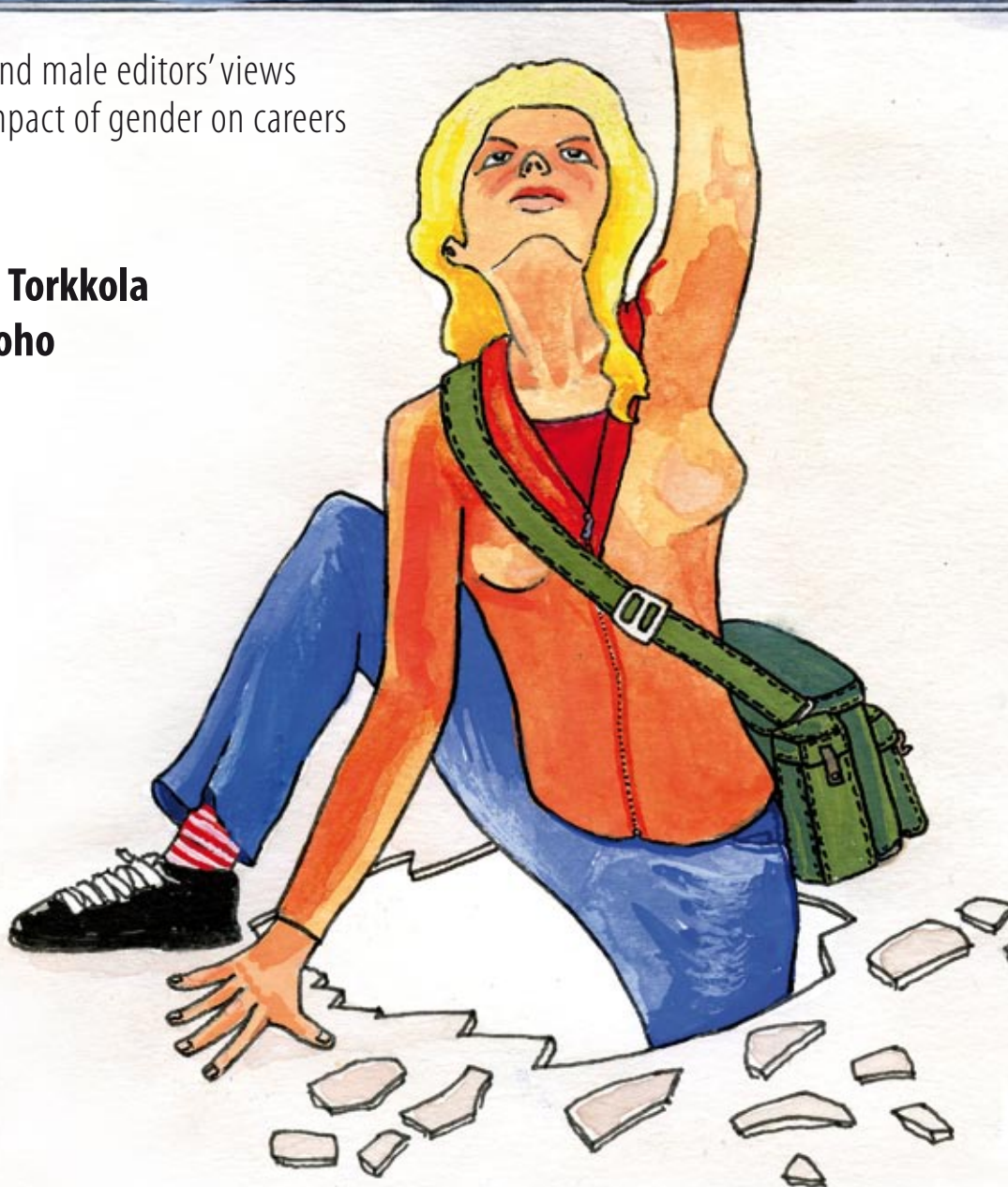


SUBSCRIBING TO A WOMAN EDITOR-IN-CHIEF?



Female and male editors' views
on the impact of gender on careers

Sinikka Torkkola
Iiris Ruoho



The journalistic profession in Finland has had gender balance already from the end of the 1980s: there have been nearly equal numbers of female and male journalists. The numbers of women in lower and mid-level managerial tasks in editorial offices has also increased. Instead, women do not seem to be able to make it to the top leadership of newspapers, to senior editors-in-chief. *Subscribing to a female editor-in-chief?* is the interim report of the research project Equality, journalism and the career progress of women journalists. It analyses the structural, cultural and individual aspects that explain why female journalists do not advance in their careers similarly as men.

The obstacles to women journalists' careers seem to lower because women are needed to head editorial offices for content reasons. Women journalists are assumed to produce content that interests women without which the media cannot make it in the competition for (female) audiences. For the same reason women are also needed to head editorial offices. However, the question remains open whether journalism changes if editorial offices become more feminised. The increase in the numbers of women in editorial offices does not necessarily lead to the dismantling of the gendered structures of journalism. Neither does the increase of women in editorial offices automatically change the culture and ways of action of media companies and newsrooms to more equal than they are today.



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Foreword

This is the interim report of the research project **Equality, journalism and the career progress of Finnish women journalists** funded by Helsingin Sanomat Foundation. The two-year project started in January 2008. The first year was spent carrying out thematic interviews with which we analyse the career progress of female and male journalists, the gendering of journalism and journalistic leadership. In the interim report we concentrate on analysing the career paths of female and male editorial chiefs.

The numbers of women journalists have strongly increased especially since the 1980s. At present well over half of journalists are women but only a few senior editors-in-chief in newspapers are women. Why does journalism not become more equal even though the Equality Act and official educational policy emphasize equality goals?

It would seem that media houses and editorial offices have a demand for women editors at the very least for image reasons and competitive advantage. What is the situation in the everyday of journalism, do the structures and practices enable women's advancement to top positions in the media?

In the spirit of the Nordic equality policy the job of this report is to analyse the reasons why women and men still do not have equal opportunities for career advancement in journalism. At the same time the aim is to give rise to debate on the professional identity in journalism, journalistic cultures, and the editorial organization and its supposed gender neutrality.

The results of the report and their reception offer preliminary questions for the next stage of the research which is the analysis of the gender of journalism. In the next stage the research will go on to investigate the conditions and factors that slow down equality endeavours even after enough women have been hired into the topmost managerial positions in media houses.

Special thanks are due to all 43 interviewed male and female editorial chiefs who gave their time and energy to this research. Warm thanks to Heleena Savela and Ulla Koski of Helsingin Sanomat Foundation for the discussions on this

topic, to Marja Palmunen of the Union of Journalists in Finland for compiling the statistics on journalists, to Susanna Sainio for proof reading and to Sanna Kivimäki, M.Soc.Sc., for her insightful comments that improved the manuscript. Thank you, Pekka Rantanen, for the picture on the cover.

Foreword to the English edition

This English edition is the translation of the Finnish interim report of the research project Equality, Journalism and the Career Progress of Finnish Women Journalists published in February 2009. It was translated by Laura Tohka, M.A. This report is identical to the Finnish original except for the last concluding chapter 'Breaking gender practices' that we have revised and completed in summer 2009. Warm thanks to Laura Tohka for the excellent translation.

Introduction

Women gain ground in newspapers and are the majority in Finnish editorial offices. About half of Finnish journalists have been women since the early 1990s. In 2008 56.4 % of the membership of the Union of Journalists in Finland was women and women have been at least half of the membership since 1995 (SJL 2008a, see also Zilliacus-Tikkanen 2008, 142). Information on the division of the different-level managerial posts is inaccurate. The job titles used in statistics are based on information the members have given themselves and it is the reason why divisions made on this basis can only be approximate. According to the membership register of the Union of Journalists in Finland (SJL 2008b) about half of the journalists in managerial positions are women (see also Zilliacus-Tikkanen 2008, 143). According to the Employment Statistics (Statistics Finland 2005) 59 % of the journalists in senior editorial posts are men and 41 % are women. The statistics do not reveal the differences between editorial offices, media houses and the different media either.

Although women have fit the journalistic profession well and have been chosen to both lower and mid-level managerial posts, they are still seldom appointed to the senior editorships of main daily newspapers. The situation is very similar in Sweden; about half of journalists are women but there are only few women in the topmost positions in editorial offices (Djerf-Pierre 2006, 416–426). In many other industrialised countries the majority of practising journalists continue to be men although the majority of people studying to become journalists are women. (Fröhlich & Lafky 2008, 2–3.)

It is difficult to make inroads into this phenomenon: there is no one reason for the obstacles to women's career advancement that the research community would be completely unanimous about. As Sinikka Vanhala (2008) has observed, factors promoting and slowing down women's career progress have been much researched but the research has not had a clear focus.

The opportunities and obstacles to career advancement are tied to dominant norms and values and women have not always been regarded as capable of

heading editorial offices. Even research on women and leadership more generally has advanced from doubting women's leadership skills to the problems in career advancement (see the Internet database on research on women's leadership 2008). It was first asked whether women had the innate characteristics to become managers. How should one encounter women managers; should you think of them as representatives of their occupation or gender? When the doubts on women's leadership skills abated, the next question was whether there were any essential differences in men's and women's leadership styles.

Women's numbers have since increased especially in mid-level managerial posts. In the last twenty years it has been regarded a problem that only few women advance to topmost positions. This crucial question about women's career advancement has been examined by analysing how and why women's career advancement usually stops at mid-level managerial posts and only very few women become top managers. Why do women and men not have equal opportunities to advance in their journalistic careers? Is it still because of the masculine set of values? Are women placed in the organization in jobs that do not qualify them for managerial roles? Are women afraid of the responsibility?

Women's career progress has been researched from a number of different perspectives, for example with the focus on values and culture, organizational practices and with an emphasis on individual and gender perspectives (Lift & Ward 2001). Researchers have presented organizational, social and individual obstacles to women's career advancement: (1) the organizational practices that hinder women's career advancement, (2) the prejudices and attitudes that women encounter, (3) women's reluctance to participate in organizational games and (4) problems in combining family and career. (Indvik 2004, 276.) Apart from the gendered organizational practices, the lack of useful networks and the different obstacles interpreted as individual, attention has also been paid to the cultural and symbolic explanations of women's underrepresentation in top positions.

Obviously no single fact can explain women's underrepresentation in leadership positions and therefore in this study the focus has been on the combined impact of the different factors. Our report highlights especially such cultural, structural or operational factors that have in other research been reported as having an effect on women's career progress. There is surprisingly little research on why women and men do not have equal opportunities to advance in the journalistic career. On the editorial offices in Finnish newspapers there is just Päivi Malin-Perho's (1995) questionnaire that mapped out the career paths in the early 1990s and reached 61 women managers working in newspapers. There is even less analysis of the conditions and circumstances under which the

organizational and journalistic practices could change so that they would start promoting gender equality.

The aim of this research report is to examine women managers' career development in media houses, the overt and covert obstacles to women's career advancement and raise debate on how the careers are connected to journalism as an institution and culture. In this sense we would like with this report to both give rise to the debate and clarify the picture of women journalists and their strategies that has been outlined in other reports (e.g. The Council for Equality 2002) and research (Savolainen 1990, Savolainen and Zilliacus-Tikkanen 1992, Zilliacus-Tikkanen 1990, 1997 and 2008).

43 editors-in-chief and other managers in editorial tasks were interviewed for this research. 22 were men and 21 women. The interviews covered 11 daily newspapers, four news and current affairs departments in television and six magazines, two of which were women's magazines and four general interest and family magazines. Of the interviewees 22 work in newspapers, 12 in magazines and 9 in television.

Because the aim of this research is not to compare the career advancement of journalists or the work tasks between the different media corporations or editorial offices, the report does not name the newspapers or television studios that have participated in the research. Revealing the names would be ethically questionable as there are only two interviewees from each media and they cannot be regarded as representing the whole organization. In addition, the journalists in a small country know each other pretty well and publishing the examples or the names of the papers and television companies would endanger anonymity. The reason for anonymity is thus the protection of the interviewees' identity. In the same vein, detailed descriptions have been avoided in the example cases.

The aim of the interviews was to uncover the common denominators that help to understand the different career paths of female and male journalists and to make visible the gendered practices of editorial offices and media companies. Instead of names it is more essential to show with the case examples how gender affects journalistic careers and one's place in the editorial offices and in the whole company. Apart from the age of the interviewee, the examples only give the interviewee's sex and the number of the interview in the research data.

The theme: women's and men's careers

The interviews were gathered in March—June 2008. They were open-ended thematic interviews in which researcher Sinikka Torkkola talked with the in-

interviewees about their own careers and tasks as well as the effects of gender on journalistic work and journalistic careers in general. Apart from one interview the interviews were conducted in a space where there were no others present. The interviews lasted for 50–90 minutes. The aim was to interview both a female and male manager from each editorial office. Apart from the senior editor-in-chief or editor-in-chief, another chief who was as high in the editorial hierarchy as possible and represented the other sex was asked to be interviewed. For this reason also news editors and shift managers were interviewed. 23 were editors-in-chief, 10 were managing editors, 4 were news editors and 6 worked in other managerial positions. It was not possible to interview both a woman and a man from all editorial offices. In one editorial office the women managers refused to be interviewed and in some others there were only either women or men among the chiefs.

The majority of the interviewees had families. 32 had a spouse and children. One was a single parent. 10 were childless and of them eight live as a couple. 10 were under 40 years old, 27 were 40–55-year-olds and six were over 55. The interviewees' educational background varied from high school graduates to postgraduate studies. Of the interviewees 20 had a Master's degree or a PhD. 14 had a Bachelor's degree, a journalist's degree or secondary level education. Seven interviewees had some university studies and two of the interviewees were high school graduates.

Our aim is to investigate especially the formation of the female editorial chiefs' career paths and to deepen the *general* picture of the obstacles to women's career advancement analysed in several studies on women's leadership. The data makes it possible to draw typologies of the women chiefs' careers particularly in the journalistic organization and to present for analysis the possible reasons that hinder the advancement of women in mid-level managerial posts into senior editorial positions. The first aim of the research is thus to analyse in the spirit of the Nordic equality policies *why women and men do not have equal chances for career advancement in the journalistic career*. In the thematic interviews (see the Appendix for the interview questions) the focus was especially on:

- the editorial chief's background and education
- career development (what has taken one to the senior editorial position, changes in employer or tasks, possible obstacles to career, the people in the background: family and the supportive people in working life)
- one's views on journalism and one's own job (journalistic tasks, what kind of journalism one holds in high esteem, present tasks)

- place in the editorial organization (the current tasks as a chief, one's place in the editorial offices and the company, thoughts on how the career will proceed and one's experiences of the effects of gender)
- the personal side of the journalistic career (what kind of personal characteristics have helped advance one's career, the effects of one's background on own work as a chief and on career development)
- understanding of the feminisation of the profession and of equality (how does the interviewee see the effect of gender on journalism, the division of tasks and career advancement)

It is not self-evident that the journalistic culture would change as if automatically after enough women have been recruited to the topmost positions in media houses. Previous research does not seem to support the claim that the mere increase in the numbers of women would fundamentally change the basic values of journalism. Therefore the second aim is to *preliminarily bring into analysis the preconditions and factors under which e.g. the conceptions of media management and good journalism change to start promoting gender equality*. The questions brought up by the report offer plenty of material for the continuation of the project, to the examination of the gender of journalism.

However, there is an apparent tension between the two research aims that spring from different starting points – on one hand to examine the obstacles to the advancement of women's journalistic careers and on the other to have a critical look at journalism as a social gender regime – to which we turn in more detail in the next chapter. At the same time the chapter acts as an introduction to how equality has been understood in this report and to what we think we can say about the careers of women editors-in-chief in editorial organizations.

Researching equality or gender?

In the Nordic equality model attention has been paid to the civil rights, legislation and education that discriminate or segregate against women. The focus has been on promoting equality and not literally on the prohibition of discrimination. In the Nordic tradition discrimination has meant the limitation of freedoms and opportunities, for example the socialization of women to more narrow public roles and expectations than men. According to research, gender-based discrimination is still not well recognised in Finland (Kantola & Nousiainen 2008.) In the Act on Equality between Women and Men discrimination is divided into direct and indirect discrimination. Of the two, indirect discrimination is the one harder

to discern. (Act on Equality 2005, Section 7) Apart from the visible obstacles to equality, covert discrimination is built into work practices and the occupation. It may be hard to recognize if, for example, the professional journalistic practices and the values they entail are understood as gender neutral. These hidden practices in working life that discriminate against women have for the past twenty years been talked about as the glass ceiling phenomenon (see Weyer 2007).

Research on journalistic careers is problematic if equality involves the unquestioned acceptance of gender neutrality. It is as problematic to stay on a too abstract level talking about 'women' and 'men' without asking to whom the generalisations refer. For example in the Finnish Business and Policy Forum report *Women to the Top!* (Salo & Blåfeld 2007) women, as well as enterprises, are at the very least indirectly encouraged to make use of the myth of female leadership, i.e. the stereotypical conception of women's natural ability to take care and nurture (e.g. Billing & Alvesson 2000 have criticized this view).

Gender easily becomes a mere classification or label through which the interviewees' attitudes and behaviours are described. Although this report concentrates on the comparison of female and male editorial chiefs' career progress from the equality perspective, gender is here not a mere variable but also a similar object of analysis and interpretation as the other research concepts. (see Djerf-Pierre & Löfgren-Nilsson 2004, 83.) It is thus possible to ask, for example, on what basis journalistic careers and the ideal models of leadership are gendered. And, respectively, on what grounds would the increase in the numbers of women in top positions substantially change the values and ways of action of the media organization.

At least three possible starting points are available to the researcher in view of the female editorial chiefs' career progress. First, one can think, as we do in this interim report, (1) that the present situation seems absurd; half of the journalists are women but there are only few women in the topmost positions in media houses. Therefore the task of this research is to help recognize the factors that prevent women from reaching the same positions as men. This will still leave open the research question of whether these positions and their values and operational culture are worth striving for as they now stand. The ideal models of leadership and journalism are seldom put to question in research. Therefore when women's career progress is looked at (2) it would seem possible to refuse to take for granted and worth pursuing such institutional positions to which men have traditionally advanced. So the critique would be targeted at the cultural practices that discriminate against women that are especially related to leadership and journalism. Correspondingly, women's leadership would mean another kind of leadership, the cultural change of management, ways of action

and of journalism itself. Nonetheless, it is problematic to base one's thoughts on the belief that female leadership is some sort of a natural characteristic.

Although the myth of female leadership described above might even in the long run help change the journalistic organization, it is nevertheless based on the traditional conception of the genders constructed on the natural and static difference of women and men (see Billing & Alvesson 2000, 147–149). Therefore an alternative research path leads to the question of (3) for what, in the end, is the idea of gender *difference* needed. Should we not put to question all norms, ideals and practices that live off of the idea of gender difference? If this were the case no cultural practice related to leadership, journalism or gender would as such be an ideal and norm-like starting point. The aim would be to create completely new kinds of institutions and practices. (See Ruoho 2006, 189–191.) For this to happen large scale social changes and, above all, the willingness to scrap old thought models would be needed.

Being aware of the meaning of gender is one, although an important, aspect in leadership and journalism that is committed to the promotion of gender equality. Research on working life now emphasizes equality and diversity in the workplace community and leadership that takes on board their promotion (Kauppinen 2007). Gender, which is nevertheless always also intersected by age, social position and cultural identity, is an important dimension in these studies. Such a basic methodological starting point puts to question the many historical dichotomies that are related to femininity and masculinity and tend to repeat the existing interpretations of femaleness and maleness. However, there is a long way from theory to praxis, to the media organizations' ability to reflect their own values and ways of action and to promote the careers of differently aged women coming from diverse backgrounds.

The editorial chiefs interviewed for this research have started their careers at different points in time and therefore they represent varied perspectives to their own careers and motives. In other words the fact that you identify with a certain generation, e.g. the 1960s or 1980s, can in significant ways shape the positive and negative attitudes to gender equality and feminism as well as one's personal experience of gender. The meaning of gender in media organizations, journalistic work and individual experiences is thus historically evolving and intersected by the person's age and social background.

The three levels of careers

In the last few years research on the gendered practices of journalism has strongly brought up the practices of media organizations and professional identities. (Bruin & Ross 2004, Carter et al. 1998).The research highlights, among other things, the different places of female and male journalists and their identification with the organization, profession and gender. In this report too the career prospects, obstacles and often also invisible barriers seem to be intertwined into a complex web of interrelated cultural, structural and operational causes. The careers of individual editorial chiefs are affected by the structures and operational cultures of media companies, the journalistic culture, editorial practices as well as personal choices.

We will look at career progress in more detail from three different and intersecting perspectives: the organizational, editorial and individual perspectives. All of them include a cultural, structural and operational dimension. With *culture* we refer to the meanings, e.g. symbols and values that are attached to both the nature of senior editorial tasks, journalism as an institution and the gender of journalists. With *structure* we mean, among other things, the gendered division of labour, both horizontal and vertical, in the society at large and media houses, as well as the modes of operation that have been constructed as a part of gendered action. Women’s and men’s gender-bound ways of acting, together with the other cultural and structural issues, restrict *individual* action, for example seeking the different organizational and editorial jobs, specialization and the strategic choices available to individuals (see Evetts 2000, 58—64).

Three perspectives into career progress

	Organizational	Editorial	Individual
Culture	Ideal leadership	“Good” journalism	Gender expectations
Structures	Position in organization	Editorial tasks	Female and male labels
Action	Career choices	Specialisation	Strategy

In analysing the research interviews, factors explaining the editorial chiefs' careers, i.e. why women and men do not in practice have similar opportunities to advance in their journalistic careers, are sought in two ways. First of all the interviewees' career stories and the similarities and differences in them are mapped out. The stories reflect something that has been *experienced*: How have the interviewed people experienced their careers? How do they identify themselves in relation to the organization, journalistic culture and gender? Although we are dealing with narratives, they are indicative of the different things that have had an effect on careers. Secondly, we are looking for explanations in the editors-in-chief's answers to the direct question of why women do not seem to advance to top jobs similarly as men.

There are three kinds of explanations in the career stories as well as in the answers to the direct question 'why'. The most elaborate explanations have to do with the structures and cultures of media organizations. For their part, explanations tied to editorial practices make concrete the gendered nature of the journalistic culture and practice. Personal choices illustrate the kind of career choices to which the organizational and editorial cultures and practices both pull and push individual journalists. Career choices can also be understood as strategies for survival with which people both maintain their ability to work and build their professional identities. The special thing about information garnered in this way is that it offers as its point of view the active agent's perspective into the culture and structures.

Differently paced careers

The comparison of female and male careers shows that men progress in their careers more rapidly. Table 1 compares men's and women's journalistic work experience before their first senior post. Of the interviewed women editorial chiefs two have been appointed in their first senior editorial post with less than five years' work experience. The first was appointed as the editor-in-chief of a small local newspaper after she had been working as a journalist for summer vacation replacement. After that she worked as a press officer and a journalist for twenty years before her appointment in a senior editorial post in a magazine. Another woman who had been appointed as an editorial chief after less than five years' work experience had her first editorship as the producer in a free sheet. Of the interviewed male editorial chiefs ten had been appointed in their first senior editorial post after less than five years' journalistic experience. Male journalists

who had started their careers in the 1960s and 1970s had started in managerial posts already during their first year at work.

Table 1: Journalistic work experience before first managerial post

Years of work experience	Women %	Men %
0–5 years	10	46
6–10 years	35	23
11–20 years	35	32
Over 20 years	20	0
Total	100% N=21	100% N=22

The comparison of careers also indicates that men are recruited in senior editorial posts from outside their own editorial offices more often than women (Table 2). Of the interviewed female editorial chiefs four have come to their present jobs from outside the editorial office or media house. 11 of the men have been recruited in their current jobs from the outside. Career differences are also revealed by the fact that one third of the women have been working for the same media house for over ten years before appointment in their first senior editorial jobs.

Table 2: Years of working in the present editorial office or media house before the current appointment

Work experience with current employer	Women %	Men %
0	19	50
1–5 years	24	32
6–10 years	29	19
10–20 years	24	0
Over 20 years	5	0
Total	100% N=21	100% N=22

The recruitment of editors-in-chief from outside their own editorial offices is in this data more common than the recruitment of other managers. 10 of the 21 interviewed editors-in-chief, nine men and one woman, have been recruited directly as editors-in-chief. A superficial quantitative calculation tells about the

differences in female and male senior editors' careers. The following chapters will go into these differences as well as their causes in more detail.

The organizational perspective: leadership, division of labour and career paths

The cultures and practices of media companies are the background behind the careers of individual journalists. They offer editorial offices and journalists the framework in which are formed not only journalistic practices but also journalistic identities. Journalistic work is done in media organizations that, in addition to practices, are also associated with beliefs, values and feelings (Bruin 2000, 229). International research shows that women's position in editorial offices is unequal compared to men's (Robinson 2005). This is especially visible in the case of the topmost positions of media houses. There is a long way to equality from the fundamentally democratic ideal of journalism in the editorial organizations (See SJL 2007.)

Research on working life has looked for the reasons of the gendering of organizations. Gendering has been explained e.g. by professional practices, workplace hierarchies and organizational practices, norms and thinking. Päivi Korvajärvi (1998, 22) divides the research into the ethnomethodological, cultural, processual and performative approaches. Of these the processual approach has become familiar from sociologist Joan Acker's research on the gendered practices in working life (see about the critique e.g. Britton 2000)

Research on the relationships of journalism and gender has also moved its focus from investigating the numbers of women in editorial offices to an analysis of the characteristics of work, work practices, the profession and the professional ideology. One talks about the journalistic culture and the culture of the editorial office. It has not been until the last ten years that attention has also been paid to the different levels of the media organization and their gendering. Until then the media organization's own structures and practices had appeared to be nearly gender neutral and women's and men's different behaviours in the organization had been explained by their position in the patriarchal society. However, journalists can choose different identity positions when they work in media houses – for example, they can have a strong identification to an organization, to a certain "house", or they can identify with the journalistic culture (Bruin & Ross 2004, vii-ix).

Especially in recent years questions of the cultural *feminisation* of working life and the economy have been analysed (e.g. Adkins 2001). Simply, it is a question

of analysing the factors that have to do with women's position in working life at the same time as the nature of work and tasks have changed so that they boost the traditional male values and work cultures less than they used to. That the numbers of women in the labour markets and especially in the different expert jobs – such as journalists – increase gives rise to the question of how women could be able to advance in their careers as well as men and go as far as the editor-in-chief's position in a wide circulation daily paper.

Here attention is paid to the specific issues of leadership and organizational culture that obstruct and even stop women from advancing to the topmost positions in the organization. The term 'glass ceiling' is a fitting description of the hindrances and obstacles that often appear as covert discrimination. Hannele Koivunen (2006, 93) defines the glass ceiling as a such invisible hurdle to which the careers of competent well-educated women end as less educated, experienced and competent men man the topmost positions.

There are numerous Finnish studies and reports that map out the glass ceiling phenomenon and women's leadership in different sectors of the society, in universities, businesses and the public sector (e.g. Husu 2001, Karento 1999, Kauppinen 2006, Lämsä 2003, Lämsä et al. 2007, Vanhala 1986, 2005 and 2008). An important part of the research that aims at women's and men's career equality is also the analyses that are related e.g. to male homosocial networks and the construction of masculinities in organizations (e.g. Kanter 1977, Hearn 2006, Tallberg 2003). Our own interpretations of the differing career paths of female and male editors-in-chief are also in a dialogue with the above mentioned studies on leadership and organizational cultures.

In the interviews the conservatism of media companies arises as a structural and cultural impediment to women's leadership careers. Media houses appear as male organizations where leadership has been regarded as a natural male ability. One interviewee, who is now at the top of his career, says that he was appointed early on in his career as the manager of more experienced women journalists.

They promoted me very quickly. They hired me as a journalist, then I was the leading journalist which is a bit strange title and then I became the junior editor-in-chief, which meant in practice that the senior editor-in-chief headed the whole association. I ran the editorial office which did have experienced journalists. There were a managing editor and a sub-editor, both women and substantially more experienced than I was. I kind of became their superior.

Interviewer: *How did that happen?*

I wondered about that too. I thought that the managing editor N.N. should, without a question she should have been the junior editor-in-chief. Because she was the heart and soul of that paper. But that was a patriarchal community...

Man 57 years, interview 17

A female editorial chief thinks about the fact that there are so few women senior editors in newspapers and about why the changes have been so slow in newspapers. She talks about the newspapers' journalistic culture and its way of organizing as a male world and male networks whose rules do not apply to women.

Traditionally newspapers were a total male world. It is built on one hand on communication but also through networks. Is a woman always a distraction in that network that is used to function in a certain way and where people are used to taking care of things in a certain way and where they have rules and conventions that are better suited to men's world than they are to the women's world? Are these the kinds of characteristics that have led to the fact that (...) women would not be appointed or that women would not have a level playing field when they are candidates for some job.

Woman 58 years, interview 1

The significance of organizational culture for individual career choices is not simple as the career choices also derive from subjective decisions. The choices may seem voluntary but they might as well be linked to internalized female and male roles that are regarded as natural. All interviewees do not share the view that gender would have an effect on career progress. A male editorial chief answers a question about the effects of gender on journalistic work and careers.

In itself it (gender) does not have any other effect than sometimes when you know that there is a prejudiced person having a press conference. (...)

If you send a man it never causes any commotion but if you send a woman it can cause, but that time too is really in the past. Now we can send women even to events organized by the army, and it doesn't matter. So gender no longer matters. That women do not advance in the editorial hierarchy, it doesn't have anything to do with gender.

Interviewer: *With what then?*

The woman's will, i.e. what the person wants.

Man 63, interview 18

Later on in the interview the editorial chief explains women's lack of will by saying that they focus their energy in a different way, to the home and family. This is also very natural in the interviewee's mind. He says he belongs to the school that thinks housework should be divided so that "men do the work outdoors and women indoors". This is a rather crude example of chauvinist attitudes but in its own way it well illustrates the contradictions that can be related to perceiving gender in working life: on one hand it seems that gender does not matter at all but, on the other, on the level of attitudes, the traditional division of labour has not yet completely disappeared.

The ways of leading media organizations do not differ from the general cultural and social understandings of leadership. The gendered practices of an organization start from the division of labour into women's and men's tasks, positions, power and salary. In addition, the organization is associated with such symbols, images and consciousness that are closely related to the image of masculinity. In its own way, interaction between men and women regulates power positions and subordination and generates different alliances and exclusions. Every single employee is for his or her part engaged in internal mental work in order to build his or her understanding of the work organization and of gender-appropriate behaviour and attitude. (Korvajärvi 1998, 28—29). All aforementioned factors can easily be found in any organization that is based on the vertical and horizontal division of labour between women and men.

The gendering practices of a media organization become concrete as stereotypical expectations of gender roles. That a young woman is asked to take up the position of an editor-in-chief is a surprise.

I was surprised when they asked me to do it. I was 32 years old at the time (...) and they basically had 50+ men as heads of department. There were a few women but then they too were considerably older than me. I was a little bit of a freak in that company.

Woman 50 years, interview 27

Joan Acker (1998, 197) talks about the sub-culture of an organization that helps reproduce the gendered division – this happens even without the better volition of the women and men in the organization. For example, who is perceived of as a leader? The person whom people expect not to have responsibilities outside work and who does not have mandatory 'housework' related to the home? How are the editorial tasks divided? To what brands of journalism are female journalists thought to specialize as if by nature? At least the sub-culture related to leadership may have been perceived in many media organizations as gender neutral up

until today. The neutrality hides the fact that ideal leadership is still masculine rather than feminine. The sub-culture does not necessarily change even if over half of the employees in the field are women or if there are women in the senior editorial posts of the media houses.

Masculine leadership still manifests itself as good leadership even if the traditional masculine characteristics of leadership, such as individual competences, hierarchy, control and an emphasis on profit-making, as such no longer seem to be enough to define leadership (Ropo 2006, 62). Making masculine leadership the norm also extends to the social skills needed in working life. When an interviewee was asked about the meaning of gender in managerial work she compared her own actions with the male sense of humour:

Maybe in the end it is in that I have a rather good sense of humour and make jokes like any man, that in that sense I am not too sensitive. I haven't now felt that I would have it more difficult because I am a woman.

Woman 39 years, interview 22

Women's talk about leadership is partly contradictory. On one hand many women editorial chiefs say that they are doing fine and they deny the meaning of gender. On the other, they tell about situations in which they suspect gender has had an effect. According to them, women are appointed in leadership positions because they are thought to possess different characteristics by nature. The appointment of a woman may be reasoned for example by saying that "she has the reputation of being a good listener" (Woman 41 years, interview 4). A shared understanding of leadership as a masculine characteristic natural to men comes up in the recruitment process.

By invitation

The recruitment of women in senior journalist positions is slower than that of men. On the basis of this interview research it seems that male journalists end up in their first senior posts sooner than female journalists. One thing explaining this is the recruitment process. People end up in senior posts usually by invitation. A suitable person may be appointed directly or he or she can be asked to apply for the job.

I haven't sent in application papers anywhere, in fact I have always been invited (...) actually I have done some quick moves. When I went to media XX, for

example, I do recall quite clearly even, we were celebrating the eve of the first of May, closer to the evening somewhere at a friend's place and this call came.

Man 57 years, interview 26

The person who was the managing editor then spoke with me (...) he said that it couldn't be anyone else from inside the house. That you should apply for it, that he thinks I should apply.

Woman 52 years, interview 6

Some interviewees have clearly experienced that their gender is an obstacle to career advancement. They have encountered belittling in different ways. A news editor at the top of her career thinks about her personal characteristics that have had an effect on career advancement. First of all she thinks about her directness and its effects and tells about an incident in the early 1980s:

(...) my senior editor said, I had been at the political desk for a couple of years then, I was maybe 26—27 years old: that listen N.N. you do good stories and good work but always remember that you are only a woman.

Woman 52 years, interview 15.

On the basis of this research it seems that female editors are recruited more seldom than male editors from outside the own editorial office or media company. Gendered networks may partly explain why women are not recruited as easily as men. One interviewee thought about the meaning of networks in the recruitment of senior editors-in-chief to provincial daily papers:

If you think of something like a senior editor-in-chief in a provincial daily then (...) and otherwise too in a male environment where the networks have been really male and from there you then have had both a push and a pull. They have looked who among us men could become a senior editor-in-chief...

Man 42 years, interview 30

The dominant practice of inviting people regarded as competent and suitable to senior posts can be an obstacle to career advancement. Those seeking advancement can send signals of their wishes through the networks. In male networks the gaze is turned at other men and at least the women candidates who come from outside the own house may remain invisible. Recruitment based on invitation is not unproblematic for men either. A person who wishes to sidestep the conventional career path may find it hard to get his message across because

you do not want to appear too pushy either. A managing editor, who has had a long career, answered a question on advancement to a senior editor-in-chief's post:

They are jobs that you do not sort of (just go to), you get invited if you get invited. It (the senior editorial post) could interest me, yes it could interest me. But, but well, yes, one should try everything

Interviewer: *You could give a hint even, that you are leaving, like, so you might get invited.*

Yes, of course, and naturally one talks about these things with other people but, on the other hand, I am of the opinion that maybe when you have been invited it would be easier to take the job than when you have really pushed yourself.

Man 53 years, interview 28

In most editorial offices the small numbers of female editorial chiefs has been a recognized and undesired situation. Sometimes this can be an advantage to female and an obstacle to male applicants:

Because there has been a lot of talk of how you should get more women in senior posts and especially in the media, I think that this has even sometimes opened up some sort of a crack or maybe brought that extra kick to the situation that has been needed.

Woman 50 years, interview 27

But if you think of the selection [refers to him being selected as senior editor-in-chief] in this job, in fact I think that gender had a slightly negative effect. At that time there was this debate on how male-dominated the posts of senior editors-in-chief are and they were very willing to recruit a woman.

Man 38 years, interview 7

There is a lot of tacit knowledge in the recruitment process that has to do with leadership as well as journalism that guides the actions of the head hunters as well as the applicants. A female editorial chief with a long career in the same editorial office says that she sensed that they were not looking for her kind of a person.

Interviewer: *So you didn't apply for the senior editor-in-chief's post?*

I didn't apply for it. I sensed that they were not looking for me, my type was not looked for. The senior editors-in-chief in this paper have been quite some

men, sort of figureheads of this province and they've had great influence. In my mind the senior editor-in-chief doesn't have to have such great influence. It could be a good journalist, enough to become the senior editor-in-chief.

Woman 52 years, interview 6

Another interviewee tells why she changed from the senior editor post in one newspaper to a senior editor-in-chief's post in another paper. On one hand she thought that in a newspaper where a woman held a mid-level managerial post it would not be possible to choose a woman as the senior editor-in-chief. On the other, the work content of the senior editor-in-chief's job in that paper did not feel her own.

I didn't want to stay there striving, to wait and see if I could become the senior editor-in-chief. A) there will probably not be a woman senior editor-in-chief in the time of this CEO heading the concern. And B) I wasn't sure whether I even wanted to. The circles where they move around, I didn't feel very close to them.

Woman 47 years, interview 24

One can imagine how much the invitation procedure and the cultural understanding of leadership that it entails affects the career paths of women journalists. Women cannot act alone here: they also need the understanding of male colleagues and the management. Although the existence of the so called glass ceiling has been proved in numerous research most men still do not notice and recognize it as well as women. Men feel that they their positions are deserved, natural and given because their whole upbringing, social attitudes, workplace structures and practices support this view. (Koivunen 2006, 93.) Men have also not learned to critically examine masculinity and reflect themselves as representatives of the organization (about this see e.g. Tallberg 2003). The intertwining of masculinity and leadership has been researched in organizational studies (e.g. Hearn 2006). This critique is also useful when one thinks about the leadership of a journalistic organization.

In Finland Kaisa Kauppinen has researched women's leadership (2006, 17–18) and she presents nine things that uphold the glass ceiling i.e. stop women from reaching the most senior positions:

- 1) Stereotypes of good leadership are masculine
- 2) Lack of positive female role models that would support women's leadership

- 3) Traditional work cultures uphold male leadership
- 4) The difficulties women face in negotiating access to unofficial (male) networks
- 5) Women have bigger family responsibilities than men
- 6) The lack of support women encounter, even discrimination in early career
- 7) Family responsibilities become an obstacle to women's career advancement both at the level of images and in practice
- 8) The lowering of organizational hierarchies which has resulted in increased competition for leadership posts
- 9) Psychological factors: women are more security-conscious when they make decisions about their careers and they are more self-critical than men

Of these issues, the lowering of organizational hierarchies and its effects for women journalists would also be an interesting topic for further research. There are increasing numbers of women in mid-level managerial posts in journalistic organizations and this can also be the career goal for many women. Sinikka Vanhala (2004) has researched women who work in mid-level managerial posts and have the M.Sc. degree in Economics and Business Administration. She has observed that the majority of these women leaders are happy with their careers. The mid-level managerial posts are, however, often the level from which women are not allowed to go further. In connection to this it would be interesting to find out how the people engaged in the recruitment processes actually understand leadership. Are there such sides to the recruitment process that prohibit seeing other than the familiar (and safe) alternatives?

Calling for women managers

On the basis of the research at hand it would seem that the lack of women in the most senior leadership posts in editorial offices is regarded as a problem also by the media houses. Women are needed in senior posts if for nothing else but as obligated by the Act on Equality, but for what? Research on women's leadership shows four different ways of understanding equality and gender: the ethical, the meritocratic perspective emphasizing women's competence, the view that women contribute something special and complimentary, and the perspective emphasizing a special feminine leadership model. First of all the traditional equality perspective into women's leadership is ethical in its starting points and does not emphasize the difference between women and men. Even research most

often concentrates on the prejudices, stereotypes and discrimination against women. (Billing & Alvesson 1989, 63–80.)

In this research the scarcity of women as an ethical problem manifests itself as a problem of image. In an atmosphere that highlights equality a male dominated editorial office gives rise to embarrassing comments:

In this house they have a very skewed gender division. (...) If you look at our faces on the Internet, you see that it is really skewed. We often get comments about this from readers and of course colleagues in other papers comment, that have you noticed how scandalous it is that you have so many men.

Woman 42 years, interview 3

From the ethical perspective equality does not manifest itself only as a problem of lack of women but the question also concerns men. One interviewee described how the demands of equality were seen in the selection process of the head of the news department.

When N.N. left, all people thought that who will be the guy to replace him as there were already one man and two women. That of course, automatically, they will hire a man so that equality is maintained.

Woman 26 years, interview 13

The second perspective that highlights women's competence justifies the need for female leadership with the efficiency of the organization; competent women act in principle the same as men. Correspondingly, the research investigates how people are selected in the top positions and the factors that have an effect on the roles of women and men as leaders of the organization. (Billing & Alvesson 1989, 63–80.)

The lack of women in leadership positions, especially as senior editors-in-chief, makes the editorial chiefs interviewed in this research reflect. The small numbers of women are seen as a problem naturally for equality but also other factors are seen to be at play in the background: this is also a question of company reputation and operational capacity. Women are needed in top posts because this is thought to strengthen the editorial offices. The demand for equal numbers of female and male journalists is tied in with questions of the contents of journalism. Aspects of both the journalistic work and the content produced are mixed in the management of editorial offices. Gender is seen to have an effect on the contents of the paper and, through this, on the paper's ability to satisfy audiences.

Interviewer: *How is it, does gender have any effect on what kind of journalism has been made?*

Definitely it has. I don't doubt this for a minute. But it is not an issue you couldn't learn, for example, to look into other people's perspectives. If I can satisfy a housewife who basically is in charge of all the important economic decisions in the family, such as the decision to subscribe to the paper, then surely I am on the side of the winner.

Man 57 years, interview 26

With learning the interviewee implies that the journalist's gender is not necessarily directly linked to how certain content is interesting to the audiences. A male journalist can learn to write stories that interest housewives, and vice versa: women journalists do not automatically write stories that interest all women. One interviewee tells about the time when he was the senior editor in the business section. His faith in women producing content that would interest women decreased. The number of women journalists increased at the same time as the proportion of women among the readers of the business pages declined.

I came to the conclusion that this is a much much more complex scenario. The masculinity and femininity of content is in a way a first-level discontinuity factor: how gender affects the classic conception of the soft and hard continuum. The next discontinuity is what kind of content the person is interested in. Such simple logics would mean that I am this kind of a person and I use this media because it is like me. This is not at all true because people tend to like to use the kind of media that is different from them, up to an extent, because in a way they want to peep into the worlds of other kinds of people. I like to read women's magazines because I want to understand women.

Man 43 years, interview 41

Gender is not the only variable that has an effect on how a journalist writes the stories. Many interviewees emphasize the meaning of age, life situation, education and even social background. For the variety of content it is thought important that editorial offices have many kinds of journalists.

It (gender) does, of course, matter, but what is essential is that we should have different kinds of people in the editorial offices. We should have people from different backgrounds, representing different intellectual worlds, in order for the

paper to be good, good and versatile, because we all have our backgrounds and they inevitably have an effect.

Man 43 years, interview 21

The third perspective starting from alternative viewpoints highlights the complementariness of women and men. Women's lives are characterized as private: women have been socialized into nurturing and serving others. For their part, men have been socialized into competition, risk and dominance. From this perspective research emphasizes criticising the existing values: they should be complemented by the women's perspective and feminine values. (Billing & Alvesson 1989, 63–80.)

The genders enrich each other not only in journalistic content but also in leadership and the work community.

(...) basically I would say that (women) nonetheless have more emotional intelligence. Whatever it may include, but such presence and listening, willingness to listen and to understand what they have heard. So I would think that women have somewhat more of it (the presence, listening). And it has its own meaning and that is why it is good that steering groups and work communities have such an appropriate, suitable balance.

Woman 48 years, interview 40

From the point of view of the work community the complementariness comes up as experiences. One interviewee compares her experiences and says:

But all in all I have much better experiences of such editorial offices that have both men and women than I have of the all-women women's magazine.

Woman 57 years, interview 42

The fourth perspective that highlights women's special competences also assumes that the genders are different but that women's career advancement would change leadership into a more feminine direction and that it would be necessary for men to learn new behaviour. (Billing & Alvesson 1989, 63–80.) Leadership styles come up in the interviews when people think of what kind of leadership qualities they have, and on the basis of the interviews one cannot make a one-dimensional statement about the gendering of the needs for change. Both female and male editorial chiefs think about the demands for change in leadership, so drawing conclusions would entail deepening the focus of the research.

There is a lot of research on women's leadership and some of it is critical of the idea that women leaders would somehow automatically make the organization better. The mythical conception of women's leadership is easily based on stereotypes. It simplifies both women and men as leaders only on the basis of gender. The idea of a special female leadership can at its worst mean that women are biologised, instrumentalised and limited and that women's work is taken advantage of. (Billing & Alvesson 2000).

The most problematic thing about the idea of the mythical female leadership is the related presumption that women are as if by nature nurturing and caring and that they would as such transfer the experience they have gained e.g. in housework to benefit the organization. This is intertwined with an instrumental ideology; certain characteristics thought to be feminine are subordinated as the tools of particular organizational goals: women leaders fulfil the same task in the organization as they do in the family and the gendered division of labour works in both the home and the workplace. The repertoire of a woman manager is narrowed e.g. by giving her the responsibility but not the final power and say. She can become the indispensable oil that is needed to make the organization function. The manager may for example be made to act as some sort of an intermediary in between the topmost leadership and the employees. (Billing & Alvesson 2000.)

However, there is a positive side to the definition that shirks from the traditional male leadership ideal. Talking of female leadership may raise one's self-respect and encourage seeking top positions. However, the prize may be the acceptance of stereotypical definitions which is why some women aiming to become top leaders do not want to get defined on the basis of their gender. (Billing & Alvesson 2000.)

The positions for identification

Different positions are offered to female and male managers in editorial practices. The stereotypical gender expectations offer men and women different norms of behaviour and action. Male editorial chiefs are offered positions as masters of the editorial offices, as movers and shakers in the society, and as policy makers. The gendered role expectations can also be seen in what kind of behaviour is allowed for men and women:

(...) perhaps more can be expected of women, that you just have to have the ability for co-operation and (...) we have used the metaphor that there have been such incidents over the years that a male colleague would have lost his temper

much more easily. If a female colleague loses her temper we ask what came over her, is she a bit tired or what.

Woman 51 years, interview 43

Role expectations are also strongly linked to how the journalists identify themselves in their work. Women journalists' talk that above all they want to be journalists and write stories can be understood as one kind of a strategy and need to identify with the journalistic culture. In her research done with thematic interviews with journalists the media researcher Marjan de Bruin (2004) has analysed *the journalistic organization* as a cultural phenomenon and approached her interviewees' talk through the production of different social identities. Identities are produced and experienced personally but at the same time they are strongly social constructions.

Identities are constructed for example in relation to narratives producing the organizational culture (who we are), professional norms (what is essential to the profession) and gender (what are we like as representatives of gender). One can also actively make choices between identities by e.g. emphasizing professional ethics instead of gender. Identities may also be conflicting, for example, if the competition between media houses reduces the journalists' professional independence and identification with the in-house policy becomes more difficult. Also if a female journalist feels that she does not as a woman have the prerequisites to advance in her career to the topmost positions in the organization she can rely on the professional identity instead.

Every organization has its discursive side, its values and ways of talking. They are not just jubilee speeches but set the norms for example regarding the kind of work practices valued in the organization (see Mumby & Stohl 1991). The way of talking about journalism most likely has an effect on what kind of practices and identities are formed in the editorial offices. For example the world of news is a relatively stable institution (Halonen 1986 and 2006; Sana 1995) which is strengthened by the journalists' professional pride: according to research journalists tend to identify more strongly with the values of their profession than with a certain media or media house (Deuze 2005, 444–447).

In this research professional identification comes up in how the editorial chiefs feel that they are above all journalists. Journalistic work is important; the senior editors cannot lose the skill of writing stories. It is interesting how the senior editors-in-chief's journalistic interest is intertwined with the increasing tasks of managing the publishing. How does the refocusing of tasks affect the recruitment of editors-in-chief?

Women journalists seem to largely share the same values as their male colleagues. However, based on research it is justifiable to assume that women's experience of journalistic work is in some cases different than that of their male colleagues (see Zilliacus-Tikkanen 1990, 1997, Steiner 1998, van Zoonen 1998, Mc Kay 2000, Chambers et al. 2004). This derives from their position in the editorial offices, their career paths and their interest in perhaps different everyday phenomena than their male colleagues. Also in light of international comparisons, women's position in the editorial offices and their entry into top positions differs from that of men in corresponding positions (e.g. Robinson 2005).

The work and careers of editors-in-chief, managing editors and other editorial chiefs are tightly intertwined with the journalistic culture and editorial practices. The concrete situations, spaces and identities that make the careers of individual journalists go differently are formed in these practices. From the perspective of this research one can consider how much of the women journalists' talk of them not being interested in top positions is the result of the organizational culture and practices of journalism.

The perspective of editorial work: the journalistic culture and feminization

Journalism in itself does not change as fluidly as the world around it. Although in practice journalists can participate in the definition of what is 'real' news and what the journalistic values, strategies and formal codes are, these things do not necessarily change just by the fact that the journalistic profession becomes more feminized. The change also calls for change in the social values and such journalistic practices that overtly or covertly prevent equality from happening. Journalism is a gendered social area but the meaning and consequences of gender have changed according to media and time.

Monika Djerf-Pierre (2007) has researched Swedish journalism and writes that women journalists have had a different historical position and status and influence over journalism depending on what media they have been active in and when they have been recruited into editorial offices. According to Djerf-Pierre the position of women journalists has developed in three time periods which could as well describe the general development of Finnish journalism: women journalists as token women, women as a part of the critical mass and women caught up in the whirlwind of the profession becoming feminized.

First of all there were *the token* few women who were allowed to become journalists at a time when the political newspapers were at their strongest in the Nordic countries, public service broadcasting started and journalism as a profession developed as a part of the modern society. The few women journalists had simultaneously a privileged and marginalized position: they worked in an editorial environment that was created by men where they were unique as representatives of their gender. The token women had their own special position. One of the interviewees describes this time and the change thereafter through the story of her retired colleague from the 1960s.

It wasn't long ago that one of my colleagues retired, she told me that when she came to ask for work in newspaper X ages ago she was answered that we already have a woman here . (...) In 40 years there have been great changes, really great changes.

Woman 52 years, interview 15.

The numbers of women journalists grew especially as academic education became more common but at first they were recruited in television as slowly as they were recruited in the radio. The field radicalized in the 1970s which in Sweden meant an open gender conflict – in Finland this took place slightly later for example in the Finnish Broadcasting Company. According to Djerf-Pierre women became *the critical mass* of the editorial offices. Equality in the journalistic division of labour became a topic of debate and the idea of feminine journalism was posed as a critical alternative to the male ideal of journalism which gave normative centre stage to factuality, objectivity, impartiality, and news about the economy and politics. That journalism should critically question the society and bring out its drawbacks was not at issue but it was debated what areas and phenomena deserved to become the objects of journalism.¹

There were and there continue to be things to critique. Attitudes to women's magazines describe the internal hierarchies of journalism the clearest. Economically successful women's magazines and people who do them are appreciated in media companies. Instead, in journalistic circles attitudes to women's magazine journalists can still be very patronizing. An interviewed editor-in-chief of a

¹ Corresponding historical research has not been carried out in Finland but some comparative figures exist. According to a research done in the early 1980s the share of women journalists in the television news desk of the Finnish Broadcasting Company was less than one fifth and the share of the so called soft news was 4.5 % and the share of hard news was 88 % of all news (Holopainen et. al. 1983). About 10 years later the share of women journalists had risen to about a third, the share of women interviewees and soft news to 25 % and the share of hard news had come down to 60 % and women made 40 % of the soft news (Savolainen & Zilliacus-Tikkanen 1992).

women's magazine tells how her presence in a state visit or in a course on environmental journalism had been regarded as ludicrous.

There [in the course on environmental journalism] was a producer from a current affairs program on TV who started saying at dinner table: "now that we have a women's magazine journalist here could we just talk about recipes because she probably doesn't understand anything else." Then he said that "you probably don't (know) anything about this topic, by the way, why did you come to this course, what do you do with this knowledge." Can you believe such nonsense? These men in their sixties and their attitudes are quite outrageous. I remember I was in Tarja Halonen's first state visit. There too I was at the dinner table and someone started "how can you be interested in such issues".

Woman 46 years, interview 29

The change of generations can be seen here too. Some older-generation male journalists think that the journalism in women's magazines is bad but the younger-generation journalists do not have similar attitudes. Young men, who study to become journalists, want internships in women's magazines because they do good stories and younger-generation editorial chiefs say that they learn also from women's magazines.

The numbers of women journalists have grown further since the 1980s. At the same time journalism started to polarize into the high-status investigative journalism and to popular journalism that served commercial interests. This phenomenon was assigned a female face according to Djerf-Pierre (2007) so that the popularizing, the public treatment of intimate issues and the increase of human interest stories in the media were understood as the *feminization* of the media. Increased competition between media houses and the polarization of journalism have in its way had an effect on how masculinity is connected on one hand to today's 'good' (investigative) journalism and on the other e.g. to the ability to lead media houses.

The feminization of the field has given rise to debate also in Finland. One can even think that the increased numbers of women in editorial offices may increase the favouritism of male journalists:

In some cases some superiors, not in this house, but in some other media houses, they have become known for favouring young men.

Interviewer: *How can this be seen?*

It can be seen that they like their stories, they praise them, the men are given the hard topics. I didn't feel that I was ignored. But I saw other young women who were. The whole work community knew who was whose favourite..

Interviewer: *Why was it like this, what do you think?*

I think that because a lot of the journalism students were young women. They got young women, they came in droves. But when a young man came, who was a good journalist, then they wanted to hold on to him and praise him like no end. And they got new friends among these men.

Woman 26 years, interview 13

Elsewhere the numbers of women journalists in editorial offices have grown so much that it is feared that problems may ensue:

In ten years' time it can be a problem that there are not enough good young male journalists.

Interviewer: *Why is that a problem?*

It is always a problem. It is more equal. If you accept that there may be some differences between men and women, it can be very constructive if both ideas encounter one another and the synergy of the two is the one which works for them both. And in my mind it would be a problem if we would have only female journalists as political journalists. Even a couple of years ago we consciously, consciously in fact recruited a female sports journalist.

Man 45v, interview 14

Is journalism becoming feminized?

Does the fact that women enter the profession have an effect on the content of journalism? The results of international research are not unambiguous and the same is also true when one looks at Finnish research (Zilliacus-Tikkanen 1990, 1997, Savolainen 1990 and Savolainen & Zilliacus-Tikkanen 1992, Tiitinen 2007). Depending on the angle it is claimed on one hand that the journalist's gender matters e.g. in the way the subjects are treated and, on the other, it can be thought that real change cannot happen until the ideals of journalism and especially news criteria change (see Ruoho 2006, 189–192, see also Torkkola 2008, 275–277.)

'The toughest guys' in the editorial office can be women too. The fact that being a tough guy is regarded as emblematic of good journalism reveals that good journalism has a male label. For women journalists this means that in order to be a good journalist and advance in their careers women have to show

that they can master areas of journalism that are conceived of as male, such as sports and politics.

I'll give you an example. There is journalist N.N. who is brilliant, done some magnificent interviews with authors all over the world, i.e. fantastic cultural stories. She said that she would like to write a big story on the NATO. We discussed that why NATO because you haven't followed it and we have here (...) Then the same N said that she would like to move on to politics and then we had a long discussion. Now she has moved on to these most essential men's jobs if measured by the gender scale, where they have this old behaviour code. But it is because she has wanted and wished to do so...

Man 57 years, interview 17

Here is a funny thing which startled me a bit. (...) When women became news producers they have in my mind sort of drawn a more male line than men. They have in that sense been somehow more traditional and I don't know why. I have talked about this "are you sure now that you allow yourself to think all the topics and angles, are you really of the opinion that that it is through these topics we should always do the programs".

Man 49 years, interview 20

But there the woman journalist is more than what you traditionally would expect is the traditional male journalist's role. It does not really depend on gender but on a too narrow perspective into journalism.

Man 45 years, interview 14

Before my time too there had been a woman journalist in the editorial office. But there was also another managing editor. And it had even been typically so that the male managing editor was in charge of economics and politics and the woman was in charge of culture and people.

Woman 47 years, interview 24

Many interviewees do not think that the tasks are divided according to gender but according to personal characteristics. In situations that are thought to be dangerous it is not good to send a photographer & journalist pair who are both "little girls". In other cases the things that matter are not based on gender.

I don't know if I'm naive or then I am a hidden chauvinist as I don't recognize this [the division of tasks according to gender] (...) If I sent someone to do a

story, thinking of whom it would be worth to send there, I won't admit that I was thinking of anything else except such personal characteristics that who is really able to do it, who has enough experience to talk back to a politician so that you get them to admit.

Man 45 years, interview 23

I thought it was quite natural that age produces and the place in life produces quite different journalism, that people who have just had a baby and have come back from parental leave are interested in other things than people who are approaching retirement. (...) It is quite true that and, and I don't think that journalism has no gender and generation. It is good that they exist, they have an effect and it is no use trying to cover it up and deny it. I see it as quite a source of wealth because our readership is not monolithic either.

Woman 58 years, interview 1

The need for journalists of different gender and various backgrounds and other characteristics are justified by the diversity of the audiences. It is thought that difference among journalists produces stories that interest diverse audience groups. Apart from the difference it is nevertheless also emphasized that facts are facts and that the difference comes up as emphasis, tones and perspectives. In the end facts have to be the core of (news) journalism.

The views about the significance of gender in the editorial division of labour are slightly contradictory. On one hand journalism is seen as gender neutral: facts are facts and the journalist's sex should not have an effect on the story. Gender cannot be regarded as grounds for why a story has been done well or poorly. On the other, the influence of gender and other personal characteristics is recognized. One interviewee places the neutrality of journalism into a historical context: "the practices, the ideals, men have created them or we could say that men have been the majority there (creating the practices)" (Woman 47 years, interview 24). Journalistic practices, which are regarded as models of neutrality, have been created by men and therefore female journalism appears as an anomaly, as journalism that reveals gender. Another editor-in-chief of a women's magazine (Woman 40 years, interview 8) states that "there is no such state as gender neutrality". The complex view of journalism as gender neutral is most closely intertwined as a part of news or factual journalism.

The commercialization and popularizing of news journalism and the fact that the genre combining information and entertainment has become more common has thus been paradoxically connected to the feminization of journalism (Djerf-Pierre & Löfgren-Nilsson 2004, 79–89). This development has not

necessarily been regarded only as negative because it has been thought that in this way journalism makes room for issues that women have traditionally thought important. There are no signs however that would show that especially serious news journalism has lost its status. Instead it seems that polarization is going on inside journalism: a part of the media becomes more entertaining whereas the other part emphasizes the intermediary role of the media between the civil society and the state.

What is interesting is what journalism still regards as socially important. The British communications researcher Patricia Holland (2004, 76) critically emphasizes that even though news journalism has had to take into account women's increased economic independence and consumer position it has not meant that power would have shifted to women or that the nature of journalism would have become more woman-friendly. Journalism can still be regarded as reiterating the gendering logic of journalism that Monika Djerf-Pierre (2007) has described which puts the masculine and feminine into oppositional positions in relation to one another.

Gendered practices in journalism

Masculine

The public sphere/elites

Male sources and perspectives

Distance/neutrality/objectivity

Autonomy ('professional' criteria)

Feminine

Private/intimate sphere/everyday life

Female sources and perspectives

Intimacy/empathy/subjectivity

Oriented toward the readers' (etc.) needs and interests

(Djerf-Pierre 2007, 97)

In concrete terms the gendering of journalistic work is seen as the division of topics to those suitable for men and for women. A news editor with a long career describes this division of labour and how it has changed over the years:

The old-fashioned way was to give women the stories on handicrafts and child care and all such things and it was thought that that is all women can do. Then came this journalism where women can do things if they really try. We did these stories for ten years in all directions. Now gender is not necessarily paid so much attention to that oh yeah, we have a woman here. But if you think that women and men are on a par so they, they are not. (...) gender does have

an effect and it is not such a great effect that people think, and it is not such a small effect either.

Woman 52 years, interview 15

Editorial offices are very aware of the division of topics into male and female ones. The need for women journalists and editors-in-chief is justified by female readers.

Women do read our paper more. Therefore it would seem quite strange that there would always be middle-aged men around the table thinking of what we should have in the paper.

Man 46 years, interview 16

The division of labour between men and women does not only concern the tasks but also the ways in which the work community hatches out the issues, and how it spends spare time together can be based on gender division. An interviewee describes how spending free time with the people in the editorial office has changed.

It has changed in the way that we used to go for a beer, us guys, typically after the work day or at least after the work week. When the work week was over us guys went out.

Interviewer: *Where did the women go?*

Women had their own groups here and there. Now we no longer have the culture that we would go for a beer among the guys. (...) We have the N.N. club which organizes events once a month. (...) Then we go out in mixed couples, there are both men and women equally and then we can go for a beer and keep on talking about work or whatever.

Man 59 years, interview 19

The gendering of the editorial office can also stretch to the evaluation of competence and suitability. It seems that there are more open doubts about a female than male editor's merits. A new male editor-in-chief describes his place in the editorial office with the honeymoon metaphor. A newly elected female news editor comments the idea of the honeymoon laughing:

I really didn't have any honeymoon. It was by no means easy stepping into [the news editor's] boots. Nobody has come to tell me directly but some

things you can read between the lines. I wouldn't call it a honeymoon by any means.

Woman 26 years, interview 13

It is interesting to ask whether certain areas of journalism qualify you better for leadership positions. You can move from the sports section to write the lead articles but how about from the food or fashion section? You can move from a tabloid to a magazine and from a factual magazine to a women's magazine but what about vice versa? Could the managing editor of a women's magazine become the managing editor of a newspaper?

The individual perspective: Female and male practices and strategies

The gendering of career paths is often explained by the fact that women and men are naturally suited to different tasks. The talk about the need for female editorial chiefs is linked to talk of the need for journalism to change. In order for the old media to beat new media in the competition for audiences it has to better correspond to what the audience wants. Apart from producing new forms, the gaze is also turned at the people who are doing it: what kind of employees can best respond to the new demands? If both the organizational culture and journalism should change, should such people be recruited as editors-in-chief who would recognize the gendering of the organization and journalistic work and be committed to workplace diversity and the removal of discriminating career obstacles? In addition to gender, such career obstacles are sexuality, age, the stage of life, social position and ethnic background.

Organizational practices and journalism are gendered but gender is also actively being produced in them – for example through one's own ambitions and choices (see e.g. Martin 2001, on doing gender Butler 1990, 1–34). It is no longer a question of making the individual responsible for the inequality he or she may encounter but of analysing the structural issues that are in-built in the individual's own choices and strategies for action. For example the gendered division of work tasks may also guide individual choices even if the individual would have the possibility to act against the established norm. Female employees may, for example, seek or be elected to such personnel management tasks that do not qualify them to other or higher managerial tasks.

A female employee may even think that tasks emphasizing the need for social skills come natural to her or that she would not be taken seriously in the areas

that have traditionally been controlled by men. When one thinks about individual action, it is important to recognize how gender-bound the choices are and, at the very least, to offer the opportunity for disassociating from the too narrow self-conceptions and the related limiting of one's own sphere of action. One interviewee describes the difference of the positions offered to women and men through the metaphor of the crown prince.

The crown prince syndrome, (...) it is when they suddenly realize that there is a nice and talented young man that what can we think of for him, would he like this? I have noticed that opportunities are offered to the young man, summer vacation work or sub-editor's replacement or even managing editorships in big magazines before they are even thirty and they haven't got the experience yet, and no woman would be offered such opportunities of gaining experience (...) This idea of the crown prince is deeply embedded in our culture, especially in our field, this angry young man culture. There is always demand for the angry young man and he is always being promoted and he is fed topics, ideas, he is encouraged, they say why don't you go to that party, go there, but for an angry young woman there is no demand whatsoever, on the contrary they would like to make her meek and cute and tidy and so forth.

Woman 50 years, interview 39

The crown prince phenomenon is both about networks and the experience of getting support. The better ability to network is regarded as one reason for why men have smoother careers. Networking manifests itself not only as a structural and cultural phenomenon but also as a subjective ability. It is interesting that although women are generally regarded as having better social skills, this would not seem to be true in the case of networking. Women's networking as an individual problem of action manifests itself in two ways in the interviewees' talk. First of all a woman with a family has more limited opportunities than men to use her free time to networking. Secondly the way women form networks can even be regarded as wrong: they only network with other women and do not attempt to get into such (male) networks that would support their careers.

One can also think what one means by networking and could the networks change over generations and genders. If the traditional male journalistic culture has emphasized ways that are suited for people without families, such as staying out in bars until the wee hours, could the meetings for parents at day-care centres, school PTA meetings or the groups of parents standing on the outskirts of playing fields be considered suitable places for networking?

The female way of acting, such as the lack of networking, is not explained by women's conscious choices but rather by the gendered expectations of what is suitable career promotion for each individual. One interviewee explains the fact that women do not seek leadership positions by the fact that ambition is good for men but not for women.

Women's ambition, well they laugh out loud at that, but not at men's ambition, it is regarded a virtue.

Woman 52 years, interview 15

On the basis of this research it would seem that men's and women's experiences of being supported are not very different. However, there are some hints that for women the support and example of women superiors is a significant factor promoting the career. Nearly all interviewees say that they have received support. Some of the interviewees name the person supporting them when they talk about how they ended up being a journalist or a senior editor. Some interviewees talk about the support they have got only when they have been asked about it directly.

There is one clear difference in women's and men's leadership: women's work seems lonelier. Many women leaders, who are the only women leaders in their work community, think it problematic that the work is so lonely. Collegial support is not available to a female editor-in-chief to the extent that it is for men.

I think that a woman leader is at least at this point in time lonelier than a male leader, because you don't have female colleagues who would have exactly the same hierarchical position, with whom you could talk or pour your heart out. (...) In that sense a woman can be more isolated than a male colleague who is also of course lonely in decision-making. All leaders who have big responsibilities are always very lonely in that situation. But for the male colleagues there is always another colleague with whom they can air things and unburden themselves.

Woman 58 years, interview 1

The loneliness of work may also be an issue that keeps women from seeking leadership positions. When the work seems high-powered and lonely toil it does not tempt.

I have seen at close range how demanding that job is [senior editor-in-chief]. My life is that I have three underage children and there are a lot of other things

in life besides work, so at this point I wouldn't even want it, such a committed post as the senior editor-in-chief's post.

Woman 40 years, interview 8

The family situation has an effect on individual choices. Support from the family, especially from the spouse, comes up as shared child care and housework. For both women and men leadership entails the careful organizing of family responsibilities.

Responsibility for family

That women do not seek leadership positions is explained by the fact that women have bigger family responsibilities. Family responsibilities are often regarded the reason why women do not seek promotion as actively as men. Only two of the interviewees are or have been single parents. One of the single parents says that she moved away from journalistic work for a couple of years in order to make her everyday as a single parent easier. Childcare problems were not the only reason for the career move but dissatisfaction with the work community also factored in.

It had to do with the whole work community; it felt like it was rather stagnant, nothing happened. It felt rather stuffy and with my personal situation. It felt that the days were long and that I wanted to spend more time with my child. All of this together made me feel that I wanted to get out of there.

Woman 49 years, interview 36

It seems that family reasons alone do not explain women's reluctance to take on leadership roles because many women in leading positions have children. If the work is interesting and the work community supportive, also women can organize their family responsibilities so that also the work gets done. Children are not regarded unequivocally as an obstacle to career.

I have three children and I have really worked the whole time, really a lot. Well, I have never not applied to a job or not gone to work because I have children. But of course you have to think about it that can you be the senior editor-in-chief when your youngest is...

Woman 47 years, interview 24

A male manager approaching retirement takes it as a starting point that women have a bigger responsibility for the family. When a woman assumes the male role, problems arise.

Now that women have taken on this hunter's role and then they have still got the houseworking role, they are like burned out and, they are really miserable. A great deal of work and the result that you have to do the work at home so there is not enough energy for the workplace for you to go in leadership training or for sitting in bars. That you could volunteer for everything when the opportunity arises. It is exactly the fertile woman who should be out there networking, in training, going from one place to another like a torpedo. She should, like, forget that she has a home and possibly there will be children. The ages 30 and 40 are the most crucial here.

Man 63 years, interview 18

The flexibility of the family and its internal division of labour has an effect on both male and female career choices. Women's choices have been influenced by their husband's choices. Many have changed jobs and home towns in order "to move after their spouses". The prerequisite for the male editors-in-chief's careers has been flexible wives who have been able and willing to move where the husbands' jobs dictates. When the husband's work has demanded a lot, the wife has borne more responsibility for the family.

Interviewee: (...) you have three children who were born in the 1970s, did it have any effect on this, career progress?

Well no, when my wife stayed at home of course. That is the wife's (...) job.

Man 63 years, interview 18

The organization of housework and childcare has a significant role also in the female editorial chiefs' career stories. With luck a woman has a husband who is flexible but this is not self-evident. The problems of combining home and work give a partial explanation of why there are so few women in leadership positions.

Surely it goes to this work, combining work and family, I have experience. It does demand a lot, home too. Unless you have good luck and you have a househusband type of a man there.

Woman 38 years, interview 31

The change in the family's internal roles and sharing of the responsibilities can be seen as a generational change. The generation of the about 40-year-old men in leadership positions take more responsibility for housework and children than leaders that are older than them.

This year my elder daughter had a dentist's appointment where I promised to go with. Then I had to say here that I am leaving the room at 25 to 5. End of story.

Man 45 years, interview 14

Family also has influence over choices. When asked if the family has had an effect on work, many say that they have restricted socialising. One male manager says he refused the position of a senior editor-in-chief because the children were so young:

I was offered the senior editorship of a Finnish economic gazette. In the interview I just said that "it is great that you are interested in me and I am extremely interested in this job. But now if it is at all possible for you to postpone this for some time, I could only then even start considering it because my children are at that stage of their lives that I cannot take on so many new things to learn."

Man 49 years, interview 20

It is presumed that the family situation also influences the recruiters. A woman who applied for a managing editor's job said that her family situation had an effect:

I don't know how much my family situation mattered at that point but if it did, then it was a wise choice, because my youngest was only 18 months old then.

Woman 42 years, interview 25

Male editorial chiefs also have parental leaves. One of the interviewees thinks that a male editorial chief's paternal leave signals the whole work community: "this is an equal opportunities workplace where you have to be able to combine family and working life" (Man 45 years, interview 14). Leadership can at some cases be beneficial because then you can decide on your schedules more flexibly. One senior editor says that his present position makes it easier to combine home and work.

This is a strange thing in such a way that freedom increases in any case when you reach the top of the food chain. The level of autonomy does increase, you

can make many more choices (...) I have some basic things that have as such been quite easy to organize in this job. I don't work before nine o'clock. I take care of certain routines in the morning for the family which belong to me and then I organize things so that work doesn't begin until nine o'clock and then, likewise, as my wife is a teacher, then she takes responsibility for the afternoon up until a certain point.

Man 43 years, interview 41

It is interesting that the interviewed men do not consider concentrating on the family as an obstacle to careers. For example one male editorial chief (42 years, interview 30) says that he had said in a recruitment situation that the family and children have priority. One can think whether different behaviour in such situations is expected of men and women. Women have to convince the recruiters that family affairs do not mess up working and men are expected to tell that they appreciate the family.

The conflict between work demands and family responsibilities comes up in interviews with both men and women. One has to make choices between work and the family at least weekly. In editorial work unpredictability is the most inconvenient issue in view of the family.

I probably am able to put the kids to bed more often than many salespeople or Nokia engineers. But I can never plan my timetable. I don't know at three if I will be home in time for dinner. Mostly I am but a couple of times a week I'm not. But I cannot tell them at home at three whether I will be at home by six or not.

Man 45 years, interview 14

Many interviewees say that the work day continues at home and many feel guilty that they do not have enough time for the family. Long work days affect family life and combining work and family takes skill. One interviewee describes his hectic work, divorce and the change in his perspective to the contradiction of work and home:

In practice I was doing a six-day week then. (...) I was working every Sunday evening doing the covers and the contents bill. And then on Monday we would start normally again. Saturday was really the only full day off because Sundays, (...) although I didn't go in until five o'clock or something it nevertheless had an effect on the whole Sunday.

(...)

I think that a lot of things piled up and different problems arose which could then be seen in working life in this way and in private life in that way.

(...)

When I have later got a new marriage-like relationship which is a very, well, a very important thing. (...) I am now a lot stronger, of course, I am older, more experienced and more everything, so I won't get myself in such a situation as easily again (...) And I know how to do this work now, so in that sense, that I don't take work home. Although my present partner however, is not so close, she doesn't work as a journalist but is quite close to this, sort of business area, we are well able to also, sometimes, to talk about these things, but it is not like a continuous thing, that we would talk about these things all the time.

Man 58 years, interview 38

Gendered choices

Both the contradictions of combining work and the family and the structures and practices of media houses and editorial offices give rise to concrete choices that make the career paths diverge. Margareta Melin-Higgins (2004, 198–201) talks about three strategies or tactics that are typical to female journalists. The first two of these do not challenge the existing conception of journalism. The first strategy is to form a women-only place in journalism. Representatives of this strategy recognize the specificity of women's journalism but do not challenge the journalistic order. In the second strategy women act within mainstream journalism but do not question the gender hierarchy. In the third strategy the female journalist challenges the hegemonic conception of journalism.

Positions that belong to the first women-only category are for example women's magazines, women's pages in newspapers or women's programs. In this research the own position strategy comes up when the interviewee estimates that she is not suitable enough to advance in her career and changes jobs. It would seem that some forward-moving women journalists have changed into magazines because of poor career prospects. A woman who has transferred into magazines said that apart from a personal reason the poor career prospects had an effect.

I knew that I couldn't advance any further there. They talked a lot about how they had no women managing editors and that you had used up your career prospects at that point. (...) They had such a male bunch who didn't want to include any women, it was general knowledge there.

Woman 43 years, interview 33

One interviewee said that she decided to transfer because of experience of discrimination. The head of the culture section was the only one who gave the young woman journalist responsible tasks. The other tasks were less highly esteemed. The young men in the editorial office did not get the same treatment.

Instead the guys who had less education, they got the tasks with more responsibility.

(...)

And then I decided that I will go work for a magazine and applied to some women's magazine because I don't want to be discriminated against like this.

Woman 57 years, interview 42

In the second strategy women journalists do not question the dominant conception of journalism but act as 'one of the boys'. They are also good competition to their male colleagues. In this research it has already been pointed out how women journalists have to show how they are able to do the same things as men. They seek the areas considered male, such as sports, politics and economy in order to show that they are one of the boys.

They took me on in sports as one of the boys, they talked about me as a guy. They had nude pictures on the wall and I was treated as one of the boys and for me at that point it was quite okay. I knew the guys and knew that okay this was their style, that I cannot be bothered to make a fuss about it, that if they like calling me a girl and brag with their pictures, so what. Although they did this, they did it fairly and the situation was acceptable.

Woman 41 years, interview 4

Karen Ross (2004, 146) describes this strategy as 'tamed feminism'. It is a phenomenon where a woman journalist attempts to get an equal footing with her male colleagues within the existing organization without challenging its organizing principles. In striving for male journalism women have to control themselves more than men. This can be seen for example in a male editorial chief's speculation of why women do not seek the producer's job or why they leave the jobs sooner than men. According to him it seems that women demand more of themselves and do not take failure as well as men.

I have noticed that women seem to have more intense self-criticism than men although men have had it as messy to begin with in the news producer's job. (...) Putting up with your own inadequacy somehow seems difficult, they get

like, this won't work out. I have had to have such discussions much more with female news producers and interns.

Man 49 years, interview 20

One can also think whether it is a female characteristic or whether the stronger self-criticism is caused by the experience that more is demanded of women. When women are not thought to naturally belong to the hard core of journalism that is understood to be masculine, women perhaps do not have the same incentives as men.

The third strategy challenges the hegemonic conception of journalism and journalism is attempted to be made more woman-friendly by, for example, raising the status of female topics. (van Zoonen 1998). Zilliacus-Tikkanen (1997) has listed seven areas where female journalism is in opposition to the mainstream journalistic culture:

- 1) hard vs. soft news (female journalism prioritizes the latter)
- 2) the separation of facts from the whole (female journalism presents the events in their context)
- 3) competition vs. background, causes and consequences (female journalism is interested in the causes and consequences of events)
- 4) distance and neutrality vs. subjectivity and presence (a female journalist does not hide behind objectivity).
- 5) individualism (the lone investigative journalist) vs. collectivism (a woman journalist prefers shared projects and non-hierarchical news organizations)
- 6) work vs. private life (women journalists combine these easily whereas it has been typical of male journalists to continue the workday in a pub)
- 7) formal vs. experimental (female journalism is ready to break the genre boundaries and to experiment with contents and forms instead of sticking to formalities)

Individual analyses and concrete choices illustrate how personal decisions are tied in as a part of the organization and culture. It is not always a question of gender-bound characteristics as other individual characteristics also have an effect on career. Provincial dailies look for a man in the province to be the senior editor-in-chief because that fits the newspaper's line or image. In magazines the journalist's personality is tied together with the magazine's brand. One interviewee thinks about her suitability as a senior editor-in-chief and says that smoking does not really fit the magazine's brand. It is not fitting

for an editor-in-chief to smoke in public. She also believes that other kinds of knowledge could have more effect than journalistic knowledge; at least, if you are suitable, you have an easier start in your career:

At some point in magazine X we swore how a certain kind of women, exactly like, who give a damn good picture of themselves and like that. They have the right network, (...) they do not necessarily amount to much journalistically. Real average, if even that. Very little ideas, even very little experience many had, and then they got at some point fffiuu [whistles] off to a flying start in their careers. But then at some point [the career progress] has stopped.

Woman 39 years, interview 37

Gendered choices have a male or a female label; they are culturally constructed models of speech and action (see Veijola & Jokinen 2001) which typify the everyday choices individuals make according to the gender roles. One is not always encouraged to give up these roles but separation from the offered role requires that the individual has special knowledge of the cultural nature of the roles and the strength to act against the role expectations. Also senior journalistic posts can be attached with corresponding unquestioned normative values and practices that presume that the editor accepts male practices. This can mean that the hopes placed with women editors-in-chief do not mean the dismantling but maintenance of gendered practices. Female journalists then have two gendered avenues into top editors' posts: a woman editor-in-chief can try to be one of the boys and assume male leadership or she can be a female leader and search for areas of feminine leadership.

Career caricatures

In the interviews with editorial chiefs four different kinds of characteristics emerge which can be crystallized into four career types. The types are caricatures and the careers of any single editor, managing editor or other editorial journalist cannot be explained by just one type. Instead, single careers interface with a number of different types. Both gender and generational differences are evident in the differences between the career types. They reveal not only individual choices but also the cultural conditions and preconditions in media houses and editorial offices that create the space for individual action.

I The Young Prodigy

The young prodigy is more often a man than a woman and he has been recruited into the editorial track already in his first few years in the occupation. People who still have not got solid journalistic experience are also recruited as young prodigies, but then they have such experience in the society that is regarded as an advantage in editorial tasks.

The generational difference is evident in the recruitment of young prodigies. It seems that earlier the young prodigies were typically male but in the 2000s a young prodigy can also be a woman who is starting out in her career.

II The Heroic Journalist

The heroic journalist is at the top of his or her career and he or she has a long and solid experience of journalistic tasks. He or she is not principally oriented to management but has a personal grasp of journalism. The heroism is integrated with the institutional task of journalism. This kind of a managerial post includes an active and individual participation in the public debate. At the outset of his or her career the heroic journalist may have been a young prodigy who has been trusted and who has been granted relative freedom. The heroic journalist is typically male but in magazines also women can become heroic journalists.

III The Diligent Professional

The diligent professional has a long and varied experience at the top of his or her career. Often he or she has worked in the same media house for a long time. Diligent professionals are often women who have been recruited into the managerial track after a long, over a 10-year, journalistic experience. Diligent professionals do not bump into the glass ceiling, but many are placed in a glass booth. Career scouts looking for editors do not see the diligent professionals. The diligent professionals are seldom recruited outside their own editorial offices. However, in magazines also diligent professionals move from one magazine to another.

IV The Career Hopper

Instead of progressing in the same editorial office, the career hopper has changed editorial offices and media houses several times. The career hopper has a varied experience in both journalism and management. The moves from one editorial

office or media house to another have also advanced the career. The career hopper is typically a male journalist who has been recruited into managerial tasks at the start of his career and who has moved from one editorial office and media house to the next with each hop bringing about advancement from one rung of the career ladder to the next.

Breaking gender practices

Female and male journalists have different opportunities to advance in their careers in Finland. Although about half of Finnish journalists have been women for around twenty years there are fewer women than men in senior editorial posts, especially in news journalism. This report has analysed the structural, cultural and individual issues that explain the career differences of female and male journalists. The 43 female and male editorial chiefs that we interviewed cast diverse perspectives on leadership and journalism. Their views are parallel in many cases but not similar even on one issue.

The cultural conception of both leadership and journalism is masculine. Both the media organization and journalistic culture are at a turning point. On one hand the traditional perceptions of the hard core of journalism and the gender differences this entails still hold. On the other, increasing competition forces media houses to seek for new ways of producing journalism that would interest audiences. This competition demands that traditional journalism is supplemented with feminine journalism.

From the organizational perspective, the ideals of leadership and recruitment processes open up differing positions that call on women and men to realize their careers in different ways. In the context of the Finnish debate, the lack of women at the top level of organizations has been justified by women's lack of willingness to seek managerial jobs. According to our research, however, lack of willingness does not merely have to do with individual choices but with the fact that the structures and cultures of the organization construct leadership on the basis of the masculine ideal.

The numbers of women in leadership positions in journalism are also increasing and it seems that in Finland there are greater than ever opportunities for female senior editors as they are thought to improve the competitive advantage of media companies. But if women are continually offered leadership positions where they are thought to correct and complement masculine leadership, the gendering ideal of journalistic leadership will remain as it is. Furthermore

this does not mean that the gendered practices would be dismantled but that women are offered positions that are in harmony with stereotypical gender views. Women's social skills are thought to mend and complement the dominant leadership. Bluntly put this places women leaders in the so called glass booth. They have no way up because women are often not considered competent and suitable for the most senior positions in newspapers. The women do not have a way out either to other media companies, even to jobs at the same level, as head hunters do not seem to be able to find them.

The cultures and structures can be seen in individual action and identification. Individual actors adapt to the *status quo* one way or another. They can try to adapt to the culture of the editorial office by acting like 'one of the boys' or they can move to more woman-friendly media companies. When journalism manifests itself as a masculine culture women have to in a sense overcome their femininity in order to gain access to the core of journalism. The other alternative is to choose specialization in an area that is thought suitable for women according to the gender stereotypical expectations.

The fact that women do not seek senior editorial posts has often been justified by women's larger family responsibilities. According to this research, the situation would seem to be changing because young male journalists emphasize combining family and work demands with gender equality. Although men's attitudes and behaviour in the family are changing, the current research suggests that these do not, however, change gendered practices in the organization or in the journalistic culture, nor do they automatically encourage men to critically reflect on masculinity as a culturally produced gendered discourse.

According to this research there are not only differences between genders but between generations, too. When in the 1960s and 1970s journalism was above all constructed as a male occupation, women journalists who entered the field at that time had to assure others of their competence as a journalist before an editorial chief's career was even theoretically possible. For people who entered the profession in the 1980s and later the question of whether a woman can be a competent journalist is absurd. Women had already shown that they are capable of producing real journalism. In spite of the general change, each individual woman still has to show her capacity to overcome the presumed stereotypical gender restrictions and that she is a journalist not just 'a woman journalists'.

It is obvious that at least until the 1990s career paths have been gendered and that is why women and men have advanced differently in their careers. It also seems that the situation is changing. The change is motivated above all by the media's competition over audiences. In order to attract female audiences women are needed in editorial offices as well as in decision-making positions to decide

on media content. The societal equality demands are effective in the background. The increase in the numbers of women senior editors-in-chief does not, however, necessarily reduce the gendering of leadership. If women are sought and appointed in leadership positions because of their characteristics and ways of acting that are understood to be feminine, the gendering of leadership becomes even firmer than before. When women are offered positions especially as women, and not as good leaders or competent journalists, the scope of action of women journalists does not expand. They will still remain *women* chief editors.

The perception of leadership can change but the perception of journalism does not necessarily change. The obstacles to women's career progress may diminish and men can adopt new organizational practices but the gendering of journalism can still remain the same. The three perspectives used in this research dismantle the view that the structures and cultures of journalism only offer women a narrow victim position. Individual action is not merely seen as the result of subjective positions or choices but as interaction between individuals, structures, and cultures. Thus the gendering of journalism is not tied to the gender division of journalists or the masculine practices of journalism, but to the whole socio-historical *locus* of journalism.

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Appendix

The thematic interview: selected themes

Background information

A separate sheet: age, education, work history, tasks and career, family relationships

Career story

- What made you a journalist?
- What took you to a leadership position? / How did you end up in your current job?
- What helped you in your career? Were you supported by your superiors, the media company, co-workers, other support from peers, support from your private life? What was it like? From whom? (encouragement to educate oneself, apply to a job, positive feedback about work)
- Did you encounter obstacles? What were they like? (stopping development possibilities, undermining the person or work skills)
- How do you see your own future?

Journalism and one's own work

- What kinds of journalistic tasks have you had?
- What are your present tasks like? (Describe your typical work day.)
- What kind of tasks interest you and what do not?

- Who/what things affect your work?
- How do you take those things (views and demands) into account in your work?
- What kind of journalism do you value?
- What is your work like in relation to these valuations? Have you had conflicts? What have they been like?
- How do you think your personal characteristics (age, family, gender and social background) affect the way you think about your work and how you do it?
- What kind of an effect does gender in your opinion have on journalistic work?
- Examples, experiences?

Place in the editorial organization / media house

- What kinds of work-related decisions do you make autonomously?
- What kinds of issues do you discuss with colleagues or managers?
- How does the work community affect your work?
- How do you see your place in the editorial office?
- How do you see your place in the company?
- How has your place in the editorial office/company changed?
- What things have caused those changes?
- How do you think gender affects your own place in the editorial organization/media house?
- How do you think gender affects managerial work in general?
- Examples, experiences?

The personal side of the journalistic career

- What kinds of personal characteristics have helped you forward in the journalistic career? (Give examples.)
- What kinds of personal characteristics have hindered your career progress? (Give examples.)
- How does your background, education, age and gender affect your work?
- How has your background affected your career progress?
- How has your background affected your place in the editorial office?
- How has your background affected your position in the company?

- How has your job in a leadership position affected you as a person?
- Examples, experiences?

Summary questions

- In your opinion why is it that there are fewer women than men in editorial leadership positions?
- What concrete issues would explain this difference?
- What is your view on the research result that on one hand journalists think that the ideal of journalism is gender neutral? To put it bluntly: in good journalism the author's sex cannot have an effect or be seen: gender does not matter in journalism. On the other hand, when journalists are asked their experiences of how gender has an effect on work tasks, the journalists' experiences include descriptions of gender effects. Gender is seen among other things in the distribution of work tasks, the topics or stories or angles to the stories. How would you explain this conflict?