or even men with families, there may be more people willing to apply for the positions.

7.5 Glass Ceiling Questioned

Longitudinal studies on female leaders in the newspaper industry posit that the glass ceiling is still obstinately in place in the newspaper industry. Creedon and Cramer (2007b) said the "hierarchical male value system has not changed" over the 16 years of their study. They were particularly disappointed that "the glass ceiling remains firmly in place" in the newspaper industry (p. 177). Poindexter's (2008) update of women working in newspapers

concluded there was little increase in women working at newspapers over recent years and “a closer look at the statistics suggests women may have stalled in their effort to penetrate the glass ceiling” (p. 69).

Despite this being the reason given in overseas research, the reason for New Zealand female journalists to leave the newspaper industry is not that the glass ceiling prevents their progress. Firstly, female journalists in Chapter 5 indicated that they left early in their career because of the unfriendly culture, not because they saw few career prospects. Secondly, the senior female journalists in Section 6.4 all had offers of editorships, but turned them down because of what they saw were the negative aspects of the job. Thirdly, the female editors who did break into the top position also indicated that it was their decision to leave the position. This was backed up by the executive who said the male media company wanted several of the female editors to reconsider and return to editorship.

The masculine culture of the newsroom makes it uncomfortable for a woman to remain in the industry; however, this is not the same as a glass ceiling, which indicates a lower pay and lower status for females in the same job (Falk & Grizard, 2003). The culture described by the New Zealand female editors and journalists was not one that prevented their attaining higher goals, but it was a culture that was too harsh, as well as uncomfortable for them to be able to balance work and a normal family life. This study indicates that on the surface the traditional glass ceiling is not to blame for the low number of female journalists moving up the career path to become editors.

In Chapter 8, I will propose a new model, which is a Glass Bubble that protects the female journalists from feeling they are forced to work in an unattractive culture. Because they are able to leave the career (or quit the editorship), they find employment that is more attuned to their needs. How the industry can penetrate the Glass Bubble and encourage more females to ascend to editorships is not an easy question to answer. However, the Annenberg Public Policy Center (Falk & Grizard, 2003) claimed that most research on corporate level women concluded that it is the responsibility of the industry to take specific efforts to recruit women and to promote women in order to gain more gender balance at the top. In addition, Made and Morna (2009) found that journalists in 14 southern African countries thought one of the main reasons there were fewer women than men in the newsrooms was because the media houses had no policies to help advance women. The study found a high level of intention by the media houses to increase women's participation, but a lack of policies or systematic practices to ensure it happened.

7.6 Summary

This chapter discussed the gender power imbalance in New Zealand daily newspaper journalism, and how my research fits into the existing literature. At this stage, the three research questions have been answered and now will be shown to relate to previous research. Each of the three research approaches also will be shown to have contributed new understanding to the topic of gender power imbalance in New Zealand newspaper journalism.

Research Question One's findings demonstrated that New Zealand is similar to other countries in lacking a balance of female authorship in newspaper articles. This is a noteworthy finding, as some previous New Zealand studies indicated that women dominated newspaper journalism and this country was an aberration among other countries. My research further clarifies these previous studies and shows that, unfortunately, New Zealand is similar to most other countries in the low participation of women journalists in daily newspaper careers.

Research Question Two's study broke new ground in examining the attitudes of New Zealand new-entry journalists to a career in daily newspapers. My findings join the few global studies that have examined the attitudes of female journalists who have left the industry as well as those still within the industry. One of the first major studies in America on women who have left the industry (Willard, 2007) came to the same conclusion as mine: women do not leave the industry because of "family reasons" but more importantly because of poor management. Female journalists found it easy to leave the industry and attain careers elsewhere that had more desirable environments. It appeared there was no glass ceiling, but rather the young journalists were protected by their education and skills from feeling they were forced to stay in an uncomfortable environment.

Research Question Three's study was the first time New Zealand female daily newspaper editors have been interviewed in-depth on their attitude to their career. The interviews allowed the female editors to tell their worklife story in their own way. This has not been done before in New Zealand, and appeared to have not been done overseas either. Although there have been two American studies into female editors (Arnold & Nesbitt, 2006; Selzer,

2002), neither has been able to contact a census of female editors, as I was able to do. The narratives exposed new factors (collegial isolation and tacit management) that create a barrier for other women attaining the position and for staying in the position long term.

Although some barriers apply equally to both genders (long hours, high stress, decreasing resources), the female-specific barriers stemmed from the career path they took. The tacit management model and historically masculine culture model led to women becoming editors with very little training, mentoring, or support. Once in the editor position, the women found the job even more difficult because they did not have professional collegiality with other editors.

Similar to the young journalists surveyed in Research Question Two, the female editors interviewed in Research Question Three indicated they were not held back by a glass ceiling. They attained the top position and later decided it was not enticing enough to remain longer than a few years. Again, like the young journalists surveyed, the editors were protected by their experience and skills from feeling they were forced to remain in an uncomfortable environment. They were easily able to leave the editor job for one with equal or better pay, and with a more favourable environment and hours.

The results of the three research questions mirror the results of overseas studies that show that there is a funnel-shaped career path for women going into the industry, with many women studying journalism, and initially starting a career as newspaper journalists, but then later leaving the industry. My research also supports overseas studies that indicate that women leave the industry because of a myriad of reasons, but that poor management or

family-unfriendly management is a major cause. The results also support two theories and thereby add to the globalised nature of these theories.

The first theory is the journalism social field theory, which identified the news industry as a separate culture that remains stubbornly masculine despite three decades of equal opportunity (Bourdieu, 1998; Melin-Higgins, 2004; North, 2009; Ross, 2004). This theory contended that an aggressively masculine culture dissuades many women from wanting to work long term in the culture, and that even with more women in key positions, the culture needs to change before there can be more gender balance overall. Bourdieu contended that the “symbolic violence” of the culture is an anathema to journalists’ ability to carry out reasoned and balanced investigation of some topics (p. 1). He also termed it “symbolic royalty” (p. 38) which is closer to the New Zealand situation where the dominant male culture is not harming those competing for their lofty position, as suggested by his term “symbolic violence”, but rather they are protecting the executive positions for others like them, as does a royal family. Ross (p. 156) crystallised the culture as “game playing by male rules” and attested that the prevailing culture “is often circumscribed by practice and processes that are deep-rooted and often fiercely defended and controlled”. Furthermore, she contended that even increased numbers of women in the newsroom may be powerless to change the culture significantly. My research supports the masculine culture theories of an ingrained aggressive culture. As reported by journalists in Chapter 5, a large proportion of female journalists cope with it for only a short time before abandoning daily newspaper journalism for a more harmonious work environment elsewhere.

Secondly, my research supports the theory of the invisible rules of the culture, which includes

management based on “gut feeling” and unstructured employment requirements. Similar versions of the theory of invisible rules of the culture theory were concurrently developed by such researchers as Bourdieu (2005), North (2009), Poindexter (2008a) and Ross (2004). As described previously in Chapter 2, Bourdieu from France coined the term *habitus* to describe journalism’s unwritten hierarchy and contended that it transcended national boundaries – and that Poindexter in America, Ross in Britain, and North in Australia all have found the same embedded masculine newsroom culture.

Albeit, the plethora of research into the gendered newsroom culture already showed a global adherence to the theories (de Bruin & Ross, 2004), it is still valuable to manifestly identify the New Zealand placement in the culture. The conclusion of my research is that New Zealand is clearly positioned as part of the global theories on the gendered newsroom culture.

However, more than just supporting existing theories, the next chapter shows the answers from the three research questions build on the existing theories to create three models. The concluding models further describe the barriers for female journalists in the daily newspaper industry. The models identify the problems the industry has in retaining female managers; however, unlike some earlier research, these models present women in a position of strength, not weakness. The models also demonstrate that female journalists are not progressing up to management because they feel the negative aspects outweigh the positive aspects. To conclude this study, the next chapter also makes recommendations that could help industry develop tactics to encourage more women to remain in daily newspaper careers, thereby eventually progressing up to editor positions.

Chapter Eight: CONCLUSION

This chapter concludes my exploration of the gender power imbalance in New Zealand's daily newspaper industry by outlining three models that emerged from the research. The chapter also will take the bold step of making recommendations to the New Zealand daily newspaper industry to encourage more women to enter the career path to newspaper leadership.

The chapter starts with a summary of this study's contribution to previous research, its limitations, and then discusses the Funnel-Shaped Career model that describes the gender balance problem. The study investigates gender balance problems at both ends of the continuum of a journalist's career. The beginning level of the female journalist's career is described in the Glass Bubble Model, and problems related to the top editor level of the female journalist's career are described in the Collegial Wilderness Model.

Five recommendations to the industry follow, which aim to alter the newspaper culture to nurture women rather than discourage them from remaining long-term in daily news. The chapter concludes with a consideration for future research possibilities.

8.1 This Study's Contributions and Limitations

Each of the three methods in the research project has made an addition to the previous

academic research in New Zealand journalism. Firstly, the authorship analysis was the first examination of such a large sample – 13,147 articles in the five largest newspapers over a period of 30 consecutive issues – and unlike other content analysis, it found there were specific differences in topic areas, with women producing almost the same amount of hard news stories, but considerably less in the areas that require more seniority such as business and opinion.

Secondly, the survey of recently qualified journalists was able to extend earlier New Zealand research into the attitudes of working journalists to the practice of their craft, by further clarifying gender divisions within the newsroom, and adding knowledge about journalists' attitudes to their career paths. Previous research using snowball samples concluded that women dominated the newsrooms (Hollings, 2007; Hollings et al., 2007; Lealand, 2004; Lealand, 1994; NZJTO, 2006), but cautioned there were limitations in extrapolating the results because of non-random sampling, possible survey fatigue by participants, and limited details gleaned from New Zealand Census data.

Scaffolding from these previous surveys, my research indicated that journalists enter newspapers because they like to write, interview and be in the midst of current affairs, but leave within about two years for related jobs with better pay and better hours. Unlike other New Zealand studies, mine showed that another reason for women to leave daily newspapers was to find more supportive management.

This attitudinal survey combined with the results of the newspaper analysis provided data indicating that women journalists are not in a “dominant” position in the daily newspaper

industry, as concluded in previous New Zealand studies. In contrast, the results show women may dominate the junior levels, but do not stay in the career long enough to dominate other areas.

Thirdly, the in-depth interviews were the first comprehensive qualitative research of newspaper leaders; in particular, the first in-depth interviews of a census sample of female daily newspaper editors from 2000 through 2009. A key finding emerged early in the study. Research into the sample for the interviews revealed that not only were there very few women who have been editors of daily newspapers in New Zealand, but also those who did attain the title only remained in the position for a relatively short time. The most disquieting figure was that more than half the female editors interviewed held the position for only three years; in fact, only one held the position longer than six years, as shown in Figure 6.1

Such a short management career life severely restricts any opportunity for female editors to alter or change an industry's culture, but the short career life also gives a hint of the intense barriers that face women going into this position. The results help form a comprehensive view of the impact of daily newspaper culture on women journalists, not only from the perspective of women editors, but also from the perspective of key senior journalists and from two male industry leaders. This is the first time the "collegial isolation" has been identified as a contribution to the hardships on female editors, alongside the long, stressful hours and lack of balance between work and family life.

Although my research breaks new ground in areas not previously analysed in New Zealand, some of the conclusions were not surprising. The results parallel findings in other countries,

and also support the anecdotal descriptions from those in the industry. These findings are that female journalists tend to leave the industry early in their career; those who remain in the industry tend not to work their way up to management level; and there remains a perception that it is a tough, aggressive, masculine-style industry.

The limitations to this study preclude its being used to generalise about all New Zealand journalism workplaces. The small sample can only be used as an indication. Although many quantitative results were presented in percentage form, this was simply for comparative reasons, and cannot be used confidently to describe all newsrooms. An additional limitation is that the survey was sent only to graduates from one journalism school. Although there were pragmatic reasons for using this closed-sample, it is acknowledged that surveying graduates from other schools could produce different results. However, Hollings (2007) reported that about one-fourth of journalists have no professional qualifications, so unqualified journalists who attended none of the journalism schools would also likely produce different results.

Another limitation is the study's focus on female journalists. Although it does compare attitudes and career duration to males, a more comprehensive look at male editors and senior journalists may show further themes. Another drawback of attitudinal surveys and in-depth interviews of this type is that the information is based on what the participants say, which may or not be an objective interpretation of the issue.

The study also should be used cautiously to view daily newspaper careers in other countries. Although the results, especially from the in-depth interviews, may give a hint to the barriers

to female editors in other countries, research using the same methods in those countries would be needed to confirm the relevance of these findings to other environments..

8.2 Funnel-Shaped Career Model

Although a relatively high number of women study journalism and then enter daily newspaper careers, a low proportion of content is produced by female senior-level journalists, and a minuscule number of women go on to take up the top editor position in daily newspapers. Only one editor was a woman at the time I began my research, and although within a year this number grew to four, within the next year it slipped back to only one in early 2010. As Table 8.1 shows, this scarcity of female editors has been typical for the last ten years. The table also shows the limited pool of women who have undertaken this top job.

Table 8.1 Female Editors at New Zealand Daily Newspapers

N=23*	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Female editors	2	3	3	3	2	4	3	1	4	3	3

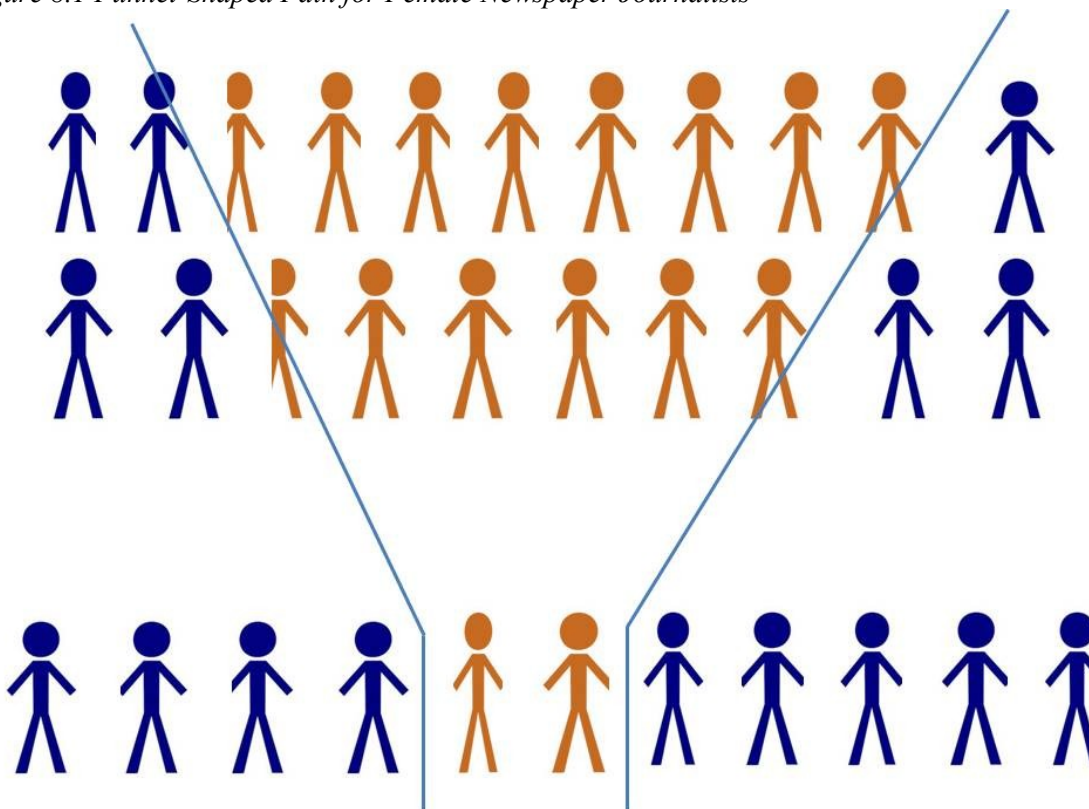
* There were 23 daily newspapers in New Zealand until 2009 when the Levin Chronicle closed and was replaced with a bi-weekly.

Even when female editors were at their most numerous (four), they made up only 17% of all editors of daily newspapers. Twice since 2000 there has only been one female daily newspaper editor. At the other end of the career path, however, is the large influx of women entering journalism schools (75% of the country's journalism students were women, compared to 25% men.) and healthy number of women entering daily newspaper career (58%

of the survey respondents who went into daily newspapers were women, compared to 42% men.)

Therefore, the newspaper industry seems to show a funnel-shaped career path for women journalists, as demonstrated in Figure 8.1. Women account for a large majority of newly trained journalists, a majority of new entrant journalists, a smaller proportion of senior reporters (as revealed by the few female bylines in business and opinions), and a very small proportion in the top job of editor.

Figure 8.1 Funnel-Shaped Path for Female Newspaper Journalists



The funnel-shaped career path for women entering newspaper journalism is not unique to New Zealand. The large drop-out rate of women journalists is similar to the newspaper

industry overseas as identified by researchers in Australia (North, 2009), America (Weaver et al., 2007; Willard, 2007), Europe (Chambers et al. 2004; Melin-Higgins, 2004), India (Joseph, 2004) and Africa (Made & Morna, 2009). Researchers such as North and Joseph acknowledge that it is difficult to gain precise information on the dropout rate of women because of the constant flux of the industry and also the lack of employment registers. Researchers in New Zealand have been fortunate in that there is good will from both the industry and from the education institutions to help them gather information. Nonetheless, the figures provided here are still only indications (especially at new entrant and mid-career stages) and not absolute.

Exactly why so many women dropped out early in their careers is not clear. Some researchers such as Made and Morna (2009) blame it on the glass ceiling, the invisible barrier set in place by the industry that prevents women gaining top positions. Other researchers such as de Bruin and Ross (2004) contend that the embedded culture of the newsroom works against women. In the next section, I argue that the barrier in New Zealand is not a glass ceiling, but rather a culture that is too unattractive to women – and they decide to find a more enticing career elsewhere.

8.3 Glass Ceiling vs. Glass Bubble Model

This research re-enforces global research on the hegemonic masculinity of the newspaper journalism culture, and how this, in part, leads to an almost truncated career path for female

daily newspaper journalists. As shown in Figure 8.1, the career path is a steep-sided funnel shape.

The shortage of female leaders does not mean, however, that any single element precluded their advancement and thereby impacted on the gender balance in the industry. Research overseas, such as Made and Morna (2009), North (2009) and Ross (2004b), posit that hegemonic masculinity in journalism is imbedded in the culture, and not easily recognised by those within the culture.

Although, around the globe the term ‘glass ceiling’ has been used as a metaphor for journalism’s low proportion of female leaders, in light of my research it may not be appropriate to describe the New Zealand daily newspaper industry in this way. The glass ceiling theory posits that an industry’s organisational structure aims to protect the male dominance of power. As described by Bell, McLaughlin, and Sequeria (2002), the glass ceiling is a form of discrimination that includes “gender stereotypes, lack of opportunities for women to gain the job experiences necessary to advance, and lack of top management commitment to gender equity and equal employment initiatives” (p. 68).

The 2005 report on the glass ceiling in American communication industries by Falk and Gizzard (2003) described women as being unable to get into management positions, and when they do, not being given the same pay or opportunities as men. My research, however, did not fully support the notion that women were actively prevented from attaining management positions or lacked the same pay as men – or at least the female journalists participating in the research did not perceive that this was happening. The attitudinal survey

of new-entry journalists combined with the in-depth interviews of female editors and other key senior leaders in the industry indicated that many female journalists do not feel encouraged nor supported to strive for leadership positions, but at the same time the female journalists did not report that anyone or anything actively tried to prevent them from attaining high positions.

Indeed, this study showed almost the opposite of the glass ceiling, depicting a model more akin to a glass bubble around the female journalists that the industry cannot penetrate. A considerable proportion of female journalists (the survey indicates that this might be about 77%) simply do not find the daily newspaper career appealing. Early in their career, like the males in the survey, they see the difficulties (low pay, poor management, and poor working hours). Therefore, a large proportion shift out of the industry once the excitement of working in daily newspapers is overshadowed by the reality of low pay and poor management. My survey findings indicate that more women (86%) as opposed to the men (71%) find careers outside of newspapers. The glass bubble protects them from being required to remain working in a career that is uncomfortable or unattractive to them. Therefore female journalists steadily flow out of the industry to other careers, leaving very few female journalists behind to stake out a management career.

In short, the industry needs female editors more than the women need the newspaper industry. Media leaders have publically vocalised newspapers' need for female leaders, both in New Zealand (as reported by both male media executives in Chapter 6 that they are actively trying to encourage more women to apply for editorships) and globally (Favre, 2009; Hemlinger, 2001). This is because the decline of female readers is impacting commercially

on the industry and executives believe that female editors will bring innovations and viewpoints that increase circulation and therefore profitability (Gibbons, 2002). However, the industry had not set up professional development programmes to attract more female editors. Nor had newspaper management worked effectively to change the historically masculine culture to make it more female-friendly. According to comments in the survey and the interviews, the worst part of old-style newspaper culture continues to be a major factor in driving away female journalists. Such practices are autocratic authority, verbal aggression, vicious competition, absence of support, and lack of professional nurturing. The results of my research help clarify the attitudes of female journalists towards New Zealand daily newspaper journalism, and therefore point the way to some changes in industry practices that could be implemented.

The concept that female journalists are protected within a glass bubble is based on the indications from this research that women are sought-after commodities not only in the newspaper industry, but also in the public relations and related communication industries. This was borne out by comments in my survey of new-career journalists as well as McGregor's (2006b) study of women in New Zealand media which said women flow to higher paid public relations jobs. According to journalism school statistics (G. Hannis, personal correspondence Oct. 12, 2008) the journalists in my study easily flowed from journalism school to jobs in daily newspapers. The survey respondents and interview participants indicated it was equally easy to shift to a related industry when they became disillusioned with daily newspaper work. They are almost in a protected position, where they have many choices for careers or jobs – as described by survey respondents, they can use their same daily newspaper skills when they enter careers in public relations, community

newspapers, broadcasting, and related industries. With options open to them, the younger journalists indicated that they eventually decide to shift to more comfortable and/or lucrative careers; hence the exodus to public relations or weekly-deadline publications.

Women still need to adapt to the masculine culture in order to attain management positions, and this may be seen as a form of glass ceiling, but it is not exactly a complete barrier. The opinions of female journalists in this study indicate that women can break into management (and have done so) if they are sufficiently focused on that goal. As shown in several comments from the survey and from female editors and Senior3 in the interviews, the problem seems to be that women on the lower ranks in newspaper journalism observe the few female editors and see a work environment that is not enticing. In addition, women who do achieve the top position decide after a few years of struggling in the editor position that it is not worth the ongoing effort to remain there. This was made clear not only from what female editors said in the interviews, but also the fact that half of those interviewed had left the position of daily newspaper editor after less than three years.

8.4 Collegial Wilderness Model

This section describes the Collegial Wilderness model, which illustrates how female editors are isolated from both management collegiality and journalism collegiality. This isolation, as editors revealed in the interviews, creates a substantial hardship.

The Collegial Wilderness model stems from the in-depth interviews where female editors described consistently, as detailed in Chapter 6, that they felt isolated from the other daily newspaper editors and also from other journalists during the time they were editors. This isolation was not a passing annoyance, but a very serious concern for them. Several participants described efforts they made, some unsuccessfully, to create more editorial collegiality. But more importantly, editors identified the isolation as a major barrier to their career goal.

This study clearly illustrated how a female journalist's path to the editor position is a solo journey, with few fellow travellers along a parallel career path. Although she may have many long-term friends within the industry, few who started with her would still be going into management with her. The attitudinal survey of newer journalists coupled with in-depth interviews of female editors paints a picture of an industry that quickly culls out new entrants who do not seem to assimilate into the existing culture. Women who had trained to be newspaper journalists and entered employment anticipating a noble career reported they were disillusioned, not only by the unattractive working conditions but also by a lack of support or encouragement for them to continue in daily journalism. When this is combined with the option of better pay and better work hours elsewhere, it is understandable why two-thirds of the female journalists left within two years to carve out a career in a more attractive and inclusive environment.

Even female journalists who did remain in the industry long term found the environment not inclusive enough to want to aspire to the lofty position of editor. As this research shows, once female journalists gained all the skills and knowledge to become senior management, a

number discovered even more reasons to eschew the top position. In particular, these senior female journalists commented that they did not get the support, informal mentoring, career grooming or social networking that they felt would make the job easier.

Therefore, the female journalists often diverted away from daily newspaper careers into related areas of public relations and weekly publications. This was a manifestation of one of Melin-Higgins' coping tactics whereby female journalists cope with the masculine hegemony of the newsroom by opting out into related positions. The tiny group of New Zealand female journalists who did take the intrepid step of becoming an editor lost many of their female colleagues along the way. Therefore they reported they felt isolated, like being in the wilderness, as far as getting professional support once they took on this prestigious, yet stressful, role. This description led to the Collegial Wilderness Model. The model, Figure 8.2, shows that female editors were out on their own while others had the comfort of networks. The female editors are placed in a harsh management environment of tough work conditions and unchartered decision-making responsibility, but are not armed with the support system, particularly from their peers, to conquer it easily.

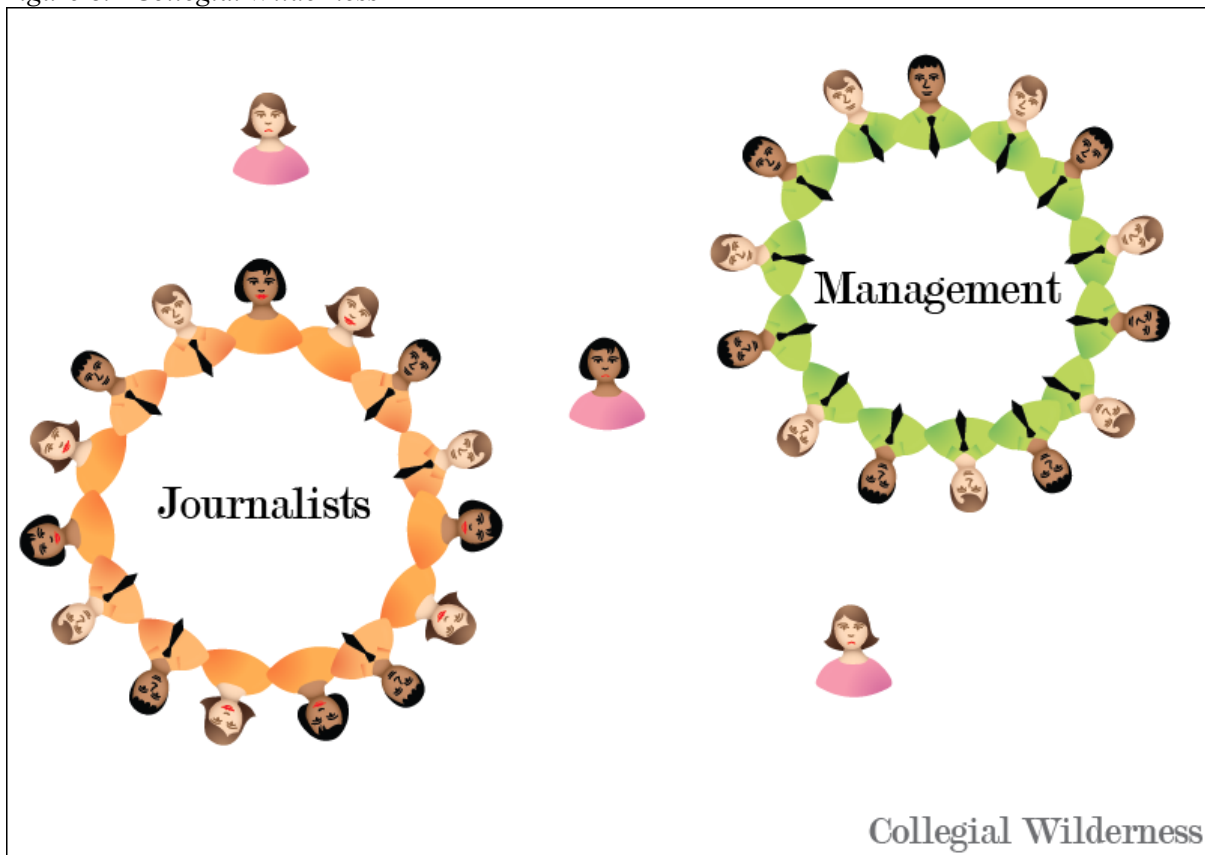
There seemed to be no mechanisms for the female editors to gain the benefits offered by professional collegiality. As described in Chapter 7, the female editors were not included in the editorial management collegial networks. However, at the same time they could no longer remain in the journalists' collegial networks, as other journalists were now their employees rather than peers. Collegiality is an important part of workplace success and research in other fields indicates that it leads to better decision-making. As an example, Feiger and Schmitt (1979) found that in the health field, strong collegiality led to better

patient outcomes, and Reinkin (1998) reported that in the education field, collegiality helped promote higher level decision making in stressful conditions. As described in Chapter 2, the classic Maslow Theory of Productivity (Maslow, 1943) identified that corporate leaders were more productive when they had a feeling of belonging. The female editors lacked Maslow's 'feeling of belonging'. In fact, they felt excluded and unable to rely on support from other editors. Being in the collegial wilderness took away one possible tool for them in the economic and technical crisis currently facing the newspaper editors. They admitted that the job seemed harder because of the lack of professional collegiality.

With a worldwide decrease in newspaper readership and circulation, editors have been facing unprecedented pressure to balance staff cuts and income losses, as clearly outlined in the annual reports of the American Society of News Editors in 2005, 2006, 2007, and 2009. (The Society's 2008 annual conference was cancelled because of the lack of morale and diminishing profits.) As seasoned journalists, the editors would have been experienced in facing hostility from such quarters as politicians unhappy with an unfavourable news story, but in their new management role they reported they also had to contend with additional hostility from their own marketing and sales divisions wanting to overturn journalism decisions in favour of profit decisions.

Editors around the world are describing the harshness of this new environment, but the New Zealand female editors had extra handicaps. While both male and female editors are not given basic management training, women were also not groomed for the position. Most had not given prior thought to becoming an editor and waited for a clear shoulder tap. In addition, once in the position, they were also not armed with collegial support from their peers.

Figure 8.2 Collegial Wilderness



As stated in Chapter 6, media executives interviewed said that collegiality is a problem for both genders, and with most cities having only one newspaper it is true that there is not a close proximity with other newspaper editors. These same male executives, however, described how they themselves became editors in earlier years and that they had known most of the other young editors (all male) because they had jostled each other as the potential leaders going up the career path in the newsroom.

The causes of the women's lack of collegiality are twofold. First, they stayed too long as journalists and became ingrained in that culture. After an average of 18 years as journalists, they were comfortable with the team-style culture prevalent among journalists in the

newsroom. So, it would be harder to shift to a new culture that has completely different decision-making styles and support.

Second, female editors received no transparent grooming during their time as journalists to develop networks before assuming the new job as editor. Most female editors were shoulder tapped and expressed surprise when they were recommended to start aiming for an editor's position. Contrast this to the younger female journalists, who enter the industry knowing they may shift to public relations eventually. From the very start, the younger female journalists are developing networks and acquiring skills they know will be useful when/if they move into public relations in their second career. This modelling is understandable because the young female journalists can visualise the career flow of other journalists similar to them, because of numerous female role models who have moved from journalism to public relations.

In addition, the female editors were not armed with prior management training or qualifications, which lead to the imposter syndrome the editors described in Chapter 6. This theory posits that no matter how talented a female manager is, she has a nagging fear of being exposed as not being equal to other managers. This nagging fear of being found out as a fraud among other managers who have more of a right to be in the position leads to women putting in extraordinary time and energy preparing for meetings, events, and projects (Reis, 1987).

Added to the difficulties of feeling excluded in the work place environment, was the family life exclusion. Having a non-traditional family structure (male partner taking over

management of the family or the partner living in another city) could have stymied their ability to slot into the community social environment.

According to researchers Feiger and Schmitt, (1979) and Reinken (1998), if the female editors had stronger professional collegiality they would have had support for decision-making in the current financial crisis. Further, they may have had more support to cope with the stress arising from the marketing-editorial battles that have become more common in the newspaper industry. As one female editor said, it seems incredible that the newspaper industry puts 20 years into developing female journalists into excellent journalists, then abruptly plucks them out and places them into the entirely different top management environment. She said the industry expected the editors to hit the ground running, with scant recognition that the professional skills for excelling in newsroom journalism were not the same skills needed to excel in newsroom management. The study indicated that the difficulties facing female editors do not lessen over time, as shown by the few women prepared to take on the job and the short span of their career as editors.

While the study put the spotlight on the difficulties facing female editors, the question still facing the industry is how to prevent female editors feeling they are in the collegial wilderness once they enter editorial management. While the long-term answer is to encourage, support and train more women to provide both role models and inter-collegial support in the editorship role, this cannot be achieved overnight. Some suggestions for helping change the current industry culture are outlined below.

8.5 Five Recommendations to Increase Female Leadership

Making cultural changes to daily newspapers in order to encourage female participation in newspaper leadership is not easy for an industry when it is in crisis with more pressing problems. Particularly, the serious economic problems currently facing the industry consume both the time of corporate leaders and the corporations' funding and strategic focus. Fighting for economic survival can understandably take precedence over gender diversity.

On the other hand, however, gender diversity could be part of the panacea for the circulation problems. Some of the decrease in newspaper readership has been identified as female readers, or rather female non-readers (Gibbons, 2002). Not only have women been traditionally less interested in reading newspapers, but also in recent years American studies showed the newspaper readers who have been the fastest to turn their back on newspapers have been women (ASNE, 2009).

As mentioned earlier, female editors are seen as able to cater for a different segment of readerships, and to attract new markets. However, editors need to be cultivated over a long time, not produced after a year-long course. Besides journalistic understanding and technical ability, a daily newspaper editor needs to have the skills of a marketer, public opinion maker, team manager, creative director and so on (Rodman, 2010). To develop more female newspaper editors, the industry needs to nurture more new-entry female journalists, and then develop a culture that ensures they feel included and accepted by the industry's management structure.

Many of the problems facing female editors in this study are also shared by male editors; therefore, many of the recommendations would help both genders. However, this study focuses on the lack of female leaders; hence the five steps below are recommended in order to develop a more balanced gender culture:

1. Help female journalists feel inclusive in the industry from the very start of their employment:
 - a. Eliminate the undercurrent attitude that “she is a woman so she won’t stay.” Senior staff members need to be conditioned to view new female journalists as possible leaders, not in gendered terms, or as possible short-term workers.
 - b. Welcome new female journalists to a career, not a job, in daily newspapers. The orientation for new journalists and on-going training should help women appreciate the career paths available to them.

2. Give all new entrant journalists the opportunity and encouragement to develop a career path:
 - a. Avoid tacit management style promotions (Section 7.4.4) and use transparent criteria for steps in a journalist’s career path.
 - b. Use acceptable management practices to pair new employees with mentors, to formally set out a training/career plan, to develop industry loyalty.

3. Set up a formal system to keep in contact with journalists who resign to go on their overseas experience. This research shows that many of them plan to return to New Zealand journalism after about two years.
4. Identify factors where the current newsroom culture may be at variance with the New Zealand female culture. It is not easy, nor quick, to change a culture. A taskforce within the industry can help identify detailed practices and issues that could be improved. Such a task force should include senior female journalists who have decided not to become editors, and also mid-level female journalists who may be considering an exodus to public relations. These women would be able to identify barriers to editorship more clearly than those female editors who have successfully crossed the barriers.
5. Identify potential female managers very early in their employment, and let them know they have been identified:
 - a. Give potential leaders systematic management-type training early in their career.
 - b. Give potential editors positions that allow them to shadow managers.
 - c. Widen the criteria of potential editors to include those who may now be considered the type of person who is not part of the current newsroom culture.
 - d. Place more women in editor positions, to create role models for younger women.
 - e. Support female editors who are also mothers, whether or not they have partners who take the major home responsibilities.

8.6 Further Research

This research project highlighted as many questions as it answered. Some of these would be topics for further research. Although this study concentrated on how female editors saw the job, it would be useful to also interview male editors to gain their perception of the job. This would give another view of editors' career barriers and enticers, and it would also give a more holistic look at what could be improved for daily newspaper editors.

It would also be useful to explore the editors of other media, such as broadcasting. In recent years statistics show a higher proportion of editors in radio and television are women, therefore comparing it with my results would also give insights.

At this stage in New Zealand the main online news websites are within the structure of the daily newspaper newsrooms. They are intertwined with the same newsroom culture and hierarchical structure. Once online becomes more autonomous it would be useful to investigate its newsroom culture to see if it supports the newsroom culture theories.

After this research began, New Zealand's largest daily newspaper owner, Fairfax Media, initiated a formal year-long training for potential managers. Included in this study was the first graduate of that course to gain an editor position. If this type of newspaper management training continues, it would be interesting to compare the experience of editors who have had this prior training with those interviewed in this study.

8.7 Final Thoughts

As I write the study's recommendations above, I can visualize some of the newspaper industry executives I knew in the past scoffing and saying something like "If female editors need mollycoddling, they shouldn't be here." I know these editors look at themselves and recognise that the world and industry have changed dramatically in 30 years. It is more difficult, however, to recognise that the culture has not changed at the same speed, but needs to do so.

On the surface, it is clear that new journalists coming into the industry do not look or think the way today's editors did when they entered the industry three decades ago. More pragmatically, however, is that it may be a strength that people with different viewpoints, operating systems, and cultures are entering the industry. Perhaps they will inject the industry with much needed dynamism. The reality is that what might seem like "mollycoddling" is, in fact, eliminating a masculine-only culture, which is also uncomfortable for many men in the newsroom, and creating a more gender-balanced environment. This balanced work environment will be better for both men and women in the industry, and is unlikely to affect the product, except perhaps by making it more responsive to the needs of a variety of readers.

Many researchers before me have examined the gender phenomenon in journalism, and particularly daily newspapers. The problem is not new, and the solution is not easy.

However, a solution will not be found by sweeping the problem under the carpet. The problem needs to be looked at anew and the information in this research will help decision-makers in journalism to look with new knowledge and new eyes.

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[z/images/jtosocietysurvey.jpg&imgrefurl=http://www.journalismtraining.co.n](http://www.journalismtraining.co.n)

z/noted.html&h=282&w=450&sz=53&hl=en&start=8&um=1&tbnid=Q1AY2
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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 Authorship Coding Sheet

<i>Newspaper:</i> <i>Publication Date:</i> <i>Where accessed:</i>				
	Total Articles	Female Bylines	Male Bylines	Comments
Business				
Farming				
Features Commercial				
Features Lifestyle				
Front page				
National/Local				
Opinion				
Sports				
World				

Comments:

Appendix 2 Reference Group

A reference group was set up with the aim to develop questions for the survey and in-depth interviews. Results from the reference group were used to develop the multiple-choice questions, and also the options for the Likert rating questions.

The reference group met with me in pairs or individually three times before the survey and interview question lines were developed. The reference group was nine individuals who had varying length of time experience in the media. Three were male and six female. Five were working in journalism and four in public relations. One was junior level, four were intermediate, four were senior level (three edited weekly newspapers and one person had previously edited a daily newspaper).

In structured discussions they were asked the following questions. They responded to the researcher but were encouraged to interact with each other on the topic if it seemed appropriate. In these situations the researcher acted as a facilitator to the discussion, as well as taking recording the proceedings.

The questions (and resulting response options) were:

- Why did you go into journalism? (11 options)
- Why did you stay in journalism/ or why did you leave (16 options)?
- Why do you think others left journalism?
- What would prompt you to return to journalism? (12 options)
- What would prompt you to return to newspapers? (12 options)
- What was your experience in newspapers, both positive and negative?
- What prompted you to follow the career path you did?
- (follow-up questions as appropriate)

Former Journalism Students of Wellington School of Journalism

As a former student of Massey University journalism school, you are invited to complete this survey, which will take only about 10 minutes. It is to explore your attitude to working in journalism, whether you are currently a journalist or not – even if you never worked in the industry.

Your responses will be anonymous, and all data will be kept secure until destroyed at the end of the project. Thank you in advance for taking the time and effort to fill in the survey. It is greatly appreciated – really.

First some demographic information:

1. What year did you do journalism training?

- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <input type="radio"/> 2000 | <input type="radio"/> 2004 |
| <input type="radio"/> 2001 | <input type="radio"/> 2005 |
| <input type="radio"/> 2002 | <input type="radio"/> 2006 |
| <input type="radio"/> 2003 | <input type="radio"/> 2007 |

2. Your name: (It will be removed before assessing the data)

3. Your gender:

- Female
 Male

4. Married status:

- Single
 Married or partnered
 No longer married or partnered

5. Any dependent children?

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <input type="radio"/> None | <input type="radio"/> More than two |
| <input type="radio"/> One or two | <input type="radio"/> All grown |

6. Your highest academic qualifications

- No tertiary and I didn't complete the Journalism Diploma
 Journalism Diploma
 University undergraduate degree
 Master's degree
 Ph.D

7. Your age when started journalism (not including course)

- Under 20
- 21 to 24 years old
- 25 to 26 years old
- 27 to 30 years old
- 30 to 40 years old
- Older than 40

8. Where do you now live?

- North Island
- South Island
- Australia\Pacific Islands
- England
- Europe
- North American
- Asia
- Other

9. What is your current occupation?

10. How many years have/did you work in journalism?

- Never
- Less than six months
- Less than a year
- One
- Two
- Three
- Four
- Five
- Six
- More than six years

11. How long did you work in daily newspaper (if at all)?

12. While in journalism which rounds did you cover for least six months?

- General new
- Business
- Sports
- Parliament/local Govt
- Health/Education\
- Police/courts
- Sub-editing
- On-line

13. Why did you originally enter journalism?

	Very Important	Important	A consideration	Unimportant	N/A
I felt there'd always be a job	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It was a secure income	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I saw myself progressing up the career	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I could use my writing/interviewing skills	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
A family member or friend was a journalist	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I wanted he bylines or being on air	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I wanted to be in the midst of current events	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I wanted to meet famous people/sports stars etc	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I believed I could contribute to society	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I liked the idea of having power	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I never wanted to go into journalism	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Other (please specify)					

14 Are you still working in journalism?

- Yes (survey continues on question 15)
- No (survey continues on questions 21)
- I'm on my OE (overseas before starting a career) (survey continues on question 28)

Those who are still working in journalism answered the following five questions:

15. What branch of journalism are you in?

- Daily newspaper
- Television
- Community newspaper
- Radio
- Magazine
- Online (or convergence)
- Trade Magazine/newspaper
- News agency

16. What keeps you working in journalism?

	Very Important	Important	A consideration	Unimportant	N/A
I like a steady job	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It pays adequately	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I'm progressing up a career path	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I'm receiving mentoring	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I like writing/interviewing	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
A good social environment	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I like a high profile	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I want to be in the midst of current affairs	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I get to be with famous people/sports stars	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I contribute to society	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I like the decisive style of my supervisor	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I like the power to make or break someone	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I like flexible work hours/days	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The job is portable	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Journalism suits my skills	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I plan to quit soon	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Other (please specify)					

17. If you are working in daily newspapers (vs other fields of journalism) what is the appeal?

18. What is the likelihood that you will shift to PR or communications?

- I'm currently looking for such a job
- Yes, I'm planning that in the future
- Very possible
- Maybe
- I wouldn't fit in
- Not likely
- Never – I hate that profession
- Other (please specify)

19. Please feel free to expand here what attracts you to work in journalism.

Those who are not working in journalism answered the following seven questions:

21. Where do you now work?

- Related field (teaching, film, media, design)
- Public Relations or Communication
- Other profession
- Family commitments
- Not working
- Other (please specify)

22. Why did you leave journalism?

	Very Important	Important	A consideration	Unimportant	N/A
I didn't pursue it after the course	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The job dissolved	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Personal circumstances	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Better income elsewhere	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Better hours elsewhere	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Better supervisors elsewhere	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I wasn't encouraged	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
No promotion in sight	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tired of being confrontational in interviews	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My friends left	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The newsroom environment	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Disillusioned with journalism values	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Too brusque or harsh supervisors	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Family commitments	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I went overseas	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
No jobs where I now live	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Other (please specify)					

23. What would attract you to work in Journalism?

(You can tick more than one.)

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Nothing | <input type="radio"/> Better income |
| <input type="radio"/> I'm looking for a position | <input type="radio"/> Better hours |
| <input type="radio"/> I probably will return in the future | <input type="radio"/> Better supervisors |
| <input type="radio"/> A promotion or offer of a better job | <input type="radio"/> Better career path |
| <input type="radio"/> Getting to write and interview again | <input type="radio"/> If I had a bigger say in the news selection |
| <input type="radio"/> If I didn't have to interview etc | <input type="radio"/> Part time/ job share |

Other _____

24. What would attract you to work in daily newspapers?

(You can tick more than one.)

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Nothing | <input type="radio"/> Better income |
| <input type="radio"/> I'm looking for a position | <input type="radio"/> Better hours |
| <input type="radio"/> I probably will return in the future | <input type="radio"/> Better supervisors |
| <input type="radio"/> A promotion or offer of a better job | <input type="radio"/> Better career path |
| <input type="radio"/> Getting to write and interview again | <input type="radio"/> If I had a bigger say in the news selection |
| <input type="radio"/> If I didn't have to interview etc | <input type="radio"/> Part time/ job share |

Other _____

25. Please feel free to expand on why you aren't in journalism:

(open answer) _____

26: If you work in PR or Communications, why do you prefer it to journalism (if you do)

(open answer) _____

27: Are you currently working:

- Paid
- Unpaid

Those on their Overseas Experience (OE) answer the following eight questions:

28. Are you planning to return to journalism when you return to New Zealand?

- Yes
- No

29. If you answer “yes” above, what branch of journalism do you want to return to?

- Daily newspapers
- Community newspapers
- Magazine
- Trade magazine/newspaper
- Television
- Radio
- On-line
- Anything

30. If you answered “yes” and are planning to rejoin journalism, what do you like about it?

	Very Important	Important	A consideration	Unimportant	N/A
I like a steady job	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It pays adequately	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I'm progressing up a career path	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I'm receiving mentoring	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I like writing/interviewing	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
A good social environment	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I like a high profile	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I want to be in the midst of current affairs	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I get to be with famous people/sports stars, etc	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I contribute to society	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I like the decisive style of my supervisor	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I like the power to make or break someone	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I like flexible work hours/days	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The job is portable	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Journalism suits my skills	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I plan to quit soon	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Other (please specify)					

31. If you answered “yes” and may return to journalism, what is the likelihood you would go into daily newspapers?

- I'd love to
- Very likely
- It depends on available jobs
- Very unlikely
- I would hate it

32. If you answered “no” and not planning to work in journalism, why not?

	Very Important	Important	A consideration	Unimportant	N/A
I don't see any job openings	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Personal circumstances	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I didn't pursue journalism after the course	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Better income elsewhere	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Better hours elsewhere	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Better supervisors elsewhere	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I wasn't encouraged	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
No promotion in sight	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tired of being confrontational in interviews	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My friends left	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The newsroom environment	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Disillusioned with journalism values	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Too brusque or harsh supervisors	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Family commitments	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I want to go overseas again	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Other (please specify)					

33. What is the likelihood that you will shift to PR or communications?

- I'm currently looking for such a job
- Yes, I'm planning that in the future
- Very possible
- Maybe
- I wouldn't fit in
- Not likely
- Never – I hate that profession
- Other (please specify)

34. How long do you expect to be overseas in total?

- Less than a year
- One year
- Two years
- Three years
- Four years
- Five years
- Six years or ore
- Until my money runs out

35. Please feel free to expand on why you would or wouldn't want to go back into New Zealand journalism.

(open answer) _____

Thank you very much for taking the time to respond to this survey.

Any additional comments are appreciated, and can be emailed to cathystrong@gmail.com. All comments, as well as answers to this survey, are confidential. Your name is removed once we analyse the data

Ethics Committee Approval:

This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics committees. The researcher named above is responsible for the ethical conduct of this research. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher(s) please contact Professor Sylvia Rumball, Assistant to the Vice-Chancellor (Research Ethics), telephone 06 350 5249, email humanethics@massey.ac.nz.

Any other comments or questions can also be directed to the Thesis Advisor:

Associate Prof Margie Comrie
Dept Communication, Journalism & Marketing
Massey University
Private Bag 11 222
Palmerston North
New Zealand
Ph 64 6 356 9099 (2368)

Appendix 4 In-depth Interview Question Line

Name:

Date of Interview:

Demographic Information:

1. Age
2. What is your education background (especially journalism qualifications)
3. How long have you worked in journalism?
4. How long were/have you been an editor
5. Brief CV (any broadcasting, any breaks, sports?)
6. Married status?
7. Children?

View of Editor Position

8. How did you become an editor?
9. Why did you rise to that level when your colleagues didn't?
10. What characteristics are needed to be editor?
11. How/when did you decide to aim for an editor position?
12. Did you ever think of switching to more lucrative job...(ie. Comms)
13. How long do you plan to stay in this position?
14. What are you planning for the future? (*or* Why didn't you stay?)

View of Female Editors

1. What have been the barriers along the way for you?
2. What have been the encouragements along the way for you?
3. How do you think you got to the position of being one of the few women to be a newspaper editor?

4. Why do you think so many other women leave before attaining it?
5. What difficulties are different for women vs men?
6. Lots of men as well as women don't make it past middle management... what stymies people?
7. What did/do you have to sacrifice to be an editor?
8. How do you deal with children/family responsibilities?

Theoretical framework QUESTIONS:

Based on overseas research there are some theories about why more women don't succeed in journalism....particularly newspapers... Please give your personal observations of these:

1. (Theory One) Newsrooms have their own culture, which are more comfortable for very "blokey" men. Some may call it bullying, others call it decisiveness.

Have you observed this?

Give examples

How did you overcome this?

2. (Theory Two) Women make it in journalism by adopting one of these four coping tactics:

Opt out --- by freelancing or contract work

Adopt softer jobs – advertorials, newsroom admin, light features

Become masculine-like – childfree, hard-talking, etc

Specialise – the best in their side field (politics, business, etc.)

Have you observed this?

Give examples

Where would you fit yourself?

Appendix 5 Checklist One

An American survey of women newspaper managers came up with the following list of things they felt would have improved their career if they **had done it differently**. Look over and identify any that you would agree with:

	very important
Got further education or training	
Got into the business when I was younger	
Left my current position for better opportunities elsewhere	
Started in a larger newspaper	
Passed up other job opportunities	
Would have been more self-promoting	
Would have got more reporting experience	
Would have been more focused on building a career	
Focused more on family	
Worked as a correspondent	
Applied for an overseas Fellowships	
Got involved in management/business	
Let personal decisions affect my career	
Picked a different career/industry	
Spent more time as a reporter	
Found a mentor	
Would have not changed jobs so frequently	

Appendix 6 Checklist Two

An American survey of women editors came up with the following list of things they felt **helped their career**. Look over and identify any one that you would agree with

	very important
I became a journalist	
I went to university	
I became an editor	
I took on many tasks/projects	
Worked hard/showed up every day/ did my best	
Open to ideas/ challenges/learn new things	
Changed jobs/newspapers/moved	
Came to my current paper	
Applied and won awards	
Finding a mentor	
Listening to others	
Took changes/risks/pushed myself	
Gained experience/develop my skills	
Started at a small newspaper	
Worked my way up	
Led my staff/recognised my staff	
Communicated a passion for journalism	
Nice/fair/honest to people	
Got involved with management/business side	
Spoke up for myself/learn to say no	
I was surrounded by talented people	
I implemented technology with my work	
I worked in a large city	



Massey University

New Zealand Female Newspaper Editors

INFORMATION SHEET

Researcher Introduction

Cathy Strong lectures in journalism at Massey University, with a BA in journalism from University of Washington (USA) and a MA in mass communications from Kent State University (USA). This current research is part of her PhD studies at Massey University. She previously lectured at Kent State University, as well as being industry trainer for TVNZ, RNZ, Solomon Islands Broadcasting Corporation, Asia-Pacific Broadcasting Association, and various NZ polytechnic. She worked several decades as a senior journalist, including the USA's Knight Ridder newspapers chain, and New Zealand's, Radio New Zealand, National Business Review, TVNZ, South Pacific Television, Energy Source TV, etc. She also was managing director of Cabix Media, which included commercial research projects. Her profile can be viewed

<http://communication.massey.ac.nz/massey/depart/cob/school/communication/staff/cathy-strong.cfm>

Project Description and Invitation

This research looks at women editors of daily or Sunday newspapers in New Zealand over the past five years approximately. Over recent years women have made up from 10 percent to 19 percent of editors. The figure is low considering more than 70 percent of journalism students are women, and about 50 percent of junior journalists are women. Part of the research is in-depth interviews to gain opinions on the challenges, obstacles, and encouragements for gaining editorships.

Participant Identification

You have been invited to participate in this research as part of the selection criteria: You are or were an editor of a daily newspaper, and are female.

Project Procedures

- You will be interviewed in person, or on the telephone, by Cathy Strong. The interview will take about an hour. There may be follow-up questions, which may be by telephone or email;
- You are encouraged to contact Cathy Strong if you have any further thoughts, comments or questions after the interview;

- The interview will be part of a wider research into newspapers, as part of a doctoral thesis. If the thesis is accepted it will be published and held in university libraries and/or academic files. This is expected to take another year or two;
- The interview may also be part of a research paper published in a peer-reviewed academic journal. This would normally be accessible through academic search engines. If this proceeds, the article will be completed in about a year.

Data Management

- The interview will be recorded onto a Marantz digital recorder, and transcribed manually into a Word document. The original recording will be deleted at the end of the project, and the transcripts will be held in a secure file for five years
- The transcripts will be made by Cathy Strong, or a transcriber who signs a confidentiality agreement.
- Your name won't be used in the final document, and identify will be a profile description.

Participant's Rights

If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- decline to answer any particular question;
- withdraw from the study before it is written up at the end of 2008;
- ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher;
- be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded;
- ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview;

Project Contacts

- The researcher Cathy Strong can be contacted by email: c.r.strong@massey.ac.nz or on cellphone: 021 622249
- The Thesis Advisor is Dr. Margie Comrie:
 Phone: +64 6 356 9099, Extension 2368
 Fax: +64 6 350 5889
 E-mail: M.A.Comrie@massey.ac.nz
 Massey University
 Private Bag 11222
 Palmerston North

Ethics Committee Approval

“This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher named above is responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Professor Sylvia Rumball, Assistant to the Vice-Chancellor (Research Ethics), telephone 06 350 5249, email humanethics@massey.ac.nz”.

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

This consent form will be held for a period of five (5) years

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I agree/do not agree to the interview being audio taped.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signature:

Date:

Full Name – printed
