

To what extent does gender stereotyping
affect the careers of female journalists in
France and Ireland?

By Barbara Debout

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for MA in Journalism &
Media Communications (QQI) Faculty of
Journalism & Media Communications

Griffith College, Dublin

August 2019

Declaration

I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the program of study leading to the award of the MA in Journalism & Media Communications, is my own; based on my personal study and/or research, and that I have acknowledged all material and sources used in its preparation. I also certify that I have not copied in part or whole or otherwise plagiarised the work of anyone else, including other students.

Signed:

Dated:

Abstract

To what extent does gender stereotyping affect the careers of female journalists in France and Ireland?

The purpose of this dissertation is to analyse whether the increasing number of women working in newsrooms stands for equality. This research is based on two countries France and Ireland. To conduct this research, seventeen female journalists in total were interviewed. All the participants are working in print and digital news media across France and Ireland. The participants, even though passionate by their job, reported a certain discrimination in the workplace. This discrimination covers the gender pay gap, the problematic around motherhood, the ongoing sexism in the newsrooms and a fewer women can break through the glass ceiling. Journalists who participate in this research gave ideas to potentially improve female journalists' work lives.

Table of Contents

<u>Content</u>	Page
<u>Declaration</u>	2
<u>Abstract</u>	3
<u>Acknowledgment</u>	6
<u>Chapter 1: Introduction</u>	7
<u>Chapter 2: Literature review</u>	10
2.1 Introduction	10
2.2 Overview	10
2.3 A short history of women in the workplace in Ireland and France	14
2.4 A short history of women's entry in journalism	17
2.5 The feminisation of journalism education	22
<u>Chapter 3: Methodology</u>	26
3.1 Introduction	26
3.2 Research aim	
3.3 The interview process	27
3.4 Interview type	
3.5 Conducting interviews	28
3.6 Interviewee selections	29
3.7 Ethical concern	30
3.8 Identification of potential challenges	31
<u>Chapter 4: Results</u>	32
4.1 The career: ambition, achievements and difficulties	32
4.2 Harassment and intimidation of female journalists	40
4.3 The gender pay gap	46
4.4 A major difficulty: the motherhood	51
4.5 Who writes what in French and Irish newsrooms?	57
4.6 A profession under pressure?	61
4.7 Potential solutions?	63
<u>Chapter 5: Analysis</u>	73

<u>Chapter 6: Conclusion</u>	75
<u>Bibliography</u>	78
<u>Appendices</u>	81

Acknowledgment

Firstly, I would like to express my sincere gratitude towards my supervisor, Ellie O'Byrne for her help, guidance, support and patience. She has directed me towards the right path during the period of my research work. I would also like to thank Griffith College and the media faculty for creating a good environment for us.

I would also like to thank my family and friends for their constant support and encouragement throughout my academic journey. I would like to thank Tom Wright and Sabal Matter Al-Khateeb for the quality check. In the end, I would like to thank all the female journalists who agreed to be interviewed.

Chapter 1 - Introduction

For years the number of women working in journalism has been evolving and growing. To be more specific, numerical equality between female and male journalists has almost been achieved. In France, women constitute 46,9%* of press-card holders (no data available in Ireland). However, even though this numerical equality between male and female journalists seems encouraging, inequalities in the newsroom persist. In fact, the journalists who are suffering the most from precariousness are women**. Their access to positions with responsibilities is limited. Despite the increase of women in the profession, a strong division persists. To be more precise, women are relegated to certain activities or sectors and are excluded from others. For some, this categorization was considered normal owing to “the feminine writing style” with women being naturally a better fit for certain subjects or sections. By sheer force of habit, it now appears, as participants reported, that it is mainly because of gender stereotypes that this split division of journalists works last still persists today.

The fact that I chose to write about this topic is not a hazard. I started to question myself about women status in journalism a few years ago. Before doing a master degree in Ireland, I did my Bachelor of journalism in Paris. Women were highly represented in my school. In my last year, while I was choosing a master to ¹complete my degree, people in the school board highly recommend me to choose the feminine press master degree saying that ‘it will fit me better’. I have nothing against this sector

¹ * CCIJP, 2017

**53,5 % freelancers, 50,2 % unemployed and less than half of employed journalists 45,1 % (Observatoire data des métiers de la presse - CCIJP 2017)

I even worked for it, but the fact that the school is naturally orienting women to work for female magazines made me think about the evolution of the field. After this episode, I started to observe female journalists during my different internships. I found out that the maternity leave, the gender pay gap and the access to high responsibility jobs were issues. I met many women who had to choose between a career - often their passion - or to found a family. I also crossed paths of female journalists who decided to work as a freelancer in order to have a more balanced life. At last, I have seen a lot of women working hard in the hope of reaching a higher position. Naturally, depending on the newspaper I worked in I could see a difference. Some places seem more equal than others and for this reason, I had the feeling that asking female journalists through Ireland and France how they felt in the field was the best to understand how journalism and his feminisation were evolving.

This research will consist of five more chapters.

Chapter 2: Literature Review: This chapter summarizes the sources relative to this topic and serves as a historical background.

Chapter 3 – Methodology: This chapter is about the adopted approach in order to conduct my research. It will also indicate how the interviewees were selected and the questionnaire will be explain.

Chapter 4 – Results: In this chapter, the results will be detailed.

Chapter 5 – Discussion: In this last chapter three topics will be discussed: soft news vs hard news: who writes what in the newsroom; A profession under pressure? and the Potential solutions.

Chapter 6 – Conclusion: In this chapter, the findings of this research will be conclude.

Chapter 2: Literature review

2.1 Introduction

Research shows that the profession of journalists has undergone many significant changes for years. The almost complete numerical equality of the field is one of the main changes. Women are now 46,9% of press-card holders in France, (no data available in Ireland). But despite the positive change behind this growing feminisation of the field, we can observe that this is not the case in the hierarchy and that women remain excluded from many fields (business, political, economic) because of persistent gender stereotypes that impact their roles within the newsroom.

2.2 Overview

The book entitled “Women and journalism” written by Suzanne Franks in 2013, explains the real situation of female journalists. The author highlights that the field is evolving, as the role of women in the workplace. “The news cycles are shorter and the demand for a 24/7 media presence is a reality just as women continue to shoulder a disproportionate burden in the home”, reported the author. In this piece, Suzanne Franks approaches the feminisation of the field and enlightens the problems around women. She starts the book with a chapter on the feminisation of journalism education, then she approaches the place of women in editorial offices, the exceptions and the

feminised news agenda. This piece of literature is a good framework to understand the situation of female journalists thanks to anecdotal evidences. It is a short piece of only 85 pages but it helps give the guidelines and information on further research for every point she makes.

According to many specialists, women do not climb up in power hierarchies and are excluded from many fields of journalism or sections in the newspaper because of their feminine writing style. “The gender of journalism. Ambivalent attitudes of the feminisation of a profession” written by Erik Neveu in 2000, approach the feminine writing style in a complete way. The author shows his journey to find the truth about the feminine writing style. In the beginning, he explains that all of journalism’s students learn the same methods to write articles and produce contents, there is no distinction between women and men. The difference appears after when women are often confined to write “soft news.” According to him, there are at least three registers which constitute this kind of journalism. The three cannot be detailed in this literature review but an overview of the first one can be written. The first one is called “the journalism of slice of life” or “ethnographic journalism”, this kind of report is often short and about ordinary people. Because women are considered to be more empathetic than men, they are often in charge of that kind of story. If the writing style represents a large part of the book. There is also another interesting chapter for the dissertation called: “Gender and power in action in the journalistic work.” This last aspect mentioned, approaches the social and cultural mechanisms around the feminisation of journalism. It explains how a “game of social taxonomies” associate the feminine at the inside universe, at the domestic sphere, the family, the private life, the introspection and the ruse - while the masculine is associated with the public space, the politic field, the

power, the righteousness. This literature piece is necessary not to expose the problematic but to understand the underlying mechanisms.

Another piece is interesting for the subject. It is entitled "Does Gender Determine Journalists' Professional Views? A reassessment based on cross-national evidence." Written by Hanitzsch, Thomas & Hanusch, Folker in 2012, the authors contradict the feminine writing style argument. They assume that many scholars have found no pieces of evidence to suggest that men and women differ significantly in terms of their role conceptions. According to them, few have taken a truly comparative approach. Therefore, they realised a survey into gender differences in journalists' professional views in 18 diverse countries around the world and found that the first theory was a myth. This literature piece shows that men and women have no differences in the newsroom as a journalist or editor in chief.

Another theme must be addressed for this dissertation: the casualisation of female journalist. The most relevant literature piece found for this theme is in French and it is entitled "the feminin journalism: dynamics of specialisations, organisational challenges and information treatment" (Gaillard, Frisque, Saitta). This literature piece stresses the inequalities in the field. Female journalists are more affected by unemployment than their male counterparts - 21,2% of female journalists are freelance versus 15,8% men and 0,5% of women are editor in chief versus 2,2% of men (French data, 2010). This piece analyses the statute of women and men in print media, the different mechanisms that lead to maintaining this gender gap, the pre-build thematic seen as feminin, the hierarchy, the editorial and commercial strategies and the use of feminine thematic to conserve a gender order. According to the authors, the feminisation of the field is a

real concern regarding the profession. This piece allows a reflection on gender construction, on the dynamics around it but also on the journalist's profession itself with its evolutions and its challenges.

For this dissertation, it is obvious that some successful women in the field have to be mentioned. Their recognition is central to the topic to understand the whole process behind their success. The most relevant literature piece about this topic is entitled "What Does It Take for female Journalists to gain professional recognition?" (Yong Z. and Francis L. F. Lee, 2013). This article compares the characteristics of 814 female and male Pulitzer Prize winners from 1917 to 2010. It explains that female journalists winners are more likely to have a metropolitan upbringing, a journalism major, and a graduate degree. This piece also explains how women can overcome gender stereotypes in competing for recognition. Here is written an overview of the situation when it comes to gender disparities in the field. They approach the gender pay gap, the difficulties female journalists have to access senior positions in the newsroom and the career advancement opportunities for women. But this piece is more focused on professional recognition in the form of professional awards. It approaches the theme by comparing the characteristics of female and male Pulitzer Prize in Journalism winners as I said above and, it borrows the "compensation model" developed in political science. This model explains that "to compete effectively in a professional field, members of a marginal social group have to compensate for their disadvantages by having more resources than and/or by exceeding the qualifications of those from the established groups." In other words, women in professional fields, such as journalism field have to work much harder to achieve the same results or the get the same recognition as men.

2.3 A short history of women in the workplace in Ireland and France

Before discussing the main subject, it is necessary to come back to the history of women in the workplace. For centuries, women were entirely relegated at the domestic sphere (De Beauvoir, 1949). If we go back in time we can lean on Engels writings “The division of labor is purely primitive, between the sexes only. The man fights in the wars, goes hunting and fishing, procures the raw materials of food and the tools necessary for doing so. The woman looks after the house and the preparation of food and clothing, cooks, weaves, sews. They are each master in their own sphere: the man in the forest, the woman in the house” (Engels, 1884). Furthermore, in *The Second Sex*, Simone De Beauvoir, use Engels’ theory to explain the patriarchal society which prevented women to work and naturally equality. According to the feminist author, in the primitive division of work, men and women are divided into two classes but between them there is equality. While the man is hunting and fishing, the woman is in the home but she is working productively and has an important role in the economy. Through the discovery of copper, tin, bronze, iron and with the apparition of the ploughing, agriculture extends. Intensive work began to clear forests and nurture the fields. This is why the man uses the service of other men forced to live in slavery. Private property then appears: master of slaves and earth, the man also become the woman’s owner. From the author’s point of view, that is the world-historic defeat of the female sex (De Beauvoir, 1949).

According to Didier Lett, writer of men and women during the middle age, women were working during the middle ages, they were doctors, agricultors and even blacksmith. But, between the 15th and the 17th-century, things were changing. Women had to stay

home because they were considered as physically weak, even more, they had to look after their children. The denigration of women's work took its course to achieve at the 19th-century - time that historians are calling "the victory of bourgeois values"(Didier Lett, 2013). Although those values triumphed in society - the popular layers never had the luxury to apply these values. Thereby, some women were still working, but they were paid less and at times, not even not paid at all (Didier Lett, 2013).

At the 20th-century, women's access to work improved considerably. Here the focus will be on France first. In 1907, a law enables women to obtain a salary, if their husbands give consent. During the first world war (1914-1918), women were replacing men in manufactures. In 1965, they obtained the right to work without their husbands' authorisation. Then in 1972, an act imposed the equal pay for men and women. In spite of everything and even if today most of the women are working and have access to the job they want, they earn according to the French Observatory of Inequalities, in average 18% less than their male counterparts (France, 2019). In Ireland, this number stands at 13,9% (Eurostat, gender pay gap statistics, 2017).

Women's work access and education are closely linked. A short overview seems important. Girls' access to education took a long time to develop in France. The first woman to get her national degree was Julie Victoire Daubié, in 1861. After her, women had to wait to get access to secondary school. Education became the same for boys and girls after the first world war in 1924. In 1938, women got the right to go to university without their husbands' authorisation .

Regarding Ireland, on Easter Monday 1916, the poet and rebel leader Patrick Pearse read out the promise of equality addressed to Irish men and Irish women. The proclamation declared an end to British rule, but it also guaranteed religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities for all citizens. It committed to universal suffrage — extraordinary for the time. If we compare, French women obtained the right to vote in 1944. This progressist text, well meaning, has maybe helped Irish women to be more visible in the political landscape but not on the labour market.

Historically, as everywhere in Europe at the end of the 19th century, the place of women in Ireland was at home (Máire Cross, 2012). Motherhood and wifely duties were central. And with good reasons, their domestic role was written in the Irish Constitution (Evelyn Mahon, Nancy Bolain, 1994). Until 1973, a law prohibited their involvement in the civil service and the banks: the marriage bar. Once this law was lifted, female employment increased significantly in the country. It almost tripled in the 40-year period (Sheehan, Berkery, Lichrou, 2017). However, on a European scale, Ireland had the lowest rate of female workers. They represented 32% of the labour force in 1990 (Evelyn Mahon, Nancy Bolain, 1994). But afterwards, for the majority of women, these changes have led to their role change. Employment growth in Ireland, as elsewhere in the EU, has been predominantly related to females in the last three decades (Sheehan, Berkery, Lichrou, 2017).

Nowadays, the number of women who have higher paying jobs increased as well. This is partly due to the number of women in tertiary education. In the period of 1997–2005, the female participation rate in the third-level education overtook that of males (Sheehan, Berkery, Lichrou, 2017). By 2003, the female proportion of entrants to Irish

universities was 58% (Fitzpatrick Associates and O Connell, 2005). More women aged 18–24 years had a third-level qualification than men, and this gap had been increased between 2004 and 2013 from 6.8 to 12.6% (CSO, 2013).

Published in March 2019, the PwC's Women in Work Index - created to examine the representation and welfare of women at work among 33 OECD countries, demonstrated that female representation in the workplace has improved in Ireland. On a list composed of 32 countries, Ireland is ranked 17 which mean it improved of seven places in one year. This study was published in the year 2017. This report does not mean that there are no gender inequalities in Ireland, but it can be used to demonstrate the progress made.

2.4 A short history of women's entry in journalism

“It is well known that the journalism field has been misogynistic and has more barriers to entry for women in comparison to other professional industries (Rieffel, 2003). Often, when they had the opportunity to work in the press industry, they occupied subordinate fontions (Rieffel, 2003). It is certain that the name of particular famous journalists who marked the history still echoes. Some female journalists, posthumously or not, are pretty famous and give the feeling that women had a place of choice in the field since a long time. This is an illusion. Those women were known partly because they were talentuous and they wanted to make the world a better place, but also because they were pioneers in this field. For two centuries, female journalists are struggling to create a gender balance in this profession. In this research, some will be mentioned. In 1789, during the time of the French revolution, Louise Félicité de Karélio

founded le Journal d'État et du Citoyen - The newspaper of the state and the citizen. She was followed by Caroline Rémy also called Séverine at the end of the 19th century. She was the editor of Le Cri du Peuple - The People's Cry, thanks to her position, Caroline had the opportunity to carry on her fight for women empowerment and their right of vote. For years, she masculinised her name to sign articles in other newspapers. Over the same period, the famous Marguerite Durand had enabled women to enter the journalism field. She started by publishing articles in different national newspapers until she decided to create "La Fronde", a female magazine exclusively designed by women. Today, this magazine is considered as the ancestor of female press in the field. Across the Atlantic, Ida B. Wells, an Afro American journalist, was famous for her campaigning journalism about civil rights. In 1889, she acquires the anti segregationist newspaper Free Speech and Headlight. She started to investigate the racist lynching on black people in the United States. She highly contributed to give a public voice to those who did not have any. In the area of reporting, the pioneer is Nellie Bly. In 1880, she sent a letter to the editor in chief of the Pittsburg Dispatch to denounce sexism, he offered her a job. She started by infiltrating the working class. Her photographs and articles were well describing the difficult plights of those workers. After the success of those first issues, she was officially an investigative journalist. In 1887, The New York World of Joseph Pulitzer asked her to pass herself off as a woman with mental health issues to investigate how people were treated in mental institution. That report caused a scandal and propelled her career. Finally, I will only mention two other female journalists who contributed to change the field in the last century: Martha Gellhorn and Veronica Guerin. Martha is the first war female correspondent. She reported on the Great Depression in the United States, she was the only woman who landed on the beach during the D-day

Normandy invasion and the first to write about the discovery of the concentration camp. Dachau. She paved the way of war reporting for women. Veronica Guerin an Irish investigative journalist, is famous for her tenacity. She gave her life for information. She was specialist of criminal affairs especially linked to drug traffic. At that time, she started to receive death threats. But she does not stop to investigate. In 1996, she was murdered and became sadly famous. Since her murder, Veronica Guerin is an icon of freedom of speech. She decided to act where the government seems powerless: in dismantling trafficking networks.

Thanks to their courage, determination and tenacity, the few journalists mentioned above slowly opened the close doors of journalism to women. If I chose the word slowly in my precedent sentence it is, of course, because the profession took long to be feminised but also because those well known journalists mentioned above had to behave like their male counterparts to fit in. Yong Z. Volz and Francis L. F. Lee, mentioned an interesting theory about: "Research has found that female reporters tend to adopt the male-dominated newsroom values in the selection and presentation of news to advance their careers"(Yong Z. Volz, L. F. Lee, 2013). In a way, this factor has standardized the reporter profession, inattentive of gender, in order to keep the male structure prevailed.

Generally, male-dominated workplaces have the same characteristics in every field. Men have a tendency to exert a masculine behaviour and especially when they outnumber women and this is the case in most newsrooms. "The typical male behaviour is often related to success and include political game-playing, aggressiveness, backstabbing, point-scoring and overconfidence. The mechanisms

women use to cope in male-dominated environments include mentorship and adopting participatory leadership styles like being caring, fair and encouraging, which is more attuned to their natural feminine inclination” (Martin, Barnard, 2013). But, researchers found that “contrary to this female graduate adopted uncharacteristic masculine behaviour, like self-seeking and individualistic behaviour, to survive” (Martin, Barnard, 2013). Therefore, if female journalist wants to be successful in this male-dominated environment they “seem caught between resisting and accommodating masculine politics”(Martin, Barnard, 2013). The impact on journalism has been proven. When a newsroom is run by male editors, “papers contained news with a more negative focus” while “newspapers with a high percentage of female editors appear not to differentiate between male and female reporters when assigning beats, as is apparently the case in male-dominated newsrooms” (Craft and Wanta, 2004). The lack of gender diversity impact female journalists and audiences, but somehow impoverished the content of the publication as well. “When media are overwhelmingly male (and still, alas, overwhelmingly white), they just aren’t anywhere near as good as they could be,” said Geneva Overholser, a Women’s Media Center board member, Pulitzer Prize-winning editor and former ombudsman for The Washington Post in a statement (Time, 2014).

The thinking exposed above could explain why the feminisation of journalism has not led to significant changes. Moreover, young female journalists are often advised at school or when they are hired in a newspaper for the first time to write for sections considered as pertinent for women. Lifestyle, culture, education, health or social issues are the most common ones. In 1973, a confidential BBC report entailed hostile discourse against female journalists in the company even if the first UK gender equality legislation had passed three years before (Suzanne Franks, 2013). On the look of

female audiences, a senior manager observed that women “have class-bound voices unsuitable for news reading and may introduce emotion” (Suzanne Franks, 2013). Regarding women reporters, he found that they could not work “in the cold and wet and are not able to make overnight stays on location with a man as wives would not like it” (Suzanne Franks, 2013). About the suitable issues for female, another senior male editor wrote that “he believes that women are simply not able to do hard news stories but see themselves as experts on women’s features” (Suzanne Franks, 2013). The prejudice hampering women’s ambitions in journalism is the principal cause of this slow and unequal feminisation of the field over the years.

As I wrote at the beginning of this subchapter, female journalists often occupied subaltern functions in the field for years. Those functions dominated by women have been called into question when the development of morals went sensitive. To be more precise, from 1970, when women had massively entered the labour market. According to Rémy Rieffel in his essay *The profession of journalist between 1950 and 2000*, in France in 1960, women were representing 14.3% of the journalists. During fifteen years, the growth appears slowly from 15% to 20%. After 1975, this number increased considerably. At that time, women represented 20% of the journalists, 30% in 1987 and 39% before the year 2000. It means that the percentage of women working in the field doubled in 25 years (Rieffel, 2003). According to the recent official numbers, 46,9% of the total French press cards released belong to women, and 53,1% of female journalists are asking for their first press card. Thereby, women predominate among the new entrants (Observatoire des métiers de la Presse Afdas / CCIJP).

When it comes to Ireland it is difficult to get exact numbers about female journalists. The National Union of Journalist (NUJ) do not inventory women who are working in the field. The only official numbers linked to women and journalism are from the Central Statistics Office (CSO) and are focused on education. We will lean on those numbers in the next subchapter.

Since the beginning of this feminisation of the field, we can observe a contradictory movement. On one side there is a reinforcement and on the other side, there is embrittlement. The skills are increasing, the female labour is growing but at the same time inequalities are persisting and the precarity of journalism expands. The traditional collective identity of the working place is thrown off and impact personal identities. This is why only qualitative research can drop the veil on the actual situation.

2.5 The feminisation of journalism education

Initially, journalism was not taught at university. At the end of the 19th-century, many professional journalists considered that journalism could be learned in the bosom of the newsroom. Back then, journalism was essentially literary. To learn it in an educational structure did not constitute a stake because that was a job which was based on social dispositions (Ivan Chupin, 2018). Despite this debate around journalism education, the first school appears in France in 1899. Dick Mays, a woman of letters specialized in social science, was behind this ambitious project. Quickly, the school has been diverted from its initial goal because of the political and economic tensions at the beginning of the 20th-century. After this failure, in 1924, the well-known journalism school in Lille “esj” opened. Until today, this school is seen as one the best

in France, but also as a place where humanist values are protected. A bit more than two decades later, in 1946, another training centre, the “cfj”, has been created “to achieve the ideal freedom of the press of the French Resistance”(Vincent Goulet, 2009). The journalism training at university started later, at the end of the sixties after the deep social and moral crisis that assailed France. At the same time in Ireland, the first journalism course started in the College of Commerce in Rathmines, Dublin (Nora French, 2007). As France, there were earlier tentatives. Not with the creation of journalism schools, but with an introduction of journalism education at the university. In 1908-9, some journalism lectures were organised by the Institute of Journalists in Trinity College and journalism turned into a degree subject in Queens College/University College Cork (Nora French, 2007).

The emergence of academic journalism training and the feminisation of the profession are closely linked. To be a journalist became slowly a perspective for women thanks to this academisation. Since the establishment of these courses, female students started progressively to outnumbered male in journalism classrooms (Franks, 2013). The creation of journalism training has been the gateway for women to enter in the field. An academic paper signed by Maurine Beasley and Katherine Theus looked at this subject, in it, they are wondering if ‘the ramification of the change from a male majority to a female majority among journalism students nationally’, will soon turn into “a pink-collar ghetto’ (Beasley & Theus, 1988). The two authors of the study were basing their remarks on US journalism training, which developed way faster than in Europe thanks to the creation of the journalism training at the University of Missouri in 1908, the well-known Columbia. Since then, several scholars started to study the phenomenon of journalism education popularity among women. One Australian study

named “Girls, girls, girls. A study of the popularity of journalism as a career among female teenagers and its corresponding lack of appeal...” written by Mike Grenby, Molly Kasinger, Roger Patching and Mark Pearson in 2009, caught my attention. In it, they were trying to define what makes journalism more attractive for young females and less for young males. First, it came out that in general young people chose to follow journalism training because of their teachers telling them that they have an ability for it. Still, according to the study, girls are in general more likely to perform well at English and the humanities at school, they are seeing the field as fun and even if they are rejecting the “glamorous” notion of journalism they have a tendency to name well-known and pretty journalists as an example. Moreover, “Careers advisers viewed confidence as assertiveness as key character traits for journalists, more often associated with more mature teenage girls than boys” (Grenby, Kasinger, Patching & Pearson, 2009). Regarding young males, the study found that they generally perform less in English so their teachers do not recommend journalism for them and they have a tendency to see the profession as boring, stressful and not paid enough (Grenby, Kasinger, Patching & Pearson, 2009). This study was a decade ago. If we look at the last numbers for Ireland, we observe that 61,6% of women got a third-level graduate in social science, journalism and information in 2016 (CSO Ireland, 2016). In France, there is no precise statistics about female journalism students. But if we look at the Observatory of Press Professions, we can see that there is 54% of female journalists aged between 26 and 24 years old and 52% who have less than 26 years old. In both cases, they form a gender majority and we may infer that most of those journalists have a degree in journalism.

Consequently, the feminisation of the journalism classroom is a proven fact. Men journalists often accused the feminisation of journalism when the problematic around the devaluation of journalism is raised. However, they sometimes forget to consider the academic level of female entrants on average highest than their male counterparts (Saitta & Damian-Gaillard, 2019). The feminisation of journalism increased the requirements of recruitment in the field and consequently contributed to its professionalisation (Saitta & Damian-Gaillard, 2019).

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 introduction

In order to investigate if being a woman and a news journalist is a struggle in France and Ireland, it was necessary to undertake a sufficient amount of research. The literature review was used as a basis to understand the phenomenon of the actual feminisation of journalism. To carry out the research about the social reality of female journalists today, interviews have been conducted with some of them in France and Ireland. The qualitative method has been chose to gather information. As Steinar Kvale describes in his book *InterViews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*, “the complexities of validating qualitative research need not be due to a weakness of qualitative methods, but on the contrary, may rest upon their extraordinary power to reflect and conceptualize the nature of the phenomenon investigated, to capture the complexity of the social reality.” The validation of qualitative research becomes intrinsically linked to the development of a theory of social reality (Kvale, 1938).

3.2 Research aim

The primary aim of this research is to analyse the feminisation of newsrooms in France and Ireland in order to understand the issues women potentially encounter in their everyday life as a journalist. The second aim of this research is to process the data

collected to find solutions to improve the field and make the newsroom a better, equal and safe place for women to work in both countries.

3.3 The interview process

In order to analyse and compare female journalists' issues in the field in France and Ireland, interviews have been conducted with eleven French and six journalists who work for an Irish media. The women I interviewed are very experienced in this professional, credible to provide meaningful testimonies. Some of them were well known in the media world, this is why the participants are kept anonymous. The subject being sensitive, the participants may have been uncomfortable to explain what they think about the field or what they experienced in their career if this research was not anonymous. At the beginning of each interview I reassured them that the data they give me will remain confidential. Each interview lasted around 30 to 50 minutes. This qualitative method of interviews was useful as it provided this research with in-depth data of the experiences of female journalists.

The interviews were conducted in a semi-structured format. According to William C. Adams in the Handbook of Practical Program Evaluation this method is conducted conversationally with one respondent at a time, the semi-structured interview (SSI) employs a blend of closed- and open-ended questions, often accompanied by follow-up why or how questions. The dialogue can meander around the topics on the agenda—rather than adhering slavishly to verbatim questions as in a standardized survey—and may delve into totally unforeseen issues. Relaxed, engaging, in-person SSIs can be longer than telephone surveys, although they seldom last as long as focus

groups. About one hour is considered a reasonable maximum length for SSIs in order to minimize fatigue for both interviewer and respondent (Adams, 2015).

3.4 Interview type

Most of the interviews were face to face. If a meeting was logistically difficult to arrange due to geographic distance or scheduling issues, I organised video conferences with my interviewees. I found it important to meet the participants and this should not be underestimated, the relationship between the participant and the researcher has to be about mutual trust and it is easier to create an enabling environment for participation if the interviews are conducted in person.

3.5 Conducting interviews

Trying to have many participants in both countries was the most challenging part. Nowadays and especially in this field, journalists are busy. As a researcher, you have to convince them to participate and it can take weeks and sometimes months to plan interviews. The first woman journalist I interviewed helped me to readjust my questionnaire for the following interviews. Over the appointments and depending on the content, I worked on my time management. The questionnaire was first composed of 14 questions. After a reassessment, I decided to ask 12 questions to each of my interviewees. Depending on the interviewees' statuses (freelancers, editors or employees), I modified some questions before the interview.

3.6 Interviewee selections

For an overview of the situation, I chose my interviewees depending on different factors. I started by selecting female journalists who have high responsibilities in newsrooms in France and Ireland. Secondly, I established a list of female journalists hired on a permanent contract as well as freelancers who are working for newspapers.

Once this step was completed, I listed their emails. If I could not find their email addresses, I would contact them by twitter or I called their newspapers. For some of the journalists I intend to contact, it was a bit more complicated. If they were not replying by email or twitter, I asked utilized my established network in the field (thanks to my past internship), to put me in contact with them directly.

The most common email I have sent was presented under the form of an invitation to take part in academic research. In each email sent to the participants, I attached the consent form as well as the interviewee information sheet. If they were not replying after ten days, I sent them a reminder email.

In France, I chose to interview women who were working for the Figaro (newspaper), the Monde Diplomatique (Monthly newspaper), Paris Match (Weekly news magazine), La Revue (bi-monthly news and analysis magazine), and freelancers who were working for different news titles as a photojournalist or written press journalist.

In Ireland, I chose to interview women who were working for the Irish Times (newspaper), the Journal.ie (news website), the Irish Independent (newspaper) and

freelancers who were working for different news titles as a photojournalist or written press journalist.

When I established the list, I tried to have the same number of interviewees but it was a bit complicated to have exactly the same number in both countries. However, I made sure to have the same unique profiles in France and Ireland.

The stories I have collected from the interviews have helped me achieve a better understanding of the issues female journalists were facing in general. I was also able to compare the difference between the two countries even if the difficulties they met in their work-life were the same from one country to another. Thus, they all shared suggestions of what could improve the media sector in the long term.

3.7 Ethical Concern

It is common when using the qualitative research method that the researcher can face ethical issues. The researcher has to lead face to face interviews and has responsibilities regarding the content of those. In order to avoid ethical issues, I have been careful concerning the anonymity, confidentiality, informed consent, researchers' potential impact on the participants and vice versa. In order to ensure that I made sure that their participation was voluntary, that they were aware of the potential risks, I promised their anonymity, I wrote detailed measures on the interviewee information sheet and the consent form. I am aware that qualitative research is sometimes defined as interpretive research, and as interpretations can be incorrect or biased, the findings may be controversial. To avoid misinterpretation, I have been careful to translate

perfectly the French testimonies into English and I made sure that the English testimonies remain the same word for word.

3.8 Identification of potential challenges

As I mentioned in section 3.6 earlier, the challenge I faced was to get to interview my participants. Since my journalists' network is more developed in France, It was easier for me to interview French journalists. If I look back, it was more difficult for me to get an appointment with Irish journalists. While some never replied to my mail invitations, many were too busy at work. The second issue I faced was the lack of time to interview all the participants and to transcribe all the interviews. In retrospect, I should have balance better the number of French journalists I interviewed with the number of Irish journalists. This would have saved me time in transcribing the interviews, even if I think that the numerical difference will not impact the content of this thesis, this is reflection I have after all. Lastly, I could have faced some difficulties with the action recording my interviews, but everything went well. My participants were informed that they were recorded and the sound quality was good enough to perfectly transcribed.

Chapter 4: Results

Data analysis revealed overarching themes, which are divided in eight subchapters: the career: ambitions, achievements and difficulties, harassment and intimidation of female journalists, the gender pay gap; a major difficulty: the motherhood; soft news vs hard news: who writes what in the newsroom; A profession under pressure?; Potential solutions.

4.1 The career: achievements, difficulties and motivation

The participants for this study were all asked about their education, how they started-out in journalism, the difficulties they faced in broad terms and their motivation. Three elements are evident: all participants are driven by a real passion for their job, a majority have been slow to stabilize in the field and most of them overwork and are being underpaid.

Primarily, all the female journalists interviewed for this dissertation are postgraduates. 47% of them followed journalism training, while the others studied different topics. The academic disciplines chosen by this second group are often the same and have been used as gateways to enter journalism training or the profession straight away. Thereby, topics such as history, literature, international affairs or art have been studied by most of the group. The transition from education to the workforce represents an important step in the field. There are different ways to enter the profession and, as reported by most of the subjects, it is not easy to get a foothold in the field whether in

France or in Ireland. 47% (8) of the participants combined internships / fixed-term contracts with freelancing in order to start their career. Regarding the nine remaining participants: two subjects had a permanent contract just after their final internship; three subjects had a job after their graduation and two of them took a part-time work / training course and have been hired subsequently by the company they were working for. For most of them, their achievements showed a strong motivation to pursue their goals no matter what it takes.

An Irish interviewee explained her approach into journalism: “I started when I was 16, writing musical reviews for a local publication when I was at school.” For years, she dabbled in journalism at school and through different college radio stations or student newspapers. In parallel, she studied English and history before completing a master’s degree in gender studies. “I finished my degrees at Cork university (UCC), but then didn’t know how to get in journalism properly as a career and I didn’t know anybody in the field”, she said. A year after sending her résumé “to every radio station that she could think of in Ireland” without getting any response, she went to Galway where she “managed to get a radio show in a college station there” while working in retail. At the end of the year, her mother “saw an ad for a postgraduate journalism training course” where she could work and study at the same time. “I applied for that and this what kicked off my career”, she said. During her training she was earning “very little money” but got a job right after it. (Appendix A)

A French participant mentioned that “journalism has always been her calling.” For her, there is only one type of journalism: “foreign coverage.” Having studied the history of the Middle-East, for her “it was important to learn the language and the history of a

country that I was passionate about.” Back then, “it was cool to not follow journalism training”, she said. For years, in order to learn Arabic, she did all the “small jobs” she could do in “Egypt”, “Yemen” and “Lebanon” before studying “geopolitics.” Still thinking of becoming a journalist, she came back to France and worked for a newspaper “for a few months” to obtain “the press card” and went to Iraq where she “couldn’t make a living” but “always found a way” to make things work. In 2004, something came up:

“A French newspaper needed to replace someone for a seven-day period - they were not covering my fees and told me that there wouldn’t be any offer of employment. In the end, I was hired and I’ve never left.” (Appendix M)

A French interviewee who took a journalism training course remembered “not having any final internship even though every other student got one.” In order to find a job after graduating, she decided to write “a fan letter” to a newspaper. She didn’t get a journalist position but a “fixed-term contract working in the archives.” By the end of her contract, she started to “regularly freelance” for them:

“It didn’t end well so I worked as a freelancer for several Swiss newspapers, I wrote a book and ran a website at the same time. In addition, I was writing book reviews and I started to gain a readership. At that time, there were not many people running kinds of websites, so we were like a small community where we would know each other. One of them was working for the newspaper I work for today. When they needed to hire someone, they asked me.” (Appendix P)

The testimonies of the three participants mentioned above show the difficulty in starting-out as a journalist. They have been chosen here to illustrate the approach taken by the majority of journalists interviewed. As mentioned at the beginning of this subchapter, one of the elements that came out of this study is that the female journalists' interviewed reported being underpaid for the time and effort that they invest in their career.

A French participant reported feeling that her work weighed on her life like a "priesthood" that "never stops":

"You work all the time, and when you finally have a rest, there is always a breaking news that comes out and it's like hell on earth. You are a journalist day and night, it can be really heavy sometimes." (Appendix I)

A French photojournalist confessed to "working too much" and having difficulties in having a "social and private life outside her profession." (Appendix G)

An Irish participant, a news editor, reported that "the pay is probably the worst thing":

"I think it's really unfair on people that they are not paid fairly. I also think that the hours can be quite difficult to manage and there is a high expectation on what people would be willing to put in, particularly the under 20s and 30s ,and

I'm not sure this is fair. I don't know if it's necessary or just a legacy from back in the day. It never really changes.” (Appendix D)

A French participant, a journalist specialized in new technology, reported working “50 to 60 hours a week”:

“I dislike the working conditions, which are too difficult, my work never ends. If Facebook is making an announcement at 11pm, after the New York stock market closes, I have to come back to my computer and cover the news.”
(Appendix Q)

The freelance participants are the ones who suffer most from this precariousness, which has become common in the field. Over the years, they reported that the price per article has declined. Most of them reported having to work a lot to make an equivalent wage or having to undertake side-activities in PR or other areas just to maintain their pay level. According to their testimonies, freelance photojournalists are making a better income than written-press freelance journalists.

For one French participant, even though she is happy working from home and managing her time as she wants, she never chose to be a “freelancer” and faces all the difficulties that are inherent to this status:

“Financially, it's rare to make the equivalent of a full-time contract. When we work for different newspapers, it can happen but more often than not everyone

calls you for a job at the same time. I cannot live from it, I earn the equivalent of a part-time job. I get an unemployment support.” (Appendix J)

Another French participant defined journalism as a “precarious profession that gets worse and worse”:

“You have to accept getting rejected and to work a lot. I’m working when I’m not sleeping and I don’t count my hours. Moreover, prices are getting lower and lower. Before, you were paid by article, but now under the pretext that you’re writing for the web, they’ve created a package-based approach that means that you can write more but you’re not paid more. Generally, employers do not reimburse additional costs and interesting reports are often from your own initiative so it’s really rare to get paid for it.” (Appendix F)

This same participant added that despite the difficulties, she feels “privileged to be free” and at the same time to have a job she “loves.” To make a living out of it, she must have “multiple sources of revenue” in addition to writing “lifestyle issues.” (Appendix F)

An Irish freelance-photojournalist participant reported doing “corporate work” in order to “just pay the bills”:

“It's hard but I'm really happy with the way I've managed things. I've now realized that it's not just hard for me here in Cork, but this applies to photographers all over the world. It's just that there is no more money in the system and we all need to find other ways to make ends meet. One of my colleagues worked for a press association for years as well as for a major magazine, but even he had to work in PR photography on the side just in order to pay the bills and maintain some independence from the editors.” (Appendix B)

Another photojournalist, a French participant, recognized that sometimes she felt really “desperate.” This happened once after sending “six feature-synopses” and seeing them “all refused.”

“Sometimes you think that having a secure job would be nice but then you're selling one report and it's really gratifying. Today I can make a living out of it, which was not possible when I started.” (Appendix H)

Despite the difficulties that the participants face, most of them admitted not wanting to leave the field. During this research, participants were asked about their choice of being a journalist and their motivation. Eleven participants reported having chosen journalism in a first place for the human side of the profession: five of them because they love writing and one for being passionate about news. Finally, most participants mentioned adventures and travelling as being something they love.

A French participant reported that she likes to uncover “what others don’t want you to find, being the fly in the ointment, being the voice of those who aren’t usually heard.” (Appendix L)

An Irish participant reported thinking of “becoming a lawyer” and finally changed her mind on the day that Justine McCarthy(1) came to her school and explained that “journalism could be used for good and that you could campaign for women’s rights for example, and you could use the job as a way to change laws that are bad or discriminatory.” (Appendix C)

A French participant, a war photojournalist, said that “conflict can be a revealer of humanity.” She likes seeing the “intense” cooperation between people working in extreme situations. (Appendix H)

A French participant revealed that she likes “never being bored.” In particular, she enjoys learning “about others”, but also about “ourselves”, and she enjoys finding ways “to project ourselves into incredible stories, to be able to approach everyone and to visit places that we want to.” (Appendix I)

A French photojournalist participant said “my camera allows me to satisfy my curiosity about the world.” She likes to do “what she wants, when she wants to”, never to be in a “routine” and to be able to meet all kinds of different people, whether they are “soldiers, killers, heads of states, ... all facettes of human nature.” (Appendix G)

An Irish participant who chose journalism mainly because she likes writing, said:

“I love communicating with people and I love seeing my name in print as well - I get to write about things that I am passionate about and then as I got older, and got more into news journalism, it was amazing to see how you could write an article that could really change something for people. We had stories in the newsroom where, if we hadn't written, nothing would have changed. That's really powerful.” (Appendix A)

An Irish participant reported reading news as a “hobby”:

“I like the fact that every day is different. Everyday, you come in and observe all the things that are happening and that are changing in the world. I love seeing all this, it's never boring.”(Appendix D)

4.2 harassment and intimidation of female journalists

14 participants on 17 reported having experienced at least once, a form of sexism, in the exercise of their duties. Some of the participants have undergone a sexist behaviour from a male counterpart; some have been intimidated or prevented from doing their jobs; some have been harassed.

The three news photojournalists interviewed for this research reported an assumed male chauvinism in the field. This particular branch of the profession being strongly male dominated, the participants revealed often dealing with this serious issue. An

Irish participant who openly recognized working for “a macho industry” have been intimidated by male counterparts many times to prevent her from doing her job. She has the feeling that her physical characteristic does not help “I'm like 5 foot I'm quite small”, she said. In a press pack she reported being “easy to push at the back or elbow out of the way.”

“Once I was on a shoot of a TV celebrity and I was in the room with him and there was one other photographer who jammed me against the wall and the table so I couldn't get my shot because with press and especially if there is a lot of photographers you're trying to get a picture and they are all pushing so he pushed me so I couldn't get out so I was trying to push him back so I could move I'm quite small so in the end I had to go down and scroll along the table and come up the other side you know I don't think that would happen to a man.”

(Appendix B)

This participant also reported being told by some male colleagues “calm down, you stupid woman.”

A French participant reported that “politic photography” was one of the most difficult field for female photojournalists. “When a woman is successful it's never for the job she's doing”, she said.

“I always have to prove my work. According to some of my male colleagues if I work it's because I'm a woman, because I'm blond or because I know someone. There is always rumors. It's been said: don't take the job of others, you have

no legitimacy! A lot of them criticized the fact that I got an access in politic photography” (Appendix G)

Another French participant working in the same field revealed that “when you are a woman you are more judge on your physical attribute than on your work.” Recently she ran into one of her male colleagues she asked him if he was working at the moment and he replied “no, I’m not blond enough.” This constant humiliation is pretty common in the field and is not hidden.

“Not long ago, I was nominated for a prestigious photojournalism prize. I’m going to the ceremony, all the photojournalists chosen appeared on a large screen and my name was not on it. I thought it was an oversight from my part but they showed my pictures right after. In the end, the presenter apologized to say that ‘indeed’ a female was among the participants” (Appendix H)

An Irish participant who never faced that kind of issues in the place she works now remembered a more difficult time while being a political reporter at the Irish parliament. She reported having the feeling of “travelling back to the 80s.” She did not experience being touched “inappropriately” or being told “aggressive thing” but it was more like “patronising commentaries”, she said.

“I think it's much more common for women particularly in politics to be like patronised have things explained to you even though you might be the best reporter on that topic you might have broken that story yourself you might have

the authority on it and you are never treated as such we still rely on the male political reporters to write all the analysis and do all the thinking and women just don't seem to be trusted or expected to be able to do political analysis” (Appendix C)

An Irish interviewee who have an assistant editor position and who have experience in the field reported similar facts about being patronised by an older male journalist:

“we recently did have a guy who is about maybe 25 years older than me trying to tell me how to do my job in a situation outside of the office where I was doing some radio work and he was telling that I should do this, do that doing the certain things I was doing and it’s those kinds of things you come across and you are like you know I have been doing this since I was 16 I know what I’m doing but this man think that I don’t” (Appendix A)

In this study, it appears that participants having an advanced career have been confronted to more radical forms of sexism than the young female journalists today.

A participant working for an Irish broadsheet reported that while she was reporting in Beirut “under the bombs”, and driving a few kilometers just to call her editor in chief in order to know if he received the copy, he was saying over the phone “Yes, I’ll see if I can do something with it.” At the end, he was putting “his signature with mine below the article”, she said. In her career this female journalist faced that kind of difficulties many times. While she was working in Washington she had a “mean boss.”

“I was covering the Republican Primary, I was working 24/7 and I got ill. I told him: you’ll kill me, I’m exhausted and I can’t work 24/7. He replied: this is the definition of the job ! I don’t think he would have treat a man the same way”
(Appendix K)

A French participant explains that “her generation internalised machism.” She remembered “sexual harassment” in her workplace. She reported that when a female journalist was angry because of a sexist comment for instance, the male journalists were often replying “do you have your period ?”

“I’ve never really been confronted personally to harassment because I was denouncing it publicly. They knew that if they would have annoyed me, it would have been in a newspaper the following week” (Appendix L)

A French participant who have an editorial position reported that male journalists had more problem seeing her as a “reporter” than as a “boss.” “To be a reporter, I had to lach”, she said.

“I’ve heard completely misogynic comments for a long time like: you cannot climb a mountain or sleep outside. Or I’ve often heard: we have to recruit male the place lack of testosterone” (Appendix I)

Nowadays, with the advent of social media journalists are suffering of another kind of harassment which can be extremely violent sometimes. A French participant reported being victim of “cyberbullying” she precised that her male colleagues are touch by this scourge as well but “not with the same level of seriousness.” “I’m being judge if I put on weight, people are wandering my size of bras and regularly I found myself porn montage”, she said. (Appendix Q)

An Irish interviewee has also endured that kind of issues. “As female reporters we are open to a lot more abuse online”, she reported.

“If we write about things like abortion that people are contentious or that people don't agree with rather than to just attacking you because they don't like what you wrote or they don't like the story the attacks can be very personal”
(Appendix C)

All the testimonies included in this subchapter, give an overview of what female journalists can face in their career. The participants mentioned above talked about apparent and obvious sexist acts. An Irish participant explains a more discreet form of sexism. According to her, people often expect on obvious sign of sexism in journalism, like “men would be telling me: I’m terrible at doing my job.”

“I think that is no how in general sexism or gender inequality shows itself it’s in the kind of hidden messages or in the smallest things that you can’t really say so my gender had stopped me from progressing in the sense of I have been

able to my job but I think that are those micro things that can affect how women in the industry work even if you are seeing mainly male editors with this certain macho attitude that you get from certain editors or even certain journalists - I think as a woman that can affect you” (Appendix A)

4.3 The gender-pay gap: female journalists are underpaid and overworked

The salary differences between female and male journalists have been discussed with all the interviewees. Only four female journalists on seventeen, reported having the same salary as their male counterparts. Those four participants work for two different press titles; one in Ireland and one in France. The participants working for the same Irish newsroom cannot prove that they have an equal salary, but they assured being almost sure of it. A French participant has a special position, she cannot know whether at an equal job a male coworker would be paid the same but she explained why there is equality in her newspaper:

“Back then, senior editors were many. We were saying that it was a bit like the Mexican army. One day, a female coworker of mine realised that she was extremely underpaid to do the same high responsibilities job as her male counterparts. She made a scandal and obtained an equal pay. To eliminate opacities around salaries, we decided a few years ago to create a binder where we put all of our paychecks ” (Appendix P)

An Irish participant “assume” that there is no gender pay gap in her workplace even though she has “never seen the actual salaries that people have”, she said.

“The company is quite new, only 9 years old and it's a fair place to work. I've never felt like, you know, people aren't treated badly or there is no differences between how men and women are treated here so I'd be really surprised”
“It's very gender balance underneath staff we have 50% men 50% women and the old people like the editor, deputy editor and the news editor are all women we have 5 editorial positions and 4 of them are women” (Appendix D)

Another Irish participant who work for the same press title is conscious to work in an equal company. She doesn't know whether her equivalent male coworker “earns the same” as her but she “hope so.” However, she reported a lack of transparency around salaries in Ireland:

“I think that true transparency around pay and the issue of the gender pay gap is something that we still aren't talking enough about and there is a real culture of silence around salaries in ireland - there is a real culture of don't ask about it don't talk about it just accept it” (Appendix A)

An Irish participant working for a national broadsheet mentioned the secrecy around salaries in her company as well:

“we are not a state organization, we are a privately owned x by trust it means that there is no obligation at present for the organisation to publish what people earn. So I don't know what my colleagues earn and my close friends that I would

Know but I have on good authority that people who do similar work earn different amount” (Appendix E)

A French participant reported that in her workplace “salaries are extremely taboo”, in September they will have to publish a “wage differentials bellwether.” She reported being “curious” to see the results because “obviously, they don’t want to publish it.” (Appendix Q)

An Irish interviewee extended the explanation about transparency:

“journalism is so competitive and so secretive they tend to try to keep the salaries of different reporters a secret because if you are trying to, let’s say another paper is trying to hire me they could add an extra ten grand to a role just to try to hire me from my current one but we would need to keep that a secret from people that they already have hired who aren’t earning that much money” (Appendix C)

Out of the four participants mentioned at the beginning of this subchapter, all participants reported gender pay gap in their companies. They reported feeling a certain unfairness when it comes to this subject. Moreover, they raised different interesting point. Many participants in France and Ireland noticed that female journalists were not good in negotiating salaries. An Irish participant said that “any study around women and salaries and asking for rises shows that we are traditionally not really good at asking for more money”(Appendix A). In order to help young female journalists who are hired in the newspaper she works for, a French participant explains

her approach “I’ve a practice that I judge really important: I’m systematically telling my salary to newcomer women to give them an idea of the amount I earn at my position so that they can ask the same pay” (Appendix Q).

A French interviewee who have an editorial position reported that the employers “as philanthropist they can be” subscribe to a wage scale which “often give less to women than to men.” Sometimes, she reported that “there is a gap of almost 100 euros.”

“There is no equal pay and particularly in the hierarchy. Freelance and fixed terms contracts earn pretty much the same amount of money. But when you are an executive or under a permanent contract you have to negotiate and what they are proposing is always downward relative to men.” (Appendix O)

The fact that women have difficulties to negotiate their salaries combine to a well established system that put women at disadvantage, the gender pay gap may be high. A French participant affirmed it “a friend of mine realised that she was paid 1000€ gross less than her male counterpart while they have been hired at the same time for the same position.” (Appendix F)

Overall, even though there is a true gender pay gap which can vary for a same position, the central problematic is elsewhere. In both countries female journalists reported an usual but unfair practice that one Irish participant named “male made up titles.” She explains why the gender pay gap is sometimes difficult to identify:

“There is a lot of male made up titles so like senior ireland reporter is different like senior Ireland correspondent and if there is a man who is

doing a similar work to you they kind of invent a new title that gives him extra money and that's really hard there is no transparency about it - so if you are suspicious that there is a gender pay gap it's very hard to prove" (Appendix C)

A participant working for an Irish broadsheet came across this problem, she reported that her "two predecessors in Washington" became foreign editors once they got back to Dublin. When she was coming back from Washington, the newspaper needed a new foreign editor, she asked to be promoted as the male journalists before her, "they said no, a man got the position", she said. Moreover, she reported that those who came back to Dublin after Washington got higher salaries, "there is no evidence, but it seems obvious. They wanted to be reporters again there is only men who can do that." This newspaper have one journalist under a permanent contract in six big cities. "Male journalists who are correspondent for Londres, Brussels and Belfast have an editor position, females journalists have a correspondent position." (Appendix K)

Related to this topic, an Irish participant noticed the problem in the newspaper mentioned above:

"I know for a fact that there are a lot more men in my organization earning a lot more money than the small number of women. There are a lot more senior men in the organization than there are very few senior women" (Appendix E)

According to a French participant, women cost "less money" than men because they do not have the same evolution. "Male will progress in their career, not women." (Appendix J)

An Irish participant complement the point made above: “all of the most senior roles do go to men and men are much more likely to get those promotions” (Appendix C)

The freelancer participants do not face the same problems. Articles are usually paid the same, the prices are lower than before for everyone. According to them, there is no real gender differences when it comes to freelancing. The photojournalists interviewed in France do not feel that there is a gender pay gap. Yet, one reported “I think that we get less subjects than our male counterparts. We have to prove, more than them, that our subject is good. Our written synopsis are often longer and especially if we are stepping on their toes”(Appendix H). The participant photojournalist in Ireland reported not asking the same amount of money as male photojournalists do:

“A lot of my male counterparts will charge more especially in Dublin like in Cork you get paid about 250 for an hour in Dublin they get 400 or 500€.”.....“I think that women don't get paid as much as men because we are not as cocky and we are not like I demand this” (Appendix B)

4.4 A major difficulty: the motherhood

Through this research, the motherhood appeared as being a central problematic in female journalists' careers. A total of six female journalists who are also mothers were interviewed; four of the participants are single mothers; three of them got pregnant after forty years old; only French female journalists. All of them have been working as

journalists for a long time and have different types of career; half of them have editorial positions today and the other half are freelancing. Two of the female editors were reporters with a permanent contract before having a child; one of them was holding a responsible position during one of her pregnancies. On the three female freelancers, only one had a permanent job during her pregnancy. Although some reported that having a child did not stop their progression, they explained the difficulties they were facing due to the double role as a journalist and as a mother. One interviewee, a mother of two, was working for a morning radio show when she had her first child “I had to wake up at 3:30 am to present the radio show, it was really difficult”, she said.

“I’ve always been lucky to have comprehensive employers who accepted that I was a mother with constraints. However, we are not in a society that helps, if you are a mother in a stable professional context it can work but there is no kindergarten at 4 am in the night, in the end, the babysitter cost me my wage. After a while, I was tired of the whole situation, tired to work for nothing and to not be able to see my daughter, I stopped.” (Appendix O)

This participant had a second child during this time off but she couldn’t stop working completely. She became a “freelance publisher” until the moment she was able to go back to journalism.

In this research, two interviewees were international reporters before having a child and one is still is. In this research, they explained the motherhood dilemma for female reporters and the judgment they encountered. One participant had her first child at the

age of 42, for years she reported having “lost track of time”, passionate by her job, world news was governing her life “I was always thinking that there will be important news to cover in the following year. Year to year, conflict to conflict the time passed and I woke up just on time.” She stopped being a reporter, “ I wasn’t willing to risk my life while having a child” not because she was afraid to die every time she was leaving but because “it creates anxiety for your child when they understand where you are”, she said. Subsequently, she became a news editor in the same press title she was working for. Even if she stopped being a reporter she explained the difficulties they faced when they have children:

“ When you are a female reporter you avoid saying that you have children because you have to be free. You’re always late, you cannot stop an interview in the middle, you miss trains and planes, the initial plans are always changing. In terms of organisation and logistics, it’s extremely complicated to manage. You need to have a fellow who assumes everything at home and because it’s not in the collective imagination, it’s difficult. Working mothers get over themselves to make it” (Appendix I)

The father role, as mentioned above by the precedent interviewee have a real impact on female journalists’ career when they assume a mother role. A participant kept her war photojournalist activity while having children and she insists on the father's role, “my children are not suffering from the situation when I’m working, their father takes good care of them.” However, she reported being “frowned upon”, and have plenty of anecdotes related to her choice. Once, a male editor in chief asked her if she was “breastfeeding.” This misplace question in the professional field was aimed “to make

me feel guilty because I was not.” The feeling that her body “is public property while nobody should enter into those considerations” is really “annoying”, she said. Moreover, this participant reported having undergone remarks from older male journalists:

“ One day, a male photojournalist, father of 6 children asked me: where are your kids? To which I responded: where are yours? - It’s like being an unfit mother while basically, he was doing the job as me. It’s not fair when you are a male war photojournalist it’s your real job when you are a woman it’s your little fad? People often try to make me feel guilty but I’m doing my job with passion, and it’s not a choice: I won’t be happy if wasn’t doing it anymore.” (Appendix H)

Another participant, war reporter before having a child, explains the unfairness between male and female journalists related to parenthood in the field. Her personal decision was to not put her life at “risk while being a mother”, following health issues and pregnancy, she stopped being a reporter. But “Men keep doing it”, she said. “They can be a good father by intermittence, they have their wife at home and they do not experience judgments as women do.” This participant is a Middle-East specialist. When she had the opportunity to have a permanent position in Beyrouth where she could have lived a “good life” with her daughter in terms of “schools, living standards and work” her female editor refused to “ send a child in a country at war risk.” In the end, a male journalist got the job and started a life in Beyrouth with his wife and children. “This is sheer nonsense”, she said. “I think that men are way better to impose their will. When you are a woman you’re treated like a child.” (Appendix M)

Among the interviewees mentioned above for this chapter, none of them reported being stopped in their career progression in terms of positions due to the motherhood. However, participants who don't have children in France and Ireland have been more than once witnesses of it in their newsrooms. A participant reported that in her newspaper which tend to be conservative "births were celebrated." Yet, she noticed that women of childbearing age do not progress in their career. "Often I observed that women keep moving up until the day they chose maternity. Their progression stop, they keep their position" (Appendix Q).

A French participant, also a mother, did work as a freelancer for the same newspaper mentioned above. In this workplace she remembered have heard a female journalist saying "I'm sorry for being pregnant."

"If a male journalist has 6 months of medical leave he'll still have his place when he'll be back. It's not the same with a woman who comes back from a maternity leave. To have a child is stressful enough to in addition, being stress with getting back to work." (Appendix L)

An Irish interviewee noted this problem of progression as well in Ireland. Among her coworkers, she could see the difference before and after the maternity leave.

"When women take time off work in journalism, when they come back even though they still have their job, their position has kind of been replaced. So the story they are covering has kind of been replaced but I think this is something across many industries but then it's very hard to write-up after that because -

Industries and journalism still see these two years off your job, two years behind your male colleagues” (Appendix E)

This participant is also pretty stressed about having children while working as a journalist. “That's actually a big issue in my life”, she said. “I'm kind of coming to the age where my boyfriend and I started talking about that and it's not a career for having children because of the hours that are involved”(Appendix E). She is not alone in this situation, other Irish and French participants who want children and who are working in the field have the same feeling. Most of them are wondering how they will be able to be a mother journalist with a heavy schedule and the contingencies that come with it. Another Irish participant reported feeling “ lucky” to don't have that responsibility for now. She has seen how female journalists work can be affected by having children in the way that they cannot stay “until late hours” and they “might not be able to chase up the same stories.” However, she recognized working in a fair place when it comes to the motherhood.

“In the office where I work, because people are quite young and very switch-on there is a lot of young dads in the office and they are very open about their child-caring. My equivalent editor is the same level as me he has a child and another child on the way and he would just be like “I'm not available this weekend, my wife is working or I'm not available this weekend we are doing family stuff” and It's always like yes, of course, that's no issue” (Appendix A)

An Irish participant is a freelance photojournalist, she's married to a “tolerant husband” and they would “love” to have a family together. Yet, she's worried, “for me it's kind of

more like what to do if you want to go abroad or if you get an assignment.” For her, it’s a bit like a “minefields” subject, “I’d love to have a family but my photography, my passion for it would stop me I think which is an awful thing to say but I think a lot of women would think that too, to be honest” (Appendix B).

On all the participants, four decided to not have children; three because they never wanted to; one because of her career. Two of them are above the age of 60; one is under the age of 50; one is 30 years old. What emerges more from that topic is the fact that women are often judged for their choices when it comes to motherhood. One of the participants remembered, “a colleague who made comments to women who don’t have kids in the newsroom” (Appendix P).

4.5 Soft news vs hard news: who writes what in the newsroom?

In order to know whether the debate around soft and hard news is still current in the newsroom, the subject have been raised with all the participants. In this study a majority of participants (French and Irish) do not have the feeling that they write “soft news”, a term which includes information based on human stories and entertainment. To go further, some participants confessed using their feminine sensitivity to write about hard news, a term to define a recent event linked to general issues (politics, economics, issues, international affairs, etc..) and still considered as more prestigious and as male interests. Whether the term soft news remains to be seen as pejorative, female journalists who write in this category will always have the feeling that their work

is not recognized at fair value. Moreover, as reported by the participant below, to keep the use of these terms serves to maintain inequality in the newsroom.

An Irish participant reported to have the feeling to write about “a fringe issue” or a “niche subject” while she’s writing “very political and very serious stories” about women. Because she find the industry “masculine” and “difficult” she did think about working for an NGO. (Appendix C)

Another Irish participant who write about immigration, topic that she considered “not particularly male or female”, found the terms soft news and hard news “kind of nonsensical.”

“I would argue that the so called soft news by that people mean human stories are actually far more affected at telling teaching people about whether what's going on whether political crisis or whether homelessness or child abuse or whatever maybe that human stories actually is for the story, a lot better and then you see when you are telling human stories you can then include the data and the facts” (Appendix E)

Nevertheless, she “do think women are pigeon-holed into certain types of writing” and think that female journalists “subconsciously see themselves” a better fit for soft news. (Appendix E)

An Irish participant suggested to see the debate around soft news versus hard news the other way around. By being judgmental on what is seen as feminised news, we

are “saying that is not as important and that it got less value.” To go further in her explanation she compared it to the passed:

“Is traditionally something that happens to so many things that women have been spearheading and women have been you know in charge of so if you look at different art for example you know if you look at textile art or traditional art that women would have done at home that was not necessarily considered art because it was like this domestic type of work women did” (Appendix A)

A French participant, who works for a prestigious international affairs newspaper reported having the feeling “to assimilate masculinity with rationality.”

“Here we essentially write about geopolitical and economy. These disciplines are traditionally masculine and for a long time it was a manly newspaper and this is true I’m not feeling comfortable with those subjects - I feel really feminine in that sense. I’m more interested by literature and culture, subjects assimilated to women” (Appendix P)

The same participant reported that her editor in chief is “preoccupied” when the newspaper summary mainly comprises “male signatures.” “There is both, the necessity for female journalists to treat male topics but also the opposite” (Appendix P)

A French participant mentioned a “tendency to have a topology of topic seen as feminine and masculine” and “conveniently the male dominated topics are highly valued.” In an ideal, she would like male and female journalists on equal terms. However, she recognized that “as a female and a feminist” she suggested “subject than men wouldn’t have think about.” (Appendix Q)

A French participant find that women are working “in sensitivity.” “This is what a journalist should do, be in the finesse”, she said. She believes that women will take a different “look, due to their experience” that men couldn’t. (Appendix F)

A French participant, news editor, thinks that “the feminine writing implies emotion” but assure than men are “able” to do it too. In her workplace, gender doesn’t matter for the topic men often write about “education, and women about war.” (Appendix I)

An Irish participant insisted on the importance of gender balance within the newsroom related to the subjects covered. Latterly, she discovered that the readership of the newspaper she works for have a “readership 50% male and 50% female.” “And yet we are producing the paper which is written by primarily men”, she said. According to her, it is not “representative of the people who are reading what we're writing.” To give an example, she mentioned what happened in her newsroom when the scandal around “cervical check”(1) came out:

"one colleague of mine you know he was very involved in that, but then there were a lot of men involved in that like and I do mention covering that. But you need to have that mix. You need to have those mixture of voices because you

just take one issue and just to give it to male journalists. You're you're missing it. You're losing it on a well-rounded journalistic story” (Appendix E)

An Irish participant think that the society is somehow responsible of gendered topics:

“I think education that goes way back in childhood that you are “the better kind of, the more empathetic sex.” You are better at telling the story about the person who has a broken leg or that person is dying of cancer. And I know very talented political female journalists here in Dublin who do amazing work equal to their male counterparts and often better” (Appendix E)

A French participant editor and specialised in economy affirmed that there is no special “genes” in female brains that would make their writing different than their male counterpart. “This essentialist vision of women is shocking”, she said. According to her, topics as health or lifestyle were a way for women to enter the profession and have “a faster recognition”:

“There is no reasons for women to be confined in that kind of topics. When I started in economy there were a very few women but a plethora of females in the social field. The managements of newspapers have a real responsibility here. I don’t see why a male journalist would be less good than a female journalist to write about education. Moreover, if the minister of education and his advisers can be men I don’t why in journalism females would be better for this subject.” (Appendix N)

An Irish participant reported that at the moment there is not a “single newspaper in Ireland that has a female editor.” Moreover, she noticed that you only find “really senior females in features or lifestyle or those things that people might see as more fluffy” while there are “brilliant” and “talented” Irish female journalists. “Something happening along the way for women who aren’t breaking through and getting those kinds of senior roles” (Appendix C)

4.6 A profession under pressure?

A large part of the participants recognized being worried about the future of the profession. The freelancers and journalists interviewed for this study reported difficult working conditions.

Most participants reported long hours and confessed having an unhealthy relationship with their work. A high level of stress has been noticed because of the rhythm that news industry required. However, their stress is not only caused by the time they spent in the office, it is also due to the evolution of the profession as a whole. Many participants do not feel secure about their job in France and Ireland, and have difficulties imagining the future of news media.

An Irish participant noticed a certain insecurity concerning the future of media in Ireland:

“At the moment in Ireland, many of the print newspapers are cutting costs and firing people. The future seems really uncertain especially for investigative

journalism or campaign issues, which tend to be the most expensive ones.

(Appendix C)

A French participant is “worried” about the way journalism is going. According to her, 24/7 TV channels and the internet are responsible for the fact that “newcomer journalists are treated like operating systems when they arrive on the labour market. They are just there to create content.” Moreover, there is “a lack of reflexion on the future of journalism”, she said: “The only thing that really matters today is to be the first one to get the news, there is no real depth, everything is rushed.” (Appendix I)

A French participant noticed the same problem: because of the immediate nature of news, “we operate more within a communication model than in a journalistic one”:

“The audience is not mistaken. Increasingly, I meet journalists who are not working according to the golden rules of the profession, which are to find the information and to verify it. Press agencies cloud journalism.” (Appendix O)

A participant who works for an Irish broadsheet noticed some ethical issues as well:

“The written press had been a beautiful profession. Today, newsrooms are copy and pasting entire reports from the news agencies. Sometimes I even find my articles on news websites without being quoted.” (Appendix K)

Lastly, a French participant underlined the emergence of new model which is currently growing: the “fee-wall” where reader have to pay to access premium content. She sees this model as the only one that can feel like “real press”:

4.7 Potential solutions

During this research, all the participants were asked about potential solutions that could improve the field. Once the information gathering got carried out, five different themes have emerged and will be addressed in this subchapter; the existing initiatives that may be reproduced; increasing women’s visibility; change mentalities, and the changes that could enhance journalism training for female journalists’ future.

At the beginning of the year 2019, the scandal of the “League of LOL”, an online group, broke in France. To sum up, created in 2010, this group was composed of thirty journalists and communicators, mostly males and were, disguised as humour, harassing people on Twitter and Facebook. A large part of their targets were female journalists. This scandale was the first to enlight, among others, the discrimination that female journalists could sustain. A French participant explained that in order to improve the field for female journalists the “misogyny” has to stop:

“The League of Lol, is a good example, they have to get caught. That would be a step forward and will help to make the field a better place for female journalists. We have to acknowledge that male and female journalists have the same talent” (Appendix I)

A French participant also expressed herself about this group saying that “harassment” is a good way to “maintain women away” and prevent them to pursue their career in “order to take their place”:

“I’ve been afflicted by the League of Lol, a coalition of men who wants to disgust women so that they could keep the best positions for them. Even the harassment of interns is an obstacle absolutely huge that can appear really early in a career and which can affect the future of female journalists. We can interpret it as an active resistance to the feminisation of the profession.” (Appendix P)

To see more female journalists to speak out and file a complaint when they face similar issues, online or within newsroom, is part of the solution. Other female journalists will reproduce their action. The idea here, is to step out of a culture of silence and impunity.

A French participant mentioned the model of “Mediapart.” This French online media of investigation and opinion is seen as a pioneer example of equal media structure in the field. They have created a public salary scale. It enables to eliminate a major inequality: the individual negotiation; widely practice in private organisation, as we have seen it over this dissertation. This salary scale allows to pay depending on the work provided, and takes into account standards as long-standing, for instance. Another measure have been put in place to reinforce equality: the speaking time during meetings. The media noticed that female journalists were speaking less during

meetings because males had a tendency to speak first and to repeat the same thing successively. Thanks to this measure, female journalists have now the same speaking time that their males counterparts. The media also pay attention to the numerical parity regarding the management. (Appendix F), (Challenges, 2019)

Some participants reported being concerned by the lack of female journalists having key positions in newsrooms. An Irish participant, who work for a fair and equal news website, noticed that there is almost no more female editors in Ireland:

“ The editor of the Irish Times was a woman, as The tribune, as the Evening Herald. They were a lot of female editors and in the last couple of years that changed and it's gone back to being almost old men. The women are there and the women have been there but it is tough. I think it's tough to retain them and keep them in the industry. The big challenge is to make sure that we have women who want to be an editor in the next few years.” (Appendix D)

Another Irish participant explained:

“I really believe in the phrase you can't be what you can't see. Women need to see other women do things in order to spread them on. I think that we are actually really lucky in Ireland that we've really prominent female journalists across all different sectors” (Appendix A)

Although there is a lot more female editors in France than in Ireland, they remain a minority among the editors. A majority of French participants would like to see more women to break the glass ceiling. However, under certain circumstances. Some participants reported having hard time with female news editors. A French participant said:

“It would be a good start if women who have responsibilities, I’m thinking about certain female editors I’ve worked with, could stop acting worse than male editors towards female journalists. They could stop their comments about motherhood and schedules when they have also children” (Appendix L)

Another participant, journalist for an Irish broadsheet, reported having a “difficult life”, while having experienced twice working with “female news editors.” However, this participant reported that she never experienced the same thing with “magazine” female editors. (Appendix K)

A French participant joined them on the topic and shared her experience:

“The only two times I worked under female editors, they were more macho than men. I had the feeling I was talking to a wall, I was flabbergasted. I always hope that when a women reach this kind of position she will change the lines for real but paradoxically the greatest feminist I met are men. Women could turn the tide by standing together and help each others but they seem having the need to feel important within a male cluster.” (Appendix M)

These unfortunate experiences mentioned above are noticed here in order to show that women can also be an obstacle for female journalists and not being part of the solution. In this study, a French participant female editor, said something that could help female journalists who envisage being an editor:

“Our own we have a social schematic, we have to force us in order to asserting ourselves in public without reproducing male behaviour” (Appendix N)

It has been reported by a few participants but especially by a French one that men were always helping each other due to a phenomenon of social reproduction:

“Unconsciously, especially older men would identify themselves better on a younger man than on younger woman, I witnessed a few times” (Appendix Q)

From that, one of the solution could be to use this same schema of mutual support among women. A French participant, for instance, took the lead and created “a network of female journalists” who write about tech in order to “facilitate opportunities.” (Appendix Q)

For an Irish participant, being help by another woman considerably helped in her career:

“Justine McCarthy came to my school when I was about 14 and she was talking about journalism and it sounds really good so kind of inspired me to get into it. I studied journalism in Wales at the University of South Wales and then got

back in touch with Justine. She helped me get a work experience placement at the ... then I graduated and I got a job at...Wales. Then because I had an experience at the....., I got a job at the Ireland edition of the... which is like the sister paper of the they are kind of connected and I have been there for the last 4 years. She, I suppose did have a big influence on getting me into the industry. From the start she has always said that because she is a successful woman she always felt the responsibility to try and help other younger women to get in as well”(Appendix C)

Another Irish participant who always had “women editors” reported that:

“I've never had a male boss and I've only ever worked for women. I think that's an unusual experience, given how many men there are.” “It's been brilliant and it really helped me in my career because I could see what these women were doing and emulate them, try to learn from them and that's really helped.”
(Appendix D)

In order to considerably improve the field for female journalists, most participants think that the stereotypes based on societal beliefs need to evolve. That would prevent female journalists of being stop in their career because of motherhood, for instance. This is not an easy task, but as a French participant reported:

“The issue of women passes through the change of female and male mentality; by our overall organisation of work in the society and, by the facilities for

children. If a men take care of his child during three months, it completely changes relationship within couple and that modify the vision of others.”
(Appendix N)

On the same topic, an Irish participant think that it “needs to be split evenly between men and women” in life but especially in “industries”:

“As long as it's very much considered maternity leave it’s going to be the one who takes the time off. I know some organizations are starting to introduce this but it needs to be paternal leave. Very much from the Swedish and the Norwegian model of breaking it between the two parents and giving those people a chance to take time off.” (Appendix E)

A French participant shared an idea to improve the problematic of motherhood:

“ They should increase the salaries of women on maternity leave, women who don’t want children won't be stop in their progression so they will have an higher income in any case.” (Appendix L)

Some participants considered that things should be done within journalism school in order to prepare future female journalists to enter in the field. A French participant thinks that “sessions should be created to learn how to negotiate salaries” (Appendix F).

A French participant shared her own experience, and what she would have like to be taught while doing her master of journalism:

“I had a shock the day I discovered the newsroom’s life. It can be really macho sometimes, it’s a small world that turns a lot around partying, drinking and flirting. It’s not necessarily negative but when you are a woman you feel it. I would have appreciate to be acknowledge about that. I would also have appreciate to be taught how to ask more money. Because this is right after being graduated that a female journalist will advance in her career not after.”

(Appendix Q)

Lastly, a few participants think that cultural and social diversity in newsroom and journalism schools could, first, improve the content of the publication but also the field in general.

A French participant think that we cannot speak about “parity” in newsroom and journalism school without raising the topic of “diversity”:

“There is a huge problem of social reproduction in newsrooms and journalism school”

(Appendix F)

An Irish participant, who “can't get to complain” because she’s working in an equal newsroom, that she defined as “very wise, very middle-class, very college educated” would like to see even more social and cultural diversity in Ireland:

“I think it would be great to see journalism in Ireland to have way more diverse voices, more people of colour, we don't hear from travellers, people who moved from their country the last couple of years, you know immigrants, refugees, people in direct provision. I want to hear everybody's voices and I think I'm a white middle-class person so I'm quiet over represented but as a woman I'm kind of underrepresented so I'm conscious that I have my place and I want to bring people up - but I want to hear more people voices tuned I'd love to see newsrooms being even more diverse because, I might not see something that somebody else would see so that's really important to I think” (Appendix A)

Chapter 5: analysis

As we have seen through this research, started out as a journalist can be difficult. Some participants found a permanent contract right after being graduated, however, they are not representing the majority in this study. Most participants had to combine freelancing and internships in order to find a secure job or being able to make a wage as a freelancer. It should be ad here, that most participants mentioned the term « luck ». This term seems to be central and especially in a career of a journalist. Sending résumés seems far from being enough to enter the field. Most participants used the term “opportunities” to explain their career. These “opportunities” are most of the time coming with the creation of a network. Moreover, journalism often works by co-optation. We have seen it, when participant C who contacted Justine McCarthy right after graduation. She got a job experience, that helped her to get the position she is in today. If female journalists help each other they are reducing inequalities. But it can be quite an issue for some freshly graduated student to ask for help. Often, they do not feel confident at the beginning of their career. Participant F, reported that in her first year of freelancing she was « self-conscious » and didn't ask for her first press card. She confessed feeling that what she was doing was not a « good enough journalism » to ask for it. She also explained feeling “too shy” to call the editors after sending a few synopsis. She recognized having “pushed herself” to finally call. After collecting the data of all participants, it can be suggested that there is no strict rules when it comes to start a journalist career, this stage have been difficult for most participants. Once in the field, female journalists are facing in France and Ireland the problematic around motherhood and the gender pay gap. Firstly, they don't get equal

opportunities as their male counterparts do. This is mostly due to maternity leave. Participants who have children do not get the same possibilities as those who don't. Even though, there is a point to notice here. A few experienced and child free participants reported being a bit disappointed with the position they finally reached regarding their college education, the languages they speak and their working experience compared to their male counterparts. Thereby, gender stereotypes are persisting even with female journalists who never had to stop their career in order to have children. In Addition, male journalists who have children are not penalized in their career. Gender stereotypes within the couple tend to change but are well anchored. There is still a societal expectation that women have a lot of responsibilities at home or outside of work, regardless of the strides made in recent decades, to reduce the demanding attitude towards women and work.

The gender pay gap puts women in a weaker position. In general, as we have seen before in this dissertation, female journalists do not negotiate their salaries. At least, they are not doing it as often as male journalists do. In addition, the wage scale of newsrooms are often lower for female than for male journalists. Thus, they start with an handicap. The difficulties female journalists face to reach higher positions, comes complements. By definition, they get less chance to get a raise. This is a loop. As we've seen in the subchapter about the potential solutions, newsrooms but not only, companies in general should be forced to display salaries in order to change this inequity. It has taken a considerable amount of time for gender equality to become present in media outlets, with much more work to do to achieve that balance.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This paper set out to answer the question: To what extent does gender stereotyping effect careers of female journalists in France and Ireland? This question was answered with this research thanks to the testimonies of seventeen female journalists across France and Ireland.

While the field is moving toward a numerical parity between female and male journalists within newsrooms, the bright side of statistics breaks first. Nonetheless, as reported in this dissertation this parity does not erase gender inequalities.

There is two categories of inequalities: the pervasive ones; the invidious ones.

In the first category, there are issues as the difficulty to access senior positions for women mostly due to motherhood and the gender-pay gap. The second category includes underlying inequalities. It includes the fact that women have to work a lot in order to feel commensurate, that humiliations from male counterparts are still commonplace and that the subjects they often write about do not get the recognition they deserved.

The injustice they endured over the course of their careers has no justification and with good reasons. Female journalists interviewed for this study are very college educated, very committed to their work and have the will to improve the field.

Not only to make the newsroom an equal place but also to preserve a certain quality in term of content. Which is an heavy task as it is detailed in the subchapter 4.5.

One of the initial aim of this dissertation was to make a comparison between French and Irish female journalists. Related to the topic, naturally. However, over the interviews, the finding was that French and Irish female journalists had to deal with the same issues. To not compare them through all chapters has strengthened the topic in term of response elements. Even though, the only differences that may have reported are that if we compare the two media landscapes, there are more female editors in France than there are in Ireland and that the topic soft news / hard news did not resonate the same way between French and Irish female journalists. Irish journalists were very much aware of it.

In contrast, generational differences have emerged. Participants who have an advanced career seems have experienced the heyday of the profession where everything seemed possible. However, they had to put up with the initial problems. They seemed to have experienced a lot more sexism than the new generation, had to fight to be heard and needed a high level of self confidence in order to practice their profession. A further distinction has been impulse, these female journalists seemed to be part of a generation for whom their work was a dominant part of their life. The balance between professional and personal life seemed less a priority for them than for the participants in early career. It is clear that the younger female journalists are also very committed to their work. Only, they mentioned more the need for a balance life and they put effort in order to try to have an healthy relationship with their work.

In this dissertation, other than denouncing the inequalities mentioned above, it was important to understand how gender stereotypes are shaping the daily work of female and male journalists and how they define their skills, with the question: who does

what? Thereby, these gender stereotypes are affecting, among others, decision making, tasks assignment, the news agenda and the choice in the sources. Female and male journalists have to keep taking action in order to denounce inequalities, although the effect are often not noticeable, the cause of female journalists starts to be heard and not only in academic research.

Bibliography

Beasley, M. and Theus, K. (1988). *The new majority*. Lanham u.a.: Univ. Pr. of America.

Beauvoir, S. (1949). *Le deuxième sexe*. Gallimard.

Challenges. (2019). *Egalité salariale chez Médiapart, un exemple à suivre?*. [online] Available at: https://www.challenges.fr/femmes/egalite-salariale-chez-mediapart-un-exemple-a-suivre_654934 [Accessed 31 Jul. 2019].

Chupin, I. (n.d.). *Les écoles du journalisme*.

Craft, S. and Wanta, W. (2004). *Women in the Newsroom: Influences of Female Editors and Reporters on the News Agenda*. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 81(1), pp.124-138.

Damian-Gaillard, B., Frisque, C. and Saitta, E. (2009). *Le journalisme au prisme du genre : une problématique féconde*. *Questions de communication*, (15), pp.175-201.

Data.metiers-presse.org. (2019). *"Profession journaliste, un espace data pour explorer les cartes de presse en France*. [online] Available at: <https://data.metiers-presse.org/> [Accessed 31 Jul. 2019].

Ec.europa.eu. (2019). *Gender pay gap statistics - Statistics Explained*. [online] Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Gender_pay_gap_statistics [Accessed 31 Jul. 2019].

Engels], [. (1988). *Engels on the Origin and Evolution of the Family*. *Population and Development Review*, 14(4), p.705.

Fitzpatrick Associates and O' Connell, P. J. (2005). *A review of higher education participation in 2003*. Dublin: The Higher Education Authority.

Franks, S. (n.d.). *Women and journalism*.

French, N. (2007) :*Journalism Education in Ireland*. *Irish Communications Review*, Vol. 10, 2007.

Goulet, V. (2009). *Dick May et la première école de journalisme en France. Entre réforme sociale et professionnalisation*. *Questions de communication*, (16), pp.27-44.

Grenby, M., Kasinger, M., Patching, R. and Pearson, M. (2019). Girls, girls, girls. A study of the popularity of journalism as a career among female teenagers and its corresponding lack of appeal to young males. [online] Research-repository.griffith.edu.au. Available at: <https://research-repository.griffith.edu.au/handle/10072/53042> [Accessed 31 Jul. 2019].

Hanitzsch, T. and Hanusch, F. (2012). Does gender determine journalists' professional views? A reassessment based on cross-national evidence. *European Journal of Communication*, 27(3), pp.257-277.

Kenny, M. (n.d.). Am I a feminist?.

La Revue des Médias. (2019). Féminisation du journalisme : encore un effort pour la parité et l'égalité !. [online] Available at: <https://larevuedesmedias.ina.fr/feminisation-du-journalisme-encore-un-effort-pour-la-parite-et-legalite> [Accessed 31 Jul. 2019].

Le Monde.fr. (2019). Journalistes, réseaux sociaux et harcèlement : comprendre l'affaire de la Ligue du LOL. [online] Available at: https://www.lemonde.fr/pixels/article/2019/02/10/journalistes-reseaux-sociaux-et-harcèlement-comprendre-la-polemique-sur-la-ligue-du-lol_5421698_4408996.html [Accessed 31 Jul. 2019].

Lett, D. (2013). *Hommes et femmes au Moyen Âge*. Paris: Armand Colin.

Mahon, E. (1994). L'accès des femmes au marché du travail : Le cas irlandais. *Les Cahiers du GRIF*, 48(1), pp.141-150.

Martin, P. and Barnard, A. (2013). The experience of women in male-dominated occupations: A constructivist grounded theory inquiry. *SA Journal of Industrial Psychology*, 39(2).

Máire Cross, « Il y a un siècle, le mouvement pour le suffrage des femmes en Irlande », *Genre & Histoire* [En ligne], 11 | Automne 2012, mis en ligne le 26 juillet 2013, consulté le 31 juillet 2019. URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/genrehistoire/1660>

Neveu, E. (2000). Le genre du journalisme. Des ambivalences de la féminisation d'une profession. *Politix*, 13(51), pp.179-212.

PwC. (2019). Women in Work Index. [online] Available at: <https://www.pwc.co.uk/services/economics-policy/insights/women-in-work-index.html> [Accessed 31 Jul. 2019].

Sheehan, A., Berkery, E. and Lichrou, M. (2017). Changing role of women in the Irish society: an overview of the female consumer. *The Irish Journal of Management*, 36(3), pp.162-171.

The Irish Times. (2019). Women at Work: 40 years of change. [online] Available at: <https://www.irishtimes.com/life-and-style/people/women-at-work-40-years-of-change-1.1420721> [Accessed 31 Jul. 2019].

Time. (2019). <https://time.com>. [online] Available at: <https://time.com/48603/cvs-health-launches-five-new-digital-health-features-including-an-apple-watch-app/> [Accessed 31 Jul. 2019].

Volz, Y. and Lee, F. (2013). What Does It Take for Women Journalists to Gain Professional Recognition?. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 90(2), pp.248-266.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

To what extent does gender stereotyping affect the careers of female journalists in France and Ireland?

Interviewee Information Sheet

I am writing to invite you to participate in my research project.

As a student in a final year of Master in journalism and media communications in Dublin, I am seeking to evaluate if being a woman is a disadvantage in journalism. I intend to frame my research within a dissertation that I will submit on the 1st of August this year to complete my degree.

To help you decide whether to take part I have detailed below what the research will involve for you and how the information will be collected and used. If you have any queries at this time, please do not hesitate to contact me at barbara.jh.debout@gmail.com.

What the study is about

For years the feminization of journalism has been evolving and growing. If the ideal parity is not reached, that evolution seems a priori positive. Unfortunately, when we lean on numbers we notice that this feminization is far from being complete and especially homogeneous.

My research, will seek to answer the following questions: (i) Do women have difficulties accessing hierarchical positions? (ii) Are prestigious press titles reserved for men? (iii) Are women journalist more inclined to precariousness? (iv) Are women more likely to quit the profession because of motherhood? (v) Due to their gender, are women facing difficulties in the newsroom? (vi) Do media companies prefer to hire men than women as a journalist? (vii) What does it take to be a successful journalist as a woman within the profession?

What the study will involve

I will use the data gathered from the National Union of Journalists (NUJ) in Ireland, in England and in the Netherlands to have a preview in a large scale. Furthermore, to get French data, I intend to contact the national organisation which give the French press card (CCIJP) and the organisation of women journalists (AFJ). I may also need to get back to you for a brief meeting if I need to clarify points from the original interview.

Confidentiality

I will not use your name in any reports of this work and it will not be made known who took part. I will use quotes from interviews to illustrate general points emerging from the study, but I will ensure the identity of the participants cannot be traced. My dissertation will be shared with you ahead of submission on the 1st August 2019. All information will be held anonymously, using ID codes, and kept in secure systems. Hard copy records will be shredded

APPENDIX B

To what extent does gender stereotyping affect the careers of female journalists in France and Ireland?

Consent to take part in research

- I..... voluntarily agree to participate in this research study.
- I understand that even if I agree to participate now, I can withdraw at any time or refuse to answer any question without any consequences of any kind.
- I understand that I can withdraw permission to use data from my interview within two weeks after the interview, in which case the material will be deleted.
- I have had the purpose and nature of the study explained to me in writing and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study.
- I understand that participation involves an audio-recorded interview.
- I understand that I will not benefit directly from participating in this research.
- I agree to my interview being audio-recorded.
- I understand that all information I provide for this study will be treated confidentially.
- I understand that in any report on the results of this research my identity will remain anonymous. This will be done by changing my name and disguising any details of my interview which may reveal my identity or the identity of people I speak about.
- I understand that disguised extracts from my interview may be quoted in dissertation, conference presentation and possibly in published papers etc
- I understand that if I inform the researcher that myself or someone else is at risk of harm they may have to report this to the relevant authorities - they will discuss this with me first but may be required to report with or without my permission.
- I understand that signed consent forms and original audio recordings will be retained in the personal computer of the researcher until the exam board confirms the results of the dissertation.

- I understand that a transcript of my interview in which all identifying information has been removed will be retained for 2 years after the exam board confirms the results of the dissertation.
- I understand that under freedom of information legalisation I am entitled to access the information I have provided at any time while it is in storage as specified above.
- I understand that I am free to contact any of the people involved in the research to seek further clarification and information.

Barbara Debout, MA in journalism and Media communications in Griffith College Dublin, +33660343656, barbara.jh.debout@gmail.com

Signature of research participant

Signature of participant

Date

Signature of researcher

I believe the participant is giving informed consent to participate in this study

Signature of researcher

Date