BATTLING THE 'INVISIBLE NETS'

Gender in the fields of journalism in sub-Saharan Africa

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To all women journalists in Africa, fighting for truth, justice and equality

Swedish summary

Denna avhandling är ett svar på den feministiska och postkoloniala kritiken mot en övervägande västerländsk syn på genus och journalistik. De fem delstudiernas resultat ger delvis nya förklaringar till hur "osynliga nät" (Ridgeway, 2001) vävs för kvinnor inom journalistiken.

Avhandlingen tar avstamp i en afrikansk mediekontext och det faktum att antalet kvinnor som är journalister snabbt har ökat i länder i den här regionen sedan tidigt 2000-tal (Macharia, 2015). Utvecklingen har skett samtidigt som mediemarknaderna har växt explosionsartat till följd av globalisering, teknologisk utveckling, en växande medelklass och liberalisering av medielagar (Bosch, 2014, ss. 30-32; Geertsema-Sligh, 2013, s. 94).

I Sydafrika, så väl som i andra länder i regionen söder om Sahara, är det dock få svarta kvinnor som lyckats nå högre positioner inom det journalistiska fältet. Medieföretagen har beskrivits som styrda av traditionella normer kring maskulinintet och femininitet (Opoku-Mensah, 2004, s. 115). Kvinnor kämpar för att erhålla status, prestige och positioner inom journalistiken (Geertsema-Sligh, 2013; Kaija, 2013).

Avhandlingen och dess studier tar sin utgångspunkt i att inte uppfatta Afrika som en homogen enhet. Ett sätt att nå en mer nyanserad förståelse för regionen är att jämföra vissa afrikanska länder med varandra. Den empiriska tyngdpunkten i min forskning är Sydafrika. De särskilda omständigheter som har format situationen för kvinnor inom detta nationella journalistiska fält har blivit mer uppenbara när de jämförs med de erfarenheter kvinnliga journalister har från andra afrikanska länder.

Samtidigt saknas det kvalitativa, djupgående analyser av vilken roll genus spelar i den organisatoriska miljön i medieföretag i den här delen av världen (Bosch, 2011, p. 28; Opoku-Mensah, 2001). Denna avhandling bidrar till att fylla detta tomrum.

Syfte och frågeställningar

Syftet med den här avhandlingen är att analysera genuslogiken inom journalistikens fält i regionen söder om Sahara i Afrika. Genus är en del av det generella fält som genomkorsar andra fält, och därför ligger till grund för alla sociala relationer. Då alla sociala fält är genusmärkta, utgör genuslogiken en central komponent av den generella logiken i journalistikens fält. Mer specifikt, är genuslogiken ett schema över hur praktiker, sociala relationer, positioner, status och prestige struktureras av genus (Djerf-Pierre, 2007).

Inom journalistikens fält har detta schema många konsekvenser. Ett exempel är att män dominerar på positioner associerade med makt, status och prestige inom medierna (Byerly, 2011; 2013).

Ett sätt att analysera denna logik i en afrikansk kontext är att identifiera hur svarta kvinnor som är journalister upplever sin status i sina levda erfarenheter av journalistik. Enligt Ridgeway (2001), finns det ett system av föreställningar om olika status för olika grupper i samhället, som formar sociala relationer och sociala hierarkier mellan olika grupper när det finns gemensamma mål att uppnå (p. 638). Dessa föreställningar baseras på faktorer såsom genus, ras, utbildning och profession (Ridgeway, 2001, s. 637). Ridgeway kallar statusföreställningar som relaterar till kvinnor och män i en organisation för "osynliga nät", och hävdar att dessa är vad som orsakar "glastaket" som många kvinnor upplever när de hindras från att nå ledande positioner (Ridgeway, 2001, s. 652). Dessa "osynliga nät" kan dock se annorlunda ut i olika sammanhang (jfr Steyn & White 2011). Min utgångspunkt är att dessa "osynliga nät" är en central del av logiken på journalistikens fält. Genom att identifiera "näten" kan man alltså förklara hur genus är relaterad till status och makt i fältet.

Syftet med denna avhandling kan formuleras i två huvudsakliga frågeställningar:

Forskningsfråga 1: Vilka är de levda erfarenheterna av intersektioner av genus, klass och ras inom journalistiken för svarta kvinnor som är journalister i fem afrikanska länder, med fokus på Sydafrika? Vilka är deras strategier inom deras respektive områden av journalistik?

Denna forskningsfråga besvaras i studierna I, II, III och IV, som analyserar hur genuslogiken i olika fält av journalistik uppfattas av kvinnliga journalister och chefer i Afrika söder om Sahara.

Forskningsfråga 2: Vilket är förhållandet mellan genuslogiken i det journalistiska fältet och konkreta journalistiska metoder i bevakningen av frågor som rör jämställdhet?

Denna frågeställning analyseras främst i studie V, som studerar hur genuslogiken tar sig konkreta uttryck i journalistiska metoder, genom att fokusera på bevakningen av ett särskilt genuskänsligt ämne som även involverar klass och ras.

Teoretisk ram

I arbetet med att urskilja strukturerna för "nät" är den franske sociologen Pierre Bourdieus fältteori, och framför allt tillämpningen av hans teorier av Toril Moi (1991) användbara teoretiska verktyg. Dock har det blivit allt tydligare under forskningsprocessen hur kvinnor som är journalister påverkas av en kombination av intersektioner av kön, klass och ras, som är omöjliga att

separera. Därför införlivas Bourdieus och Mois teorier i ett intersektionellt förhållningssätt. Begreppen kön, genuslogik, fält, kapital, habitus, 'nät' och intersektionalitet är grunden för en diskussion om strukturer och strategier som möjliggör, utesluter eller omfattar kvinnor i journalistik i Afrika söder om Sahara.

I genuslogiken är genus både en form av symboliskt kapital, i relation med habitus, och en faktor som påverkar tillgången till andra former av kapital som är värdefulla i fältet. Viktiga former av symboliska kapital är kulturellt kapital, ekonomiskt kapital, socialt kapital och professionellt kapital.

Metod och material

Avhandlingens metodologi har inspirerats av en etnografisk ansats. Kvalitativa intervjuer har använts för att förstå hur individer uppfattar och förstår världen (deras). Intervjuerna undersöker hur kvinnorna har trätt in i journalistiken, hur de upplever arbetet som journalist, hur de har gjort en karriär inom journalistiken och hur de förstår sina positioner och status inom fältet. Delstudie I, *Rapport från regnbågsredaktionen*, analyserar möjligheter och hinder för åtta svarta kvinnor verksamma som journalister i Sydafrika. Delstudie II, *'Hitting the glass ceiling'—gender and media management in sub-Saharan Africa,* analyserar möjligheter och hinder för fem kvinnor med högre ledarskapspositioner inom journalistikens fält i Etiopien, Zambia, Nigeria och Uganda. Delstudie III, *Women climbing the ladder: The case of affirmative action in South African media*, analyserar konsekvenserna av ett omfattande kvoteringsprogram för åtta kvinnor med chefspositioner inom mediesektorn i Sydafrika. Delstudie IV, *Gender and leadership divides in sub-Saharan newsrooms*, är en komparativ studie av genuslogiken i olika nationella journalistiska fält söder om Sahara. Den sydafrikanska erfarenheten kontrasteras och jämförs med erfarenheter från Zambia, Uganda, Nigeria och Etiopien. Delstudie V, *Sex, football and the media: The case of South Africa and the World Cup*, springer ur de fyra första artiklarna. I en textanalys med ett diskursanalytiskt angreppsätt undersöker studien hur genuslogiken konkret uttrycker sig inom journalistik i Sydafrika på en detaljerad nivå, genom att analysera rapportering och redaktionella diskussioner om ett särskilt genuskänsligt ämne under fotbolls-VM 2010

Slutsatser

En viktig utgångspunkt för denna avhandling är att det finns olika fältlogiker samt särskilda genuslogiker, beroende på historiska, sociala och politiska sammanhang. Jag betraktar '"nät" som en del av dessa fältlogiker. Men eftersom det finns flera nationella fält av journalistik, och därmed skillnader i

fältlogik är "näten" inte konstruerade på samma sätt. Snarare är de spunna av hur olika former av symboliskt kapital värderas i den symboliska ekonomin i området. Således är den symboliska ekonomin den centrala delen av fältlogiken. Kvinnor som är journalister och chefer måste navigera i "näten", med hjälp av olika strategier beroende på vilka former av kapital som värderas i ett visst område av journalistik samt på hur deras kvinnliga habitus betraktas inom området.

Den första slutsatsen gäller skillnaderna mellan kvinnors tillgång till kulturellt kapital och hur detta påverkat deras positioner inom journalistiken. Enligt Bourdieu är ekonomiskt kapital roten till alla andra former av kapital. Majoriteten av de svarta kvinnliga journalisterna i mina studier kom från ett lägre ekonomiskt stratum, som skapade en speciell form av habitus och påverkade deras möjligheter att uppnå kulturella kapital i form av språk och utbildning.

Den andra slutsatsen är att det fanns likheter mellan kvinnorna i mina studier avseende tillgången till socialt kapital, där vissa former av socialt kapital också har betonats i många västerländska studier av kvinnor i ledande befattningar. Deltagarna från Sydafrika hade dock tillgång till en unik form som kan kallas ”socialt rörelsekapital”, som hade förvärvats i kampen mot apartheid. Att vara en del av anti-apartheid rörelsen innebar att kvinnliga journalister hade tillgång till ett viktigt nätverk som nu var framstående inom statsförvaltningen och ANC. Detta nätverk hjälpte dem att behålla och stärka sina positioner inom redaktionen.

En tredje slutsats är att positiv särbehandling skapade stora skillnader när det gäller kvinnors positioner inom journalistikens fält när man jämför Sydafrika och de andra länderna söder om Sahara. Konsekvenserna av positiv särbehandling för svarta kvinnliga journalister i Sydafrika är ett konkret uttryck för hur yttre omständigheter bidrar till konstruktionen av "nät".

Den fjärde slutsatsen är att kvinnliga journalister möter olika genuslogiker inom journalistiken, beroende på vilket land de kommer från. Värdet av kön som symboliskt kapital kan bero på hur det förhåller sig till egenskaper kopplade till manligt och kvinnligt inom särskilda fält av journalistik.

Sammanfattningsvis visar avhandlingen att ”näten” manifesterar sig som konkreta situationer där en individ befinner sig, och där värdet och summan av olika former av kapital ger tillgång till vissa delar av fältet, men inte andra.

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List of articles

This thesis is based on five articles, which are outlined below:

I. Roxberg, Z. M. (2010). Report from the Rainbow Newsdesk: A study about women's experiences working as journalists in South Africa [Rapport från regnbågsredaktionen. En studie om kvinnors erfarenheter av att verka som journalister i Sydafrika]. *Nordicom Information*, *32*(1), pp. 61-73 (translated).

II. Zuiderveld, M. (2011). 'Hitting the glass ceiling'—gender and media management in sub-Saharan Africa. *Journal of African Media Studies*, *3*(3), pp. 401-415.

III. Zuiderveld, M. (2014). Women climbing the ladder: The case of affirmative action in South African media. *Global Media Journal, African Edition*, *8*(1), pp. 30-62.

IV. Zuiderveld, M. (2016). Gender and leadership divides in sub-Saharan newsrooms. (Submitted)

V. Zuiderveld, M. (2013). Sex, football and the media: The case of South Africa and the World Cup. *Scandinavian Sports Studies Forum*, *4*, pp. 25-48.

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Prologue. The journey

The road towards a thesis can be long and winding. This is a brief summary of how it all began and the crossroads I have passed along the way.

As a young girl, Southern Africa was my family's home for many years during the 1980s. In the 2000s, I became a journalist and teacher of journalism. My own experiences of the gender logics of newsroom practices resulted in a lot of thinking about the conditions for women journalists around the world, especially in a region of particular interest to me, sub-Saharan Africa. The subject for this thesis was planted in my mind.

I returned to Africa in 2004 to do fieldwork for a master thesis. The aim was to examine the opportunities and obstacles for a group of black women working as journalists in post-apartheid South Africa. Meeting black women journalists, I realised that our experiences were so similar, yet so different. It became obvious that to understand the role of women in journalism in post-Apartheid South Africa, I would have to take account of a complex network of gender, class and race.

In 2006 I was accepted as a PhD student, with the aim of doing more studies on the obstacles and opportunities for black women journalists by using the framework provided by French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. I found that this theoretical framework provided valuable theoretical and methodological tools to understand the gender logic of different fields of journalism. I started by doing a new analysis of the empirical data in my master thesis, resulting in my first article, 'Rapport från regnbågsredaktionen. En studie om kvinnors erfarenheter av att verka som journalister i Sydafrika' [Report from the Rainbow Newsdesk: A study about women's experiences working as journalists in South Africa] (Roxberg, Z., 2010, published in *Nordicom Information, 32*(1), pp. 61-73).

I wanted to continue doing fieldwork in sub-Saharan Africa; however, for many years I did my PhD studies in parallel with full-time work as a journalist and a lecturer in journalism. Thus, it was not practically possible to do long periods of fieldwork. Naturally, a combination of longer observations and interviews would have been fruitful. But in my case, I had to find other ways to collect empirical data to understand the situation for women journalists in South Africa. I realised that interviews did not necessarily have to take place in the specific region in question. In 2007, I contacted an organisation offering advanced training in journalism and leadership for developing countries, and thus gained contacts with several women journalists from sub-Saharan Africa. These meetings resulted in my second article, 'Hitting the glass ceiling' — gender and media management in sub-Saharan Africa'

(Zuiderveld, 2011, published in *Journal of African Media Studies, 3*(3), pp. 401-415), which I managed to complete as I received scholarships from the Wahlgrenska Foundation and the Journalism Fund for Further Training.

In 2009, I was invited to participate in a joint book project on the 2010 Fifa World Cup in South Africa, but the project never materialised. However, I had already formulated my research idea, as I had found a way to grasp the gender logic of the newsrooms from another angle. A particular debate had arisen in South Africa on the legislation of prostitution during the time of the event. This debate captured many intersecting aspects of gender, class and race, and I decided to implement my project on my own. I constructed a research design that would link the journalistic texts to gendered practices in the editorial environment. Furthermore, I successfully applied for a travel grant from the Nordic Africa Institute, allowing me to visit South Africa for almost the entire duration of the World Cup. Another scholarship from Anna Ahlström och Ellen Terserus Foundation as well as funding from Södertörn University gave me time to analyse the empirical data that I collected. After parental leave in 2011 and 2012, I completed my third article, Sex, football and the media: The case of South Africa and the World Cup (Zuiderveld, 2013, published in *Scandinavian Sports Studies Forum, 4* (2013), pp. 25-48).

In 2013, I became an employed PhD student at Stockholm University. Over the years, I had become increasingly interested in the experiences of women media managers in South Africa. As I was closely monitoring media and gender developments in South Africa, I watched several black women take on high editorial positions. Had black women journalists been able to break the glass ceiling they talked about in my first study in 2004? Their experiences of entering the field of journalism and taking on positions of leadership became the topic for the fourth article, Women climbing the ladder: The case of affirmative action in South African media. (Zuiderveld, 2014, published in *Global Media Journal, African Edition, 8*(1), pp. 30-62).

After a second parental leave, I was given an opportunity in 2015 to become an employed PhD student at Gothenburg University, which has a long tradition of research in the field of gender and journalism. The complex and intertwining structures of gender, class and race had been evident in my previous studies. In my final and concluding study, I wanted to dig into the concept of intersectionality more deeply. One way of doing this was by using empirical data from previous studies in a comparative study on the gender logic for women media managers in South Africa and other sub-Saharan countries. This resulted in my fifth article, *Gender and leadership divides in sub-Saharan newsrooms* (Zuiderveld, 2016, submitted).

During my journey, I have had several guides and companions. I especially want to thank:

all the women and journalists in sub-Saharan Africa I have met, for sharing your worlds with me.

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Maria Zuiderveld
Sigtuna, April 2017

1. Setting the scene

In the beginning of January 2004, while South Africa was celebrating its first ten years of democracy, history was written for black women journalists in Africa. The prestigious newspaper *Mail and Guardian*, famous for its investigative reporting, announced that it had appointed the first black female editor of the outlet. The decision was described as 'bold' and 'a milestone' (Biz Community, 2004). Ferial Haffajee was at the time also the first female editor of a large South African newspaper overall, and has been a role-model for black women journalists who have followed in her footsteps. Since the early 2000s, the number of women journalists in African media space has increased (Macharia, 2015). In the 2010s, most students enrolled in journalism schools in South Africa have been women (Made, 2010). Simultaneously, the liberalisation of media laws has created a rapidly growing media market seeking professional staff (Bosch, 2014, p. 30-32; Geertsema-Sligh, 2013, p. 94).

However, few black women in South Africa, as well as in other countries in the sub-Saharan region, have managed to reach positions as high as Ferial Haffajee. The culture of male dominance in media companies seems to be universal and hard to dislodge, despite legislation and more women reaching senior positions in media companies (Byerly, 2011; 2013). In Africa in particular, media companies have been described as governed by the traditional norms of masculinity and femininity found in African societies (Opoku-Mensah, 2004, p. 115), and women are struggling for their status in journalism (Geertsema-Sligh, 2013; Kaija, 2013). Yet, there is a lack of qualitative, in-depth analysis of the role of gender in the organisational setup of media companies in this part of the world (Bosch, 2011, p. 28; Opoku-Mensah, 2001).

This thesis contributes to filling this void. The main geographical focus is South Africa. Apartheid has generated specific circumstances for black women in South African journalism, which makes this setting particularly interesting to study. However, to understand the gender logic in this specific field of journalism, one needs to see South Africa in a broader context. Africa is a continent that consists of multiple histories and socio-political contexts, but it is often regarded as homogenous and invariable. Therefore, it is highly relevant to expand the study to a comparative analysis between South Africa and other sub-Saharan countries.

The aim of this thesis is to analyse the gender logic in the fields of journalism in the sub-Saharan region of Africa. Gender is part of the general social field that permeates all other fields, and thus underlies all social relations. Since all social fields are gendered, gender logic constitutes a key component of the general logic of the field of journalism. More specifically, it is a scheme of how practices, social relations, positions, status and prestige are structured by gender (Djerf-Pierre, 2007).

In the field of journalism, this scheme has many consequences, among them the fact that certain beats such as politics and economics, which are typically considered more status-filled, have mostly been covered by male reporters (van Zoonen, 1998). Another example is that men dominate in positions of power, status and prestige in the media (Byerly, 2011; 2013).

Certain forms of symbolic capital are important to attain in order to succeed in the field and to acquire positions, status, prestige and power. This symbolic capital is, for example, education, access to networks and previous professional experiences in the field. What is also important is a particular form of habitus: manners formed mostly through upbringing and education and consequently highly related to social class.

Most studies of the gender logic in journalism have been conducted in a Western setting. When analyses of news production from a gender perspective are done outside the Western world, partly new explanations for structural differences in journalism can be revealed. One way of analysing this logic in an African setting is by identifying how the status of black women journalists is perceived in their lived experiences of journalism. According to Ridgeway (2001), there is a system of beliefs about different statuses for various groups in society, which forms social relations and social hierarchies among different groups when there are collective goals to achieve (p. 638). These beliefs are based on factors such as gender, race, education and profession (Ridgeway, 2001, p. 637). Status conceptions related to gender create different expectations on women and men in an organisation. Often, the consequence is that women perceive that they cannot be as assertive and vocal as men, and that there is less attention and valuation given to tasks performed by women (Ridgeway, 2001, p. 652).

Consequently, gender beliefs affect women's opportunities to advance into a position of leadership. Ridgeway calls these gender status beliefs 'invisible nets', and argues that these are what cause the 'glass ceiling' that many women experience when they are prevented from reaching positions of leadership.

> *The cumulative effect of its multiple, often small effects, repeated over many contexts throughout a career, is to substantially reduce the number of women who successfully attain positions of high authority in the*

> *work world, especially in occupations and contexts not culturally linked with women.* (Ridgeway, 2001, p. 652)

My starting point is that these 'invisible nets' are a central part of the logic in the field of journalism. The 'nets' are a way of assessing the 'thinkings' and 'doings' of gender in journalism (Löfgren-Nilsson, 2010), and thus unravel how gender is related to status and power in the field. Importantly, the 'nets' may look different in different contexts (cf. Steyn & White 2011). In the effort to discern the structures of the 'nets', the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's field theory, together with an intersectional approach, offers useful theoretical tools to examine and distinguish the complex structures of gender and its intersections with class and race of national fields of journalism in sub-Saharan Africa.

The concepts of gender, gender logic, field, capital, habitus, 'nets' and intersectionality become the basis for a discussion on opportunity structures and strategies that excludes or includes women in journalism in sub-Saharan Africa.

1.1 Aim and research questions

This thesis analyses the gender logic in the fields of journalism in sub-Saharan Africa by examining how structures of gender, class and race interact to create barriers and opportunities for black women journalists and media managers.

Journalism is studied as a gendered practice by analysing the lived experiences of female journalists, mainly in South Africa, but also in Zambia, Uganda, Nigeria and Ethiopia. The research draws from an ethnographic approach, in which life history interviews are used to understand how individuals perceive and understand the (their) world. This thesis examines how black women have entered journalism, how they experience being journalists, how they have made a career in journalism and how they understand their positions and their status within journalism. With this knowledge as a base, conclusions regarding the gender logic of the fields from an intersectional perspective can be drawn: the main analytical focus is gender but also involves race and class.

The theoretical framework is inspired by Bourdieu and his concepts of field, capital and habitus. Field theory is particularly useful when studying gender logic as practice, a central part of Bourdieu's thinking. In the gender logic, gender is both a form of symbolic capital related to habitus and a factor that affects the access to other forms of capital important in the field, for example, social capital in the form of networks and mentors. In journalism, practices can be described as actions that are expressed in routines, habits, methods and rules in the news work (cf. Bourdieu, 1977, pp. 20-21; Löfgren-

Nilsson, 2010; Schultz, 2007; Melin, 2008, p. 10). It is in the concrete practices that the gender logic is expressed, reproduced and sometimes also challenged and changed. Thus, learning about the individuals' experiences of the practices is a way to understand the gender logic and, ultimately, how gender relates to the power to define what is valued in the field of journalism.

The aim of this thesis bisects into two main research questions:

Research Question 1: What are the lived experiences of intersections of gender, class and race in the field of journalism for black women journalists in five African countries, with a focus on South Africa? What are their strategies in their fields of journalism?

This research question is answered in studies I, II, III and IV, which analyse how the gender logic of the fields of journalism is perceived by women journalists and managers in sub-Saharan Africa.

Research Question 2: What is the relationship between the gender logic of the journalistic field and concrete journalistic practices, in terms of coverage of gender-sensitive issues?

This research question is mainly analysed in study V, which studies how the gender logic is expressed in concrete, journalistic practices by focusing on the coverage and editorial discussions around a particular gender-sensitive topic that also involves class and race.

1.2 Disposition

This is a compilation thesis consisting of six parts. The introductory chapter is an introduction to the thesis, a summary and an enhanced discussion of the theoretical concepts and methodological choices, as well as the overall results and their implications. Study I, *'Report from the Rainbow Newsdesk' [translated]*, analyses opportunities and obstacles for eight black women journalists in South Africa. Study II, *'Hitting the glass ceiling: gender and media management in sub-Saharan Africa'*, analyses opportunities and obstacles for five women in media management in Ethiopia, Zambia, Nigeria and Uganda. Study III, *'Women climbing the ladder: The case of affirmative action in South African media'*, analyses the implications of an extensive affirmative action programme for eight black women managers in South Africa. Study IV, *'Gender and leadership divides in sub-Saharan newsrooms'*, is a comparative study on the gender logic in different national fields of journalism in sub-Saharan Africa. The South African experience is compared with experiences from Zambia, Uganda, Nigeria and Ethiopia. Study V, *'Sex, football and the media: The case of South Africa and the World Cup'*, emerges from the first four articles. It examines the concrete practices of gender logic in the field of journalism in South Africa on a detailed level by analysing reporting

and editorial discussions on a certain gender-sensitive topic during the 2010 Fifa World Cup.

The introductory chapter starts with a description of the political, historical and social national contexts of the sub-Saharan countries, focusing on South Africa. Thereafter, I continue to develop the theoretical framework of the thesis. This includes Bourdieu's concepts of field, capital and habitus and how these can be used to devise an intersectional approach to the journalistic field that includes gender, race and class. I develop my view of the theoretical concepts and discuss how the study relates to previous research in the field of gender and journalism. This is followed by a discussion on the methodological approach of life history interviews and discourse analysis and these methods' advantages and limitations. Lastly, I present the conclusions that I draw from the overall results of the studies and how they contribute to the understanding of the gender logic in the fields of journalism in a sub-Saharan setting.

2. The national contexts

The countries included in this thesis geographically stretch from Ethiopia at the horn of Africa to the Gulf of Guinea and Nigeria in Western Africa to Uganda in the heart of Africa. Below, by Victoria Falls, lies Zambia, and where the Atlantic meets the Indian Ocean: South Africa. The focus is on South Africa because of its unique and complex history of colonisation and oppression, liberation and reconciliation. Yet in order to fully capture its historical, social and political context, South Africa is compared with other countries in sub-Saharan Africa. The uniqueness of the 'lived dynamics' of the heritage from the apartheid system in schooling, employment, training and promotion can become more visible in comparative studies of South Africa and other colonised countries (Seidman, 1999, p. 436). In parallel, it is often argued that Western researchers tend to view the Global South as a uniform colossus (cf. Mohanty, 2003). Comparative research in the region may be one way to nuance this picture.

The sociologist Gay Seidman (1999) emphasises that it can be problematic to separate apartheid from colonialism. Yet Seidman points out that the ideology of apartheid was 'extreme' in its way of separating people based on skin colour. It was implemented in the 1940s at a time when the rest of the world had moved away from the idea of colonisation and a civic movement for human rights started spreading across the world. Thus, while countries such as Uganda, Nigeria and Zambia started to experience independence, South Africa isolated itself and instead started building societal structures that maintained and enhanced racial inequality and partition as well as white privilege. For 50 years, South Africa stood as a 'monument' of racism—it was a 'unique' case of a nation built on one cultures supremacy over another (Seidman, 1999, pp. 419-420).

South Africa in the 2010s still struggles to deal with its past (Gibson, 2012), yet one can see some similarities between South Africa and the other sub-Saharan countries. Given national variations, the region has, since the mid-1990s, experienced modernisation, economic development and democratisation. The region's gross domestic product (GDP) is growing rapidly, poverty is declining, life expectancy is rising and secondary school enrolment is rapidly increasing. Following economic development and democratisation, sub-Saharan Africa has witnessed increasing levels of press freedom since the mid-1990s, even though press freedom in the region has been continuous-

ly contested (e.g. Hydén, Leslie & Ogundimu, 2002; Bourgault, 1995; Eribo & Jong-Ebot, 1997). Much has been written about how the media landscape has been able to grow and transform because of democratisation, globalisation, the internet revolution as well as the evolution of the knowledge society (e.g. Zeleza, 2009; Nyamnjoh, 2005; Hydén & Okigbo, 2002; Ogundimu, 2002; Girard & O'Siouchru, 2003). Despite the difficulties of making overarching statements about the media in African countries, the media landscape of the 2000s can be characterised as pluralistic, competitive and large (Grätz, 2011, p. 152-153; Zeleza, 2009, p. 21). Funding and ownership is mixed among community, state or privately-owned media enterprises, targeting audiences in an ethnic group or a specific community or on a regional or national level (Obonyo, 2011, p. 18). The number of journalism schools in the region is rapidly increasing (Berger & Matras, 2007). However, generally the media in sub-Saharan Africa face several challenges: lack of economic resources, government control, deficient secondary education and professional journalism training (e.g. Fourie, 2011; Schiffrin & Behrmann, 2011; Nyamnjoh, 2005). Distribution and reach is highly uneven due to illiteracy, poverty and infrastructure problems (Zeleza, 2009; Donner, Gitau & Marsden, 2011), and despite talk of a mobile revolution in Africa, radio still tends to be the most important mass medium (Mano, 2016). This is the case even in South Africa. There is a particular growth of community radio stations (Pather, 2014, p. 75). However, all over Africa there is a growing trend of convergence between old and new media forms (Willems & Mano, 2016).

At the same time, sub-Saharan Africa has the largest gender inequalities in the world and the second largest income inequalities after Latin America and the Caribbean, and compared to other regions, progress is moving slowly (Hakura, Hussain, Newiak, Thakoor & Yang, 2016). According to Inglehart and Norris (2003), a popular theory among development theorists during the 1960s and 1970s was that with economic development, gender equity would follow. However, women in these sub-Saharan countries generally face vulnerable conditions. There is also growing evidence that gender equality and empowerment of women is what stimulates economic growth, so inequality is one explanation to why sub-Saharan countries lag behind fast growing economies in Asia (Hakura et al., 2016).

Thus, the processes of increasing gender equity are complex (Inglehart & Norris, 2003). There is a vertical gender segregation on a national level as well as on a regional level. It is true that for a growing group of women in sub-Saharan Africa, gender emancipation has been successful and they have managed to enter fields whose doors have previously been closed to them. This development is most apparent in South Africa. Two examples are the literacy rate among women and the Gender Gap Index, in which South Africa ranks quite high.

Table 1. Indicators of gender equality and social development in sub-Saharan Africa

	South Africa	Uganda	Zambia	Nigeria	Ethiopia
Press freedom index 2004	26	86	100	–	112
Press freedom index 2015	39	97	113	111	142
Gender gap index 2004	18	47	85	94*	100
Gender gap index 2014	18	88	119	118	127
Women in senior media management 2009-2010 %	80	45	26	37	22
Literacy rate amongst women %	92 (2011)	65 (2010)	52 (2007)	41 (2008)	29 (2007)
Gini-index (income equity)	63 (2011)	41 (2012)	56(2010)	43 (2009)	33 (2010)
Ethnic groups %	Black African 80, white 8, coloured 9, Indian/Asian 3 (2014 est.)	Several ethnic groups, among these Baganda 17, Banyankole 10 (2014 est)	Several ethnic groups, among these Bamba 21, Tonga 14 (2010 est.)	More than 250 ethnic groups, among these Hausa and the Fulani 29, Yoruba 21 (undated)	Several ethnic groups, among these Oromo 35, Amhara (Amara) 27 (2007 est.)

COMMENT: *The Press Freedom Index* has been published every year since 2002 by Reporters without Borders (n.d.). Countries are given a score and a rank based on a questionnaire sent to the organisation's own correspondents around the world, as well as journalists, lawyers, researchers, human rights activists and non-governmental organisations working with press freedom. In 2014, Finland ranked number 1 while Eritrea was at the bottom, ranking 180. *The Gender Gap Index* (World Economic Forum, 2006; 2014) assesses how well nations divide resources between men and women. In 2006, the Index was based on data from 115 nations; in 2014, the number had risen to 142 nations. The Gender Gap Index weighs results from four areas: economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, health and survival and political empowerment. In 2014, Iceland ranked number 1, while Yemen was found at the bottom, ranking 142.* There was no data on Nigeria for 2 out of 14 variables in the Gender Gap Index 2004. Data on the *number of women in senior media management* is provided by the Global Report on the Status of Women in News Media (Byerly, 2011). The findings were collected over two years, involving 500 companies and 59 nations. The level of senior management included positions as directors of news, managing editors and bureau chiefs. *Literacy rate amongst women* is provided by the United Nations (n.d.). *The gini-index* calculates distribution of income and wealth and is provided by the World Bank (n.d.). There is total equality if the gini coefficient is zero and maximum inequality if the gini coefficient is 100. Facts on *ethnic composition* in different nations is provided by the World Factbook (2013-14a, b, c, d, e).

South Africa actually stands out in terms of a higher level of gender equity (gender gap, literacy rates, women in senior management positions) and press freedom, while Ethiopia ranks lowest on all these indicies (Table 1). However, South Africa has the highest level of income inequality of all the countries in the study. South Africa also has a large white population compared to the other sub-Saharan countries, where they comprise such a small minority that it does not even show in the records of different ethnic groups. It is the economic engine of Africa, has the most developed media system and the largest number of Internet users on the continent. There are also several high-quality journalism schools (Berger & Matras, 2007). The level of press freedom is considered to be higher. Many women (mostly white, however) have entered senior media management, including positions such as directors of news, managing editors and bureau chiefs. Nevertheless, few women have managed to reach top management levels, including publishers, chief executive officers and chief financial officers (Geertseema-Sligh, 2013, Byerly, 2011). Yet there is increasing discontent with the implementation of the original visions of the 'new' nation, promoted after South Africa experienced its first democratic election in 1994 (i.e. Hart, 2013 pp. 170-171).

2.1 South Africa

The institutionalised system of racial segregation in South Africa, which lasted until the 1990s, has a long history. After colonisation and the arrival of the Dutch East India Company in 1652, the Dutch, later denoted as Boers, and the English radically transformed South African society. A struggle between Boer settlers and English imperialists formed the core of conflict on the subcontinent during late 19th and early 20th centuries.

In 1950, the Population Registration Act upon which the apartheid system was founded with the intent of ensuring the purity of the races, was formed (Posel, 2001). The core concept of apartheid was separation. Citizens were classified as white, coloured or native, and classification would automatically carry crucial implications in all aspects of life (Ibid.), with whites not only enjoying benefits and freedoms far out of reach for the majority of coloured and native people, but also founding this position of supremacy on systematic oppression and discrimination. The Group Areas Act was passed in 1950, which formed a judicial framework for the displacement of non-white communities (Adhikari, 2005). These new communities, in which many blacks now found themselves, saw every part of life segregated, including housing and education (Welsh, 2000, p. 449).

2.1.1 The discourse of the 'rainbow nation'

South Africa after 1994 was coined 'the rainbow nation' by Archbishop Desmond Tutu. The term was used to describe the visions of the 'new' South Africa that would fight discrimination based on gender, race, class, religious beliefs, sexual orientation etc. One action was the implementation of an extensive affirmative action programme, and companies had to meet quotas to ensure diversity.

Yet in the 2010s, many of the promises made by the African National Congress (ANC) to the South African population have yet to be realised (Fourie, 2013, p. 223). At the time of writing, the concept of the 'rainbow nation' is widely debated and contested in South Africa. One example is the documentary 'The People versus the Rainbow Nation', which was released in 2015. It explores what the filmmakers labels the 'myth' of the rainbow nation—young people in South Africa claim to be fighting the same battles that their parents did. Statistics do strengthen their argument. There are growing economic divides (Visagie & Posel, 2013). South Africa has one of the highest inequality rates in the world (World Bank, n.d.). The unemployment rate is high, and it is highest among black youth. A large number of black people still live in shacks in the townships (The World Factbook, 2013-14a). The construction of a common social identity and values has proven to be a challenge in a multi-cultural nation such as South Africa, as the legacy of the dividing structures of apartheid have been harder to eradicate than many initially thought (Milton, Wasserman & Garman, 2013, p. 405). In 2015, the protest movement #RhodesMustFall was initiated by students at the University of Cape Town. Originally it was directed at removing a massive statue of the British coloniser Cecil Rhodes from campus. The statue fell, but the protest movement spread to other universities in South Africa and came to include more complex questions of institutionalised white supremacy and racist structures at the universities. It was followed by another protest, #FeesMustFall, directed towards higher student fees at the universities but also incorporating the issue of the massive social inequalities in South Africa.

The growing discontent with what has become of the vision of the 'rainbow nation' has also involved the media. In the 2010s, South Africa's media market is described as one of the most modern among the African countries, with strong similarities to Western liberal media systems (Kupe, 2014). Yet, following independence in 1994, the media considered themselves an important agent in building the new nation and emphasised the core values of the 'rainbow nation' in their reporting (Teer-Tomaselli & Tomaselli, 2001, p. 137). However, in the 2000's, the press coverage became more critical, raising awareness of the problems South Africa was facing: corruption, rising crime and violence and the growing epidemic of HIV/AIDS. At the same

time, press freedom in South Africa became more hampered (Geertsema-Sligh, 2013, p. 96). The South African Broadcasting Company (SABC) was turned into more of a mouthpiece of the ANC (Tomaselli & Teer-Tomaselli, 2008, p. 174). The ANC started to accuse the press in South Africa of racist coverage, which they considered an effect of the long domination of white South Africans in the newsrooms (Sparks, 2011, p. 14). In 2011, the ANC continued to limit press freedom in South Africa when parliament approved the controversial Protection of Information Bill. According to many journalists and scholars, this bill was constructed to hinder investigative and critical journalism (Wasserman, 2013, p. 13; Milton et al., 2013).

2.1.2 Black women facing 'triple oppression'

For women in South Africa, male domination has historically been an enduring factor, no matter what the racial background (Sachs, 1993; Motsei, 2007; Samuelson, 2007). Black women in South Africa are often considered to be facing a 'triple oppression' based on gender, class and race (Murray & O'Regan, 1991, p. 31; Zama, 1991, p. 57).

Several black women took an active part in the struggle against apartheid, but women's issues received lower priority as the struggle focused on racial oppression (Frenkel, 2008; Hassim, 2006). After independence, South African women activists were determined to place gender high on the agenda in the process of transformation (Steyn, 1998, pp. 41-42). Thus, in South Africa, gender played a dominant role in the transition debates, resulting in one of the world's most gender progressive constitutions.

However, the new South Africa inherited huge differences in educational levels. Black women in particular were discriminated against in the labour market. Most white women belonged to the upper middle class, while black women mostly belonged to the working class, and in many cases they were employed in the households of white women (Steyn, 1998, p. 42).

These circumstances still lingered in the 2000s and resulted in women in South Africa simultaneously being 'both empowered and victimized, seen and unseen' (Frenkel, 2008, p. 2; Meintjes, 2005). While the country has one of the world's most gender-equal parliaments, it battles alarmingly high incidences of rape and violence against women (Bhania, 2012).

2.1.3 Gender and race in the newsrooms

Since 1994, the media has been under a lot of pressure to transform their organisations regarding both gender and race. Before 1994, the media companies in South Africa were 'white' and 'male' (Daniels, 2013). Thus, the ANC introduced a restructuring to create a media landscape that reflected the 'new' South Africa (Tomaselli & Teer-Tomaselli, 2008, p. 173; Berger,

2001, pp. 152-158). For example, when SABC was re-established as a public service company, its first board of directors had a black female president, and the majority of its board members were female (Geertsema-Sligh, 2013, p. 95). The Black Economic Empowerment ACT (BEE) promoted 'positive discrimination' (Botma, 2012, p. 27) and the Employment Equity Act from 1998 forced all companies with more than 50 employees to have targets for gender and racial balance among their staff. These are to be met by affirmative action that promotes black and coloured women and people with disabilities.

In the 2010s, the media sector was still largely controlled by white owners and shareholders (Botma, 2012, p. 30-31). Black South African journalists have been battling with different legacies of apartheid structures that hinder their advancement. One in particular concerns the levels of English language skills and general knowledge created by unequal access to education during the apartheid era (Botma, 2012). After 1994, South African universities, previously predominantly white institutions, had to transform to include black students. This still proves to be a difficult task in higher education. For example, in 2008 in the journalism school of Stellenbosch University, only about a fifth of the students were black, including coloureds and Indians, not nearly reflecting the racial composition of South Africa (Botma, 2012, p. 28-29). One explanation can be that some universities practice a dual language policy of Afrikaans and English. South Africa has 11 official languages. Zulu is the most spoken language, but English and Afrikaans are the main languages in government administration and in the media and commerce. Botma points out that it is a common misconception that Afrikaans is an exclusively white language in South Africa (Botma, 2012 p. 30). Further, not all white South Africans speak English. Yet, for many black applicants and students, English might be their second or third language, and most cannot speak Afrikaans. (Botma, 2012 p. 29). Training is commonly provided in these languages, and black students find admission and studies harder than white students (Botma, 2012, p. 27). Botma argues that if more black students attained a journalism education, the transformation of the media, the composition of the newsrooms, the media management and the industry boardrooms might be furthered. However, the matter is complicated by complaints from the industry that the journalists who do require an exam are ill-trained and lack basic language and knowledge skills (Botma, 2012, p. 31). An audit from 2002 illustrated a problem that black reporters left newsrooms for other occupations in the communication sector too early to advance into sub-editing. This created a gap between junior reporters and senior staff; there was a large number of black reporters and a majority of senior, white media managers. The prognosis in 2004, when the audit was published, was that it would take

at least a decade to rectify this development (Steyn & de Beer, 2004). Some media companies have started their own training programmes for their staff, including those with a journalist exam. This is seen as a 'direct insult' of the journalism training in the academic institutions (Botma, 2012, p. 31).

However, more black women have been entering the field of journalism. In 2004, Ferial Haffajee became the first black woman editor for a large South African newspaper, the Mail and Guardian. In the 2010s, women journalists made up half of the workforce (Gender Links, Media Institute of Southern Africa & Gender and Media Southern Africa, 2010a, p. 9). Despite more black women entering the field of journalism, few black women reach the top (Daniels, 2014, p. 20). The structural gendered and racial imbalance can be seen in the compositions of several of the newsrooms in some major South African media companies (Daniels, 2013). At Consumer News and Business Channel Africa (CNBC), which reaches 390 million viewers around the world, 60 percent of the staff was black, but the senior staff was mostly white and male. At City Press, a newspaper that has historically been considered a black newspaper, 74 percent of the staff was black. There was almost gender equity, however, the news desk was described as 'mostly white'. At the Sunday Times, which is the biggest newspaper in South Africa and has won several awards for its investigative reporting, there was almost total equity concerning both gender and race. However, the newspaper itself expressed that there is a lack of black, senior women media managers. The Mail and Guardian, also known for its investigative reporting and a white, liberal background, described how they worked hard on diversity in the newsroom, yet senior management was described as still mostly white. The SABC did not want to release any figures of the composition of their staff, but there were general observations that black people dominated the company, and there was gender equity as a whole. At the executive level, however, there was a lack of women (Daniels, 2013). A black woman reporter at the Witness described how when black women were appointed, they were used as 'window-dressing':

> *The newspaper appoints black females but requires them to report to a white male behind the scenes. They don't think blacks are capable of being managers and often, they will create two positions for the same job so they can have a white person on board. It is very disheartening having someone always looking over your shoulder. It sometimes feels like I am an illegal immigrant in this office.* (Daniels, 2013, p. 30)

These structural gaps at decision-making levels concerning gender and race have been noted in several other studies (Gender Links, 2009, p. 3;

PDMTTT, 2013). Thus, affirmative action has not been sufficient to fight discrimination of black women in this field.

2.2 Nigeria, Zambia, Uganda and Ethiopia

The history of Nigeria, Zambia, Uganda and Ethiopia is very different from the history of South Africa. Nigeria, Zambia and Uganda were all colonised at the same time—between 1885 and 1901—and also became independent from British rule in the early 1960s. Ethiopia was never colonised but was invaded by Italy in 1936 and liberated by the British in 1941 (Strang, 2013).

English was never the official language in Ethiopia; Amharic was. Nigeria, Zambia and Uganda did not choose a language other than English as the official language. Thus, in the 2010s, it is the main language for newspapers, radio and websites.

Following independence and globalisation, the four countries have experienced an impressive economic development since the 1990s. In fact, Nigeria, Zambia and Ethiopia have, for the past 10 years, been among the fastest growing economies in the world, albeit from very low levels. In Uganda and Ethiopia, poverty has been substantially reduced and there has been successful reforms towards gender equity, where most boys and girls get to attend primary school (World Bank, n.d.).

There are still several severe challenges that remain involving poverty and inequality. Ethiopia is still one of the poorest countries in the world. In Nigeria and Zambia, half or more than half of the population lives in poverty. Wealth is unequally distributed. A growing urbanisation has created vast problems with slums and an alarmingly high unemployment rate (World Bank, n.d.).

These problems are paired with a varying level of political stability and democratic consolidation between the countries. Uganda and Zambia are regarded as politically stable and relatively peaceful, even though more democratic reform is needed. Ethiopia is under an authoritarian rule that repeatedly violates human rights. In Nigeria, clashes and unrest between ethnic groups are common (Esan, 2015, p. 162-164; Yusha'u, 2015, p. 137).

Following globalisation and the liberalisation of media laws in the 1990s, the media systems in sub-Saharan Africa are generally well-developed. Nigeria and Uganda have two of the largest and most diverse media markets in Africa. Many politicians and businesspeople have opened their own media outlets, particularly TV and radio stations. Yet several media enterprises are struggling to survive financially, leaving little room for training and professionalism. Newspapers have low circulation due to poverty and illiteracy, leaving radio as the most common medium (Udoakah, 2015, p.117; Kaija, 2013, p. 316-317; Chibita & Fourie, 2007). In Ethiopia, new and more liberal

laws have been in place since 2007. Yet there is limited media and communication resources, resulting in only a few newspapers, and the status of the journalist occupation in society is low. Most media companies remain under state control (Dirbaba, 2014; Skerjdal, 2013; Freedom House, 2015a, b).

Even though freedom of information and the press is expressed in the constitutions, the level of press freedom has deteriorated in Zambia, Uganda, Nigeria and Ethiopia since 2004. With reference to an anti-terrorism law established in 2009, Ethiopa's ruling party continues to clamp down on the freedom of the press, shutting down media publications and jailing journalists (Reporters without Borders, n.d.; Human Rights Watch, n.d.; Committee to Protect Journalists, n.d.). In Zambia the government continues to control almost all media and arrest any critics (Reporters without Borders, n.d.; the Committee to Protect Journalists, n.d.). Boko Haram has made Nigeria one of the most dangerous countries in the world for journalists because the terrorist group has designated journalists as one of its main targets. Media is also exposed to harassment from authorities, and several murders of journalists remain unsolved (Reporters without Borders, n.d.; Committee to Protect Journalists, n.d.). In Uganda, there have been several reforms that have strengthened press freedom. However, in the 2010s, several laws were passed that undermine the freedom of expression and press freedom guaranteed in the constitution (Freedom House, 2015a; Greenslade, 2013).

The status of women is generally low in Zambia, Nigeria, Ethiopia and Uganda and, with the exception of Ethiopia, gender equality has actually deteriorated since 2004. Most women in sub-Saharan Africa live in rural areas and are employed in the agricultural sector, where the number of women exceeds the number of men (Dieterich, Huang & Thomas, 2016). Yet there are contradictions in terms of gender equity as there has been a growing trend towards more women in positions of power since the 2000s. One example is Ethiopia, where almost 40 percent of the seats in parliament were occupied by women in 2016 (World Bank, n.d.). Another example is Zambia, where a new constitution enabled the country to elect its first woman vice president in 2015, Inonge Wina.

This trend of empowerment for women does not seem to have involved the media companies in Zambia, Nigeria and Ethiopia to any large extent. Even though several women have entered the field of journalism in these countries, few of them reach the top (Chioma, Okere, Alao, Atakiti & Jegede, 2015; Okunna, 2005; Byerly, 2011; Gender Links, Media Institute of Southern Africa & Gender and Media Southern Africa, 2010b). Meanwhile, the journalism profession has become less attractive because of low wages in new media companies, and newsrooms find it difficult to attract qualified professionals as a result (Mwesige, 2004, pp. 81-82).

Yet there are women who do succeed in producing excellent journalism and who do manage to reach the top in this media environment (Sanusi & Adulabi, 2015). This is particularly evident in Uganda, where in the 2010s, women had managed to secure half of the positions in top management and nearly half of those in media governance (Byerly, 2011).

Thus, various historical heritages have led to different paces and paths when it comes to democratic and economic development in Zambia, Nigeria, Ethiopia and Uganda. While economic growth has generally been good, even impressive, democratic development is a mixed picture. Emancipation is lagging; while some women have been able to enter the field of journalism, representation remains token. The exception seems to be Uganda, a country that excels in several gendered aspects in the region.

2.3 Conclusions: similarities and differences

There are similarities but also several profound differences among the sub-Saharan countries included in this thesis. Since the 1990s, there has been a process towards modernisation in all five countries. One consequence has been the liberalisation of media laws and a rapidly growing media market in these countries. Women have made great strides in public administration, government and politics in all five countries. Despite growing economies, however, significant inequalities still exist, with large parts of the population making their way in the informal economies. While several steps have been taken towards gender equity, for example, more equal access to education, the level of gender equality is still low. Press freedom is under attack in all of these countries. Simultaneously, media outlets in the region as a whole are struggling with bad revenues.

Ethiopia is at the bottom rung regarding both press freedom and gender equality. South Africa stands out at the other end, having witnessed an impressive period of modernisation and democratisation since 1994. Yet it still struggles with lingering structures of apartheid. An important difference among the countries is when they became independent. Zambia, Uganda and Nigeria gained independence in the 1960s. South Africa did not experience independence until a generation later, in the 1990s. Thus, Zambia, Uganda and Nigeria have had more time to eradicate lingering structures of colonisation, for example, white supremacy, and the women interviewed in this thesis have not experienced colonial rule. In South Africa, apartheid was in part an effort to sustain old power structures from the colonial age by introducing a white supremacy-based ideology. The women media managers in this study have lived experiences of the consequences of this mind set. Some of them were quite young at the time, but they have experienced the realities of a society with people divided based on skin colour as a fundamental ideology.

Another important difference is that white people form an extremely small minority in Uganda, Zambia, Nigeria and Ethiopia, so structures of inequality related to skin colour are not a major societal issue compared with South Africa.

3. Research on gender and journalism

Anglo-American feminist media research has shown a growing interest in gender and journalism for more than four decades. During the 1970s and 1980s, several newsroom studies identified the matter of gender in journalists' role perceptions and news values (e.g. Johnstone, Slawski & Bowman, 1976; Orwant & Cantor, 1977; Merritt & Gross, 1978; Weaver & Wilhoit, 1986; Robinson & Grewe Partch, 1980). However Gaye Tuchman's (1978) classic study *Making News* was the first to delve more deeply into gender logic and its consequences for women working in the field. Tuchman revealed the 'symbolic annihilation' of women—how routines in the newsroom diminished women and how this gender logic was reflected in the media content. It was Margaret Gallagher who first addressed the issue of women and the media from an international approach, a work she has continued for decades (i.e. 1981; 1995; 2001; 2005; 2015). Gallagher (1981) found that the relation between gender and the media basically looked the same around the world; women were underrepresented in editorial offices, there were fewer stories on women's issues and women were rarely used as sources.

In the mid-1990s, the number of studies that tried to attain a deeper understanding of the gendered practices of journalism increased substantially. There have been and still are many different feminist approaches to the analysis of gender and journalism in media research. In this overview of the field of research, I focus on some of the work produced within the framework that Liesbet van Zoonen (1994, p. 49 ff.) labels 'the gendered structure of media production'. I will especially focus on international research done in this field while identifying some gaps that needs to be filled, especially in an African context.

The movement of more women into journalism has been underway since the 1980s and has been labelled 'the gender switch' (van Zoonen, 1994, p. 50). The reports from the long running Global Media Monitoring Project show that there are more women reporters worldwide in 2015 than when the report was first published in 1995 (Media Watch, 1995; Macharia, 2015). Yet this improvement is a slow process. In the 2015 report on one day of news reporting around the world, women constituted 37 percent of the reporters (Macharia, 2015). This figure has not changed in 10 years (Macharia, Dermot & Ndangam, 2010; Gallagher, 2005).

Since the 2000s, the majority of students enrolled in journalism schools in, among other countries, Great Britain and Sweden, have been well-educated, upper middle class women (Melin, 2008, p. 214). The feminisation of journalism seems to be a universal process, but it is also associated with political transformation. For example, large numbers of women in journalism are especially apparent in former East Europe (e.g. Dobek-Ostrowska, 2012, p. 35). This is partly a legacy of the former communist regimes, which gave women access to education and encouraged them to hold a regular occupation (Byerly, 2011).

The fact that more women have entered the field of journalism does not mean that the journalist occupation has become more gender equal. On the contrary, in some respects, there is a movement in the other direction. Generally, occupations dominated by women pay less than male-dominated occupations. There are many examples of how prestige and salaries drop when women enter male-dominated branches of industry. Regarding salaries, for example, these have generally dropped in the journalism industry since the 1990s. The decrease of the status and salaries of journalists as more women have entered the field has been called 'the velvet ghetto' (Creedon, 1989). One example is Russia and Eastern Europe, where women have outnumbered men in the newsrooms since the 2000s at all occupational levels, even in the highest ranks. This has been followed by lower salaries and deteriorating working conditions for journalists (Franks, 2013, pp. 50-51).

Consequently, it seems that after entering the field of journalism, many women feel disappointed by the realities they face. One circumstance concerns the glass ceiling for women in journalism. A recent pan-European study of women in media management found that while women have substantially outnumbered men in journalism education programmes, women are still underrepresented at decision-making levels (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2013). Another obstacle women face is the 'culture' of the newsroom. In a Western setting, this is still characterised by masculine norms and values that hinder the promotion of women (Ross, 2014, p. 329). These norms include sexism, male-oriented news values and routines too difficult to combine with family life. Accordingly, several studies of women journalists in a Western setting have showed that leaving the newsroom is a common strategy (e.g. Melin, 2008; The American Press Institute & Pew Center for Civic Journalism, 2002; Robinson & Saint-Jean, 1998). Even in Scandinavia, where there is almost complete equality between women and men in terms of numbers, structural problems remain (Savolainen & Zilliacus-Tikkanen, 2015; Eide & Skare Orgeret, 2015; Hirdman & Kleberg, 2015; Edström, 2013; Löfgren-Nilsson, 2010; Djerf-Pierre, 2007).

Outside of a Western setting, the presence of women in the newsrooms might be different, as well as the opportunities and obstacles they face when taking a career in the media. Despite legislation and more women in senior media positions, men still tend to dominate newsrooms worldwide. When reviewing what has been written about women in journalism, it is clear that obstacles for women journalists are not the same worldwide. For example, in South Asia, one obstacle was families' negative attitudes towards a career in journalism, as well as difficulty of safely getting home after a late night shift (Steyn & White Jenson, 2011, p. 421). In Jordan, the journalist occupation is not regarded as suitable for women, with the result that for every woman in journalism there are five men (Al-Najjar, 2013, pp. 419-420). A previous study from the Middle East noted that although women had been allowed to become both reporters and presenters in recent years, there were few who made it to senior positions in media companies (Sakr, 2004). The same glass ceiling for women in the field of journalism has also been identified in India (Joseph, 2000).

These differences for women in journalism worldwide are acknowledged by media researchers Marjan de Bruin, Karen Ross, Cynthia Carter and Carolyn Byerly, who have continued in the tradition of Gallagher and approached the presence of women in media organisations from a global and comparative perspective (i.e. de Bruin & Ross, 2004; Ross & Byerly, 2004; Byerly, 2011). The founding argument in their work is that the exclusion of women from the newsroom weakens democracy as it 'undermines and underreports women's contribution to social, economic and cultural life' (Ross & Carter, 2011, p. 1148).

Byerly (2013) concludes that three factors—legislation, neoliberalism (economic factors) and values and cultural attitudes to gender equality in society—have an overall impact on the everyday experience of women journalists worldwide. These factors, for example, involve whether there is parental leave available for both parents and subsidised childcare, as well as whether norms and values of the society regard journalism as a profession that is suitable for women.

In conclusion, with the exception of a few Scandinavian and Eastern European countries, women worldwide remain underrepresented in leading editorial and management positions, even though they often dominate the numbers among journalists. However, since feminist media research has gained momentum in the 1970s and 1980s, it has gradually become clear that the structures behind women's underrepresentation in the newsroom, as well as on the editorial level and in the media content, are different in different countries and regions of the world.

3.1 Feminist media research in an African space

Although international attempts have been made to identify and analyse the gender logic of journalism, the main corpus of research on women and journalism consists of studies in a Western setting. Meanwhile, processes of modernisation and democratisation have led to a growing field of research on gender and democratic change in Africa. This also involves a small number of studies on women journalists in an African setting.

What these studies have in common is that they show a collision between traditional gender roles and the journalist occupation. On a general level, the obstacles women face in journalism seem to be rooted in an overall subordination of women. In 1993, women journalists in Tanzania complained about their situation in the newsroom, which seemed to be rooted in the culture as a whole:

> *That women are second class; we are supposed to be oppressed; we are supposed to be mothers; we are supposed to be in our roles [usually, the woman's role in many, if not all, African countries, is presumed to be in the kitchen]. We are not supposed to be in the male profession of journalism. So we get the problem of not being promoted because, supposedly, they have to ask your husband's permission.* (Nkamba, 1993, para. 7, cited in Nghidinwa, 2008, p. 7)

On a more detailed level, there seems to be a collision between traditional norms of how women should behave and act and certain characteristics of the journalist occupation. Consequently, in some societies in Africa, journalism has not been regarded as a suitable occupation for women. In 1992, women journalists in Senegal who worked long hours and spent a great deal of time away from home were regarded as having 'lost their femininity' (van den Wijngaard, 1992, p. 50). In a study in the 1990s of women in Nigerian broadcasting, journalists talked about how the journalist role was perceived as unyielding and head-on. The traditional perception of how a woman should behave was more humble; therefore, journalism was not considered a suitable occupation for a woman. Thus, parents tried to persuade their daughters not to pursue a career in the media (Nwanko, 1996, p. 82). Although these perceptions may have changed over time, Nwanko suggests that they might have slowed the pace of women's advancement to media management positions (1996, p. 83). One example of the slow progress for women in journalism in sub-Saharan Africa is Maria Mboonos Nghidinwa's (2008) study of the experiences of women journalists in Namibia's Liberation Struggle from South Africa from 1985-1990. At that time, only 'a few or no women', white or black, at all had managed to attain managerial positions in the media (Nghidinwa, 2008, p. 69).

The number of women in journalism remained low in several African countries in the 2000s. A study from Ghana, Kenya, Zimbabwe, Lesotho and Zambia by Aida Opoku-Mensah (2004) showed that few of the male respondents had any experience working with a female editor. The conflict between traditional gender norms and the journalist occupation seemed to prevail. Women journalists talked about working in hostile environments. There were cultural expectations about how women should appear when socialising with men, so women appeared shy and soft in the newsroom to make it easy for men to keep their positions of power. Opoku-Mensah concluded that equal opportunities for women and men in African media require a paradigm shift, as newsrooms are governed by traditional gender norms often found in African societies (Opoku-Mensah, 2004, pp. 110-115).

In order to understand these obstacles that women journalists face in an African setting, feminist media researchers based in Africa have argued that there is a greater need for qualitative and comparative analysis of news production from a gender perspective in the global South (Opoku-Mensah, 2001; Gadzekpo, 2009, p. 70; Bosch, 2011, p. 28). Most feminist media research in the African region relates to questions about how women are represented in media productions (Bosch, 2011, p. 31), such as how gender-sensitive topics like violence against women and HIV/AIDS are reported (i.e. Buiten, 2009). Another part consists of quantitative studies of the gendered composition of newsrooms. The non-governmental organisation Gender Links and its partner organisations have been pioneers in the African setting when gathering statistics on the advancement of women in media management (i.e. Gender Links, 2009, Morna, Mpfou & Glenwright, 2010). A third part involves quantitative survey studies with women journalists or women journalism students (i.e. Chioma et al., 2015; Mwesige, 2004; Emenyeonu, 1991). Without doubt, all of the above-mentioned studies are very valuable, yet there is a clear lack of qualitative, in-depth analysis of how women journalists experience the gender logic in newsrooms in the global South in the 2010s.

There is also an obvious lack of intersectional studies of gender logics of the fields of journalism in Africa. The intersectional approach has not yet been used in the field of media research in an African setting, focusing on 'the gendered structure of media production' (van Zoonen, 1994, p. 49 pp). In Linda Steiner's (2012) critical review on theories of why women fail to advance in journalism, she calls for an intersectional approach to analysing gender and journalism. According to Steiner, intersectionality could provide a more 'sophisticated' gender analysis of opportunities and barriers, especially concerning black women (Steiner, 2012, pp. 218-219). Intersectional studies on gender, class and race have mostly been applied when discussing the subordination of African-American women in media representation (e.g. Meyers,

2013). In an African space, intersectionality has been applied to research focusing on post-apartheid South Africa, such as structural economic changes for women, gender-role stereotypes, women's rights and employment equity (e.g. Groenmeyer, 2001; Booysen & Nkomo, 2010; Warnat, 2012; Sanger, 2008). The intersectional analysis of South African journalism research focuses mostly on media content, using race, ethnicity and post-colonialism as main analytical frames (Fourie, 2011, pp. 150-151; Skare Orgeret, 2015; Sanger, 2008) or analysing the effects of unequal access to education for black journalists (Botma, 2012). These studies clearly show how the legacy of colonialism and apartheid still shapes the media landscape. Nghidinwa's (2008) study on black and white women journalists in Namibia in the 1980s and 1990s is a rare example of an intersectional approach that involves gender, class and race in the practice of journalism in Africa. At the time, Namibia was part of South Africa, referred to as South West Africa, and thus under apartheid rule. According to Nghidinwa, during the liberation struggle, there were practically no black journalists, particularly black women journalists, in Namibia. Out of the 13 women journalists that Nghidinwa interviewed, only three were black, indigenous Namibians. During the 1980s and 1990s, journalism was 'perceived as a preserve for whites' (Nghidinwa, 2008, p. 75), and because of educational inequalities created by the apartheid system, black women were referred to occupations such as teachers or nurses and often did not even find it worth applying for journalism positions. The few black women who did make it into journalism endured sexism and racism (Nghidinwa, 2008, pp. 75-77). A white female journalist recalls that 'it was a thousand times more difficult for black women' (Nghidinwa, 2008, p. 75).

Thus, the particular gap that this thesis fills is to provide an analysis of how gender works in the field of journalism in sub-Saharan Africa in the late 2000s and early 2010s.

4. Gender logic and the field of journalism: theoretical framework

This thesis studies journalism by regarding it as a field, drawing from the work of Pierre Bourdieu. Through lived experiences, I study the significance of gender in the field of journalism in five countries in sub-Saharan Africa. Since the 1990s, Western feminism has been criticised for unilaterally assuming the white woman's position. Feminism has by definition been accused of being racist and ethnocentric. My point of departure is that field theory, together with an intersectional perspective, can provide tools to produce a fair, equal and nuanced understanding of the situation for women in a culture other than one's own.

4.1 Feminism and post-colonial feminism

To understand the critique of Western feminism, one must first be familiar with the development and traditions of the same.[1] The history of feminism is often referred to as waves (even though this has been criticised for various reasons, for example ignoring what happens between the waves) (Mann, 2012, pp. xvii-xviii). The first wave of feminism is often dated to the period 1830-1920 (ibid.). It was in the beginning of this period that the ideology of liberal feminism began to take shape, inspired by the ideas of equality and freedom of the Enlightenment Era in eighteenth-century France. Liberal feminism was mostly occupied with the fight for equal political, legal and economic rights for women. The first ideas and arguments of liberal feminism were written in England by Mary Wollstonecraft in 1792 (1992 [1986]) and Harriet Taylor Mill and John Stuart Mill in 1869 (Mann, 2012, pp. 33 ff.).

Liberal feminism often focuses on the similarities between men and women. Even though there are different biological sexes, there are no 'given' psychological feminine or masculine characteristics (Gemzöe, 2002, pp. 38-39). Translated to journalism, this reasoning can be found when promoting more women journalists as war correspondents, sports reporters or political editors.

[1] This section particularly draws from the work by Susan Mann (2012) on the historical development of feminist theory.

The argument is that women are equally capable of reporting on issues previously regarded as male beats.

The second wave of feminism included issues about gender norms, reproductive rights and women's role in society. One influential work that was published during this period was Simone de Beauvoir's *Le deuxieme Sexe* (1949), which discusses what it is to be a woman and how the subordination of women is accomplished (Mann, 2012, pp. 129-131). Another important work in this period was Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* (1963), which highlighted the unfulfilled dreams of U.S. housewives and the consequences (Mann, 2012, pp. 60-62).

Liberal feminism in the second wave introduced the concept of gender and its distinction from the biological sex, meaning that sex is biological and gender is a social construction (Mann, 2012, p. 69). These binary notions were later questioned, as the second wave of feminism also saw the birth of radical feminism in the 1970s. The radical feminists argued that both sex *and* gender are social constructions (Mann, 2000, p. 71). There is a 'diverse array of radical feminisms' (Mann, 2012, p. 109), but typically they focus on sexual politics and the female body (i.e. Greer, 1972; Rowbotham, 1976 [1973]; Millett, 2000 [1970]; Haraway, 1991; Wolf, 1991). Another important vantage point for radical feminism has been that 'the personal is political'. Radical feminists are not afraid to talk about issues such as domestic violence, marital rape or sexual harassment in the workplace. These issues had previously been regarded as private problems that should not be discussed in public. However, radical feminism argued that these were issues of political concern that needed to be dealt with collectively, at an institutional level (Mann, 2012, pp. 78-79).

One starting point within radical feminism has been that men and women are fundamentally different, even on a psychological level. For example, women are regarded as being more nurturing, empathic and peaceful than men (Gemzöe, 2002, p. 49 ff). The goal of difference feminism is that the different characteristics should be regarded as equally valuable. In the context of journalism, differences between men and women have been used as an argument for equality in the newsroom. More women in journalism have been regarded as the way forward to a different type of journalism with softer angles, more empathy and more women as sources (van Zoonen, 1998, p. 36). The struggle for women journalists has been to raise their value above, for example, consumer journalism or women's pages.

The distinction between men and women and whether or not there are certain psychological characteristics tied to the different sexes has become increasingly problematic as theoretical frames in research with a feminist perspective. When these notions were developed, it was taken for granted that

there were two biological sexes that were perfectly separable. Queer feminism was both a social movement and a new theoretical perspective on gender (Mann, 2012, p. 211). Queer feminism was in part a response to normativity and especially heteronormativity in society, criticising the view that there are two binary sexes that are perfectly separable and fitted for each other (Mann, 2012, p. 235 ff). Instead, queer feminism emphasises that our sex and our sexuality is socially constructed through 'performative' actions (e.g. Butler, 1990; 1993). In the 2010s, the relationship between biology, sexuality, gender and the body has become more complex and nuanced; see, for example, the struggle for gender recognition among transsexual women in South Africa (cf. Morgan, Marais & Wellbeloved, 2009).

Socialist, Marxist and anarchist feminisms have traditionally linked the subordination of women to class, seeking a solution on an economic-structural level. Since the 1980s, new directions within these ideologies have offered a more comprehensive understanding of gendered structures (Mann, 2012, pp. 141-142). One example is socialist feminist standpoint epistemologies (i.e. Hartsock, 1983; Smith, 1987; Haraway, 1991). This feminist theory recognises that people's behaviour depends on their different 'social locations', such as race, gender and class (Mann, 2012, pp. 141 ff).

Consequently, there is a growing recognition of the complexity of women's subordination within feminism. The third wave of feminism that arose in the 1980s was largely a critique against what was regarded as failures of the previous waves. One criticism came from women from other parts of the world, who started calling for a global feminism. Liberal feminism was blamed for focusing on 'formal equality' and 'meritocracy', thus ignoring that women from different backgrounds have differing chances of pursuing given careers (Mann, 2012, p. 75; Pease, Form & Rytina, 1970). Another critique is that liberal feminism takes white, middle-class women as their focus and assume that all women share the same emancipatory interests (Hooks, 1984; Mann, 2012, p. 75). Radical feminism was also criticised for ignoring differences between women—and for regarding gender as the most important factor in oppression, thus ignoring class and race (Lorde, 1984; Smith, 1983; Mann, 2012, p. 110). Simultaneously, radical feminism was accused of employing a colonial worldview by how they treated women in the global South, regarding them as passive victims who need to be made aware of their vulnerable situation by intellectual, modern, independent, middle-class women, often Western (Mbilinyi, 1992, pp. 47-49; Mohanty, 1984; Spivak, 1988; Mann, 2012, p. 110).

Thus, post-colonial feminism was formed as a response to the ideas of traditions within Western feminism. A post-colonial feminism account traces colonialism and imperialism and how they still affect the situation of women

when nations and identities are to be formed (Mann, 2012, p. 362 ff). Transnational feminism, which theoretically builds upon paradigms of post-colonial feminism, claims that the global sisterhood, under patriarchy, is a utopia (Mohanty, 1984). Instead, it takes an intersectional approach as it aims to recognise how factors like nation, religion, ethnicity, sexuality, economic exploitation and so forth interact to create social inequalities (Mann, 2012, p. 365 ff). At the same time, transnational feminism recognises the need for productive and equal relations between women across national and cultural boundaries (Mohanty, 2003). Yet, the frustration against the approach of Western feminism still lingers in the 2010s. Post-colonial feminism rejects universalism, as expressed in the following text by the American freelance writer Kovie Biakolo:

> *[...] I am exhausted with the incredibly oblivious way they center themselves as speaking for all women, and all women's issues. Not only do I disagree with some fundamental positions of these feminists, such as the issue of life and 'choice', I think it is a blatant lack of self-awareness and other-awareness to not look at these issues and the issues they focus on, from sexuality to health, as coming from heavy positions of privilege. Women in many parts of the world do not come from these positions. The reality is the world, and indeed the world all women live in, is more Brown and Black than white; it is more poor than middle-class and rich. How can these feminists claim to speak for all women when they do not represent the vast majority of women's lives, and consequently do not personally know their ideas and thoughts and concerns?* (Biakolo, 2014)

In the wake of criticism of Western feminism, some African feminists have even searched for alternative terms to 'feminism' (Frenkel, 2008, p. 2). One example is stiwanism (Social Transformation in Africa Including Women), developed by the Nigerian poet, writer and activist Omolara Ogundipe-Leslie (1994). However, most African intellectuals with a feminist approach have tried to work with feminism in an African context, using its theoretical frameworks to illuminate certain conditions that rule women's life in this part of the world (Frenkel, 2008, p. 2; Meena, 1992). Nigerian writer Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, Liberian women's rights advocate and Nobel Peace Laureate Leymah Gbowee and Nigerian writer and professor Amina Mama are only a few examples of influential African feminists in the 2010s.

African feminism in the 2010s could be described as focusing on the same issues as the first and second wave of feminism in the Western part of the world: to lift women's experiences and share untold stories. But it is done in another way. While there is no specific African feminism, one can claim that

critical feminist theories that are grounded in African context do contain certain elements. For example, there is an analysis of imperialism in relation to class, gender and race and a more outspoken criticism of the 'nation-state' and international donors (Mbilinyi, 1992; p. 33, 50). African feminist theorists have also continued to develop the concept of 'empowerment', which involves meeting the practical and strategic needs for women such as food, health and water as well as providing them with some control over decisions that involve them and their societies (Mannathoko, 1992, pp. 78-79).

One may discuss the level of social construction regarding gender, as well as the blurry boundaries between sex and gender. One might also discuss whether there are only two biological sexes that are clearly separable from each other. Even if these topics are not the focus of this thesis, it is important to point out that feminisms in Africa often interweaves biology and social customs—a mindset that can be related to the emerging concept of social embodiment (Connell, 2011, p. 110). For example, motherhood is often regarded as an essential part in understanding the position of women in society (Acholonu, 1995; Chilisa & Ntseane, 2010, p. 618).

In conclusion, I started this work using gender as the main analytical lens on the lived experiences of women journalists in sub-Saharan Africa. However, during the research process, it has become increasingly evident that whilst feminist theory usually employs a gender perspective, there is a need for an intersectional approach when doing research in a post-colonial setting. We cannot assume that all power processes and relations are constructed in the same way. The post-colonial critique conceptualises subordination for those in a post-colonial situation, visualising the remaining power structures that are reproduced within this setting.

However, the challenge lies in identifying how mechanisms of gender, class and race interact in creating these power structures. One way of doing this is by considering the specific situations a black woman finds herself in as a matter of capital. The theoretical framework of Bourdieu, and particularly Toril Moi's (1991) feminist appropriation of his work, offers a flexible set of concepts when analysing the reproduction of power, and it has been applied in various varying contexts using the same fundamental idea: power is reproduced in concrete practices. Field theory initially derived from analyses of Africa and Bourdieu's (2001) early studies of the Kabyle people in Algeria. Over time, it has evolved into a general social theory on the reproduction of power in society. The concepts of field, habitus, capital and doxa can identify the practices that create and sustain inferiority and superiority within a field and how power is exercised, while taking into account the intersecting influences of gender, race and class.

To identify variations between how women experience different fields of journalism, an intersectional approach is crucial. By using the theoretical frameworks provided by Bourdieu and Moi, I have found a way to construct an open model of analysis, which enables comparing and contrasting the experiences of black women journalists in sub-Saharan Africa.

4.2 The journalistic field

Since the 2000s, researchers have used field theory to analyse power structures in the media (e.g. Benson & Neveu, 2005; Benson, 2006; Schultz, 2007; Hovden, 2012; Melin, 2008; Djerf-Pierre, 2005; Hesmondhalgh, 2006; Hackett, 2006). According to Bourdieu, a field is a microcosm, a socially structured space in the world controlled by its own laws and values in a more or less informal way. It consists of forces constantly struggling for positions in the field and the power to determine if it is to be changed or maintained (Bourdieu, 1998, pp. 59-61; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 97). There are multiple fields in society: the cultural, the political, the academic etc. The field of journalism is characterised by its production of 'symbolic goods', just like the larger cultural field of which journalism is a part (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 74 ff). What further distinguishes the journalism field is that it is semi-autonomous. It is highly dependent on other fields as it acts in the interplay between social, political and economic forces (Bourdieu, 1998). Simultaneously, the journalism field places pressure on other fields, especially when investigating and holding those in power accountable for their decisions and actions. Thus, the field of journalism can be regarded both as dependent and independent of other fields (Bourdieu, 1998; Benson, 2006, p. 189).

Each field has its own general 'laws' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 97). These are often tacit and invisible knowledge referred to as doxa, 'the ordinary acceptance of the usual order which goes without saying and therefore usually goes unsaid' (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 441). In journalism, doxa can be defined as professional ethics and ideals (Melin, 2008, p. 59). Incorporated in the journalistic doxa is the implicit knowledge of what constitutes good journalism, something that is taken for granted by many reporters and editors, yet is not always easy to explain to people outside the field (Schultz, 2007, p. 194).

It is the power to define the doxa that is at stake in the field, so there is a constant, ongoing struggle for positions of power in the field (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 127). In the journalism field, the goal of an editor is to obtain the power to define what good journalism is: which topics, sources and angles should be selected, how a story should be narrated, where in the newspaper or in the broadcast a news item should be, etc. For those who have achieved a position of power, it is important to identify contenders for their positions as

heterodox, in absence of capital, and subject to symbolic violence, 'a gentle violence, imperceptible and invisible even to its victims' (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 1). In the field of journalism, symbolic violence can be regarded, for example, as male media discourses influenced by male norms and values when discussing women's issues. It is also expressed by the limited attention and space that gender-sensitive issues are given in the media. Symbolic violence is also exercised when assigning certain topics to women and more status-filled news stories to men. These are some examples of the 'symbolic annihilation' of women in journalism, as described by Tuchman (1978).

An individual's possibilities and limitations to achieve success in a field can be defined by identifying how symbolic capital is allocated and distributed. Symbolic capital can be described as the specific values and assets perceived as important within a social field (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 128). There are three types of fundamental capital in a society: cultural, social and economic capital. Cultural capital can be incorporated in individuals through upbringing and education, affecting, for example, how they behave and express themselves. Cultural capital can mostly be seen in qualifications linked to education: schools, universities and so on. Thus, certain education systems can be regarded as inherently unbalanced, as only certain social classes have access to some institutions (Bourdieu, 1986). In the media field, cultural capital can also include awards, like the Pulitzer Prize, or having attended certain prestigious schools of journalism (Benson, 2006, p. 190).

Social capital is the network of relationships that surrounds an individual, such as friends or membership in a particular group. The amount of social capital an individual has is determined by the size of the individual's network of relationships. Through social capital, the individual may have access to other types of capital, such as economic and cultural. The individual has, in other words, opportunities to attain various forms of symbolic capital through different kinds of social engagement (Bourdieu, 1986). In the field of journalism, social capital can be defined as networks, mentors and support from colleagues, family and friends (Djerf-Pierre, 2005, p. 270).

Economic capital, i.e. individual financial assets, can be regarded as the root of all other kinds of capital (Bourdieu, 1986). In the media field, economic capital can be defined as salary and wealth. Having economic capital may be crucial to pursue a career in the media while managing a family life as well. For women, it might be the need to afford 'reproductive support', for example, a housekeeper and/or a nanny, as many women with top positions in the media have been single mothers (Djerf-Pierre, 2005, p. 270).

A fundamental part of the symbolic economy of a field is habitus (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 42). Habitus consists of deeply ingrained bodily habits that determine how individuals behave. Habitus is shaped by early experiences,

social background, education and upbringing (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 133). It is a unique system of dispositions of how individuals think, act and behave in the social world. This also applies to journalists' habitus. The journalist habitus can be regarded as a 'professional habitus' involving a deep 'bodily sense' of how the game of news should be played (Schultz, 2007, p. 193). Learning the professional habitus of a journalist, for example, involves an ability to immediately determine newsworthiness, to know how a selling headline should be formulated and to master the dramaturgy of a good news story. An important note is that not all journalists share the same habitus, as it is shaped by a variety of social experiences, such as upbringing, education and professional experiences (Djerf-Pierre, 2005, pp. 269-270). For example, a young intern and a senior editor have different reasons to argue that a certain item is 'a good news story', as their positions and their dispositions in the field are different (Schultz, 2007, p. 193).

This thesis specifically studies social, economic and cultural capital among black women journalists in sub-Saharan Africa and the significance these forms of capital have had for them to enter and attain positions in the field of journalism. Gender can actually be conceptualised as capital in itself, a form of symbolic capital, in the field of journalism. This will be further discussed in the next section.

4.3 Gender and the journalistic field

Several researchers with a feminist orientation have successfully applied field theory in the analysis of power and gender in the field of journalism (Djerf-Pierre, 2005; Melin, 2008). For them, the appropriation of Bourdieu's theories by Moi (1991) has been very useful, and this is also the case for me.

Gender was a late contribution in the work of Bourdieu in *Masculine Domination* (2001). Yet Moi (1991) argues that there is a great strength in his theories as they manage to bridge the gap between non-essentialists and essentialists in the discussion of gender and sex (p. 1034). Bourdieu himself is a non-essentialist (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 33). Simultaneously, he recognises women and men as biological entities (Moi, 1991, p. 1034).

My view on gender takes its point of departure from Moi's reasoning. Our habitus is always gendered, and gender is a crucial aspect of habitus. Masculinity and femininity become deeply ingrained in the body when the individual's habitus is created 'through our movements, gestures, facial expressions, manners, ways of talking, and ways of looking at the world' (Moi, 1991, p. 1031). However, at the same time, the embodiment of man and woman does affect certain aspects of our habitus. Moi argues that there must be a view of gender and sex that goes beyond both essentialism and constructionism – 'women's bodies are human as well as female' (Moi, 1999, p. 8). The im-

portant starting point for Moi, and for me, is that neither gender nor sex should affect access to resources, level of freedom and choices made in the path of life—a 'feminism of freedom' (Moi, 1999). The core theoretical point of departure is thus that sexual differences are expressed in social practice:

> *Sexual differences are neither essences nor simple signifiers, neither a matter of realism nor of nominalism, but a matter of social practice.* (Moi, 1991, p. 1034)

It is these social practices that I am interested in, and field theory gives me the tools to identify and analyse these.

Gender, as well as class and race, is a part of the general social field, thus penetrating categories across all other fields (Moi, 1991, p. 1034). But gender manifests in different ways in different social contexts. Its value and significance is 'chamelonlike' (Moi, 1991, p. 1034). Consequently, there are different femininities and masculinities that can be defined as specific types of gendered habituses. For example, masculinity is a form of gendered habitus that is tied to the male body, but the concrete expressions and enactments of masculinity can change between different fields as well as points in time. For example, the dominating masculinity within Swedish radio in the early 1900s was the cultivated, eloquent, academic lecturer, a masculinity that has changed over time in step with political demands on social representativeness within public service as well as more market-driven competencies (Djerf-Pierre, 2003, p. 33, 48).

Bourdieu's theories allow us to grasp these variabilities of gender (Moi, 1991, p. 1035), but gender is not only expressed in habitus; it is also a symbolic capital that may have different values in different fields. According to Moi (1991), in most cases femininity is a negative symbolic capital while masculinity is a positive symbolic capital (p. 1036). This becomes particularly apparent in the division of labour, where gender can be used to legitimate differences between men and women (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 11). Moi states that a particular strength in the gender theories by Bourdieu is that he recognises the complexity of breaking free from male domination. Even if there is social transformation, there is one relation that stays the same: male domination and female subordination. Thus, women remain vulnerable to symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 12; Moi, 1991, p. 1032), an approach particularly interesting in a sub-Saharan context. What are the real changes for women's everyday life when a gender-aware constitution has been installed, like in South Africa? It is important to point out that it is hard to identify symbolic violence. It is almost invisible as it is incorporated in the daily routines and habits of the field and thus regarded as 'legitimate' (Moi, 1991, p. 1023).

However, an important notion in the feminist thinking of Bourdieu is that the amount of symbolic capital that gender carries differs from one context to another. There is no pure gender capital appearing on its own; it will be formed by the kinds of symbolic capital that are at stake in a specific setting:

> *[it]is always a socially variable entity, one which carries different amounts of symbolic capital in different contexts. […] We may nevertheless start from the assumption that under current social conditions and in most contexts maleness functions as a positive and femaleness functions as negative symbolic capital.* (Moi, 1991, p. 1036)

However, while gender constitutes a symbolic capital, a negative gender equity can be offset by adding other types of capital:

> *although a woman rich in symbolic capital may lose some legitimacy because of her gender, she still has more than enough capital left to make her impact on the field.* (Moi, 1991, p. 1038)

Consequently, if the value of gender as capital can vary between contexts, there will be contrasting gender logics in different social fields (Djerf-Pierre, 2005, p. 270) and differences in how the symbolic economy is structured. In this thesis, that is precisely what I am searching for—the gender logic in sub-Saharan journalism and what forms of capital women journalists need to enter the field of journalism, receive a position and a career.

To conclude, there is a double implication of how gender affects the possibilities and limitations for women in the field of journalism. Gender is in itself a symbolic capital, as it is part of habitus. Simultaneously, gender is a factor that affects the possibility to attain other forms of capital. The amount of capital, and the composition of different forms of capital, does, in turn, affect how women gain access to the field. It can determine what positions they manage to obtain and the status they gain within the field. Thus, gender has a double function in promoting or hindering the possibility to reach positions that define what is valuable in the field of journalism, i.e. what constitutes good journalism.

Furthermore, because Bourdieu views gender as a social variable that can change among different settings, the significance that variations in masculinities and femininities play in the field of journalism in South Africa and other countries can be analysed. Since the late 1990s, there has been a growing notion that there are several forms of masculinities and femininities that exist together as dynamic identities, filled with contradictions (Connell, 1995). Simultaneously, there is a need to re-think gender from the perspective of the global South. This should involve a reconsideration of the history of gender and its dynamics and embodiments (Connell, 2011). Colonisation and post-colonisation, together with globalisation, have created specific gender dy-

namics, so new patterns of masculinities and femininities appear (Connell, 2014).

4.4 Researching gender logic in sub-Saharan Africa

The main focus of this thesis is gender and journalism. However, when doing research in the global South, certain issues arise that need further discussion. As this thesis relates experiences from different national settings to each other, one central question concerns the matter of the 'general' and the 'particular' of gender logic in different contexts. Is there a gender logic in journalism that is culturally specific? My point of departure is that this is an empirical question. There are specific as well as common experiences between women journalists located in different national and local settings. The journalists' habitus can change within different national contexts, as it is influenced by various social conditions. Thus, women will use different strategies, depending on context and background:

> *It does not follow, as far as I can see, that they will all play the game in the same way. The different positions of different players in the field will require different strategies. To the extent that different agents have different social backgrounds (they may come from different geographical regions, be of different class, gender or race, and so on), their habitus cannot be identical.* (Moi, 1991, p. 1022)

This leads to the question of whether different geographical fields of journalism can fit within one single (global) field of journalism, or if journalism should rather be seen as a sub-field of societal cultures? Hovden (2008) argues that Bourdieu's arguments are inconsistent in this area, as the issue is far more complex than described. On the one hand, Bourdieu claims that the field is a social microcosm, which has developed its own laws, values and structures over time. The field is, on the other hand, also a methodological and theoretical research tool designed for empirical studies (e.g. Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 96). According to Hovden's analysis, Bourdieu complicates the issue even further by using the concept of fields at various levels:

> *In one and the same speech he thus talks not only of a French journalistic field, but also of subfields ('the subfields of television') and supra-fields (or meta-fields), e.g. when saying that 'the journalistic field is part of the political field' and that one, to do a complete analysis of the journalistic field, also would have to analyse 'the position of the national media field within the global media field'.* (Hovden, 2008, p. 111)

Based on studies in which field theory is applied to journalism in different countries, I conclude that there are several national journalism fields. This

conclusion is supported by a number of studies which, even though geographically and culturally close to each other, showed several points of difference: Norway (Hovden, 2012), Sweden (Djerf-Pierre, 2005), the United Kingdom (Melin, 2008) and Denmark (Schultz, 2007). These differences can partially be explained by dissimilarities in terms of the location of national, journalistic fields within the historical development of the media systems (and their relationship to political, economic and social structures). This approach does not exclude similarities among different national journalistic fields, such as the low degree of autonomy in relation to other fields, but there are significant variations in the extent to which the national journalistic field is exposed to external influences, for example, the degree of freedom of the press (Hovden, 2008). Thus, media researchers need to avoid talking about the field of journalism in general terms and look at national configurations instead (Benson, 2006, p. 199). This approach also constitutes the basis of comparative research on journalism cultures around the world. There are, according to Hanitzsch et al. (2011), common, universal ideologies among journalists, for example, detachment, impartiality and accurate and reliable information. However, there are also different dimensions of journalism cultures where journalists from non-Western contexts express different views, including a more flexible ethic and a more interventionist journalist role (Hanitzsch et al., 2011).

The aim of this thesis has not been to map out the doxa of journalism in different national contexts. However, the women themselves brought up aspects of the doxa of journalism in their life histories, i.e. the taken-for-granted norms and values in journalism. Thus, the discussion of certain opportunities and barriers for black women journalists in relation to the doxa in the field is a key part of the analysis. Further, while the focus of the study of the World Cup discusses the norms surrounding the gender logic in the field, it becomes apparent how gender takes a subordinate position in the doxa of journalism in this national context. I do not make any claims to fully define the doxa of the fields; however, I describe what participants identify as important elements of it.

4.4.1 Intersections of gender, class and race

Through the analysis of the lived experiences of black women journalists, it became clear that gender as the only analytical lens would not provide enough answers when analysing the gender logic of sub-Saharan newsrooms. The life histories of the women journalists in this study can be regarded as embodying the intersections of gender, class and race.

Intersections can be described as how factors such as gender, class and race interact in a complex process of domination, discrimination, opportuni-

ties and oppression (McClintock, 1995, p. 5; Collins, 2000). An individual has 'multiple grounds of identity' that come to terms in the construction of the social world (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1299). They cannot be separated from each other, nor can they be graded; rather 'they come into existence in and through relation to each other' (McClintock, 1995, p. 5).

Bourdieu's field theory fits very well with the notion of intersectionality (Fowler, 2003), especially when studying women in a certain occupation (Huppatz, 2012). Bourdieu himself describes how differences were created between women on multiple grounds:

> *On the other hand, despite the specific experiences which bring them together [...] women remain separated from each other by economic and cultural differences which affect, among other things, their objective and subjective ways of undergoing and suffering masculine domination—without, however, canceling out all that is linked to the diminution of symbolic capital entailed by being a woman.* (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 93)

In South Africa, it became evident how class is linked to racial relations in the life histories of the black women journalists. Class is a concept that can have many meanings. However, most approaches use a socioeconomic definition. In this context, class is considered a way to explain systematic economic and material differences between individuals or groups in society. Using the concept of race has been a matter of debate, as it can be considered a way to sustain the oppression and inequalities deriving from the ranking groups based on physical appearances. However, race is used by the South African women journalists in the studies as a central part of their self-identity. It is grounded in their historical experiences of being categorised into various races and the different forms of oppression that followed from this categorisation. Simultaneously, race can also be a matter of pride, cultural awareness and cultural belonging. Race can in turn be linked to ethnicity. In my studies, I have used both terms, regarding them as bases for discrimination and inequality since they consist of differences based on physical attributes and/or a particular cultural or historical oppression (Acker, 2006, pp. 444-445). I also use 'coloured' and 'black' as overlapping terms in my studies. During apartheid there was a clear division between these two terms. Coloureds, for example, included people with mixed ethnic origin from Europe and Asia. People classified by the apartheid regime as coloured had more privileges than those who were classified as black. In South Africa in the 2010s, the term black is used more often as an overlapping term referring to black, coloureds and Indians (PDMTTT, 2013, p. 4; Government Gazette, 2004, p. 4).

4.5 Conclusions: A theoretical journey

In conclusion, four main theoretical concepts form the theoretical framework for this thesis: gender, gender logic, field and intersectionality. My understanding of these concepts has developed over time through a process that has led to a deeper understanding of them and how they can relate to each other. To summarise, I have come to view gender as a crucial part of our habitus. I now regard the gender logic as a scheme of how practices, social relations, norms and values, positions, status and prestige in journalism are structured by gender, and that there can be specific forms of gender logics in different national fields of journalism. In the gender logic, gender is a symbolic capital that carries different values in different fields. This can affect a woman journalist's access to other forms of crucial capital in the field of journalism. It is in the concrete practices of the everyday life in the newsroom that the gender logic is reproduced and sometimes challenged. I have also developed my theoretical view of what constitutes a field and suggest that there are several national fields of journalism, each with their own specific character, even though they also share certain common characteristics. Most importantly, there has been a growing theoretical awareness about how field theory, together with an intersectional approach, can provide new ways of examining and understanding the gender logic.

These theoretical developments have been reflected in the concrete analyses in my five studies (full source information is located at the beginning of this thesis). Study I, on a group of women journalists in post-apartheid South Africa, focuses on how democratisation, and particularly affirmative action, had changed or maintained *the mechanisms of the field*. In study II, on women media managers in sub-Saharan Africa, a central outset is the analysis of *the value of different forms of capital* in their national fields of journalism. Study III, on black women media managers in South Africa, returned to the mechanism of the field and particularly how quotas had an impact on *the power structures of the field*, particularly concerning black women wanting to advance in the media.

The basis of the comparative analysis between South Africa on the one hand and Zambia, Nigeria, Uganda and Ethiopia on the other in study IV is *the value of different forms of capital viewed from an intersectional perspective*. The notion of intersectionality was also raised in the first study, even though I did not use the term 'intersectionality' at the time. However, looking at the appropriation of Bourdieu's field theory by Moi (1991), I started thinking more theoretically about this issue. Moi helped me to understand how Bourdieu himself recognises the complexity of the subordination of women and how his theory, together with an intersectional approach, was a way to a

deeper understanding of the gender logic of journalism fields in sub-Saharan Africa.

Field theory wasn't used as a theoretical framework in study V on the media debate about trafficking and prostitution surrounding the 2010 Fifa World Cup in South Africa, but I can now see how the notions of *field logic* and *doxa* are central in the analyses, even though it is not explicitly stated in the article.

5. Methodological discussion

In this thesis, the empirical base is the lived experiences of everyday life of women journalists in sub-Sahara Africa. To obtain their life histories, the research design has been constructed in a way that some parts draw from ethnography. This approach is about learning from other people in a collaboration between the researcher and the participants and aiming to create a description of a culture (Spradley, 1979, pp. 3, 25). Through social interaction, ethnographic research aims to explore other people's understanding and thinking about the world (Aspers, 2007, p. 33). The starting point is the personal experiences of the participants' everyday lives, how they make sense of these experiences and how they tackle different situations.

By employing an ethnographic approach in the life history interviews, the participants' experiences guide the researcher's understanding, interpretation and creation of meanings (Aspers, 2007, p. 37 ff). It might not be possible to completely distance oneself from one's own culture and its preconceptions. Even so, an ethnographic approach involves a sincere aspiration to approach another culture and reach a perspective from within to avoid a Western understanding of a culture other than one's own. An equal relationship between researcher and participant is emphasised, and the research process is viewed as a co-production of knowledge.

Studies I, II, III and IV are interview studies with women journalists and editors in different countries in sub-Saharan Africa, with a focus on South Africa. In study V, interviews are analysed in conjunction with a text analysis. Twenty-nine interviews were conducted in four rounds. Most of the interviews were done in personal meetings in Cape Town, South Africa. One participant from South Africa was interviewed on three different occasions, for Study I, III and V, with several years in between the interviews. The interviews with women from Zambia, Uganda, Nigeria and Ethiopia were done in personal meetings at another location. Interviews for study III were done over the phone. Personal meetings would have been preferable, but I believe that I was able to build trust over the phone as well. My perception is that the informants generously told me personal stories of both failures and successes, even though we did not meet in person.

For study V, a text analysis with a discourse analytical approach was made of 83 articles in *The Cape Times* and *The Cape Argus* during the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa. This analysis was used to investigate how

the gender logic was expressed in concrete, journalistic practice, in a setting that involved not only gender but also class, race, national pride and the notion of the 'rainbow nation'.

Table 2. Research design.

Study	Aim	Time period of data collection	Material	Country	Position	Method
I. Report from the Rainbow Newsdesk	'highlights the possibilities and obstacles for black women who want to work as journalists in South Africa'	2004	8 interviews	South Africa	Seven reporters, one sub-editor	Face-to-face interviews
II. 'Hitting the glass ceiling'—gender and media management in sub-saharan Africa	'discuss the relevance of gender in editorial leadership in African countries'	2007-2009	5 interviews	Uganda, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Zambia	News editor, manager of the news and current affairs section, manager, deputy news editor, project manager	Face-to-face interviews
III. Women climbing the ladder: The case of affirmative action in South African media	'to examine what effect an extensive affirmative action programme has had on a group of black women in the South African media'	2013	8 interviews	South Africa	Editors-in-chief, managing editors of different newsrooms within media houses, senior management as editors of different section	Telephone interviews and 1 e-mail conversation.
IV. Gender and leadership divides in sub-Saharan newsrooms	'identify the gender logic in the field of journalism'	2007-2009, 2013	13 interviews from study II and III	South Africa, Uganda, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Zambia, Uganda	Editors at different levels	Face to face, telephone, e-mail interviews,
V. Sex, football and the media: The case of South Africa and the World Cup	'an understanding of how gender interplays with the news agenda during a large scale event'	Interviews July 2010 Newspaper articles from 2009/2010	8 interviews, 83 newspaper articles	South Africa	Journalists and editors	Face-to-face interviews and text analysis with discourse analytical approach

5.1 Selection of participants

Participants were selected in different ways, but there have been clear selection criteria in the research process. In the first study in South Africa in 2004, I specifically searched for black women reporters in mainstream media companies. In the following studies on gender and media management in South Africa and sub-Saharan Africa from 2007–2009 and 2013, the selection criteria were formulated so that participants should hold or have had held a position that included pronounced influence over journalistic content and/or staff liability. They should work or have worked within mainstream media companies, which means that community media was excluded. The other important selection criterion was that they self-identified as black women, as I was interested in the specific conditions this group of women experienced.

Black women in senior media management in South Africa comprised a very select group at the time of data collection. Therefore, the selection process can be defined as *precision selection*. Some of the participants I had identified beforehand by reading about them in media reports or by searching media companies' websites. Others I already knew. Apart from this, *snowball sampling* was very useful when searching for black women journalists and managers in senior editorial positions in South Africa. The first interviews provided new contacts. The advantage of snowball sampling is that it provides access to participants' own social networks and potential contacts that would have been difficult to obtain otherwise, in this case, the female South African media elite. There is a growing acceptance of using a snowball sample to collect scientific data when the researcher needs access to a specific and select group. The initial contact requires trust, for example, by the researcher appearing as part of the group, which in this case was by being recommended by others within the same group (Atkinson & Flint, 2004, p. 1044). The first contacts were established via email, however, telephone contact proved to be far more successful. When either of these strategies failed, I in some cases visited the media companies unannounced, presenting my aim to the reception desk, and took it from there. This proved to be a bold but effective method of sampling.

The opportunity to meet women in senior editorial positions in Nigeria, Ethiopia, Zambia and Uganda arose in cooperation with media organisations that offer editorial leadership training. I was not part of the course, but I was invited to come visit and present the aim of my study to the participants at a meeting with the group after class. I left my contact information with an open invitation for expressions of interest. Several people approached me.

5.2 Life history interviews

The main purpose of my research interviews has been to learn the life histories of the women journalists, of how they have experienced life that led them to their choice of career and how they decided to enter the field of journalism and eventually the media elite. I use the term *life history interview* in the sense of following the life history of the participant from childhood to choice of career and advancement and so on. The focus is on the personal stories, but in order to be understood, these stories are interpreted in the social, political and historical context of which they are part (Goodson, 2013).

In the words of Denzin and Lincoln (2005), I am 'biographically situated' (p. 21) within Africa and journalism. My understanding was, from an early age, associated with the culture I would study. I partly grew up in rural Zimbabwe in a culture with some similarities to South Africa and the other sub-Saharan countries included in my thesis. Later in life, my understanding was shaped by my experiences as a young woman journalist in large newsrooms. These previous experiences have helped to inform my research. My own experiences of Africa and journalism have made my studies possible, as it made it easier to gain access to women journalists and the media elite. When approaching informants, I tried to emphasise what we had in common. I told informants about my childhood in Zimbabwe and my profession as a journalist in Sweden, where I had myself experienced what it is like being a woman journalist in a large newsroom. In addition, my Swedish nationality and links to a university in Sweden helped open doors. Sweden has a good reputation in southern Africa. Sweden's boycott of apartheid and support of the liberation struggle in several countries in southern Africa is well known across the region. Further, I could identify questions that were relevant to ask in the interviews as I had a preconception about African culture as well as women in journalism. Lastly, from my position as a woman journalist, I have experienced a sense of sisterhood among female journalists during the interviews. The approach of trying to relate to participants in the research interviews can be compared with what Koole (2003) calls '*affiliation*', the opposite of '*detachment*'. This sisterhood might have been able to build a bridge across cultural, social and economic divides.

The issue of power relationships between the researcher and informant in qualitative research is often discussed. Perhaps this asymmetry appears the most problematic when a Western researcher studies 'the other' in countries that are generally considered to be less developed. Research in this context has sometimes been understood as an extension of colonisation and imperialism (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 1). Lingering social friction fuelled both by racial and multi-nation history still play a significant, if not crucial, role in today's Africa. Hence, being white and educated by default defines the re-

searcher as an exponent of the developed and privileged part of society. A humble approach has been essential in meetings with the informants participating in the studies, emphasising that the opportunity of hearing their life stories is not something I take for granted, but rather a privilege. Thus, my perception is that they have regarded me as equal. It has been vital to work with open questions in order for replies to identify and isolate problems and frictions that may have a stronger bearing on the specific historical heritage of sub-Saharan Africa.

Some years passed between each interview study. This can be seen as an advantage as it increases my studies' reliability. It has made me a more experienced interviewer, as well as given me time for reflection. My knowledge of the field of research has deepened with each interview (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 128). The core of all interviews with women journalists has been their life histories. Thus, there has been a basic structure of certain themes within all interviews, although not all interviews necessarily shared the same questions. All interviews started off by asking interviewees to describe their background, upbringing, education and family situation and move on to their path into the field of journalism and their experiences as black women journalists in the field. When interviewing women in media management, there have been additional themes such as balance between work and family life, advancement in the field, support in the newsroom and from superior managers, leadership issues and plans for the future. The way the interviews were done in this thesis can be compared to what Minichiello, Aroni, Timewell and Alexander (1995, p. 92) refer to as focused or semi-structured interviews, where there is a list of themes rather than a fixed order of questions, offering more flexibility for the researcher. Variations may be a prerequisite for collecting a rich set of data (Crouch & McKenzie, 2006, pp. 485-487).

Efforts were made to ensure the protection of participants' confidentiality in a global society (Miller, 2012, p. 36). Names of organisations and special characteristics that could identify individuals were removed (Spradley, 1979, p. 36). In the study of the World Cup, the decision to protect the identity of the participants was made retrospectively, as the subject may be considered controversial in some contexts since sex is political, which my study also showed. Written or oral agreement for informed consent was used. Participants were informed of the purpose of the study, assured that participation was voluntary and informants could, at any time, withdraw from the project. An oral informed consent was recorded on tape.

5.3 Interview processing and analysis

All interviews were recorded. I listened to the recordings several times, however, a professional Swedish company was hired to transcribe the bulk of the material. The company guarantees confidentiality, and their staff is accustomed to working with research material from many different universities in Sweden. The English spoken in the recording had different types of 'geo-ethnic accents', which is common in qualitative research (Oliver, Serovic & Mason, 2005, p. 1282). The transcription company resolved the reliability issue by transcribing not what they thought interviewees said, but instead with a note that one or more words were 'inaudible'. Because of my upbringing in southern Africa, I am used to a different English accent and was usually able to fill the gaps in the transcribed text. The transcription method can be described as denaturalised, a method commonly used in discourse analysis, for example, by Fairclough (1995, p. 229). The goal is obviously to provide an accurate reproduction of the conversation, but the transcription has, for example, not included pauses or humming. Out of respect for the participants, grammatical errors and spoken language were changed in the quotes included. If participants had described their experiences in writing, the language would obviously also have been different (Oliver et al., 2005, p. 1286).

There are several ways to apply a qualitative interview analysis. What most methods have in common is organising the findings in the material into different boxes and then grouping these into more overall lines in order to condensate, or abstract the material and reach a deeper, or better, understanding of its meanings (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004, p. 106). Different methods have different labels for these levels. The method I have chosen for interview analysis is inspired by qualitative content analysis (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004) and qualitative media analysis, initially referred to as ethnographic content analysis (ECA) (Altheide, 1996; 1987). The interview text is divided into *units of meaning* (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004, p. 106). In my case, these were a constellation of sentences that related to each other by their content and thus told a certain, defined story. The central signification of the meaning of a unit was summarised in a central theme and given a *key word*. A key word, also referred to as code, indicates the meaning of the unit: a label attached to a sequence of text that explains the core content. The key word also 'allows the data to be thought about in new and different ways' (Graneheim & Lundman, 1994, p. 107). Through key words, the units of meaning can be organised into groups of *themes*. This label can be defined as underlying meanings that recur throughout the interview text (Graneheim & Lundman, 1994, p. 107). The next level of categorising included organising the themes into *frames*. These create the focus or the boundary for discussing the themes (Altheide, 1996). In my case, frames were used to handle and

organise different types of symbolic capital that appeared in the themes. Encoding was followed by recoding to enhance the validity. There was also a movement between part and whole, where I returned to the context from which the unit of meaning was taken (interview text).

To give an example of my analysis work, I will explain how I reasoned with the third interview extract in Table 3. The participant explains that she did not plan her career and that it happened more by circumstance. This was a recurring theme in the interviews, and I labelled this 'career pattern' to describe the path or progress in the careers of the women journalists. As previous positions and experiences in the field are a form of professional capital in the field of journalism, I gave this frame to the meaning of units.

Table 3. Interview analysis. Examples of units of meaning, themes and frames.

Unit of meaning	Theme	Frame
I think that the appointment of Ferial Haffajee as the first black editor when she was ? *Mail and Guardian* opened the door for others. That there haven't been a whole flood of us is sad... because there are some fantastic, some strong black journalists out there that would make fantastic editors. That we... yeah... that we haven't gone up the ranks fast is sad. But yeah, that was probably a seminal moment in terms of our history... media history.	Role models	Social capital
Because of the structure of the industry, because of the structure of the economy, I think that you needed mentors, those people who would see your potential, and I have always been lucky to have a range of male and female mentors of all colours. Some have been younger than me, some have been older than me, who have enabled me to progress, because the quality or the structure of the print industry or the journalist… the media industry at the time was very white and very male so you required access through other means and I have been lucky enough to find mentors to enable that.	Mentors	Social capital
I was surprised actually when I took on the job. I just… I mean, I have always loved journalism and I knew from when I was young that I wanted to be a journalist, but I did not really sit down and have like a five year plan of this is what I am going to do and this is the way I am going to get… it was an opportunity that opened up for me and I just grabbed it.	Career pattern	Professional capital

5.4 Text analysis with a discourse analytical approach

Another way of reaching a more detailed understanding of the gender logic of the field is by studying the concrete journalistic practice of the field. As described above, in the last study, the reporting of sex work and trafficking in connection to the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa was selected for a text analysis inspired by a discourse analytical approach in combination with interviews. It proved to be a critical moment of discourse that included notions of gender, class and race as well as national pride and the notion of the 'rainbow nation'. In other words, textual and discourse analysis became a research tool for reaching the specific gender logic in the field of journalism from another perspective.

Discourse analysis is a concept with great span. Therefore, it is important for me to clarify what I mean by discourse and how I have applied the analytical method. To begin with, there are several definitions of 'discourse'. My definition is in line with Stuart Hall's:

> *Discourses are ways of referring to or constructing knowledge about a particular topic of practice […] These discursive formations, as they are known, define what is and is not appropriate in our formulation of, and our practices in relation to, a particular subject or site of social activity.* (Hall, 1997, p. 6)

Thus, by using the term 'discursive', one acknowledges that representation is a fundamental part of our understanding of a phenomenon (Hall, 1997, p. 6). All discourse analysis approaches rest on social constructionism. They are at the same time both a theory and a method, and these cannot be separated (Winther Jörgensen & Phillips, 2000, p. 10). A founding part of social constructionism is applying a critical approach to the knowledge of the world that we take for granted, as our way of viewing the world is not in any way objective and neutral (Burr, 1995, pp. 2-5).

In some aspects, my analysis can be regarded as a critical discourse analysis. There are several interpretations of this approach as well; however, they all share a political element aiming to reveal the importance of discursive practices for the maintenance of oppression, inequality and abuse of power (Winther Jörgensen & Phillips, 2000, p. 70; van Dijk, 2001, p. 352). Therefore, I believe that a critical discourse analysis is particularly useful when analysing media stories around a gender-sensitive topic such as prostitution and trafficking. My discourse analytical approach uses a critical perspective and involves all three dimensions of Fairclough's critical discourse: *text, discursive practices and social practices* (Fairclough, 1995; 1998).

The criteria for selecting material for the text analysis were that the data should provide a way to analyse how structures of gender, class and race find

expression in the media content in South Africa. In this case, the 2010 FIFA World Cup proved to be an excellent research case. More than a year before the tournament, there were media reports about the expected increase of trafficking and prostitution during the World Cup, as well as a proposal to legalise prostitution before the event. As I had reported on the same topic for the national news department in Sweden during the 2006 World Cup in Germany, I realised this could be an interesting debate to follow, considering South Africa's history of prohibition of inter-racial relations, white men's domination and black women's subordination. The criteria for selecting news reports to form a basis in the discourse analysis were that the media outlets should be part of the mainstream media sector with a wide reach and cater to both black and white readers. With these selection criteria as a starting point, I chose *Cape Times* and *Cape Argus*, two English-language newspapers published in Cape Town. Both newspapers dominate the news in Cape Town. *Cape Times* is a morning paper, and the sister publication, *Cape Argus*, is published in the afternoon. *Cape Times* is the oldest daily newspaper in South Africa. It has an interesting history of resistance against apartheid (Shaw, 1999) and traces of colonial discourses about class and race in news reports about sex work and trafficking were therefore of particular interest in the interpretations of the material. The newspapers are owned by Independent Newspapers, one of the leading newspaper companies in South Africa. In 2011, *Cape Times* had an average circulation of 231,000 readers. It caters mainly to an 'upmarket reader, with an emphasis on corporate news' (*Cape Times*, n.d.). *Cape Argus* had an average of 210,000 readers in 2011. Its editorial focus is slightly different from the *Cape Times,* and the magazine describes its focus as being on readers who are 'independent minded with an entrepreneurial flair' (*Cape Argus,* n.d.). The majority of readers of both newspapers are white or coloured (Ibid.).

Through an archive search, a corpus of texts included 83 newspaper articles in *Cape Argus* and *Cape Times*. The search period was 11 June 2009, one year before the event, to 11 July 2010, when the World Cup ended. The aim was to collect the total number of articles, editorials, letters to the editor etc, about this issue.

First, the *themes* introduced, developed and established in the reporting were studied. I chose to use the term themes in the articles to define the concept of a journalistic perspective on a specific event. Some items included several themes, such as HIV/AIDS, sex in the entertainment and commercial industry and an increase or decrease of trafficking and sex work. The text analysis also included *how reporting evolved over time* during the year in which the study was conducted. It also included *how these themes were presented*, their rhetorical patterns, such as how the articles included a discussion

of problems or criticised what the sources claimed. Furthermore, the text analysis identified *sources*, defined as a person or organisation that made a direct or indirect statement in the articles.

Once themes, sources, time and rhetorical patterns of the various articles had been identified, the analysis turned to how these were articulated together and described meanings in the *texts* based on the reporting as a whole. I could see, for example, how organisations, researchers and police had the chance to reiterate that between 40,000 and 100,000 women and children were victims of trafficking during the World Cup in Germany in 2006, and that the same thing was likely to happen in South Africa. Although this information from Germany has subsequently been shown to be untrue, it was rarely questioned by reporters.

The next step was to study *discursive practices*. This was done by viewing textual analysis in the light of interviews on media practices at editorial offices. The aim was to identify how different types of discourses found in the texts and in the interviews were related to each other. The research process was facilitated by an electronic archive, available to subscribers via its website. In this way I was able to access published material before departure to South Africa and begin the analysis of the material before the interviews were conducted. This made my interview questions more informed. Two interviews were made with editors at *Cape Times* and *Cape Argus,* but the understanding of the general media discourse was increased by interviews with the other main media outlets in Cape Town. Editors and one journalist were interviewed at SABC, Die Burger, E-TV, Independent Online and News24. This procedure also strengthened the validity of my study, as the interviews confirmed the pattern found in the analysis of the articles from *Cape Argus* and *Cape Times*. Stories of the interviews were studied by carefully observing which topics were, for example, mentioned as important compared to topics that were not mentioned at all.

The next step was to define the *social practice*, of which the discursive practice is part. In South Africa, an important part of the overall discourse in society concerns the 'nation state' and the 'rainbow nation'. These ideologies are embedded in discursive practices and often regarded as natural and part of common sense (Fairclough, 1995, p. 87). By analysing the results from the textual analysis and the interview analysis as a whole, it became evident how the media reporting of the World Cup was informed by these ideologies. They had affected editorial decisions, norms and values, i.e. discursive practices.

The workflow meant that the interview study was done first and then the discourse analysis of the newspaper content. The analysis started with the big picture, the social and discursive practices, then moved to the text, then back again.

6. Limitations and contributions

Writing this thesis has been a long process during which I have developed as a researcher. Along the way I have discovered new methodological and theoretical lenses when analysing the gender logic in some countries in sub-Saharan Africa. This section discusses the limitations and contributions that the choices I made along the way have implied, as well as how the theoretical framework has developed during this journey.

To be a complete ethnographic study, one might argue that the research design could have developed the *ethnographic aspects* further. If it would have been practically possible, more interviews and observation studies in newsrooms would certainly have deepened my insights. Furthermore, I started this project with a focus on black women. Today, considering the aim of my thesis and the theories it builds on, I would have made a different *selection* of informants that in addition to black women included both black and white men and white women. This would have provided me with other perspectives. Yet, given its limitations, the research design of my thesis has resulted in important findings on an issue we know little about. The main contribution of this thesis is that it draws attention to stories that have not been told before. Additionally, the thesis captures experiences not only from South Africa, but from broad contexts in a sub-Saharan setting, displaying large variations concerning the gender logic in fields of journalism in relatively nearby countries.

The aim of ethnographic research is to reflect a certain group of individuals or a certain culture and experiences from within this group or culture. Selection is done strategically—there must be people with experiences for whom the researcher is searching. Ethnographic research seeks to get *rich and deep descriptions,* and there will be a limited number of individuals/entities investigated. Therefore, the results of ethnographic research convey little about how the larger population looks. I have not included the experiences of women who did not succeed and the various reasons for this. This is one disadvantage of *snowball sampling;* the group of informants tends to be homogenous. However, these were strategic choices, as I was interested in what forms of capital these particular women had attained having climbed the ladder.

The studies combined have a high degree of *internal validity* since the empirical data consists of a substantial number of interviews, carried out in several rounds and involving different categories of participants. Interviews have been done with care and consideration, and the participants have been

allowed to speak on equal terms. This has resulted in a rich analysis with many nuances.

Regarding the media discourse on sex work and prostitution in connection to the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa, it is likely that that the media discourse in *Cape Argus* and *Cape Times* reflected the general reporting on this topic in mainstream media. This conclusion is drawn given the newspapers' dominant position in the national field of journalism in South Africa. The same media discourse was also reflected in the interviews with editors and journalists at other media outlets in Cape Town, which further strengthens the validity of the results.

A disadvantage of *anonymity* is that it has not been possible to view personal experiences in light of editorial contexts, as I have not been able to provide a meso-level description of the news organisations regarding, for example, racial and gender balance. This would of course have been valuable in this context. Thus, there are limitations in the analysis that I can present without displaying the identity of the informants. However, I regard research ethics and protecting interests of the informants a profound part of the research process, and I believe it is possible to discuss research results in a fruitful way even on a more general level.

This leads to the concept of *time*. Several years have passed between my different sets of interviews. One could argue that the gender logic of the field of journalism may have changed in the time span between these interviews. This may be so, but arguably, changes occur at different paces and in different ways depending on other important factors such as the type of media, organisational and ownership structure and geographical location. Also, there is no obvious pattern suggesting later participants share a more positive, or for that matter, a more negative, outlook than earlier participants. Yet because of the limited number of interviews, what my studies show is the experience of the gender logic by a group of black women in their respective national fields of journalism at a given time in history.

I started this journey with Bourdieu, whose field theory has been central to all of my work. However, my understanding of the concepts of gender, field, capital, habitus and doxa has *developed* over time. I have, since starting to write this thesis, been describing the complexity of opportunities and obstacles for black women journalists, but it was in my last study that I became fully aware of how an intersectional approach could deepen the analysis. Moi's (1991) appropriation of Bourdieu deepened my understanding of how I could use field theory to understand how gender and the gender logic of different fields of journalism is shaped in different ways. Thus, the theoretical framework and my way of viewing the founding concepts of my thesis has evolved. The *intersectional approach* to gender, race and class in the lived

experiences of black women journalists working in the fields of journalism in the global South forms a valuable contribution to the research area on gender and journalism. Analysing lived experiences of black women journalists using an intersectional approach has not been done before and provides us with new knowledge of how gender logic is shaped in different fields of journalism.

7. Summary of the studies

7.1 Report from the rainbow newsdesk

The aim of this study was to highlight the opportunities and obstacles for a group of black women working as journalists in South Africa after a period of extensive affirmative action. The method chosen was qualitative interviews with eight black women journalists. Research questions included what news topics they were assigned and how traditional and cultural norms were reflected in their daily lives as journalists, as well as the implications of affirmative action for this group of black women journalists.

In this study, Bourdieu's concepts of field, capital and doxa were central as well as how the mechanisms of the field had been changed or maintained by affirmative action. Results showed the consequences for editorial work when traditional gender dynamics met with race and class. The black women had not, in contrast to their black male colleagues, managed to climb the editorial hierarchy. The women perceived that the cultural norms of femininity in society hindered them in their contacts with sources and interviewees. A high-ranking black politician could refuse to speak to a female journalist, which is an example of symbolic violence.

'Whiteness' was experienced as the norm in the field of journalism in South Africa, and it was associated with an Anglo-Saxon journalistic ideal as well as cultural sophistication and training. For the black female journalist, the white female journalist was a visual and intellectual ideal. The study in South Africa also indicated that, in this particular context, there were indications of an ethnic logic in journalism rather than a gender logic, as beats were awarded to reporters based on their race and class more than their sex. In South Africa, participants experienced how the 'crime' beat was covered by black reporters, both women and men. Their perception was that as violent crimes often were linked to poor shanty town areas, white reporters did not dare to go there. The division of beats could, thus, also be considered a class marker. Editors assumed that black reporters had more knowledge about reporting from a poor and dangerous area.

7.2 'Hitting the glass ceiling' – gender and media management in sub-Saharan Africa

The aim of this study was to analyse the importance of gender in editorial leadership in four sub-Saharan countries. The method chosen was qualitative

interviews with five women media managers from Zambia, Uganda, Nigeria and Ethiopia. The theoretical framework of the analysis was the value of different forms of capital in their national fields of journalism.

The main finding was that it was perceived as both an asset and a burden to be a woman in an editorial leadership position in African countries. The criteria of journalistic professionalism resonate with cultural perceptions of femininity: responsibility, orderliness and perseverance. These qualities may be seen as particularly valuable in a political media landscape that is characterised by a low level of press freedom and a democratic process that is more or less consolidated.

The study further described how women navigate in this contradiction of the value of gender as symbolic capital by either minimising or maximising the importance of gender. There were tasks the women's managers felt that they could not assign women, so the female editors carefully planned every step they took to be able to work around the managers to reach their goals. The women also described how they used journalism as an activism tool to promote women in their respective communities.

Journalism was described as having a low status in these countries. The women journalists' economic capital was small because of the low wages they received, if any at all, and their lower social class status. The lack of economic capital could, however, be critical for women who also lacked social capital. The precarious financial situation of the media companies forced some women to leave journalism.

7.3 Climbing the ladder. The case of affirmative action in South African media

The aim of this study was to reach an understanding of the effects of a comprehensive affirmative action programme for a group of black women in the South African media elite and to examine how these womens' experiences of existing power structures affected their everyday experiences in the workplace. The study built upon qualitative interviews with eight black women who currently held or had held top positions in South African media.

In this study, Bourdieu's concept of field was a central theoretical concept, as the focus was on how quotas had affected power structures within the media, particularly concerning black women wanting to advance in the field.

The study showed that for the majority of women, the way in to the journalistic field had been through affirmative action. Once inside, they quickly learned journalism habitus; however, this was not enough. Six out of eight women media managers in this study planned to leave journalism in the future. The experience of this group of women was that the field of journalism in South Africa seeks to ensure that white men retain power.

The participants in this study were well aware of what forms of cultural capital were generally valued in South Africa's journalism field, and this capital was almost impossible for them to attain. Their individual habitus had been formed under other conditions than their white, female colleagues. The educational system of the apartheid-era has created gaps in the country's media fields that will take generations to overcome. An important form of cultural capital within the journalistic field is the ability to speak and write English in what was considered an 'acceptable' way. This cultural capital has been monopolised by white journalists, and by learning to master this capital they obtained the power within the field.

However, there was a special kind of capital participants in this study had that their white colleagues lacked. The experience of having been part of a social movement and the struggle against apartheid had become a form of social capital. This became important when the participants became leaders in the field of journalism, as it incorporated ideals of standing up for beliefs and freedom of expression.

In contrast, participants in this study experienced a significant lack of social capital: their access to formal and informal networks in the media industry was limited. At the beginning of their careers, they had access to social capital in the form of mentors in the field. However, once the female journalists started advancing in the field, their mentors were not replaced with other networks. Simultaneously, participants had the impression that there were large and lively male networks. These differences in social capital created an asymmetry between women and men in South Africa's journalistic field.

7.4 Gender and leadership divides in sub-Saharan newsrooms

The aim of this study was to identify the gender logic in the field of journalism in South Africa. This was accomplished by comparing and contrasting lived experiences through qualitative interviews with women who had succeeded in reaching leading media positions in South Africa, with women media managers from four other countries: Nigeria, Uganda, Zambia and Ethiopia.

The theories of Bourdieu and Moi were used to incorporate an intersectional approach involving gender, class and race to focus on the value of different forms of capital in national fields of journalism.

The main findings were that in the different national contexts included in this study, women journalists had different compositions of symbolic capital relating to educational systems, cultural traditions, affirmative action and the struggle against apartheid. Bourdieu has described economic capital as the root of all other forms of capital. In South Africa, because of their upbringing

in an apartheid system, most women journalists lacked economic capital, which resulted in an education that was perceived as insufficient compared to that of their white colleagues. This affected their cultural capital. Their way of speaking and writing English, their cultivation, or what Bourdieu called their habitus was, in their experience, less valued in journalism. This structure became a 'net' that caught women wanting to advance. However, in South Africa, the access to social capital in the form of mentors in journalism managed to compensate for their perceived lack of cultural capital and the fact that they gained access to the field because of affirmative action.

For the women from the other African countries, the symbolic economy appeared to be different. Although these countries have a colonial history of oppression and injustice, they did not perceive the structures that apartheid created in South Africa. These women journalists had a different experience of language as a particular form of cultural capital. It was presented as rather obvious that English should be spoken in a certain way. Thus, all women in this study had the same understanding of how the English language in journalism should be expressed and spoken, but different contexts created different approaches and strategies to compensate for the perceived lack of cultural capital.

The women also described how femininity had different value in their respective fields of journalism. In South Africa, the negative equity of being a black woman seemed not to be offset by other forms of capital. The female gender for the women from other African countries appeared to be, at least partly, a positive equity. The significance of gender as capital can be related to different characteristics linked to masculinity and femininity in specific fields of journalism, depending on the political and social context in which they are produced.

7.5 Sex, football and the media: the case of South Africa and the World Cup

The aim of this study was to analyse how gender interacts with the news during a massive event in a country that is still undergoing political transformation, and where journalism plays a key role in nation building. The study focussed on reporting on a specific gender-related topic: trafficking and sex work during the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa. The method chosen was a text analysis with a discourse analytical approach including 83 articles on the topic in *Cape Argus* and *Cape Times* in the year preceding the event, and interviews with eight journalists in Cape Town.

In this study, the central theoretical framework was Fairclough's theories on discourse, in combination with theories on discourses surrounding nationalism and gender.

The background to the study is three-fold. Firstly, there was a massive debate about trafficking and prostitution concerning the previous World Cup in Germany in 2006. Secondly, there was an official proposal in South Africa that sex work should be legalised during the World Cup. The proposal was never realised, but the subject continued to garner media coverage leading up to and during the World Cup. Thirdly, South Africa at the end of the 2000s was regarded as a regional hub for trafficking.

Results of the discourse analysis showed that reports on the issue were mainly about a possible boom in the sex industry, rumours about the influx of sex workers for the event and the risk that tourists could contract HIV. When the World Cup began, the media and the public turned away from the topic. The study showed how the gendered practices of journalism are shaped by the whole social and historical context in which journalism operates. The idea of bringing forward the 'rainbow nation' was also promoted by the media in connection to the World Cup. This involved self-censorship around an essential aspect of daily life for many women in South Africa. The increasingly challenging climate for critical journalism in South Africa may have been a contributing factor. Different journalistic ideals were pitted against each other. On the one hand, journalism played a role as a surveyor of social injustice and also played a role in shaping and strengthening a new nation. It seems as though these two ideals could not unite during the World Cup in South Africa, which resulted in downplaying a topic that may have been considered too problematic for South African media while the country hosted the worldwide tournament.

8. Conclusions: Disentangling the 'nets'

In this doctoral thesis, I have four key points of departure. The first is that we need more voices from women in journalism in the global South. When I began this project, there was a clear lack of studies that recognise women's lived experiences in the field of journalism in the region of sub-Saharan Africa. Ten years have passed since then, and there is still an obvious gap. Thus, this research project is a response to the feminist and post-colonial criticism against a predominantly Western view of gender and journalism. It offers partly new explanations about how the 'nets' are woven in the field of journalism.

During the research process, the need for an intersectional perspective has become increasingly evident. Even if the analytical focus is on gender, it cannot be regarded as an isolated unit. Thus, the overarching aim of my thesis is to analyse the gender logic in the fields of journalism in sub-Saharan Africa by examining how structures of gender, class and race interact to create barriers and opportunities for black women journalists and media managers.

The second starting point also takes outset in post-colonial feminism in the sense that there is an awareness of not perceiving the global South (or Africa) as a homogenous unity. One way of reaching a more nuanced understanding of the region is to compare some African countries with each other. The focal point in my research is South Africa. The specific circumstances that have shaped the situation for women in this field of journalism have become more apparent when seen in the light of experiences of women journalists from other African countries.

The third point of departure is the work of Pierre Bourdieu, specifically the appropriation of his theories by Moi (1991). However, it has become increasingly evident during the research process how women journalists are affected by a combination of intersecting structures of gender, class and race and are impossible to separate. Therefore, I have developed a way to incorporate the theories of Bourdieu and Moi in an intersectional approach.

The fourth starting point of this doctoral thesis is the understanding that the 'nets' (Ridgeway, 2001) that entangle women who want to advance as journalists are not the same everywhere in the world. There are different field logics as well as particular gender logics, depending on historical, social and political contexts. My way to the disentanglement of these 'nets' has been through the work of Bourdieu. Bourdieu regards a field as a socially structured space in the world. This is governed by its own general laws and values—a certain logic of the field. I regard the 'nets' as part of these field logics. But since there are several national fields of journalism, and thus dif-

ferences in field logics, the 'nets' are not constructed in the same way. Rather, they are spun by how different forms of symbolic capital are valued in the symbolic economy of the field. Thus, the symbolic economy is the central part of the field logic.

Women journalists and managers have to navigate in the 'nets', using different strategies depending on what forms of capital are valued in the particular field of journalism as well as how their female habitus is regarded in the field. A specific gender logic is created, which includes status, prestige, positions and advancement in the field for different groups. The gender logic is also incorporated in an invisible knowledge referred to as doxa. The doxa of journalism is expressed and defined in concrete practices; it includes professional ethics and ideals on what constitutes good journalism (Melin, 2008, p. 59). As all social fields are gendered, the doxa always includes notions of gender, albeit in different ways.

My way to reach an understanding of the gender logic, and which strategies are available for women journalists and managers when navigating in the 'nets', has been by analysing and comparing lived experiences of a group of women working in different fields of journalism in sub-Saharan Africa.

The thesis has two main research questions:

Research question 1: What are the lived experiences of intersections of gender, class and race in the field of journalism for black women journalists in five African countries, with a special focus on South Africa? What are their strategies in the national fields of journalism?

Research question 2: What is the relationship between the gender logic of the journalistic field and concrete journalistic practices in terms of the coverage of gender-sensitive issues?

I will now present my main conclusions and discuss my results.

8.1 Cultural capital: the currency of language

In gender logic, gender is both a form of symbolic capital, related to habitus, and a factor that affects access to other forms of capital important in the field. Essential forms of symbolic capital are cultural capital, economic capital, social capital and professional capital. Individuals simultaneously attain different forms of capital during their journey in life and an individual's habitus is formed through the process of life. Layers are built upon layers in creating the individual's manners and way of behaving and navigating in the world.

The first conclusion concerns the differences between the women regarding their acquisition of cultural capital and how this affected their positions in the fields of journalism.

Bourdieu regards economic capital as the root of all other forms of capital. The majority of the black women journalists in my studies came from a low-

er-economic stratum, which created a special form of habitus and affected their opportunities to attain cultural capital in the form of languages and education.

A certain form of English was a symbolic capital that was highly valued in this particular field of journalism. However, the individual habitus of the black women journalists were formed under very different circumstances than those of their white, female colleagues. Important parts of cultural capital valued in the field of their white colleagues were obtained through an education that black women generally had no access to because of the apartheid system and its heritage. Women journalists from South Africa received training after the first democratic election in 1994, in order to compensate for an unequal level of education created by the apartheid system. Even so, they still experienced a lack of skills compared to white colleagues.

This 'currency of language' was evident in the first interview study in 2004. Several of the black South African women journalists said that they felt they had an accent that was less socially accepted and perceived they had less of a handle on the language of news. Almost 10 years later, in the interview study in 2013, it seemed little had changed. Language skills and English spoken with an accent derived from shanty town or rural settings was still an issue for the black women journalists. Cultural capital became visible in Anglo-Saxon norms on how news texts should be written and how news broadcasts should sound, using the British Broadcasting Company (BBC), as the model. Consequently, several of the black women journalists were lacking this capital.

Botma (2012) also argues that the social background of the black journalism students in South Africa, their habitus, in turn affects their cultural capital and creates dividing structures between students of different racial groups, even during journalism training. The reason is that English and Afrikaans are the most common languages used in the journalism schools.

The lack of cultural capital thus became a 'net' that halted their advancement in the field of journalism. The reasons behind this lack has its roots in specific structures of inequality created by colonialism in general and apartheid in particular.

For the women journalists from Zambia, Nigeria, Ethiopia and Uganda, cultural capital in the form of educational attainment was also considered very important when entering the field. Having journalism education at a university level was considered an important asset. Anglo-Saxon journalistic norms also prevail in the newsrooms in these countries. However, differences in language skills did not seem to carry the same distinctive value. These countries also have a colonial history of oppression and injustice. However, they do not have the specific lingering structures created by the apartheid

regime in South Africa. The white population in these countries forms a very small minority. Therefore, race (and its connection to class) did not seem to form a relevant category for the black women in the journalistic field.

Thus, speaking a certain English seemed to have different meanings and significance in South Africa, as a form of cultural capital and as a distinction of class. In that sense, the logic of the field of journalism seemed structured by a norm of 'whiteness' that lingered even though the apartheid regime was defeated long ago.

8.2. Social capital: the role of 'social movement capital' and mentors

The second conclusion is that there were similarities between all the women in my studies regarding their acquisition of social capital. I could identify certain forms of social capital that have also been emphasised in many Western studies of women in management positions (Göransson, 2006; Djerf-Pierre, 2005; Vianello & Moore, 2000; Esseveld & Andersson, 2000; Palgi, 2000; García de Leon, Alonso Sanchez & Rodriguez Navarro, 2000). Firstly, I emphasise the importance of encouraging mothers, who act both as support and role models for these women. The difference is that these mothers were not role models in terms of higher education. Rather, they encouraged their daughters to pursue a level of education that had never been available to them.

Secondly, the need for supportive partners is crucial to take on a career in the media as a woman, as most women described problems with work-life balance, a result that has also been found in studies of women in the Swedish media elite (Djerf-Pierre, 2005).

Thirdly, mentors are needed within media organisations so that new journalists entering the field of journalism have a better chance to succeed. The mentors are perceived as very important in learning the skills of journalism and thus attaining professional capital. These results also correlate with previous studies, which have found that mentors are especially important for women to succeed in the workplace (Palgi, 2000, p. 79). Women tend to need more mentors than men to overcome workplace barriers, as their own social networks seem to be more limited (Fagenson & Jackson, 1993, pp. 103-104). The women journalists described hetero-social networks, including both black and white men and women. This is also comparable to previous research: women tend to form hetero-social networks, as male mentors are more valued than female mentors because they are perceived as having more resources to offer, and there are not as many women in high-ranking positions as there are men (Djerf-Pierre, 2006; Moore, 1988).

Thus, mentors are an important social capital for journalists in the beginning of their careers. However, as the women from South Africa advanced and became editors and managers, most of them lacked other forms of social capital, such as access to professional networks like the Africa Leadership Initiative or the South African National Editors' Forum. This is quite common for women in fields where men dominate in top positions and women form a minority (Djerf-Pierre, 2006). In the classic study *Men and Women of the Corporation* (1977), Rosabeth Moss Kanter argues that there is a double alienation of women in top positions. They are not only isolated in the organisation because of the homo-social groupings of men, but also from each other because there are so few. This resonates very well in the fields of journalism in South Africa, where there is obvious male domination in media ownership and top media positions.

There was one form of social capital that was unique for the women from South Africa. This can be labelled 'social movement capital', acquired in the struggle against apartheid. Being part of the anti-apartheid movement meant that the women journalists had access to an important network. Some people in the protests were now prominent figures within government administration and the ANC. This network helped them retain and strengthen their positions within the newsroom, as they had access to sources and information that some of their white colleagues might not have.

8.3 Affirmative action: affecting the symbolic economy

A third conclusion is that affirmative action created large differences regarding women's positions in the field when comparing South Africa and the other sub-Sharan countries. The consequences of affirmative action for black women journalists in South Africa is a concrete expression of how external circumstances contribute to the weaving of the 'nets'. The voices from the women journalists from South Africa tell us new and important lessons about the effects of affirmative action on the field of journalism. It is also a manifestation of how journalism is a semi-autonomous field, and that the sub-Saharan countries' different experiences of colonialism and apartheid have shaped the respective fields.

My conclusion is that affirmative action has had two major consequences for the group of black women journalists from South Africa in the studies. Firstly, there was a strong tension between feelings of entitlement and ambivalence. On the one hand, the struggle against apartheid had brought a strong sense of deserving their positions in the field. They saw themselves as self-made; affirmative action was a ticket into the field that they had grabbed, then worked hard and succeeded. The anti-apartheid movement had formed the habitus for the women journalists in South Africa in a way that was

turned into an asset in the field of journalism. The black women journalists grew up during the apartheid era with its political unrest, riots and widespread protests. As one participant says, they were 'struggle kids'. Anti-apartheid newspapers taught them not to incorporate an *us and them* view. This brought a sense of the right to speak out and have a place in society, but also that they could use these rights in a concrete way. This was a positive asset for them. The personal struggle, during a difficult time, brought with it experiences that would prove valuable to leaders in the media: a commitment to human rights and the courage to speak out and act against perceived injustice.

However, in the 2010s, many of the women media mangers who themselves had entered the field through quotas thought that it had its time and place. Now, when they themselves were responsible for employing journalists, they were quite negative towards affirmative action. Their experience was that the Employment Equity Act had created incompetence in the field, meaning that journalists had been hired and promoted on the wrong grounds.

This negative perception of quotas might be rooted in their own ambivalence about their entitlement to their positions; in my study from 2004, there was a sense of insecurity and lack of confidence among the black women journalists. Several of them perceived themselves as merely a product that justified the newsrooms towards the Employment Equity Act. Thus, there was a perception of a dual form of affirmative action. They attained access to the field of journalism precisely because they were women, but also *because* they were black, which meant that they also belonged to another class. Consequently, the women stepped onto the field simultaneously carrying two forms of negative equity—partly the female gender, which in itself often implies a negative equity, and partly the inherited negative cultural capital that still arises from being black in South Africa.

Several of the women journalists from South Africa described how they used compensatory strategies (cf. Löfgren-Nilsson, 2010) because their perception was that they had to perform more and better than men. This involved very hard work and spending long hours at the editorial office. These doubts were most evident in my first interview study, conducted in 2004. Almost ten years later, in 2013, the women I interviewed expressed a stronger sense of self-confidence. They had proved themselves worthy, and it was no longer a stigma having entered the field through qutoas. However, despite having advanced in the field, they still experienced the same lack of language skills and level of education as the journalists interviewed in 2004. It is notable that in 2013, almost 20 years after the end of the apartheid regime, it was still considered a stigma to be a black woman in journalism. This indicates prob-

lems with the transformation towards equality and diversity in the field of journalism in South Africa.

Secondly, quotas that were installed to level out inequalities were not effective in changing power relations within the field. The male, mostly white domination was maintained, even though there was a larger number of black men. In spite of having succeeded in the field, most of the women media managers that I interviewed experienced a strong male hegemony within the media of South Africa.

The question that arises is, of course, what effect affirmative action—in propelling women past traditional border guards to the top of media companies—has had on redefining the field of journalism as such. Contemporary feminist media theory, in studying editorial structures, has not fully considered the consequences of complex systems partly built on affirmative action, such as those in South Africa. To grasp the value of affirmative action, its impact on organisational structure and on those included in the quotas, these consequences must be taken into account.

8.4 Gender as symbolic capital: strategies in the fields

The fourth conclusion is that the women journalists face different gender logics in the field of journalism, depending on which country they are from. The value of gender as symbolic capital can depend on how it relates to characteristics linked to masculinity and femininity in specific fields of journalism. According to Moi (1991), gender as a symbolic capital will take different values, depending on political and social context. Being a woman and carrying a woman's habitus might not be the same in all fields of journalism.

There were some shared experiences in how the male norm was constructed and perceived among the women in the studied sub-Saharan countries. Given national variations, women generally live in a vulnerable situation in this region. All the women shared common experiences of how men demanded to be respected and treated in certain ways. The male dominance could, however, be manifested in various ways in concrete, everyday practices. Some had experienced men refusing to talk to them when asking for interviews, or the astonishment they were met with when walking into a boardroom as an economy reporter. Others have the perception that a woman manager in journalism should not be authoritative and demanding. The women journalists had experienced negative valuations of female editors, such as women lack integrity. They had been harassed and their job had been sabotaged by colleagues. Thus, they had experienced being excluded, diminished, neglected or talked down to by men; i.e. what Bourdieu conceptualises as acts of symbolic violence. There was a perceived men's club within journalism and a perceived glass ceiling at mid-level or senior management.

However, the field of journalism in South Africa, and its gender logic, also bore many traces of apartheid and colonialism. Journalism is a semi-autonomous field, influenced and partly dependent on other fields surrounding it. Gender is, in itself, part of the general social field that cuts through all fields. In this particular setting, the women experienced those in charge of the field as 'a white man's club'. The perception was that some black women editors had been used as 'window-dressing', meaning that in practice another editor had been making the decisions. Additionally, the notion was that a particular black female habitus with a more 'white' appearance and dialect, was more viable in the field. Consequently, the female gender was perceived as a negative asset by the black women journalists.

These perceptions tell us something about the doxa of the field. My conclusion is that there was a white male norm that constitutes the foundation of the doxa in the field of journalism in South Africa. This doxa shaped the gender logic of the field and was expressed in concrete practices. Even though the aim of this thesis was not to fully identify and describe the doxa, some aspects of it needed to be discussed, especially concerning how doxa is related to the gender logic of the field. This became evident at the 2010 FIFA World Cup and the coverage of prostitution and trafficking. The news media set out to promote nation-building and the Rainbow Nation. There was no focus on negative news; instead, the media strived to create a sense of belonging in a nation battling with so many challenges. However, the result was a masculine media discourse, which emphasised that sports/soccer is a man's game. This also included a naturalisation of prostitution. There was a complete absence in the media coverage of a discussion of the post-colonial situation that the country once again found itself in. Rich, white Western men expected to travel to Africa and have access to the bodies of black, African women as part of the entertainment. The media coverage instead focused on issues such as the fear of white men contracting HIV/AIDS and a possible boom in the sex industry.

This illustrates gender logic in practice; a general, male-dominated white perspective in journalism, where gender, class and race are subordinated under other values such as nationalism. There was a 'symbolic annihilation' (Tuchman, 1978) of the issue, as prostitution and trafficking as a social problem was not considered important. When prostitution was covered, no women who were affected were allowed to speak for themselves.

There were different strategies used to navigate in their 'nets' between the women. My conclusion is that gender in certain situations had another value as symbolic capital in the fields of journalism for the women from Uganda, Nigeria, Zambia and Ethiopia, and this affected their strategies. A very specific circumstance that appeared in the experiences of the women media

managers from these countries was that femininity was regarded as an asset. Thus, their lived experiences of the gender logic of the field was quite different from that of their colleagues in South Africa. The women encompassed a specific African femininity characterised by responsibility, hard work and orderliness, which was juxtaposed with a masculinity characterised as unreliable and lazy. In other words, it seemed these women media managers were regarded as a social embodiment of certain characteristics, a mindset often found within African feminism (Connell, 2011). In this context, the characteristics that women were regarded as embodying were connected to leadership. Consequently, the strategy used was to *maximise* the matter of gender. Responsibility and orderliness might also be regarded as linked to motherhood, a central concept within African feminisms (Acholonu, 1995; Chilisa & Ntseane, 2010, p. 618). The relationship between leadership and motherhood in the field of journalism in sub-Saharan Africa is a notion that would be interesting to further investigate.

The women journalists in these sub-Saharan countries actually described how they had used their positions of power to change the practices of journalism. The strategy of being 'one of the girls' (cf. van Zoonen, 1998) was a way forward in the field of journalism. They were critical of the male-oriented news reporting and agenda. Instead, they promoted gender sensitive issues. Their description of the issues they had actively sought to cover is strongly related to the concept of 'empowerment' that African feminist theorists have continued to develop (Mannathoko, 1992, pp. 78-79). Their promotion of coverage of basic needs is especially essential for women, such as access to clean water and health care, and also involved giving a voice to women and providing them with an opportunity to influence decisions that concern their families and their societies.

8.5 The semi-autonomous fields: political and economic forces

The final conclusion concerns how journalism is always interwoven in a larger setting. It is a semi-autonomous field that is related to the political and the economic field. This affects the logic in the fields that in turn affects the gender logic and the opportunities and obstacles for the women within the field.

One experience of the relation between the political field and the journalism field that was shared between women from several of the sub-Saharan countries was the perception that the appointment of leading positions within the fields was dominated by a political logic. In these cases, other loyalties outside the fields mattered. State-owned media appointed top media managers, who knew very little about journalism.

Another example of the relation between these two fields is the nationalistic media discourse surrounding the 2010 FIFA World Cup. The political goal of promoting the 'rainbow nation' was prioritised instead of investigating the flaws of the tournament.

The field of journalism is also related to the economic field. One conclusion is that this relation can serve both as an advantage and a disadvantage for the women within it. All the women journalists in my studies experienced emerging media markets, which had opened doors. In the case of South Africa, there was, after 1994, a growing new market of black media consumers, including women, as the black middle class expanded. Thus, white media entrepreneurs searched for black women journalists who were able to cater to the needs and interests of this group.

However, simultaneously, there is a global media crisis that involves diminishing audiences and declining revenues. Journalism is struggling to survive. My conclusion is that this created a tardiness in the progression towards gender equality in the field of journalism, albeit in different ways. In South Africa, the perception was that there was little room for progression towards more diversity, while the media companies were fighting to make ends meet. Furthermore, as people held on to their jobs when times were bad, there was little circulation in senior media positions. In Zambia and Uganda, the media crisis led to low salaries for women, who sometimes were not even paid at all. The result was that these women felt compelled to leave the field of journalism.

This brings us to a larger discussion about what structural changes in the media field mean for women in journalism. An important question that arises is, in what context is being a woman regarded as an asset? Journalism in Uganda, Zambia, Nigeria and Ethiopia are struggling with marginalisation, bad revenues and declining press freedom. It is in these pressing environments that some women have managed to make careers, as they are regarded as the ideal media worker: one who is deeply dedicated to the profession, works hard, is dependable, keeps order and has no outside job interests or responsibilities. Without undermining the statements of these women on femininity as an asset, it can be questioned whether men would have accepted these working conditions. Further, if women's hard work is coupled with their subordination, will this ultimately give media management positions a low status? The 'velvet ghetto' (Creedon, 1989), noticed in journalism around the world, and especially in Eastern Europe (Franks, 2013, pp. 50-51; Dobek-Ostrowska, 2012, p. 35; Byerly, 2011), seems to be emerging in these national settings as well.

The question remains of what options are open to these women besides leaving the profession. Consequently, almost all women have one strategy in

common: the plan to leave the field of journalism. They saw their future, their happiness and their prosperity in other fields. Arguably, the fact that many, and indeed most, women journalists in my study felt compelled to leave is a phenomenon not only encountered in Africa. In South Africa, however, incentives and structures propelling these exits seem to vary from those presented in previous studies. What this thesis has shown is that Bourdieu's field theory can be applied to the analysis of gender and journalism in very different national contexts. Further studies will need to be undertaken to gather more knowledge about gender and media in South Africa, for example, studies involving both white and black women as well as white and black men. Given its very unique history, South Africa, as this thesis has shown, may also have a very unique matrix of overlapping strata defining the 'nets' and the gender logic in the field of journalism. There is an evident need for more qualitative case studies with voices from the global South to gain a deeper understanding of the structures of the 'nets' for women in journalism.

In conclusion, the 'nets' are not the cumulative effect of different obstacles and structures. Rather, as the results of the thesis show, the 'nets' typically manifest themselves as concrete situations in which an individual finds herself, and where the value and sum of different forms of capital allows access to some parts of the field but not to others. Consequently, women tend to navigate in these 'nets' or 'play the game' in different ways (Moi, 1991, pp. 1022). They used different strategies in different fields of journalism, depending on historical, social, economic and political settings. The South African context is unique and shapes the opportunities and obstacles for women in the field of journalism, as well as how they act in order to navigate and succeed in the field. South Africa is also an example of how the lingering heritage of colonialism and apartheid creates situational contexts that the black women journalists find themselves in. Yet, given some differences, a main conclusion is that their composition of symbolic capital—professional, social, and cultural—has, by itself, not been enough to grant black women access to the highest positions within the media elite: neither in South Africa nor in other African countries included in the study.

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