

The Gender Divisions and Hierarchies of the Finnish News Organisations

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Abstract

The article gives an overview on gender and the news media in Finland. The main source of the article is the *Global Report on the Status of Women in the News Media* which is based on a global study in 59 countries. The gender divisions and hierarchies of the Finnish news media organisations are analysed in the text. In addition, the gender structures of the news contents are explicated. The Finnish research material is based on the interviews of the executives of the nine central newsrooms. The material afforded data out of 1981 employees.

Although women form a clear majority of the journalists and about half of the news journalists in Finland, the top positions of news rooms are still mainly held by men, women are less paid and men dominate news content. The studies show that the proportion of female news subjects has not risen since the mid-90s. It is still about one fifth.

Keywords: women, gender, media, news, organisations, journalism, Finland

Introduktion

A majority of Finnish journalists are women, and the proportion of women in the Union of Journalists reached 40 per cent in 1978 and 50 per cent in 1995¹ (S JL 2012). Thus, a quantitative gender balance was reached in the field already decades ago. In addition, for a long time now a majority of Finnish journalism students have been female. According to the statistics of the Union of Journalists, 57 per cent of all members and more than 70 per cent of all student members are women. As the Union has 15 678 members, the number of females in the field is significant. Members represent different levels of senior and middle management as well as other areas of journalistic practice (S JL 2012). However, the number of female journalism students is growing, but it does not mean that women work in the field to the same extent, as we shall see later in this article. Furthermore, the fact that the majority of journalists are women does not mean that equality has been reached in the profession. As the *Global Report on the Status of Women in News Media* (Byerly 2011) shows, the top newsroom positions are still mainly held by men. In addition, national surveys show that female journalists are clearly paid less than their male colleagues and that men strongly dominate the news content.

The following article depicts the situation of women in journalism in Finland, drawing mainly on our chapter “Women Journalists. The Unequal Majority” in the *Global Report*, which was based on face-to-face interviews with news company executives and questionnaires. The project *Global Report on the Status of Women in the News*

Media was initiated by the International Women's Media Foundation, and the report was published in 2011². The aim of the project was to examine the news industry structure from a gender perspective in order to document the involvement of women at the decision making and governance levels. Interviews and questionnaires were used to gather data from media companies in 59 countries concerning salaries, recruitment, promotion, policies related to gender issues as well as the number of men and women at all levels of the organization and in all types of positions. In Finland, data were gathered from nine central newsrooms, including newspapers, radio and television. We interviewed representatives from these newsrooms according to the structure of the questionnaire. Most of the interviewees were senior management. Seven of the interviewees were women and four were men. The interviews were conducted in 2009. The questionnaires yielded data about 1981 employees, of whom 47 percent were women: 81 board members, 74 top management, 51 senior management, 237 middle management, 1157 professionals and 297 production and design staff. The study included two Swedish-language news rooms.

Women in Finnish Society

Although Finnish women's representation in democratic institutions is very high on a global scale, women are slightly underrepresented in parliament (42 per cent) and more seriously so in municipal councils (37 per cent). In the years 2000-2012, Finland had a female president, Tarja Halonen, for the first time in history. During this time, the nation also had its first female prime ministers, Anneli Jäätteenmäki and Mari Kiviniemi. However, they both led the government only very briefly. Jäätteenmäki from the Centre Party was the first female prime minister in Finland, elected in 2003. She resigned after only two months in office due to a political conflict concerning a memorandum on the war in Iraq. The next female prime minister, Mari Kiviniemi, also from the Centre Party, held office for exactly a year from June 2010 to June 2011, but decided not to run for the chairmanship of the party after losing the parliamentary election. Within Europe, Finnish women have particularly strong presence with 8 of 13 representatives (61 per cent) in the European Parliament.

Feminism in Finland is described as state feminism. This means that feminists tend not to focus so much on women's rights and that women's political activity is not so much articulated in citizen movements. Instead they prefer to talk about gender equality, with their main target being the labor market and women's possibilities to work outside the home on equal terms with men (Julkunen 2010, p. 93-96). Feminists have also preferred to act in political parties rather than exclusively in non-governmental organizations, and they have attempted to gain an equal position with men in terms of legislation. In Finnish feminism, the term gender equality often includes the idea of gender sameness (Kuusipalo 2002). This has meant that gender-specific issues such as sexual harassment and reproductive rights have not traditionally earned much space in Finnish feminism and Finnish political publicity (see Julkunen 2010, p. 96). For example, there is no free abortion (although it is legal). Thus, in our opinion, it only makes sense that gender-specific viewpoints have been largely unknown also among journalists. The forms of feminism in other Nordic countries have also been labelled as state feminism and share the same characteristics. However, Finnish feminism can be

described as less radical than its Nordic counterparts. In Finland women often prefer to influence organizations from within instead of forming external oppositional groups (see Magnusson, Rönnblom & Silius 2008). Many legislative reforms of importance to women have been implemented much later in Finland than in other Nordic countries. For example, the Finnish Act on Gender Equality was passed in 1986, while other Nordic countries adopted similar legislation already in the 1970s (Julkunen 2010, p. 92). Finland was industrialized and modernized relatively late, a fact sometimes used to explain these other social delays. Also, the nature of the political system, which is largely based on the activities of male-dominated corporations like labour unions and employers' organizations, weakens women's possibilities to lend their voice to the political publicity (Julkunen 2010, p. 94-5).

Finnish Media

Nearly 200 newspapers are published in Finland, a quarter of which are published daily (4-7 times a week) (*Sanomalehdet.fi*). However, the newspaper market is dominated by one national publication (*Helsingin Sanomat*), which had a daily circulation of 313 062 in 2013. Two other daily newspapers are also quite large, *Aamulehti* with 113 066 copies and *Turun Sanomat* with 94 185 copies, and then there are two popular tabloids, *Ilta-alehti* with 77 345 copies and *Ilta-Sanomat* with 118 358 copies (*Suomen lehdistö* 2014). Although Finnish newspapers have not lost their readers as fast as in many other countries, the role of broadcast media in Finnish media business is growing (*Finnish Mass Media, 2011*). In terms of electronic media, the nation has a mixed system of public and private broadcasting. There are four public service television channels and eight private nationwide free-to-air channels³. In addition, there are 19 pay-TV channels and about 20 local/regional free-to-air channels. Finland also has 91 radio channels, of which 34 are public service channels. Finns watch television approximately three hours per day and listen to the radio approximately three hours and 10 minutes per day (*Finnish Mass Media, 2011*).

In a global perspective, Finland is a high-tech country. Eighty-six per cent of the population aged 16-89 use the Internet according to a survey conducted in 2014. Also, according to the survey, new users only come from the population aged over 55, as nearly all younger people already use the Internet. Among those aged 75-89 years, 28 per cent are Internet users. Eighty-nine per cent of men and 84 per cent of women use the Internet daily (*Official Statistics of Finland*).

Women's Underrepresentation in News Stories

There is a long tradition of gender monitoring of the Finnish news media. The first surveys were carried out in the early 1980s and showed that there were hardly any female journalists or interviewees in television news and current affairs programmes (Holopainen et al. 1984; Zilliacus-Tikkanen 1983). A decade later, in the early 1990s, about one-third of news journalists in radio and television news and one-fourth of interviewees in television news were women (Savolainen & Zilliacus-Tikkanen 1992). Five years later, the proportion of female journalists had risen even more to slightly less than half in both television and radio news. The proportion of female interviewees was one-fifth

in television news and one-fourth in radio news. The share of female news subjects was one-fifth in television news (Sana 1995).

Finnish feminist scholars have also participated in international monitoring. For example, they have taken part in every Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) study since 1995. The first two GMMP reports (1995, 2000) provided only aggregated data for the participating nations, i.e., they did not break down data by nation. In 2005 and 2010, however, when national reports were provided, approximately half of news reporters and just below 30 per cent of news subjects in the Finnish media surveyed were found to be women. Thus, these studies show that the proportions of women as reporters and news subjects have not risen since the mid-1990s (GMMP, 1995, 2000, 2005, 2010).

Moreover, national annual surveys carried out since 2007 indicate that the status of women as news subjects in Finland has not improved. In spite of the high proportion of female journalists, women are still quantitatively underrepresented in the mainstream news in Finland. For example, *The Annual Monitoring of Finnish News Media* conducted by Tampere Research Centre for Journalism, Media and Communication (COMET) has frequently shown that a mere 20 per cent of the main news subjects are women, while more than 50 per cent are male (the rest of the subjects were not gendered in this survey) (Saloniemi & Suikkanen 2007; Suikkanen, Saloniemi & Holma 2008; Suikkanen & Syrjälä 2010; Suikkanen, Holma & Raittila 2012). Male subjects dominate in every category of news topics.

Global Report Findings for Finland

The study for the *Global Report* (Byerly 2011) in Finland included nine news companies – six newspapers, two television stations and one radio station – which together employ approximately 2000 journalists and support staff. Around half of these are women. The study indicates that although women form the majority of those serving in routine journalism and support roles, the newsrooms surveyed are male-dominated at the senior and top management levels, as well as in governance (see Table 1). Women are bunched up in two main categories associated with reporting: the junior professional category, where women hold 59.4 per cent of the positions and which includes correspondents, junior writers and anchors, and the senior professional category, where women hold 51.2 per cent of the positions and which includes more experienced anchors, directors, writers and researchers. Women also hold the vast majority of jobs (84.1 per cent) in sales, finance and administration – support roles often considered ‘women’s work’.

By contrast, men dominate in newsroom decision-making roles, which are also typically better paid. Men hold more than half of the positions in middle management (56.1 per cent vs. 43.9 per cent for women) and two-thirds of the positions in senior management (65.7 per cent vs. 34.3 per cent for women). These categories include editors-in-chief, chiefs of correspondents, and other supervisory positions. In fact, the middle management category represents the glass ceiling for women in these nine companies, in that women’s representation drops sharply in categories higher up in the newsroom hierarchies. Men also hold two-thirds of the positions (63.0 vs. 37.0 per cent) in governance – the realm of boards of directors.

The proportion of women in newsrooms surveyed for the *Global Report* was smaller than their proportion of the members of the Union of Journalists (57 per cent). This

means that female journalists for some reason work in other types of media, rather than news. This is not surprising, as the Union of Journalists (with 16 000 members) also includes, for example, magazine journalists and editors of publishing houses, i.e. professions traditionally dominated by women (SJL 2012).

While the *Global Report* indicates that women have difficulty finding their way to boards (37.0 per cent) and top management (34.7 per cent), the national analysis⁴ shows that there is great variation in the proportions of women on the boards of the different media companies surveyed. One board had a female majority and on another the proportions of men to women were almost even. In four cases out of seven, about one-third were women; on one board the women comprised a quarter of the members; and on another there were no women at all. Viewed on a case-by-case basis, women's progress at the top is more evident in some news companies than others.

The European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE) recently published a report on gender equality in European media houses. The results for three Finnish organizations confirm the observations in *Global Report*. Men comprised 57 per cent of the decision-makers and board members (*Advancing gender equality in decision-making in media organizations*, 2013, p. 91).

Table 1. Occupational Roles by Gender in Finland

Occupational level	Men	Men (%)	Women	Women (%)
Governance	51	63.0	30	37.0
Top-level management	49	65.3	26	34.7
Senior management	44	65.7	23	34.3
Middle management	133	56.1	104	43.9
Senior-level professional	506	48.8	531	51.2
Junior-level professional	13	40.6	19	59.4
Production and design	183	51.4	173	48.6
Technical professional	45	71.4	18	28.6
Sales, finance & administration	7	15.9	37	84.1
Other	6	24.0	19	76.0
Total numbers and average %	1 037	51.4	980	48.6

Source: Byerly, C.M. (2011). *Global Report on the Status of Women in the News Media* (International Women's Media Foundation), p. 321.

Female leadership in the media sector has been explored in other Finnish studies as well. In one study, 10 female managers interviewed told researchers that they felt uncomfortable with the role of a managing director with economic responsibility that is linked to the role as chief-editor (Lappalainen 2010, p. 156). In another study on editorial practices and female careers, it was noted that women at management levels are expected to perform female roles, be less hierarchy-oriented and listen more (than men) (Ruoho & Torkkola 2010). The Finnish findings in the *Global Report* indicate that men manage the online newsrooms although women form half of the online journalists. The study included 100 web journalists, 53 of whom were women. The national analysis shows that only 8 per cent of women held a managing position, for men the figure was 19 per cent.

Table 2. Terms of Employment by Gender in Finnish News Companies

Terms of employment	Men	Men (%)	Women	Women (%)
Full-time, regular	712	53.9	610	46.1
Part-time, regular	26	33.8	51	66.2
Full-time, contract	87	31.2	192	68.8
Part-time, contract	–	0.0	4	100.0
Freelance	56	57.7	41	42.3
Other	91	57.2	68	42.8
Total numbers	972		966	

Source: Byerly, C.M. (2011). *Global Report on the Status of Women in the News Media* (International Women's Media Foundation), p. 323

Finnish women journalists are more likely than their male colleagues to work in less secure employment relations, according to the *Global Report*. Among all journalists employed in full-time permanent positions, 46.1 per cent are women. Women also hold substantially more journalism jobs in part-time (both regular and contract), full-time contract, and 'other' terms of employment. The latter include a range of arrangements (e.g. pay per item, special projects), all of which are associated with uneven income and lower pay. Men were found to hold more freelance jobs than women (57.7 per cent vs. 42.3 per cent). The national analysis showed that women represent the majority of the permanent full-time staff in only two newsrooms, and about 66 per cent of the permanent part-time personnel were women. Of those working full-time but on a temporary basis, 69 per cent were women. Women comprised more than half of the group of workers who were asked to work occasionally, or 54 per cent.

The Finnish findings in the *Global Report* indicate that there are contradictions in attitudes related to gender in Finnish newsrooms. On the one hand, gender is said not to make a difference, yet on the other hand a gender balance is seen as important. These findings are similar to those in other studies. Monica Löfgren-Nilsson (2010, p. 5-6) reports a strong ambivalence on gender issues in newsrooms in Sweden. Although journalists at the Swedish Television News reported that gender was not an important factor in the daily work, there was a total agreement that beats were divided by gender. Rosalind Gill (2008, p. 60) reports contradictions in the way comments on discrimination were presented. Gill presents carefully constructed accounts on the lack of women, stressing a positive attitude and providing several reasons why the absence of women was natural and inevitable and caused by women themselves and the attitudes of the audience. The same ambivalence was observed in the interviews with Finnish editors-in-chief. For example, an interviewee could say that although both female and male journalists were needed in the newsroom, gender does not have a significant role in recruitment or in considerations for promotions (Ruoho & Torkkola 2010, pp. 23, 88). Joan Acker (1992) has stressed the problematic conflict between the reality of organizations, which are very obviously structured according to gender (i.e. with men in charge), and the way of talking and thinking about them as being gender-neutral.

Recruitment: No Positive Gender Discrimination⁵

Positive gender discrimination in the recruitment of journalists, i.e. preferential treatment of the minority gender (women or men depending which gender is in the minority) when hiring in order to facilitate gender balance, has not been used in Finnish newsrooms. Then again, Finnish media organizations usually announce vacant positions on the internet, intranet or in newspapers, which means that potentially interested candidates have a chance to notice the information. There were no reports of women being encouraged to apply for vacant jobs. Only one media organization reported that it encourages the minority gender to apply, especially if there is a clear gender imbalance. Finnish newsrooms also lack lists of women looking for media positions. Two newsrooms reported that they favour an applicant representing the minority gender if two applicants are equally qualified. One interviewee reported that there is no longer a need for positive discrimination. Recruitment procedures that minimize the effect of gender in the selection process were not used in Finnish media houses.

Finnish newsrooms do not offer professional training courses targeting women specifically. The only exception among the surveyed media houses was an organization that had orchestrated a management project for women some years ago. At one other media house, a national defence organization had offered a possibility for female journalists to participate in its courses. It is evident that social networks are important in training. Individuals can be encouraged to apply for training programmes and be selected to courses on the basis of networks.

All interviewees of the study shared the view that gender balance is desirable in newsrooms and in their different sections. Where there were few women in the sports department, the respective managements hoped for female recruitments. Some also mentioned a need for more male journalists in certain departments. In our opinion, the argument for gender balance could be motivated by both political correctness and competition for audiences.

The high and continuously growing proportion of female journalists in Finland might be one reason why we could not find acts of positive gender discrimination to improve the position of women. Another reason might be rooted in the nature of Finnish feminism. As mentioned earlier, Finnish feminism is largely based on the idea of gender sameness and does not emphasize gender-specific issues.

Career Development inside the Organization

The Finnish interviews for the *Global Report* indicated that journalists have to create their careers inside the media houses. In spring 2010, most of the newsrooms hired people through internal application processes due to the recession. Most of those companies encouraged their employees to circulate among different positions. The prevailing practice in Finland, according to which journalists are hired internally, indicates that journalists have to create their careers inside a single company. Women in particular have to do so in that female journalists are very rarely hired from other companies (Ruoho & Torkkola 2010, p. 100-2). The Finnish interviews for the *Global Report* also indicated that some media houses have adopted practices that can help balance gender hierarchies in the organization. One example of good practice was found in a newsroom that provided the managing editors and middle management with a possibility to change

their position every two or three years. This was carried out by opening all positions and allowing everybody to apply.

Women are not directly encouraged to apply for higher positions in Finnish newsrooms. However, many interviewees said that women have been encouraged unofficially. This means, according to our interpretation, that the encouragement takes place 'behind the curtains' and only for some female journalists. Interviewees often said repeatedly that colleagues can always encourage each other. These responses indicate that informal social networks inside media houses are very important for Finnish journalists in terms of career building (see also Djerf-Pierre 2007).

The Finnish interviewees for the *Global Report* furthermore indicated that most newsrooms hired an equal number of women and men during the 12 months preceding the survey. However, many interviewees felt there was a shortage of male journalists among the candidates. This gives reason to ask whether the high number of female journalists hired was due to the low number of male journalists in the field. Besides, the fact is, as mentioned earlier, that for years now women have formed a clear majority of students in journalism in Finland. At the major journalism school, the proportion of women is a well-established 75 per cent (Savolainen 2010, p. 148). Although the situation may seem very bright for women, a report from the Union of Journalists pointed out that young female journalists suffer from insomnia, stress and depression more than their male colleagues (Porttinen 2010).

A gender-balanced staff can also be argued for from the audience's point of view. It has been documented that the gender of journalists might affect the contents, in particular the tone and style and the choice of sources in certain contexts (Ross 2010, p. 111-2; see also Zilliacus-Tikkanen 1997, p. 139). Therefore, a newsroom should consist of an equal number of female and male journalists. However, from the applicants' point of view, a goal of a 50–50 distribution leads to greater competition among the female applicants since 70 per cent of the newcomers are women. This means that young women in particular may encounter problems finding a job. Nevertheless, there is research showing that some female journalists are specifically called to managing positions (Ruoho & Torkkola 2010, p. 86-100). These women are able to establish a career while other female journalists are offered only temporary work and young, newly graduated women may have to leave the field because there are 'too many' female journalists. This means that female journalists are becoming a more and more heterogeneous and unequal group – just like women in general in Finnish society (Julkunen 2010, p. 280). There are women who succeed and those who never even get a fair shot at a career.

Strong Support to Families

The *Global Report* indicated that Finnish society and employers support families and child-caring in many ways. According to Finnish legislation, parents have a right to stay at home with their children until the children reach the age of three. During the first four months, only the mother is entitled to have a leave (maternity leave). The law does not require the employer to pay salary during maternity leave but, according to the collective labour agreements in the media industry, salary is paid anyway. This is an established Finnish practice in other fields as well. At the time of the survey, fathers were legally entitled to paternity leave for approximately three weeks. Under certain

conditions they could stay at home for roughly a month (the ‘daddy month’) yet were not entitled to salary during this time. However, some interviewees for the *Global Report* told researchers that some of the media houses paid salary for around three weeks and that the employees also received two or three days of holiday per month during maternity and parental leave.

Parents of 3-7 year olds are under certain conditions entitled to special allowance enabling day care for the child and part-time work instead of full-time work for the parent. It seems, based on the interviews for the *Global Report*, that employers in the media sector usually allow parents to work part-time without always being required to do so. In one of the biggest companies, parents with children over age 3 were free to have parental leave as much as they wanted. In Finland, employers do not offer regular day care services as municipalities are responsible for that. However, the interviews for the *Global Report* show that most employers still supported the caring services of a sick child in some way.

Act on Equality Followed

The Finnish portion of the *Global Report* indicates that the national Act on Equality between Women and Men, passed in 1987, was closely followed and that gender equality was also screened to some extent in some organizations. The creation of equality plans has been compulsory since 2005. Thus, not surprisingly, every newsroom surveyed for the *Global Report* had a gender equality plan at least at the company level. Some companies had written plans as early as the beginning of the 1990s but others had drafted their plans only very recently. Public service and private television stations had the oldest plans and the longest tradition of equality work. Compared with an earlier survey, the situation had improved significantly since 2002, when only half of the media companies had a gender equality plan (*Asenteiden lasikatto* 2002).

The national analysis indicated that there is great variation in how companies monitor equality plans. Most companies said they conducted a working climate survey at least every two or three years. These surveys might also include questions about gender equality and sexual harassment issues. Some organizations publish salary statistics and organizational status positions in their Intranet. Top level management and labour union activists follow them closely. In some organizations, salaries are monitored at company level. One of the organizations surveys salaries and organizational statuses, conducts working climate surveys, and publishes staff reports every year. Working climate surveys are conducted by consultant agencies. One organization had decided to hold a gender equality audition after its working climate survey. The survey results had included so much negative feedback that the company had to conduct more specific research on gender equality.

Absence of Sexual Harassment

Sexual harassment seems not to be a major problem in Finnish newsrooms, according to the Finnish findings in the *Global Report*. Only two newsrooms indicated that such conduct had been reported. Other newsrooms had experienced problems with sexual harassment as well, but in those cases the problems had been resolved internally i.e. by transferring the parties involved to other departments. According to Finnish law, em-

ployers are required to take action against sexual and other forms of harassment. Only some of the studied newsrooms had a specific plan against sexual harassment. Most organizations considered sexual harassment a form of general bullying. One newsroom had organized a special anti-harassment day. All interviewees were opposed to harassment and expressed zero tolerance of it. The general model to deal with harassment is to discuss it with the involved parties. Other reports on Finnish workplaces show that sexual harassment does occur (Vilkkä 2011). By contrast, only a few interviewees for the *Global Report* reported knowledge of harassment cases. The explanation for this discrepancy could be either that the relatively gender-balanced newsroom environment combined with the high awareness of the impropriety of harassment has reduced the occurrence in newsrooms, or that the characteristic toughness expected of journalists makes it improper to report harassment. In any case, it is hard to believe there is no harassment in the newsroom at all, in particular as there is anecdotal evidence. For example, some time ago, a magazine published by the Union of Journalists ran a story on female journalists' experiences concerning sexual harassment (Aro 2011).

Woman's Euro: 92 Cents

According to a recent study on Finnish journalists, female journalists earn approximately 3488 euro per month while their male colleagues earn 325 euro more. Thus, a woman's euro is only 92 cents in journalism. These figures include senior and middle management as well as senior and junior level professionals. The survey shows that female journalists earn less in every age group (*SJL:n työmarkkinatutkimus 2014*).

Statistics also show that female journalists with a journalism degree earn less than male journalists with degrees in other fields. Even male journalists with no or incomplete university studies earn more than women with a journalism diploma. At any rate, a survey of Finnish journalists points out an interesting fact: Journalists' earnings have clearly increased since 1994 despite the concurrent feminization of the profession (*SJL:n työmarkkinatutkimus 2014*).

Thoughts about the Future

The *Global Report* indicates that some newsrooms do intend to increase the proportion of women in the future. Half of the interviewees told researchers they had intentions of raising the proportion of women in certain professional groups in the near future. Two of the interviewees said that the sports desk is the area where more women will be needed. One newsroom reported that it had attempted to find more female photographers as supervisors had noticed that there were significantly fewer photos taken by women at the newspaper. Some interviewees had no official plans to increase the proportion of women but said they had unofficial intentions of doing so. Most interviewees did not define the ideal proportions of women and men in the newsroom or proclaim plans to change the gender distribution. Some did not plan to raise the proportion of women because a gender balance had already been achieved in the newsroom. Most interviewees for the *Global Report* claimed to be conscious of the fact that gender equality had not been reached in their newsroom and that they personally wanted to change the situation. Salaries, promotion possibilities and work tasks were seen as the most problematic

themes in terms of gender inequality. Two interviewees felt there was inequality in how gender was represented in news and that the news contents should be screened and changed as well. Some interviewees expressed a hope that female journalists would be more interested in getting higher positions.

Conclusion

While most journalists in Finland are women, just less than half of the news journalists are female in the nine companies interviewed for the *Global Report* study. The study shows that women are underrepresented at every level of management, with their proportion being smallest in senior management, where only one in three managers is a woman. However, according to the managers interviewed for the study, positive gender discrimination is not seen as a necessary remedy for the situation. In spite of this, they said, women can be encouraged by their colleagues or superiors. Journalists' family life seems to be well supported in Finland, with generous day care assistance and maternity and paternity leave. However, there were also employers who said they do not pay salaries to men on paternity leave.

In addition, based on statements made to the researchers, it seems there is no sexual harassment in Finnish newsrooms. This is a notion that is hard to believe. In our opinion, this is an issue that needs further exploration. The *Global Report* indicates that women in journalism find themselves more often with less secure terms of employment than men. This is an unfortunate feature of the position of women in the Finnish labour market in general.

Notes

1. In Finland almost all journalists are members of the union, which means that the gender proportions in the union are representative of the entire field.
2. <http://iwmf.org/pdfs/TWMF-Global-Report.pdf>
3. The national public service company Yle's operations are financed mainly through television fees, and the programming carries no advertising. The company is 99.9 per cent state-owned and supervised by an administrative Council appointed by Parliament. It operates under the Act on Yleisradio Oy. Private media are funded through advertising.
4. Researchers in participating nations were given permission to publish data collected for their individual nations, even if not included in the full report. These analyses are called national analyses in this article.
5. The gathering of information for the *Global Report* generated data not included in the published report. This section provides findings from the Finnish portion of those data.

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