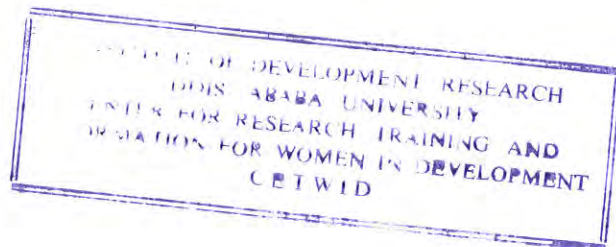


ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

**REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN ETHIOPIAN
NATIONAL NEWS MEDIA DECISION-MAKING**

BY ABEBECH WOLDE



JULY, 2007

ADDIS ABABA

**REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN ETHIOPIAN
NATIONAL NEWS MEDIA DECISION-MAKING**

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BY ABEBECH WOLDE

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Acronyms

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women
UNDAW	United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women
EMWA	Ethiopian Media Women Association
ENA	Ethiopian News Agency
EPA	Ethiopian Press Agency
ETV	Ethiopian Television
FDG	Focus Group Discussion
GMMP	Global Media Monitoring Project
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
MCC	Media Communication Center
NAP-EG	National Action Plan for Gender Equality
SNNPS	Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' State
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Science and Culture Organization
WIC	Walta Information Center

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Abstract

This research explores the representation of women in the Ethiopian national news media decision-making and the factors that deter women from enjoying equal participation in decision-making. The research focuses on national news media as these media are influential in the country due to their capacity to reach nationwide.

Researches in relation to media and communications are scarce in the country leave alone on specific issues like women and media. Among the very few efforts of research made on the area the available studies are traditional or non-feminist researches whose centre of research are not women. Few researches have been conducted on the content of news media and women.

This research, however, focuses on the representation of women in national news media specifically on their representation in decision making. The research is carried out from a feminist point of view, in that it not only makes its centre women but also has employed feminist research methodology. The major methodological approach is qualitative research. Quantitative research is also employed in order to substantiate the findings of the qualitative research. Accordingly, in-depth interview, focus group discussion and desk review methods have been used to collect data.

Findings of the research show that women in the Ethiopian national news media are still absent in top decision-making positions and women journalists are not only aware of this fact but also are conscious of some factors affecting women's participation in decision-making. In this respect some major factors arose from the descriptive and empirical data analysis as affecting women's participation in decision-making in terms of women's equal opportunities to decision-making and gendered division of labour. These are among others, lack of equal opportunities for promotion in decision-making, the masculine culture of newsrooms, male managers' attitudes towards women leadership and women's aspiration for decision-making positions and career achievements.

CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Women in Ethiopia play significant role in the social, political and economic development of the country. Almost 57 percent of Ethiopian women aged 15 or older participate in the workforce, ranking the country in terms of women's participation in workforce near the top globally and far ahead of any other African country for which data are available (The Boston Globe, 2006:1).

Women are engaged predominantly in the reproductive and community works, which involve tasks like child rearing, caring for family and community. These tasks are neither paid nor recognized as work. As far as women's participation in the formal sector is concerned they are still minority though there have been some developments in recent years. Women make up only 32 percent of permanent employees in the civil service, 10 per cent in professional and science fields and 23 percent in administrative positions (NAP-EG, 2005:6)

This research explores the representation of women in decision-making in the Ethiopian national news media from a feminist research perspective. According to a definition given by Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia (2007), the term "*news media*" refers to selections of mass media such as print media, broadcast media and internet media that focus on presenting current news to the public.

The research focuses on women journalists working in national print and broadcast news media in Ethiopia. Based on the Ethiopian Press Code (1992) I inferred the phrase "*national*" and adapted it to refer to those

news media whose circulation/transmission are not confined to one regional state as a distinction to local news media. “*Local news media*” are those whose circulation or transmissions are confined to one regional state.

The news media is one of the worksites in Ethiopia where women joined late. Modern journalism was introduced in Ethiopia in the second half of 19th century. However, women started to assume media jobs in the mid 20th century, with the first women producer joining the media in 1946/47 (1939 E.C) (Agaredech, 2002:91). Gradually the number of women working in the media has increased with the expansion of media in the country. Especially post 1990 has seen better number of women in the news media. This is attributed to the flourishing of private news media owing to the provision of freedom of the press, first reinforced by the Press Freedom Act (1992) and later by the Constitution (1995); expansions in government media, as well as training institutions in the areas of journalism and communications. Thus, by 2003 the number of women media practitioners reached around 152 (Agaredech, 2003). Another study in the same year shows that women journalists account for 15.4 percent of the total workforce in state-owned media (Haymanot, 2003).

However, women are invisible in decision-making in the news media. Women account for 24.3 percent of higher positions like ministers, commissioners, deputies, directors, division heads and ambassadors, in the civil service (NAP-GE, 2005:7). Available literatures show that women’s representation in news media decision-making, however, is far below this figure.

Women in media are also made to remain in limited line of job assignments (i.e soft news), which are mainly extensions of the roles in

the private domain, reinforcing the public/private dichotomy in the society. “*Soft news*” is about life styles, fashion, and shopping while “*hard*” news is about politics, economics, and government and more suitably reported by men (McCullagh, 2002: 47 quoted in Seble, 2006). “*Hard*” news is “*serious*”; “*fact based*” and “*soft news*” is “*light*” or “*human interest*”; “*interpretation-based*” (Carter, Branston & Allan, 1998).

How has it been difficult for women journalists to attain decision-making positions in the Ethiopian national news media? And how is that they have been assigned to line of assignments that may not probably help them gain recognition and reward in their career? This research addresses these questions and investigates the extent to which women are represented in decision-making positions in the Ethiopian national news media. It also tries to investigate the gendered processes affecting the participation of women in decision-making.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

As mentioned above women journalists have been participating in the media work place in Ethiopia since mid 20th century (Agaredech, 2002). More women are now joining the media. However, their number is almost nil in media decision-making positions which, indeed would have enabled them to decide over the information to be disseminated to the public.

Women journalists are acknowledged for their hard work by their supervisors (Agaredech, 2003:38-9) However, they are not promoted as men. Men are more promoted to decision- making positions than women with similar and at times even better qualifications and experiences. This is because of the gendered processes in news media. Gendered processes

are processes that favor or are biased towards one of the genders, usually men (Iowa State University, 2005:6). These processes are exemplified in promotion, division of labour, and news media policies, among others. According to Joan Acker (1992), gendered processes are the overt decisions and procedures that control, segregate, exclude, and construct hierarchies based on gender, and often race. They are the construction of images, symbols, and ideologies that justify, explain, and give legitimacy to institutions.

The news media is one of the worksites where there is strong assertion of gender-neutrality. However, feminist works in the worksite have refuted the frequent assertions of gender neutrality in work settings including the media (Martin, 2006; Steiner, 1998; Acker, 1990). According to Yancy Martin (2006), gender is practiced in all work settings ranging from insurance offices, restaurants, law firms, banks, construction sites, churches and factories. Martin believes that gender would still be present at those places even if people could leave it at the door, because it was already there. Media is no exception. Gender is there in the media worksite and women's participation in employment and decision-making are affected by the gendered practices in the media worksite.

1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The main objective of the study is to investigate the gendered processes that affect women's promotion to decision-making positions in the Ethiopian news media.

Specific objectives are:

- Relative to men, explore the extent of women journalists' participation in decision-making positions in national news media

- By examining the work lives of women journalists, investigate the gendered processes that affect women's equal participation in Ethiopian national news media decision-making positions in terms of:
 - a) Promotion opportunities, and
 - b) Division of labour.

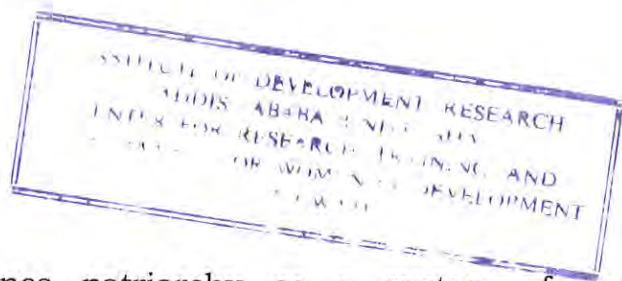
Research Questions:- The most salient questions that this study tries to answer are the following.

- How far have women been participating in decision-making in Ethiopian national news media
- What are the gendered processes, which are exhibited in terms of promotion and division of labour, that women journalists believe to affect their equal participation in Ethiopian national news media decision-making

1.4 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The various branches of feminism namely, liberal, radical, cultural and socialist have been giving different explanations about women's subordinate position in professions including journalism. The theory of gendered organizations under the general framework of radical feminism best explains the absence or low representation of women in decision-making positions in the news media worksite. Here understanding the dynamics of gender conceptualization and the concept of patriarchy is also important.

For radical feminists patriarchy is the root cause of women's oppression. The other aspect of radical feminism is its belief that women's culture and mode is best for society.



1.4.1 Patriarchy

Sylvia Walby (1995:20) defines patriarchy as a system of social structures and practices, in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women. She identifies six structures of patriarchy, namely, the patriarchal mode of production, patriarchal relations in paid work, patriarchal relations in the state, male violence, patriarchal relations in sexuality, and patriarchal relations in cultural institutions. According to her, patriarchy demonstrates itself in paid work by excluding women from the better forms of work and segregating them into the worst jobs which are deemed to require less skill. (1995:21).

Walby (1995:24) also identifies two forms of patriarchy: public and private patriarchy. According to her, private patriarchy is based upon household production as the main site of women's oppression while public patriarchy is based principally in public sites such as employment and the state. Patriarchal strategy, according to her, is exclusionary in private while it is segregationist and subordinating in the public.

1.4.2 Re-Conceptualizing Gender

According to Cathleen Armstead (1995:627-28), the starting point of feminist research is that gender is not simply one variable among others in society; rather, it is an organizing principle of society, which subordinates women to men. Both traditional and critical theorists have been conceptualizing and re-conceptualizing gender. Joan Acker (1992:566) suggests conceptualizing gender beyond as category, social role, or identity is necessary in order to understand how gender differentiation and women's disadvantage are produced. Accordingly, she

posits gender as the patterning of difference and domination through distinctions between women and men that is integral to many societal processes rather than being a specialized area within an accepted domain (Acker, 1992:565).

Acker (1992:565-567) acknowledges that a newer usage of gender is emerging in an attempt to find new avenues into the dense and complicated problem of explaining the extraordinary persistence through history and across societies of the subordination of women (Acker, 1990:145). In the emerging conceptualization, she says, gender stands for the pervasive ordering of human activities, practices, and social structures in terms of differentiations between women and men.

1.4.3 The Theory of Gendered Organization

The theory of gendered organizations rests on the assumption that organizations are gendered. Theorists of gendered organizations refute previously held assumption that organizations are gender-neutral. In addition they assert that organization practices and processes are partly responsible for the creation of gendered segregation of work and income and status inequality, as well as some aspects of gender identity (Acker, 1990:140).

Linda L. Lindsey (2005:1) suggests that all social interactions and the institutions in which the interaction occur are gendered in some manner. For theorists who comply with the assumption of complete gendered nature of organizations; it is the gendered processes that govern organizations.

The very fabric, texture and existence of organizations and all aspects of organizations are gendered. This is demonstrated in the very construction of organizations, both

in their formation in the context of external social relations and in their internal writings and structure (Harlow, Hearn and Parkin, 1995:92).

By gendered organizations, Acker (1990:146) means that the advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity are patterned through and in terms of distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine. Some theorists of gendered organization assert that most organizations are doubly gendered (Harlow, Hearn and Parkin, 1995:93). According to these theorists, the public domains and the organizations within them are valued over the private domain and also within organizations the structure and processes are themselves gendered. Theorists of gendered organizations identify a number of gendered processes in organizations. These are:

Overt decisions and procedures that control, segregate, exclude, and construct hierarchies based on gender, and often race; the construction of images, symbols and ideologies that justify, explain, and give legitimacy to institutions; interaction between individual and groups; and internal processes in which individuals engage as they are appropriately gendered for the institutional setting (Acker, 1992:568).

Elizabeth Harlow, Jeff Hearn and Wendy Parkin (1995:93) on their part identify the following gendered processes. Gendered division of labour, both formal and informal; division of authority; relationship of organizational participants to their domestic and related responsibilities; operation of sexuality within organizations and the relationship between the center and the margins of organization. According to the theorists, the organizations are patriarchal. Acker (1992:567) suggests the organizations are historically developed by men, currently dominated by men, and symbolically interpreted from the standpoint of men in leading positions, both in the present and past. These institutions have been defined by the absence of women.

I employ the theory of gendered organization in the framework of radical feminist theory for the understanding of women's representation in news media decision-making positions and the gendered processes affecting women's promotion. According to the theory of gendered organizations, organizations are partly responsible for perpetuating women's subordination in workplace, in family life and society in general. Accordingly, I argue that as any organization, the national news media in Ethiopia are gendered. Because of that they not only deny women journalists top management positions but also in so doing, they failed to serve men and women employees and audiences equally. The fact that women are denied to have a say on messages to be disseminated to the public has its own negative effect on women in general as it gives the society stereotypical message. Therefore, I will try to explain how the gendered processes in the news media in terms of promotion and division of labour perpetuate women's subordination in the news media worksite. An attempt is also made to describe the issues in question taking gender as constitutes, as opposed to a mere variable, women's subordination in the national news media.

1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This research fills the gap in the country in feminist research in general and feminist media and communication researches in particular. It can also serve as a spring board for future studies. The research benefits policy makers in formulating policies pertinent to gender and media. It can also be used in developing gender and media advocacy projects.

The study benefits women in general and media women in particular since the process of the study has involved some women in a process of knowledge construction. The study also benefits media institutions as it

helps them to evaluate their day to day gender practices and encourage them to seek ways to challenge their discriminatory practices.

1.6 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The research is not exhaustive with non-newsroom/external factors that affect or determine women journalists' participation in decision-making positions in the news media. Here one example could be women's and men's socialization since childhood, which has also immense contributions in creating opportunity for women to attain decision-making power.

The researcher tries to explore the problem from the women journalists' lived experiences. Although, it is believed that this research would fill the gap in non-feminist researches by bringing women's knowledge and experiences in knowledge construction including men's lived experiences could have given additional inputs in understanding the problem in question.

1.7 ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

The research is organized in five chapters. Chapter One, consists of background of the research, statement of the problem, objectives, significance and limitations of the study and organization of the thesis. Chapter Two discusses the various literatures related to the topic and gives insights into the various theoretical frameworks for the understanding of the research theme. Chapter Three explains the methodology of the research; Chapter Four deals with the findings. Finally, in Chapter Five summary and conclusion of the study are presented.

CHAPTER TWO - LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT & PROMOTION

Women's employment and promotion to decision-making positions in the media has been one of the central concerns of feminist media researchers at least for two reasons. The first is as part of realizing feminists' cause of bringing women's equality with men through employment as well as participation in decision-making. Sue A. Lafky (1993:87) quoted Simone de Beauvoir as saying "Opportunities through employment are central to women achieving equality with men." It is stated in the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995) that women's active participation in decision-making is mandatory in order to bring equality, development and peace.

The second reason is related to the assumptions of some feminists that women's participation in the media in general and in news media decision-making in particular would effect positive change in media content (Gallagher, 1987; Zoonen; 1998) and in challenging mass communication values, assumptions and practices (Creedon, 1993).

Literatures on women and media show that women have been participating in the field of journalism from the outset of the field (Henry, 1993:341; Beasley & Gibbons, 2003:5). However, throughout the world little is documented about the participation of women journalists in the media (Gallagher, 1987: 12; Steeves, 1993:43; Steiner, 1998:146). Most feminist media researches focus on content (Steiner, 1998:146) and images of women (Gallagher, 1987: 12; Steeves, 1993:43).

A relatively better literature is now found with reports being produced by nations on the status of women and media after the Fourth World Conference on Women adopted the Beijing Platform for Action in 1995 (Crossette, 2002). Especially in the United States, substantial literatures are found on women's participation in the media (Henry, 1993:341).

Available literature on women's participation in the media ranges from statistical data (GMMP 2005) to narrative documents of history of women journalists and literatures dealing with women's occupational status within news organizations and the relationships between media jobs and media output or content.

Inconsistent and sometimes contradictory assertions have been made by feminist media researchers about women's presence and numerical representation in the media. This is evidenced by two papers presented at United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women (UNDAW) Expert Group Meeting in relation to women and media in Lebanon from 12 to 15 November 2002.

Margaret Gallagher (2002) asserts that women are 'present' as an important middle-level cohort of producers, directors, journalists and reporters in the media of any countries around the world. She also claims that the presence of women as newscasters and programme presenters in the broadcast media has been increasing. She says that is a wide spreading phenomenon.

Crossette (1998), on her part, points out that everywhere women are leaving news organizations. This finding is concurrent with what Cynthia Carter, Gill Braston and Stuart Allan (1998:4) found that women are

affected by news organizations' trimming down of number of journalists due to a growing commodification of news.

In general, employment data on women and media in the world are incomplete and unreliable (Steeves, 1993:43). For this reason it had also been difficult to come up with a certain percentage point for women journalists' numerical representation in the news organization in the world. Therefore, available data on women's employment in the news media were presented at regional or national levels. Accordingly, H. Leslie Steeves (1993: 43) indicates that researches found that women made up more than 30 percent of the total media workforce in Costa Rica, Chile, Taiwan, Venezuela, Cuba, Thailand and the United States while they made up less than five percent in Bangladesh, Peru, Japan, Haiti and Honduras. Gallagher (2002), on her part recollects that she found out in 1995 that approximately a third of radio and television producers in Southern Africa and in Latin America were women. The equivalent figure in Europe was 37 percent. Data on women's presence in the news organizations in the United States show women made up 33.8 percent of the journalistic workforce in 1982-1983 up from 20.3 percent in 1971 (Lafky, 1993:89). Researches in Asia indicate women are entering careers in news organizations in increasing numbers though they still hold few decision-making positions (Crossette, 2002:4).

Coming to literatures in Africa, women and mass media in Africa are under researched (Imam, 1992). Nonetheless, some researches on the issue have been undertaken in different parts of Africa over the past 15 years. A research undertaking published four years after Imam's book shows women are underrepresented in the media in South Africa at the verge of the 21st century (Haysom, 1996). Crossette (2002:5) indicates that UNESCO reported at a symposium in Toronto in 1995, that women journalists in Egypt represented 28 percent of the profession, they

accounted for less than 10 percent of accredited journalists in Jordan, and represented less than 15 percent in Morocco and about 21 percent in Tunisia.

Beijing Plus Ten Report on Women and Media (2005) indicates that a study had been conducted in 1990 on the status and roles of women who work in the media in seven African countries, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. This study reveals that men constitute eighty-five to ninety percent of workers in the most technical positions of the media whereas women hold the majority of administrative posts.

Another literature shows there had been attitudinal problems among the society about women journalists in Nigeria during the 1980s. Women were getting opportunity to assume job in the media only through women's page. The same source indicates that the presence of women editors didn't prove to bring impact on the sexist orientation of media and hiring of women journalists in Nigeria. Instead, change was registered due to young male and female journalists who were against women's and children's abuse (Amadiume, 2000).

Few global media monitoring have come out with figures for women's participation in journalism organizations around the world. The Global Media Monitoring Project 2005, which monitored news in 76 countries on 16 February 2005, found that 37 percent of the total news reported on the monitoring date was reported by women. Crossette (2002) indicates that another survey by a Canadian organization, Media Watch, using the News Monitoring Guide developed by Erin Research, found that 43 percent of journalists worldwide are women.

Nonetheless, I doubt this finding could be flawed about the presence of women in the news. The news media monitoring tool is basically developed to guide monitoring of news for the appearance of women and their issues of concern in news. The GMMP also uses this guide to monitor women journalists' appearance and presence representation in news. As mentioned above in 2005 the project found that 37 percent of the total news reported on the monitoring day, February 16, 2005, was reported by women. But this doesn't mean that women journalists account for 37 percent of the total journalists as there could be possibilities that the women could report more than one news on the same day.

Gallagher (2002) observes the increased presence of women on the screen and in a few other high-profile positions mislead people that women are fairly participating in news media jobs. She indicates that a survey carried out in Lima, Peru in 1997 showed 51 percent of people thought there were about equal numbers of women and men working in television while 31 percent thought there were actually more women than men. But, according to her, this same study showed that women held only about a quarter of jobs in television. "*Women's visibility in some media occupations actually hides their absence from others*" (Gallagher, 2002:5).

Equal opportunity for women in employment is one of the gains of women's movement. By now many countries of the world have enacted anti-discriminatory laws in employment. Nonetheless, literatures show that in practice, equality between women and men in employment has not been achieved to the full.

Women are still minorities in news organizations as compared to the presence of men and the presence of women graduates of journalism

schools. Less number of women than men graduates of journalism schools assume jobs in news media in United States although the number of women in journalism schools exceeds the number of men (Beasley, Gibbons, 2003:248; Gallagher, 2002:8; Steeves, 1993:44).

Many socio-economic and political factors inside and outside the media determine women's participation in the news media in general and in decision-making in particular.

Lafky (1993) distinguishes two kinds of discriminations: Social or pre-labour market and labour market discriminations that women face in employment.

Labor market discrimination occurs when two equally qualified persons are treated differently in the workforce on the basis of their gender, race, age, sexual orientation, disability, or some other factor. Societal discrimination includes the differences in roles in the workforce and in the home as well as the sex role socialization that leads males and females to believe that some work is appropriate for males and not females. Societal discrimination adversely affects the economic status of women by producing difference in workforce status or economic outcomes that cannot be accounted for by differences in productivity – related characteristics or the qualifications of the individual, such as education or experience (Lafky, 1993: 88).

Discrimination against women in employment in news media can be exemplified in recruitment, in jobs and specific assignments at work, in payment, access to decision-making, promotion, training, fieldwork and travel among others.

Gallagher (2002) recalls that she found in her research in 1995 male journalism graduates in various countries are more successful than females in finding jobs in the profession and that men advance more quickly than women after recruitment.

Research released in 2002 by the Minority Media and Telecommunications Council (MMTC) in the United States found that in 1999, 15 percent of broadcasters, 19 percent of cable companies and 19 percent of newspapers intentionally discriminated against women (Gallagher, 2002:8).

In a broader context expansion of news media at national level can affect women's participation in the media. Sue A. Lafky (1993) indicates that women made slow progress in the journalistic workforce during 1980s partly because of the slow expansion of that workforce. "*The greatest gains in the journalistic workforce for women and people of color take place at times when media organizations are expanding their staffs and are actively pursuing affirmative action hiring practices*" (Lafky 1993:91). The same is true to women's participation in media in Ethiopia. Studies show that many women made their stride to jobs in news media with the expansion of news media in private and government media.

2.2 WOMEN'S ROLE IN NEWS MEDIA

Most of the literatures show that the number of women joining the media industry is increasing. This is evident especially by the ever increasing number of women in journalism schools. Their number exceeds those of men. But this doesn't guarantee women's participation in the news media as journalists.

Figures for women's participation in top management show that women are almost nonexistent. Women were represented in about a quarter of middle management jobs, but held fairly few top management positions through the 1980s (Gist, 1993:104). What is more, researches indicate that women's participation in decision-making in some countries has

been stagnant and some showing decline. The small number of women holding decision-making positions is heading entertainment programmes and the like. In newsrooms, women who hold high-level titles frequently have little power to go with those descriptions in day-to-day decision-making. Many women in journalism find the constant internal politicking and jostling for position tiring and distasteful (Crossette, 2002: 6).

2.3 RELEVANCE OF WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT AND PROMOTION ESPECIAL TO MEDIA

2.3.1 Positive Change in Media Content

Literatures on the relationship between women's presence in news media and media output show that the debate on minority position of women both in number and status is common in other male-dominated professions. However, the debate about women in journalism, according to Liesbet van Zoonen (1998), "*has taken on an additional relevance due to the particular tasks and requirements of journalism in democratic societies, one of which is believed to be the production and distribution of balanced and fair information.*" She continues to say:

It was and is often said that the minority position of women in journalism affects the quality of the news product, be it the press or television. Because the news is made by men, it is thought to reflect the interests and values of men too, and therefore, news cannot serve very well the needs of this famous other fifty percent of the population, namely women (Zoonen, 1998:33),

Marilyn E. Gist (1993:104) for example indicates that some media organizations found that the underrepresentation of one group of society in news media workforce leads to racial and gender bias in news coverage, failure to cover issues of significance to the community, and a potentially harmful impact on readers' and audiences' attitudes and tolerance within the circulation area.

As indicated above, feminists assumed women's employment in the media would effect some positive changes in media content and mass media values and assumptions. *"I expected that as women entered the workforce of mass media they would act as change agents forcing gender assumption to be exposed"* (Creedon, 1993: 4).

Crossette (2002:3) indicates surveys show that the mere presence of women in newsrooms does not, for a variety of reasons, mean more visibility of women in news reporting. She asserts Media Watch found that there are only 17 percent of women interviewees while women were accounted for 43 percent of journalism workforce worldwide. On the other hand, there is the largest percentage of women quoted in news reports in North America, the Caribbean and Africa where there are relatively low representation of women in journalism workforce.

As far as the reasons for the failure are concerned Gallagher attributes to the invisible barriers. According to her, the invisible barriers are *"the attitudes, biases and presumptions, which, curiously, even the women themselves, do not recognize as 'discrimination', though they clearly function in a discriminatory way"* (Unesco, 1987: 9)

2.3.2 Challenging Mass Media Values and Assumptions

Creedon (1993), on her part, takes us to another explanation. According to her, there are many possible reasons: the fact that *"Feminist theory has had little effect on mass communication research;"* that *"the increased number of women in the field has had no significant effect on the practice;"* and that *"mass communication education has remained essentially unchanged"* (Creedon, 1993:)

Crossette (2002:4) indicates it is observed that women media practitioners are not automatically gender-sensitive by virtue of their gender, and that feminist perspectives find space in the media not only because of women being in positions of editors or director.

Gallagher (1987:) concludes saying, *“Scaling the invisible barriers are a much more hazardous and lengthy process than the removal of the visible obstacles to equality between women and men”* (Gallagher 1987). Creedon suggests *“re-visioning”*. *“Re-visioning –the act of looking back, of seeing with fresh eyes, of entering an old text from a new critical direction – is for women than a chapter in cultural history; it is an act of survival. Until we can understand the assumptions in which we are drenched, we cannot know ourselves”* (Creedon, 1993: 22).

2. 4 THE ETHIOPIAN CONTEXT

Local literatures on media in general and media women in particular are scarce. *“There are no formal and exhaustive studies of the Ethiopian media”* (Gebremdihn, 2006:22). At least to the knowledge of this researcher there is no research on promotion of women journalists to decision making either leave alone to find a research dealing with the interrelation between the gendered processes in the news media and promotion of women journalists to decision making.

Some available literatures are unpublished researches probably presented at workshops in different times. A study of media women by Alem Seged (2005) indicates few women have reached positions beyond presenters, producers and editors, with the exception of one who

deputized as head of ETV and another appointed as Vice-Minister in the indicated period.

Women media practitioners remain responsible for dealing with women issues both in the electronic and print media in government-owned media, while in the private press there seems to be more flexibility (Alem Seged, 2005).

Statistical data on women journalists' representation in news media is almost non-existent in the country. Attempts, however, have been made by few researchers to compile data from different media houses. Alem Seged Herouy (1999) found that there were 198 women of the total 586 people employed by Radio Ethiopia. Her findings reveal that 48 of the women were programme staffs while two women were programme coordinators. In similar development she indicates that of the total 124 employees of Radio Fana women were 43 of whom 16 were working as programme staff. Data she collected on representation of women journalists from three newspapers published by the Ethiopian Press Agency indicates that there were four editors, seven senior reporters and four reporters. The figures for the Ethiopian Television were three serial producers, six producers and seven reporters.

Another research on gender representation of journalists in private and government media found that women journalists account for 15.4 percent in government media while they represent 18.7 percent in private media (Hymanot, 2004:63). The same research reveals that women are absent on top positions in the media houses.

A preliminary survey conducted by Agaredech (2003) shows that there are around 152 women media practitioners in the country. Another

finding of this research is that most these women are interested to cover 'soft' news in conformity with what most media houses assign them.

There are now quite few academic researches in media. Among those limited literatures most are traditional media researches, which are characterized by either ignoring women journalists' history and their contributions in the field (Gebremdihn, 2006) or mentioning "women/gender" as variables (Amanuel, 2005; Birhanu, 2006). Nonetheless, it is important to review some of the traditional researches as they can give a general understanding of the conditions of media in the country by which women journalists are also affected.

Amanuel Gebru (2005) indicates in his Masters thesis, "*Job Satisfaction of Journalists of the Ethiopian Federal State Media*," that men and women journalists in the state media are unanimously dissatisfied in their work. He explains that dissatisfaction of journalists in their work has led them to leave their organization and at times the profession. This is negative in light of the fact that the number of practicing women journalists in the country is very low. It has also adverse effect on the promotion of women journalists to decision-making as work experience is one of the criteria for promotion.

On the other hand, promotion was indicated in the thesis as one of the determinant factors contributing to job satisfaction of women and men journalists. According to him, promotion is an objective for many workers, and its attainment is apparently a source of satisfaction. His findings show that women are more dissatisfied than men in promotion and operating conditions, pay matters, organizational communication and their nature of work.

But, the research doesn't show us whether attained positions/status/ of journalists in the media predict job satisfaction. The different positions in news media worksite embrace different privileges and responsibilities. Decision-making positions give journalists power not only to decide over on what they report and on what the media reports but also authority over subordinates.

Political affiliation of journalists is another variable missed out in the research. As indicated above Alem Seged claims that experienced women were forced out of their jobs during 1990 to 2004 and replaced by loyal supporters (of the ruling party/government that owns government media) in state media.

It also missed out gender specific variables like discrimination against women in workplace. In addition the research findings cannot be generalized to Ethiopian journalists as it focuses on journalists working for state national media. The private media is a different context and it would have added another perspective in the findings had it been considered in the study.

More importantly, the research has also a problem in its approach i.e taking the news media worksite as gender-neutral. However, feminist works on work place have been refuting such assumptions (Martin, 2006; Steiner, 1998; Acker, 1990).

Another research in media and communication in Ethiopia is by Gebremedhin Simon (2006). It is worth mentioning that this research gives a general understanding on the development of media in the country.

According to this research, lack of competent journalists is a major constraint on the development of Ethiopian media. In conformity with the findings of Amanuel, this research has come out with the findings that the journalism profession is not well paid. In addition it indicates that journalists tend to be very young. Berhanu (2006) found out in his Masters Thesis research that the age of the majority of journalists is less than 40 years old with less than 10 years of experience in journalism. This may be because experienced journalists are leaving the profession because of their dissatisfaction in their work as elaborated by Amanuel and Alem Seged.

Those listed local literatures are typical examples of traditional researches that leave out women's contribution and history. For example Gebremedhin (2006: 40) leaves out the contribution of the Ethiopian Media Women Association (EMWA), the only media women association in the country. The association is not mentioned among the lists of stakeholders contributing to media development through organizing training to journalists and conducting awareness raising workshops and programs. On the other hand, some organizations of men or men-dominated associations which might not have had contributions as well as EMWA were given space in the research. EMWA was not even mentioned among stakeholders, who were involved in discussion forums on the Press Law despite its active participation. (2006: 67).

Feminists have been arguing that "*mainstream*" communication researches ignore women's contribution. According to Pamela J. Creedon (1993), three types of resistance prevail in mass communication research. These are annihilation, accommodation and appropriation.

She explains annihilation as it occurs in a research context when feminist theory or the input of individual feminists is ignored or

considered to be of no importance, which in effect, symbolically annihilates its value.

According to her, accommodation occurs when the existence of feminist scholarship is acknowledged in one's research but not incorporating it in any substantive way in the construction of meaning. She says this approach is found in studies where the fact that social changes occurs is acknowledged, but the interpretation of the study's findings is based on traditional dominant values.

Appropriation, she explains, occurs when new strains of mass communication scholarship develop without conscious acknowledgement of their relationship with –or origins in- feminist scholarship.

A few academic Masters Thesis researches by School of Graduate Studies of Addis Ababa University are on women and media. Seble Bekele (2006), in her Masters thesis, "*Gender Representation in News: A Critical Perspective on print media,*" explores how news ideology/values has presented itself as a tool in silencing women making them among the voiceless groups in our society.

In addition, she indicates that some topics were predominately reported by women while some others by men. Female journalists predominate in topics such as family relations, children, women's rights issues, poverty, housing and welfare, art/fashion and entertainment. Sports seems to be the least reported area by women. By contrast most male journalists cover what is termed as "*hard*" or "*serious*" topics such as politics, government, business, economy, law, crime, agriculture and environment, urban development, science and technology (Seble, 2006:59). She also found that covering "*hard*" news is one of the parameters for "*professional success.*"

Another Masters thesis by Martha Getachew (2005) reaffirms job segregation in the news media in line with gender. Martha's study focuses on content of the media with regard to their coverage on domestic violence and attitude of Ethiopian media editors towards domestic violence and its influences on how it is reported.

In her research Martha found out that the assumption among the so called gate keepers – editors and chief-editors – in news media is that domestic violence is women's issue and shall be covered in women's sections by women journalists. In addition her research reveals that the gate-keepers have low knowledge about the issue. However, her research does not show whether there has been difference in perception/attitude between women and men editors about domestic violence and its coverage by the media.

CHAPTER THREE - METHODOLOGY

3.1 DESIGN OF THE STUDY

The major methodological approach of this research is qualitative. What is more, I also employed quantitative research to substantiate the findings of the qualitative research. The research is an interpretive research, a research that relies on first-hand accounts, that tries to describe what it sees in rich details, and presents its 'findings' in engaging and sometimes evocative language (Blanche, Kelly & Durrheim, 2006:274).

In order to understand the gendered processes that put women at lower positions in news media worksite I took feminist stance within interpretive research in collecting data.

Feminist research is distinguished from other social science researches in that it attempts to create equal and democratic relationships between the researcher and the researched (Armstead, 1995:628). Lather (1988) says feminist research preserves the presence of subject "as knower and actor – active and experiencing subject and both changed and changer subject and object." Feminist research is also distinguished by its acknowledgment to and validation of participants' own knowledge, and has an agenda for political change – to eliminate or reduce social inequalities based on gender (Armstead, 1995; Lather, 1988). More importantly, feminist research is characterized by construction of knowledge from the standpoint of women.

Feminist research doesn't ascribe to either of methodological approaches in social sciences, namely, qualitative and quantitative research. Instead,

it is acknowledged for endorsing usage of qualitative and quantitative approaches in combination in one research; resolving the antagonism or “the divide” believed to have prevailed between the two approaches. Feminists have made major contributions by finding concepts and practices that resist “dualisms,” and they urge resistance to the qualitative-quantitative division (Sprague & Zimmerman, 1993; DeVault, 1996).

Critique by DeVault (1996) on the two approaches reveals that the mere the research approach being qualitative or quantitative cannot quench the methodological demands of feminist research. Each has its own strength and shortfall as far as their abilities to fulfill methodological demands of feminist research are concerned.

What makes a qualitative or quantitative approach feminist is commitments in finding women and their concerns and in making women participate in knowledge construction, among others. According to feminists, the knowledge we have about the world suffers from partiality since the knowledge we are provided with is formulated from the point of men.

3.2 METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

Feminist researches do not also prescribe to certain methods. Rather feminists are characterized by acknowledging using multiplicity of methods as would allow researchers to study the “greatest possible range of subject matters and reach a broad set of goals” (Reinharz, 1992). Reinharz continued and suggested, “*Multiple methods enable feminist researchers to link past and present, ‘data gathering’ and action, and individual behavior with social frameworks.*” Hence, my field work

consists of individual in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and review of documents.

Data from the in-depth interview and focus group discussion as well as document reviewing were collected from the first week of April to the end of May 2007. Both the focus group discussion and the in-depth interviews were conducted in Amharic for ease of communication between the participants and the researcher. The interviews and the focus group discussions were audio taped, transcribed verbatim and translated into English for analysis.

3.2.1 Individual In-depth Interview

I chose in-depth interview in order to understand the women journalists' experience and their understandings and perspectives on their status in news media worksite. In light of the fact that the area women and media is under researched in Ethiopia, the in-depth interview attempts to give in-depth information. It is said that in-depth interview is extremely useful in situations where either in-depth information is needed or little is known about the area (Kumal, 1999:109). As Elaine Cambell (2001) says about her interviewing policemen in a feminist research, the interview would give expression to and validate the participant's experience of organizational life.

Sixteen women journalists working for national news media in the country participated in the in-depth interview. The participants were selected from Addis Ababa, from where all national news media outlets are based.

Although purposive sampling override the selection of participants, an effort was also made to balance the representation of the participants in terms of type of ownership and news media genre (like print or broadcasting) and language of the news media outlet for which they work; participant's years of experience, marital status, position and the like.

In some circumstances I was flexible in choosing participants. A case in point is in selecting participants from private media. I faced a problem of obtaining the number of women journalists I planned to include in the research from the private media. There were not many women journalists from the private media qualifying a criterion of minimum of two years continuous experience in the news media. Therefore, I took the total services or experiences they have in journalism in selecting some of the participants from private media. I was also obliged to replace some participants working for government media by others from the same media outlet after I established rapport with them. This was mainly because the journalists were unable to be available for the interview due to work burden.

Most of the individual in-depth interviews were held at the office of the Ethiopian Media Women Association (EMWA), while some were at public places and one at the interviewee's office. The participants and I were arranging our meetings during their spare time, the participants had including weekends and holidays.

The in-depth interviewees took 45 minutes to an hour and half on average. Most of the interviews started with questions inquiring about interviewees' personal and work information. Even though the interviewees were briefed about the research project prior to the interview date over the phone, to most of the participants, and face-to face, to few

of the participants, a brief introduction was given for each participant about the project at the beginning of the interview. The participants were also informed about their rights in the processes through a consent form both the researcher and the participants signed.

Entry and establishing rapport were not problems. I had access to most of the journalists through various means. I knew most of the journalists and was known to many of them at least by name due to my experience in one of the newspapers, education at journalism school and my relations with EMWA to which most of the participants are also members. I approached those women journalists personally while I preferred to approach journalists whom I didn't know through their friends.

3.2.2 Focus Group Discussion

Two focus-group discussions were held. The purpose of the focus group was to ignite a dialogue between group members on focused questions. Media women from different categories were represented in each focus group discussions. A total of 14 women journalists, manageable size of eight in the first and six in the second, took part in the focus group discussions. Caroline Oates (2000) suggests that a focus group discussion with a number of participants between six and ten is more manageable. Initially I planned to have some more focus group discussions. However, after the participants and I ran the two focus group discussions, I felt that there was no need for me to collect additional materials. This is referred by researchers as "*theoretical saturation*." Theoretical saturation, according to Kevin (2006:288), marks the point when one stops collecting new material because it no longer adds anything new to the existing findings. According to this author, six

to eight data sources or sampling units often suffice for a homogeneous sample. I obtained data I wanted to collect from these discussions. Oates (2000) quotes Lunt and Livingstone (1996) as suggesting that the researcher should continue to run new groups until the last group has nothing to add, but simply repeats previous contributions. Even during the second focus group discussion there were repetitions of what was said in the first group discussion.

The discussions were held at EMWA office in two consecutive days, the first on May 26 and the second on May 27, 2007. Each focus group discussion lasted for about two hours.

The group discussions were represented by participants from private and government media. Care was also taken to have the representation of the broadcasting and print media as well as those in academics and consultancy.

In the course of each group discussions an attempt was made not to have the discussions dominated by few members of the discussion groups. I tried to give chances to each members of the group on each topic round and I gave additional chances later on for those who want to add up something and the like.

Both the individual and group interviews focused on lived experiences of the women journalists in terms of promotion and gendered division of labour.

3.2.3

Desk and Document Review

I reviewed available Human resource management manual at The Ethiopian Press Agency (EPA), governmental media that publishes four newspapers and one magazine and MCC, a private media publishing two newspapers and one magazine, Ethiopian Television (ETV), Walta Information Centre (WIC), a ruling party media, in order to supplement data I obtained from individual and group interviews.

In addition to data obtained from qualitative methods of data collection gender disaggregated data of journalists by number and assignment as well as by position were collected at 17 national private and government print and broadcasting media outlets. Relevant literatures are also reviewed.

3.3 THE RESEARCH SETTING

The research setting is Addis Ababa, where there is huge accumulation of media outlets. The research covers national media outlets of both government and private, print and broadcasting media. Data obtained from the Ministry of Information indicates that there were 68 newspapers and magazines (national) published and distributed in July 2006 (Gebremedhin, 2006:34). Nonetheless, it is only a few newspapers and magazines that are coming out regularly.

Major national media outlets are covered in the research through the various data collection methods. All government national media organizations, namely, the Ethiopian Press Agency (EPA), the Ethiopian Television (ETV) and Radio, The Ethiopian News Agency (ENA) including

Police ena Ermejaw, Police Television and Radio, are covered in the research in one or more data collection methods.

Among the private media I have considered, Media Communications Centre (MCC) that publishes an Amharic and English newspapers, *Addis Admas*, *Capital*, *Sub Saharan Informer*. Among magazines I have considered *Rose* and *My Fashion*. In addition WIC and *Radio Fana*, party affiliated media, are covered in different data collection methods. Gender disintegrated data was collected from the above three government media houses. The news media houses are selected based on their circulation, establishment and their reputation, among others.

3.4 RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

A total of sixteen women journalists from each national media houses listed above have participated in individual in-depth interview while 14 women journalists have taken part in the focus group discussion. Women journalists working for *Rose*, and *My Fashion* magazines as well as a number of freelance journalists have also participated in the research through in-depth interviewing. The women journalists are selected based on purposive sampling based on a criterion of two years and above services in a national news media.

I contacted many women journalists and sent consent request form to those women who expressed willingness to participate in the research. The participants also filled a form on their demographic background. An attempt was made to get input from the participants on the interview questions.

3.5 THE ROLE OF THE RESEARCHER AS PARTICIPANT

During the interview and focus group discussions I was bringing my own experience to encourage participants open up and discuss freely with the understanding that the researcher has similar experience. This process is known as “reflexivity.” Reflexivity is defined by some feminists as the writing of self into, the locating of self within the research process.” Reflexivity is the examination of the ways in which the researcher’s own social identity and values affect the data gathered and the picture of the social world produced (Vernon, 1999).

The use of 'self as source' presents a very different relationship between the researcher and the researched compared to that of the traditional experimenter and subject. In feminist research, at the very least, both the researcher and the researched are to be regarded as having the same status as participants or collaborators in the same enterprise.

From feminist’s point of view reflexivity evolves at various stages of feminist research. At pragmatic level it evolves when a feminist research turns out to be researched about. At methodological level, the researcher becomes also the subject of the research. A key feature of feminist research is the acknowledgment that the production of knowledge is a social process in which the researcher herself plays an important part.

3.6 DATA INTERPRITATION AND ANALYSIS

The approach that I have followed is interpretive data analysis pattern as it helps to understand the situation in focus.

The purpose of interpretive analysis is to provide “thick description”, which means a thorough description of the characteristics, processes, transactions, and contexts that

constitute the phenomenon being studied, couched in language not alien to the phenomenon, as well as an account of the researcher's role in constructing this description (Clifford, Geertz (1973) quoted in Blanche, Durrhim and Kelly, 2006:321).

To that end, I have read my field notes and the transcribed data of audio-tapped voices of participants repeatedly in order to familiarize myself more with the information collected from individual in-depth interview and focus group discussions. The voices and views of research participants are translated and presented verbatim. Participants are given pseudonyms and the respective media houses in which they work are not also mentioned by name in order to keep them from any risk.

Thematic analysis is carried out by identifying, coding and categorizing themes arising from the data through induction. The findings of the thematic analysis are substantiated by the findings of the desk reviews in different selected media institutions. This includes: three government media organizations with a total of 12 outlets; one private media organization with two outlets; two other private newspapers and one ruling party affiliated media organization. The data from desk review is described in a frequency distribution based on categorical data. (See table 1. on page 45).

CHAPTER FOUR - FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

This chapter presents the voices and views of research participants including analysis of other data collected from different sources. The chapter also deals with the analysis on the representation of women journalists in decision-making positions in national news media.

4.1 DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF PARTICIPANTS

A total of 30 women journalists have participated in the research. These are from 16 national media houses, Addis Ababa University Undergraduate School of Journalism (2 FGD participants) and representatives of women and media advocacy groups.

The socio-demographic profile of participants is presented in terms of age, place of birth, ethnicity, religion, education and marital status. It also considered media type (print or broadcast); and media ownership (government, party, private). Categorization is also made based on participants' position and salary ranges.

Accordingly, it is only one participant who is less than 20 (19) years of old while 17 participants are between 22 and 30, seven participants are between 31 and 40, two participants are 47 and two are over 50 years of age. One participant did not specify her age. This shows that the majority of women journalists are young, a similar finding with Gebremdhin's (2006) and Birhanu's (2006) about the average age of journalists in Ethiopia. According to Birhanu (2006), the typical Ethiopian journalist in terms of age is less than 40 years old.

Regarding the participants' place of birth, most of the participants (24) were born in Addis Ababa. Three participants in Oromia while the rest were in SNNPS, Harari and Amhara national regional states.

The demographic/ethnic background of the participants is as follows: 17 Amhara, three each Tigre, Oromo and Guraghe, one participant is Ethiopian Somali. Two participants preferred to identify themselves as Ethiopians while one participant does not specify her ethnic background. Concerning religion of the participants, except one who does not properly specify, 27 of them claimed to be Christians representing three denominations: Orthodox, Protestant and Catholic. The remaining two state they are Muslims.

It is said that journalism doesn't go with family responsibility especially for women. Probably for that reason majority of the participants of this research are single at the time data was collected. Of the total participants 19 are single, eight married, one engaged, one separated, and one divorced. Regarding level of education of the participants, 11 have diploma, 12 B.A, three M.A/MSC, two have certificate while another two participants state they are attending for their first degree in a school of journalism.

The distribution of participants by type of media ownership is fair as equal number (11) of participants is represented from both private and government media. Two participants from ruling party media outlets and two from advocacy groups, two from schools and two do not specify. Distribution of participants based on media type indicates that nine of the participants are from broadcast media, 16 from print media, one from news agency and four state working for both print and broadcasting.

With regard to positions of the participants in their respective media houses, few of them are at higher positions. The data reveals that one participant is editor-in-chief, one is deputy editor-in-chief and two are senior editors. Some participants are in middle cohort; nine are editors, one deputy editor, one producer and one assistant producer. What is more, five are senior reporters, six reporters, and one

communications and publications officer (representative from advocacy) and two students.

Salary range is found only for 16 participants out of the 30 participants. Of these, three are earning less than Birr 1000.00, (600-800.00), five between Birr 1001 and 1500, seven getting between 1501 and 2000. This is a bit higher as compared to what Birhanu (2006) found in his thesis for the salary of a typical journalist in Ethiopia. According to him, the typical journalist in Ethiopia earns a monthly income that ranges between Birr 1000 to 1500. Therefore, this finding couldn't corroborate the perceived assertions that women are paid low as compared to men in paid work.

The socio-demographic data indicates that 13 of the total 30 participants are in decision-making positions, i.e., editor and above. A close observation of the socio-demographic representation of participants in decision-making positions reveals that among the women journalists, young, Christian, single women from Amhara ethnic group predominate in news media decision-making. According to the findings of this research, of the 13 women in decision-making positions five are below 30 years old, three between 31 and 40, two between 41 and 50 and two over 50, one does not mention her age. Almost all (9) but three are from Amhara ethnic group. One is Oromo, two mentioned to be Ethiopians and one didn't specify. As far as religion of the women in decision-making is concerned, all were Christians. Majority of the women decision-makers (7) are single while four are married, one is divorced and another one is separated. The data also reveals that equivalent numbers of women decision-makers are spread in private and government as well as in broadcast and print media.

As far as the participants' education is concerned, 12 have B.A and two are attending for B.A course, 11 Diploma, three, M.A and two with certificates.

According to the socio-demographic profile of the participants, only four of the total 30 participants have less than five years or no (2 students of FGD participants) experience. The rest have over five years of experience. However, it is only half of the population (13) with five and above five years of experience has attained decision-making positions. The remaining half holds subordinate positions. If we take the participants at top media positions, i.e., from senior editor to editor-in-chief, two have 25 years of experience while the remaining two have five and six years of experience.

As can be understood from these findings the majority of women journalists in general and those in decision-making positions in particular are Amhara, Christian and originally from Addis Ababa.

4.2 WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING POSITIONS, RELATIVE TO MEN

4.2.1 Decision-making

"Authority is a highly valued attribute of jobs because it is status conferring and shapers how financial rewards are allocated to workers." (Wright et al. (1995) quoted in Huffman and Cohen, 2004). The said authority, however, is not accessible to many disadvantaged groups particularly to women. Such unfair practices are indeed were exhibited at worksites where women have been playing significant roles.

As stated in Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995), women's equal participation in decision-making is not only a demand for simple justice or democracy. But, *"it is also a necessary condition for women's interests to be taken into account. Without the active participation of women and the incorporation of women's perspective at all levels of decision-making, the goals of equality, development and peace cannot be achieved"* (Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, 1995).

In addition, decision-making power at workplace entails authority over subordinates, activities, and rules and regulations among others. When it comes to news media the authority bestowed by the decision-making power includes deciding over messages to be transmitted to the public through media. Editor-in-chiefs, deputy-editor in-chiefs/managing editors; senior editors and editors in descending order are those people who have a relatively higher decision-making authority especially on the editorial sections of a news media. Those are also the one who make up the editorial board of a news media organization. Editorial board is the highest body in a news media organization that decides on the news media's policies and procedures (Smith, 1992:8).

Helen F. Smith (1991) describes jobs of an editor-in-chief, among others, are to organize, evaluate and dismiss staff; set, communicate and carry out the media's editorial, production and business goals; edit copy; delegate jobs; set production/transmission schedules; determine the size and schedule of every edition; and make assignments. She also described the jobs of page editors, to assign stories and photos/pictures; enforce deadlines with staff; use judgment in deciding which stories to cover on their own; copy edit, make layouts, write headlines, and crop and scale pictures and help teach staff members, among others. According to Helen, reporters are

those journalists responsible for writing stories and work as page assistants, helping with all the stages.

Acquiring decision-making positions especially in news media is important for women as it gives them the authority to decide over information that should and should not be disseminated to the public. Zoonen (1998:33) observed that the minority position of women in journalism affects the quality of the news product, whether it is the press or television. *“Because the news is made by men, it is thought to reflect the interests and values of men too, and therefore, news cannot serve very well the needs of this famous other fifty percent of the population, namely women”* (1998:33).

4.2.2 Extent of Women’s Participation in Decision-making

The research found that women are almost non-existent in higher decision-making positions while they are underrepresented in middle level positions. This is evident from the socio-demographic profile of the participants. As stated above, of the total 30 participants of this research it is only one participant who attained editor-in-chief position while another one is deputy editor-in chief and two are senior editors. According to the profiles of the participants, 11 participants are senior reporters and reporters. Those participants who attained higher decision-making positions indicate that they are the only women to attain such top positions in their respective news media houses.

The findings of descriptive data analysis substantiate the above facts. They indicate that there have not been improvements in women’s participation in decision-making positions in the national news media houses. Nonetheless, numerical representation of women in higher decision-making positions has dropped from what Haymanot (2003)

found in 2003. Of the total 129 journalists found attaining editor and above positions in ETV, ENA and EPA, 18 (around 14%) are women. However, the number of women in decision-making in those media organizations has dropped over the past three or so years, although higher decision-making positions are expanded in the organizations to accommodate three more people. This research reveals that there are only 17 women of the 132 journalists in those higher decision-making positions in the mentioned news media houses as can be seen in table 1 on page 45.

Of the total 43 higher decision-making positions in the Ethiopian Press Agency only four women hold positions of as editorship and above: One woman at the position of senior editor and three women editors. Surprisingly, the figure declines from six in 2003. This confirms to the worldwide trend of the 1980s. Marilyn E. Gist (1993) indicates researches show that women's participation in decision-making is stagnant and some show decline.

Without carrying out a complex statistical analysis, the very fact that only one of the total 17 editor-in-chief positions available at news media organizations and news media outlets has been assumed by a woman during the period of this study demonstrates women are almost non-existent in top management positions. On the contrary, all of the 26 but one deputy editor-in-chief positions in those national media houses are filled by men.

The trend has been not much different in the private press too. With only one exception in almost all the newspapers covered by this study all the editor in-chief and deputy editor-in-chief positions are filled by men. The exception in this category cannot be taken as an indicator of positive development as it is learnt that the only woman editor-in-chief in the private media is also the owner of the media outlet.

This shows that the national news media worksite needs to work hard to bring gender equality between women and men but also among different groups of society. In addition it has to consider fair representation of women from different ethnicity and location for the sake of ensuring media diversity. Media diversity is, according to Millca Pesic (2006:8) about inclusion and gives all members of a society a voice, so that responsibility for that society's future is based on joint decisions, not on a decision made by a small group or by one person.

Marily E.Gist (1993:104) indicates that news media found that under representation of one group of society in news media workforce leads to racial and gender bias in news coverage, failure to cover issues of significance to the community, and a potentially harmful impact on readers' attitudes and tolerance within the circulation area. Robin J. Ely (1994), on her part suggests that women's significant representation in higher positions helps to foster supportive relations among women.

Compared with women in firms with many senior women, women in firms with few senior women were less likely to experience common gender as a positive basis for identification with women, less likely to perceive senior women as role models with legitimate authority, more likely to perceive competition in relationships with women peers and less likely to find support in these relationships. (1994:203).

Table 1. Gender representation of journalists in private and government national news media by position

Position	EPA			ETV			ENA			WIC			MCC			Addis Admas			Capital			Total		
	W	M	T	W	M	T	W	M	T	W	M	T	W	M	T	W	M	T	W	M	T	W	M	T
Coordinator/dept. head																						1	1	2
Editor-in-chief	-	5	5	-	3	3	-	3	3	-	2	2	-	2*	2	-	1	1	1	-	1	1	16	17
Editor-in-chief	-	7	7	-	10	10	1	3	4	-	2	2	-	2	2	-	1	1				1	25	26
Senior Editor	1	7	8	2	14	16								-	4	4	-	1	1			3	26	29
Editor	3	19	22	7	29	36	3	14	17	-	4	4	2	2	4							15	68	83
Deputy Editor	1	11	12	6	32	38	1	20	21	-	15	15	-	5	5				1	1	8	84	92	
Senior Reporter	5	10	15	4	12	16	3	12	15	-	8	8	1	2	3	2	5	7				3	33	112
Reporter	2	11	13	20	52	72	5	30	35	3	10	13	3	6	9									
Junior Reporter		3	3	3	-	3	1	4	5	-	-	-										4	7	11
Total	12	74	86	43	152	195	14	86	100	3	41	44	6	23	29	2	8	10	1		5	81	384	469

- "W" for women, "M" for men, "T" for total.
- In the ETV, all editor in-chiefs, some deputy editor-in chiefs and one senior editor are also program coordinators.
- * At the MCC one person is an editor-in-chief for the two newspapers MCC publishes.

As depicted in the table 1 above women are underrepresented in middle management positions and are non-existent in top management positions across media houses irrespective of media ownership and media type; whether it is broadcasting or print media. According to Gallagher (2002), many socio-economic and political factors inside and outside the media determine women's participation in the news media in general and in decision-making in particular. Women's experience of discrimination, and indeed of identity itself, is heavily laden by differences in terms of class, economic status, ages, sexuality, religion, race and nation (Gallagher, 2002).

4.3 FACTORS AFFECTING WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING POSITIONS

According to the research material, the salient common factors that stand against women's participation in decision-making positions are

encapsulated in terms of lack of promotion opportunities and gendered division of work.

4.3.1 Promotion Opportunities

4.3.1.1 *Women's Lived Experiences of Discrimination in Promotion to Decision-making Positions*

As discussed above, decision-making entails authority, which could be acquired through various means, but mainly through promotion and/or appointment. Notwithstanding differences existing among individual organizations in terms of policies pertaining promotion and/or appointment to the higher ladder at the organizational structure, the observation derived from the descriptive analysis may trigger a question for an inquisitive mind as to why women are disproportionately rare/ few at the top position in their respective organizations? This, in turn, leads to identifying and explaining the factors accountable for such unbalanced gender representation based on the qualitative data collected from field.

During the interview session attempts are made to elicit the experiences of participants and the opinion they hold about job promotions in their respective organizations. The responses made by the participants differ according to their experiences. Some narrate incidents that happened to them, others describe the practice they believe are widely common in their respective organizations, while others relate their individual experiences with the general trend they have observed over years and try to draw a conclusion about the organizational behavior of their institutions. Despite those differences in scope and tone, however, the firsthand testimonials given by all interviewed participants witness the widespread pervasiveness of discrimination and bias against women on promotions. The following sample testimonials by six experienced media women both from

reveal the magnitude and severity of discrimination. A participant from state print media, Shasie says:

In my experience of eight years in one newsroom I never saw a woman being promoted to higher decision-making positions. But some men were promoted from time to time. Usually men who have similar qualifications and years of experience with the women are promoted to higher positions. This is also common in other newspapers under similar ownership. Especially in one of the newsrooms even junior men who have lately joined the media are promoted while experienced women are made to stay in one position for long period of time. (1st FGD participant)

Shashi was not able to clearly identify the reason behind such discriminatory practice. However, from the above testimonial statement, we may easily understand that neither work-experience nor level of education guarantee women journalists working in a particular news organization promotion to higher positions. This is concurrent with the findings of the demographic profile of the participants. A close observation of the qualitative data reveals that such practice is also common among private papers and broadcasting institutions. In this connection, Kuku has the following to say about her experience with EPDRF affiliated news media and other two private papers:

Kuku:

I would like to share with you my experiences in two newspapers: The first controlled by the ruling party and the other privately owned. Both are now out of circulation. From my experience in those two newspapers, promotion was given by the good will of the management. In the newsroom I first worked we were two women. Both of us were working in the head office. There were some men who were working in branch offices in the regions. Those men were beginners and we were the ones who were editing their stories. But after three years those men were transferred to the main office in Addis Ababa. To me and my female colleague's surprise, the men were promoted to editorship earning a

monthly gross salary of Birr 1000.00. But we, the women, were denied positional promotion as well as salary increment. Therefore, we were getting monthly salary of Birr 500.00 at a position of reporter. When we asked why we were denied promotion we were told by the management that they were suspicious that I might leave the office for another better job. And they told my friend that she was given a training opportunity. (2nd FGD participant)

What the above testimony brings into light is the transfer of male workers from one work place to supposedly a “better” one while there were women staff who were more qualified and competent in terms of skill, seniority and education.

In addition Kuku has the following to say about another manifestation of the widely practiced bias against women in national news media:

In the second private newspaper we were three women, two of us at the positions of senior reporter and the other one at a capacity of reporter. After we worked for a year, the owner promoted some of the men journalists who were at similar status with us with out the knowledge of our immediate supervisor. I learnt about the case and filed compliant to the immediate supervisor and also the owner. I was granted deputy editorship position. But my female colleagues were not promoted because they did not fight as I did. (2nd FGD participant).

Without any prejudice to the alleged organization, neither the act of promoting inexperienced junior male staff while there were more competent and experienced women that could best fit the vacant higher position nor the unconvincing and irrelevant justifications made by the management seem to be fair and just.

However, such instances have recurrently appeared in many narratives of personal experiences of the participants, there are also other opinions that depict fair and just image of some organizations. An examination of the data collected through in-depth interview shows mixed and incompatible profiles of media institutions owned by government.

On the one hand some participants agree government media institutions follow transparent and fair practice of promotion, which are based on criteria such as good performance rapport, education, service year, etc. On the other, other participants' rebuff the claim.

Selam:

I was first hired in a government local news media. Fortunately, I was privileged and got promoted immediately as compared to other journalists. This was mainly because I was the only B.A holder in the news room at that time. Most of the women were working as freelancers. The practice was transparent. Everybody knew which positions were vacant. Even the department head position at the media house was not held through appointment. Every post was given by merit, considering seniority and the like. (2nd FGD participant)

The other participant, Yemi, during focus group discussion, has similar opinion about the government media institution she has been working with. According to her observation:

If the women are found competitive enough they would not be denied the position simply because they are women. Their efficiency is evaluated; and education as well as experience, among others is considered. I passed all the time I applied for a position. A committee is responsible for this purpose. In fact, at last the immediate supervisor has a say on selecting a person for a position. That is how promotion used to be given up to deputy editorship positions. Positions above deputy editor in chief are given by appointments. In fact that is not the case now about which I don't want to comment. (2nd FGD participant)

A participant of in-depth interview also claims to have been promoted from time to time in a ruling party affiliated broadcasting media.

Etaba said:

My organization offers salary steps every six months. I never missed the steps. Steps and promotions are given strictly based on performance appraisal of the journalists. Immediate supervisors of the journalists make the appraisal. In addition, audiences' feedbacks as well as

other journalists' opinions on the quality of the programmes the journalists produce are also taken into consideration in appraising the performance of journalists. (An individual in-depth interview participant).

The practice seems to be varying from institution to institution even among government organizations. Other participants do not share the prevalence of such transparency and fairness in promotion of women journalists. In this respect, Taitu, a participant from one of the state media institutions describes her observation as follows starting with her experience in a ruling party broadcast national news media:

When I used to work with a ruling party broadcasting media I never saw a committee being in charge of facilitating promotion. There is neither a practice of opening vacant posts to the employees. We used to know there had been job open when we learn about some people being promoted. I never saw a woman being promoted. I, for instance, used to work hard but I was not rewarded for my hard work. However, my juniors (men) used to be given promotions. This was because I used to challenge supervisors on different grounds. Journalists' acquaintance with the management is decisive to get promotion.

I have seen in the state broadcast news media, (I am now working with) that journalists' performance, experience, education and the like are being considered for promotion. However, still in this news media there is only one woman as a team leader though there are women who fit such positions. Even this woman is assigned to lead an entertainment program, which doesn't have much weight as compared to other program and departments like news. (2nd FGD participant)

The above statement seems to represent the voices of most participants. The testimony on the placement of transparency and fair promotion policies and other institutional arrangements such as committees was denied or rejected by many of the participants of the study. In an attempt made for cross-checking the validity of the information elicited from other interviewees, the question on the existence of permanent policies and the establishment and functioning of promotion committees are forwarded to other

respondents. A participant of an interview, Emu says, “*I applied for a vacant position in the news media I have been working with. But I was not given the position although I met all the requirements successfully.*”

As is evident from the above testimonies the participants have different experiences with regard to promotion. Nonetheless, no matter how their experiences differed, they in unison acknowledge that women do not have equal access to promotion.

4.3.1.2 Promotion Processes

The research participants have made it clear that appointment and recruitment are widely practiced to promote individuals in national news media in the country. Let us see each of them separately.

a) Appointment

The finding reveals that higher decision-making positions like program coordinator, department head, manager, editor in chief and in some media houses including deputy editorship positions are open for employees by appointment. This is common in both private and government media. This means higher decision-makers are appointed in national news media based on their political affiliation in the case of government and party affiliated media and competence, friendship and blood relationships with owners in the case of private media. Surprisingly, however, in both media ownership type, women are less likely to be appointed to decision-making positions.

Pomi recounts her and other women journalists' experience when they had joined a newly established newspaper. The newspaper publishing agency opened the junior posts after it had filled the senior positions like the editor-in-chief, deputy editor-in-chief, senior editorship and editorship positions by men. According to her, only one woman was

able to get editorship position although there were quite a number of women with similar qualifications and experience with the men.

b) Recruitment

From the conversations and discussions with the research participants it is learnt that national news media organizations open vacant editorship positions first for their own employees and then to external applicants. The following are some of the factors affecting women's promotion to decision-making positions in terms of recruitment criteria.

Seniority: is one of the criteria for promotion according to the participants. Yetm said,

For the women to be promoted they need to stay in the news media for longer period of time. But for some reasons particularly related to their gender women cannot stay in the media for long.

However, the research findings reveal inconsistent results found for seniority. The socio-demographic data of the participants of this research show that the women journalists have stayed from two to 25 years.

Among the total participants of in-depth interview two are promoted six steps in the respective media in which they have been working for the past 25 years. Of these one has assumed chief editorship in her newsroom while the other enjoys senior editorship with responsibilities of editing articles and news, producing articles, and some coordinating activities.

Two women journalists have 16 and 15 years of experience in the same media house while one have seven years and two have six years of experience. What is more, two participants are with news media for

five years while four have three years of experience and one only with nearly two years.

Among the research participants of in depth interview four participants with 2 to 16 years of experience have never been promoted. Among them one has initially been hired as editor and has been working at the capacity of editor for 16 years although her salary is raised from Birr 600 to Birr 2000.00. Three of the participants' position has been stagnant at the status of "reporter." Two of those participants have two to three years of experience in their respective media. One of the participants has worked as reporter for seven years on freelance basis.

Five of the 16 participants of the in-depth interview have been promoted to the next step in a period of three to 15 years. One of the participants has been promoted only to the next post, senior reporter in her 15 years of experience in one media house. Two of those have been working at capacity of senior reporter; one after three years and the other after five years have assumed reporter status at their respective media.

One of the total participants has been able to be promoted twice from reporter to Editor in five years of her experience in the media house she has been working with.

The data also reveals a relatively fast promotion especially concerning two participants. One of the participants assumed senior editorship from her initial position of reporter in three years time. Another participant also reached deputy/assistant editorship position and programme coordinator. She was also given the responsibility of coordinating a program and editing her initial position being assistant producer in the newsroom for three years. The editorship position is almost four steps higher compared to her original position.

Outstanding efficiency and educational status (as they have MA and BA) coupled with specific conditions in the respective media houses have probably contributed to the fast promotion of those two participants of this research.

Education: Education is believed to be one of the determinant factors for promotion. For the participants level of education also matters to get promotion. However, this is not the case according to the findings of this research. The majority of participants in decision-making have relatively lower education as compared to those participants with subordinate positions. Of the total 13 participants, seven have diploma and one certificate. Only five have higher education, M.A/B.Sc (2) and B.A (2). On the other hand, most of the participants with higher education held lower positions. Of the 12 participants, who have B.A and above, eight are holding subordinate positions, i.e., deputy-editor to reporter. However, of the total 11 participants with diploma, seven are holding decision-making positions. This shows irregularities in the practices of the national media houses in using education as requirement in recruiting journalists for promotion. In addition, it indicates that education alone cannot guaranty women journalists' promotion to decision-making.

According to the findings of the review of human resource management manuals of some selected media houses, length of experience and education are considered simultaneously for any job opens and promotions. For instance, EPA requires B.A and 14 years of experience or M.A with 12 years of experience for department head while it requires B.A with 12 years of experience or M.A with 10 years of experience for editor-in-chief position. WIC's requirements for the two posts are lower as compared to EPA's. WIC requires B.A and nine years or M.A and eight years for department head while it requires B.A and eight years or M.A and seven years for editor-in-chief position.

This process is gendered in favor of men. The requirements do not consider women's experiences. Given the fact that women have had low access to education, most of the women journalists do not qualify the criterion for education although they may meet the requirement for length of service in journalism.

In addition as it can be understood from the living testimonies of the women journalists' women are discriminated against promotion. Women, with equal education and experience with men do not get the opportunity for promotion. In some instances men with lower qualifications and experiences have better chance for promotion.

Women's Aspiration to decision-making and their assertiveness:

As often argued by feminist scholars, there are instances that women tend to contribute for or go against their advantages. Such a contribution against one's collective advantage could be manifested in different actions and thoughts. One of this includes avoiding competitions for promotions. During the focus group discussion some of the participants underscored the tendency of women to willingly disregard responding to vacant senior positions. For instance, Yemi, *2nd FGD participant*, has testified, "*In the newsroom I used to work, there are not many women who apply for any of the jobs posted.*" Most of the research participants have also said that they have stopped applying for any job opens or promotion posted by their respective media houses. This is because most of them have lost faith in recruitment processes in their respective media houses.

There is a remarkable difference between the young/junior and senior journalists in their view of being promoted to top management positions in news media. Few young women participants of the research are optimistic about attaining a certain level of decision-making when they gain more experiences. A case in point is Yetm. She

said, "I believe that someday I will attain a top position in news media once I have better qualifications and experience."

Fufui also shares Yetm's view.

When I work for some time in an organization, there would be a chance of getting promoted to a certain step/position. I think I can attain top management position if I want to. But I am not interested to acquire such positions as they require the tendency to carry political responsibilities. (2nd FGD participant).

Challenges of Women journalists: According to the findings of this research, women journalists have considerable number of years of experience in news media. The participants of this research reiterate that they very much like their profession. According to them, the field of journalism provides them with exposure to various issues and helps them to come across with people in all walks of life. They also express that they are wholly interested and passionate in writing for news media. However, most of them are not willing to stay in their profession because of dissatisfaction with the overall operating conditions of news media in the country as well as the unfavorable working environment and discriminations prevailing in media houses. Some of the participants have also indicated other societal factors that force them to leave the media industry. Yetm said:

It is difficult for women to stay long as journalist due to some reasons related to their gender. For instance, harassment, society's attitude towards women vs. journalism, and problems related to marriage among others are worth mentioning. I say marriage is one of the problems as the profession involves making you having contact with so many people that your partner may think you may have some sort of sexual relationships. It is tiresome to work with all these challenges. Your family and the society do not give due respect to your profession. Everything is, therefore, burdensome for women journalists as compared to women in other professions. Whenever I tell my mother where I went and whom I met when I was covering a story she wondered how long I would be doing

such kind of work. That is why we give up and leave the profession. (1st FDG Participant).

Literature shows that women in decision-making positions are mostly caught in between fires. This is because they are expected in their news room to show both feminine and masculine cultures at the same time. In this regard Pomi brings the case of the only woman editor in a private newspaper. According to her, the woman was appointed editor owing to the masculine behavior she had exhibited for her employers. However, she says that her subordinates, majority were men, were not taking her orders. This “outrageous” situation has negatively influenced her behavior. The other side of the story was commented by Banchi. According to Banchi, the supervisor has some personal behavior problems because of that women subordinate have also left her department.

Judy, an in-depth interview participant and who attained relatively higher decision-making position shares her experience of not being fully empowered to a position she has assumed in a news media house. While she is the second person in the news media outlet next to the editor-in-chief her supervisor always delegates her subordinate in his absence.

Women who have assumed a certain authority in their news media express they would be happier with being subordinates. Etaba, an assistant/deputy editor with a responsibility of coordinating an entertainment program says,

I believe that I can do more if I were in the education sector. I would be happy if another person can fill this position. This is because I have no choice except accepting the position (no choice in terms of indebtedness to her media house when there is no one other than her, who fits to that particular opportunity). The newsroom had been unable to get the right person for the position and thus I was forced to accept the offer. Otherwise, I would prefer to work as an ordinary employee than being a leader.

I don't think I have leadership skills. Instead of assigning other journalists/ subordinates I prefer doing it myself. I am still unable to identify who is doing better and who is not as I have been in the job only for some time. (A participant of individual interview).

Because of the above and other reasons, women lean towards female-dominated occupations, and put forth less effort than men to get promotion in the workplace. This rational decision-making process makes women less likely to be promoted into positions of authority than similarly qualified men (Huffman, Cohen, 2004:123).

The findings reveal that though not by all, women journalists particularly those from the private media tend to avoid to take up top management position as the sector involves risks, risk of being prosecuted, risk of being arrested. The view of Tired in this respect is worth mentioning.

I don't see myself as promoted if I am going to assume chief or deputy editorship at a private newspaper given the country's situation of freedom of the press. Being chief or deputy editor in chief to a private newspaper has its own risks. You may receive many charges. (A participant of individual interview).

Loyalty to media owners: Notwithstanding the difference on views they hold on the prevailing practices, even participants claiming transparency and fair promotion policies in state media houses, have testified that some women-friendly practices are no more existent during the time of the study. According to them, recently government media institutions seem to introduce a new promotion policy and practice that values political loyalty and affiliation over performance quality, skill, education and job experience. This does not mean that women journalists who are believed to be loyal and politically affiliated have been receiving warmer treatment than their colleagues who may not meet the requirement. Rather the practice is that there is a tendency of favoring men over women even among those staff who fulfill the recently introduced criterion that enables one promoted to a

higher position. In this connection, Yemi, describes the situation in the following manner:

If you are not politically affiliated you can not get higher status jobs. This is common to both women and men. But I have observed that among those men and women affiliated politically it is usually men who are selected for such jobs. There might be few women appointed on such positions before. But they did not stay long on such positions. They neither did have equal acceptance with men by employees as well as employers. Those women who were promoted to higher status were also negatively labeled and mocked at. For instance I heard that higher women officials as having capacity problems. (2nd FGD participant)

The witness spelled out above does not indicate only the tendency of bias against women prevailing in national news media institutions but also the negative effect of extra-professional criterion of promotion brings in terms of perpetuating and strengthening the age-old prejudice against women.

Jobs at Entrance: The descriptive data analysis reveals that women mainly start job at news media at lower position, junior or assistant reporter, in an employment condition of free service or apprenticeship, or temporary, freelance and contract without salary or with a very low salary given or taking general reporting assignments at a status of reporter.

As far as the participants' position at entrance in media jobs is concerned, ten were reporters, three were junior or assistant reporters; one was assistant producer; one, editor; and one, distribution person.

Regarding terms of employment at entrance in news media house, four of the participants state initially they were hired in media houses as freelance while one as apprenticeship (free service). She gave free service/without being compensated or being paid salary for nine

months. Of those who state they were hired initially as freelance three of them were given the chance of permanent employment in their respective media houses, one has remained freelancing for over three years.

4.3.1.3 Masculine Culture and attitude

The research findings also reveal that women are expected to behave like men in order to be considered for promotion. Pomi remembers that at one point the management of a private newspaper justified the selection of a woman for editorship position for the fact that she impressed them in her presentation of herself, which was masculine.

Asmish, another participant of focus group discussion says,

There is a tendency of looking women as inferior to men because the leadership of the media has been in the hands of men for long period of time. There is no strong belief or trust on the leadership capability of women. Even among the women themselves there is a tendency of accepting the position they are given, the tendency of being satisfied with what has been them. (A participant of 2nd group discussion).

But according to Pomi, she was selected for editorship in the first place for her qualities that were mainly attributed to masculine behaviour.

Attitude is the other factor that negatively affects the achievement of women. Women are not getting editorship and top management positions because of male managers' attitudes. According to the participants, one stereotype among men which is sometimes also shared by women is the "inefficiency" of women. In some cases despite exhibiting remarkable achievements, the management would not select women for higher positions. This is because their attitude that women do not have to be top managers.

4.3.2 Gendered Segregation of Work

Occupational gender segregation is a main avenue for discrimination in access to authority (Jaffee, 1989; Kraus and Yonay, 2000 as quoted in Huffman, Cohen, 2004: 124). One reason that women lack authority is that most women are concentrated in female-dominated occupations.

Huffman (1995) states that women are less likely to possess supervisory authority at work than men with equivalent levels of education, occupational experience and prestige, and family characteristics such as marital status and the presence of children (Huffman, Cohen, 2004:123). According to this perspective the gender gap in authority results from gender differences in the allocation of time and effort to various tasks, as well as differences in the kinds of investment made in productive skills (Jafee, 1989) as quoted in Huffman, Cohen, 2004:123).

The research found that women journalists were playing various roles in Ethiopian national news media. They have been performing duties of reporting news, producing articles on various issues, editing, news anchoring, photo reporting and program coordinating as well as managing news media houses, among others.

As far as current roles of women journalists in the news media is concerned, the in-depth interview research material reveals that at the time this data has been gathered, two participants have been responsible solely for producing news on both political and economic and social issues in their respective news media. One has been covering predominantly politics and the other both politics and social issues on equal basis. Both of the participants are from party-affiliated news media organizations one from broadcasting and the other from a news agency.

On the other hand, three research participants of in-depth interview have producing articles, features and programs solely on social issues. Of the total three participants who have been producing programs solely, one is working for government media and two for private media. As far as their distribution in terms of media genre is concerned, one is from print and the remaining two are from broadcasting. The first produces articles mainly on health issues and occasionally on children and women. The second predominantly produces stories on fashion and on secondary basis on society, children and women. And the third one produces articles on reproductive health, youth, women, children and lifestyle.

The findings reveal that majority of the participants are performing news reporting and producing articles, features, and programs. Of the total population of the participants of in depth interview, six were producing news and articles, features and programs. Of those participants two of them were predominantly producing news, one in politics and the other on both political and social. One of the participants in this category was predominantly producing programs on both political and social issues. Three of the participants were producing programs and news equally; one on social another on politics and the third on both. Of these six participants who have reported to have been producing news, articles, features and programs, three have been working for government and the other three for private media. Moreover, four have been from print and two from broadcasting.

A relatively larger number were responsible for producing program, editing and coordinating tasks altogether. Four of the participants reported to have been accomplishing the tasks of producing articles, editing, coordinating. Of these one was coordinating and editing for entertainment program on top of producing articles for educational

program. Two of them were equally responsible for coordinating, editing news and articles and producing articles. Of those two, one was producing editorial and news analysis and the other was producing narration. The remaining one was responsible for editing, coordinating and producing articles on social issues such as tourism, development and investment. This participant was also given additional tasks i.e., distribution of product and advertisement as well as some public relations' activities. Of the four participants who were producing articles, programs, editing and coordinating, three were in government media of whom two were in print and one in broadcast. The remaining one participant was working for ruling party broadcasting media.

The research reveals gendered segregation of work in terms of division of "hard" and "soft" issues reporting between men and women, assignments in news and program sections and assignments involving field trips and travel abroad.

4.3.2.1 "Hard" and "soft" issues coverage

The practice of gendered division of tasks between "soft" and "hard" news in Ethiopian national news media houses seems quite an accepted norm to which women journalists adhere to. "Soft" news is about life styles, fashion, and shopping and is therefore dubbed as the "natural" province of women while "hard" news is about politics, economics, and government and more suitably reported by men (Carter, Branston & Allan, 1998:130; & McCullagh 2002: 47 as quoted by Sebele, 2006).

The research reveals that women journalists are predominantly covering the so called "soft" issues either by assignment by their respective media houses or by their own choices. The significant proportion of political and economic issues, however, is by default

covered by men. Men are not usually expected to deal with issues of women's concern (except for a few exceptions).

The research data have found some differences in assignments of women journalists based on media ownership type. With slight variations assignments are allocated to journalists strictly by supervisors through out government media houses. Whereas, in private media women's areas of interests were considered as far as those areas are with the horizon of the particular news media house.

The research also reveals that women journalists in national government media houses are not consulted or their interests are which not taken into consideration while they are assigned to certain assignments, in most cases were women's pages or programs or other "soft" issues.

The research also shows remarkable differences between the assignments of women journalists working for national government media at entrance and after they stayed for some time in the media. Accordingly, most women journalists start their job in national government media houses with general news reporting except the few who began their job with specialized papers or programs like sports and crime. Among the participants of this research few have started jobs in media houses by producing articles and programs on social issues. After gaining some experiences of reporting on general issues, however, they were assigned to produce certain programs or columns, mainly those beats, which fall under the category of "soft" issues.

Shashie who has been with different government media outlets shares her experiences as follows:

When I first joined government-owned broadcasting media I was assigned to produce women's program. Similarly, when I shifted to another government media, this time, print media, I was also given an

assignment to regularly give coverage on population issues. When the paper ceased publishing the column I was transferred to HIV/AIDS column. All this time I was applying to be assigned to other columns or pages but to no avail. The pretext given to me was as I have special attachment to covering these issues. Now I have already joined another paper controlled by the same organization. It seems that there is a keen interest to assign me to a women's page, which is presently being produced by a man. I think supervisors strongly believe that women do not fit to certain beats of reporting. (1st FGD participant).

Taitu, the participant in the second focus group discussion, has similar view. She says “tough” assignments are not purposely forwarded to women. According to her, women are assigned to “soft” news such as on issues involving health or children.

A variation in the practice of assigning men and women in government media houses is observed among different programs and media houses. Fufi, a journalist working for an English desk of a national media house says that she had covered various political and economic issues to the media where she had been working. However, she admits that there has been a kind of conviction among media houses that women's concern programs or pages should be handled by women. That was also the case with *the Ethiopian Herald*, the governmental national daily, two years ago. After long time producer and editor of “*Focus on Women*,” a woman journalist, resigned from the newspaper, the vacant post for producing the page was open for some three or so years. This seemed due to the fact that the newsroom reserved the post only for women as the paper repeatedly called upon women to apply for the job. But it was with no avail. Surprisingly, the situation forced them to give up and thus currently the page is being produced by a man.

Reserving women concerns pages and programmes is also found to be a common phenomenon in the private media. Selam from the second group discussion explained the prevalence of a trend of reserving women's pages for women in private media too. Otherwise, assignments are allocated in the private media by journalists' choice of interest. Banchi and Yetm in the first focus group discussion and Selam and Kuku from the second focus group discussion as well as individual interview participants Judy, Tiret, Enqu, Tsgie and Meti share such experience.

Banchi, a participant recounts her own and other women journalists' experience while they were working in a private daily newspaper, which is now out of circulation. She says that the women journalists were given opportunity to choose the assignments they wanted, though according to her, most of the women willingly chose to work on social issues.

Yetm, from private media says: "When I joined the news media house I was asked my interest of issues. I identified business and economy. I was given the opportunity to cover these immediately." She adds that whether there were big events of the issues under discussion, no one, but she was the one who had been assigned. This is concurrent to some extent to what Alem Seged (2005) found: women media practitioners remain responsible for dealing with women issues both in the electronic and print media controlled by government unlike the private press where more flexibility is exhibited to the interest of women media practitioners.

To the contrary of this finding, data on three different media outlets under one government organization reveals a new trend of assigning women journalists to political and economic pages/columns in government media. For instance in *Addis Zemen* equal numbers of women journalists are represented in politics and business, and social

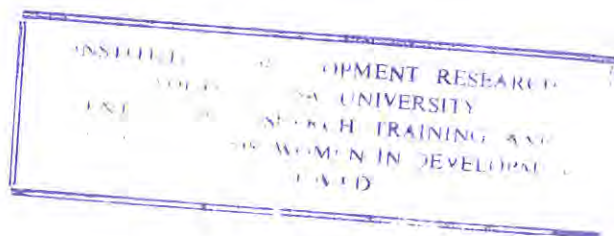
reporting. Two reporters, one deputy editor and one editor are working in the social section of the newspaper. Three women senior reporters and one editor are working in political and business/economy section. However, assigning women without consulting them and without taking their interests into consideration persists in these media outlets.

And yet when the number of women working on “hard” and “soft” news is compared with that of men, it is obvious that a big portion of women are represented in “soft” news.

Fufi, has a different view as she challenges the issue of “hard” and “soft” news. She says, “*What matters is how we cover a political or social issue.*” According to her, journalists can make a health or women’s issue strong or “hard” by making it well researched and attractive in their presentations. May be that way it could be possible to change the “*gender of journalism,*” as Zoonen (1993) suggests. According to her, Journalism is gendered among feminine and masculine in terms of topics. Politics, crime, finance and education and upbringing are considered masculine, while human interest, consumer news, culture, social policy as feminine. In terms of angle, facts, sensations and male are masculine whereas backgrounds and effects, compassion and general are feminine. In terms of sources, men, are masculine while women are feminine. In terms of ethics detachment is taken as masculine and audience needs is feminine.

4.3.2.2 News and Programmes

Yemi, another participant who used to work for government broadcasting media until she left the media house eight months before the data for this research was collected, brings another dimension to the debate on the “hard” and “soft” issues coverage.



According to her, the gendered division of assignments as “hard” and “soft” is not only apparent in terms of issues but also in terms of news and program or feature assignments. She further elaborates the issue as follows:

In the first place “news” and “programs” are gendered in the news media. And it is based on this gendered tasks women and men are assigned. From my experience in one of the radio stations, women are confined to social programs. The news media mainly do not send women for news coverage. It sends women for news coverage when the issue is related to the programs they regularly produce like women’s program. (2nd FGD participant)

Yemi expounds on the practice of assigning women and men in government news media by saying:

When it comes to men the assignment is based on who is not occupied at the time of that particular duty. Men are sent abroad to cover issues or programs which are not related to the regular programs they produce. They are also the ones who are preferred to attend press conferences held for the prime minister or the president. I think supervisors entertain the belief that men are able and thus could efficiently carry out any assignments given to them. (2nd FGD participant).

The findings of this research reveals that insignificant number of women among the research participants is primarily assigned to news desks irrespective of ownership of the media house they are working with. Data obtained from some news media like ETV substantiate this finding to a certain extent.

Available data on the representation of women and men journalists in ETV indicates there have been 195 journalists who mainly report news and programs in four sections of five language broadcasts. ETV broadcasts news, programme, entertainment and sports in *Amharic, Oromifa, Tigrgna, Somali* and English languages. The figure does not include technical people who were working as camerapersons, film editors and those people in news bulletin/centre due to lack of ready

made data. The findings of the research indicate that women are minority in the news organization.

Of the total population of journalists in the above listed sections there have been 43 women of which only 13 are working in news desk, that is 30 percent of the total number of women and around seven percent of the total women and men population. The figure for the men is 53, which is 35 percent (152) of the men and 27 percent of the total population (195). More percentage of women (21%) than men (11%) are found in entertainment section. The majority of women (47%) and men (49%) journalists are in programme sections.

Descriptive data analysis reveals that the majority, nine out of 16 participants of the in-depth interview, started job in media houses with news reporting. Out of the nine participants, six started with general news reporting while two with specialized news reporting, namely, sports and crime; and one was reporting on politics and business only.

Of the total participants of the in-depth interview, four started job in media houses with programs in the case of broadcasting and with production of articles and features in the case of print media. All of those participants produced articles and programs on social issues. The data also reveals that two of the research participants started job in news media with producing both news and programs. Of these one was responsible for producing news and programs on business issues while the other was on general news and program reporting. One of the participants started job in news media as photo reporter in a private media.

4.3.2.3 Assignments Involving Field works and Travel Abroad

Discrimination against women in assignments that involve travel became evident during the focus group discussions and individual conversations. The research participants reported that field trips are also segregated in line with gender. Men are mainly sent to field trips, women are not.

Travel outside the country for reporting purpose is also gendered although at face value the gendered division of assignments seems to be broken, as the findings of this research reveal. This is because men could be sent abroad even to cover for women's pages or programs. A case in point is an incident recounted by Pomi in the second group discussion. Pomi recounted an experience in a ruling party media that a man, who was not responsible for covering the women's program was sent to cover the 4th World Conference on Women in Beijing while it was a woman who was handling the transmission of the program on a day to day basis. This could be because of the belief in the media houses that men are all-rounded and efficient in carrying different assignments in all settings; as Yemi explains; or it is to benefit men as other participants of the research indicate.

Field works inside the country are also identified as one niche where gendered division of tasks is observed. Asmish brings in her experiences in Amhara regional mass media agency and in a national broadcasting news media in the first focus group discussion. According to her, in the local media setting, field trip is an obligation of journalists irrespective of their gender. But, she found that field trip is taken as men's task and inappropriate to women journalists in the national media. According to her, there is no positive attitude towards women who travel for news coverage. *"Men wonder why I travel leaving behind my responsibility of caring for my family."* She says. Yemi in the first group discussion shares the above experience. She explained that

whenever she was prepared for field trips her male colleagues discouraged her not to go reminding her responsibility as a mother and wife. According to her, women who travel for a field work are considered either as one who love money or like to go out with men.

These observations are similar to what the former General Manager of the Ethiopian Radio and Television Agency, Selome Tadesse said speaking on “gender and media” at a national conference organized by the Ethiopian Media Women Association (EMWA) in 2007. She said in many cases, women are not welcomed in the field works as it is considered putting additional burden on the crew than as having an independent person carrying out their assignments.

4.3.2.4 Women’s Preference of Assignments

A preliminary survey on work experience and educational status of women media practitioners by Agaredech (2003) reveals that in 2003 most women preferred reporting on social issues than reporting on political and economic news.

This research also tried to see if there are changes in the trend. It also examined the reasons behind women’s choices of assignments or responsibilities in news media worksite.

The findings of the research reveal that most women still prefer reporting on social issues in conformity with their assignments by media houses.

According to the research materials, women cover issues ranging from children and women and youth to health, reproductive health, fashion, society, and lifestyle. Few participants of this research state that they report on politics and economic issues.

Because of numerous exogenous factors, women are purported to have a competitive advantage in the performance of household duties, while men specialize in paid labor. Because of this, women self-select into female-dominated occupations, and put forth less effort than men in the workplace. This rational decision-making process occurring at the household level makes women less likely to be promoted into positions of authority than similarly qualified men (Huffman, Cohen, 2004:123).

The data has found that several factors contribute to women's preference of covering certain issues.

Yeshi:

Women mainly choose to cover social issues and entertainment. This is because of their attachment with family and community and the value they give to these aspects of life. It is their active participation in family and community that makes women become interested to report on social issues. The way they are socialized has also an influence on their choice of issues to cover. (FGD participant).

Women's view point on the issues has become evident during the discussions and conversations with participants as one of the factors affecting women's choice of issues. Most women like Tutu express that they do not feel comfortable with politics in life, leave alone reporting about it. In addition to this, the participants have their own good reasons for preferring to report on "soft" news to "hard." Tutu and Chuchu believe that reporting on social issues enable them to contribute to solve societal problems. Tutu says, "I can bring problems of a community into the attention of concerned bodies through my stories on social issues." Chuchu, on her part says, "I have seen peoples' concerns being addressed due to my programs on social issues." For Tiret, just being attracted to arts has made her end up in producing articles on "soft" issues. Ager believes that she can learn a lot from covering stories on social issues. According to her, social

issue is broad and embraces a lot of aspects. Feti believes by reporting on social issues one can educate society.

Another factor that became apparent in the research is related to the level of freedom of the press granted and the level of the democratization process in the country. Most of the participants considered reporting on "soft" news as risk-free. They also express that social issues enable them to exercise freedom of the press and adhere to the professional principles and ethics. Eminent expresses that she enjoys freedom in writing in reporting on social issues, among other things. For her, reporting on social issues is free from risks unlike reporting on political and economic issues.

Some participants of this research from government media say basically they are interested to report also on politics and business matters. But it is because of inappropriate practice in reporting politics in the state-owned media that keep them afar from reporting on politics, economy and business. According to them, reporting on politics involves propaganda in the case of government media. Some participants of this research from government media express that they are tensioned when they report on politics. They also express that they don't like to break professional ethics and principles by reporting on politics and economy in state-owned media.

Wube, explains that her stories on politics go through various stages of editing including by top management unlike the stories she produces on social issues. She says that at many occasions she felt as if she deceived her sources in producing stories on politics as the sources become misinterpreted and misquoted in the stories, in the course of editing by top officials.

Nonetheless, this research also found that there are few women journalists who are enthusiastic to report on politics in the private

media, in which there is a relative freedom in reporting on political and economic issues.

Meti says:

"I like to report on politics because I believe that we need to have an objective reporting on politics in our country. Therefore, when I cover political issues, I report from a different angle particularly from that of government media. I mainly report what I believe is good, i.e, issues that people would like to hear about or read. (A participant of In-depth interview).

Another participant expresses that she has become more passionate to write on "hard" news.

Tsgie says:

When you are reporting on politics you are appreciated by your colleagues and readers. You are taken as a strong journalist. Because of that, I have developed confidence in my career. What is more, I am now reading more and become more confident to discuss with colleagues about politics, government and current affairs and the like. (A participant of individual in-depth interview).

It is evident from this research that women are predominantly covering social issues like women's pages and programs that do not make women visible. This in turn affects women's promotion to decision-making positions. The problem in the tightly framed job descriptions of women and men journalists is the fact that women's tasks in the media do not help women to be promoted. "Hard news typically relies on the expert's knowledge of 'public-sphere institutions' and it is accorded 'an enhanced prestige status' over soft news which is 'lighter' (Carter, Branston & Allan, 1998:130).

CHAPTER FIVE

5. SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 SUMMARY

This research tries to explore the representation of women in Ethiopian national news media from feminist research perspective. It also investigates the gendered processes in the news media worksite that affect women's promotion to decision-making in the Ethiopian national media.

The research focuses on national news media. Data is collected from national news media through desk review. The major research employed being interpretive qualitative methodology; in-depth interview and focus group discussion are the major data collection methods.

The objectives of the research are to explore the representation of women in news media decision-making positions and investigate the gendered processes that affect women's participation in terms of promotion and gendered division of labour. Accordingly, the research found that women are non-existent in top management positions and are underrepresented in middle level management positions irrespective of the media ownership and media type. From seven media organizations with one or and above outlets only one out of 17 editor-in-chief positions is filled by a woman. Similarly, all of the 26 except one Deputy-editor-in-chief positions are filled by men.

Women's representation in decision-making positions has been stagnant and in some cases has declined as is the case world wide. Although

expansion of decision-making positions observed in the national news media, women's participation has not yet shown improvement.

The other major finding of this research is that women are negatively discriminated from promotion and assignments that could help them attain top management positions. According to the findings of the research, men with equal and sometimes lower experiences have a higher probability of being promoted. The research has found that this has been because of several factors. Among the major ones are promotion processes. From the research it has become evident that appointment and recruitment are the major processes of promotion practiced in the national news media in the country. However, women journalists are in disadvantaged positions in both processes. According to the findings of the research, appointment is given mainly on the grounds not only merit but also other criteria like being loyal to the owner. It is found in the research that women are less likely to be appointed. Promotion processes and criteria are gendered in favor of men; they take men's experience and interest as a standard, devaluing women's experiences. The research has also revealed there are underground criteria for promotion through recruitment.

From the lived experiences of the women journalists it is learnt that education doesn't prove factor for promotion to decision-making as well as seniority.

- Majority of the participants in decision-making have relatively lower education (diploma) as compared to those in lower status.

The other factor affecting women's promotion to decision-making as become evident in the research is women's job at entrance. Women

mainly start job at lower position, in an employment condition of free service or freelance.

The research has also found gender segregation of work as the following

- Women are assigned to “*soft*” news while men are assigned to “*hard*” news
- Women are assigned to program while men are assigned to news assignments
- Women are less likely to travel abroad and frequently go to field works, relative to men.

According to the findings of the research, attitude towards women’s leadership, women’s aspiration to decision-making positions also contribute to women’s low participation in decision-making positions in the national news media.

Lack of equal access to decision-making positions among different groups of women has also become evident in this research. The research findings reveal that the majority of women journalists in general and those in decision-making positions in particular is young, Amhara, Christian and originally from Addis Ababa.

5.2 CONCLUSION

The news media are not yet offering equal opportunities for women and men to promotions. Ethiopia is signatory to international laws like CEDAW. It has also domesticated such international laws. Accordingly, the media are supposed to play significant role in promoting women and in bringing visible changes in women’s lives especially when it comes to access to decision making positions. They are also believed to assume

significant role in democratization processes and in bringing gender equality. They have the potential of challenging or reinforcing gender stereotypes and gender-inequalities through their content and through opportunities they give to women and men and different groups of society.

However, the media are perpetuating gender inequalities in the society through their content and discriminatory practices in employment and promotion. The research findings reveal that the media are discriminating against women in promotion to decision making positions. This is exemplified in terms of promotion, promotion procedures and criteria, and gendered division of work between soft and hard news and news and programmes.

In the absence of women and different groups of society in news media decision making the media cannot reflect the diverse social groups in the country. As a result voices of women and minority groups are underrepresented in the media content. This shows that the national news media worksite needs to work hard to bring gender equality between women and men but also among different groups of society. In addition, the media have to consider fair representation of women from different ethnicity and location for the sake of ensuring media diversity. Media diversity is, according to Millca Pesic (2006:8) about inclusion and gives all members of a society a voice, so that responsibility for that society's feature is based on joint decisions, not on a decision made by a small group or by one person.

Education is believed to be one of the determinant factors for promotion. However, the findings of this research show inconsistent results. The majority of participants in decision-making have relatively lower education as compared to those participants with subordinate positions.

Inconsistent results are also found for seniority. This proves that the media are not undertaking promotions strictly by merit and written rules and regulations. Values and assumptions as well as criteria of national news media for promotion should be challenged and revised taking into consideration the prevalent gender inequality in national news media worksite and women's lived experiences.

The research found that promotion procedures and criteria for promotion in national news media worksite are gendered in favor of men. Women's experiences and values are not considered in the criteria and in promotion procedures. News media elsewhere in the world as well as in Ethiopia are created in the images of men. As mentioned in literature review Ethiopian women joined in the news media job late. For decades, the news media in Ethiopia is dominated and controlled by men. Therefore, women's experience, which is in family, is lacking in the construction of the news media in the country. Men and women are also socialized in different ways. Men have been socialized to assume leadership positions while women are couched to be subordinate to men. Nonetheless, women have their own styles of leadership although that is not recognized in the news media. This reality of the news media in the country puts women in disadvantaged position whenever they tried to get decision-making positions in male-dominated professions/jobs like the news media. When the women try to fit in the masculine culture of the news media worksite they are not also accepted.

As mentioned above it would be a difficult job trying to fit women in the masculine structure of news media. This is because in the first place women do not fit properly, and in the second place even if they tried to fit in the masculine culture of the news media they mainly don't succeed as they don't get acceptance. Zoonen (1993) suggests that it is when the

“*gender of journalism*” is changed to “*human interest*” news coverage that women would get more opportunities to join in and assume top management in news media. But in order to challenge news media structure women should join the media in mass and they should assume decision-making positions including top-management positions.

5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

The status quo has to be changed in the media worksite with regard to promotion practices. Following are some of the recommendations for different actors in the news media.

- Appoint more women in news media middle level and top management positions; editor, chief-editor, department head and manager etc.
- Revise discriminatory regulations and promotion processes in news media
- The binaries in assignments between “*hard*” and “*soft*” news, program and news have to be avoided
- Put in place and implement affirmative action measures for women as enshrined by the Constitution.
- Make the environment conducive for women to work
- Adopt gender-responsive code of ethics
- Train journalists and editors on issues of gender
- Monitor media practices in employment and promotion
- Monitor media content on the representation of women’s voices

For further feminist study:

- Study on media policies
- Study on the connection of women’s representation in decision-making and content of media
- Research on factors at macro level, which affect women’s participation in decision-making

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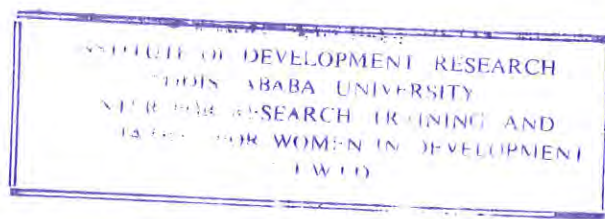
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Appendixes

Appendix A. Demographic Background of In-depth Interview Participants

Pseudonyms	Age	Marital Status	Ethnicity	Place of Birth	Religion	Level of Education	Media Ownership	Media type	Position	Salary
Meti	32	single	Tigre	Addis Ababa	Catholic	B.A	private	print	Senior reporter	
Chuchu	29	single	Amhara	Addis Ababa	Orthodox	Diploma	private	Broadcast	Assistant producer	
Tikdem	27	single	Amhara	Addis Ababa	Christian	B.A	government	broadcast	Senior Editor	
Tutu	24	single	Tigre	Addis Ababa	Protestant	B.A	private	print	reporter	
Judy	47	Single	Amhara	Addis Ababa	Orthodox	Diploma	government	print	Senior Editor	
Eminet	38	married	Amhara	Addis Ababa	----	Diploma	government	print	Senior reporter	1500
Etaba	26	single	Guraghe	Addis Ababa	Orthodox	M.Sc	Private/party	broadcast	Assistant Editor	1979
Feti	30	Single	Amhara	Amhara	Muslim	B.A	Private/Party	News agency	Senior Reporter	1500
Emu	54	divorced	Ethiopian	A.A	Orthodox	M.A	Government	Print	Editor	
Wube	28	single	Ethiopian	Addis Ababa	Orthodox	B.A	Government	Broadcast	Editor	1635
Enqu	27	single	Amhara	Addis Ababa	Orthodox	B.A	private	print	Freelance	600 varies
Biritu	47	separated	Amhara	Addis Ababa	Orthodox	Diploma	government	Print	Editor in-chief	1635
Titi	25	Single	Tigre	Addis Ababa	Orthodox	Certificate	government	broadcast	Reporter	1092
Tiret	26	single	Amhara	Addis Ababa	Christian	12+2	private	Print & broadcast	Deputy Editor-in-Chief	700
Tsgie	29	Married	Amhara	SNNPS	Protestant	Diploma	private	print	Senior Reporter	1200
Z	38	married	Amhara/	Addis Ababa	Protestant	Diploma	private	print	Reporter	800

Appendix B. Demographic Background of Focus Group Discussion Participants

Pseudonyms	Age	Marital Status	Ethnicity	Place of Birth	Religion	Level of Education	Media Ownership	Media type	Position	Discussion Group	Salary
Banchi	29	single	Amhara	Addis Ababa	Orthodox	B.A	Civic Org.	Both	Coms. & Publications Reporter	FGD 1	
Desta	23	single	Guraghe	Addis Ababa	Christian	B.A	Private	Print	Reporter	FGD 1	
Bikish	19	single	Oròmo	Addis Ababa	Christian	B.A student		Print dep.	Undergraduate student	FGD 1	
Yetm	25	single	Amhara	Addis Ababa	Christian	B.A/Following M.A	private	print	reporter	FGD 1	
Shashie	33	married	Oromo	Oromia	Protestant	B.A	government	print	Senior reporter	FGD 1	
Ashmish	33	married	Amhara	Addis Ababa	Christian	Diploma	government	broadcast	editor	FGD 1	
Yesh		single		Addis Ababa	Christian	M.A	private	print	editor	FGD 1	
Pomi	40	single	Amhara	Addis Ababa	Orthodox	Certificate	Private/	both	editor	FGD 1	
Yemi	51	married	Amhara	Oromia	Orthodox	Diploma	private	broadcast	editor	FGD 2	1800
Taitu	31	married	Oromo	Addis Ababa	Christian	Diploma	government	broadcast	producer	FGD 2	1430
Fufi	27	single	Guraghe	Addis Ababa	Orthodox	B.A	government	broadcast	editor	FGD 2	1600
Selam	28	Single/divorced	Amhara	Harari	Protestant	B.A	private	print	editor	FGD 2	2100
Kuku	29	married	Amhara	Addis Ababa	Orthodox	Diploma	Ngo/	print	Editor/producer	FGD 2	2000
Mulie	22	single	Ethiopia Somali	Oromia	Muslim	B.A student		Print journalism		FGD 2	

Appendix C. Socio-demographic Profiles of Women in Decision-making Positions

Position	Age	Marital Status	Ethnicity	Place of Birth	Religion	Level of Education	Media Ownership	Media type
Senior Editor	27	single	Amhara	Addis Ababa	Christian	B.A	government	broadcast
Senior Editor	47	Single	Amhara	Addis Ababa	Christian	diploma	government	Print
Editor	54	divorced	Ethiopian	A.A	Christian	M.A	government	Print
Editor	28	single	Ethiopian	Addis Ababa	Christian	B.A	government	broadcast
Editor in-chief	47	separated	Amhara	Addis Ababa	Christian	diploma	government	Print
Deputy Editor-in-Chief	26	single	Amhara	Addis Ababa	Christian	12+2	private	print & broadcast
editor	33	married	Amhara	Addis Ababa	Christian	diploma	government	broadcast
editor		single		Addis Ababa	Christian	M.A	private	Print
editor	40	single	Amhara	Addis Ababa	Christian	certificate	Private/	Both
editor	51	married	Amhara	Oromia	Christian	diploma	private	broadcast
producer	31	married	Oromo	Addis Ababa	Christian	diploma	government	broadcast
editor	27	single	Guraghe	Addis Ababa	Christian	B.A	government	broadcast
editor	28	Single	Amhara	Harari	Christian	B.A	private	Print
Editor/producer	29	married	Amhara	Addis Ababa	Christian	diploma	Ngo/private	Print

Appendix D. Representation of Participants by Media

Table 1.

Representations of in-depth interview pax. by media	
News media	No. of pax
Radio Fana	2
Walta	1
Press Agency	3
ETV	3
<i>Bna Kuirs</i>	1
<i>Rose</i>	1
Freelance	1
<i>Addis Admas</i>	2
<i>My Fashion</i>	1
<i>Police & Ermijaw</i>	1
Total	16

Table 2

Representation of FGD pax. by media	
News media	
Radio Ethiopia	2
ETV	1
Press Agency	1
Capital	1
Freelance	2
School of Journalism	2
Sub-Saharan Informer	1
Police Radio	1
EMWA	1
EWLA (publications)	1
<i>Reporter, Amharic</i>	1
Total	14

Table 3.

National news media outlets covered in research	
Media organization	No. news media outlets/ programs/ desks/secitons
Press Agency	5
ETV	5
MCC	2
Addis Admas	1
Capital	1
Walta	1
ENA	1
Total	16

Appendix E. The Gender Representation of Journalists in the Ethiopian Press Agency by Position

Position	Addis Zemen			The Et. Herald			Berisa			Al Alem			Zemen Magazine			Total		
	W	M	T	W	M	T	W	M	T	W	M	T	W	M	T	Women	Men	Total
Editor-in-chief	-	1	1	-	1	1	-	1	1	-	1	1	-	1	1	-	5	5
D/Editor-in-chief	-	3	3	-	2	2	-	1	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	7	7
Senior Editor	-	2	2	-	4	4	1	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	7	8
Editor	2	6	8	-	7	7	1	3	4	-	2	2	-	1	1	3	19	22
Deputy Editor	1	3	4	-	4	4	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	3	3	1	11	12
Senior Reporter	3	7	10	1	1	2	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	1	2	5	10	15
Reporter	2	5	7	-	2	2	-	3	3	-	1	1	-	-	-	2	11	13
Beginner Reporter	-	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
Total	8	30	38	1	21	22	2	10	12	-	6	6	1	6	7	12	73	85

Appendix F. The Gender Representation of Journalists in the Ethiopian Television by Position

Position	Amharic			Oromifa			Tigrigna			English			Somalie			Sports			Entertainment			News Center			Total		
	W	M	T	W	M	T	W	M	T	W	M	T	W	M	T	W	M	T	W	M	T	W	M	T	W	M	T
Editor-in-Chief	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	3	4
Deputy Editor-in-Chief	-	7	7	-	1	1	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	10	
Senior Editor	1	7	8	-	4	4	-	1	1	1	1	2	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	14	16	
Editor	-	11	11	2	4	6	2	3	5	-	1	1	-	2	2	-	3	3	1	4	5	2	1	3	7	29	36
Deputy Editor	2	12	14	1	8	9	2	1	3	-	2	2	-	-	-	3	3	1	5	6	-	1	1	6	32	38	
Senior Reporter	-	1	1	2	2	4	-	6	6	-	1	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	2	1	3	-	-	-	4	12	16
Reporter	10	29	39	-	4	4	1	5	6	3	4	7	2	3	5	1	1	2	3	6	9	-	-	-	20	52	72
Reporter I	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	3	-	3
Monitoring & dubbing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	2	5	3	2	5
News editor	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	2	2
Total	14	69	83	5	23	28	6	19	25	4	9	13	2	6	8	1	8	9	9	16	2	5	6	1	46	156	202

Appendix G. The Gender Representations of Journalists in ENA and WIC by Position

Position	ENA			WIC		
	women	women	total	women	men	total
Editor-in-chief	-	3	3	-	2	2
D/Chief Editor	1	3	4	-	2	2
Editor	3	14	17	-	4	4
Deputy Editor	1	20	21	-	15	15
Senior Reporter	3	12	15	-	8	8
Reporter	5	30	35	3	10	13
Reporter I	1	4	5	-	-	-
Total	14	86	100	3	41	44

Appendix H. The Gender Representation of Journalists in Private Media by Media house and Position

Position	Reporter Amharic			Reporter English			Addis Admas			Capital			Total		
	W	M	T	W	M	T	W	M	T	W	M	T	W	M	T
Editor-in-Chief	-	1	1	-	1			1	1	1			1	2	3
Deputy Editor-in-Chief	-	1	1	-	1	1		1	1					3	3
Senior Editor	-	1	1	-	3	3		1	1					5	5
Editor	2	1	3	-	1	1							2	2	4
Deputy Editor	-	4	4	-	1	1					1	1		6	6
Senior Reporter	1	-	1	-	2	2	2	5	7				3	7	10
Reporter	3	4	7	-	2	2				-	3	3	3	9	12
Photojournalists	-	3	3*											3	3
Chief graphic designer	-	1	1*											1	1
Graphic designer	2	2	4*				1	1	2				3	3	6
Cartoonist	-	1	1*					1	1					2	2
Production person secretary	3	-	3*				1	1	1	2	4	6	2	8	10
Total	11	22	33	0	11	10	4	11	15	3	8	11	18	51	69

Note: one editor-in-chief is serving at both the Amharic Reporter and English Reporter papers. All the other figures in asterisk are also to indicate that the persons are giving services for both the Amharic and English papers

Appendix I. Informed Consent Form

Title of the research:

Researcher:

Address:

Telephone:

Email:

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study which will take place from 1st April to 28 May 2007.

This form outlines the purpose of the study and provides a description of your involvement and rights as a participant.

The purpose of the research is to fulfill a requirement for masters of Arts degree in Gender Studies, Institute of Gender Studies, Addis Ababa University.

The methods to be used to collect information for this study are: in-depth interview, focus group discussion, desk review document review and researcher's life experience.

You are encouraged to ask any question at any time about the nature of the study and the methods that I am using. Your suggestion and concerns are important to me; please contact me at any time at the address/phone number listed above.

I will use the information from this study to write up a thesis. I guarantee that the following conditions will be met:

Your personal name will not be used at any part of information collection, or in the written case report; instead, you and any other person and place names involved in your case will be given pseudonyms that will be used in all verbal and written records and reports.

If you grant permission for audio taping, no audio tapes will be used for any purpose other than to do this study, and will not be played for any reason other than to do this study.

Your participation in this research is voluntary; you have the right to withdraw at any point of the study, for any reason, and without any prejudice, and the information collected and records and reports written will be turned over to you.

Do you grant permission to be quoted directly?

Yes. _____ No. _____

I agree to the terms:

Participant: _____ Date _____

I agree to the terms:

Researcher _____ Date _____

Appendix J. In-depth interview Guiding Questions

1. What assignments, (general news reporting, reporting on politics, reporting on business/economy/development, reporting on sports, reporting on children, women, life style, society etc..) are you accomplishing as a journalist at your news room? Why?
2. Which assignment “soft” or “hard” you consider your favorite and why?
3. At what capacity (position) you are working? And what was your previous position?
4. Do you like your position? Why?
5. How do you assume your present position in the media worksite you’re working?
6. How you started to accomplish the assignments you’re now accomplishing in the worksite?
7. What do you think the reason for you to acquire your current position in media worksite?
8. Among your colleagues with whom, (men or women/ persons with equal status with you or below or persons above your status) you usually hang out/associate during work time and tea and lunch breaks as well as after work? Why?
9. How do you see yourself as a journalist vis-à-vis other women journalists and men journalists? And Where do you see yourself in two years time?
10. What do you think are the privileges and disadvantages associated to the assignments you are accomplishing?

Appendix K. Focus group Discussion Guiding Questions

1. What are the practices in your media house in promoting journalists and assign them to specific assignments?
2. Relative to men, in what kind of assignments women are predominately participating?
3. Relative to men, how do you see the participation of women in decision making positions
4. What do you think the reason for women acquire low position in media worksite and are assigned at so called “soft” news?
5. How these division of labor viewed in news media worksite
6. What do you think are the privileges and disadvantages associated to the assignments women are accomplishing?
7. How far is the media worksite conducive to women journalists in terms of harassment or implied violence?

Declaration

I, the undersigned declare that this thesis is my original work, has not been presented for a degree in any other university and all sources of materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.



Abebech Wolde

This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as university advisor



Dr. Mulumebet Zenebe