

Gendered experiences of women journalists in male dominated spaces: A focus on the print media industry in Zimbabwe

by

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Declaration

I, Precious Zhou, declare that this thesis/ dissertation/ mini-dissertation is my own original work. Where secondary material was used, this has been carefully acknowledged and referenced with accordance with the university requirements.

I understand what plagiarism is and am aware of the university policy and implication in this regard.

Signature.....

Date.....

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Acronyms

AIPPA	Access to Information and Protection to Privacy Act
FAMWZ	Federation of African Women Zimbabwe
IWMF	International Women’s Media Foundation
POSA	Public Order and Security Act
MISA Zimbabwe	Media Institute of Southern Africa: Zimbabwe
Zimpapers	Zimbabwe Newspapers Ltd
ZIMSTAT	Zimbabwe Statistical National Statistical Agency
ZUJ	Zimbabwe Union of Journalists
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions

Abstract

Gender is an important tool in analysing power relations in organisations. In this study focusing on gendered experiences of women journalists in the print media industry in Zimbabwe, I draw on Scott's understanding of gender as a category of analysis that signifies unequal power relations as well as Acker's theory of gendered organisations. 12 women working in five different media houses in Harare were interviewed in the study. I argue that journalism is a gendered profession that privileges men and masculinity resulting in the exclusion of women. While organisations have been described as gender-neutral, I argue that there is no gender-neutrality within the journalism profession as patriarchal relations that exist in society permeate into the newsroom. The research findings illustrate that journalism is structured around the concept that a man is the 'ideal worker' and body in the workplace and that women are therefore excluded. Social constructions of masculinity and femininity underlie the division of work and are used as a form of control in the newsroom. The findings demonstrate that masculinity is prioritised through the gendered allocation of assignments. As a result, a masculine culture that emphasises the competitive nature of the profession is dominant. Women and their association with the domestic sphere, reproduction and child-care are perceived as unsuitable for this profession. The research found that sexual harassment is prevalent and is a form of violence used by men to control women's bodies and limit their career growth. The study examined the strategies employed by the women journalists to cope with the challenges they encountered.

Key words: gender; gendered organisations; journalism; patriarchy; masculinity; femininity; exclusion; marginalisation; work-family conflict; sexual harassment

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

The definition of what a woman should be often comes into conflict with other identities that women can take on depending on the context. De Beauvoir (1949: 273) stresses the idea that ‘woman’ is socially constructed because “one is not born, but rather becomes, a woman”. She explains how socialisation and culture play a role in defining the identity of a woman. De Beauvoir argues that socialisation enforces the differences between masculinity and femininity, where positive attributes such as rationality and objectivity are associated with men while women are seen as dependant and the ‘other’. Masculinity is related to superiority while femininity is associated with inferiority.

De Beauvoir’s argument illustrates that gender is an important factor that structures relations in society. Gender organises relations in the family, the workplace and the public domain through division of labour according to gender roles, and highlights power relations in these spaces. As Connell (2005) argues, masculinities and femininities are founded on women’s relationship with the domestic sphere and men’s relationship with the economy. In the workplace, work is sex-segregated; there are occupations that are considered to be for men as they are associated with masculinity and others considered to be for women as they are linked to femininity. Various scholars have argued that work linked to men and masculinity is valued more than work that is associated with women and femininity (Connell, 1987; Lorber, 1994). For example, because occupations filled by women are considered to be easy, when women enter into areas that are considered to be traditionally male, these occupations are often devalued due to such social constructions.

With the increase of women in the workforce, there are assumptions of gender equality in organisations. These assumptions are based on the idea that people are treated equally based on merit. However, as indicated above, organisations are gendered due to the prevalence in the workplace of the social constructions of masculinity and femininity, characterised by unequal relations. Organisations exist in societies where patriarchal relations influence the location of women in the workplace. Thus, women and men are treated in gender-specific ways. As Connell (2005: 374) explains, organisations are gendered as they “embed a gender

division of labour, gendered hierarchies of power, a gendered culture and gendered patterns of personal and emotional relations among their staff.” Using a study carried out in Australia, she notes that family-friendly policies, such as flexible working hours, part-time working and maternity leave, are implemented in organisations based on gender neutrality. However, the findings of the study were that such measures were gender-specific as they are mostly used by women. Connell contends that, when women make use of these family-friendly policies, it is often not considered a gender equity issue as ‘no explicit sex-discrimination is involved’. Yet, when considered in the context of the fact that women take responsibility for the majority of the domestic work and child care, it becomes a gender equity issue as women are not free to go to work at all times that the organisation demands (Connell, 2005: 375).

Journalism is considered to be a male profession because of its relation to politics. Journalism involves gathering and publishing information on national and political issues; thus, journalists play a key role in shaping public opinion and policies of a country. Journalism can hence be viewed as part of the world of politics. Celis et al (2013) argue that politics has been narrowly defined and results in the exclusion of women. The scholars note that “the traditional focus of politics as a study of machinery of government and electoral politics or on political elites and formal institutions renders women and gender invisible...” (Celis et al 2013: 6). Women are marginalised in this profession.

This research explores the gendered experiences of women in the journalism profession in Zimbabwe, with particular focus on the print media. In this research, I emphasise that journalism is a gendered profession as practices in the newsroom prioritise men and masculinity and marginalise women. I argue that patriarchal relations in the family and society that give power to men are extended to the workplace, which has resulted in women remaining in the lower end of the journalism hierarchy. This research further aims to examine the gendered allocation of roles and tasks, interrogating the idea that women journalists tend to be allocated specific assignments to cover, such as social and humanitarian issues, whereas male journalists are allocated those that centre on politics. Often, women’s genderedness and gender roles are used as explanations to justify the assignments they are given. This has an effect on women’s opportunities for promotion, as some of the assignments are not viewed as challenging, and limits chances of career progression. This study aims to investigate organisational practices that serve to exclude women. Further, I argue that in this profession,

the ideal worker is a male journalist as women are viewed as not suited for this profession. Women's identities and bodies present challenges in the workplace.

1.1. Rationale

Gender inequality remains a major concern, particularly in the 21st century. The work of the feminist movement has been critical in calling for equality and fairness in the workplace. However, women continue to be disadvantaged in the workplace. Some of the arguments that have been used to explain the challenges that women face in the workplace have failed to problematise the gendered nature of organisations or practices that act as barriers to women. Examples include studies that focus on women's domestic responsibilities as an explanation for women's lack of progress in organisations (Scholarios & Taylor, 2011 on women in call centres) as well as some studies on the broad subject of work-life interface (Stevenson, 1994 on women combining work and adult care). These studies focus more on how women's roles in the family impact on the work-related decisions they make, such as decisions regarding part-time work or taking career-breaks. Thus, the argument is that women with family responsibilities tend to take up work with low responsibilities and often in low-status positions. Such arguments focus less on the gender discriminatory practices within organisations.

This research will draw from Acker's (1990) theory of gendered organisations. Acker argues that while organisations give the impression of being gender-neutral, where any person is assumed to 'fit' into a job depending on merit, in reality, organisations prefer a typical worker whom they consider to be totally committed to work, with no distractions, and this typical worker is a man. One aspect of organisations which is taken for granted and assumed to be gender-neutral is the organisational culture. Organisational culture reflects the norms and practices that represent the organisation, which have been used over time such that they appear normal and natural. Organisational culture is perceived as gender-neutral based on assumptions of objectivity and rationality, and is therefore seen as treating everyone in the workplace as equal. However, elements of organisational culture tend to favour one gender, as they are based on masculine standards, and therefore exclude women. For example, a culture that emphasises long working hours has been seen to favour men as men are more likely to be able meet this standard as they have no other distractions (Nemoto, 2013). Further, division of work in the workplace is also shaped by gender role allocation that exists in society as well as in families. Therefore, organisations are not gender-neutral. In this

research, I argue that organisations are gendered and that it is important to examine how they are structured in order to understand women’s challenges to full participation in the workplace.

1.2. Research objectives

This research, focusing on the gendered experiences of women journalists, seeks to:

- ❖ investigate the gendered experiences of women journalists in the print industry in Zimbabwe,
- ❖ examine the existing gender relations in the print media industry that reproduce gender inequalities in the sector,
- ❖ investigate how women negotiate their identities of being a woman and a journalist in male-dominated spaces, and
- ❖ investigate measures taken by women in journalism (coping strategies) in order to address the everyday challenges they encounter.

1.3. Research question

The main question in this research will be:

What are the experiences of women journalists in the print media industry in Zimbabwe?

1.4. Background to the Study

1.4.1. Representation of women in Zimbabwe in employment

With a total of almost 13 million people, women constitute 52 percent of the population in Zimbabwe (Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency-ZIMSTAT, 2014). Gender inequality is a national issue in Zimbabwe and the government has put in place legislation and national policies that seek to promote the participation of women in the economy, education, politics and decision-making. These include the National Gender Policy launched in 2013 whose goal is to “eradicate gender discrimination and inequalities in all spheres of life and development” (National Gender Policy, 2013: 11). Despite these efforts, women’s participation in the labour force continues to be marginal. Table 1.1. below highlights the bias in employment patterns, with men dominating both categories of permanent paid employment and casual employment. As the table shows, men constitute 66 percent of the permanent paid employment while women represent 34 percent. In casual employment, 64.5 percent are men with women constituting just above half the percentage of men at 35.5 percent. The

population of people participating in the labour force ranged in age from 15 upwards. The table also shows that more women participated in the economy through communal farming where they constituted about 56.9 percent of the economically active women, catering mostly for family subsistence.

Table 1.1.: Women and men’s status in employment in Zimbabwe

Status in Employment	Male	Female	Total	
			Percent	Number
Paid employee-permanent	66.0	34.0	100	970 146
Paid employee-Casual/ temporary/ seasonal.	64.5	35.5	100	561 487
Employer	75.0	25.0	100	46 041
Own account worker (communal, resettlement & peri-urban farmer)	43.1	56.9	100	3 693 593
Own account worker (other)	47.0	53.0	100	882 249
Unpaid contributing family worker	39.8	60.2	100	96 013
Member of producer cooperative	83.5	16.5	100	11 625
Not stated	31.4	68.6	100	4 715
Total	49.3	50.7	100	6 265 869

Source: ZIMSTAT, 2014: 68 cited from the 2014 Labour Force Survey

The ZIMSTAT report also gives a breakdown of the employment of women in different industries, illustrated in Table 1.2. below. The table highlights that women are mostly employed in the agricultural sector, at a rate of 54 percent, which is higher than men (46 percent). The table also includes statistics on the information and communication industry, which is the focus of this study. The statistics highlight that the information and communication sector in Zimbabwe is male-dominated, with 84.4 percent of the employees being men while women constitute a paltry 15.6 percent. The percentages of women in paid employment and women employed in the information industry indicate the marginalisation of women and emphasise that Zimbabwe continues to be a patriarchal society despite efforts to improve women’s participation in the economy. A discussion of the trends of employment in journalism in Zimbabwe, in comparison to other countries, follows the discussion on the media environment in Zimbabwe.

Table 1.2.: Distribution of women and men employed in various sectors in Zimbabwe

Industrial Sector	Male	Female	Total	
			Percent	Number
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	46.0	54.0	100	4 212 822
Mining and quarrying	89.2	10.8	100	92 305
Manufacturing	77.5	22.5	100	252 475
Electricity, gas, steam and air conditioning supply	95.2	4.8	100	8 896
Water supply; sewerage, waste management and remediation	97.0	3.0	100	8 130
Construction	96.5	3.5	100	98 985
Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles.....	37.9	62.1	100	681 019
Transportation and storage	91.2	8.8	100	106 735
Accommodation and food service activities	51.7	48.3	100	32 938
Information and communication	84.4	15.6	100	25 620
Financial and insurance activities	65.0	35.0	100	20 147
Real estate activities	82.3	17.7	100	22 745
Professional, scientific and technical activities	73.3	26.7	100	26 045
Administrative and support service activities	83.4	16.6	100	57 198
Public administration and defence; compulsory social security	73.6	26.4	100	100 169
Education	43.0	57.0	100	178 585
Human health and social work activities	35.8	64.2	100	47 916
Arts, entertainment and recreation	84.7	15.3	100	28 785
Other service activities	42.4	57.6	100	100 500
Activities of households as employers undifferentiated goods	20.5	79.5	100	160 416
Activities of extraterritorial organizations and bodies	45.9	54.1	100	2 238
Not stated	41.1	59.0	100	1 199
Total	49.3	50.7	100	6 265 869

Source: ZIMSTAT, 2014: 71 cited from the 2014 Labour Force Survey

1.4.2. Media environment in Zimbabwe

The media in Zimbabwe is divided into state-funded and privately owned media. With regard to the print media, the state-funded Zimbabwe Newspapers Ltd (Zimpapers) is the largest publisher in the country, with 12 publications [Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA):

Zimbabwe, 2014, *The Herald* website]. The publications include two daily newspapers, *The Herald* and the *Chronicle*; three weekly newspapers, *The Sunday Mail*, *Sunday News* and *Manica Post*; two tabloids newspapers in English, *H-Metro* and *B-Metro*; as well as two weekly tabloids in local languages, *Kwayedza* and *Umthunywa*. (*The Herald* website). Several privately owned publishers operate in Zimbabwe. These include Alpha Media Holdings, which publishes a daily newspaper, *Newsday*, and two weekly newspapers, *The Standard* and the *Zimbabwe Independent*. Associated Newspapers of Zimbabwe is privately owned and has three publications, one daily newspaper, *The Daily News* and two weekly newspapers, *The Daily News on Sunday* and *Weekend Post* (allAfrica.com). Two other popular weekly newspapers, *The Financial Gazette* and *The Zimbabwean*, are also privately owned.

The media environment in Zimbabwe is affected by the legal framework, as well as the political and economic environments in the country. Media organisations have pointed out that revision of the Constitution, which now guarantees freedom of expression, has improved the media environment although it remains restrictive due to the media laws that hinder journalists' freedom to perform their duties (MISA Zimbabwe, 2014; Freedom House, 2015; allAfrica.com). MISA Zimbabwe (2014:84) and Freedom House cite a number of media laws that restrict press freedom and access to information, such as the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA), the Public Order and Security Act (POSA) and the Interception of Communication Act. AIPPA requires journalists and media houses to register with the Zimbabwe Media Commission. It gives the Commission "broad powers to terminate or suspend activities of a mass media service" (Media Alliance of Zimbabwe, undated: 8). Further, media organisations have argued that the requirements for mass media service providers to register stipulated by this law are "designed to exercise massive state control over the media" and are "not in line with the international standards" (Media Alliance of Zimbabwe, undated: 8). As a result of the restrictive media laws, journalists are not able to operate and conduct their work freely for fear of intimidation and harassment from the state authorities (Freedom House, 2015). Further, Freedom House argues that the legal framework corresponds with the political environment where journalists are "prone to harassment when covering sensitive or political issues" (Freedom House, 2015).

According to MISA Zimbabwe (2014), the country's declining economy has had a tremendous effect on the viability of media houses. Media reports in March 2015 highlighted

that media houses were facing financial constraints which had resulted in the closure of one daily newspaper, *The Zimbabwe Mail*, and in another media house, Alpha Media Holdings, having to stop printing one of its publications as part of cost-cutting measures (Kakore, *Chronicle*, March 2015). Financial constraints have resulted in loss of jobs for journalists and late payments of salaries, which has a negative impact on journalists' morale and professionalism (MISA Zimbabwe, 2014).

Regulations within the media houses with regard to women constitute an important element of the media environment. Putting in place policies that protect the workforce, especially women, is crucial in the male-dominated industry. Development of gender policies within media houses has been viewed as one way of protecting female employees from gender discrimination as well as promoting gender equality in line with national and international standards. A study by the Federation of African Media Women Zimbabwe (FAMWZ) in 2014 recorded that, out of 12 media houses, only three had gender policies that were in the process of development. The policies were either in draft version or templates that still require more work to be done. This raises questions about the media houses' commitment to creating a conducive environment for both men and women employees.

1.4.3. Journalism profession and employment trends

Journalism involves the processes of gathering and disseminating information (news) to the general public through various outlets, such as newspapers, radio, television and the internet. According to Deuze (2004: 276), journalism can be defined in various ways, which include "as news, as media, as a profession, as a social system, or as a set of practices and skills enacted by particular group of news makers in the context of media organisations". Deuze (2004, 2005) argues that journalism should be seen as an occupational ideology as it includes the norms and values shared by a particular group of people, which legitimises and gives credibility to their work. He asserts that journalism is an ideology as it involves the processes of negotiation, inclusion and exclusion of ideas and actions where such decisions are controlled by the dominant group. He further highlights five typical values that are associated with journalism:

- Public service – journalists investigate and disseminate information that they believe is in the public interest
- Objectivity – "journalists are impartial, neutral, objective, fair and (thus credible)"

- Autonomy – the belief that journalists should have free reign and independence as they conduct their work
- Immediacy – the idea that news is ‘short-lived’ and therefore should be treated with a sense of urgency and speed.
- Ethics – “journalists have a sense of ethics, validity and legitimacy”

(Source: Deuze, 2005: 447)

Deuze argues that these values are self-contradictory and, since they serve a particular group, have a way of excluding other groups of people, including women and other minority groups.

Journalism plays a critical role in the process of knowledge production through the processes of gathering and disseminating information. Knowledge creation and production are influenced by the power relations in every society in which gender is an important element. Scholars have raised questions on who defines knowledge and what is acceptable as knowledge. For instance, Smith (2004) argues that research and the production of knowledge are dominated by men such that women are not regarded as producers of knowledge. Further, knowledge production has been related to issues of rationality and objectivity – attributes that are associated with men which women are considered to lack. When women participate in knowledge production, their products are questioned and often viewed as lacking value, as they are not recognised as objective and authoritative and their products are therefore not seen as scientific. As highlighted earlier, objectivity is one of the most valued journalistic standards and is therefore a central issue in this industry. The media industry is shaped by these gender–power relations as it is dominated by men.

In an effort to expose gender inequality in the media industry, research has been carried out to investigate trends of ownership and employment. In terms of ownership, most media corporations are owned by men and hence the trend has generally been that men control the resources. Similarly, in terms of employment, men still hold the positions of power in the industry. The Global Report on the Status of Women in the News Media (2011) noted that, despite the differences in some countries and regions, over all, women tended to be under-represented in the journalism workforce. The report is based on a survey carried out by the International Women’s Media Foundation (IWMF) that covered over 500 media companies in 59 countries. The survey noted that men constituted 64.9 percent of the journalism workforce across different regions while women were about 35.1 percent. Table 1.3. below gives a breakdown of the statistics highlighted in the report. The table highlights the

dominance of men in the journalism workforce globally. The report further notes that the percentage of women employed in the journalism profession (35.1 percent) is lower than the percentage of women working in the broader industrial labour force (40.4 percent) as recorded by the International Labour Organization (IWMF, 2011:23).

Table 1.3.: Representation of men and women in the journalism workforce globally

Level	Positions	Men (%)	Women (%)
Top Management Level	Publishers, Chief Executive Officers, Director Generals	72.7	27.3
Senior Management	Managing editors, bureau chiefs, directors of news	61.3	38.7
Middle management	Senior editors, chief of correspondents	71.3	28.3
News reporting ranks (Senior professional)	Senior writers, anchors, producers	59	41
(Junior professional)	Writers, producers, sub editors, correspondents, production assistants	63.9	36.1

Source: International Women’s Media Foundation (2011:23)

This global picture corresponds with the situation in Southern Africa, in particular Zimbabwe. Mpfu and Nyamweda (2010) found that Zimbabwe has the lowest proportion of women reporters at 16 percent, compared to the 28 percent in the region. In a breakdown of the number of female employers in media organisations in the country, the study shows that there is a higher proportion of women working as presenters, compared to reporters or journalists. Women working as radio presenters constituted 55 percent, television presenters 53 percent, television reporters 33 percent, radio reporters 24 percent, while print reporters constituted 11 percent. The report also noted that women only constitute 11 percent of those holding decision-making positions in the news media, such as editor-in-chief or managing editor.

The statistics highlighted above demonstrate that the media is male-dominated and points to the challenges faced by women in the media industry, where very few women have opportunities to move up the career ladder. Thus the question remains: How do we explain the persistent under-representation of women in male dominated industries such as media? Various studies in different countries have highlighted different reasons, such as the prevalence of a male or masculine culture that tends to influence practices in those organisations, different forms of segregation and exclusion of women (gender discrimination) as well as harassment and violence against women (Byerly and Ross, 2006), (IWFMF, 2011), (Kim, 2006). This research seeks to understand the gendered experiences of female journalists in the media industry in Zimbabwe – their opportunities and obstacles in the workplace.

1.5. Outline of the report:

This chapter has introduced the study by highlighting its objectives as well as giving background detail to the research. The next chapter, Chapter Two, highlights the different theoretical concepts that the current study draws from. It will highlight that gender is an important concept as it shapes the relations of power in all spheres of society, including the workplace. Gender theories that include gendered organisations are central to this study and will be discussed in this chapter. Further, this chapter will review studies that have been carried out with particular reference to experiences of women in male-dominated industries. It highlights that women have faced challenges of segregation in the workplace when they are viewed as not conforming to societal expectations. Women's bodies do not meet the ideal standards in the workplaces and are thus marginalised.

This is followed in Chapter Three by a discussion on the research methods and techniques used to collect data in this research.

Chapter Four highlights the experiences of women in the newsroom in Zimbabwe. It focuses on the gendered practices that exist in this industry that make women feel unwelcome and excluded.

Chapter Five argues that journalism is a greedy profession, such that women journalists face challenges in managing their role in this profession as well roles in other spaces, which results in work-family conflict.

Chapter Six, focuses on the sexualisation of women's bodies in the journalism industry, as it discusses women's experiences of sexual harassment in this sector.

Chapter Seven is the conclusion of this report. It focuses on major issues raised in three chapters in the findings and highlights the implications of these findings in relation to the Theoretical Framework and the Literature Review.

CHAPTER TWO

Gender relations in society and organisations

2.1. Introduction

This study focused on understanding the gendered experiences of women journalists in the print media in Zimbabwe. This chapter provides a discussion of the gender theories and concepts that can be used to explain the experiences of women in the journalism profession. The concepts to be discussed include gender, gendered organisations and gender performativity. In this chapter, I will follow Scott's argument that gender relations are characterised by unequal power relations between men and women, and I argue that gender analysis is critical in understanding the inequalities in organisations and in the workplace. The gender theories and concepts that will be discussed demonstrate that men and women are socially ascribed different statuses and, as a result, women remain disadvantaged and marginalised. This will be followed by an analysis of research that has been carried out relating to women's experiences in male-dominated industries, including journalism. Studies continue to show that despite their increased participation in the workforce, women's presence in the workplace is still problematic and is contested. Women are perceived as being out of place in male-dominated fields and are subordinated. The literature review will demonstrate the different ways in which women are marginalised, as prominence is given to men and masculinity in the workplace. In line with the objectives of the research, I will highlight a number of aspects that include socialisation and gender roles, masculine organisational culture, and women's 'embodied' experiences – with reference to how women's bodies are viewed and treated in the workplace. Various studies (Du Plessis and Barkhuizen, 2015; Cockburn, 1991; Cahusac and Kanji, 2014) have shown that these aspects impact on the marginalisation and exclusion of women in the workplace.

2.2. Gender as a category for analysis

Gender is a multifaceted concept. In general terms, gender refers to social constructions that differentiate men and women according to the roles they play (Scott, 1999). However, in its broad context, various definitions of gender emphasise that gender and power are interlinked. In this section, I will highlight the different definitions that have been put forward on the concept of the gender and how power is a central issue in the definitions. This study will

draw from Scott's definition of gender as it sums up the different debates and directly incorporates power as a critical issue.

According to Kimmel (2008: 3), "gender refers to the meanings that are attached to those differences within a culture". He goes on to explain that gender does not only classify people into categories but it orders social relations in every aspect of life. He points out that gender relates to "hierarchy, power and inequality, not simply differences" (Kimmel 2008: 1).

Connell's (1987) defines gender in terms of social structures and argues that gender should not be viewed as single structure but as containing substructures. The three sub-structures that Connell includes in the definition are division of labour, power and cathexis. Connell explains that social structure relates to the idea of the existence of social rules and norms that place constraints on an individual's freedom. The sexual division of labour refers to the "allocation of particular types of work to particular categories of people" (Connell 1987: 99). Connell's argument on the sexual division of labour relates to Lorber's (1994) idea of socially constructed statuses. Lorber points to the unequal status of women and men. In the context of division of labour, Connell contends that as research has shown, there is a separation between jobs allocated to men and women, where men get better jobs or jobs given to men are valued more than those given to women. She further notes that the construction of the sexual division of labour has been extended to the nature and organisation of work. For instance, she stresses that certain jobs centred around being receptive have been linked to femininity, such as being a receptionist or hostess, while management has been linked to conceptions of masculinity as they are organised around toughness and aggressiveness.

While Connell's model addresses power relations, her structure of power focuses on the hierarchy of power among men (multiple masculinities). Connell argues that there are different ways of acquiring power through force and hegemony. Connell (1987: 109) associates authority with masculinity, arguing that "if authority is defined as legitimate power, then we can say the main axis of the power structure of gender is the general connections of authority with masculinity". However, Connell argues that power is not spread equally among men, which results in the hierarchy of power. In relation to women, Connell argues that men are empowered by gender relations that subordinate women.

The third structure that Connell argues for is cathexis related to the social structure of sexuality, which she argues is socially constructed. Connell highlights that sexuality and desire are constructed around sanctions related to binary relations of either masculine and feminine or heterosexual and homosexual. Thus, she notes that the structure of cathexis reflects inequalities of power where heterosexuality becomes the norm and heterosexual men are at the top of the hierarchy.

Another interesting definition is offered by Lorber (1994). Lorber asserts that gender should be considered as a process, stratification and structure. In discussing gender as a structure, Lorber concurs with the model offered by Connell that has been discussed above. As a process, Lorber places emphasis on the social construction of gender, arguing that individuals ‘learn’ the expected behaviour and dressing that is appropriate for their gender (gender norms). Thus, gender is a “process of creating distinguishable social status for the assignment of rights and responsibilities” (Lorber, 1994: 32). Additionally, Lorber argues that people ‘produce’ gender by either conforming to or resisting the gender norms. However, she points out that while resistance against gender norms has managed to alter them, it has not been successful in ‘eroding the statuses’ (Lorber, 1994: 32).

Lorber further explains that gender is part of a stratification system in which the status of men and women is ranked unequally. She stresses that “in a gender-stratified society, what men do is usually valued more highly than what women do because men do it, even when their activities are similar or the same” (Lorber 1994: 33). She notes that such perceptions are based on the idea that if something is done by women, it is considered to be easy but when it is done by men it is considered to be difficult. Thus, as noted earlier, when women enter a work domain that is thought to be the preserve of men, that field is undervalued.

The definition provided by Scott (1999) integrates the various components raised by the different scholars discussed above. She proposes that gender be defined as follows: “gender is a constitutive element of social relations based on perceived differences between the sexes, and gender is a primary way of signifying relations of power” (Scott, 1999: 66). In the first part of the definition, Scott argues that while the concept of gender centres on cultural constructions based on the differences between men and women, societies are now more complex and therefore there is need for a broader perspective that should include gender constructions in other institutions, such as the labour market, education and politics. For

example, while gender is useful in the division of labour in the family, it also plays an important part in the division of work in the labour market, where women are associated with low-paying jobs and clerical work. In terms of education, Scott's argument relates to debates that argue that some disciplines are male-centred and exclude women. For example, Smith (2004) argues that sociology is a male-dominated discipline that is framed from a male perspective. This has resulted in the stereotypes that some disciplines are for men, from which women are excluded. Thus, the concept of gender is an important tool for analysis of how women are disadvantaged based on perceived differences.

The second part of Scott's definition, that "gender is a primary way of signifying power", brings the concept of 'power' into the discussion. Scott uses examples from politics to illustrate that gender (along with race and class) is one of the most important ways of understanding power inequalities. Similar to Lorber, she focuses on how meanings attached to masculinity and femininity are used to portray a hierarchy of power. Scott refers to 'gendered coding' to show how masculinity and femininity have been used to make references to power. This coding has been used and naturalised over time. For example, she points out that, historically, rulers used domination, strength and authority in reference to masculinity while weakness is associated with femininity and thus, "sexual difference was conceived in terms of domination or control of women" (Scott, 1999: 69). Further, Scott argues that "hierarchical structures rely on generalised understanding of the so-called natural relationships between male and female" (Scott, 1999: 69). From Scott's argument, gender is an important tool for analysis as it shows the hierarchy of domination and subordination.

This research sought to understand the gender relations in the print media that result in inequalities, and understanding how femininity and masculinity are constructed in this industry is important. Gender can be used to understand the unequal relations that exists in this workspace. Issues such as how is work divided in newsrooms, and how such divisions of work impact the position of women in this industry, are of importance in understanding the factors that contribute to discrimination against women in this industry.

2.3. Gender identity and gender performance

Butler (1990) notes that there are assumptions that gender identity is formed and becomes stable when sex, gender and sexuality are coherent. These are defined as 'intelligible genders'. For one to be defined as a woman, one must conform to the gender roles expected

of that sex. A woman's body is associated with reproduction and femininity, therefore she is expected to be nurturing, to be a mother or a wife, while exhibiting feminine characteristics such as beauty, passivity and compliance. Compulsory heterosexuality provides a frame where there are two genders that are oppositional – one masculine and one feminine – and individuals have to conform to these standards. Butler (1990: 17) notes that the “cultural matrix through which gender identity has become intelligible requires that certain identities cannot ‘exist’ – that is, those in which gender does not follow from sex and those in which practices of desire do not follow from either sex or gender”. From the quote, Butler argues that, in the context of compulsory heterosexuality, some gender identities where sex, gender and sexuality are not coherent have been viewed as unacceptable or are not recognised because they do not conform to the expected gender norms. Thus, they are viewed as ‘developmental failures’ or ‘logical impossibilities’. Butler (1990: 17) notes that the emergence and proliferation of ‘incoherent’ gendered beings ‘provides critical opportunities to expose the limits and regulatory aims of that domain of intelligibility...’. Butler argues that an individual is able to exhibit attributes that are expected from the opposite gender and still maintain the ‘integrity’ of their gender. Thus, for Butler, gender is performative.

When defining gender as performative, Butler (1990: 33) argues that “gender is a repeated stylisation of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly regulated frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being.” Using De Beauvoir's perspective that ‘one becomes a woman’, Butler argues that for one to be defined as a woman is a process, ‘open to intervention and resignification’. In her earlier work, Butler (1988: 519) explains that when gender constitutes repeated acts, it cannot be defined as a stable identity but it is an identity that is constituted over time. Further, Butler highlights that gender, as a performative act, is a public activity carried out in interaction with others “with the aim of maintaining gender within its binary frame” (Butler 1988: 526).

Butler highlights the constraints that individuals face in performing their gender, indicating contradictions that follow from the debate on structure and agency. Butler (1988: 526) notes that “gender is not a radical choice or project that reflects a merely individual choice, but neither is it imposed or inscribed upon the individual.” In the same context, using the illustration of a script, Butler stresses that individuals are restricted and “enact interpretations with the confines of the already existing directives” (Butler 1988: 526). Butler shows that individuals are limited in their choice of gender acts. This idea of lack of agency has come

under criticism. For example, in critiquing the theory of performativity, Nelson (1999: 339-340) argues that the theory does not give room for questioning the “role of subjects in accommodating or resisting fixed subject positions”. However, Butler’s theory is important in questioning and highlighting the limits of the binary framework of either masculine or feminine as well as heterosexual or homosexual. As has been proposed by other writers, I argue that masculinity and femininity fall into a continuum in which individuals can choose a position to follow and that the position which the individual takes in the continuum is determined by the context. Butler’s theory is necessary in understanding how women within male-dominated occupations negotiate their gender identities and to investigate whether and how they conform to their ‘gender scripts’ or resist gender norms and expectations. Thus, this theory is important in understanding the gender relations in particular spaces, such as the workplace, and factors that influence gender performance in these spaces.

2.4. Gendered organisations

According to Acker (1990: 146), when an organisation is gendered, “disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity are patterned through and in terms of the distinction between female and male, masculine and feminine”. In this definition, Acker notes the unequal relations based on social constructions of femininity and masculinity as jobs are modelled on constructions that give more weight to masculinity than femininity. Thus, Acker (1990) argues that gender is an integral element in the practices within organisations, as it denotes power relations within those organisations.

Acker argues that, while organisations portray an image that they are gender-neutral, this is not the case as organisational practices are designed to suit one type of worker (who in reality is a male worker) and thereby excludes women. The organisational logic assumes that the ideal worker is totally committed to the work, emphasising the ability to work long hours, and has no other responsibilities that can distract him. A man has the opportunity to be fully committed to the job as all his other needs can be fulfilled by his wife or another woman who can wash and take care of him and his family. This image of the ideal worker therefore excludes women as they are assumed to have other commitments, such as family responsibilities, which make them unfit for the job.

Scholars interpreting the theory of gendered organisations, including its framework on the gendering processes, have noted that organisations reflect gendered hierarchies, while at the

same time perpetuating their existence (Britton and Logan, 2008: 108; Williams et al, 2012). As was highlighted in the above section on gender, occupations and jobs are structured according to assumptions regarding femininity and masculinity. For example, women often occupy jobs that emphasise their supportive roles, for example clerical work. These jobs are often at the bottom of the hierarchy and low-paying. Focusing on the notions around the ideal worker highlighted above, men are always considered the ideal candidates for management jobs and therefore have more opportunities to ascend the corporate ladder (Britton & Logan, 2008). This relates to the first process of the gendering of organisations as highlighted by Acker regarding the divisions constructed in the workplace based on gender. As Williams et al argue, constructions of gender are incorporated into the policies and practices of organisations and are therefore continually reproduced in organisations as part of the gender-neutral organisational logic.

Acker introduces the concept of gendered bodies in her discussion on sexuality and reproduction in organisations. She explains that the organisational logic assumes that organisations are asexual, as sexuality, emotions and reproduction are absent from the organisation. Acker argues that organisations try to control these issues because they are perceived to disrupt the proper functioning of the organisations. She contends that the ideal body in the workplace is a male body where masculine attributes such as being strong, fit, healthy, less emotional and having minimal responsibility in reproduction are important. The male body is perceived to be committed to work, with less chances of obstruction or taking time off due to ill-health or child care. Acker highlights that women's bodies, which are associated with pregnancy and child care, are "stigmatized and used as grounds for control and exclusion" (Acker 1990: 152). Most of the time, organisations believe that pregnant female workers reduce the organisation's productivity and increase the organisation's production costs as they will be forced to employ another person when she goes on maternity leave. Further, childcare is assumed to be disruptive to normal work routine, as women have to take time away from work to care for children. Women's bodies are considered unsuitable and out of place in the workplace. Thus, some organisations prefer men, resulting in gender segregation at work.

Acker also highlights the double standards in workplaces, where women's bodies are stigmatised while male bodies can be seen as part of organisation's positive imagery. Aspects of masculinity, such as leadership, authority and power, are celebrated in organisations. Thus,

Acker argues that “use of such abstract systems continually reproduces the underlying gender assumptions and the subordinated or excluded place of women” (Acker 1990: 154).

Acker’s theory, which highlights the processes of gendering, offers a framework that is essential in examining the gendered allocation and division of work in the journalism industry. As Van Zoonen (1998) highlights, assignments for journalists are often allocated on the basis of gender-stereotypical views of what women can and should do. This theory is useful in understanding women’s concerns regarding the challenges they face in progressing in the industries as a result of unequal treatment.

2.5. Women’s experiences of marginalisation in male-dominated industries

Research on women in male-dominated occupations has shown that women experience vertical segregation, which refers to the concentration of women in low-status jobs and results in their under-representation in higher and powerful positions (Cockburn, 1991; Nemoto, 2013). Cockburn (1991) highlights that women continue to face vertical segregation despite organisations putting in place equal opportunities policies that seek to encourage equality in recruitment and promotion of women. Cockburn points out that activism by women has resulted in an increase in the entrance of women to types of work that were previously for men. In discussing the under-representation of women in different industries, various metaphors have been used. For example, the leaky pipe has been used to explain the rate at which women dwindle at different stages beginning from tertiary education into the workplace environment (Soe and Yakura, 2008).

Research on women in the media industry highlights the gendered nature of journalism. Byerly and Ross (2006) note that research on women working in the media has focused on the representation of women through examining the trends of employment and the working conditions in the industry. These quantitative studies show vertical segregation of women, where they “make steady progress as entrants into the sector” but fail to progress to senior positions. This is referred to as the ‘glass ceiling effect’ (Byerly & Ross 2006: 77). Statistics noted earlier show the underrepresentation of women in news media in particular. As this literature review will show, academic studies on women in the journalism profession have mostly been conducted internationally. Limited research has been conducted on Zimbabwe

and this has mostly been undertaken by regional and local media organisations such as Gender Links, Media Monitoring Africa and the Federation of African Media Women Zimbabwe.

Several themes have been raised that focus on the challenges or barriers faced by women in male-dominated fields, with Martin and Barnard (2013) stressing that women in such fields face ‘unique’ challenges that are different from those faced by women who work in gender-balanced and female-dominated organisations, and that these challenges have an impact on their retention and career success. Some of the themes include masculine culture, gender stereotyping and networking.

2.5.1. Socialisation and gender roles

Socialisation in families plays an important part in the allocation of duties or tasks in the workplace, as it stipulates gender role expectations. Differences in the socialisation of boys and girls in the family contribute to the way men and women are viewed in the workplace. Du Plessis and Barkhuizen (2015) point out that there is a link between cultural and gender expectations, and occupations. The authors (citing Gatta and McKay 2003) note that “women and men develop different occupational perspectives and skill sets based on what is culturally considered appropriate for each sex” (Du Plessis and Barkhuizen 2015: 43). These occupational perspectives are based on assumptions about masculinity and femininity. Expanding on the same idea, Germain et al (2012) note that women and men have different roles in society, with women’s roles centred nurturing and caring for the home and family. Men are assumed to be the providers and protectors of the family. Germain et al (2012) add that, based on these gender roles, jobs are gender-typed as male or female depending on the job responsibility or the sex of the usual job holder. For example, women are expected to be employed in teaching or nursing because the job involves taking care of people.

Based on the social constructions of femininity and masculinity, research has noted that stereotypical views of women are prevalent in the workplace. One of the findings in Martin and Barnard’s (2013: 6) research on women in male-dominated fields in South Africa was that “traditional gender roles and stereotypes of women in society existed in the workplace”. Research has also connected gender stereotypes to organisational culture (to be discussed in the next section), particularly where male standards are the norm, which tends to disadvantage women. Women in male-dominated fields tend to be viewed as less competent

based on the stereotypical views that men are more technical and more suited for jobs in fields such as science and technology, aviation (Germain et al, 2012) and construction. Germain et al argue that women in male-dominated industries often face stereotypes, which hold that they cannot manage because they are too emotional or that they cannot do certain jobs as the work is considered to be too dangerous, such as being pilots or firefighters. Feilden et al (2000) note that research in the construction industry pointed to a general disbelief among male instructors that women are technically competent and that such attitudes are transferred into the workplace. The authors further note that based on such stereotypical attitudes, there was reluctance by construction companies to recognise women as an important source of new workers. The construction industry is viewed as a masculine industry in which strength is a crucial attribute. Femininity is associated with weakness and therefore women are considered unsuitable for this industry.

Further highlighting the effects of stereotyping on women, Nemoto's (2013) research on women in Japanese companies found that women were objectified in the workplace. The study highlights the extension of gender roles into the workplace where women are expected to continue performing domestic roles. In this study, the women reported that they are often assigned extra secretarial tasks or viewed as a 'substitute for a wife'. Women are expected to carry their nurturing responsibilities over into the workplace by performing tasks such as making sure there is food for the senior male workers or running errands for them. The women participants in this study highlighted that they were sexualised as they were expected to be sex objects, which is in line with stereotypes linked to femininity that women should be passive and compliant. Nemoto argues that the expectations that women should perform their domestic roles symbolise the subordination of women in the workplace. The author (2013: 163) concludes that:

“An organizational culture that sees young women as men's assistants, or that expects women to be caretakers, mothers or sex objects, harms women workers' self-confidence and productivity, both because they must spend extra time doing assistant-level tasks and because they feel they are valued for their caring and serving rather than for their competences.”

Research focused on the media industry has also identified popular stereotypes that have mostly been viewed as negatively affecting women journalists. These include being seen as sexual objects or as weak and as motherly (Lachover, 2005; Radu & Chekera, 2014; Elmore, 2007; Opoku-Mensah, 2004). Women are further seen as naive, childlike, unassertive, and/or

in need of help. Lachover (2005: 299) explains that, in cases where women are seen as sexual objects, the stereotype is in relation to their sexuality, where they are judged according to their appearance rather than their competence. When women are perceived as weak, they are viewed as needing men's protection. In the journalism profession, the stereotype of women as weak impacts negatively on the allocation of assignments to women. In their studies, Elmore (2007), and Radu and Chekera (2014) found that women journalists were often denied opportunities to cover certain topics or dangerous assignments as a way of 'saving' and 'protecting' them. Elmore (2007: 25) notes that this form of stereotyping 'sends an unstated message that women are not suited or capable of doing such jobs'. Further, Lachover (2005: 299) points out that when women are regarded as caring people, they are "valued as a source of comfort and support for men". This concurs with Nemoto's arguments that women are valued for the services they provide to men and not their professional identity.

Lachover (2005) notes that while research has shown the negative effects of stereotypes on women, in her study focusing on the interactions between Israeli women journalists and their male sources, she found that her respondents viewed the stereotypes as a source of female power. The women journalists used the stereotypes to their advantage to get information they needed from the sources in a way that male counterparts would not be able to do. For instance, the women journalists expressed that when they recognised that the male sources were viewing them as sexual objects, they would use their attractiveness as women to engage with the sources to ensure that they received the information they needed as journalists. Further, they noted that if the sources perceived them as weak, the sources saw them as unthreatening and would conform to the socially expected ideal ways of treating a woman.

2.5.2. Masculine organisational culture

Dellinger and Williams (2002: 244 citing Reskin and Padavic, 1994 & Trice, 1993) define organisational culture as the "understandings, behaviours and symbolic forms, including totems, rituals, taboos and myths that are shared by members of a work organization... [It] also refers to the informal, emotional, and interpersonal dynamics of work, including the norms governing sexual interactions among workers...". Thus, organisational culture includes practices, norms and values that are normalised and appear to be natural. These practices and norms are believed to be gender-neutral and in some cases cannot be questioned. Based on Acker's framework of the ideal worker as a man, research has noted the relationship between organisational culture and hegemonic masculinity (Cahusac & Kanji, 2014; Nemoto, 2013).

Connell and Messerschmidt (2005: 832) define hegemonic masculinity as “the pattern of practice (i.e. not just a set of role expectations or an identity) that allows men’s dominance over women to continue...It embodied the currently most honoured way of being a man, it required other men to position themselves in relation to it...”. Organisational culture that values masculinity emphasises long working hours; working styles centred around masculine traits such as aggression, strength and competitiveness; as well as the ideal working body. Organisational cultures based on masculine standards favour men at the expense of women and therefore tend to marginalise women. A masculine culture influences work expectations and work relations between men and women, which has an impact on women’s performance.

One aspect of the masculine culture that research has focused on is long working hours (overwork) (Cha, 2013; Nemoto, 2013; Cahusac & Kanji, 2014). In her study on overwork and gender segregation, Cha (2013: 159) argues that working long hours is seen as a common trend and has advantages for those seen to be adhering to this workplace norm as they are viewed as more productive and committed to work, and are therefore “rewarded with upward mobility, financial security and recognition from colleagues”. In contrast, those who do not abide by this norm are perceived as less committed and might not be considered for promotions and other opportunities. Cha (2013), and Cahusac and Kanji (2014) note that this condition affects men and women differently, more so for mothers who have family and childcare responsibilities. According to Cha, the norm of working long hours has two negative effects. Firstly, women shun male-dominated occupations as they anticipate problems both at home and the workplace because of the ‘time squeeze’, and secondly, it results in an increase in the number of women leaving the occupations, leading to underrepresentation. In relation to the idea of overwork, Cahusac and Kanji (2014) highlight the idea of presenteeism, where employees are expected to work long hours even when it’s not required. In their study on how organisational cultures force women with children out of the workplace, Cahusac and Kanji found that in some workplaces, such as banks, being visible at work was important and employees are expected to be seen as ‘present at work’ for longer periods of time. This becomes difficult for women who have to leave early due to childcare responsibilities. The researchers noted that women in that position often faced internal conflicts as they felt that they were being unfair to their colleagues. Thus, Nemoto (2013: 160) stresses that “overwork is a gendered marker of the ideal worker and women are seen as incapable or unwilling to work long hours.”

Masculine working styles have the effect of marginalising women in the workplace. Du Plessis and Barkhuizen (2015: 40), in their study on women engineers in South Africa, highlight that male-dominated fields are characterised by aggressive and competitive styles which are particularly important for survival in ‘today’s highly competitive global marketplace’. Other characteristics of a masculine working style highlighted by Nemoto (2013) include autocracy and market-driven behaviour. Martin and Barnard (2013) further note that some characteristics of male behaviour are encouraged in the workplace. They note that in the workplace men are motivated by the need for ‘status, power and social comparison’ (Martin and Barnard, 2013:2). These characteristics emphasise the notion of competition and domination in the workplace and tend to create a hostile environment. Du Plessis and Barkhuizen note that these working styles make women uncomfortable as they prefer ‘softer’ styles, while Nemoto notes that masculine working styles tend to deprive women of power. In a study of women in the construction industry, Fielden et al (2000: 118) state that the trade displays a ‘macho culture’, where relationships are characterised by “argument, conflict and crisis”, which makes women feel intimidated and hence they find it difficult to fit in. Thus, women who cannot achieve these standards are excluded in the workplace.

In the journalism profession, researchers have also questioned the values and standards that journalists subscribe to. Van Zoonen (1998) notes that because of the dominance of men, news reflects the interests and values of men. Other important journalistic standards that are considered to be linked to the male perspective include objectivity, newsworthiness and public interest. These have an effect on the production of news and implications on the way women working as journalists are viewed. According to Byerly and Ross (2006:79 citing Komter, 1991), “the incorporation of women into a traditionally male profession has the effect of normalizing what are essentially male-identified concerns and a male directed agenda”. For example, as Steiner (1998) and Mahtani (2005) argue, the idea of objectivity as a standard in journalism often requires the journalists to detach themselves from their work under the assumption that their experiences, histories and identities are not important and should not affect their work. They also touch on gender stereotypes such as that men are objective and rational while women are considered unfit for this profession because of their feminine qualities such as sympathy and emotions. These ‘masculine’ standards are considered neutral and are therefore unquestioned. Byerly and Ross (2006: 79) argue that the

newsroom culture based on these standards, which appears to be neutral, is actually organised around a “man-as-the-norm and women-as-interloper structure”. Further, Mahtani (2005: 300) emphasises that masculinism, which she defines as “an ideology that reinforces and justifies continued male domination”, underlies journalistic values.

Robinson (2008), in her study on experiences of women journalists in Canadian newsrooms, associates communicative styles with a masculine culture. She observes that newsrooms use communication styles that are linked to sports. Robinson notes that, as women are usually not interested in sports, “this informal communication practice turns out to be a not-too-subtle mechanism for excluding female reporters and making them feel as outsiders” (Robinson, 2008: 131). She adds that this type of communication is filled with sexist jokes and banter which women find difficult to be part of. She points out competitiveness as another practice where assignments are not ‘co-operatively’ allocated but are ‘struggled over’. Opoku-Mensah (2004) raises a similar point in her study of journalists in Southern Africa and notes that the newsroom can be seen as a ‘political battle ground’ as there is competition for “territory, power and superiority” (Opoku-Mensah, 2004: 113). This is particularly in relation to the allocation of political stories, where male journalists dominate. According to Opoku-Mensah, this reflects society in general, where politics is dominated by men.

Mahtani (2005) highlights the scepticism raised by the women in her research on experiences of women journalists in Toronto, Mumbai, Sydney and Melbourne, as to whether the increase of women in journalism would challenge the masculine practices. She argues that the increase in the number of women does not imply a change in the gender dynamics in the workplace as newsrooms have tended to deliberately hire a particular kind of woman, which she calls “the safe and attractive woman who does not challenge the men in authority”. Mahtani (2005: 305) quotes a participant who explained that men in positions of power within her organisation surrounded themselves with women in similar positions so that “he does not have a lot of alpha males trying to challenge him for his position” and that women tended to accept the male world view. She also found that women’s ability to progress up the career ladder was hampered by a lack of mentoring. She highlights that the women journalists she interviewed noted a lack of resources in terms of expertise and role models available to young women, which resulted in them suffering from the glass ceiling effect earlier their careers. The participants cited this as one of the reasons women leave the journalism profession.

2.5.3. Patriarchal relations and exclusionary strategies in the workplace

Patriarchal relations in the workplace exacerbate women's disadvantage as they reinforce unequal power relations and gender stereotypes. Generally, patriarchy refers to "male domination in the public and private sphere", which implies that "men hold power in all the important institutions in society" (Sultana, 2012: 3). Walby (1990: 20) defines the concept as a "system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women". Walby illustrates that patriarchal relations permeate through all social relations in society as patriarchy operates as a system with six different structures. The six structures that comprise the system of patriarchy are housework, paid work, sexuality, culture, violence and the state. She highlights that these structures are interrelated and work together to limit and minimise the opportunities available to women in paid work. Sultana (2012: 7) also emphasises that patriarchy is present at different levels in society, arguing that it is a system that keeps women subordinated in a number of ways, experienced on a daily basis, and can be seen in various forms such as "discrimination, disregard, insult, control, exploitation, oppression, violence – within the family, at the place of work, in society."

Martin and Barnard (2013) argue that the challenges faced by women in male-dominated fields emanate from patriarchal relations in the family and society that extend into the workplace. They argue that relations in the family continue to uphold the idea that males are the dominant gender and that this has also become part of organisational norms. This highlights unequal power relations between men and women in the workplace.

Studies on the media industry have emphasised the effects of patriarchal relations on women journalists. For example, the study conducted for Media Monitoring Africa by Radu & Chekera (2014) noted that women's experiences of discrimination are related to patriarchal relations that prevail in the media industry. The study, which focused on the prevalence and causes of gender discrimination in newsrooms in Zimbabwe, found that "gender discrimination is a significant challenge that is largely fuelled by power and patriarchy as perpetrators are predominantly men who exert their power on women who hold lower positions in the country's newsrooms" (Radu & Chekera, 2014: 11). Participants in this study noted that newsrooms are patriarchal and are viewed as 'no-go areas' for women. The study further highlights the unequal gender relations by indicating that the perpetrators of gender discrimination were mostly men. The statistics recorded that 84 percent of the perpetrators are men while 74 percent of the victims are women. The study also recorded that 78 percent

of the perpetrators held positions as editors, of which 90 percent were male and 10 percent were female.

Following Walby's (1994) argument that patriarchal relations in the workplace work to control women's access to paid work through the use of different strategies of exclusion and segregation, research on the media industry highlights exclusionary strategies against women journalists. Elmore (2007: 18) studies the experiences of women journalists who have left the profession and argues that newsroom culture is patriarchal, where "male journalists applied exclusionary strategies". Elmore notes that because of the small number of women who enter into the journalism profession, a patriarchal system exists in this profession that women find difficult to change. As discussed earlier, Elmore notes that gender stereotypes are one of the exclusionary strategies used to deny women access to certain types of stories. She further argues that, from her participants' experiences, male editors followed a 'male-oriented dictatorial management' style where they could make changes to the journalists' stories without the input of the author.

Kim (2006) focuses on the obstacles that hinder the success of female journalists in Korea. She argues that patriarchy and capitalism are the reasons for 'gender constraints' in the workplace. Kim stresses that the marginalisation of women in the journalism profession in Korea reflects the alienation of women as they are seen to be on the margins of power. In her study, power relates to control over decision-making with regards to editorial directions. Her findings highlight exclusionary mechanisms in different areas of journalists' work, such as news gathering and in the newsroom, which are also based on stereotypical views of women. For example, in news gathering, Kim notes that women journalists were often excluded because they were perceived as not having an authoritative or aggressive approach when interacting with sources. In the newsroom, Kim argues that there is a culture of distrust of women journalists, where editors do not have confidence in women, viewing them as unreliable and therefore unable to take charge of the main sections of news.

2.5.4. Of boys' clubs and networking

Research has established that networking is an important aspect in career development as it provides opportunities for new jobs, exchange of information, trust among employees as well as increased visibility in the organisation (Williams et al, 2012; Du Plessis and Barkhuizen, 2015; Kim, 2006; Elmore, 2007). Williams et al, in the study on women in the oil and gas

industry, found that powerful networks are almost exclusively male, organised around sports (golf/hunting) or social events, and that women are excluded from these groups. The networks are often formed and strengthened at informal meetings outside normal working hours. Howe-Walsh and Turnbull (2014), in their study on women in science and technology faculties, discussed the existence of male networks (boys' clubs) as part of gendered practices within universities. They point out that the male networks dominated everyday working practices from which women were excluded and the impact was that women missed out on "career enhancing opportunities such as inclusion on research projects, publications and other research outputs" (Howe-Walsh and Turnbull, 2014: 8)

Nemoto also links male networks to masculine organisational culture, where men are expected to engage in such events as a way to lure clients. Participants in Nemoto's research noted that men can do more in order to achieve some level of intimacy and trust with business clients during after-hours drinking and socialising. Women cannot achieve the same level of trust and intimacy because they are excluded from such events. Nemoto further argues that for a woman to be included in such events, she had to emulate masculine practices. According to Nemoto, networking based on masculine practices works to legitimise the exclusion of women in the workplace. Similarly, Kim (2006) refers to networking outside formal working hours as 'informal communication' and observes that male journalists build relationships and networks with their sources in bars and clubs (often at night) which women might find difficult to access. Elmore (2007) and Robinson (2008) also note that this informal communication gives men more opportunities for better assignments and higher chances of promotion.

Williams et al (2012) noted that, in response to these male-dominated networks, organisations often allow women to create women's formal networks that are not powerful. The participants in the study on the oil and gas industry viewed these networks as limited in the issues that they could discuss therefore unable to provide enough support. In this case, women also created informal networks but these were often criticised as they were perceived as "mere outlets for complaining and venting" (Williams et al 2012: 566).

2.5.5. Masculine hierarchy

Cockburn (1991), in a study of four different organisations, discusses the idea of a masculine hierarchy in relation to gender-segregated work. A masculine hierarchy relates to career

ladders that are mainly dominated by men and which women experience difficulties in penetrating. Cockburn notes that women seemed to provide the base of the hierarchy as they were employed in lower positions. However, the hierarchy was presumed to start at the level above the one in which women were positioned, emphasising the exclusion of women. In order to maintain the masculine hierarchy, Cockburn highlights how men used the strategy of creating gender-differentiated work in order to prevent the intrusion of women into male spaces or spaces where they would be in direct competition with men. In such situations, “the employer creates small hierarchies mainly of women, situated to one side of and a little below other pyramids comprised mainly of men, with no career bridge to connect the two parts.” (Cockburn 1991: 63). This highlights segregation where there are differences between men’s work and women’s work. Men remain in the powerful positions where they receive more income, while women continue to work in less powerful positions, which in turn reduces their status in the workplace. This also highlights unequal power relations in the workplace where men remain in powerful decision-making positions and women have the least power as they remain at the bottom of the hierarchy.

2.6. Women’s bodies in male-dominated spaces

The theory of gendered organisations highlights the various ways in which women have been marginalised in the workplace as their bodies are viewed as unsuitable and do not meet the norm of the typical worker who is a man. The separation of spaces into public and private (domestic) spheres is a contributing factor to the marginalisation of women, as reproduction and sexuality are associated with the private sphere. Cockburn (1991) notes the emphasis on women’s bodies as she argues that women are seen as the ‘maternal sex’ in society, which has negative implications in the workplace, whether they have children or not. She argues that women’s relation to the domestic sphere is problematised where their relationship to work, marriage and reproduction is questioned, because it has an effect on women’s commitment to work and ability to perform their duties. Women experience discrimination at work due to their link to domesticity and Cockburn notes that “a woman’s domestic identity constitutes her as a disadvantaged worker, while being a low earner and subject to male authority at work diminishes her standing in the family” (Cockburn 1991: 77).

Research has shown that women’s bodies are viewed as ‘deviant’ within professional work settings, which are organised around male standards (Bryant and Garnham, 2014). Gatrell

(2011: 160) and Trethewey (1999: 425) argue that paid work is linked to male bodies, characterised by strength, rationality, intelligence and therefore, when entering a work setting, women are perceived as “invaders in the male territory”. Gatrell (2011) further notes that it becomes women’s responsibility to control their bodies so as to blend in with the male norms in the workplace. Trethewey’s (1999) study explores how women ‘discipline’ their bodies as way to fit into the professional context. She notes that while women learn to discipline their bodies as they grow, this is further emphasised in the workplace, where the female body is marginalised because its characteristics are viewed negatively. The women Trethewey interviewed viewed a professional body as being fit and healthy. A fit body is perceived to be in control and is in a better position to perform the duties required. The participants argued that women had to conform to this expectation because being overweight had negative implications for recruitment opportunities.

Trethewey argues that women’s bodies are seen as excessive in terms of sexuality, reproduction, and emotions – a point raised by several other scholars (Cockburn, 1991; Trethewey, 1999; Gatrell, 2011; Wolkowitz, 2006). Trethewey highlights that female bodies tend to overflow in terms of bodily fluids and emotions, making it difficult to control and discipline the body. Trethewey and Wolkowitz contend that women are in a ‘double-bind’, where organisations appropriate or use those characteristics that are beneficial to them in order to increase their client base or profits, but anything beyond that is viewed as “other, excessive and inherently female” (Trethewey, 1999: 442).

Trethewey discusses the idea of revealing bodies to emphasise difference and othering of women’s bodies. Dressing is one way women in professional contexts use to manage and discipline their bodies. For women in Trethewey’s study, wearing clothes that are revealing, such as plunging necklines and short skirts, had dire consequences as they could lose their credibility or be mistaken for a professional sex worker. Thus, women have to wear ‘appropriate’ clothing as a way of “hiding their bodies and their sexuality” (Trethewey 1999: 442). Women are expected to police their bodies in work settings as failure to do so leaves them vulnerable to sexual harassment (to be discussed in the next section).

Various studies highlight that the maternal body (both the pregnant body and mothers) is considered out of place in the organisational context (Bryant and Garnham, 2014; Cockburn, 1991; Gatrell, 2011; Cahusac & Kanji, 2014). In a study of women in the wine industry,

Bryant and Garnham's (2014) findings on 'reproducing bodies' and 'home bodies' highlight that it is through the capacity to become pregnant that women's bodies are problematised. Women's career opportunities are limited by the belief that they are expected to take career breaks to take care of their children, reinforcing the assumption that work and reproduction are mutually exclusive. These authors emphasise the difficulties that women face as they try to match the masculine standards and note that "professional women are expected to conceal their maternal bodies and erase any differences to fit the male norm" (Gatrell, 2007 as cited by Bryant & Garnham, 2014: 422). Gatrell (2011, 2013) further argues that pregnant bodies and bodies of new mothers are treated with resentment because they are viewed as unpredictable and unreliable. According to Gatrell, the maternal bodies are associated with being 'leaky', where fluids (tears, breastmilk), sickness and emotions intrude in the public domain, and are therefore viewed as disruptive and unwelcome. Thus, women are expected to take maternity leave as it is viewed as one way in which to 'erase' their excessive bodies from the workplace. Gatrell, citing Wolkowitz (2006), further argues that young children (infant bodies) are viewed as disruptive in the work environment. When young babies and children get sick, they disrupt the mother's work routine as they take time off to attend to their children and hence they are thought to be unreliable. Gatrell (2011) highlights the different strategies that women have adopted in order to fit into organisational norms. These include secrecy, where they try to hide their pregnancy through delaying announcing that they are pregnant, as well as 'super-performance' where they perform their work above normal expectations.

Cockburn (1991) notes men's resentment towards women based on perceptions of reproductive roles. Cockburn argues that the introduction of equal opportunities policies, which seek to accommodate women's family responsibilities (through provision of maternity leave and other flexible options such as special leave, part-timing and job sharing) have further prejudiced working women in male-dominated industries. Cockburn highlights that the male employees who participated in her research were annoyed by the measures that allowed women to have time for family commitments. They felt that the measures were inconvenient and disturbed the work routine through accommodating absence. Cockburn also notes that men believed that, once women had children, they had to stay home and look after the children. Thus, the flexibility introduced by the equal opportunities measures were viewed as challenging the traditional gender stereotypes as they allowed women to continue

working after having children. Cockburn emphasises men's prejudice against working mothers by highlighting that men were being disturbed in two ways. Firstly, men felt that women's entry into the labour force had given them the power to question and reject men's ultimate authority over them. Secondly, women were a source of competition to men in the workplace as they could have dual careers, both as employees and as mothers. Thus, while maternity provisions and other flexible schedules are meant to bridge the gap between women and family responsibilities, they have resulted in women being disadvantaged at work as they are considered to be disrupting the work (masculine) routine and reinforce the stereotype that "women as a sex are unreliable employees who have their mind half the time on domestic matters" (Cockburn 1991: 96). Through this discussion, Cockburn highlights the relationship between the patriarchal relations in the family and the workplace, where men continue to dictate women's position in both contexts.

2.7. Sexuality and sexual harassment

Research on sexuality in organisations has focused on sexual harassment. Cockburn (1991: 139 citing Hadjifoutiou, 1983: 9) defines sexual harassment as:

"all those actions and practices by a person or group of people at work which are directed at one or more workers and which: are repeated and unwanted; may be deliberate or done unconsciously; cause humiliation, offence or distress; may interfere with job performance or create unpleasant working environment; comprise of remarks or actions associated with a person's sex, emphasise a person's sexuality over her role as a worker."

From feminist explanations, sexual harassment in organisations is an expression of power in the context of a patriarchal society, characterised by unequal relations between men and women (Franzway, 2001: 105; Samuels, 2003; Uggen and Blackstone, 2004). Walby (1990) argues that sexual harassment falls into the patriarchal structures of prescribed heterosexuality and violence, which has the effect of excluding women as they tend to shy away from certain types of work. Sexual harassment is also viewed as a form of violence that is meant to keep women in check and a tool to keep women in subordinate positions in the workplace (Cockburn, 1991).

Cockburn and Franzway argue that, with the increase in the number of women in the workplace, their presence is a political issue for men who use different strategies to control

and police women. Literature cites a number of ways in which sexual harassment is seen as diminishing the power of women in organisations. Firstly, sexual harassment can be viewed as a sign of hostility in male-dominated occupations, which is in line with Welsh's (1999:170) idea that at the centre of this phenomenon is the idea that women are not welcome in certain workplaces. Further, Cockburn points to the issue of organisational power, arguing that men who are usually the perpetrators of this type of violation(s) occupy positions of power, while women are in low-status positions, highlighting the power imbalance.

Hearn and Parkin (2001) highlight that in male-dominated occupations, the dominance of a male culture might be the cause of sexual violence against women. Citing studies in the police service, the authors point out that various forms of sexual behaviour that include unwanted touching, and sexual jokes and rumours may be condoned because women are expected to blend in with the male culture and to 'take it in', a point raised by Collinson and Collison (1989). Hearn and Parkin stress that this leaves women officers in a dilemma where they have to adapt to the male culture or become victims. Women who adapt to the masculine culture become 'defeminised' and will therefore no longer be viewed as women. As victims, Hearn and Parkin note, women are seen as accepting their feminine role and will continue being subjects of sexual harassment.

Research on sexual harassment in the media has been done using both quantitative and qualitative research methods. Walsh-Childers et al (1996) conducted a study on sexual harassment faced by women journalists in daily newspapers in the United States of America. They observe that, from the communication and journalism literature, there has been little research conducted on sexual harassment as a problem facing women journalists. This study, based on a survey, aimed to provide information about the "extent and sources of sexual harassment that women journalists face" (Walsh-Childers et al 1996: 562). Four major issues came out of the survey. Firstly, the study found that sexual harassment is a significant problem for women journalists in America as 60 percent of the respondents noted that the phenomenon is 'at least somewhat a problem' for women as reporters, photographers, editors and graphic artists. Secondly, Walsh-Childers et al noted a correlation between sexual harassment and age. The results showed that older women between the ages of 41 and 74 were three times more likely to say that sexual harassment is not a problem at all. In contrast, younger journalists in the 23–30 years' age group were more likely to regard sexual

harassment as a significant problem. A third finding from this study was that sexual harassment was most common in interactions between women journalists and their sources. The authors found that the women respondents expressed concern over harassment from news sources as they felt that there was “no effective way to prevent harassment by sources” because journalists depend on their sources for information (Walsh-Childers et al 1996: 578). Further, the study noted that while harassment from sources was most common, the respondents were also affected by harassment from co-workers and supervisors. Some of the effects were that women left the newspapers or turned down promotions they were offered so that they would not have to face the perpetrators of the harassment.

Similar to Walsh-Childers et al’s study, literature from Zimbabwe shows that sexual harassment is a significant problem in newsrooms. Sexual harassment is considered as a form of discrimination in the media industry in Zimbabwe because it is rampant in the newsroom and is reported to be hindering women from accomplishing their tasks (Radu & Chekera, 2014; Muzarara, 2012). The study by Radu and Chekera noted that gender discrimination is characterised by sexual harassment. It found that sexual harassment is rampant, highlighting the institutionalisation or normalisation of sexual harassment in newsrooms in Zimbabwe. Both the studies by Walsh-Childers et al and Radu & Chekera argue that, as sexual harassment in the media industry is persistent and takes place in front of other workers, it indicates that male co-workers and supervisors are not concerned with the consequences or “believe that they cannot be held accountable for their actions” (Radu & Chekera, 2014: 17).

The above finding that men in the media industry believe that they cannot be held accountable for their actions demonstrate the privileges afforded to men through patriarchal relations in society as observed by Tshoaei (forthcoming). In a study of sexual harassment within the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) following media reports on accusations that the federation’s General Secretary, Zvelinzima Vavi sexually harassed a female colleague in 2013, Tshoaei argues that men are afforded privileges from the patriarchal relations within society where they have access to power and resources. Men’s behaviour in the workplace is often not questioned as they are considered to be the dominant gender, which demonstrates power relations.

Further, organisations representing journalists in Zimbabwe, such as the Zimbabwe Union of Journalists (ZUJ) and the Federation of African Media Women Zimbabwe (FAMWZ) have

also stressed that sexual harassment is a serious problem which results not only in the turnover of (affected) experienced staff but also ‘demoralises’ other members of staff. (FAMWZ & ZUJ sexual harassment booklet, undated). One case study in the booklet highlights that patriarchal relations in Zimbabwe’s society are a contributing factor in sexual harassment as ‘cultural, religious and social beliefs’ stipulate that “a woman is supposed to be subservient and has lesser power” (FAMWZ& ZUJ, undated: 6).

However, Franzway argues against viewing sexual behaviours as negative because sexual interactions have different meanings depending on the context. Franzway notes that women’s sexuality is complex and should not be perceived narrowly as women might use sexuality to their benefit. Concurring with Franzway, Williams et al (1999) further emphasise the importance of context. The authors cite a study of sexual interactions among medical professionals (Giuffre 1995, 1997) that showed that behaviour among doctors, which included touching and sexual jokes, were seen as important to surviving in this sector as they helped the doctors to cope with the stressful nature of their job and, as such, were not labelled as sexual harassment. However, such interactions were not acceptable in relation to the doctors’ patients due to restrictions on such relationships.

2.8. Gendered identities

Women have multiple identities which can be complementary and, at times, contradictory. De Bruin (2004: 2) explains that “people may take on multiple social identities to serve different functions. These identities may change priority in everyday life according to the circumstance and interests; they are subject to negotiation, they overlap, they flow or spill over.” Butler (1990) notes that identity is a ‘normative ideal’, further highlighting that, in order to be accepted in society, one has to conform to the identity that society prescribes. De Bruin’s definition of gender identity relates to Butler’s idea of identity as normative, as she argues that it is associated with social constructions of masculinity and femininity that “are present in all persons...although to different degrees” (De Bruin, 2004: 4).

Several viewpoints have been debated on women’s gendered identities in the workplace. Mahtani (2005) notes that the women journalists in her study explained that their gendered identities played an important role in their work as their status as women influenced the way they reported. Women’s feminine attributes assisted in getting the work done. For instance, one participant argued “women are good at communicating, we’re good at empathising, we

are good at getting people to talk, so unconsciously probably my role as a woman is quite important in my job...” (Mahtani 2005: 303, Elmore 2007). Women journalists also argue that women offer a varied viewpoint on news coverage (Hardin & Whiteside, 2009). Hardin and Whiteside (2009: 630-631 citing Robinson, 2005) note that women use their gender strategically in certain circumstances, for example using “interpersonal skills (flirting) to secure invitations to important events” or “they may use an assumption about their lack of expertise to spend more time with key sources.”

Steiner (1998) highlights the conflict between the identities of women journalists – as a journalist and a woman. Through content analysis of autobiographies written by female journalists, Steiner highlights the conflict of these two identities, where female journalists are required by their editors to be ruthless in how they access and publish their information in line with the standards of objectivity. This is in contrast with the women’s attributes of having empathy and being sympathetic. These attributes are, at times, viewed as a disadvantage as it is presumed that they interfere with professional conduct. Steiner also highlights that editors abuse these feminine attributes through suggesting that women use them to get information from their sources. Further, Mahtani (2005) notes that the different viewpoints offered by women are not valued as it is assumed that they do not conform to the ‘male norm view’ and are therefore often discarded.

Scholars have highlighted how workplace culture influences the way women ‘do’ gender in order to gain acceptance in the workplace, which may conflict with their identity as women. (Powell et al, 2009; Elmore, 2007; Hatmaker, 2013). According to West and Zimmerman, gender “is the activity of managing situated conduct in light of normative conceptions of attitudes and activities appropriated for one’s sex category (West & Zimmerman, 1997 as cited by Powell et al, 2009: 414). The ways in which women do gender in the workplace is part of the coping strategies they employ in male-dominated organisations. Powell et al further explain Butler’s concept of undoing gender, noting that when women express gender in a certain way, for example acting as men, they tend to simultaneously undo their gender in a negative way, which results in “their gender being disqualified as a condition of success in that arena” (Powell et al 2009: 414).

Ross (2001) highlights the three ways in which women journalists adapt to the masculine working culture, which is similar in most male-dominated industries. Ross highlights that

female journalists tend to take three positions in the newsrooms – incorporation, feminist and retreat. According to Ross, these positions are described thus: “incorporation (one of the boys) which requires women to take on so-called masculine styles, values and reporting behaviours; feminist, in which journalists make a conscious decision to provide an alternative voice and retreat where women choose to work as freelancers rather than continue to fight battles in the workplace” (Ross 2001: 535). Focusing on women in sports journalism, Hardin and Whiteside (2009: 637) note that women journalists minimised their gender identity in two ways – ‘proving themselves through over achieving’ and becoming one of the boys.

In acting like one of the boys, Powell et al highlight that women actively perform masculinity in attempt to fit in with their male colleagues and concur with Kerfoot (2004) that women act like men so that they are “not be compared negatively to men or suffer from the stereotypes that these organisations produce” (Kerfoot 2004 as cited by Powell et al 2009: 418). Various studies have noted the negative effects of adopting this strategy. For example, Du Plessis and Barkhuizen (2015) argue that assimilating masculine characteristics can be damaging to women where they can experience internal conflict. Martin and Barnard (2013: 3) add that, through adopting masculine practices, women are forced to behave in ways that are unnatural to them and therefore “women are caught between resisting and accommodating masculine politics”. Wright (2014) in her study of women in the construction industry also found that, apart from ‘downplaying their femaleness’, women had to work extra hard in order to prove that they were as good or better than the male workers, emphasising that there is gendered pressure to prove oneself against the male norm, which is the standard in the construction industry.

Further research has also shown that women who assimilate masculine practices in the workplace are viewed negatively, both by men and women, for not conforming to societal expectations. For example, Nemoto (2013: 157 citing Martin, 2003: 360) notes that women who fail to follow feminine expectations ‘lose approval and end up with even lower status’. In Elmore’s study on women journalists who left the profession, the participants complained about female supervisors who ‘acted’ like men and were not sympathetic to women’s concerns and problems. The journalists highlighted that top women editors often took on male characteristics and did not offer help or address the concerns of women below them. Women in charge were also blamed for showing little understanding to women journalists’ family obligations. This highlights that, when women are promoted to higher positions, there

are expectations from their counterparts to improve the working conditions or change the system, which does not happen because women continue to perpetuate the masculine standards in order to be taken serious in the organisation. Powell et al (2009: 421) argue that women then fail to question the status quo as they have become “enculturated”. Elmore (2007: 25 citing Robinson, 2005) concludes that “female masculinity at management levels serves to reinforce ‘the profession’s male structure’ and often results in a refusal ‘to recognise the kinds of disadvantages that women as a group struggle against.”

Powell et al highlight two other ways in which women cope with the conflicting identities, firstly, accepting gender discrimination. In this case women are reluctant to admit that they have been discriminated against and find ways to justify the actions of their colleagues or blame themselves for the discrimination. Further, Mahtani (2005) argues that women remain silent and, as a result, management remains unaware of the issues as they remain invisible. The other strategy relates to Goffman’s (1959) idea of impression management, where women work hard to prove that they are competent and capable of doing their job and building a reputation as well as earning respect (Powell et al 2009, Hatmaker 2013). According to Goffman, social interactions are performances, noting that:

“...when an individual appears before others his actions will influence the definition of the situation which they come to have. Sometimes the individual will act in a thoroughly calculating manner, expressing himself in a given way solely in order to give the kind of impression to others that is likely to evoke from them a specific response he is concerned to obtain.” (Goffman 1959: 6)

Hatmaker, in her research on women in engineering, argues that women use this strategy as a way of countering interactions that tend to focus on women’s gender identity, where their competences are questioned. She further highlights that the purpose of such impression management strategies is to “instil in the alter a positive view of her technical abilities that she is a ‘real’ engineer so that in subsequent interactions her engineering identity is the most salient one rather than her identity as a woman, wife or mother” (Hatmaker 2013: 393). However, Hatmaker also argues that this strategy creates some form of pressure on women, where they have to work much harder than the men in order for them to earn respect.

Scholars such as Kim (2006) and Haynes (2008) argue that when women come into male-dominated spaces, their socially constructed identity as a woman is more visible than their professional identities. Haynes highlights the conflict between women’s identities as mothers and their professional identities. She focuses on the identities of individuals at a time of

transition from being single to becoming a parent. Haynes asserts that the professional identity associated with working long hours may be in conflict with the mothering identity. As noted earlier, a negative perception about motherhood may result in women's professional identity being undermined. This may result in work and family conflict (to be discussed in the next section).

2.9. Work-family conflict

Work-family conflict is defined as a “form of inter-role conflict in which the demands of work and family roles are incompatible in some respect so that the participation in one role is more difficult because of the participation in the other” (Burchielli et al, 2008: 113 citing Voydanoff, 2005). Mokomane (2014) argues that work-family conflict is based on the idea that ‘time and energy are two conflicting resources’ which are of limited quantity; therefore, their use in one domain depletes these resources, impacting negatively on the ability to fully participate in the another domain. Annor (2014, citing Greenhaus and Buetell, 1985) highlights that there are three forms of work-family conflict: time-based conflict, strain-based conflict and behaviour-based conflict. For both time-based conflict and strain-based conflict, time pressures and strain associated with participating in one role make it difficult to participate in another role. Behaviour-based conflict occurs when ‘specific behaviour patterns developed in one role are incompatible with expectations regarding behaviour in another role’ (Annor, 2014: 19).

Mokomane notes that work-family conflict can be bi-directional where it can be family responsibilities affecting work (family-to-work conflict) or work requirements impeding on family or personal life (work-to-family conflict). In family-to-work conflict, experiences that include family and household responsibilities, such as housework and caring for young children or the elderly, interfere with work life. According to Mokomane, work-to-family conflict occurs when experiences at work, that include ‘irregular or inflexible working hours, work overload and other forms of job stress, extensive travel and unsupportive supervisors or organisations interfere with family life’ (Mokomane, 2014: 4 citing Netemeyer et al, 1996).

Research shows a gender perspective on work-family conflict, highlighting that women are the most affected by this conflict. Women continue to take care of the majority of the household and family responsibilities despite increased participation in the labour force. (Brown, 2010; Franzway, 2001; Burchielli et al, 2008, Mokomane, 2014). Their roles in the

domestic sphere have been referred to as a ‘second shift’ (Hochschild, 1990 as cited by Brown, 2010: 472) where women are considered to be responsible for organising and carrying out duties that relate to the household (cooking, cleaning) and nurturing (child care). Various studies have argued that women do most of the work in the household (Brown, 2010; Franzway, 2001; Burchielli, 2008; Tshoamedi, 2013) with Burchielli arguing that gender is central to the work-family conflict. Mokomane discusses the impact of the work-family conflict and notes that combining personal and occupation roles tends to induce symptoms such as fatigue, anxiety and depression among women more than men. The overall effects of the work-family conflict include disadvantaging women in the labour market, ‘prevention of the attainment equal opportunity and treatment of men and women in employment’ as well as limiting women’s career prospects (Mokomane 2014: 6).

Mokomane argues for the need to provide an African (sub-Saharan) perspective to work-family conflict as research on this concept has been well established in developed and Western countries and, as such, the limitations of that research is its Western focus. Annor (2014: 17) explains that “work-family experiences might vary across countries due to cultural values, national policies, employment opportunities and family structures. Thus, participation in work and family roles might have different meanings and implications to individuals in different countries”. Mokomane thus stresses the need to take note of socio-economic and demographics differences. For example, Mapedzahama (2008) focuses on how employed women in Zimbabwe negotiate the work-family conflict. She argues that Zimbabwe is a failing economy where women have to engage in a number of activities to generate income for subsistence. Mapedzahama notes that women in her study engage in a ‘third shift’ as they are firstly employed in the formal sector; secondly, they have to take care of the family responsibilities and thirdly, they are involved in other activities such as sewing, baking and selling fresh produce (petty trade) as income-generating activities to support the meagre income from their formal-sector jobs.

Work-family conflict has been linked to the concept of greedy institutions. Burchielli et al (2008: 113) and Franzway (2001) cite Coser (1974) who argues that certain institutions make “total claims on their members and seek exclusive and undivided loyalty. They make significant demands on member’s time and rely heavily on compliance.” Some occupations fall into the category of greedy institutions as they require long and inflexible hours, such as nursing (Burchielli), academia (Annor, 2014), as well trade union work (Franzway, 2001;

Tshoaedi, 2013). Studies by Franzway (2001) and Tshoaedi (2013) on women in trade unions highlights the challenges the women face in negotiating the balance between their work and family life as trade union work is too demanding. For example, Tshoaedi argues that trade unions are structured along masculine principles that emphasise long working hours and frequent periods spent away from home, as unionists travel for meetings and conferences. Thus, ‘full participation and commitment is determined by gender’ (Tshoaedi, 2013: 75). Further, Tshoaedi notes that women activists experience patriarchal domination in their personal lives in different ways as men are considered to be the head of the household and have more control. Thus women utilise different strategies to negotiate the challenges they face.

2.10. Conclusion

This chapter aimed to discuss the different concepts that will guide the study on the experiences of women journalists in Zimbabwe. The concepts discussed demonstrated that gender signifies power relations that exist in different areas such as family and society, which influence the workplace. Gender is a social construction that assigns different statuses to men and women. As the theory of gendered organisations demonstrated, these distinctions are extended into the workplace, which results in the marginalisation of women as men are considered the ideal worker and body in that space. While the theory of gender performativity tries to question the idea of binary positions, it also highlights the restrictions and sanctions placed upon individuals by social regulations associated with masculinity and femininity regarding how to perform their gender. This chapter also reviewed literature on women in male-dominated industries, with particular reference to the journalism profession. The literature review further reinforced the arguments suggested by the theoretical concepts. Various aspects such as gender stereotypes, masculine culture, patriarchal relations and perceptions of women’s bodies which are embedded within organisations were highlighted. These illustrated how women are marginalised and viewed as not suitable for the workspace. The next chapter focuses on the research methods and techniques used in collecting data in this study.

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

3.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on the research methodology, including the data collection process, sampling techniques and selection of participants for the study. In this chapter, I follow feminist approaches and argue that feminist research methods are critical in examining women's experiences, as they offer alternative ways of conducting research on women. Feminist researchers have criticised the traditional sociological approaches to research as being male-centred and thereby excluding women as authoritative voices and subjects in knowledge production (Smith, 2004; Hill-Collins, 1986). In her critique, Smith (2004: 22) argues that the 'methods, conceptual schemes and theories' in sociology are based on a male perspective; hence, women find it difficult to relate their experiences with this framework. She points to unequal power relations within the discipline as she argues that women do not have authority in terms of knowledge production. Smith (2004: 27) argues that "frame of reference which order the terms upon which inquiry and discussion are conducted originate with men". In this quote she emphasises that, as men are the authors of research, there is a tendency to universalise men's experiences as they are considered to be the full or true subjects of research. Smith also explains that sociology, from the male perspective, discredits other experiences of the world hence women and their experiences are excluded. In addition, focusing on the male perspective results in assumptions of gender neutrality.

Concurring with Smith that sociology is androcentric, Hill-Collins (1986) also argues that women researchers are often strangers or outsiders in the discipline of sociology because they do not share the same assumptions as the dominant group. She notes that, because of the mismatch between the experiences of women sociologists and the paradigms of sociology, women sociologists have a vantage point to take note of the distortions and omissions that exist between their experiences and those recorded from a male perspective. When using the approach of the 'outsider within', women scholars are able to question the invisibility of women in sociology. Their status further "sensitises them to patterns that are more difficult for established sociological insiders to see" (Hill-Collins 1986: S29). Thus, Hill-Collins argues that, when using this approach, scholars will make use of their 'own personal and cultural biographies as significant sources of knowledge' as they can use their 'experienced

reality as a valid source of knowledge to critique sociological facts and theories' (Hill-Collins, 1986: S30). Feminist researchers seek to counter traditional approaches by taking women's voices to the centre of analysis and addressing critical aspects of women's gendered experiences that are often excluded from traditional sociological analysis.

Against this background, I will highlight three main points in this chapter. Firstly, I discuss my choice of feminist research methods, which focus on qualitative research to get insight on women's gendered experiences in the workplace. Secondly, as other feminists have noted, I will demonstrate that my positionality influenced the research process by allowing me to constantly reflect on the data collection process. Thirdly, I will focus on a critical issue of power relations between the researcher and the participants in which I argue that power dynamics are fluid and vary according to the participants' personal attributes and social identities that include age, gender, work and family statuses.

3.2. Feminist research methods

While there has been debate on whether there is a 'distinct feminist method' when doing research, feminists have emphasised qualitative approaches to understand women's experiences (Maynard, 2013; Stanley, 1997; Oakley, 1981). These scholars note that feminists have criticised quantitative methods, such as the survey methods. For instance, Oakley (1981: 40) notes that, due to the need for sociology to be regarded as a 'real science', there is more focus on the 'most objective and measurable features of social life'. Issues such as feelings, emotions and personal experiences are often left out and, as Oakley argues, it coincides with masculine values. Maynard (2013: 11-12) and Stanley note that qualitative methods are the most preferred as they focus more on the "subjective experiences and meanings of those being researched", based on the belief that "research must begin with an open-ended exploration of women's experiences".

Maynard further argues that feminist research is guided by "the questions we have asked, the way we locate ourselves within the questions and the purposes of the work." Maynard concurs with Stanley's conception of methodology. Stanley places emphasis on the role of the researcher and the methods of collecting data. She stresses that the researcher should use methods that will enable her to collect information in a way that is open-minded and ensures that the researcher gains rich insights about the researched by giving them the opportunity to speak openly about their experiences.

This study aimed to explore the gender relations in the print media industry in Zimbabwe through examining the gendered experiences of women journalists and the challenges that women face in the workplace. I wanted to gain information from the women journalists on their personal experiences working in a male-dominated industry. Therefore, I chose to use qualitative methods in the data collection process as Berg (2009:8) argues that “qualitative techniques allow researchers to share in the understandings and perceptions of others and to explore how people structure and give meaning to their daily lives.” Further, as Berg highlights, qualitative research methods were applicable to this research as they allowed me to get access to “unquantifiable facts” from the women journalists as they were relating information about their lives from their point of view. Using qualitative methods allowed me to interact and build a relationship with the participants in a way that made them feel free to share personal information. The participants were sharing their personal experiences in the workplace that they would not normally share with strangers. Thus, qualitative methods allowed me to build a relationship of trust with the participants, which is not possible when using quantitative methods.

3.3. Feminist approaches to interviewing as a method of collecting data

Berg (2009: 101) defines interviewing as a “conversation with a purpose. Specifically, the purpose is to gather information.” Oakley (1981: 38) reflects on interviewing from a feminist perspective. She argues that the idea of a ‘proper’ interview as presented in methodology textbooks is masculine-oriented in that it emphasises values such as objectivity, detachment, hierarchy and science. In this case, interviewing is seen as a one-way process where the interviewer receives information from the respondent; where there is limited interaction between the interviewer and the participants, while the researcher is seen as more powerful than the participants. Oakley observes that feminist researchers often face a gap between what the methodology textbooks prescribed and what happens in reality during the process of interviewing, particularly when interviewing women. She highlights that, when interviewing women, there is need to establish rapport between the researcher and the participants, such that participants can trust the researcher. She further asserts that, in relation to women, interviewing is an important tool of giving ‘women’s subjective situation greater visibility’ both in sociology and in society (Oakley 1981: 48).

In my study, semi-structured interviews were used as the method of data collection as they allowed me to gain access to women journalists' lives and the specifics of their gendered experiences. Berg (2009) and May (2011) highlight that semi-structured interviews allow researchers to develop an interview schedule with "predetermined" questions and topics which provide the researcher with a form of structure on issues to be covered, but allows flexibility around topics to probe further. I developed an interview schedule (see Appendix) based on my research questions that identified specific issues to be covered in the interviews. As Hesse-Biber (2006) notes, semi-structured interviews give researchers some control over the interview; however, the process of interviewing is not restrictive as it gives room to both the interviewer and the respondent. Semi structured interviews allowed me to have conversations with the participants where participants could guide the process. I used open-ended questions which gave the participants flexibility to interpret the questions according to their own understanding and to answer in their own terms. For example, when I asked the participants about the challenges in the newsroom, some of their responses would encompass answers to some of the questions in my interview guide before I even posed them, such as the strategies they employed in addressing those challenges. In another instance, I asked one participant a question relating to the position of women within the organisational structure. In her response, she focused on the type of stories that women often cover, such as health, pointing out that there was minimal representation of women reporting on business and political stories. Thus, I would pose questions and let the interview flow from the answers they provided and this allowed me to take note of the different interpretations of my questions by the participants.

As will be highlighted later in this chapter, the interview schedule proved to be an important tool during the period of data collection as some participants were only available for short periods of time. Because of this challenge, in some instances I had to focus on certain topics as some participants did not have time to cover all the questions on the schedule. The interview schedule was important in providing a guideline on the topics to be covered. I did not follow the chronological order of the questions in the interview schedule as the flow of the interview was determined by the way the participants answered the questions and how open they were about their experiences. This emphasised the flexibility of semi-structured interviews.

3.4. Researcher's social location

A researcher's social location, or positionality has implications on the researcher's ability to access and interact with the participants as the subjects of the study. Smith (2004) questions sociology's preferred methods that focus on the 'ethic of objectivity', where researchers are expected to separate their individual knowledge or 'biases' as they are perceived to affect their work. Thus, Smith argues that it is impossible to separate the researcher's location from her work as this is important in understanding the participants who also experience the world differently. She calls for an alternative sociology which recognises and places importance on the researcher's social location in understanding women's subjective experiences. Smith (2004: 29) stresses that, in conducting research, the researcher should begin "from her own original but tacit knowledge and from within the acts by which she brings it into her grasp in making it observable and understanding how it works". Smith's assertion is useful in explaining my social location and its impact in the conceptualisation of this research as it was informed by what I know of the media industry.

My social location, background and multiple identities had an impact on relations with the participants in this study. I am a 33-year-old woman, married, a mother, researcher and student. In my undergraduate years, I studied Media studies and it was a requirement to undertake internship as part of the programme. For my internship, I was attached to one of the media houses in Zimbabwe. Furthermore, before enrolling as a student at the University of Pretoria, I was employed in a media research organisation – hence my interest in understanding the experiences of women journalists. My personal background as a former media employee who had observed the media industry in Zimbabwe as male-dominated, motivated me to undertake this research to explore and understand women's gendered experiences, thereby bringing women's lives into focus. As Oakley (1981) notes, this experience allowed me to take note of issues that are often taken for granted due to assumptions of gender neutrality in organisations and therefore influenced the questions that I would ask the participants about their gendered experiences.

During the field work, I introduced myself to the participants as a Gender Studies student doing a master's degree at the University of Pretoria. My background as a former media employee was mentioned mostly at the end of the interviews. I believed that sharing this identity at the beginning of the interview would have resulted in the participants viewing me as an 'insider' – someone who shares some characteristics, role or experience with the group

under study (Corbin Dwyer and Buckle, 2009). Some of the implications would be that participants would assume that I could relate and understand the processes and operations of the newsroom and sometimes would not explain their experiences in detail. Thus, I would be left to interpret what they were describing through my own subjectivities. Not disclosing my background prior to the interview therefore had the advantages that the participants treated me as an ‘outsider’ – someone who is not from the same community or a stranger who can be objective and neutral (Kerstetter, 2012). Thus, they would explain everything in detail without assuming that I could relate to their experiences. For instance, when using the journalist’s language, the participants would explain in detail and therefore made me understand their experiences from their point of view.

In addition, my background in media as well as being a female researcher allowed to me to understand and empathise with the participants as they shared their experiences. I could understand some of the ‘newsroom’ language they used during the interviews and the operations of the media industry they made reference to. This position also enabled me to understand the context that the participants were speaking from. For instance, some participants who have worked in the journalism profession for a longer period spoke as experts and spoke openly about their experiences. Furthermore, my educational background as a Gender Studies student enabled me to reflect critically on the gendered experiences of my participants and how they understand these experiences. For example, the participants who covered gender stories were more aware of issues to do with gender equality. This was reflected in the concepts that they used in relating their experiences, such as patriarchy and gender stereotypes. However, other participants expressed their assumptions of the workplace as gender-neutral which reflected that patriarchy has been normalised in society to an extent that people might not question their experiences. Thus, my social location and background had an influence on the research process. This emphasises the notion that ‘there is no neutrality – there is greater or less awareness of one’s biases’ (Rose, 1985 cited by Corbin Dwyer and Buckle, 2009: 55) highlighting the importance of self-reflection in the research process. Thus, I observed that my positionality had an impact on some of the decisions I made and allowed me to constantly reflect on my role in the data collection process.

In relation to the insider/outsider debate in qualitative research, different scholars point to a continuum or the space in between the two binary positions. (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009; Kerstetter, 2012; Mullings, 1999). Although, I was not a practising journalist at the time of

data collection, I could fall into the insider position as, through education and work experience in the media industry, I had some understanding of the participants' experiences. However, to them I was an outsider, as a student seeking knowledge about the journalism profession. While both positions have their advantages and disadvantages, I support Dwyer and Buckle's (2009: 59) argument that,

“...the core ingredient is not insider or outsider status but an ability to be open, authentic, honest, deeply interested in the experience of one's research participants, and committed to accurately and adequately representing their experience.”

3.5. Sampling and access to participants

In research, sampling gives researchers an opportunity to select small units of analysis from a large population which they can study and make generalisations from (Neuman 2000: 195). Snowball sampling was used as a way of selecting participants for the study. Neuman (2000: 199) highlights that snowball sampling is a “method for identifying and sampling (or selecting) the cases in a network...It begins with one of a few people or cases and spreads out on the basis of links to the initial cases.” Neuman further notes that, unlike in quantitative research where the focus is on the representativeness of the sample, in qualitative research the primary purpose for sampling is “to collect specific cases, events or actions that can clarify and deepen understanding. Qualitative researchers' concern is to find cases that will enhance what other researchers learn about the processes of social life in a specific context” (Neuman 2000: 196).

In my initial preparation for the field work, I had identified a key informant who had links with journalists from different media houses. The informant contacted, through email, 11 women journalists whom she had worked with and whom she thought might be willing to participate in the research. I then followed up, also via email, informing the contacts of the period in which I wanted to conduct the research a month before the expected period of data collection. However, from this first attempt at accessing the target population, only one participant was willing to be interviewed. Unfortunately, when I started field work, this participant was away on leave. It has been observed that, when researching professional participants (to be discussed in another section in the chapter), researchers often face challenges of gaining access (Harvey, 2010; Welch et al, 2002). Welch et al (2002: 614) argue that these participants “establish barriers, which set them apart from the rest of the

society”. These scholars have advocated for the use of personal and social networks in gaining access to powerful or professional participants.

In relation to Harvey (2010) and Welch’s et al (2002) advice on accessing professional participants highlighted above, I made use of personal networks to gain access to my participants. During the time I went to conduct the field work, I used to visit my friends at my former workplace. On one of these visits, I highlighted to one of my friends the difficulties I was facing in accessing participants for my research. She told me that she had networks with an organisation called the Federation of African Media Women Zimbabwe (FAMWZ) that could assist me in identifying participants. FAMWZ is a non-governmental organisation that “advances the cause of women media practitioners as well as empowers women through the media” (FAMWZ, 2015). She contacted the director of the organisation, whom we had both worked with during the time I was employed. FAMWZ assisted by referring me to women journalists who are members of their network. I contacted the journalists through via email, and then telephone calls, to confirm meetings with them. As I was conducting the interviews, I would ask the participants to refer me to other women journalists whom I could get in touch with.

3.6. Description of the sample

Twelve women journalists participated in this study, 11 of whom were employed in five different media houses while one was a freelance journalist who wrote for several media houses. (See Appendix)

The participants in this study fall between the ages of 24 and 54 years. One of the reasons I decided on a wide age range was based on research findings that have shown that journalists working in newsrooms in Zimbabwe between the ages of 24 and 35 were the most affected by gender discrimination (Radu and Chekera, 2014). One interpretation of this observation would be that women in this age range are in the reproductive stages of their lives, during which they are most likely to get married and have children. As noted by Acker (1990), women in this age group are likely to suffer from discrimination and stigmatisation based on employers’ perceptions that women in this stage are likely to leave, thereby disrupting the workplace, or require ‘extra measures’ such as maternity leave and flexible working conditions, which the employers are not willing to accommodate.

The women journalists who participated in the study cover a wide range in terms of age categories. Age has an influence on several factors, such as career level, family status and work experience. The participants fell into three categories; the first one being participants between the ages of 22–30 (eight participants); secondly, the age range of 31–40 (three participants), then thirdly, the participants aged 41 and above (one participant). In terms of career levels, the majority of the participants that fell into the first category were in junior positions and had between two and five years of experience working in the journalism profession. Participants who were over 30 years old had more work experience as they had been journalists for a longer time. Some held senior positions in the newsroom (middle level). The wide range of age categories allowed me to have access to diverse views from women journalists, as experiences varied according to participants' positions within the organisation and their work experience.

Through the interviews, I observed that the marital status also had an influence on the experiences in the workplace. For example, married women experience the workplace differently than single women due to the demands of work and home (work-life balance). Single women are more independent with regard to family responsibilities, which means that they can devote more time to their work. In contrast, married women with children experience challenges in balancing their roles at work and at home. They also experience more challenges because of male control in the workplace. Often, management in organisations that are male-dominated perceive married women as not being fully committed to work and have reservations about allocating important assignments which might spill over into family time.

From the data collected, it appeared that the experiences in the media industry varied according to the age of the participants. For example, women in the age group of 24–35 focused more on relating their experiences of sexual harassment (to be discussed later) while women in the age range of 36–54 spoke more about discrimination pertaining to job allocation and patriarchal relations in the workplace. However, this does not imply that older women did not experience sexual harassment, only that they put more emphasis on other forms of discriminations that impeded career growth, such as men's resistance to women in authority. Age and experience are major factors in the way women address the challenges they encounter at work. As women grow older and gain more experience, they develop different ways of dealing with challenges in the workplace.

Furthermore, the journalists' work experience was a crucial indicator of the quality of the experiences in this industry. The women who participated in this study had worked as journalists for a period ranging from two years to over 30 years, which meant that I had access to rich qualitative data on the media industry in Zimbabwe. The participants in the study were from five different media houses and they also had experiences of working in media houses other than the ones they were currently working for. This allowed me to gain more understanding of the operations of the different media houses in Zimbabwe.

The selection of participants was also influenced by the information I got from FAMWZ. As the organisation works with women journalists, they suggested that I include freelance journalists in my sample in order to capture the different experiences of women in the media industry. They referred me to three freelance journalists, one of whom I managed to get an interview with. Thus, selection of participants was determined by access to them and participants' interest in being involved in the study. All the interviews were conducted in Harare, Zimbabwe, as this is the city where most media houses and their main branches are located.

3.7. Meeting with the participants: venue and time challenges

The environment in which an interview is conducted has an effect on the interview itself and determines whether the participant will be free enough to open up and disclose information about themselves to the researcher. Tang (2002: 717) argues that the place of an interview can 'influence power dynamics' between the interviewer and the interviewee. In her study, she observed that when interviews were conducted in the workplace, they were often interrupted and this increased the social distance between the researcher and the participant. The places and times at which I conducted interviews proved to be challenges during the data collection process. As some of my participants noted, journalism is an 'ongoing' process as they work anytime. This presented challenges in trying to conduct interviews during the journalists' working hours. In some instances, I would set an appointment and when I arrived at the venue, the participant would have gone out on an assignment. While the venue presented a challenge to the interview process, it also gave me an opportunity to observe the participants in their natural setting (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005).

The interviews were conducted in different places selected by the participants. In the initial stages of the data collection process, I conducted the first two interviews at the participants'

homes. This helped in establishing rapport with the participants and it meant that the participants could speak openly and freely. For example, I conducted the first interview with Helen at her house. Helen is a freelance journalist who had just returned to work following her maternity leave. During the interview, Helen highlighted the challenges she was facing in performing her duties, such as not being able to go into the field due to the responsibility of taking care of an infant. Through interviewing Helen at her home, I was able to contextualise her experiences and challenges of being a mother and a journalist.

Interviewing the participants in a space that was familiar to them gave them the opportunity to discuss the issues they raised during the interview further in informal conversations after the interview. For example, after the audio-recorded interview with Alice at her home, Alice reiterated her concern that gender policies in newsrooms were not being implemented. She highlighted that women's issues were only mentioned at events, while other issues affecting women journalists, such as sexual harassment, remained in the dark and were not being addressed adequately. Thus, there was a transition from the guarded conversations during the interviews to being able to discuss women's subjective experiences.

This was not the case, however, with one interview that I conducted at a busy food outlet, as the participant preferred to have the interview outside work premises. The food outlet was noisy, making audio recording impossible. Furthermore, the environment did not allow for an in-depth conversation. In addition, in the midst of the interview, the participant received a call from the office and had to return to work. In this interview, a number of factors affected the flow of the interview, such as time limitations and the participant's discomfort. It also allowed to me observe that participant's busy schedule.

In another instance, I interviewed the participant in the reception area at her work where there were various disruptions with people coming in and out of the office. She became uncomfortable with responding to some of the questions related to her work. There were fears of being overheard and possible victimisation. She asked if we could finish the conversation somewhere else. Since I was interviewing her while she was on duty, the opportunity to look for an alternative venue was minimal due to time constraints. Despite this initial discomfort, the participant eventually spoke openly about her experiences in that media house.

Six interviews were conducted at the participants' workplace, in a secluded office which gave some privacy during interviews. The remaining two were conducted in the newsroom at the

participants' workstation. I observed that such time and environment constraints affected the process of building rapport with the participants as well as the quality of information that I received from them as they were not free to speak openly or were worried about the time they were spending on the interview. My observations concur with Puwar's (1997) reflections on interviewing women MPs that, at times, interviews were conducted on a friendly basis while other interviews were 'rushed'.

3.8. Power dynamics of interviewing professional women

Research has noted that power relations between the interviewer and the participants are crucial factors in the research process as they can influence the quality of the data collected from the participants. Oakley (1981) contends that a researcher can achieve the aim of collecting data from the participants when the relationship between her and the participants is 'non-hierarchical'. Writing about her experiences of interviewing women, she notes that "where both share the same gender socialisation and critical life experiences, social distance is minimal. Where both the interviewer and interviewee share membership of the same minority group, the basis for equality may impress itself even more urgently on the interviewer's consciousness" (Oakley 1981: 55). However, female researchers have questioned Oakley's assertions. For instance, Tang (2002), Puwar (1997) and Cotterill (1992) argue that other factors such as race, class, age, status and disability can influence power relationships and communication during the interview process. Cotterill (1992: 593) argues that "interviews are fluid encounters where (power) balances shift between and during different interview situations and there are times when researchers as well as the researched are vulnerable." I concur with Tang, Puwar and Cotterill's arguments that other factors influence power dynamics during the interview process.

Power relations between the researcher and the participant can be further complicated by how the participants are categorised. In my study, not only was I interviewing women, the women were also professional journalists. I defined the participants as professional women who can be categorised as 'elites'. I followed Morris' (2009: 209) definition of the elite as "...those in close proximity to power, or with particular expertise...that can include corporate, political and professional elites." I describe my participants as professional women with power as they can influence public opinion through the stories they write and publish. They are also involved in knowledge production. Furthermore, due to the nature of their job, they have access to diverse information that includes current affairs locally and internationally. It has

been argued that interviewing elites poses a number of challenges in that the balance of power is in favour of the participants as they have a tendency to control the agenda (Morris 2009: 209). In this study, the power relationship varied with each interview.

My status as a student contradicts the idea that the researcher is more powerful than the participants. As a student interacting with professional women, the balance of power was tipped towards my participants. My participants were in a much more powerful position and as such they felt that they were imparting knowledge to me as a student. The participants were willing to get involved in the research as they felt that they were assisting me in my educational endeavours. My identity as a former media employee would often come up in the informal conversations after the interview when the participants would ask me why I was interested in a topic related to the media. They would also enquire further about the details of what I was studying.

In some instances, my age and gender were valuable in establishing rapport and trust with the participants. I fall into a similar age category with the majority of the participants. As a woman of the same age group as the participants, some of them were more open to sharing their personal experiences, as they viewed me as ‘one of them’ and as someone who could empathise with their experiences. The participants also viewed me as someone they could relate to and felt free to share sensitive information, especially on the topic on sexual harassment.

The participants’ age and position in the hierarchy of the organisational structure had an influence on the power relationship during the interview process. For example, one participant introduced me to a senior woman journalist as she noted that women who had worked in the profession for a longer time would be more appropriate to answer my questions on gender discrimination, as they had more experiences to share. Furthermore, as already highlighted earlier, some of the participants had an interest in gender issues and were knowledgeable in my area of interest.

Cotterill (1992: 602) notes that younger women researchers may have problems with interviewing older women participants, particularly if they occupy a higher class position than their own. She argues that older women may set boundaries that young women might find difficult to cross. Tshoamedi (2008) concurs and argues that it is difficult to discuss some issues with older women due to cultural relations which make it impossible to discuss topics

related to sexuality. I observed that during my interviews with the older women – when I asked them about sexual harassment, they did not relate their own personal experiences. They responded to the question by making reference to the treatment of younger women journalists in the newsroom or responded by giving advice on how the young women affected could avoid such experiences, such as advice on the dress code. I also found that the women I interviewed were friendly and were willing to share their experiences of patriarchal relations in the workplace. They saw me as a student, an outsider who was willing to learn more about women’s experiences and they spoke openly.

I observed that my relationship with some of the participants was on an equal and friendly basis. For example, after the initial contact with the participants through email and telephone calls, it was easier with some of the participants to communicate through text messages or instant messaging applications (WhatsApp). Using WhatsApp indicated a less formal relationship between myself and the participants – to them I became the ‘friendly stranger’ (Cotterill 1992: 596).

3.9. Ethical considerations when interviewing the interviewees

It is important for social science researchers to protect the welfare of their participants during the research process so that the negative consequences of their participation are limited. Following from Babbie and Mouton (2001), this research required the participants to disclose personal, and at times sensitive information about themselves, which they might not want to have in the public domain or they may want their identities to remain anonymous. Before the interview started, participants had to sign consent forms (see Appendix) that they were voluntarily participating in the research. The information sheet and consent form highlighted that the information will be kept confidential.

Particularly interesting to note during the interviews was the reversal of roles in relation to the participants. As journalists, often the participants are the ones conducting the interviews. However, when I was conducting interviews with them, the participants had to take on the role of respondents and thus, there was general anxiety over the interviews. My observations confirm Cotterill’s (1992) argument that during the interviews, the participants’ positions were fluid as they could slide from being ‘powerful’ (from their position as professional women) to being ‘vulnerable’ as they were disclosing personal and sensitive information.

The participants' anxiety and discomfort was reflected in their emphasis on confidentiality and anonymity, which can be attributed to the nature of their job. Journalists work with sources when researching their stories and they have to audio- or video-record as a way of verifying facts and maintaining accuracy. Furthermore, they have to abide by a code of conduct that requires ethical behaviour when dealing with sources. Thus, journalists are aware of ethical conduct in interviewing and handling of information from sources. They are also aware of the consequences of divulging sensitive information; such as being sued. In light of the above, some participants were wary of having the interviews audio-recorded. I also asked for consent to audio record the interviews. Nine interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed. I took notes from the other three interviews where the participants preferred not to have the interviews recorded, which I also transcribed afterwards. Pseudonyms were used in reporting on the data from all participants as a way of protecting their identities.

3.10. Conclusion

In this chapter, I demonstrated the advantages of using feminist research methods when interviewing women. Qualitative feminist research methods were appropriate for this study as I wanted to gain in-depth information about women journalists' personal experiences of working in a male-dominated workspace. Traditional research methods are male-centred and tend to exclude women's experiences. Feminist methods value women's experiences as a way of understanding particular phenomena which may not be easily accessed when using traditional methods. I argued that qualitative methods are important in accessing women journalists' personal experiences, which are important in understanding gender inequality in this industry. I conducted interviews with twelve women journalists who worked for different media organisations within Zimbabwe's print media. In this research, I was interviewing professional women, which presented different challenges to the process of interviewing. My observations were that the power relations between myself as the researcher and the participants were fluid and varied in each interview as factors such as the participants' background and positions in the workplace influenced the research process. Further, aspects such as the venue and time limitations presented challenges during in data collection. In the following chapter, I will discuss the data collected from the women journalists in relation to experiences of working in a masculine environment.

CHAPTER FOUR

Working in a masculine environment

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the experiences of women journalists in an occupation that is structured around masculine standards. Attention will be given to the different practices that reinforce the idea of the prevalence of a masculine culture that subordinates and marginalises women employed in this industry. I argue that gendered practices in the newsroom that privilege one gender identity, which is male, result in women being invisible, and are a way of showing them that they don't belong in journalism. I also stress that the competitive nature of the newsroom reinforces the masculine culture in the newsroom. Furthermore, I demonstrate that the implications are that women are not recognised as competent journalists and therefore experience limited career mobility. The chapter starts by highlighting the work routine that journalists normally follow every day, as well as taking note of aspects that lead to a journalist's success. These two sections try to give context to women's experiences in this industry by highlighting the expectations that journalists have to fulfil as they perform their duties. Gendered practices in the journalists' work routine, such as work diary meetings and the allocation of assignments, will be discussed. The implications of gendered practices will be demonstrated in the discussion on the exclusion of women from key assignments. The chapter will also discuss women's experiences of male domination in the newsroom environment, reflected in decision-making and resistance to successful women.

4.2. A day in a journalist's life

Gleaning from the interviews with the participants, journalists do not have a fixed work schedule. However, there is a particular routine where the day starts in the morning at around 8am in the office. When they get to the newsroom, they start off by looking for story ideas in the morning and, according to the journalists' language, this is called a diary. Several women in study (Ellen, Rachel and Helen) noted that a diary normally constitutes two or more story ideas that the journalist wants to cover on a particular day. This is followed by a meeting attended by all journalists, including photo-journalists and the editors, in a particular newsroom (Pearl, Interview, 16/02/2015). In this meeting, a journalist will present her diary to the editors and motivate why the story is worth pursuing, as well as brainstorming on angles they can incorporate (Helen, Interview, 05/02/2015). A news editor also keeps a diary

of official events taking place during a certain period. The editors can allocate story ideas or story ‘leads’ to journalists using that diary.

After the meeting, the journalists go ‘into the field’ to cover their assignments. The media house provides transport, equipment and a photojournalist (when required) for them to go and cover their stories. After the assignment is done, the journalists have to come back to the newsroom to write the stories and meet the deadlines that are determined by the media house and the beat (type of stories) being covered (Jean, Interview, 11/02/2015). When they finish writing up their stories, they take them to the news editor who reads and edits before approval (Alice, Interview, 07/02/2015). Once approved, the journalist would have accomplished their task for the day. Later on, the stories are taken for layout and design.

In the interviews, the participants highlighted that a journalist’s job includes lots of travelling – locally, nationally and internationally. Community newspaper journalists in particular have to travel to different communities around the area they are assigned to, which might be outside their residential area. This includes travelling to rural communities. The women journalists in the study expressed the advantages and disadvantages of travelling, but overall they asserted that they enjoyed travelling. For instance, Gloria said that her experience in the journalism profession had been both ‘exciting’ and frustrating: “exciting in the sense that I have been paid to travel the world, to see places, meet different personalities, dine and wine at places that I could never afford, at any given time...” (Gloria, Interview, 02/03/2015). Another participant, Ellen, who has worked as a junior reporter for five years, concurs and highlights several positive aspects of her job, of which travelling is one:

“I have managed to travel a lot, though I have not travelled the whole world, just the times I have travelled up and down in Zimbabwe, outside Zimbabwe, I have been to Nigeria, to Ethiopia, I have been to South Africa, I have been to Zambia, to Botswana, I have been to Mozambique, and the experience is just phenomenal; and also meeting new people and also that my job allows me to be everywhere and anywhere at any given point. I am not prohibited to speak to ministers, I can have a minister’s phone number in my phone and no one will say, ‘Where did you get that?’ because that’s what my job involves.” (Ellen, Interview, 08/02/2015)

4.3. Gaining recognition in the journalism industry

Given the work routine highlighted above, for a journalist to be successful in their work, gaining recognition and experience is important. A journalist can gain recognition through

the number of stories that they have covered. With the increase in the use of information communication technology in the media industry, media houses have websites that publish their stories. In line with this phenomenon, the participants talked about ‘googling’ their stories online. Having one’s stories accessible to everyone over the internet, locally and internationally, is an indicator of recognition in the industry. Accessibility of stories is also related to the impact of the stories. A journalist’s work is also measured by the role their stories play in generating interest and influencing public debates. Pearl argues that:

“I think with journalism, you have to carve your way through the newsroom, what do you want to do, where do you want to be, it’s something that you have to be very thoughtful about and by thoughtful, I mean that journalists have a very big responsibility. We shape a lot of decisions in policy making and opinions and thoughts and how people see themselves, so you have to be very thoughtful of the role that you would like to play in the newsroom.” (Pearl, Interview, 16/02/2014)

Accessibility and impact of the story benefits the journalist in that she is able to reach a wider audience, generate interest and influence public discourse. Journalists can gain recognition from their colleagues and the editors through the number of ‘scoops’ they cover. Getting a scoop refers to the idea of a journalist being the first to cover a major story or ‘breaking’ news, as well as accessing exclusive information from sources.

Access to sources is also an important aspect of the journalists’ job as they are able to build networks with people from different sectors. Thus, networks are also important for one to be successful as a journalist. Rachel highlighted the positive aspects of being a journalist and explained that the job gave her opportunities to build networks and get easy access to a lot of offices.

“...you get exposure to a lot of people, to a lot of offices, eh networks are not really a problem. You can always be linked, one person leads you to the other, one person...like that, and you get used to...what can I say...you get access easily to certain offices, whether for work or networks that you can also use personally... (Rachel, Interview, 18/02/2015)

Ascending the career ladder in journalism and getting promoted is a huge sign of success in the media industry. Women journalists who participated in the study noted promotion as an important achievement in the journalism profession. Kathy noted that she was among the few women to rise to a senior editorship position in one of the newspapers she had worked at (Kathy, Interview, 12/02/2015). Gloria, a senior journalist, reported that she had “risen

through the ranks, having started as a junior reporter, cadet reporter, way back then. I have covered many beats – health, environment, agriculture, lifestyle...” (Gloria, Interview, 02/03/2015). Gaining ‘exposure’ and experience, as highlighted, are important aspects of being a successful journalist.

Accomplishments in journalism can also be personal in the media industry. Ellen pointed out that using her networks to help people who need assistance was one of her accomplishments as she was contributing to the community. She explained that:

“I have also done some really good stories that have just made me feel good about myself and feel good about the work I do, like helping out people who are in need...[It] shows that I am doing something positive in the lives of people around me.” (Ellen, Interview, 08/02/2015)

Given the importance placed on gaining recognition in the journalism industry, the participants emphasised how their gender influenced the rate at which they could progress in their careers. They argued that the attitudes towards women in the newsroom, based on their gender had the effect of side-lining and marginalising them, as will be demonstrated in the following sections.

4.4. Diary meetings

From the conversations with the women journalists, the diary meetings, which constituted part of the daily routine, were an area of concern. They viewed the meetings as one example in which they felt disadvantaged, as women were made to feel less important in the male-dominated environment. The participants pointed out that the two tasks of searching for story ideas and attending the diary meeting may be daunting, particularly for entry-level journalists. For instance, Rachel related that:

“When I joined the media I thought well, I wasn’t even going to stay this long, when I was actually doing attachment, because, you know, just like the rest of our communities, patriarchy is still rife, you know, they look at you and they say, ‘She is a woman.’ When you are presenting a diary or the diaries for the day, you are the last one to be asked what are you doing today, you know, they start with all the guys and they tell the editor what they wanna do, then eventually [they come to you and ask,] ‘What do you have?’” (Rachel, Interview, 18/02/2015)

In the newsroom, women journalists highlighted that they are made to feel that their contributions are not important, as they were not given adequate opportunities to air their views. Rachel defined her own understanding of patriarchy and related her own experiences in society to the workplace. She argued that, in the Zimbabwean context, men and women are

socialised in different ways and have different expectations. She stressed that, while there is always talk of gender equality, “...subconsciously we still have it in us that men are more superior than women...” Rachel highlights that such societal beliefs and unequal relations, which hold that women should be subordinate, are also evident in the workplace. Rachel’s comments illustrate the impact that societal gender relations have on the position of women in the workplace. Men’s privileged position in society is also evident in the newsroom, where more value is placed on work done by men when compared to women, illustrating that power relations that prevail in society are reproduced within the workspace. This confirms Walby (1990) and Sultana’s (2012) assertions, noted earlier, that patriarchy is prevalent at different levels in society and works to keep women subordinated.

Helen, a freelance journalist, narrated a similar experience that her friend had, adding that in some instances, when women are finally given the opportunity to present their story ideas, the content for a particular day will already be enough. Furthermore, she said if the woman in question presents an interesting story idea, sometimes that idea is taken over by a man; further emphasising that women are placed in a subordinate position in the newsroom and their work is not highly valued.

“...aiti muri munewsroom ndogona kuuya ini ndine story yangu. Handi you sit for a diary meeting... (editor) anotanga kuvarume kuti, ‘Do you have a story, how many are they and you...’. Apedza ozoti and you do you have anything, but atopedza kune vanhu vese bepa rese ratozara obva ati iyoyo you can give it to the next person ari mukomana kuti aite story iyoyo. What about inini pamwe ndinenge ndatopedza 75% working on that story.”

“(She said in the newsroom, one can come with a story [idea]. You sit for a diary meeting, right? ...[the editor] starts approaching men asking about their stories. After he is done with the men, he would eventually ask you [the woman] if you have anything but he would have already asked all the other people and the editorial content for the paper will be full. Then he would say you can give that story to the next person, who is a man, to do your story. What about me? Sometimes I would have worked on up to 75% of that story.” (Helen, Interview, 05/02/2015)

Building on the accounts of Helen and Rachel, I argue that women are viewed as invisible in the newsroom and their opinions are considered less important. Men are given the first opportunity to present their ideas. Diary meetings are a gendered practice that privileges men over women and thereby give male journalists more authority in the newsroom. My findings concur with Kim (2006) and Opoku-Mensah (2004) who observe that journalism is still viewed as a profession for men. Despite the increase in the number of women in the media

industry, women are treated as if they do not belong in this industry. It also highlights how men extend the patriarchal relations into the workplace, as they hold authoritative and powerful positions in society, as highlighted by Acker (1990). Remaining invisible means that women are not able to gain recognition, which is important for career success.

4.5. Gendered allocation of assignments

As noted in the literature review, research on women's experiences in male-dominated industries has shown a strong relation between work and societal expectations for each gender (Du Plessis & Barkhuizen, 2015). Du Plessis and Barkhuizen (2015) argued that women and men have different work expectations depending on what is regarded as appropriated for each sex. For example, women are relegated to secretarial jobs, as these are linked to femininity, where women are expected to be receptive, soft and always smiling. Participants in this study explained that gender role expectations had a strong influence on their work as journalists and reinforce the differences between men and women in the newsroom. Perceptions about femininity and masculinity affected how work was allocated, particularly assignments and beats (the type of stories which one is expected to cover).

Allocation of assignments in the newsroom was viewed as a major area of discrimination against women journalists. Concerns that came out under this theme included women being allocated soft beats due to gender roles and stereotyping related to perceptions about femininity. The participants highlighted that they are often sent to cover lighter stories or stories that have to do with social issues, which they referred to as 'soft beats'. According to the participants, this was because the senior editorship had the perception that women were not capable of covering hard news. As a consequence, women are typically assigned to cover health, gender, lifestyle, environment and entertainment news (viewed as soft beats), while men are assigned the 'tough beats' that include politics, business and other hard news assignments. Women are considered to be able to comprehend issues that are linked to their femininity and nurturing roles.

The soft beats are not considered 'serious' and that has implications for career mobility. Women journalists viewed the assignment to soft beats as a lack of recognition of their capabilities. As a senior member of staff with an interest in gender issues, Gloria spoke as an expert in the field and pointed out that the challenges that women faced included:

“...lack of recognition of their capabilities, getting soft beats like health, entertainment, lifestyle, while the serious political beats are given to men. There is also the perpetuation of gender stereotypes in the newsroom, where the woman is considered as not capable to cover the political stories...” (Gloria, Interview, 02/03/2015)

Later in the interview, when I asked Gloria about gender discrimination in the newsroom she was working in currently, she made reference to the allocation of assignments:

“Not in this newsroom, in most newsrooms, there is gender discrimination. The heavy...beats are given to men, not because they are...but they are considered to be very courageous and they have got the time at their disposal. You realise that most women leave work at half past 5 because duty calls, because of the prescribed gender roles...you are a mother at home, you are a wife at home, there are certain duties that are expected from you. But with men, I am sure they can even sleep in the bar. It is maybe because of gender roles... you realise that men, men actually get more recognition in terms of covering stories, in terms of assignments... (Gloria, Interview, 02/03/2015)

Gloria’s views concurred with sentiments from other participants, that women’s ties with the domestic sphere, where they are supposed to be responsible for the household and being a nurturer, are some of the perceptions that hinder their chances of being taken seriously in the journalism profession. Gloria’s comments support Acker’s (1990) assertion that some organisational practices are designed to suit a male worker. Women are considered to have split loyalties as they try to manage their work and family responsibilities. As a result, women journalists are regarded as unreliable as they may not be able to take on assignments that require them to work beyond normal working hours. The participants gave examples of assignments they may be excluded from covering, such as political meetings that continue late into the night, because they have to finish work early to take care of the household responsibilities. In contrast, men are not tied down by other commitments and are therefore perceived as having a lot of time at their disposal.

In the quote above, Gloria illustrates the relation between the allocation of assignments and career mobility. She points out that when men are given the political beats to cover, they tend to get more recognition from the editors as well as the public. The implication is that male journalists will continue to be considered for better assignments, which will result in career growth. Being allocated soft beats is a disadvantage for women as they are often disregarded for other assignments. The participants noted that editors, whether male or female, prefer to send men, rather than women, on hard news assignments. Kathy gave an example of an incident where there had been a bomb explosion in a suburb close to town:

“... [the editor] just got into the newsroom, went to the radio [and said,] ‘There is no reporter in the newsroom, eh can you ...?’” He was like radioing someone who was at another assignment, [telling them] to leave the assignment and go to the bomb assignment, and right in the middle of the newsroom, there was a woman seated there. You know that time, that’s when I said, wow, this is damn horrible, you know, it really hit me hard.” (Kathy, Interview, 12/02/2015)

Rachel echoed similar sentiments and added that women journalists are only considered for big assignments when “all of the guys qualified are not around or their hands are full...” (Rachel, Interview, 18/02/2015). Kathy and Rachel’s quotes reinforce the idea that women are invisible in the newsroom. Women journalists are frustrated by the lack of recognition in the newsroom as it has implications for their ability to rise in the newsroom hierarchy.

Also linked to gender stereotypes, the participants highlighted that the socialisation process has an effect on how assignments are allocated, particularly for interns coming into the newsrooms for training. This is highlighted by Louise’s comments that:

“...looking at what happens when the interns come in, you see how they are assigned. Our news editor ...always gives you an option to tell him what you feel like writing about yah, so that he assigns you to a specific desk, but ah, well you see when an intern chooses that she wants to write about business, they say, ‘Ah, what do you know about business?’ So you are already pulling that person down. But when a guy says they want to write about business, they say, ‘Yes it’s ok’. So there is already that. I think it’s the way we are brought up as Africans, that we are told that a man is always superior than a woman, so it’s difficult for a woman to rise because you have these people saying things, saying words that pull you down...” (Louise, Interview, 05/03/15)

Louise also narrated her experience of when she first came into the newsroom. She explained that she was assigned to cover entertainment news because there is a belief that, for women, one can start with the soft beats and then move up the ladder. She noted that, for her to move from covering entertainment to a different section, it was difficult, stressing, “I had to fight some people, I had to stamp my ground...” (Louise, Interview, 05/03/15). This finding concurs with Kim (2006), who observed that in newsrooms there is a culture of distrust in women journalists which forms part of the exclusion mechanism. As already highlighted, women are considered unreliable and editors are not always convinced that women journalists are capable of covering certain types of stories. Thus, women are excluded from covering ‘tough’ beats due to stereotypes that they are incapable. These findings concur with research cited in the literature review (Opoku-Mensah, 2004; Elmore, 2007; Mpofo &

Nyamweda, 2010; Radu & Chekera, 2014) highlighting the persistence of discrimination, emanating from the gendered practices in the newsroom.

4.6. Women and political assignments

Following from comments made by Louise (highlighted earlier), that male supervisors were not confident of women journalists' ability to cover tough beats, the participants cited examples where they were denied access to some assignments or specific beats. Alice illustrates that male editors have reservations when women journalists try to tackle political stories.

“Sometimes you get maybe a political story that has weight, then you come to work and say, ‘Ah, this story, I heard this this’, and then they will say, ‘Where did you get that information from? You can’t...it needs someone who can talk with that person, you can’t do that.’ Even when you are given the beats to cover, you will find kuti (that) women are given something like health, lifestyle, eh gender, but not politics...I wouldn’t know, maybe it’s just a perception that women are not capable, but which is not true because women can even cover politics, sports, can even cover those hard beats.” (Alice, Interview, 07/02/2015)

The field of politics has always been considered the preserve of men (Celis et al, 2013), leading to the assumptions that male journalists are more suitable to cover political issues. Sources of information on political stories are usually men and the assumption that follows is that male sources will be willing to share more information with a male journalist and that a woman might not be able to access this information, as highlighted by one of the participants. This links to Opoku-Mensah’s (2004: 112-113) argument that the newsroom is a political space, as it allows access to people in powerful positions, and is therefore a space where journalists compete to maintain power and superiority. Women journalists are therefore excluded from covering political news.

Furthermore, as Alice illustrates, when women get information on political issues, either the way they received the information or their ability to access it from the source is questioned. Journalism requires aggressive working styles and women are considered to be incapable of conforming to that behaviour. The assumption is that, if women cannot be aggressive, it means that they lack the skills required to interview some sources, particularly prominent government officials. As noted earlier in the literature review, Kim (2006) argues that male journalists are perceived to ‘naturally’ have an authoritative approach when dealing with

sources, which allows them a better chance of accessing information. Women are perceived as naturally ‘soft, emotional and weak’, and therefore lacking the capacity to be authoritative. Stereotypes about women reinforce the reservations that male supervisors have about women’s ability to cover political issues. Kim (2006) further argues that the editors’ lack of confidence has direct effects on women in that they go through ‘tougher security checks’ and have to do more to convince their sources and editors that they can do their job (Kim 2006: 131). Women are judged more harshly as their capabilities are always questioned. This is also illustrated by Kathy’s comment below, wherein she argues that there are negative perceptions associated with women excelling at their jobs, such as the perception that they use their bodies to excel rather than through merit.

“...its fighting ...aahm...attitudes in the newsroom, so many things, you know, you come with a scoop; they think you have been sleeping with that particular person. ‘Why did they give you that scoop? We have been failing to get that story.’ Or when you get promoted, you must have slept with the editor or something...” (Kathy, Interview, 12/02/2015)

However, despite having a huge impact on a journalist’s life, as noted earlier, women journalists in this study highlighted a number of reasons why they sometimes shun difficult beats or assignments. One of the reasons was that the participants believed there is no support structure (discussed later in the chapter) for women who work in ‘tough’ desks such as politics. Rachel illustrated that women journalists are at times sabotaged by their editors. She explained that, when a woman journalist brings a controversial story idea about a politician to the editor; the editor may, in cases where they have personal connections with the politician, contact the politician and warn them. Given such a scenario, Rachel pointed out that women may choose softer beats to ‘cushion’ themselves against “harassment or some improper actions”. This demonstrates male bonding, where men work together and protect each other, excluding women in the process.

Other participants reiterated the idea that they shun political assignments as a way of protecting themselves, citing examples of intimidation from sources. Kathy highlighted that:

“...it’s us, the women ourselves; we tend to limit ourselves. Uhm, I once tried writing politics and I got scared when one minister, he is late now...kind of threatened me and that really, you know, that maternal instinct of knowing that you have children at home and, you now, getting involved in these deep issues may result in me disappearing or something...” (Kathy, Interview, 12/02/2015)

Louise also narrated an incident involving one of her friends who received money from a politician as a way to stop her from writing a story about him. However, when the story was published by another paper, the politician sued the woman journalist. Louise stressed, "...so you know how dirty politics is, if they don't nail you down because they have given you money because you need it, they will sexually harass you because they have the power to do anything..." (Louise, Interview, 05/03/2015). Louise's quote indicates that when women choose to pursue politics, they encounter difficult situations that leave them with limited room for excelling. Both examples emphasise the idea that women do not belong in the newsroom as men can use their positions in society to threaten women. This confirms Walby's (1990) argument that threats of violence, either physical or sexual, are made with the objective of excluding women, as they tend to shy away from certain types of work. Women are viewed as easy targets of violence and thus, intimidation and threats to women should be viewed in the context of the patriarchal culture that perceives women as subordinate. The examples from Kathy and Louise reinforce the stereotypes associated with women and dangerous work. Women are perceived as incapable of handling dangerous work, which is different from men, who are considered to be brave and strong and therefore well equipped to take on the dangerous jobs. This concurs with finding from Elmore (2007) and Radu & Chekera (2014) on the effects of stereotypes on the exclusion of women from allocation to certain assignments.

4.7. Gender roles and bullying

The women in the study emphasised the unequal gender relations in the newsroom through expressing displeasure with the extension of gender role expectations from the domestic sphere into the newsroom. In the domestic sphere, women play the nurturing role by taking care of the family through cooking and providing food. Alice gave an example, illustrated below:

"...you know some people say because maybe they are seasoned journalists – they have experience – they will take advantage of that to sort of ...bullying...Let's say its lunchtime, then the editor calls you, maybe the news editor, the boss, whoever, senior reporter, 'Go and buy me lunch.' You go, you buy him lunch, you come back, before you even sit down, the senior reporter says, 'Go and buy me airtime.' Yah, sometimes it gets so boring and irritating but you will be sort of scared to, maybe to deny kuti (that) haa I can't do that...so you just follow, just listen to whatever they will tell you to do." (Alice, Interview, 07/02/2015)

The participants highlighted that working in a male-dominated environment placed them at risk of being bullied, as they were expected to perform tasks that are not necessarily linked to their job, especially by men who are in senior positions. As Alice highlights, men expected women to carry out motherly or wifely roles and viewed them as ‘caretakers’ in the workplace. Alice pointed out that such gender expectations were unfair to her and paralleled it with bullying, as the senior members were taking advantage of their positions of power. Women are expected to conform to gender role expectations even in the workplace. As Alice notes, there is fear of the implications of not conforming to these expectations. One of the challenges that Alice raised in the interview, which could be used to illustrate the implications, is not having their stories published in the newspaper. This example echoes the sentiments of the other women journalists about patriarchal relations in the newsroom, where men believe that they are superior to women and can therefore send them on random errands. This confirms Nemoto’s (2013) argument, raised in the literature review, that when women are treated as assistants or caretakers in the workplace, it suggests that they are valued more for their nurturing roles than for their professional work. Nemoto demonstrated that this has a negative effect on women’s confidence in their capabilities.

4.8. Women’s experiences of the newsroom environment

Generally, participants in this study pointed out that journalism was not ‘friendly’ to women and that being a woman journalist was difficult. The participants used different words to highlight how they viewed the journalism profession and the environment they were working in. For example, Louise narrated the challenges she faced when she entered full-time journalism work without any experience. During her tertiary education she had completed her internship in a corporate communications department that had not prepared her in terms of the experiences she would have in the newsroom. She likened the newsroom to a ‘lion’s den’:

“Well, it’s not easy. It’s not easy in different ways. First, looking at myself when I first got into the newsroom, I did not, did not have any experience of how a newsroom works; ...It’s just like being thrown in a lion’s den – you don’t have any experience, you don’t know what to do and you are expected to deliver.” (Louise, Interview, 05/03/15)

Other participants highlighted that the newsroom is a tough environment where you have to work hard in order to survive. For example, the quotes below show how the women journalists equated the newsroom to a jungle.

“... it’s really a jungle, you really have to fight, you really have to fight...” (Rachel, Interview, 18/02/2015)

“...we are not used to the jungle environment, the things that stress me may not necessarily stress my male colleagues because they were brought up to believe, to know that the world is a jungle. You need to stand up on your two feet and fight, you know saka (so)...you just have to work twice as hard as your male colleague...” (Rachel, Interview, 18/02/2015)

By likening the newsroom to a jungle, the participants’ comments point to the existence of an aggressive and competitive working style in the newsroom. Rachel stressed that it is men who can work ‘naturally’ in this environment while women need to be ‘fit’ and work extra hard to be successful in the industry. Aggression and competition further reinforce the masculine culture that exists in newsrooms, concurring with Robinson’s study of women journalists in Canadian newsrooms. Robinson (2008) points out the competitive nature of the journalism as part of the masculine newsroom culture.

Despite expressing that the newsroom was tough, the participants also noted that they allowed gender role expectations to limit them or get in their way. For example, Ellen highlights that at times women can be blinkered by the expectations of femininity.

“[Some women] come wearing the skirt – they come wearing the skirt in their mind; they come wearing the skirt on their body. You can wear a skirt on your body but don’t wear a skirt in your heart and not say, ‘I am a woman, so when I get in the newsroom I am supposed to do soft issues.’ If you do that...the newsroom is...like a jungle. Only the strong will survive, it’s the survival of the fittest. So you need to be fit and say you know what, “Panzi pane demonstration, (*if you are told there is a demonstration*), I can go and cover the demonstration. If I have to run, I will run.” So you have to show yourself and prove to yourself that you can do it.” (Ellen, Interview, 08/02/2015)

Ellen’s comment relates to Cockburn’s (1991) observation on women in male-dominated spaces, that when entering into such workplaces, they have to assume a masculine approach in order to succeed.

4.9 Newsroom as a boys’ club

Women journalists described the newsroom as a ‘boys’ club’, where men dominate in decision-making. Pearl explained that:

“...there is this feeling that, well in this country, that the newsroom is a boys' club. Even the decisions that are made – most times its men, the editors, most times, are men. ...What I understand of it mostly is the people that make decisions – important decisions, by the way...the people that are usually in charge of important decisions are men.” (Pearl, Interview, 16/02/2015)

Kathy also highlights that:

“...it’s like, men, men view us as intruders in the newsroom, you know. The newsroom is a boys’ club, you know, they go to pubs, meet, drink, I mean I used to drink but, you know, you are only there for a few hours and you are rushing home to do domestic chores, you have to see how...children etc., whereas men can stay up until late. That is where decisions are made [about] who is going to get promoted...” (Kathy, Interview, 12/02/2015)

In the above quote, Kathy makes reference to the networking opportunities from which women are excluded. She explains that from men’s perspective, the presence of women in newsroom is encroaching on their space and they therefore move to other spaces for male bonding, building trust, as well as exchanging information in relation to work. In an effort to exclude women, the men who are in charge of making the important decisions will make those decisions in places that are inaccessible to women. As Kathy notes, women cannot stay in pubs, where decisions are made, as they can only stay for a few hours because of the other responsibilities that they have at home. Women are then excluded from these networking opportunities that are important for career success. Another effect is that their voices are excluded from the decision-making process as they are not involved. This confirms studies by Robinson (2005), Kim (2006) and Elmore (2007), that observe that this ‘informal communication’ excludes women. In my study, women were excluded from decision-making on important issues.

4.10 ‘Men have egos’ – men’s resistance to women’s success in the newsroom

Following on from the idea that the newsroom is a male space in which women are viewed as intruders, as highlighted by Kathy in the section above, women journalists further explained that they were viewed as ‘threats’ whenever they perform better than their male counterparts. Ellen highlighted the difficulties she has encountered working with men:

“...working with men is not an easy thing because sometimes, when you tend or prove that you work harder than them, sometimes your work is better than [theirs], some don’t take it lightly. They have egos. We also have egos, but their egos are just too much, so working with them is difficult because when someone feels threatened by you, they will do anything or go out of their way to make sure that its either you lose your job or you are not recognised...” (Ellen, Interview, 08/02/2015)

This stresses the point raised by Sultana (2012), as highlighted earlier in the literature review, that patriarchy is characterised by dominance and competition. As the male journalists try to reinforce their power base and maintain the idea of the newsroom as a boys’ club, they tend to compete with women, who try to show that they can work as hard as them and would go to

any length and ‘fight’ to maintain their power. The women journalists were aware of the different ways they were being treated unfairly because men were in powerful positions and in charge of decision-making in the newsroom.

The participants cited examples of times when their work was not given due credit. Helen complained about how her stories as a female freelance journalist were treated:

“...as a [female] freelance journalist...if you want your story to be published, it has to be a selling story... [If] I have a selling story, maybe a lead story for that paper, kana ndaenda kunoti I am selling this story to this paper, ndasvika ikoko unogona kusvika story yako iri iyo one of the best, pamwe lead story, but nyaya yekuti yauya neni ndiri mukadzi...kuti zvononzi (journalist name) palead story! Ahhhh, anototsvaga chete kuti horaiti oora kapiete kemuthis [story] oora okaattacha oslasha ...kana kuti anotanga nethat name...of which 75% of the content iri muthat story ndini ndaita research.”

“when I go to the media house to sell my story, when I get there, you might find that [my] story is one of the best, maybe a lead story, but the issue is that the story was brought in by me, a woman...ahhh! The editor will try to find ways of cutting out my story and adding other information from reporters in that media house, and then adds their names to the by-line before my name despite the fact that I would have done research on 75% of the content in that story.” (Helen, Interview, 05/02/2015)

Helen’s comments demonstrate the competition for space and recognition in the newsroom. In the competitive newsroom, women freelance journalists find their stories being the last to be considered for publication.

Women with chances of ascending the career ladder in the newsroom are viewed as a bigger threat and men are therefore antagonistic towards them. The participants stressed that men used their power, as they held influential positions, to keep women subordinate and at the lower end of the hierarchy. They raised concerns over how issues relating to promotions were handled. The participants expressed that women were not promoted in the same way as men in the journalism profession. They highlighted that women journalists remained in lower-status positions as junior reporters or senior reporters for longer periods of time, highlighting the marginalisation of women. For example, Ellen noted that she was worried about promotion as she had worked in the same position for five years, while Gloria pointed out that there was a lack of recognition of women, as many of the women remained senior reporters for more than ten years.

They emphasised that there were fewer opportunities for women to be promoted. For example, Alice argued that the occupational structure in the media industry left little room for

women to be promoted saying, "...maybe it's because of media structures...you rarely, rarely get promotion, yah, because you can only move from being a junior reporter to senior reporter, then from senior reporter to editor, nothing more..." (Alice, Interview, 07/02/2015). The participants raised concerns over the opportunities for promotion, citing their hard work and commitment to the profession. Some of the participants noted that when the editors are not present, they would stand in for the bosses to show that they are competent to do the job.

Kathy, as one of the few women who have risen to a position in senior management, narrated her struggles in getting promoted. She explained that the communication of her appointment to this position came through the mail and it shocked her. She described the reaction of her workmates when she informed them:

"...you know the response [my workmates] gave me? 'Oh so it has finally happened, eventually.' I said, 'What do you mean?' They said there were fights, there were some men who did not want you to get promoted but the editor said no, this woman deserves it... So when I went to ask him why he had done it, because I really got a shock, [I said,] 'Why, why didn't you tell me this is what was happening?' [The editor said,] 'Well I had to make a final decision. There were so many things happening behind [the scenes] ...and I said no, no, no. This woman deserves to be promoted because she works hard.'" (Kathy, Interview, 12/02/2015)

In another example, she noted that one of her male subordinates took over her position when she had gone abroad for a short period of time, and to emphasise the preference towards men in terms of promotions, she argued:

"The copy I used to get from some of the men, the so-called men who were advocating us out of the newsroom was pathetic, you know...but they are promoted just because they are men, they are promoted because they are great gossipers, you know. So...some promotions are not done on merit, they are just done because they are men." (Kathy, Interview, 12/02/2015)

Kathy's story highlights men's resistance to women gaining positions of power, even when they are diligent and competent enough to hold the position. From her comments, there was a preference from the management within the media house (dominated by men) to promote fellow men without emphasis on merit, as a way of maintaining their power within the newsroom, which resulted in the marginalisation of women. The participants also highlighted that issues of discrimination also depended on the professional conduct of a particular editor. For example, Kathy noted that in spite of her struggles in the newsroom, her editor exhibited 'professional ethics' when he stood up for fairness and equality as he had defended her work

in a number of instances. She commented that, “Fortunately, we had a very good editor, but there are some editors who can just flow with the negativity in the newsroom and decisions are just based on emotions...” (Kathy, Interview, 12/02/2015). The examples highlighted in this section confirm Cockburn’s (1991) study on the male-dominated civil service sector, which demonstrates men’s resentment of and resistance to women’s success. In her concept of the masculine hierarchy, she notes that men push to ensure that there is no direct competition between men and women. The participants in my study highlighted that their male colleagues were not happy about women gaining recognition through promotions, hence they were hostile, as they felt that women were threatening their positions.

As a result of men’s resistance to women in power, the participants noted that women in positions of authority were undermined. They explained that there was lack of respect for women in higher positions and that they were not taken seriously by their colleagues and male bosses. Louise gave an example from her newsroom:

“The [newspaper title] has only two women who are in, not really, in influential positions... [One is in senior management] ...her job is to oversee the newsroom but most of the time people override her and rather go to the deputy editor and then the other one...is [an] editor. She is barely here, she is not even noticed...it’s as if she doesn’t exist...” (Louise, Interview, 05/03/15).

Louise highlights that, in some instances, women might hold powerful positions, but because of their identity and the perceptions linked with this identity (such as being weak and emotional), work colleagues tend to bypass them. Another participant, Diana adds that women are not ‘taken seriously’ by male colleagues and bosses and they tend to take advantage of them (Diana, Interview, 20/02/2015). Women are not normally associated with power and authority and are therefore undermined at the workplace, confirming Cockburn’s (1991: 69) observation that ‘power and authority are defined precisely as masculine’. Women who are in positions of power are resented as they challenge patriarchal ideas of women’s place in society, where they are expected to be subordinate to men.

4.11. Leaky pipeline – ‘women not staying long in journalism’

Various metaphors have been used to describe the under-representation of women in top and influential positions, such as the glass ceiling and the leaky pipeline (Germain et al, 2012; Soe and Yakura, 2008). In the journalism and media sector, the glass ceiling has mostly been used to illustrate the barriers that impede women from holding high positions in the media

industry (Mpofu & Nyamweda, 2010; Byerly & Ross, 2006). While some participants made references to the glass ceiling, most of the participants' comments leaned towards the 'leaky pipeline' metaphor. Soe and Yakura (2008: 178-179) describe a pipeline as consisting of different stages, starting from primary and high school, through tertiary education, into the corporate ladder, flowing from each stage to the next, where the number of women diminishes at each stage. They argue that the metaphor raises questions of quantity and timing, that is 'why so few' and 'why so slow'. Soe and Yakura also note that women are said to 'leak' from the pipeline when they choose to pursue other options. While the two metaphors have been debated, they are useful in discussing the barriers that hinder women from progressing in their careers.

In this study, three questions related to the topic of under-representation of women journalists were posed to the participants, focusing on the position of women in the newsroom, why women were not in influential positions and the reasons for leaving the journalism profession. During the interview, Helen stated that the number of women who enter into the journalism profession starts diminishing at the tertiary education level.

“Vamwe vasikana unotoona kuti vanokundikana...pataive tiri college taibvunzana kuti kana wapedza uri kuzoda kunyorera bepa ripi, unonzwa mumwe achiti ndoda hangu kuenda kuPR because PR anenge achiziva kuti anenge akangogara muoffice, haasikuda kuswera achimhanya nezuva achitsva achinotsvaga mastories...vamwe vasikana vakawanda vandainge ndichidzidza navo kucollege vakatobva vatoroorwa vachibva kucollege kwacho, ko saka wakapedzerei 2-3 years uri kucollege... Nyaya yepressure vasikana vakawanda havadi pressure yemumedia, two, vamwe vacho vanenge vachitiza nyaya yediscrimination iri muindustry nekuti the media industry iri male dominated....but vamwe vanobva vatoona kuti zviru nani ndinogara kumba.”

“Some girls, you can note that, they find it difficult ...When we were in college, we would ask each other about the newspapers we would want to write for. Then someone would say, ‘I want to go for Public Relations (PR),’ because in PR, she knows she will just be working from the office – she does not want to spend the day running around looking for stories when it is hot. ...Many other girls I attended college with got married soon after completing their college education. Then you wonder why they spent two to three years in college. The [first] problem is the pressure – many girls are reluctant because of the pressure in the media [industry]. Secondly, others will be running away from discrimination in this industry because the industry is male-dominated...but others feel that it’s better to stay at home.” (Helen, Interview, 05/02/2015)

From Helen's comment, there are already fewer women who choose to follow the journalism route after completing tertiary education, as they choose other options such as going to work

in Public Relations, or getting married, or just staying at home. Helen highlights the reasons why women would choose other options that include reluctance to face the pressure in journalism.

As indicated in previous sections, the participants highlighted that women experienced slow progression up the career ladder in journalism; they remained junior reporters or senior reporters for a long period of time. The participants highlighted that the main reason why there were very few women in influential positions was that women did not stay long in the journalism profession. Louise noted that:

“...because of the pressures I spoke about, most women don’t find themselves staying long in the newsroom so they leave, yah, so when they leave, these men that are left in the newsroom...are given these tasks to cover significant beats...because they have been in the newsroom for a long time than yourself.” (Louise, Interview, 05/03/2015)

Linked to this comment, Kathy noted:

“...there are too few women to choose from to promote because women don’t last long in the newsroom. I...may be the only woman journalist who has lasted in this profession for over three decades...and the rest fell out. They became NGO directors; they became public relations managers...They left the profession.” (Kathy, Interview, 12/02/2015)

The participants also pointed to self-doubt as another reason why there were few women in influential positions. According to Alice:

“I think women, maybe we are just submissive. We just accept kuti aahh [that] maybe we can’t do that... “I can’t head the newsroom...Will I be able to make sure that the paper comes out every day and are the stories newsworthy, deciding on the lead stories?” I think maybe women are just scared.” (Alice, Interview, 07/02/2015).

One of the participants also highlighted that, at times, there was external influence in terms of who occupied the top positions within the newsroom. In addition to these comments, most of the participants highlighted that they were planning to leave or that they had thought about leaving the journalism profession. The participants’ comments give evidence of a ‘leaky’ pipeline in the journalism profession, where the leakages are experienced at different stages from college to the workplace.

4.12. Forms of support

Lack of support for women in journalism was cited as a contributing factor to women quitting the profession. The participants raised concern over the absence of formal measures to support women in most newsrooms, particularly at the entry-level stage. As noted earlier, Louise described the newsroom as a ‘lion’s den’, as she had entered the journalism profession without any experience after working in a different media sector. She cited lack of mentorship as a challenge in the newsroom:

“...it’s not like when you get into the newsroom, you are given a mentor to mentor you. You are not given that, so you just really have to look out for yourself and also, that’s one thing, like experience, you have to do it on your own. If you don’t do it, no one will do it for you...So it was a hassle because it would take a lot of my hours trying to really look into the career, what it requires of me...” (Louise, Interview, 05/03/15)

Louise highlights that establishing herself as a successful journalist was delayed due to a lack of mentorship in the newsroom. Women journalists experience the newsroom as a tough environment because there is no one who takes time to give them on-the-job training on what is expected of them in terms of duties and how to deal with sources. As Louise points out, one effect in terms of the positioning of women is that they remain in the same position for a longer period, as they take time to learn and establish themselves. That often limits their opportunities to rise in the newsroom hierarchy. Lack of mentorship has an effect on women’s confidence in the workplace. This is supported by Ellen, who noted:

“...I think it starts from the time they are in college or they are in university. They need strong women, women who have made it in the media to come and tell them that, you know what, you don’t need a man for you to get a story. You don’t need a man to have a front page story. If you are good enough, you are good enough.” (Ellen, Interview, 08/02/2015)

Ellen advocates that mentorship of women journalists should start at training institutions so that women begin to build their confidence before they enter into the newsroom environment. She further stresses that such mentorship should be undertaken by seasoned women journalists (role models) to break the patriarchal relations that are currently prevailing in the newsroom, where women are dependent on men for their progress in the newsroom. Furthermore, perceptions that women will not stay long in journalism because of assumptions that they will get married, have children and eventually leave the newsroom, negatively affect women in that editors may not invest time into training them.

While the participants highlighted that there were no formal channels for support, solidarity among women in terms of supporting each other was limited because of the competitive nature of the environment. Louise highlighted that after facing difficulties on her own in the first three months, she was ‘lucky’ when she found another woman journalist to ‘talk to’, who offered her advice on surviving in the male-dominated newsroom. Louise further highlighted the complications linked with mentoring or providing support to new entrants in the newsroom. For Louise, mentoring younger women in the newsroom included giving them advice and warning them about the likelihood that senior male journalists might ask for sexual favours. Louise expressed that she had also stopped being a mentor to new ‘girls’ in the newsroom, highlighting that some interns might not be receptive to advice from other women. Comments from Louise demonstrate that relationships between women are complicated by power relations in the workplace. People tend to measure the value of advice based on the position of authority within the hierarchy held by the person dispensing it.

Despite these comments on the lack of support for women journalists within the newsroom, one of the participants highlighted that she was a beneficiary of external mentoring programmes conducted by some media organisations for young women journalists. The organisations run a mentoring programme that allows experienced journalists to mentor and train journalists at the entry level on writing stories for publication. They also provide financial support to freelance journalists.

4.13. Coping strategies: ‘proving yourself as a formidable force’

In light of the challenges faced by the women journalists in the newsroom, the participants highlighted a number of strategies that they have adopted to survive in the profession. The strategies included being resilient (motivated in part by a passion for the job), working harder and putting in extra effort. Some of the strategies emphasised how women have to raise their standards such that they match the masculine norm. The participants argued that one of the ways of overcoming lack of recognition in the industry was to prove themselves by working harder than their male colleagues.

“It’s all a matter of proving. That’s the disadvantage we have as women. You have to prove yourself constantly, unlike men. Men are just known kuti haa...if there is need to run they will run. Men are known to be aggressive, men are not known to be soft or to get attached easily to stories, they can just do another...for men it just comes naturally. For a woman, you have to work ten times harder, even to get that promotion, we have to work extra-hard...” (Ellen, Interview, 08/02/2015)

Ellen further explained that women journalists have to prove themselves to their male supervisors as well as male sources – to the supervisors, they have to prove that they are reliable; and to sources, they have to prove that they are focused on the job. This confirms arguments by Hardin and Whiteside (2009) who argue that the strategy of working harder to prove themselves is a strategy of minimising their gender identity and conforming to the masculine standards.

The participants highlighted how they used their agency and became pro-active, particularly in relation to the allocation of assignments. For example, Ellen highlighted that one has to negotiate for assignments other than the stories that they have been assigned, while Rachel stressed that individuals (women) have to make use of their initiative in order to be able cover big assignments.

“If you are a woman and you come in and they say you are an entertainment reporter; they expect entertainment stories from you. But now you have to go the extra mile, ...you start looking for those influential stories now by yourself without being assigned, or you say, ‘I have done my entertainment stories,’ then you go to your news editor and say, ‘Can I work on this story...It’s not an entertainment story but I think it’s a good news story,’ then they will say ok. So it’s about you also having guts and also going the extra mile...” (Ellen, Interview, 08/02/2015)

‘Going the extra mile’, as mentioned by Ellen, reinforces the idea of working harder to prove to the editors that one is a ‘worthy’ journalist, and is a way of gaining recognition within the newsroom. It also emphasises the competitive nature of the newsroom.

The participants repeatedly mentioned that in the newsroom, one has to ‘fight’ to defend one’s work. In one instance, Kathy expressed how she had to fight to defend her stories on topics she was passionate about so that they could get prominence in the newspaper that she was working for. During the interview, she stated that she wrote about gender issues, activism and domestic violence, as she had an interest in those issues.

“...if you want to prove yourself as a formidable force in the newsroom, you can and you can fight the odds. You can argue it out. Don’t cry, don’t complain, you know, work it out, produce your stories, defend your stories, prove to them this story is worth publishing. That is how I used to do it. I used to make a lot of noise. I remember one day when I was at the... [name of newspaper] I used to write a column [on women’s issues] ...you know, one of the subs [sub editors] screamed one day, ‘Hey! Come, come and take this page, this ...for prostitutes!’ Haa! We nearly fought in the newsroom, hey, you know... so I managed to convince the editor to remove the women’s issues tag so that my issues

are viewed as very important issues on very important pages in the newspaper.” (Kathy, Interview, 12/02/15)

Kathy’s experience highlights the stereotypical and cultural attitudes of men over gender issues. In this case, women’s issues were linked to prostitution as a way of diminishing their value as not being worthy of a prominent position in the newspaper. Kathy argues that in order to deal with the ‘disregard’ of what she viewed as important issues, she had to fight to prove that the stories were worthy.

4.14. Conclusion

This chapter outlined the practices and gender relations in the newsroom that demonstrate the gendered nature of the journalism profession. The data from the interviews support Acker’s concept of gendered organisations, where the man is considered as the ideal worker. The chapter demonstrated the prevalence of a masculine culture characterised by competitiveness and aggression. This masculine culture privileges male journalists and gives them more authority than women. The evidence from the women also highlighted how women are marginalised in practices such as diary meetings and allocation of assignments, particularly political assignments. The participants highlighted that there is competition over assignments and promotion in the newsroom. Evidence from the participants indicated unequal gender relations in the newsroom, where men are privileged and given preference without consideration of ‘merit’. The chapter also highlighted women’s experiences of their challenges in being promoted, which highlighted women’s problematic relationship with power. Successful women are undermined in the newsroom as power is perceived to be associated with masculinity. The women journalists highlighted that they are measured against the masculine standard in the different practices in the newsroom, to their disadvantage, which contributes to the slow progress of women journalists’ careers. In order to cope, they have to take a masculine approach and put in extra effort. The following chapter will discuss the nature of the journalism profession as a ‘greedy institution’ and women journalists’ experiences in relation to it.

CHAPTER FIVE

Women journalists and greedy institutions

5.1. Journalism as a ‘greedy’ profession

This chapter will demonstrate that journalism is a ‘greedy’ profession that demands full commitment from its employees. As a consequence, women journalists experience work-family conflict as they battle with managing their roles at work and at home. As shown in the literature review, greedy institutions are defined as institutions that demand commitment and ‘undivided’ loyalty from members (Franzway, 2001; Burchielli et al, 2008 citing Coser, 1974). According to Burchielli et al (2008), such institutions make demands on the members’ time and compel them to commit to one institution and weaken their ties with any other institution. Similarly, in this chapter I argue that the journalism profession has similar characteristics to those that describe greedy institutions. The nature of journalists’ work makes demands on members’ time and entails a lot of pressure, which is often in conflict with women’s social roles in the family. Employed women are described as playing dual roles, one in the public sphere with their participation in the labour force, and the other in the domestic sphere. Their roles in the domestic sphere have been referred to as a ‘second shift’ (Hochschild, 1990 as cited by Brown, 2010: 472), where women are considered to be responsible for organising and carrying out duties that relate to the household (cooking, cleaning) and nurturing (child care). Work-family conflict experienced by women journalists emphasises Acker’s argument that organisations accommodate the male gender only, putting women at a disadvantage. The chapter will also demonstrate that the work-family conflict experienced by the women journalists is exacerbated by patriarchal gender relations that give men more power in the household.

5.2. The nature of journalism: ‘strenuous’ and ‘draining’

The participants related that journalism is associated with a lot of pressure due to the deadlines, ‘spontaneous work’ and long working hours. They viewed it as strenuous. During the interviews and in informal conversations after the interviews, the participants highlighted that the journalism profession is not for the weak-hearted or for soft people. Rachel pointed out pressures related to the journalism profession:

“In Zimbabwe, it’s difficult, again to be a journalist, to be effectively a journalist because of the political dimensions of our community, because of the economic aspects... There is a lot of pressure, a

lot of deadlines, which is normal with many other newsrooms but in Zimbabwe it's just...particularly here maybe. It's just too much – there are too many deadlines, you write for three papers, you have different editors chasing you up for those stories...” (Rachel, Interview, 18/02/2015)

Rachel summed up the sentiments of other participants, that journalists face a lot of pressure from different directions. Similar to the arguments raised in the introduction, Rachel noted that journalists face challenges from the political environment, where repressive laws limit their ability to operate freely and hence they have to be wary of intimidation and harassment from state authorities. On the economic front, due to the declining economy in Zimbabwe, organisations have been forced to restructure work, which has resulted in loss of jobs. The impact on the journalists who survive the retrenchments is increased work and pressure, as Rachel illustrates. The participants also alluded to the low remuneration.

The participants highlighted that, as journalists, they worked long and inflexible hours. Gloria expressed that, “There are no flexible working hours. We are told that a journalist works 24 hours a day” (Gloria, Interview, 02/03/2015). In this quote, Gloria highlighted a sentiment shared by the majority of the participants that, while ideally they could leave work at 5.30pm, a journalist's job is unpredictable, since they do not have a fixed work schedule and can be called to come in for work at any time. Ellen explained this further in two different quotes:

“In journalism, it's not a nine-to-five job. Journalism is an ongoing process, like if someone who is very prominent dies at 8pm and you are probably the first person to get the news, or your boss wants you to write the story because they know you are capable of doing the story, they will call you back in....There are functions that my boss necessarily reserves for me...especially the ones with embassies...they are usually done in the evenings so you are supposed to leave at five. I have never been home by half past five....” (Ellen, Interview, 08/02/2015)

“...there are some bosses who will say ten o'clock ndipo paunobuda muno munewsroom [that is when you will leave this newsroom]. You want the job, what will you do? And at ten o'clock they will say you are on late duty - late duty means all the late stories that are going to come in, you are going to do them. (Ellen, Interview, 08/02/2015)

The participants highlighted that women journalists are expected to show their commitment to their job by accepting that they have to work late or inflexible hours. As highlighted in the literature review in the arguments of Cha (2013) and Acker (1990), the expectation that both women and men should fulfil the requirement of working long hours gives the impression that the workplace is gender-neutral. However, women find the norm of working long hours a difficult standard to meet because of societal expectations that they should be home early, whether they have children or not. Cha (2013) further argued that the long hours' norm is

based on the conception of the ideal worker as someone who is not inhibited by any other commitments, such as family or household chores. Men are the ideal workers as they fit into this image. Working long hours is in line with a masculine culture that favours men over women.

Women journalists highlighted the constraints that their jobs placed on their time and availability to engage in social activities outside the workplace. The three quotes below illustrate participants' feelings about the clashes between work and life, reinforcing the idea that journalism is a greedy institution which does not allow its members to commit to other aspects of their personal lives.

“I no longer go to church on Sundays, I also need time to visit people...I don't have friends, the only friends I have are the ones in the newsroom, vamwe vese kunze uku handitimbovazive, [*I am no longer in touch with other people out there*]. You see, it's just too much, I love baking – I don't even have time to bake pandinosvika kumba [*when I get home*], it's late, I am tired. I love cooking – I don't have time to cook, you see? Sundays, I want to cook, Saturdays I want to cook but...it eats a lot of your personal time, a lot of it.” (Ellen, Interview, 08/02/2015)

“I have to be very aware of my time – what I am doing and how I am doing it – because I don't, socially, I just don't have time to just relax because I am always busy. Like I mentioned, I am the only one on my desk so whatever assignment...needs to be done, I have to make sure it's done, and by making sure it's done, sometimes I am the one who is doing all the elements that produce a whole. So I have to be very aware of my time and budget it. Sometimes even on weekends, when I am not working, I am working. Even when I am on leave, when I am not working, I am working...” (Pearl, Interview, 16/02/2015)

“Trying to juggle between life and work...its difficult. I work as and when I am needed – anytime. I travel a lot...I don't have time to visit relatives or even go for funerals. I work odd hours, even on holidays. And the way I have dealt with it is to eliminate people who don't understand. And for family members I tell them how I work ...some do understand...” (Diana, Interview, 20/02/2015)

Participants stressed that their jobs spilled over into their personal time to the extent that they could no longer take part in social activities. As illustrated in the above quotes, Ellen and Diana noted that journalism has resulted in them losing contact with their friends and relatives, and in them being unable to pursue their other interests or get any rest. Pearl, also quoted above, explained that one of her strategies for balancing work and personal life is to be very conscious of time management. The comments from the participants indicate one form of work-family conflict which is the time-based conflict (Greenhaus and Buetell, 1985

as cited by Annor, 2014). Time is a limited resource (Mokomane 2014) and, as such, the long hours that are required by the journalism profession made it difficult for the participants to participate in other social activities.

5.3. Women journalists and married life – balancing work and family life?

In addition to highlighting the time constraints experienced by women journalists, the participants also argued that their jobs conflict with married life. From the sample, three participants were married while two were divorced. The participants highlighted that their jobs, which required them to spend a lot of time away from home, made it difficult to maintain a proper balance between work and relationships. Gloria, after highlighting the inflexible working hours, pointed out that:

“I remember my first five years working here. I would get home around six o’clock [in the evening] then the following day at 8 o’clock...I am sure a lot of people are married and find it very difficult...to create a proper balance, to enjoy a good social relationship and at the same time maintain a position here.... It’s very difficult.” (Gloria, Interview, 02/03/2015)

The participants demonstrated role conflict by highlighting the clashes between assigned gender roles and the professional identity.

“There are certain roles that women are assigned to socially, whether the person accepts the roles or not. These are roles that are defined for women, that you have to be a mother, you have to be married at a certain age, so the time aspect of your work chows into your life. If I was married, depending on how modern my husband is, sometimes I am at work at 11.30 and I come home late, so the thing would be the role that a woman plays or that a woman has to play, real or imagined.” (Pearl, Interview, 16/02/2015)

In the same context, Jean argued that “women have too many roles to play. It’s not that they are not competent, they have too many responsibilities, such as family issues. The issue of late hours is a factor, for example...” (Jean, Interview, 11/02/2015). Jean highlighted that family responsibilities made it difficult for women to perform their duties at work, because they have to finish work early to attend to these responsibilities. Jean gave an example of one of her work colleagues, a chief subeditor, who had to quit her job “because of too many responsibilities”. Jean’s comments confirm Hochschild’s (1990 cited by Franzway, 2001 and Brown, 2010) concept of the ‘second shift’, whereby women have to work in the public sphere as well as in the domestic sphere (where they have the central role in family

responsibilities). As journalism is a greedy institution, women face a lot of pressure as they try to negotiate between their professional identity, which requires them to work long hours, and their social responsibilities associated with their identities as mothers or wives. This further confirms Acker's (1990) theory that some workplaces, in this case journalism, are suited for a male worker who often does not have responsibilities outside the workplace.

The participants highlighted that patriarchal relations in the family also contributed to the work-family conflict experienced by women journalists. Women in my study noted that unequal power relations in the family, where men are heads of households and control decision-making, impacted negatively on women's opportunities for career success. They specifically highlighted that being married made it difficult to be successful in the journalism profession. Helen and Kathy had the following comments:

“Any woman can cover any beat, can make it in journalism, but the problem is that most women get married like I was married and I could sense my husband didn't want me to stay late at work... So you are sort of limited in as far as how far or how much you can do to excel in journalism. So you find that at a certain stage, women in journalism won't stay long because their husbands, their spouses don't sort of condone the hours, the working hours that are spent in the newsroom or out in the field. So when I got divorced from my husband, I am a single parent for, I have been a single parent for the better part of my life and, you know, I think I was one of the first women to work on the night subs desk for seven years non-stop, that never happened at the... [newspaper title]” (Kathy, Interview, 12/02/2015)

Kathy's quote above and Helen's quote below highlight several points about the societal expectations to which women are expected to conform. Society assigns men patriarchal power to control women in the households and women are therefore expected to be submissive. Thus, women are not able to make independent decisions concerning their work. Furthermore, a married woman's worth in society is judged by her ability to meet the ideals associated with the 'good family life'. For example, women are expected to provide a 'stable' home life in which they are present to prepare meals and provide support for the family. However, women journalists find it difficult to meet these expectations because their job demands that they spend more time at work. As Kathy and Helen point out, some men do not tolerate the working hours which the journalism profession demands of their spouses and partners and this creates problems for women.

“Vanhu vakawanda vane that belief yekuti a female journalist haakwanisi kuroorwa, of which handifunge kuti ichokwadi because varipo vakaroorwa vandinoziva. Inini wachoni ndakaroorwa but nenyaya yekuti nature yebasa racho ndiyo inozoita kuti iwewe you are a married woman, unenge

uchifanira kuenda kubasa manheru senge vanoshanda kumadaily paper ndakanzwa kuti kunzi you can even be called manheru kuti huya kubasa nekuti kwaita story of which kuti uzoti ndakumbosiya vana izvezvi ndimbomhanya kustory, vamwe vanokundikana, vamwe varume havazvinzwisisi vamwe vano-zvinzwisisawo...ndipo pane nyaya yese,”

“Many people hold the belief that it is impossible for a female journalist to get married, which I don’t think is true because I know [women journalists] who are married. I am also married but the issue is the nature of the job; where you, as a married woman, are expected to go to work in the evening. Like those who work in the daily newspapers, I have heard, can even be called in the evening to come to work because there is a story. So for you to say, ‘I am leaving the children now and rush for the story’ – some [women] find it difficult. Some men don’t understand, some do... That’s where the whole issue is.” (Helen, Interview, 05/02/2015)

Helen highlights the negative perceptions that people in Zimbabwe have about women journalists: that they are not ‘wife material’ as they are not able to conform to the ideals of being a good wife. Consequently, the participants reported that they were often forced into a situation where they had to choose between their job and their marriage. Gloria and Kathy highlighted that they were divorced from their spouses. This further confirms Coser’s description of greedy institutions – that they require undivided loyalty and compel the members to weaken their ties with other institutions.

For both Gloria and Kathy, being separated from their spouses gave them more freedom to concentrate on their work as they were free from the control of their spouses and became responsible for their own decision-making. As illustrated earlier, Kathy notes that when she was divorced she managed to work during the night, which might not have been possible if she had been married. Kathy argues that conflict between work and married life is one of the reasons why women tend to leave the journalism profession. The comments from Helen, Kathy and Gloria are in line with Tshoedi’s (2013) observations on women trade unionists, that women face male domination and control, both at work and at home, and often have to make a choice between marriage and their careers, highlighting unequal power relations in the family. Through the power and authority ascribed to them by the patriarchal system, men control the rate at which a woman journalist can succeed. They have influence on the level of commitment a woman journalist can show towards the profession – men can limit women’s commitment to their careers through demands for domestic labour, which Walby (1994) describes as patriarchal relations in the household.

Ellen also highlighted that women journalists are limited and influenced by societal expectations. In the quote below, Ellen explains that women are often held back from taking up higher positions due to the fear that the requirements of the job will be in conflict with the expectations from the husband or the in-laws.

“I think women are scared, they just want to be in the comfort zone. Like I told you, it’s like a jungle. It’s new things every day, so women are scared to say, ‘I am now the editor, that means...I am the last one to leave and I am the first one to get in. What will my husband say?’ And also, the support system is not strong enough. Sometimes you have a husband who does not understand the type of work you do, you have in-laws that say, ‘Anodada muroora uyu [*this daughter in law is arrogant*], she doesn’t even visit us,’ but they don’t know that the only days that you don’t work [are] Fridays and Saturdays. Sometimes Friday you have to work or Saturday you have to work because you are looking for stories for Sunday. Saturday is the only time you are at home. You are expected to be there. You work on Christmas Day; you work on New Year’s Day unless you are on leave. Yes, you don’t go...Women are sometimes scared and sometimes people don’t believe in us.” (Ellen, Interview, 08/02/2015)

In the above comment, Ellen indicates that married women do not only experience control from their spouses, but also from the husband’s family. There are particular social expectations that are associated with the identity of a daughter in law, such as being able to visit the in-laws often. As Ellen illustrates, her work schedule, where she is expected to work on weekends and during holidays, makes it impossible to fulfil those expectations and this may result in the daughter in law being viewed negatively. Journalism is not traditionally a woman’s occupation and, due to the nature of the job, women journalists are not able to conform to the typical gender roles assigned to women. As a result, they experience work-family conflict. Ellen notes that women often do not have support from spouses and family, who do not understand what being a journalist involves. Consequently, women have to make a choice between the family and the career. As Ellen indicates, control from the husband and the in-laws sometimes limits women’s ability to succeed when they are in positions of authority.

5.4. Motherhood and journalism as mutually exclusive?

The women journalists in this study highlighted another form of role conflict as they expressed the incompatibility of their identities as mothers and as journalists. In most organisations, motherhood is viewed as an outcome of sexual reproduction and therefore belongs in the private sphere, and not, by the logic of gender-neutrality, in the workplace (Acker 1990). Acker notes that the assumptions of gender-neutral organisations are that

reproduction is absent, giving the impression that work and reproduction (pregnancy and child care) are mutually exclusive spheres. Thus, organisations are ill-equipped to accommodate mothers as they do not have supportive structures to assist women with family-friendly policies that include flexible hours and different leave arrangements (Dancester, 2006). Hence women face difficulties in combining work and motherhood. This conflict is compounded when women are ‘stigmatised’ in the workplace.

Women’s responsibilities in the home increase when they are caring for children and the women in this study highlighted how being mothers affected their careers, particularly those with young children. The experiences of early motherhood for some of the participants (Ellen and Helen) illustrate Gatrell’s concept of the maternal body. As highlighted in the literature review, Gatrell (2011, 2013) argues that the maternal body, referring to pregnant women and those with infant children, is still undesirable in professional and managerial settings. She notes that pregnant bodies and those of new mothers are resented in the workplace because they are considered to be unpredictable and unreliable. When young babies and children get sick, they disrupt the mother’s work routine as she takes time off to attend to her children, which affects the organisation’s functioning. One of the participants in my study related her experience of negative attitudes towards women with young children. Ellen notes disapproving remarks made by one of her supervisors when she returned to work after she had her baby.

“When I came back...I felt that there was a need to prove myself, that I was still relevant, because some would just say, someone, ...my news editor would say, ‘Chiendaika kumba kunotamba nevana [*go home and play with the children*].’ I didn’t like that statement, it really offended me - ... so now you are saying I am not good enough for this job, all because my life is at home?” (Ellen, Interview, 08/02/2015)

Ellen’s body and identity as a mother is seen as out of place in the newsroom by the male superior. When mothers enter into a masculine workspace, there is the perception that they are contaminating the space with their ‘domesticity’. This highlights the negative attitudes that exist towards women with children. Ellen finds the statement offensive because, from her point of view, she was viewed as unsuitable for the job. This confirms Haynes’ (2008) argument, highlighted in the literature review, that when women become mothers their professional identity is undermined because their social identity as mothers is perceived to negatively influence the working routine. The comment made by the supervisor entrenches

the idea that mothers do not belong in the newsroom, but rather in the domestic sphere where their role is to take care of the children. Further, mothers are resented in the workplace because their commitment to work is questioned, which leads to exclusion from allocation of assignments and networking opportunities.

Helen highlights how childcare can restrict women's ability to perform their professional duties, more so for freelance journalists who rely on their own resources to do their work.

Machallenges anofaca mafree lance journalists especially vakadzi vanenge vane vana sesu, une mwana anoyamwiswa haukwandise kushanda uchiita sezvinongoita vanhu mafull time vanoshanda normal time from 8 to 4:30. Maybe uchada kutravela uchiti ndichandokwira bus... because handina mota...unodzoka nguvai? Hazviite kuti utakure mwana because hauzive kuti nzvimbo yandiri yakamira sei? And mwana wacho ndosvika ndichipinda naye papi? Uchada kunorara ikoko, uchada kutsvaka accommodation, where? Ukaenda nemota yebasa inogona kuenda newe wonocover story - unogona kumukira and you can come back to Harare on the same day.”

“The challenges faced by freelance journalists, especially women who have babies like us, [is that] when you are breastfeeding, you are not able to work like people [in] full-time employment, who work the normal time from 8am to 4:30pm. Maybe you need to travel where you have to board a bus...because I don't have a car [to go for an assignment out of town] ...What time will you come back? It's not possible to go with the child because you are not familiar with the surroundings. And when you get there, where will you stay with the child? If you need to sleep there, you have to find accommodation, where? [In contrast, journalists working for a media house] can go with the transport provided by the organisation, which can take you to the place to cover your story - you can go early in the morning and come back to Harare the same day.” (Helen, Interview, 05/02/2015)

As Helen explains, she does not have transport provided for her to go for assignments like full time journalists, so she has to use public transport. She also has to find her own accommodation in cases where she has to stay overnight. Helen has to take care of her baby and therefore cannot go for assignments that include travelling out of town. Freelance journalists' income is dependent on the number of their stories that get published. Inability to perform their duties means reduced income for them and childcare can thus put a strain on a woman freelance journalist's ability to generate income. This reinforces the notion that the ideal worker is male, as they do not experience all the constraints that women experience related to childcare.

Women with young children have to find ways to negotiate and combine their roles in the domestic sphere as well as in the workplace. In negotiating the two spheres, they have to

ensure that that their professional identity remains visible, while simultaneously maintaining their responsibility of taking care of the children. Ellen highlighted the strategies she employed in order to maintain her professional identity in the newsroom. She explained that she worked hard when she came back from a long maternity leave (six months) to ‘prove’ that she was still ‘relevant’ in the newsroom.

“When it came to breast feeding hours, I would come to work as usual. [At] three o’clock I was supposed to go for my breastfeeding hours but now it was back to the old routine of me not being pregnant ... So there was so much work to do and so little time. And there was no time for me to go for my breastfeeding hours, so what I ended up doing was to take my breast feeding hours in the morning and then in the evening I would just go home, the usual time. Then with the travelling, the travelling started when I was still breastfeeding my baby. It’s difficult when you are a breastfeeding mother and you have to travel, and your job requires you to travel. It’s painful to leave your child but I had to do it. And the way I used to do it is I have a supportive family... (Ellen, Interview, 08/02/2015)

Ellen highlights that she had to alter her breastfeeding time in such a way that it did not disrupt her work routine. She also explains that her family, including her husband and mother in law, assisted her in taking care of her baby, which enabled her to commit to her work. The strategies adopted by Ellen relate to Gatrell’s (2013) observations in her research on employed mothers in the UK, highlighted in the literature review. Gatrell noted that women have to work and put in effort (maternal body work) so that they blend in and conform to the norms of the workplace. Ellen’s quote below sums up the work-family conflict for working mothers, highlighting that the newsroom is a greedy institution which demands energy and time.

“I mean, the newsroom, the newsroom, requires so much of your time, so much of your energy, and sometimes you are worn out...before you leave. When you get home you are just tired, you can’t even move your legs, you can’t think and by the time you get home your baby is sleeping. By the time you wake up to go to work the baby is still sleeping...” (Ellen, Interview, 08/02/2015)

The participants noted that men’s negative attitudes towards motherhood had implications on career progression. For example, Ellen observed that:

“Yah, sometimes men think we are not reliable because we get married, we have children, then ndipo pafungirwa kuti panogumira career yedu [*that’s their perception of where our career should end*]. What they don’t know is that, yes, we get married and have children, but we can actually do better, we can actually...do more. We won’t ask for small little favours... ‘My child is sick; my child is that’. Yah, that’s the problem that hinders people from promoting us.” (Ellen, Interview, 08/02/2014)

From Ellen's comment, it is apparent that women are excluded from opportunities for promotion because of the perception that women lack commitment due to family responsibility. She expresses that men believe that a woman's career ends when they get married and have children and that therefore they should stay at home. Ellen argues that married women in journalism are viewed as unreliable because they are seen as no longer being able to make independent decisions and as having their loyalties split between work and family, which results in limited opportunities for promotion. The quote also confirms Acker's argument on gendered organisations that women are stigmatised in the workplace because their bodies are associated with childcare.

Women journalists who are mothers to school-going children also faced challenges in balancing their work and time with their children. Kathy described how her work schedule was incompatible with her children's timetable. As noted earlier, Kathy worked on the night subediting desk for a long time.

"You know, I hardly saw my children, it made me feel guilty. Especially the young one...I hardly saw her. When they were going to school, I will be sleeping; when they are coming back from school, I will be getting ready to go, so it was like we are criss-crossing all the time. So, I mean, it's not an easy job, frankly speaking, it's not an easy. It's not a sissy job: its hard work, its extra hours..." (Kathy, Interview, 12/02/2015)

Cahusac and Kanji (2014: 64) argue that the idea of a good parent means being 'active', 'involved' and being present for the children. From this perspective, Kathy notes her feelings of guilt as her work schedule did not allow her to be more involved or to be present for her children. Kathy highlights the personal sacrifice she had to make in order to maintain her job as a journalist.

While male superiors expressed reservations about working with mothers, some women in influential positions view working with mothers as an advantage, as highlighted by Kathy. Kathy, as one of the women who has held a higher position in the newsroom hierarchy, argues that she prefers to work with mothers.

"One thing I discovered when I was [in senior management], was that I actually enjoyed working with women on duty. When a woman is on duty, she really puts her effort, 100%, because she knows she has to go home and feed the children... so she wants to work quickly and go..." (Kathy, Interview, 12/02/2015)

Kathy's quote seems to expose men's resistance of women with children in the newsroom. The comment suggests that women are undermined in the newsroom, not because of

incompetence but due to the anticipated changes that motherhood would effect on women's commitment to work. As illustrated earlier, this further emphasises the gendered nature of journalism, where women are marginalised because of these anticipated changes, and confirms Acker's theory that women's bodies, which are associated with childcare and the domestic sphere, are stigmatised and used as reasons for marginalisation and exclusion.

5.5. Patriarchal control on young and single women

The single women who participated in this research highlighted that they were not exempt from male domination and control. Being single is often associated with independence; however, Rachel highlighted that young, single women are not necessarily free, as they still live under the rules of their parents.

“You find some journalists, its 12 o'clock, its two o'clock [at night] they are still at [an assignment]. But I need to be home, maybe my parents expect me to be home at eight because I am a woman, but my brother can be there anytime he wants...” (Rachel, Interview, 18/02/2015)

From Rachel's comment, men are freer than women and are treated differently by parents. It is socially expected behaviour that Rachel returns home early after work despite the requirements of her job that she work long hours. Single women are viewed as dependants and under the control of male authority. Thus, women who do not conform to this behaviour are sanctioned. Rachel's comments show that, despite the different statuses (married or single), women experience patriarchy in the household. For married women, it is husbands who make decisions that control the household, while for single women, it's their fathers who dictate the rules that they have to abide by. Rachel's comments highlight that the working hours demanded by the journalism profession are incompatible with the curfew set by her parents.

The participants who were single experienced similar patriarchal control from their partners as the married women did from their spouses. Diana and Louise noted that:

“I am not married. In terms of relationships, men think that, as a journalist, you meet prominent people and that you are too popular. They become insecure and they think you are the 'loose others', and because of the access to these prominent people, you are not taken seriously. They think you are someone who is too busy.” (Diana, Interview, 20/02/2015)

“[Finding] a steady relationship [is] difficult because when somebody meets you and then they ask, 'What do you do?' and then you say, 'Ah, I am a journalist,'...there is this conception that journalists

are loose people,yah. To make it worse, I was an entertainment reporter - I would go out like almost everyday so somebody would think, 'If we try to say we are going to settle down, will you be going out everyday and leaving me and the kids at home?' So, you see, it was difficult.” (Louise, Interview, 05/03/2015)

The participants highlighted the different perceptions of men towards single women journalists. Women journalists were viewed as too busy and therefore unable to sustain a steady relationship. Amanda also explained that men are often intimidated by successful women and therefore are insecure. The quotes above indicate that the nature of journalism stigmatises women as ‘loose’. The three participants highlighted that, in the Zimbabwe society, women journalists are associated with promiscuity because the job affords them access to a large number of male sources and they are often seen in the company of different men. Such perceptions have more impact on women who work as entertainment journalists, as Louise points out, because their work involves spending time in spaces such as concerts and bars which are often associated with loose morals with regard to women. Thus, women journalists are not considered as the ‘marriage type’ and therefore find it difficult to sustain relationships as their partners do not trust them. This confirms Hardin and Whiteside’s (2009) research findings that romantic relationships are a potential disruption to a sports journalism career. Women in this study pointed to the difficulties they faced in maintaining relationships, due to men’s perceptions of the journalism profession.

5.6. Intention to leave

Mokomane (2014) argues that work-life conflict has wider ramifications for the workplace, families and gender equality. When associated with the workplace, this conflict can cause problems such as high turn-over, increased absenteeism and decreased job satisfaction. Some of the participants in this study pointed out that they were thinking of leaving the journalism industry because of the pressure and demands of the job that made the balance between work and other responsibilities difficult. For instance, Jean and Ellen argued:

“... like me, I will be leaving very soon...if I get a PR job, I will leave. I think it’s catching up with me now, this travelling, these late hours ...I feel I have to leave now, I think I have done my part, ndingori [I am] stagnant, I am in one place...” (Ellen, Interview, 08/02/2015)

“... the only reason why I would want to leave now, ahh steady hours. I think I am tired. I am tired, I want to get out of this ...sometimes I feel like I am being unfair to my child. That is the issue we have now, motherhood instincts. I feel like I am being unfair to my child...” (Ellen, Interview, 08/02/2015)

“...I am planning to move out...I could say I have a young family with two children...this job is strenuous, with the deadlines and the diary ...For me...family comes first...it will always be there...after the money...I would rather go to those jobs that give more time with the family. PR jobs are more relaxed...they are hectic when working towards a campaign and sometimes they are more relaxed.” (Jean, Interview, 11/02/2015)

Ellen points out feelings of guilt for not being present for her child as motivation to look for options for a career change, while Jean notes that the demands of her job are affecting her family. The journalism profession is structured around the idea of the man as ideal worker and therefore women in this profession struggle to manage the balance between work and family responsibilities. The result is that women leave this profession, leading to the under-representation of women in the industry. Mokomane (2014) stresses that work-family conflict is an important factor that disadvantages women in the labour market.

5.7. Conclusion

In this chapter, I argued that journalism is a greedy institution that competes with the roles that women are expected to play in the family. The chapter demonstrated that most women journalists experience work-family conflict due to the pressure and demands of journalism as a full time job requiring women to commit long hours. The women in this study highlighted that they found it difficult to find enough time and energy to fulfil their roles in the family as mothers, wives and partners. The work-family conflict that women journalists faced was compounded by male domination and control, as patriarchal relations ensured that men remain decision makers in the family, to the disadvantage of women. Various instances of work-family conflict discussed in this chapter highlight the impact on women working under masculine standards and reinforce the assertion that the ideal worker is a man.

CHAPTER SIX

Women's bodies and sexual harassment

6.1. Introduction

This chapter will focus on sexual harassment as part of the gendered experiences of women journalists in a male-dominated workplace and industry. Through the analysis of interview data in earlier chapters (see Chapter 5), I have argued that practices in the newsroom privilege men, suggesting that women do not belong in this industry. I demonstrated that the newsroom described as a boys' club is a contested space in which women are viewed as 'threats' and 'intruders'. Consequently, the newsroom tends to be highly competitive and aggressive. In this chapter, I argue that sexual harassment is a form of violence that is used by men to marginalise women and force them out of the newsroom and the profession. I will highlight that patriarchal relations in society allow men to use their power and privilege to control not only women's bodies but also their access to employment opportunities and their chances for career success. The chapter will discuss the sexualisation of women's bodies, both in the newsroom and the field, where women's bodies are viewed as a distraction because they do not conform to the perceptions of the 'ideal body' (Acker, 1990).

Sexual harassment emerged as a major issue brought up by women journalists in response to a question on the challenges they faced in the industry. I will highlight the different forms of sexual harassment experienced by women in this study, including verbal comments on women's bodies, name calling, touching and requests for sexual favours, which made the working environment 'uncomfortable' and hostile. These forms of harassment will be discussed in the context of unequal power relations within the newsroom, where men are in positions of authority while women hold junior positions. Power relations have an effect on whether there is transformation in gender relations in this workspace – power relations have an influence on whether incidents of sexual harassment remain private issues or will receive public address.

6.2. Women's experiences of sexual harassment

Earlier, in the literature review, Cockburn (1991:139) identified sexual harassment as actions and practices used by a person or group, directed at another person/group, in relation to sex or

sexuality, that are meant to “cause humiliation, offence or distress” and will affect job performance. Similarly, in my study, women mentioned that sexual harassment was a common occurrence in the workplace. The different forms of sexual harassment identified by the women journalists will be discussed separately in this section.

6.2.1 ‘Traumatising’ verbal comments

One of the forms of harassment raised by the participants was verbal comments that constituted negative comments about women’s bodies, sexual talk and name calling. For instance, Ellen related her experience of verbal abuse in the newsroom by a male superior.

“There was a time when it was very uncomfortable...fortunately, the person left. He was actually fired in a way because it contributed to what they used to do to us because there were only two females, so he would just say to us, ‘Ahh, Une magaro mahombe,’ like, ‘your butt is big,’ and then he would just call both of us, me and the other young, other woman, and say ‘Stand,’ then we stand, and we didn’t even know why he was making us stand like that. Then he would say, ‘Look at them, this one has a degree in butts and this one has a diploma,’ so it was a traumatising time because he just used to make fun of our physical appearance...” (Ellen, Interview, 08/02/2013)

The above comment highlights demeaning and explicit comments about women’s body parts that made the newsroom a hostile and violent workspace for women. By describing the experience as a ‘traumatising’, Ellen stresses the severity of this form of harassment and its impact on women. It affects them emotionally and psychologically as it raises fear and questions about safety in that workspace. The impact of such violence is usually not visible and therefore it is often not taken seriously. The quote makes reference to the idea that women’s bodies are seen as out of place in the workplace (public domain). It focuses on women’s difference from the masculine body, which is considered as the norm in the workplace. Women become subject to ridicule and humiliation from men trying to show them that they don’t belong in that workspace. The humiliating comments result in low self-esteem and loss of confidence in their ability to perform their duties efficiently, as confirmed by Hearn and Parkin (2001). Ellen’s experiences of verbal abuse relate to Cockburn’s (1991) observations in her study on women who faced similar challenges. The effect on the victim was that she was no longer comfortable to be in the presence of her male workmates and was contemplating quitting her job. Hence, the impact of sexual harassment is that women are forced out of the workplace and the public sphere.

The participants also highlighted the sexual talk in the newsroom. In relation to the above quote, Ellen further illustrated sexual ‘banter’ in the newsroom by the ex-superior.

“And sometimes he would just use vulgar language when he was talking... [It] made me feel very uncomfortable because of the way I was brought up and also...you don’t need to be discussing vulgar things with the person of the opposite sex... So it was very uncomfortable for me, especially when he used to talk about that or [about] having sex with women and he would just talk about it in front of everyone. To me, that was sexual harassment...” (Ellen, Interview, 08/02/2015)

The quote above indicates the (hetero) sexualisation of the newsroom, evidenced by the open discussion of sexual interactions between men and women. As Connell (1987, 2005) argued (highlighted earlier), heterosexuality is an important feature of hegemonic masculinity and therefore discussing one’s sexual conquests with the women journalists can be viewed as a display of masculinity and male domination. It also enforces the message that the newsroom is a heterosexual space where members are expected to conform, thereby limiting expression of other forms of sexuality. In line with the concept of hegemonic masculinity, sexual talk demonstrates the power hierarchy, where the man holds a higher level of power. In this example, the man in question has more power than the women journalists as he is in a superior position. Sexual banter in this space is used to reinforce women’s subordinate position. Ellen’s experiences also confirm Cockburn’s (1991) observation that sexual harassment of women is an expression of power. Women’s bodies are described as excessively sexual (Trethewey, 1999) and some parts of their bodies are more visible than others. In the conventional sense, women’s bodies belong to the domestic sphere where they are associated with reproductive activities. Thus, their presence in the public sphere symbolises a distraction. Furthermore, Ellen underlines the point about difference by mentioning that at that time there were only two women in that newsroom. In the context of male dominance, their bodies symbolised difference as well as the “other”. Focus is removed from their professional identity to their gendered identity.

Ellen’s disapproval of public discussions on sexual relations illustrates the inappropriateness of the behaviour. Sexual talk is viewed as disrespectful in terms proper relations between men and women in the workplace. Women were at a disadvantage in the newsroom because, culturally, sex talk is taboo between men and women in certain relations, particularly in the work context. Discussing sexual conquests openly demonstrates the dominance of masculine

culture within the newsroom, confirming Robinson's (2005) argument that sexual talk is part of the masculine culture in the newsroom and that it reinforces male superiority.

The participants regarded name-calling as similarly offensive as it was constructed in such a manner as to show power over women. For instance, Louise noted that male colleagues referred to female newcomers as 'fresh chicken'. Louise explained that she became friends with one of her female work colleagues, who advised her of male journalists' sexual behaviour in relation to the idea of 'fresh chicken'.

“[My work colleague] was telling me about how boys in the newsroom would exchange you, if they want to. The moment that you give in to one, you are already at a risk that after he is done with you, another one would come and attack, you know what I mean, like, sexually. Yah, they will be trying to like have a relationship with you but it won't be a relationship. All they want from you is sex and after that, when they are done with you, another one will come....” (Louise, Interview, 05/03/2015)

The quote above highlights male machismo. It illustrates male conquests and aggression where women are seen as 'prey' that men can capture and devour. Hence, name-calling is an expression of power over women, who are subordinated through sexual relations. The effect of the interactions described by Louise is to devalue women and to show that they are not “respected members of the workgroup”, as described by Welsh (1999: 170 citing Reskin and Padavic 1994). This also confirms Hearn and Parkin's (2001: 50) observations on the use of language in organisational contexts. They argue that the language of sex and conquest is part of the language of male control in organisations, which relates to the language of male domination that exists within organisations. Thus, such offensive language can go unnoticed as it blends in with the language used every day in the organisation.

6.2.2. Repeated and undesirable physical contact

Alice highlighted physical contact (touching) as the second form of unwelcome sexual behaviour. She narrated that when she joined the newspaper she currently works for, she would send her stories to a senior reporter who would edit and then forward them to the news editors. She explained that the senior reporter would call her when he was editing her stories to show her the corrections and it was during this time that he would touch her.

“...then, you know, after he finishes [he would say] ... ‘You see, you are improving, you are improving’ then he touches you [she indicates her shoulder], ‘Keep it up.’ You know, at first you will feel kuti [that] haa I think this is not right but you won't say it out, maybe unless if you have ever heard

someone saying that if ever someone does this to you, it's harassment...Then I realised that it was something that was going on and on..." (Alice, Interview, 07/02/2015)

This example indicates the violation of women's bodies. It can be viewed in the context of men expressing their sexual power over women. As Alice points out, it was unwanted sexual attention that placed her in a disadvantaged position as she felt that she was being treated unfairly but could not say so. Alice indicates the silence around issues related to sexual harassment. Sexual harassment is a subject that is not discussed openly in organisations as it is often perceived as a private issue among individuals. Research has shown that there is a 'stigma' that is usually associated with sexual interactions or advances in the workplace, where the blame is put on women. For instance, Hearn and Parkin (2001) argue that there is always an unspoken question that lingers in debates on sexual interactions, of whether the woman in that situation encouraged the man. This highlights the fact that men are privileged through patriarchal ideals that police women's sexuality without questioning the men's role or responsibility in such incidents. Patriarchal relations in society often absolve men's role in cases to do with sexual interactions because it is acceptable and unproblematic for men to be 'insatiable' and, as such, blame is placed on women.

In light of the privilege and power that men have, there is a lot of doubt associated with cases of sexual harassment, as men have the power to define what is considered sexual harassment. The violation of women's bodies confirms Hearn and Parkin's (2001) argument that sexual harassment should be viewed as processes of intimidation and violation connected to power relations and organisational power. Hearn and Parkin (2001) also argue that the dominance of a masculine culture within male-dominated occupations is a contributing factor in sexual violence against women. As indicated in the literature review, Hearn and Parkin cite studies in the police service to demonstrate that various forms of sexual behaviour, that including unwanted touching and sexual jokes and rumours, may be condoned because women are expected to blend into the male culture and to 'take it in'.

6.2.3. Career progress and sexual favours in the newsroom

As the third form of sexual harassment, the participants highlighted that requests for sexual intimacy were common within the newsroom. The participants noted the unequal power relations they had observed in the newsroom, where men in positions of power demanded sexual favours from young women journalists in return for assistance with news gathering,

publication of stories, or the promise of success in the newsroom. While arguing that the newsroom where she worked was different, Ellen explained:

“In other newsrooms, for a woman to get a job, its either you have to sleep with someone, for you to get your first story, sometimes you have to sleep with someone but most of the times what I know is that when a new girl, new student, or an intern comes in, they are faced with challenges like men not only passing comments but asking them out. So when they are asked out, they become girlfriends of those people. Those people are the ones who can maybe write stories for them or help them get stories because stories are hard to come by.” (Ellen, Interview, 08/02/2015)

Five other participants confirmed Ellen’s assessment. Amanda noted that “men demand that you sleep with them for you to get somewhere. They think they are doing you a favour,” (Amanda, Interview, 13/02/2015). The comments from the women journalists in this study indicate the abuse of power by men in the journalism profession, where men use their privileged position in the newsroom to ‘coerce’ women into having sexual relations with them so that they can excel in the newsroom. Men in influential positions with decision-making powers can dictate the pace at which women can progress in the workplace, thus confining them to a position of powerlessness. This confirms Tshoedi’s (forthcoming) observations on sexual harassment within COSATU. Citing Connell (2005), Tshoedi argues that men in positions of authority with unlimited access to power and resources are ‘gate-keepers’, as they control women’s access to economic and employment opportunities. This often extends to control over women’s bodies.

As further evidence on the role of men as gate-keepers and in control of women’s bodies, the participants highlighted the consequences of turning down sexual advances, which included exclusion from job and other opportunities. For instance, Helen, a freelance journalist, refused to meet privately with the news editor from a media house she was sending her stories and the result was that her stories were “spiked” (the stories were never published). Diana also disclosed that on three different occasions, she was asked out by men from different media houses she approached in search of a job. She turned down the advances and, in turn, never received job offers. These examples demonstrate men’s domination and control of economic resources and opportunities for women. Men exhibit their power to control women’s bodies using sex as way for women to advance in their careers. Sexual harassment demonstrates the unequal power relations within newsrooms that contribute to gender inequality in the journalism profession.

6.2.4. Experiences of working with male sources

The participants noted that they do not only face sexual harassment when working with men in the newsroom but also when they work with men as news sources in the field. They noted that interviewing male sources can be a big task if the sources only view women as sex objects. Referring to male sources, Sarah explained that, “sometimes they can start looking at you just as a face, a pretty face, and then later on they realise that, oh, this person actually writes and then [they come] to respect you,” (Sarah, Interview, 18/02/2015). This highlights the fact that men sometimes judge women journalists based on their physical appearance without necessarily considering their capabilities. It indicates the objectification of women journalists, where women are seen more as sex objects than as professional individuals.

The nature of journalism requires that journalists follow up on stories and pursue sources for information. This can often be misconstrued, especially when it is women journalists pursuing male sources. For women journalists, following up on male sources becomes a delicate issue, as they may not know how their sources perceive them. Rachel illustrated differences between how sources deal with women journalists and how they deal with male journalists.

“You also face the same kind of treatment with sources outside because you are a woman. They believe they are giving you a story or some leads, you need to return or reciprocate the favour with sexual favours, you know. But if he is [providing information to a] male journalist...on top of giving him that lead he may even buy him lunch or give him money for drinks...or for transport ...” (Rachel, Interview, 18/02/2015)

Rachel’s comment provides further evidence of how women are objectified in the field. It also indicates the reproduction of patriarchal relations in different aspects of society, where women journalists are perceived as sexual objects and are therefore expected to provide sexual services to men. Male news sources have a different source of power in that they have information that the journalists require to write a story. Through exchanging information for sexual favours, male sources focus on the woman’s gender identity and not her identity as a professional journalist. This confirms Lorber’s (1994) argument on gender relations that men and women are ascribed different statuses even when they are carrying out a similar job or task. Women journalists are often not seen as equal professionally, or as deserving the same respect as men in the profession. Cockburn (1991) notes that the effect of objectifying women is that they are not taken seriously or may lose their credibility. These findings concur

with the research conducted by Walsh-Childers et al (1996), that harassment of women journalists by news sources was common and that there is no effective way of dealing with it.

6.3. Newsroom relationships: sometimes a grey area

The women journalists I interviewed highlighted sexual interactions that might not necessarily constitute sexual harassment, but might contribute to an uncomfortable work environment as they are centred on the power dynamics within this workspace. While it was common for men to court or “ask out” their co-workers or their subordinates (as highlighted by several participants), this type of interaction becomes more complex when it involves male superiors. Rachel explained that sexual advances from male superiors often put women in a position where they might feel pressured to consent to the relationship.

“...I have heard [of] many other incidents where...women actually go out with bosses. In my view, I know we are adults ...we can make our decisions, but sometimes those decisions are compromised because of the situation, ...social standing, [or] the economic environment. There are a lot of factors that come into play. Somebody will think that, ‘If I don’t say yes, then I am gonna to lose my job.’”
(Rachel, Interview, 18/02/2015)

Rachel’s quote illustrates that, while in some instances women may not necessarily be directly violated in the sense of physical contact, sexual advances constitute unethical conduct in the workplace. In her study, Tshoedi (forthcoming) notes that women often fear the possible consequences of not consenting to such advances, such as losing their jobs or not getting a promotion, salary increases or bonus. This is confirmed in my study by Rachel’s observation that sexual advances from male superiors tend to ‘compromise’ one’s standing with the male boss, as they can make the working relationship awkward. Such advances put women in a difficult position, as there is a chance that they might lose their credibility whether they consent to the advances or not. Women also fear victimisation in that, if they do not consent, they become targets of hostility, especially if the man in question holds a position of power and has managed to coerce other women to have relations with him. Unethical conduct further highlights abuse of power.

6.4. Age as a factor in incidents of sexual harassment

From the interviews, it appears that one’s age and one’s position in the newsroom were significant factors, as young women journalists were affected the most by sexual harassment.

Interns and entry-level journalists in junior positions were viewed as being most affected. Louise stressed that:

“It’s actually a ‘torture’ that you feel sorry for these interns who come in for three months... You have ...both female and male interns but then those who are always at risk are, are the female journalists. But after three months, they are gone. What happens in the three months is scary.” (Louise, Interview, 05/03/2015)

Gloria, a senior journalist, commented that “...it’s so frequent in the newsroom, I am sure...when they come here they are just so vulnerable. They don’t have story ideas, they don’t know how to get around the newsroom...” (Gloria, Interview, 02/03/2015). Ellen concurred and observed that senior male reporters were most often the perpetrators of sexual abuse in the newsroom. In most cases, interns are in junior positions, placing them at the bottom of the hierarchy in the newsroom. The interns are either still in, or have just completed, tertiary education and hence they are young and inexperienced. Entering the newsroom will be their first time in the workplace. They are faced with the high demands of the job, which, as Gloria notes, places them in a vulnerable position. As argued by Walsh-Childers (1996), young women between the ages of 23–30 are the most affected by sexual harassment. This might be explained by the fact that, culturally, older and more senior women command respect in such a way that men find it difficult to behave sexually towards them. This contradicts research showing that women in positions of authority often face sexual harassment as they are perceived to threaten male dominance (McLaughlin, Uggen and Blackstone, 2012).

6.5. Responses and consequences of reporting sexual harassment

Research has shown that sexual harassment is often perceived as a problem of the individual or as a private and personal experience, absolving any responsibility of organisational processes and relations (Hearn & Parkin, 2001; Gutek, 1985; Tshoaedi, forthcoming). Most workplaces do not have clear policies or structures that provide adequate support to encourage women to report such incidents. For instance, Kathy observed that incidents of sexual harassment in the newsroom continued to be treated as private issues.

“...even when I like, I became like a focal person to deal with such cases, I would start facilitating those issues and before they got to hearing, that woman would have dropped charges. I think money would have exchanged hands and hence I became like the bad woman – ‘You are trying to get us fired’ – and yet it was evidence of even rape...” (Kathy, Interview, 12/02/2015)

As Kathy points out, allegations of sexual harassment would never stick as women were intimidated or ‘bribed’ into dropping the charges. Thus, incidents of sexual harassment often go unnoticed as they never reach the stage where they become public issues or addressed fully in disciplinary hearings. In addition, silence and stigma related to sexual harassment (as discussed earlier) are further reinforced. Kathy’s experience raises questions about the effectiveness of policies within the organisations. Her comments raise similar arguments to those highlighted in Tshoedi (forthcoming) analysis of the case of COSATU General Secretary, Zwelinzima Vavi, who was accused of rape and sexually harassing a junior female colleague. In relation to the role of men as gate-keepers, Tshoedi argues that cases of sexual harassment are often presided over by members of the organisations who are also involved in similar practices and therefore the outcomes of these cases are never in favour of the woman involved. Connell (2005: 1816) asserts that men in higher levels of organisational structures do not provide the support necessary for the transformation of gender relations to achieve gender equality, as they continue to abuse their positioning in the workplace. This can lead to hostility towards women who are proactive in exposing sexual violence as evidenced by Kathy’s assertion that she was viewed as the ‘bad woman’ working toward getting the men fired.

In light of the scenario discussed above, where women do not have enough support to encourage them to report incidents of harassment, they find that they often have to address these issues by themselves. For instance, following the physical violation of her body, Alice finally confronted the senior reporter responsible for the violence who jokingly dismissed it and walked away. By being dismissive of Alice’s complaints, the senior reporter highlights the idea that women’s concerns are not always taken seriously, as they viewed as being ‘petty’, especially in the context of male-dominated organisations. This raises further questions about who has the power to define sexual harassment in organisations. As noted earlier, patriarchal ideals give men the power and privilege in this space and women’s concerns are therefore not recognised as serious issues.

Alice notes the extreme consequences of reporting such behaviour to the superiors. She pursued her case further and reported it to the female editor in charge and highlights the victimisation she suffered thereafter.

“...I told my editor (who is female) that I don’t like what he is doing. ‘He is greeting but he is touching me and it’s not the first time so I don’t like it, and I am telling him. I am not reporting [so] that you take some action but tell him I don’t like it.’ Then from that time he would not touch me, he would not even greet me. He would just get in the newsroom, and when he was collecting diaries from other reporters he didn’t come to my desk, he just ignored me. Then I was fortunate enough because I was doing a page – I had a health page – so I knew that...whatever I do will see...daylight, saka [so] I wasn’t concerned... I would write down my diary and I would go with it directly to the editor.” (Alice, Interview, 07/02/2015)

Alice’s experience highlights that reporting unwelcome sexual behaviour can have dire consequences for women journalists, putting them in a precarious position. It can result in isolation and lack of recognition in the sense that the senior reporter was no longer collecting Alice’s diary, which is an important part of performing one’s duties as a journalist. That could have resulted in Alice failing to produce stories and therefore failing to effectively perform her job.

In contrast to Tshoedi’s observation on COSATU’s failure to address sexual harassment (within the union), the participants in my study mentioned efforts by external organisations, such as the Zimbabwe Union of Journalists (ZUJ) and FAMWZ, in addressing issues of sexual harassment. The women journalists highlighted that the trade union and FAMWZ were proactive through training women journalists on issues related to sexual harassment and mediating with the organisations on behalf of the employees. In the mediation process, confidentiality is key in protecting and ‘making the environment safe’ for women journalists.

6.6. Self-presentation – dealing with unwanted sexual attention

This study sought to investigate how women negotiate their identities, as journalists and as women in a male-dominated space. It further sought to find out the measures taken by women journalists in addressing the challenges they encounter. This chapter has thus far highlighted sexual harassment as part of women’s gendered experiences in the newsroom. The following discussion will therefore highlight the different strategies and mechanisms the participants employed to fend off unwanted sexual attention. The strategies they highlighted can be described as self-presentation or impression management, as coined by Goffman (1959). As noted earlier in the literature review, Goffman views social interactions as performances where individuals ‘act’ in a certain manner with the aim of eliciting a particular response from the audience. The women journalists I interviewed discussed the ways in which they

had consciously constructed identities that made it difficult for men to approach or take advantage of them. For example, Ellen explained that:

“... I came out as this and presented myself as this hard woman who is out there just to do her work. She is not there for fun and I even got a nickname (name provided), ‘...the way she acts...she doesn’t act like a lady’ (in reference to others’ perceptions of her behaviour) but it helped me to put on this brave face, to say, ‘...I know I am a woman, you know I am a female, but you can’t walk on me like that. You can’t just do whatever you want just because I am a woman. What a man can do, I can do better.’” (Ellen, Interview, 08/02/2015)

Kathy also highlighted that she presented herself as a ‘serious’ person in the newsroom.

“I am a very serious person...I remember some men saying, ‘This woman is not approachable.’ Even when someone wants to date me they would say, ‘This one is not approachable,’ because I am always business-minded... I am not frivolous. When I am doing business, I am doing business; when I am doing my story, I am just doing my story and present it, that’s it.” (Kathy, Interview, 12/02/2015)

Ellen and Kathy’s self-presentation tactics are examples of ‘doing gender’. The strategy they adopted confirms Butler’s (1990) theory of gender as performative, where the women journalists carry out repeated ‘acts’ of behaviour as a way of challenging gender stereotypes that undermine women as professionals. As noted earlier in the theoretical framework, Butler questions the assumptions that gender becomes a stable identity where sex, gender and sexuality are coherent. The way Ellen acted, as a ‘hard woman’ who is assertive and aggressive, was perceived as not conforming to the expected norms and behaviour of women as soft, receptive and compliant. Butler further notes that individuals perform their gender within the confines of ‘regulatory social conventions’. In this study, the participants are working in a male space that is defined by a masculine culture and therefore their behaviour has to conform to the conventions of this space. Ellen’s strategy demonstrates that for women to survive in journalism, where the masculine culture dominates, they have to suppress their socially constructed identity as women and assume a masculine identity that conforms to the demands of the workplace.

Ellen explained that in order to counter ‘falling into traps’ or not being taken seriously, a woman journalist had to be very attentive, ‘stand your ground’ and work extra hard.

“...but when your boss says you are going for a story with the minister and the minister says, ‘I want to have dinner with you,’ [you say] ‘OK sir, its fine, you can have dinner with me but now I need a story. Let’s work on the story,’ You work on the story...He will see that you are up for the work, not up

for...stories or games. So, you know, as a woman, you have to prove yourself..." (Ellen, Interview, 08/02/2015)

Ellen stresses that women have to put in more effort in their job so that they do not give the 'wrong impression' or give room for their sources to doubt their capabilities. Ellen and Kathy's self-presentation strategy confirms Hardin and Whiteside's (2009) observations in sports journalism that women have to minimise their femininity as it influences how they are perceived by editors, work colleagues and sources.

One of the participants highlighted that dress code as part of self-presentation is important in how women are viewed or taken as serious professionals in the workplace. Kathy raised concerns over the way younger women journalists dressed, stressing that:

"...the dressing sometimes gives away their personality... People should dress decently for work – jacket, tie... I mean you go to a minister's office dressed in a mini-skirt and a see-through blouse... I am for fashion, women can dress anyhow, but you know, sometimes you give the wrong impression when you attend certain meetings dressed like that. You don't look like a serious person, so to speak, so it's like you are saying, 'Take me,' or something like that." (Kathy, Interview, 12/02/2015)

Kathy's comments indicate that she is also conforming to the dominant patriarchal stereotype that women need to discipline their bodies through dressing, and does not challenge practices that reinforce women's disadvantaged position in the workplace. Kathy argues that since women are often likely to be viewed in sexual terms, there is a need to constantly police women's bodies and dress code. Kathy's comments highlight Trethewey's (1999) argument that women's bodies are viewed as excessively sexual and that dressing is one way that women use to manage and 'discipline' their bodies in an organisational context. Kathy makes the same arguments raised in Trethewey's study, that if women dress in revealing clothing, they run the risk of losing their credibility. As a result, dress-code indicates another form of controlling women in the workplace, where women have to conform to certain ways in order to 'blend' into the male workspace. The emphasis on dress code confirms Acker's (1990) argument that organisations recognise one gender group and that is men.

Another strategy used by the women journalists to shield themselves from unwelcome sexual behaviour was avoidance. The participants noted that they were proactive in avoiding situations that leave them in a vulnerable position. The avoidance strategy also falls under self-presentation. For example, Rachel noted that, as a way to avoid sexual harassment, her approach was that, "...even if I am invited for just drinks or lunch with my boss, unless it's a

formal lunch where many other people are coming, I don't accept because I compromise my standing with him or I give him the leeway...to go further..." (Rachel, Interview, 18/02/2015). On the same note, Louise explained that she had made a "vow" to herself that she was not going to date journalists.

While the participants made comments about suppressing one's feminine attributes, they made passing comments on how some women journalists use their femininity to their advantage in the journalism profession. For instance, while discussing the under-representation of women in newsrooms, Helen highlighted sexual harassment as an issue. In her account, she noted that while the majority of women were against sexual harassment, some view it as a way of surviving in the industry.

...ndimo paunosangana nesexual harassment...Vamwe havo vanenge vachiifarira sexual harassment...hameno kuti kuifarira here...kana kuti vanenge vachiiona iri iyo last option here kana kuti havana dzimwe nzira dzavanokwanisa dzekuxcella nadzo mufield

"...that's where the incidents of sexual harassment arise...Others seem not to have an issue with sexual harassment...I am not sure if it is a matter [of whether] they like it or they view it as a last option or they don't have other means of excelling in this field. (Helen, Interview, 05/02/2015)

Helen's comment highlights that sexual interactions in the workplace can have different meanings. She alludes to the idea that some women might use such sexual interactions to their benefit, as a way to excel in the industry.

6.7. Conclusion

In this chapter, I demonstrated that sexual harassment is a violation of women's bodies. I argued that the newsroom is a competitive and aggressive workplace in which women end up being violated in the processes of the contest. I also argued that journalism is a masculine profession in which men resist the presence of women and therefore use sexual violence as one way to force them out of the workplace, resulting in the exclusion of women from the public sphere. Women's bodies are viewed as out of place and therefore constitute a distraction. The participants highlighted their experiences of different forms of sexual harassment, which they described as 'torture' and 'traumatising', indicating that the newsroom was a violent and unsafe space for women. I stressed that sexual harassment is a tool employed by men to control women's progression in this industry as well as their bodies.

Thus, women remain marginalised and subordinate to men. A conclusion of the study follows in the next chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Conclusion

This research aimed to investigate the gendered experiences of women journalists in the print media in Zimbabwe. It also sought to understand the nature of the gender relations within the industry that result in gender inequality. The two other objectives were to investigate how women negotiate their gender identities of being a journalist and a woman in a male-dominated space, as well as the coping strategies employed by women to address the everyday challenges they encounter. Interviews were conducted with women journalists from five different media houses based in Harare. I will discuss the key findings in relation to the theoretical framework and the literature review.

7.1. Invisibility of women in journalism

Following Scott's definition of gender, this study showed that gender analysis is important in understanding how women journalists are marginalised in the profession. Gender is a form of stratification in society, based on meanings attached to femininity and masculinity that portray a hierarchy of power. This research confirmed that journalism is a gendered profession that favours masculinity. It demonstrated that the newsroom is a contested space, characterised by competition over assignments, specific desks (beats) as well as promotions. Patriarchal relations that exist in society, where men hold more power, compounded the unequal gender relations in this contested space. Men hold powerful positions in the newsroom as the senior editorship is largely male-dominated. Women are side-lined and remain in less powerful positions. Therefore, the journalism profession reflects unequal power relations. In terms of gendered experiences, a number of examples highlighted by the women journalists in the study demonstrated that women do not belong within the journalism profession.

The findings demonstrated the invisibility of women in the newsroom as one of their gendered experiences. This was demonstrated in gendered practices in the newsroom such as the diary sessions and the gendered allocation of assignments. Societal constructions of masculinity and femininity are 'embedded' in the journalism profession, where masculinity is given more weight than femininity. Evidence from the interviews highlighted a gendered division of work based on gender-role allocation and stereotypes that exist in society. In this

research, the women participants noted that women are often bypassed or denied access to opportunities to cover influential assignments, which are often given to men due to their availability and courage. For example, the participants noted several instances in which senior editors chose male journalists to cover hard news and political stories over their female counterparts, based on perceptions of femininity and masculinity. Men were given assignments that were associated with power and authority, such as politics and sports. These assignments are more recognised within the journalism industry. In contrast, due to the perceptions of femininity associated with stereotypes that women are weak, emotional and soft, they were allocated ‘soft’ beats such as health, lifestyle, and entertainment. The women journalists indicated that there was lack of confidence and trust in women as they were viewed as incapable of covering certain stories, concurring with Kim’s (2006) study on women journalists in Korea. Thus, male journalists have more authority in the newsroom, as they were allocated stories that are important in gaining recognition from editors and news sources, while women were often given assignments which were deemed as not serious and therefore the women did not receive much recognition. The experiences of women journalists confirmed Acker’s (1990: 146) definition of gendered organisations, that “the advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity, are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine.”

As a result, men are seen to progress faster in the journalism career, as they cover assignments that are more recognised, while women remain in low-status positions, as the stories they cover are the least recognised. Women therefore remain invisible despite their participation in this industry. Allocation of work highlighted the division of power within the newsroom along gender lines. The findings also concurred with Opoku-Mensah’s (2004: 112) observation that that the newsroom is a political space where journalists compete for ‘territory, power and superiority’. Hence women are excluded from the sphere of influence as well as the hierarchy of power in the newsroom.

7.2. Masculine culture and unequal power relations

The findings in this study highlighted the prevalence of a masculine culture within the newsrooms that is based on masculine standards and values. This culture, characterised by competitiveness and aggression, also explains the invisibility of women journalists in the

newsroom. I will highlight three aspects of the masculine culture that reinforced the idea of competitiveness in the newsroom. The first aspect is related to the participants' description of the newsroom as a 'jungle'. From the women journalists' experiences, the newsroom was a tough environment that only permits "survival of the fittest". The participants expressed that the environment is not friendly to women and is not for the soft or weak-hearted. They stated that they had to 'fight' in order to survive in the profession. They have to fight over assignments, fight to get recognition within the newsroom and work harder than their male counterparts.

Secondly, the participants highlighted that the newsroom was a boys' club. One explanation for their understanding of the newsroom as a boy's club is that decision-making is in the control of men. Men hold powerful positions within the newsroom as editors and senior management, positions from which women are excluded, as they are mostly located in junior and middle level positions. As the participants illustrated, the senior editorship is in charge of making decisions on key issues such as editorial content and promotions. Furthermore, the participants viewed the boy's club in the context of 'informal communication' or networking opportunities outside normal working hours. As one of the participants expressed, important decisions were made at informal meetings that are held after-hours and from which women were excluded. The time and spaces at which the meetings are held are inaccessible to women due to their assigned gender roles. This confirms Scott's argument that gender signifies unequal power relations, where men are in control of making important decisions without the input of women. Thus women remain invisible as they are not part of the process. This finding concurs with Kim (2006) and Robinson (2008), that women remain at the margins of power as they are 'alienated' from the sources of power.

The third aspect from the findings that highlighted the masculine culture was illustrated through women's experiences of their struggles to get promoted. Confirming Cockburn's (1991) study, the women journalists expressed men's resistance and resentment towards successful women. The senior management or editorship - with access to decision-making powers, exhibited their preference for men with regards to promotion; thus, women were undermined. Examples from Kathy of how she was side-lined by a male colleague who took over her position while she was away and how her editor had to defend her so that she could get promoted, illustrate the competitive nature of the profession. The participants also expressed that men in the newsrooms viewed women as 'threats' or 'intruders', and could go to any

length to maintain their power within the newsroom. They also emphasised men's privilege in terms of promotion by pointing out that men are promoted because they are men, without much regard for merit, as mentioned by Kathy. The above examples highlighting the prevalence of a masculine culture demonstrate that newsrooms are not gender-neutral but that there is a hierarchy of power which excludes women.

7.3. Journalism as a greedy institution that side-lines women

The research demonstrated that journalism is a greedy institution as it showed characteristics associated with such institutions. Following the definition provided by Coser (1974 cited by Franzway, 2001 and Burchielli, 2008), journalism demanded commitment and loyalty from its members with regard to time and energy. Greedy institutions compel members to commit to one institution while weakening ties with other institutions. The journalism profession requires its members to work long hours which, as observed by several scholars (Acker, 1990; Nemoto, 2013; Cahusac and Kanji, 2014), is an indicator of commitment to the job and a marker of an ideal worker. Working long hours has also been described as being characteristic of a masculine culture, as it accommodates men more readily than women. As noted by Cha (2013), those who abide by the long hours' norm are rewarded with career mobility and other opportunities important for career growth. In the journalism industry, the participants in my study noted that men are often given the tough assignments and gain more recognition from management because they have 'time at their disposal', which women do not. For women in this profession, their work competed with their social roles in the family, pertaining to domestic duties in the household. Working long hours comes into conflict with assigned gender roles that women have in the family. As a result, women experience work-family conflict. This further confirms Acker's theory that the man is the ideal worker who can meet expectations that he can work anytime as he does not have other commitments to distract him from being committed to work.

Furthermore, the nature of journalism proved that it was structured along masculine principles and could not accommodate women's social roles, including being a wife and mother. The participants stressed that women had too many responsibilities in the private sphere, such that the time demands of their jobs often put a lot of pressure on them as they tried to manage the two roles. Thus, women are at a disadvantage. For instance, married women noted difficulties they had in balancing married life and their professions. This was

compounded by patriarchal control in the household as their spouses protested against the long working hours demanded by the profession. As their bodies as are associated with reproduction and child care, women with children highlighted the challenges they faced as they tried to perform their duties. Helen, a freelance journalist, who had just returned to working after maternity leave, noted that she was not able to go for assignments that involved travelling out of town and spending time away from home as she had to take care of her baby. Similarly, Ellen who also had a young child noted that she had to alter her breastfeeding hours due to her work demands. The above examples highlighted that journalism is a greedy institution designed around the principle the man is the better candidate as he does not suffer the constraints that women do.

The women journalists highlighted how their social roles were used as reasons for control and exclusion in the workplace. In the workplace, women who were mothers were stigmatised and were perceived as ‘unreliable’. Experiences of working mothers were that they were resented in the workplace as there were assumptions that they could not commit to their job or that they disrupted the work routine of the organisations, as they often had to attend to the needs of their children. Attitudes that women with children do not belong to the newsroom but rather in the private and domestic sphere, are perpetuated by men in the newsrooms. The implications are that women with children or women in this stage of their life are excluded from important assignments and as such they experience delays or stunted career progress.

As a greedy institution which compels members to commit to one institution, women in journalism often had to choose between their job and their family or find other strategies to prevent their social roles in family life from interfering with work. The participants noted that they often had to make personal sacrifices. In this study, some of the participants highlighted they had difficulties in maintaining successful relationships with their spouses and had divorced. Problems related to the nature of the job had contributed to the separation. They noted that they managed to continue and commit to the profession after they separated from their spouses, as they were free from patriarchal control within the family. The experiences of these women indicated that they did not have adequate support from the family.

The participants noted that support from both family and the workplace was important for them in managing work-family conflict that arose as work competed with their social roles. For example, the participants noted that support from the husband and the in-laws’ family

was vital for women to excel in this industry. One participant, Ellen, indicated that her husband was also in the media industry, which meant the he understood the nature and pressures of the work. Ellen's husband and mother in law assisted with child-care and this allowed Ellen to remain committed as she had more time to concentrate on her job.

7.4. Sexual harassment as a form of control and exclusion of women

The women journalists in my study experienced sexual harassment as a challenge that negatively affected their performance and resulted in their exclusion. I argue that sexual harassment is a form of violence used by men to control women's bodies as well as their opportunities for career mobility. My findings confirm other research (Trethewey, 1999; Hearn & Parkin, 2001; Cockburn, 1991) that argues that women's bodies are seen as out of place in the workplace and the public sphere. Women are viewed as a distraction and, as a result, their bodies are sexualised, ridiculed and violated through demeaning comments and physical contact.

Women experience sexual harassment in different ways. In this study, three forms of sexual harassment were predominant. The first was verbal comments that included derogatory comments about women's bodies, sexual banter and name-calling. As the participants highlighted, they experienced such verbal comments as 'traumatising' and thus, for women journalists, the newsroom constitutes a hostile workspace which makes them feel unsafe, as they no longer feel comfortable in the presence of men. This impacts on their ability to perform at their best levels. This finding concurs with studies by Hearn and Parkin (2001) and Cockburn (1991), who argue that the verbal form of harassment results in low self-esteem and loss of confidence. Furthermore, it causes emotional distress to women.

The second form of harassment was perpetrated through physical contact (touching). This indicated violation of women's bodies. From the experiences of one participant, this form of violation is not considered serious as it is offhandedly dismissed after confrontation. This confirms Hearn and Parkin's argument that in a male-dominated environment, various forms of sexual behaviour that include unwanted touching may go unchallenged, as women are expected to 'take it in' as a way of conforming to the masculine culture.

The third form of harassment was requests for sexual intimacy from senior members in the newsroom as well as male news sources. My study demonstrated that women are seen as

sexual objects. As highlighted in the literature review, women's bodies are seen as excessively sexual (Trethewey, 1999). Women are objectified in the workplace and treated as sexual beings who are there to provide sexual services. Hence they are not viewed as workers or treated with respect like men who are professionals. In this light, sexual harassment ensured that the newsroom is a space that favours one gender, which confirms Acker's theory that the ideal worker and body in the workplace is male.

Importantly, the findings on sexual harassment of women journalists highlighted unequal power relations in the newsroom. As indicated by the participants in this study, senior journalists, editors and news sources demanded sexual intimacy from women in return for assistance in news gathering, publication of stories, networks and career progress. The findings indicated abuse of power by men in influential positions. Observations by Tshoedi (forthcoming) and Connell (2005) were similar to my study, that men with access to power and in decision-making positions constitute gate-keepers. By requesting sexual favours, men controlled both women's bodies and their access to career opportunities. The participants indicated that the consequences of turning down requests for sexual advances included their stories never being published and women being denied job offers. My study confirmed research that indicated that sexual harassment is an expression of power and is used to keep women in subordinate positions (Cockburn, 1991). My study demonstrated that sexual harassment is a sign of lack of respect for women and is used as a tool used by men to push them out, thereby excluding women from the workspace. Sexual harassment emphasises male domination and control.

7.5. Gendered identities – Are women journalists challenging stereotypes?

As noted earlier, patriarchal relations in society and family are reproduced within the newsroom. Just as women in the family are associated with nurturing and family responsibilities, women journalists noted that their assigned gender roles were extended to the newsroom. The women in this study noted that they faced the challenge that they were not viewed in their professional capacity but were stereotyped and seen as service providers. For example, the participants highlighted that they were often sent on errands by their male supervisors to buy lunch or to do other tasks for them. Furthermore, requests for sexual intimacy from men within the newsroom as well as from men who were news sources should

be read in the same context, where women are expected to provide sexual services. Social constructions about assigned gender roles and stereotypes based on femininity continue to pervade the workplace to the disadvantage of women. As the literature indicated, expectations for women to perform domestic roles in the workplace symbolise subordination of women (Nemoto, 2013; Cockburn, 1991).

As highlighted in the above section on women journalists' experiences of work-family conflict, women's gendered identities are often in conflict with their professional identity. In light of the challenges that women faced in the newsroom due to their gendered identities, the participants highlighted the different ways they manage their identities such that their professional identity remains visible. Firstly, as one participant noted, 'journalism just becomes a passion...' (Gloria, Interview, 02/03/2015). She emphasised that it was a love for the job that led the women to join the profession and motivated them to continue working in it. As the participants pointed out during the interviews, many women who had trained to be journalists had left the profession and chosen other careers within the media industry, such as Public Relations. The women who participated in this study are among those who have decided to continue with the profession. I interviewed participants who had worked in the journalism profession for between two to more than 30 years. This was evidence that they were managing to beat the odds and survive in this industry where women were shown that they do not belong.

Secondly, as the participants are driven by passion, they highlighted that they worked harder and more than their male counterparts to 'prove themselves' and 'gain recognition' within the industry. The findings confirmed White and Hardin's observations of women in sports journalism, that women tended to suppress their femininity and emulate masculine standards that were required in the workplace.

As another way to manage the identity imposed on them in the newsrooms, where they were seen as sexual beings or service providers, the participants highlighted that they performed gender differently. They used self-presentation strategies where they consciously constructed identities that made it difficult for men to approach or take advantage of them. In this case, women performed their gender differently by exhibiting masculine traits and subverting feminine expectations. For example, Ellen comments that when she was at work she acted as a 'hard woman' who is assertive and aggressive. Such a performance was perceived as not

conforming to the expected norms and behaviours where women are expected to be soft and compliant. This confirms Butler's theory of gender performativity where she argues that gender is not a stable identity in which individuals have to follow a prescribed 'script' with expected behaviour. Butler points out that while the way one performs gender is influenced by social sanctions, how one acts is determined by the context or space in which gender is performed. Thus, women journalists were challenging societal expectations on how women should behave, but at the same time were assuming a masculine identity that conforms to the demands of the newsroom.

7.6. Different forms of support as coping strategies

The different ways the participants managed their gendered identities (discussed in the section above) highlighted some of the coping strategies they employed in addressing the challenges they faced in the workplace. Apart from these, one finding from this study was that the participants had support from the trade union, ZUJ and other media organisations such as FAMWZ. The participants explained that the trade union and FAMWZ were proactive in addressing issues of sexual harassment and other forms of discrimination. Another form of support provided by external organisations was in terms of mentorship. One participant noted that she was a beneficiary of a mentorship programme provided by a non-governmental organisation that worked to improve young women journalists' skills in writing, which is important for career success.

In conversations with the participants, they highlighted that they had support from their editors. For example, they observed that there were some male editors who followed professional ethical conduct and were interested in promoting fairness in the newsroom. These editors assisted women by offering them the same opportunities for assignments and promotion as their male counterparts. In addition, as Kathy pointed out, women journalists also had support from women editors. Kathy noted that when she was a senior editor, she preferred to work with women because they were committed and were willing to work faster so that they could have time for family responsibilities.

Some of the women that I interviewed highlighted how they have used their experience(s) as a resource and coping mechanism. Two participants stressed that they used their experience as a way of providing guidance and mentorship to other women journalists.

7.7 Recommendations for future research

I will highlight a number of recommendations in light of the limitations of this study. The scope of this study was limited to focusing on women journalists in the print media and therefore is not representative of the entire journalism profession. Thus, a broader exploration of the profession, that includes experiences of women in the broadcast media as well as other technical sectors in the journalism profession, will be useful in understanding gender inequalities that women experience in the profession. The findings of this research briefly highlighted the shortcomings of the policies within the newsrooms and the profession. As part of policy studies, further investigation into the policies that guide operations in this profession is important as a way of addressing challenges faced by women in this industry. Furthermore, in relation to policies, this study highlighted various examples of work-family conflict experienced by women journalists. This theme came up as an important issue during the field work. Thus, further exploration on how women journalists can achieve work-life balance is important. This includes examining family-friendly policies within this profession, such as leave arrangements and flexible hours.

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Appendix

Informed consent Form

Dear Participant

Ref: Request for participation in a research project on Gendered Experiences of Women journalists in male dominated spaces: A focus on the print media industry in Zimbabwe

My name is Precious Zhou. I am currently enrolled as a Masters student at the University of Pretoria, South Africa. I am conducting a research on the experiences of women working as journalists in the print media industry in Zimbabwe. I would like to request your participation in this research project through participating in an interview.

The objective of the research is to investigate women's opinions on their experiences of working in male dominated workspaces. The questions will include the challenges that women employed as journalists are facing as well as how they are surviving in such an environment. This research is for academic purposes only and the information will therefore only be used for such purposes. The interview should be between 45 minutes to an hour and will be scheduled at a time and place suitable for you.

All information collected from you will be treated confidentially. Your identity and your comments will remain confidential throughout the study as all transcripts will be coded such that your identity can not be linked to the transcripts. Further, the identity of the companies you work for will also be protected as they will not be mentioned in the report on the research. Pseudonyms will be used as another way to protect your identity and that of the company you work for. All information collected from you will be stored at the Department of Sociology for a maximum of 15 years.

Participation in this study is completely voluntary and you may choose to withdraw at any time during the interview. If at any point in the interview you feel intimidated or are uncomfortable with a question asked; you are not forced to answer it. I also request that you allow me to audio- record the interview for the purpose of maintain accuracy of the information I will gain from you. The recording will only be done with your consent. Your participation in this study will not lead to any direct benefits; but will add to the knowledge on understanding gender relations in the workplace.

It is my understanding that the participation in research project will not pose any risks to you. If you agree to participate in the study, please sign the consent form available. If you have questions or concerns before or during the study, please contact me on: 00 27 81 045 2193 and I will gladly answer them. It is of crucial importance that before you agree to participate in this study you fully comprehend what is involved and are satisfied with your participation within the study.

Thank You

Precious Zhou

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Consent form

I hereby confirm that:

I have read and understood the accompanying information letter on the research titled Gendered Experiences of Women Journalists in male dominated spaces: A focus on the broadcasting and print media industry in Zimbabwe.

I also confirm that

- I have received information on the research project and understand what participation in this research means;
- I understand that my participation is voluntary;
- I understand that I have a right not to answer any question I feel uncomfortable with;
- I understand that I have a right to withdraw, from participating in this research at any time that I choose;
- I understand that the all the information collected from me will be kept confidential by the researcher

Signed..... Date

Name of Participant.....

Participant's Agreement: Interview recording

I agree/ do not agree that the interview be recorded. I understand the intent and purpose of the recording for quality control and transcription purposes. I understand that I may stop the recording at any time I wish without having to give an explanation

Signature of participant..... Date.....

Signature (researcher).....

Interview Guide

1. May you please give a background about yourself (information to include personal details, age, family, education and work history)
2. How long have you worked as a journalist?
3. What made you choose this profession?
4. What has been your experience as a woman journalist?
5. Are women given opportunities to cover influential or significant stories?
6. In terms of hierarchy where are most women situated in the newsroom where you are currently working or that you have worked previously?
7. Why are women not in influential positions in the media industry in Zimbabwe?
8. What are the challenges faced by women in this industry?
9. How have you dealt with such challenges?
10. Is there gender discrimination and can you give examples.
11. Do women and male journalists receive equal treatment at the work place in terms of opportunities (promotions, salaries) and work environment?
12. How are issues of discrimination dealt with?
13. Research says women leave the journalism field, what do you think would be their reasons for leaving?
14. Are there any gender policies in the organization/ affirmative action and are women aware of these policies?
15. How does work impact on your personal life?

List of Interviewees

Pseudonym	Date of Interview
1. Helen	05.02.2015
2. Alice	07.02.2015
3. Ellen	08.02.2015
4. Jean	11.02.2015
5. Kathy	12.02.2015
6. Amanda	13.02.2015
7. Pearl	16.02.2015
8. Rachel	18.02.2015
9. Sarah	18.02.2015
10. Diana	20.02.2015
11. Gloria	02.03.2015
12. Louise	05.03.2015