Kodwo Jonas Anson Boateng

Challenges of Gendered Journalism

Exploring Work Life Experiences of Ghanaian Female Journalists

Masculinity · Work Time Arrangement · Work Schedule · Sticky Floor · The Glass Ceiling · Patriarchy · Quid Pro Quo · Sexual Harassment · Sexual Harassment On Assignment · Work Life Balance · Androcentrism · Machismo

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND
SOCIAL SCIENCES

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ABSTRACT

As the 'feminization' of journalism practice in Africa follows global trends, the need to understand and appreciate female journalists' experiences in the profession is relevant. The dissertation uses a feminist standpoint approach, for this research project and it relies on four original study articles, two of which examine: (1) how Ghanaian female journalists manage a balance between various domestic and social obligations with the complexities of journalism work-time arrangements. (2) The second examines the extent to which the high prevalence of work-related sexual harassment challenges Ghanaian female journalists ability to integrate into the profession. The third study examines the Ghana Institute of Journalism' (GIJ) enrolment and graduation record data to help establish the idea of the degree of 'feminization' of the journalism profession in Ghana. The research project is partly informed by findings of systematic literature review (SLR) of peer-reviewed studies and articles related to gender and journalism, media and communication research published between 2010 and 2016 in high impact journals. The SLR revealed gaps in gender-media studies in Africa. Most media scholars of gender and media in Africa focus their research inquiries on micro-level gender-media relations such that there is a paucity of empirical studies on gender at the macro and meso-levels of media analyses. This project focuses on the Ghanaian media landscape as a case for study. It argues that Ghanaian newsrooms, like most work organizations in Ghana, are gendered. Globally, newsrooms are considered to have male-dominated work cultures with similar hierarchical organizational structures. In countries like Ghana, such work cultures and organizational structures generally reflect the broader patriarchal socio-culture of the Ghanaian society. The journalism professional work culture and concomitant work habits are derivatives of endemic socio-cultural conceptions that prioritize male-centric behaviors and attitudes. Social masochistic attitudes are duly transferred into journalism newsrooms creating impressions that the professional journalism culture demands robust, care-free men with no strong family ties and low moral/emotional standards. These assumptions invariably impose high entry barriers for Ghanaian female journalists, which combine effectively to inhibit women journalists' ability to integrate and thrive efficiently into the profession. For these reasons, journalism work schedules are considered gendered. For most female journalists, issues surrounding journalism work cultures, such as the forms of work time arrangements and

schedules involved in collecting, processing, and dissemination news information can be examined in this gendered light. It is globally agreed that journalism work times are non-standard, irregular, and generally considered socially unfriendly and highly unsuitable to and conflicts with numerous other socio-domestic obligations of most Ghanaian female journalists. Ghanaian female journalists like most other Ghanaian women are traditionally obligated to take care of children, the elderly, and the infirm including managing the domestic sphere. Women combine these domestic chores with work responsibilities within the public sphere. Another impending barrier is the likelihood that a high number of Ghanaian female journalists may experience sexual harassment or some form of sexual molestation in the line of duty. Ample evidence abounds to support claims of the high prevalence of sexual harassment in African newsrooms. This project, therefore, examines the experiences and impressions of Ghanaian female journalists concerning sexual harassment in the profession. This study further examines an often neglected but highly relevant and associated aspect of sexual harassment prevalence - blame attribution by victims. The project looks at how Ghanaian female journalists adopt and assign blame to their experiences with sexual harassment advances in Ghanaian newsrooms. Twenty-three (n=23) female journalists from various Ghanaian newsrooms across four of the ten regions of Ghana participated in in-depth unstructured interview sessions. Analysis of narratives of their lived experiences show that Ghanaian female journalists face unsurmountable challenges working within the journalism industry

Keywords: gendered newsroom, Ghana, journalism, irregular work schedules, other-women blame attribution, on-assignment sexual harassments, work-time arrangements

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PREFACE

The idea to study the extent of 'feminization' of journalism in Ghana is premised much on personal observations and informal conversations of the growing number of young girls applying and being admitted for journalism studies at the Ghana Institute of Journalism (GIJ), one of Africa's leading journalism training universities. Twelve years of teaching at GIJ has provided insightful knowledge about factors that motivate and challenge women's work and welfare in journalism in Ghana.

In the last three decades, the West African country of Ghana has experienced rapid transformation in its media operations. The country's 1992 Republican Constitution provides a liberalized democratic framework for the institutionalization of a liberal media economy, based on the entrenchment of freedoms of expressions and participation of private individuals and entities in media operations. Ghana currently operates a free market economy with an extreme proliferation of private media, while state-owned media have lost dominance and control in the media space. The 'feminization' of the journalism process in Ghana is happening within this liberalized, profit-making media space and has a consequential impact on the growth of women in journalism.

Secondly, it is difficult to discard the idea that the socio-cultural systems in which most African countries function are experiencing a flux. Most of these societies vacillate between traditional and modern thoughts and ways of life. For instance, the Ghanaian socio-cultural milieu is caught in traditional/modern dichotomy. Like what pertains in most Third World countries, cultural perceptions and orientations are still underscored by patriarchal influences that inform the construction of modern formal institutions and organizations consequently creating a gendered and unequal social system riddled with androcentric and masochistic orientations. This is despite persisting activisms that have resulted in the adaptation of international conventions and the promulgation of policies, regulations, and legislation aimed at achieving liberal egalitarianism at all levels of socio-economic life. The issues raised in this dissertation pertains to how social patriarchal engenders male attitudes, behaviors, and orientations such that these constructs a gendered form of journalism work time arrangements and influence journalism work schedules which in turn impacts the work-life balance of female journalists in Ghana negatively. Such orientations also tend to influence and increase the prevalence of work-related sexual harassment on women in the industry including its consequential blame attribution options women must grapple with as victims of sexual harassment.

I shall adopt a feminist approach to the analysis of these gendered issues about women's work and welfare in journalism practice. In a way, the studies examine gendered working conditions and the welfare of Ghanaian female journalists in the profession. The studies compiled in this dissertation follow Byerly's admonition to feminist media scholars to expand the scope of scholarship into the meso-level analysis. The expanded scope should include examinations of work conditions and welfare issues for women in the media industry. It

must also focus on media policies, media economics, and ownership structures that underpin media work which subsequently affects the entry, welfare, and survival of female journalists. I will assert that feminists theories like Standpoint theories are relevant theoretical approaches to any exploration of the 'lived experiences' of female journalists concerning these areas of expanded focus. The adoption of the 'lived experiences' for the ethnographic study of a female journalist can help unearth the depth and impact of erratic work schedules on the multiple other social obligations female journalists have to fulfil in the domestic sphere. The meso- analysis also enables further examination of the complexities of sexual harassment in journalism in Ghana and its impact on women journalists.

LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

1. Boateng, Kodwo Jonas Anson (2017), Reversal of Gender Disparity in Journalism Education- Study of Ghana Institute of Journalism. *Observatio* (Obs*) Vol.11, 2, p.118-135

2. Boateng, Kodwo Jonas Anson & Lauk, Epp (2020), Multi-skilled in many ways: Ghanaian Female Journalists between Job and Home. *Communication Today.* Accepted for Publication

   - **Author's Contribution**: Literature Review; Data Gathering; Writing of first draft

3. Boateng, Kodwo Jonas Anson & Lauk, Epp (2020), Proclivity of Sexual Harassment and Blame Attribution in Journalism: Experiences of Ghanaian Female Journalists. *Observatio* (Obs*) Accepted for Publication

   - **Author's Contribution**: Literature Review; Data Gathering; Writing of first draft

4. Boateng, Kodwo Jonas Anson (2020), Mining Journalism studies for Gender: A Review of Publications on women in the journalism profession in Africa. *Journalism Media and Cultural Studies Journal (JOMEC)* Under Review

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1 INTRODUCTION

"Tremendous amounts of talent are lost to our society just because that talent wears a skirt."

"The emotional, sexual, and psychological stereotyping of females begins when the doctor says, 'It's a girl' (Shirley Chisholm, 1st Black Woman US Presidential candidate & first Black woman elected to the US Congress) (Vaidyanathan, 2016)

1.1 Background

Women's participation in journalism is nothing new. However, over the last 20 years, the number of women working in the news media industry worldwide has seen an appreciable increase. In 1981, Gallagher's seminal book '*Unequal opportunities: The case of women and the media*' presented extensive data detailing the extent to which women have entered and are participating in work within the mass media industry. Besides these data, Gallagher's presented an overview of the various ways and forms in which women as subjects and women's issues were portrayed and presented in mass media across several countries. A follow up global survey in 1995 titled: '*An Unfinished Story: Gender Patterns in Media'* Gallagher again gave media researchers and policymakers further scientific indicators for measuring and understanding the scope and depth of women working in journalism in particular and in the mass media industry in general. These survey findings established the hypothesis of the 'feminization' of the journalism profession in gender and media studies.

Since 1995, several other surveys and projects have been carried out to confirm and establish the scope of the 'feminization' hypothesis. For instance, in 2011, the International Women's Media Foundation (IWMF) funded Byerly's *'Global report on the status of women in the news media'*. Similarly, through the initiative of the Beijing Platform for Action, the European Institute for Gender

Equality (EIGE) funded an EU wide survey of Women and the media (2013). In the United States, organizations like the Women's Media Center (WMC) have presented a 2017 survey report of '*The Status of Women in the Media*'.

Though all these surveys have established the underlining fact of increasing influx of women into the journalism profession, some scholars harbor fears that as more and more women enter into the profession, the number of men in the profession may diminish to the extent that the journalism may soon be turned into 'pink ghetto' (Steiner, 2012). However, scholars like Rush, Oukrop, and Sarikakis' (2005) argue through their R^3 proposition that the gradual influx of women into journalism practice could trigger reductions in salaries, and the raising of barriers by creating hostile work cultures that may ultimately affect any effective integration of women in the profession. Such an atmosphere may ultimately engender female journalists to opt-out of the profession.

Prominent scholars studying gender issues in journalism and the mass media (for example – Rao & Rodny-Gumede, 2020; Byerly, 2016a, 2016b, 2014, 2011; Geertsema-Sligh, 2014; North, 2014, Franks, 2013; Gadzekpo, 2013, 2009 & 2001; 2009; Savolainen & Zilliacus-Tikkanen, 2013; Steiner 2012, 1998; Frohlich, 2004; Chambers, 2004; de Bruin, 2004; Ross, 2004, 2001; Gallagher, 2003, 1995, 1981; Djerf-Pierre & Löfgren-Nilsson, 2000; Creedon, 1993) have explored and analyzed the broad typology of media, women, and gender focusing mainly on the genderized nature of media content and to some extent the gendered processes of the production of such contents. While some of these studies adopt structuralist/feminist approaches in examining the gendered nature of media and journalism work structures, practices, and conditions inhibiting and impeding women's career progression, Byerly (2016a), however, maintains that the scope of most of these studies still focuses on micro-levels related issues linked to media representation, media depictions, and portrayal of women. Here, North (2009) reiterates Byerly's call for a shift from empirical studies on media texts and content, media representations, and gender mainstreaming onto more nuanced examinations of media content production processes, with particular focus on 'people' involved in these production processes.

This dissertation argues that Byerly's three-level gender-media analytical framework presents a viable framework for researchers to identify these 'disproportional emphases' (p. 19) on the micro-level of gender-media research studies. A re-orientation to shift epistemological focus onto meso level issues of media content production could help media scholars to appreciate the depth to which media organization structures are constructed to favor men and male orientations. For example, meso level analysis allows scholars to appreciate further the predominance of men in ownership and control positions of media industries, including the extent to which women occupy marginalized positions in media industries around the world. Women in the media industry across the globe consistently encounter and experience 'invisible glass ceilings,' which impede their rise to managerial level positions. At the opposite end, are many young female journalists who get glued to 'sticky-floors' at low-level ranks in newsrooms. A substantial number of experienced female journalists who may

not have the capacity to cope may stay on the career's 'slippery ladder' or may choose to opt-out of the profession altogether.

In the African context, there are some few studies of meso-level analysis of gender and media Kaija (2013). Kareithi (2013) and Nghidiwa (2013) for instance offer a broad assessment and contextual analysis of women's participation in journalism in Uganda and Namibia. They present an overview of issues including gender ratio in newsrooms, and general challenges that impact women's work in journalism including the impact of journalism work-time on women's effort to achieving work-life balance. They also briefly examine challenges of sexual harassments as contributory to female journalists' attrition from the profession in these three countries. Gadzekpo (2005) also traces African women's participation in media operations since the colonial era of Africa's independence struggles. According to Gadzekpo, a number of these female journalists such as Akua Asabea Ayisi and Mabel Dove Danquah worked as columnists, editors, and publishers in the then Gold Coast (presently Ghana) media industry under pseudonyms. Despite the large gender disparity gap in favor of men in the media industry in Africa, the number of women employed in the media of ten African countries in 1995 was impressive (Gallagher 1995). According to the last Global Media Monitoring (GMMP, 2015), more female reporters are visible in the bylines of the stories and newscasts than previously. Within 15 years (2000-2015), in Africa, the number of cases of visibility of the female journalists in newspaper bylines and in broadcasts grew 6 per cent: from 36 to 42 (GMMP, 2015, p. 48).

Another significant indicator of the feminization of journalism can be gleaned from enrollment or graduation data of most journalism education schools and universities in Africa. Increase enrollments of women into journalism schools in Africa can be significant guides to appreciate the extent of the feminization hypothesis of the journalism profession in Africa. For instance, Gallagher (1995) again reveals a high percentage of women enrolling for journalism and mass communication education at the undergraduate and graduate levels in most African universities. In countries like Ghana, Egypt, Liberia, Uganda and Tunisia enrollment data show skewed disparity ratios in favor of women. In Uganda, Makerere University has graduated 57 percent more females than males within the last two decades (Kaija, 2013). Enrollment data from the Ghana Institute of Journalism (GIJ), a leading journalism training University in West Africa confirms the hypothesis of the growing feminization of journalism in Africa.

Meanwhile, feminist media activists have been active in various countries in Africa. Gender activists in the Southern African Development Community – SADC- region established several organizations and gender mainstreaming projects such as the *GenderLinks,* a project aimed at ensuring equality, justice, gender in the media. Working alongside the Gender Media Centre, such organizations spearheaded gender activism and mainstreaming gender issues in Southern Africa media. In other parts of sub-Saharan Africa, various women journalism associations, have been active and are internationally recognized for

their fight to raise gender awareness and campaign for stronger gender presence and status in African journalism and media industries. Associations like the Inter-African Network for Women, Media, Gender and Development (FAMEDEV) based in Dakar, Senegal are at the spearhead of a continent-wide gender and media effort. In academia, feminist media scholars like Bosch (2016); Rodny-Gumede, (2015), Steeves & Awino (2015); Zuidervald (2014); Gadzekpo (2013, 2009a,b & 2001); Buiten (2013); Geertsema (2010, 2005); Morna (2012); and Opoku-Mensah (2004 & 2001) have contributed immensely as pioneer scholars in projecting gender-media scholarship on the continent.

Several African feminist scholars have consistently criticized shortcomings inherent dominant feminist theoretical approaches adopted over the years for critical analyses of gender roles in media content and media production industry in the African context. Scholars like Buiten (2013), Bosch (2011), Gadzekpo (2009), and Opoku-Mensah (2001) have advocated for the construction of rigorous feminist/gender approaches sensitive to and robust enough to identifying significant socio-political norms and beliefs influencing gender and gender in media relations in the African context. An African sensitive theoretical orientation must also recognize contemporary dynamic shifts in Africa's media landscape, especially the impact these liberal democratic media functions have had on gender in media. These liberal transformational dynamics have not only influenced gender traditional roles; they have also engendered drastic changes in media structures and functions in most African countries.

1.2 Systematic literature review (SLR)

A systematic literature review (SLR) of peer-reviewed publications on gender-media/journalism relationships in Africa from 2006 to 2016, provides a firm empirical basis for identifying a niche for the compilation of studies in this dissertation. The SLR helped support Byerly's (2016a) concerns that African scholars tend to focus excessively on micro-level issues relating to gender and media. Most empirical studies in about gender and media in Africa tend to explore issues of media representations, depictions, and portrayal of women. Most analyses tend to reveal that these representations are based on stereotypical perceptions and laced with sexist undertones. Generally, women are portrayed in African media as sex objects, weak and infirm, and mostly reliant on strong male figures for support (see Steeves & Awino, 2015; Geertsema, 2010; Robinson, 2005; Ross, 2004 & 2001).

The SLR reveals a paucity of studies to pertinent gender issues in the media and journalists occupational welfare. The SLR concludes that most African feminist/gender media scholars pay little or no attention to other pertinent work-related challenges that impact on the welfare and well-being of women in journalism occupation in Africa media industries. Outside Africa, Reinardy (2019) among others, have studied the impact of journalism work on the well-being of journalists. African scholars have failed to focus on such welfare issues

such as burnout rate among female journalists, especially those women who operate 'double shift' systems. Most female journalists balance journalism work with other domestic life responsibilities. For instance, certain critical issues often neglected in most empirical discourse include how female journalists manage to balance social, romantic, and marital relationships with the heavy workload and irregular work schedules of news reporting.

The process of modernization of most African social cultures has also had a transformative impact on gender roles in Africa. As African societies become more modernized, more women have acquired formal education and entered the formal work-life, social perceptions of women's roles have evolved in tandem from traditional idealizations to dichotomous ideations of what roles women must play in this rapidly evolving modern society. For instance, Mikell (1997) makes the point that women in sub-Saharan Africa are caught between domestic/public dichotomy since they play simultaneous roles in the public and private spheres. These roles contradict and contrast social expectations within traditional/modern dichotomy, create and increase conflict and tensions for working women. They must learn to maintain an appreciable level of balance in the allocation of time, effort, and energy resources between work activities and social life activities.

This point is both significant and critical in explaining underlining social factors that tend to promote gender-based inequalities in most news organizations. It is important to note here that most women entering journalism may probably experience certain levels of discrimination, especially at this stage of the feminization/genderization processes of the journalism profession in Africa. Lastly, the dichotomy is also essential in explaining the sources of endemic newsroom cultures that favor male-dominance and male-oriented lifestyles in journalism. To this end, issues relating to differences in gender perceptions that lead to the construction and maintenance of hegemonic power in news organizations.

Thus, Byerly's (2016a) iteration of Gadzekpo (2009) and Opoku-Mensah's (2001) appeal for an expansion in scope in empirical analysis on gender-media in Africa is significant. The expansion of scope must be accompanied by purposeful re-direction, and re-focus onto two equally important but related issues that affect women's employment, career progressions, and ultimate survival and integration in media practice. According to Geertsema (2005), any re-direction must concentrate on the vast array of issues affecting women's work conditions in media industries rather than on the continuous examination of gender differences in journalism practices.

This dissertation heeds the above calls. The dissertation shifts its focal emphasis onto examination and analyses of issues within Byerly's (2016a) meso level propositions. Meso-level analytical framework is the second level of the five distinct levels proposed by Byerly (2016a) for the analysis of gender and media relations. As she explains, it is at the:

"…meso-level where the gender politics in production of media texts is located, as well as issues of women's employment and role in creative decision-making about content" (p.21)

This research project hypothesizes that various aspects of journalism work are 'gendered', generally based on the patriarchal androcentric cultural orientations derived from entrenched and the broader socio-traditional constructs that privilege male hegemonic dominance of social structures and transferred wholesale into the profession. The dissertation argues that patriarchal attitudes, behaviors, and perceptions embedded in most African societies are wholly transferred into the journalism work environment and eventually assumes a 'taken-for-granted' routinized nature in the profession. The dissertation expands on arguments that African feminist media researchers fail to construct robust conceptual, analytical frameworks. This work, therefore, recognizes that a broad array of sociocultural factors tend to impact strongly on women's work in journalism, it, therefore, adopts an analytical construct that argues that the gendered nature of journalism work conditions ultimately influences women's ability to work, and effectively integrate into the journalism profession in Ghana.

1.3   Research aims and objectives

This dissertation is based on four explorative studies that rely extensively on a feminist standpoint approaches for analysis. It, however, takes hints from two positions, first, Byerly's propositions for the adoption of meso-level analysis and secondly on findings of the SLR. The dissertation, therefore, aims to contribute to theoretical knowledge on gender-media relationships in the Africa media landscapes. It does so by broadening the scope and boundaries of empirical knowledge by analyzing female journalists' lived experiences, appreciating the challenges of these women working in the field of journalism in the African context. The dissertation also presents a synthesized conceptual model to help explain the social processes underlying and inter-linking patriarchal gendered social systems and gendered journalism newsroom culture systems and how these two biased systems pose and impose challenges for women in journalism in African journalism practice.

The dissertation is based on a compilation of four original articles. Two of the research articles are explorative studies on understanding the experiences and challenges of Ghanaian female journalists in two broad areas related to issues of 1) journalism work time arrangements on work-social/life balance and 2) prevalence of journalism work-based sexual harassments and blame attribution options adopted by victims of sexual harassment in journalism work. The third study attempts to establish the depth and scope of feminization or influx of women into the journalism profession in Ghana by examining the gender parity ratio of the student population at the Ghana Institute of Journalism. The fourth article presents a systematic review of literature and studies published on gen-

der issues and media/journalism in African between 2006 and 2016. As stated earlier, the SRL provides a niche for the studies compiled for this dissertation.

The study on journalism work-time arrangements is meant to explore and appreciate how Ghanaian female journalists construct and compose their social lives to fit the gendered journalism work time schedules. As Major, Klein, and Ehrhart (2012) hypothesize, most professional values, mainly encapsulated in 'organizational norms' tend to influence dimensions of work time arrangements. Thus, the study investigates the nature of journalism work time arrangements, especially in the relation between irregular, non-standard work hours and inflexible work schedules which also create work overloads and their implications on other social obligations and responsibilities of workers. There is general agreement that workers who prioritize work tend to cede more time to work activities, inadvertently allowing work time to spillover and intrude into their social activities thereby creating work/social life conflicts and imbalances. The consequences of such skewed work time spillovers are the high levels of attritions of female journalists from journalism work (Fagan, Lynotte, Smith, & Saldana-Tejeda, 2011; Reinardy, 2009).

The study on the prevalence of sexual harassment in journalism in Ghana as experienced by Ghanaian female journalists also focuses on the kind of blame attribution options; they choose to explain this prevalence in the profession. This dissertation supports the proposition that the preponderance of sexual harassment in journalism tends to create hostile work environments which in turn deepens and widens the cleavages of gender inequalities at the workplace. The dissertation asserts that for female journalists, incidences of sexual harassment manifest in two forms. First, female journalists tend to experience sexual advancements and harassments in the newsroom, particularly from senior editors, colleagues, and peers. Secondly, female journalists tend to experience on-assignment sexual advancements and sexual harassment from news sources and other news influencers. Though most female journalists experience these work-related challenges, the resulting implications have not been sufficiently explored empirically by African feminist media scholars.

This research project attempts to explore this niche, contributing significantly to the body of feminist media studies and knowledge of African journalism. In exploring the lived experiences and perceptions of Ghanaian female journalists, the studies use in-depth qualitative unstructured interviews to gather primary data from twenty-three (n=23) working in different media types and different newsrooms within four regional capitals of Ghana. According to Kitzinger (2004), though qualitative methodologies like interviews are challenged by issues of selectivity it, however, provides researchers 'access' to women's lived experiences through talk.

Three of the four studies are conducted in the West African context in Ghana. Ghana's media landscape is classified among the top five democratic and liberalized in Africa. The media industry in Ghana is highly privatized, less reliant on state funding, and susceptible to rapid political and socio-economic dynamic shifts. (Africa Media Barometer: Ghana, 2017; Reporters Without Bor-

ders, 2017). Women entering such highly volatile, liberalized, highly competitive and male-dominated media environment are likely to encounter strong entry resistance from male journalists.

This chapter has introduced the general direction of this dissertation and has laid the foundation for further discussion of the main elements of the dissertation. The next chapter will thus discuss the theoretical and conceptual frameworks for the dissertation. It will analyze the feminization hypothesis and present critical viewpoints encapsulated with feminist standpoint arguments by relating these arguments to the gendered organizational discourse. The chapter will proceed to present an analysis of the major concepts related to work-time arrangements, sexual harassment, *quid pro quo* exchanges, and blame attribution. It will present a conceptual model that identifies and maps out essential variables to help explain the gendered society hypothesis. This hypothesis argues that newsrooms are gendered, inheriting gendered and masculine tendencies from a society that are male-dominated and effused with male-centric orientations. Chapter three discusses the contextual landscape in which the studies take place. The chapter emphasizes the extent to which adoption of liberal policies has shaped Ghana's media economy, especially its media ownership structures, including its impact on women's influx and integration into the journalism profession in Ghana. The fourth chapter presents the research design and methodological approaches used in collecting and analyzing data for the studies. Chapter five discusses the findings, while chapter six presents a comprehensive discussion of the results of the findings, conclusions, and significant implications from the findings.

1.4   Overview of Chapters

This dissertation consists of a compilation of three studies. Table 1 and Figure 1 present an overview of the studies further explaining the inter-relationships between the three disparate studies.

Table 1   List of Publications of original studies included in dissertation

TOPIC	AIM	PUBLICATIONS
Study 1: Reversal of Gender Disparity in Journalism Education: Study of Ghana Institute of Journalism	To understand the depth and scope of 'feminization' of journalism in Ghana by measuring the gender parity ratio of Ghana Institute of Journalism (GIJ)	*Observatorio* (OBS*). 2017, Vol. 11 Issue 2, p118-135. 18p.
Study 2: Multi-skilled in many ways: Ghanaian Female Journalists between Job and Home	To understand the lived experiences of Ghanaian female journalists concerning how different dimensions of journalism work-time arrangements, impacts on their work-life balance.	*Communication Today* (Accepted for publication)
Study 3: Proclivity of Sexual Harassment and Blame Attribution in Journalism: Experiences of Ghanaian Female Journalist	To explore the experiences of female journalists in Ghana concerning job-related sexual harassments and the extent to which victims of sexual harassments attribute blame for incidences of sexual harassment	*Observatorio* (OBS*) (Accepted for publication)
Study 4: Mining Journalism studies for Gender: A Review of Publications on women in the journalism profession in Africa	To carry out a systematic review of literature that maps the number of empirical studies and published articles in peer-reviewed journals with high-impact factor concerning gender, feminism, and media in Africa and to identify niche research areas for empirical studies on the 'genderization' and 'feminization' phenomenon in the journalism profession in Africa.	*Journalism Media and Culture* (Under Review)

Figure 1   Summary of original studies compiled for the dissertation

STUDY 1: Reversal of Gender Disparity in Journalism Education – Study of Ghana Institute of Journalism

Research Questions	R.Q1: What is the gender parity ratio of male-female students enrolled at the Ghana Institute of Journalism (GIJ) from 2000 to 2016? R.Q2: At what period within the 16 years did the female enrolment ratio peak?
Research Methods	Document and Records Analysis
Results	1. Gender parity ratio in favour of female journalism students. The Gross Enrolment Ratio for the male to female journalism student was 47:65, with a Gross Parity Index (GPI) at 0.72<1 2. The female student population began to peak between 2012 and 2013.

STUDY 2: Multi-skilled in many ways: Ghanaian female Journalists between job and home

Research Questions	R.Q1: What are the impressions and experiences of Ghanaian female journalists concerning aspects of their work-time arrangements? R.Q2: How do these work-time arrangements affect their social roles and lives?
Research Methods	Unstructured in-depth interviews
Results	1. Journalism work-time schedules are unsociable 2. Irregular work-time schedules spill over into the social life of Ghanaian female journalists. 3. Female regional correspondents experience longer working hours which negatively affect work-life balance
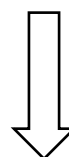
STUDY 3: Proclivity of Sexual Harassment and Blame Attribution in Journalism: Experiential Narratives of Ghanaian Female Journalists

Research Questions	R.Q1: What are the impressions and experiences of female journalists in Ghana about the proclivities of sexual harassment? R.Q2: How do female journalists assign blame for incidences of sexual harassment in the profession?
Research Methods	Unstructured in-depth interviews
Results	1. High incidences of sexual harassment in Ghanaian newsrooms 2. High incidences of *quid pro quo* exchange between senior male editors and news sources

Study 4: Mining Journalism studies for Gender: A Review of Publications on Women in the Journalism Profession in Africa

Research Questions	RQ1: The number of peer-reviewed studies and articles published on issues of gender, women, and feminization in the journalism profession in Africa from 2006 to 2016 RQ2: The conceptual, theoretical, and thematic areas that underpin these studies RQ3: The methodological approaches used for data collection in these studies RQ4: The regions or countries within Africa where gender and media related studies were conducted, and which countries are dominant in publishing studies and articles on gender-media related issues.
Research Methods	Systematic Literature Review (SLR) using PICO (Problem/Population, Intervention, Comparison/Control, Outcome) framework
Results	- Twenty-three (23) articles in thirty-three on gender and media issues from 2006-2016. - Thematic areas: Women empowerment; Male hegemony; Women's participation; Media representation; Gender differences in newsroom - Qualitative Methodologies; Content Analyses; Case Study Method South Africa; Southern Africa; East Africa; Nigeria

Figure 1 provides an overview of three studies compiled for this dissertation. The studies follow a logical, sequential order. Study one attempts to understand the extent of the 'feminization' of journalism practice in Ghana by studying the gender disparity ratio from the j-schools. The second study investigates the experiences and general impressions Ghanaian female journalists have about work durations, workload, and how it affects the achievement of work and life balance. The third studies proceed to understand the experiences of Ghanaian female journalists concerning the prevalence of sexual harassment in the newsroom. It goes further to explore how female journalists in Ghana tend to assign and attribute blame for the occurrences of sexual harassment.

This dissertation follows this structure: chapter two discusses the theoretical approaches relating to the feminization hypothesis, feminist standpoint theories, and gendered organizational approaches. The chapter also presents the main conceptual analysis of the dimensions of work-time arrangements, sexual harassment as they occur in newsrooms and on-assignment. It also presents a conceptual model that maps out the extent to which a gendered society creates gendered newsrooms that fosters unfriendly and unsociable work schedules while encouraging the use of sex as a tool for hegemonic control in subjugating and discriminating against women in newsrooms. The chapter also examines the *quid pro quo* as a significant dimension in the discourse of sexual harassment. Chapter Three presents the context in which the studies are conducted. The chapter discusses the extent to which the contemporary Ghanaian media system has been re-formed to reflect the liberalized political and economic structure. For instance, the media ownership structure has been replaced by excessive privatization and proliferation of media outlets. The current media policy in Ghana encourages media plurality and diversity of content which may inadvertently affect female journalists' effective integration into the profession. Chapter four presents the methodological approaches used in the numerous studies presented in the dissertation. It argues that the qualitative in-depth interview technique is relevant and significant in unravelling knowledge from the lived experiences of subjugated women, especially, female journalists in patriarchal societies like Ghana. Chapter five discusses the findings, while Chapter six presents a comprehensive discussion of the results of the findings, conclusion, and the theoretical and practical implications of the findings on female journalists in Ghana.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Feminization of Journalism - Hypothesis

Journalism, like most professions, is experiencing an appreciable increase in the number of women leading to the feminization of the profession. The general idea of feminization can be traced back to Anne Douglas' seminal book '*Feminization of American culture*' in 1977. Though it caused controversy within the Catholic laity (Pasture, 2012) and among highly patriarchal American society, the book brought to the fore issues of gender concerning the social processes influencing women's entry into the formal paid labor market.

Feminization discourses in the broader social world, are predicated on the two critical global socio-economic principles. First, the feminization of the labor market has been spurred on by the rise and spread of neo-liberal economic globalization (Morini, 2007). Secondly, the phenomenon of feminization is a consequence of feminism processes that have re-adjusted social norms and viewpoints from masculine gender and sex-roles to a global acceptance of feminine roles. Some of these factors underline the consideration of the idea of feminization as an existential challenge and an antithesis to widely accepted socially constructed and entrenched stereotypes of 'cultural masculinity' which has become a necessary pre-requisite for work at the formal sector. Thus, Chepkemei, Yano, Kirop, Kogei and Magugui (2013) describe feminization as a "shift in gender and sex roles in the society, groups or organization towards a focus upon the feminine" (p. 60).

Historically, the feminization trends in labor organizations have been a result of decades of different stages and waves in feminist's agitations and reaction to centuries of gender inequalities, gender disparities including discrimination practices related to women's insertion into wage labor. According to Chepkemei et al., (2013) recent international development and human rights interventions like the UN Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action, Millennium

Development Goals (MDGs), and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) have provided further impetus to the efforts of feminists to fight for strong international and national gender policies and legislations which could be instrumental in achieving global gender parity and gender equity at all levels of work organizations.

In academia, feminist scholars have developed feminist approaches and epistemology that have examined various aspects of the increasing feminization of work. For instance, in economics research, Pressman (2003) has studied the impact of the feminization on poverty. Pressman uses Buding and England (2001); Folbre (1997) and Waldfogel's (1997) theses to argue that issues of occupational sex segregation have poverty implications for the feminization of work. Pressman further asserts that social gender roles tend to restrict women to natural biological roles of childbearing and nurturing, which inadvertently disadvantage women either by compelling them to work in low-income jobs or confining them to the lower positions at work where they earn lower salaries than their male counterparts.

Though figures on the feminization in journalism are patchy in some regions of the world, aggregate global data show increases in women's participation at all levels of media industries, including journalism. International comparisons show that the four Nordic countries of Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden are 'success stories' (Djerf-Pierre, 2011 p.44) in attaining high levels of gender parity and equity in journalism and media industries (Savolainen & Zilliacus-Tikkanen, 2013; Byerly, 2011). In Africa, for instance Uganda has a near gender parity

However, to Savolainen and Zilliacus-Tikkanen (2013) and Djerf-Pierre (2011) achievements of numerical parity and equality in numbers should not be considered the primary goal of feminization in journalism. Any further empirical inquiry must however delve more in-depth into examining concrete and equally significant unobtrusive factors that impact on eradicating gender inequalities and achievements of gender equity in journalism work. This dissertation, therefore, argues that empirical inquiries on gender equity in the feminization of journalism practice must be broad enough to examine issues related to how female journalists are compelled to either developing 'coping strategies', adopting male traits, behaviors and attitudes and characteristics, or engaging in a culture of silence to workplace discriminations. For instance, several empirical studies borrow Bourdieu's 'appropriation' theories to analyze the coping experiences of female journalists and the extent to which women adapt to masculine traits to fit into journalism work. Thus, any analysis of the process of the feminization of journalism must examine both efforts at the achievement of numerical increment of women in the profession and the parity of gender in the profession on the one hand, and examine female journalists' experiences with work conditions and work-related sex-based discrimination.

2.1.1   Feminist Standpoint Theory

Feminist theoretical approaches provide relevant frameworks for analytical inquiry of issues of feminism, gender, and women in society. Different feminist theories of gender have presented feminism as embodiments of social expectations of attitudes, behavior, capacity, and significance attached to biological distinctions of sex as either "masculine" or "feminine". (Ferguson, Hennessy, & Nagel, 2018). Foucauldian feminist thoughts on power, hierarchy, and empowerment embedded within gender relations also provide a robust theoretical perception on which to analyze gender/sex distinctions. Postmodernist and Marxist feminist schools of thought further help us ground these Foucauldian gender power relationships within work organizations. (Allen, 2016) Thus, stemming from these, feminist discourses have had recourse to challenge the epistemic dominance, social exploitation, patriarchy, and subordination within discursive gender power relationships. A challenge now emerges as to how to formulate comprehensive epistemological and methodological approaches to enable feminist scholars to describe ways in which these socio-political elements of gendered relationships shape production and reproduction of knowledge. (Grasswick, 2016)

Grasswick, (2016) among others, points to historical attempts by feminist theorists to break the stranglehold of dominant epistemological approaches underpinning the production of knowledge of gender and the development of pragmatic approaches towards understanding the impact of hegemony/power in gender relations. Sandra Harding, Nancy Hartsock, Hilary Rose, Dorothy Smith, and other influential feminists arrived on the tide of the second wave of feminism. They developed Standpoint theories as critical theoretical approaches to help feminist scholars unravel, explain, and produce knowledge based on varied and relativistic viewpoints and experiences of 'oppressed' women, collectively. Secondly, they intended Standpoint theory to consider the subjective social realities of minorities and marginalized in opposition to the positivists/dominant notions of objectivity dominating empirical inquiries of knowledge production. (Bowell, n.d). For instance, Sandra Harding (2009) in defense of the utility of theoretical propositions elucidated in the Standpoint theory posed this pointed question: 'whose experience is to count in formulating ideals of objectivity, rationality, and good method?' (p.193). As Smith (2005) states, the foundation of Harding's development of a Standpoint theory was premised on the critical presumptions that women who were socially and politically dominated also have privilege access to knowledge based on their subordinate lived experiences and social interactions such that their individual subjective experiences could form a basis for developing epistemic knowledge in feminism. Generally, standpoint theories comprise different feminist theories mostly derived from Marxists' ideological perspectives (Kokushkin 2014). These theories attempt to wrestle epistemic privilege over socially and politically contested topics from dominant knowledge and social constructors on behalf of the socially disadvantaged social groups. As Bowell (n.d) reiterates:

" The process of achieving knowledge begins when standpoints begin to emerge. They emerge when those who are marginalized and relatively invisible from the vantage point of the epistemically privileged become conscious of their social situation with respect to socio-political power and oppression and begin to find a voice".

To advocates of the Standpoint viewpoint, the voice and knowledge of the marginalized are essential in epistemology. Such voices provide alternative viewpoints. These voices throw analytical light on suppressed ideologies while challenging propositions expressed by generalized dominant paradigms. Kokushkin, therefore, asserts that the original conceptualizations of the Standpoint approach particularly those expounded by Harding were to provide alternative means of knowing in contrast and opposition to established and taken-for-granted positivist epistemology. For Ramazanoglu et al., (2002) the idea of 'lived experiences' underlines the arguments of the theory. The concept of lived experiences was constructed as an embodiment of the sources of knowledge that could help unearth social and political differences embedded in social interactions. Here the experiences gained out of social encounters and interactions tend to inform the positions and viewpoints of the marginalized which therefore provides a distinction of views and knowledge of the dominant, creating in its awake a dominant/dominated dichotomy of knowledge of 'normalized' social realities. Thus, generation of knowledge gathered through understandings of lived experiences of minorities must also be viewed as attempts at 'decentering the production of knowledge' (Kokushkin 2014, p.11) and recognition of dominant/dominated dichotomy of perceiving social realities. (Kokushkin, 2014; Rolin, 2009; Brooks, 2007; Ramazanoglu et al., 2002; Bowell, n.d).

Politically, standpoint theories empower women to view and narrate social realities from personal perspectives. At the epistemological level, it enables researchers to examine women's lived experiences from the perspective of '*situated knowers*' relative to their interactions in a given social context. The approach, on the one hand, provides a convenient empirical tool to study women's social experiences from their unique positions. On the other hand, it provides expressive space enabling women to narrate and describe the social world and realities based on how they experience and encounter these realities (Grasswick, 2016). However, more importantly, the theory facilitates understanding of the social phenomenon and realities from alternative and multiple points of view contrary to 'naturalized' androcentric predominant views and perceptions historically entrenched and intertwined with a scientific epistemology. This point is re-enforced by Kokushkin's argument that:

> Given that the dominant modes of knowledge are androcentric, standpoint feminisms then generate knowledge that originates from women's experiences and addresses issues of interest to women (p.10)

Standpoint also involves a certain level of reflexivity. It demands certain forms and levels of self-awareness, reflecting on social interactions and decisions. For most theorists, reflectivity further re-enforces arguments of gender empowerment; whereby marginalized women reflect on, deconstruct, interpret and pos-

sibly confront traditional social presumptions that regulate their daily experiences (Grasswick, 2016; Kokushkin, 2014; Rolins, 2009; Brooks, 2007; Ramazanoglu et al., 2002).

Drawing from these arguments, Ramazanoglu and colleagues are attentive to the essence of the social context where certain social presumptions occur. Social context forms an essential underlining concept encapsulated within Standpoint theoretical frameworks. Ramzanoglu et al., (2002) further allude to the fundamental nature of social context as reliable and relevant to knowledge generation through lived experiences. Consequently, a systematic analysis of social contextual values and situations which shape women's experiences and encounters enables researchers to appreciate entrenched patriarchal and androcentric perceptions that act in concert to produce sexist mechanisms proceeding to generate gendered biases forcing marginalized women to create implicit inferences from their lived experiences.

For instance, Bowell refers to Hilary Rose's narration of Evelyn Fox Keller's experiences described in the: *'Hand, Brain and Heart: A feminist Epistemology for the Natural Science'* as the emphasis of the impact of gendered work organizations on Keller's work experiences while working in a male-dominated laboratory context. To cope with levels of marginalization and sexist discriminations from both her peers and students and to gain some levels of legitimacy and status, Keller had to 'suspend [her] identity as women'. Bowell and others, therefore, conclude that gendered work environments, tend to impose pressures on professional women forcing them to adopt coping mechanisms to 'negotiate' and/or assume a 'persona best suited' to the profession.

> " Thus some women professionals emphasize only those characteristics considered valuable in their professional context, allowing themselves to be women and feminist only in private contexts. Alternatively, a woman might simply try to imitate the traits, habits and practices of the dominant group while suppressing herself entirely" (Bowell n.d)

Standpoint viewpoints, therefore, encourage women to recognize and appreciate the extent to which critical socio-economic values especially those socio-political and economic constructs engender and entrench the social marginalization of women. While standpoint viewpoints further allow women to become aware of social patriarchal discriminatory constructs, the framework assumes an empowering role by providing oppressed and marginalized women the agency to insist on their rights. In contrast empowered women who adopt critical and antagonistic approaches to entrenched workplace patriarchy may face severe alienation from work colleagues, increased workplace tensions, ultimately leading to increase attrition of women.

It is pertinent to discuss here the various criticism leveled against the feminist standpoint theoretical approach. The barrage of criticisms mainly focuses on the theory's essentialist tilt, particularly on its relativistic stance. According to Hekman (1997), the theory's Marxist underpinnings creates a formidable challenge for the young feminist who intends to adopt it for gender and feminist analysis of social phenomena. Even Harding (2009) herself admits to the

controversial nature of the postulations enshrined in the theoretical explanation. For instance, the theory is said to suffer from false universalism in assigning epistemic privilege solely on women and women's experience. By this, women's subjective experiences become the basis for developing generalized knowledge. (Bowell, n.d) However, West and Turner (2018); and Bowell (n.d) address some of the concerns raised here. They argue that though the approach has an essentialist and universalism tilt, the strength of the various theories encapsulated in the Standpoint viewpoint approach lies in their ability to highlight women's social problematic for scientific inquiry by focusing on differential gender power relations in most social inter-relationships. Furthermore, focusing on social 'contextual factors' and other demographic variables like age, race, social status, gender, and features of geographical location, help establish a strong basis for the adoption of standpoint as a source for epistemic knowledge.

Lastly, West and Turner (2018) point to an overemphasis on dualism or 'dualistic thinking' and dichotomous relationships. They argue that dualistic thinking contributes to widely held dichotomous perceptions that saw society along gendered lines and especially the persisting epistemological debates surrounding subjectivity and objectivity in science. However, they further argue from Hartsock's point of view that the Standpoint theory is 'fertile terrain' with sufficient theoretical flexibility to adapt, refine, and respond to epistemological tensions that arise.

Despite the criticisms of its Marxist underpinnings and issues of empirical relativism outline above, this dissertation adopts the Standpoint theory for its propositions for examination, analyses, and for unearthing deeply buried knowledge of women's situated experiences. Empirical examination and understanding of the situated experiences of female journalists in Ghana relating to their work condition situations are lacking. The Standpoint theory, especially, its derivative of examination of situated knowledge through studies on the lived experiences of female journalists in Ghana underlines the studies compiled for this dissertation.

2.1.2   Gendered Organization Approaches

Over the years, Marxist-feminist theorists have perceived work organizations as sites of social interactions and constant contestations for power and hegemonic control over resources like wages and salaries. (Ferguson et al., 2018; Calas & Smircich, 1999). Like Tuchman, Daniels, and Benet's (1978) 'symbolic annihilation' (omission, trivialization, and condemnation) of women's issues from journalism, feminists like Tyler (2012) and Acker (1990; 2012) also refer to historical attempts to systematical ignore gender differences, gender subordination and gender inequalities in work organizations.

Feminist economists have deconstructed the ubiquitous dominance of the 'masculine' in work environments, describing them as evident, naturalized, and given presumptions such that any feminist critic of the taken-for-granted sexual segregation of organizational work structures is considered a destabilizing force

both in labor and social science inquiries. Quoting Cynthia Cockburn, Britton draws attention to the inter-relatedness of gender and work organizations.

> "People have a gender, which rubs off on the jobs they do. The jobs in turn have a gender character that rubs off on the people that do them" (Britton 2000, p.419).

Gender discourses on work organizations pre-dating the 1970s were conceived and discussed in gender-neutral tones (Tyler, 2012). Theoretical and empirical investigations by sociologists and organizational theorists (Kanter 1975, 1977; Clegg & Dunkerley 1980; Mills 1988; Morgan 1986; Feldberg & Glenn 1979; MacKinnon 1979; Ferguson 1984) infused the women/feminine problematic into subsequent theoretical and conceptual discourses thereby aligning gender to work organizational processes. Ackers (1990) identifies strongly with Kanter's characterization of these women's centric problematic persisting male-dominated work organizations, maintaining that:

> "…the problems women have in large organizations are consequences of their structural placement, crowded in dead-end jobs at the bottom and exposed as tokens at the top" (Acker 1998, p.143).

Acker proceeds to develop the gendered organization paradigm premised on a feminist proposition. Acker agrees that gendered organizations are mostly borne out of existing gendered social arrangements which readily segregate formal work, based on established gender roles. Such assumptions are premised on the idea that women are obligated to work in unpaid informal domestic work, while men must do work in paid formal jobs. Consequently, these roles are generally transferred into work organizations leading to structural hierarchies at the workplace. These hierarchies tend to produce unequal pay structures, job positions, and invariably create discriminatory workplace unfavorable to working women. But more importantly, Acker argues that work organizations are also considered convenient social contexts, that enable active 'dissemination', 'reinvention', and 'reproduction' of established socially infused 'cultural images'. Lastly, some scholars argue to work organizations can be considered as social sites where individual genders build and sustain personal identities.

At a more philosophical level, the feminist viewpoints perceive gender as deliberate products of social construction processes. For instance, Mikkola (2017), states that 'gender is social' and 'gender is the social interpretation of sex' (Mikkola, 2017). For Mikkola, Rubin and others emphasize the essence of the role various social interventions play in conditioning the behavior of men and women. Then Butler's (1988) performative ontological perceptions also reiterate Simone de Beauvoir's famous saying that "one is not born, rather, becomes a woman" (Butler 1988, p.519) that points to the extent of the profundity of social factors that construct women's traits and characteristics. From this point of view, gender becomes a product of everyday social practices and interactions. To push the idea further, Alcoff (2006) points to gender as a *positionality* that

situates gender as 'a position one occupies and from which one can act politically.'

Thus, social constitutions of gender become evident within organizational structures. Such gender perceptions become embodied in the organization's mission and vision (ideological stance) statements and at the policy framework level. Besides, social conceptions of gender distinctions into roles occur in organizational practices influencing workers' interaction and contributing to specific constructions of gender identity. In this sense, gendered work cultures create challenges related to issues of recruitment, career progression practices, gender wage disparities, maternity policies, including work-time arrangements and schedules (Britton, 2000).

Integral to the positions alluded to here, and closely related to issues of gendered work organisational processes are gender inequalities that are generally embedded in routinized socio-cultural and economic disparities. For Acker (2012) and Czarniawska (2012), though social inequalities are pervasive, they have varying degrees of severity and afflict people in different socio-economic strata in society in different ways and forms. Acker describes these social inequalities:

> '....as systematic disparities between groups of organizational participants in control over organizational goals and outcomes, work processes and decisions, in opportunities to enter and advance in particular job areas, in the security of position and levels of pay, in intrinsic pleasures of the work, and in respect and freedom from harassment' (Acker 2012, p.70).

Various feminist philosophical approaches postulate that perceptions of gender inequality are deeply ingrained within our patriarchal, hierarchical, and racialized social systems and structures such that these ingrained structures are easily imported and planted firmly into work organizations.

This notion of 'embeddedness' (Acker, 2012) which gives privilege to routinized, and normative views of gender roles mainly based on traditional role prescriptions are also significant in gender discourses. The Foucauldian notion provides a useful framework for analyzing sexual divisions of labor. Various feminist philosophers adopt the Foucauldian perspective to argue that sex/gender role prescriptions are historically and socially constructed, reproduced, normalized, and become embedded in social perceptions and conceptions. They eventually develop into normalized stereotypical perceptions in individual and social relationships. Social gender stereotypes are oversimplified but widely accepted social biases and 'illusions' (Mikkola, 2017) that trigger gender inequalities and discriminatory sexist treatments. Women, for instance, are often judged and socially positioned by these stereotypes.

Crippen (2015), for instance, point to Gilick and Fiske's adoption of ambivalent sexism as an analytical framework for understanding sex-based job segregation. They aptly describe and categorize socially constructed gender roles along socially embedded sexist prejudices which often contradict each other. For instance, the ambivalent sexism framework can be considered an aspect of hostile sexism, that place women in a relatively inferior light to men in

almost all spheres of social, political, and economic interaction. Women are negatively regarded as mentally, emotionally, and physically inferior. By extension, women are incompetent with limited capabilities of undertaking specific jobs.

On the contrary, the benevolent sexism analyzes how social prejudices views women in a positive light. Though benevolent sexism is also gendered/sexist conceptions and still considers women in terms of their infirm nature, it gives men the automatic and natural responsibility for protecting women from all forms of harm. The framework argues from this point of view that women are well protected within the domestic sphere of the home.

Crippen (2015), among others, describes both perceptions as faulty since they undermine women's social positions. The benevolent sexism perceptions though well-intentioned may be misconceived in some conservative social contexts as a God-given right to restrict and restrain women from undertaking certain economic or political ventures. Thus, even as women enter the public sphere of formal work, embedded ambivalent sexist stereotypes are subtly employed to segregate occupations and professions on the basis of sex.

Against this backdrop, Ferguson, Hennessy, and Nagel (2018) adopt psychological theories of women and work to explain why segregation of work tasks based on sex are constructed on sexist perceptions of male and female physiological and psychological traits and characteristics. Meanwhile, behavioral ecological perceptions also theorize that men are assigned high risk, physically demanding, and aggressive tasks based on stereotypical conceptions of such masculine traits. Women are, therefore, perceived as physio-psychologically weak and frail but generally empathetic. Thus, sociologically, Chodorow (1978) argues that the weak and frail woman is therefore confined to the home as reproductive agents meant to procreate and fulfill biological functions, including childbearing and nurturing the family. These perceptions have come to underline sexual divisions of labor which tend to restrict women to occupations and work tasks demanding empathy, nurturing and communication. Jobs such as those in health care, psychiatric, child-care services, customer service representatives, corporate communication, teaching, secretarial and administrative work have gradually become the preserve of women.

Ferguson et al., (2018) rely on socialist-feminist schools of thought to argue that these private/public sphere distinctions are predicated on nurturing and biological perspectives which are 'exploitative' to women socio-economic and political positions with inadvertent repercussions on gender differences in terms of power, hierarchy and wage differentials at the workplace. For instance, working mothers often fall victim to the 'motherhood penalty' (Correll, Benard, & Paik, 2007). Working mothers tend to face obstacles combining work with childcare. Most mothers returning from maternity leave tend to lose on career progression, promotions or may lose their workplaces altogether. Variations in gender wage gaps or 'wage penalty' (Correll, Benard, & Paik, 2007) can be attributed to social attitudes firmly embedded and derived from social constructs that perceive women as mothers and confine them to domestic duties. Thus,

women who venture out of the confines of the domestic sphere into the 'public sphere' to work often incur a motherhood penalty. Indeed, most young working women may interrupt their work during the last stages of pregnancy to deliver and or take maternity vacations for childcare. This break in work routines for childcare inflicts a penalty on women. In certain jurisdictions, they may lose their job, receive reduced salaries, or miss out of career progression in terms of job promotions (Budig & Hodges, 2010)

Another dimension to the idea of embeddedness emerges from how gender stereotypes assign significance to physical appearances and consequently link certain occupational roles to certain physical features. Feminist theorists have argued and identified physical appearance attributes as critical stereotypes that impose gender-role limitations on women in work organizations. Borrowing from Kantian notions that argue that women as often perceived as sex objects and objectified, most societies tend to assign and associate women's beauty to specific job roles. From this premise, women are objectified, lowered, demeaned, and or devalued in comparison to men. The objectification of the women paradigm and its association to work roles strongly affirms and points to the extent to which society constructs, assigns, embeds, and creates gender stereotypes eventually resulting in gender inequalities (Papadaki, 2015). In a 1989 study, Croxton, van Rensselaer, Dutton, and Ellis found that gender characteristics like physical attractiveness positively influenced the existence of occupational sex-typing and job recruitment decisions. They establish that physically attractive women were likely to be recruited to non-managerial positions. Heilman's (1983) lack of fit model, according to Johnson, Podratz, and Dipboye and Gibbons (2010) hypothesizes the congruity between physical attractiveness and job occupations. They quote Heilman and Saruwatari (1979) to elaborate:

> "… occupational sex bias is a result of an incongruity between one's perceived skills and attributes, which are associated with gender, and perceived nature of the job's requirements" (p.203)

2.2 Women's Changing Roles in Ghana

Despite existing sexist challenges and obstacles, women in Ghana, like their counterparts in other African countries, are experiencing drastic role transformations. Statista (2020) data put Ghana's population of over 30 million as of 2019. The country has a very narrow gender gap, with 15.42 million and about 15 million women. However, according to Amu (2005), Ghanaian women are currently embracing the dynamics of social transformation by participating actively in socio-economic sectors of society. Ghanaian women are no longer constrained by traditional sexist ascribed roles that assign women to childcare and home management and responsibilities.

Over the years, more and more women are moving into the wage-earning market. Amu points out that Ghanaian women have become principal actors in

specific primary areas of the economy, especially in agriculture and allied fields, sales work and mainly into the service and related industries. Current records indicate that only 22 per cent of Ghanaian women work in agriculture as against 50 percent two decades ago. Over 23 percent of Ghanaian women have moved directly into the formal and informal industry (The World Bank Group, 2020). However, the majority of women who venture out of the household to participate in the public economy are involved in small-scale petty trading and low paying and back-breaking street hawking (Baden, Green, Otoo-Oyortey, & Peasgood, 1994). The long history of women's involvement in petty trading in the informal sector has been a necessary means for women to contribute to family household financing. It is therefore not surprising that streets of most major cities are lined by women of all ages selling petty items from chewing gums to bottled water.

The traditional gender socio-cultural power relations in Ghana are also beginning to experience gradual shifts and reconceptualization. Baden et al. (1994), observe that these gradual shifts in socio-economic roles have implications for traditional roles and social perceptions. In Ghana, the implication is evident in destabilization and reformulation of household power arrangements, with a large number of women becoming principal breadwinners or wage earners. (Amu, 2005)

2.3   Women Work-Life Balance

The impact of the gendered workplace is generally felt within the tensions and the conflict of activities between work and family activities. The perceived imbalances arising from the persistent tensions and conflicts within work activities and family responsibilities account for increased levels of physical and psychological related stresses among workers. For instance, issues of absenteeism at the workplace, low work performance rates, burnouts, and spousal-family tensions often arise from most workers' inability to achieve an appreciable level of work-life/family balance. (Synder, Johnson & Kozimor-King, 2019; Poulose & Sudarsan, 2014; Davis, 2013; Lee & Phillips, 2006; Barnett & Hyde, 2001). Historical antecedents of the tensions between work life and family life date back to the Industrial Revolution (Singh, 2013). However, as women's participation in the workforce increased worldwide, tensions between family life activities and paid work obligations have increased in tandem. Davis (2014) and Barnett and Hyde (2001) allude to the extent to which a significant number of working women around the world deliberately postpone childbirth due in part to the conflict and imbalances in work-life activities.

Work-life balance has varied meanings and definitions. Poulose and Sudarsan (2014) for instance, provide two working definitions that capture the critical inter-relating elements between work activities and family responsibilities. They first borrow Clark's (2000) conception, which describes work-life balance as 'the extent to which individuals are equally engaged in and equally sat-

isfied with work and family roles' (p.2). Using Hall, Erickson, Hoimes, and Ferris' (2010) definition, Poulose et al. expand on the former definition. They also borrow from Marxist's commodification perspectives, which considers time, psychological emotions, and energy as critical inputs that workers exchange for financial rewards. To this end, Hall et al., conceptualize work-life balance as the levels at which an individual distributes and expend his or her limited time, behavior and emotions sufficiently to meet work and family activity needs. For instance, as Major et al., (2002) state, a worker may experience work overload when he/she lacks sufficient coping and time management skills in apportioning and prioritizing work and social needs in other to create a level of harmony. Thus, work-life balance is predicated on "the extent to which a person can concurrently balance the emotional, behavioral and time demands of both paid work, personal and family responsibilities" (Hall et al., 2010 cited in Poulose et al., 2014, p.2).

Hall et al. (2010) definition places significance on an analysis of the idea of social activity. They argue that social activities such as domestic chores, attendance to religious and funeral ceremonies are obligatory activities. However, these activities fall outside the purview of work activities, they are relevant to the holistic psychological and material development of the worker. In some socio-cultural contexts, individuals are obligated to learn to distribute the essential resources of time, effort, behavior, and emotions effectively to enable active participation in essential cultural activities, rituals, and ceremonies. On the opposite end of the argument, Fagan et al. (2012) argue that despite the apparent incongruity of work and life activities, it is essential to realize that work activities are crucial for survival in this modern world and therefore cannot isolated and considered in opposition to, and detrimental to social life activities. Wages earned from work outside the home sustains and enables a fruitful social life. Thus, work-life must be perceived in a holistic sense as activities that are integral and complementary to attempts at creating a meaningful composite life.

Poulose and Sudarsan (2014) borrow O'Driscoll's (1996) and Zedeck and Mosier's (1990) five main explanatory models to explain the inter-relationship between work and social life in any analysis of work-life balance. The first of the models fall within the segmentation model, which describes and explains work life and social life as two isolated, distinct, and independent set of activities unrelated to each other. The second model focuses on the spillover model. The gist of the model rests on the hypothesis that work activities and social life activities are closely interconnected, such that activities inherent in one set may affect the other set of activities positively or negatively. In a similar vein, the compensation model considers work-life and social life as complementary and inter-lined processes forming part of the broader holistic life. Thus, resources are derived from one of the sets of activities that can enhance efficiency and sustain activities in the other. For instance, wage earned from work activities becomes a useful resource in sustaining family life activities, thereby compensating for time spent away from family activities.

Meanwhile, the instrumental model relies on two perspectives- enrichment and expansionist perspectives to postulate that activities in one set of activities can be instrumental in enriching activities in the other domain. The conflict model contradicts the earlier four models, analyzing work and life activities as conflicting activities, creating tensions and imbalances in each domain. The model relies on the scarcity perspective explaining that individuals playing multiple roles tend to possess limited time resources to expend on activities in each domain; therefore time spent on activity in one domain may conflict with equally essential requirements in the other domain. (Poulose & Sudarsan, 2014)

This study adopts the spillover and conflict models as a basis for an analysis of the impact of work activities on the social life activities of female journalists. While the study acknowledges the empirical relevancy of the diverse ways, women and men experience and negotiate the work-life balance. It also posits that gender-role ideology, coupled with traditional gender expectations helps explain and emphasize the multiple roles contemporary working women play in addition to earning wages. It has been empirically established that married working women, spend extra time on domestic unpaid chores than men. In addition to this, women spend extra time on maternity leave for child care which contributes to entrenching workplace gender equity, which also eventually threatens the long-term job security of women (see: Davis, 2013; Eurofound, 2012; Fagan, Lynotte, Smith, & Saldana-Tejeda, 2011; Major et al., 2002; Barnett & Hyde, 2001; Sirianni & Negrey, 2000).

However, according to postfeminist theorists, the multiple roles working women play are significant in sustaining socio-familial life. For example, Barnett and Hyde (2001) among others, hypothesize that in recent times female incomes contribute significantly to easing tensions in most families' financial incomes. In some jurisdictions, women are often primary wage earners or managers of single homes. As Bhatt (2020) points out, most policymakers tend to ignore or undervalue the essence of female single parents in most household surveys. Bhatt asserts that there are well over 100 million mothers around the world, managing and caring for the children alone. Besides, in most non-western societies, women are the fulcrum on which traditional social rituals and ceremonies revolve. Women are expected to participate actively in funeral rituals, child-naming, marital and religious ceremonies. (Abrompah,1999)

2.3.1 Work time arrangements

Work time arrangements have been considered a significant resource in work organizations for ages. Since 1919, the International Labor Organization (ILO) has considered and studied the impact of work time on aspects of workers' life. The latest developments in technology have created '24-hour' workdays, which blur the lines between unpaid domestic work and wage-earning work activities. Employee agitations, considerations for worker's health and social welfare as well as human rights issues have necessitated the enactment of international and national labor policies and legislation aimed at reducing the 48-hour workweek to 40 hours and below (Lee, McCann, & Messenger, 2007). Also, the

feminization of work organizations necessitates an empirical inquiry into understanding the implications of gender roles outside work on work arrangements and vice-versa. (Eurofound, 2012; Fagan, Lynotte, Smith, & Saldana-Tejeda, 2011)

Fagan et al., (2011) infer from review assessments of literature, the significance of work-time arrangements to either enhance or hinder levels of balance in work-life activities. Drawing on Marxists and feminist perspectives, Sirianni and Negrey (2002) see time as gendered and conceive of time as an essential commodity to work production. Gendered time is manifest in various international labor survey indices indicating that women spend additional time working in the sphere domestic than their male counterparts. However, Sirianni and Negrey assert that current statistical indicators point to a gradual 'convergence' of men and women's domestic work time.

Work time arrangements often comprise of kinds and forms of time schedules required for specific work, including the amount or volumes of work done in a day or period for work. As Fagan et al., (2011) and Eurofound (2012) explain, though work volumes can be considered based on the amounts of work done, the length of time work is carried out is also a significant factor that adds to the load and volumes of work. For most workers, hours spent on or at work are equated to the volume of workload. Meanwhile, work schedules can also be measured in two forms: the time work starts and whether these hours fall within standard or non-standard times of the week. The third form assesses work schedules which involve a critical examination of the levels of flexibility workers and supervisors have in varying different aspects of work time arrangements.

Fagan et al. (2012) provide an international standardized system of categorization of work schedules:

Long full-time	over 48 hours per week
Standard full-time	between 36-48 hours per week
Reduced full-time	between 30-35 hours per week
Standard part-time	between 20-30 hours per week
Marginal part-time	below 20 hours per week

They explain that non-standard work schedules, for instance, are considered irregular working hours. Weekends, evenings, night shifts, or rotating shifts are classified as non-standard, irregular, and asymmetry work schedules. Generally, these work hours fall outside standardized day time (9 am -5 pm) work patterns. Thus, any analyses of a non-standard work schedule from a gendered viewpoint must focus on the impact these schedules tend to have on generating work-life conflicts and tensions for female workers. Such analysis must, however, consider the extent to which employers and supervisors have flexible options to control or vary the work schedules of employees depending on factors such as work itinerary and personnel availability. Such considerations raise the significance of gender as a factor in any analyses of work time arrangements. As

already established, and despite increases in women's employment in paid work worldwide, they still work a substantial number of hours on domestic and childcare chores (Eurofound, 2012). As Fagan et al., also point out, various studies point to co-relations between variables of work time arrangement dimensions and aspects of women's health, and social well-being. For instance, in most developing countries, like Chile, a 2005 labor survey reports that female employees tend to suffer from high levels of 'behavioral disorders, depression, and anxiety' due to long working hours.

Finally, Fagan et al. argue, that irregular, and unpredictable work schedules tend to disturb the social and family life patterns of most workers. However, the impact of such intrusions and spillovers impacts more on female employees than on their male counterparts.

2.3.2 Sexual Harassment Discourse

As women become more visible in presumed gendered work organizations, issues related to unhealthy sexual relationships developing between male and female workers become imperative. Some feminist theorists have argued for a profound empirical analysis of workplace sex-based relationships away from superficial romantic underpinnings of the broader impact of gendered/ feminists dynamics. To this end, in the 1960 and 1970s, feminist groups led by organizations like the National Organization of Women, NOW, used legal advocacy to prompt the International Labor Organization (ILO) and other labor organizations to incorporate issues of sexual harassment onto the international labor agenda for debate. These agitations subsequently led to the incorporation, promulgation, and adoption of sexual harassment as a critical aspect of the 1998 Declaration of Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work. The Declaration enjoins International Labor Organization member states to enact national laws and policies to combat work-related sexual harassment (Herrera, Herrera & Exposito, 2017; Saul & Diaz-Leon, 2017).

The International Labor Organization Declaration defined sexual harassment as "unwanted conduct of a sexual nature which has the purpose or effect of violating someone's dignity or creating an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or offensive environment for them." (International Labour Organization, 2007) Furthermore, sexual harassment becomes untenable "when this conduct explicitly or implicitly affects an individual's employment, unreasonably interferes with an individual's work performance, or creates an intimidating, hostile, or offensive work environment" (Cornell Law School, 1992)

One significant dimension of workplace sexual harassment often overlooked in most of the analysis is the aspect of the use of sex as a means of exchange for work-related benefits, a *quid pro quo*. Though this dimension is often lost in empirical analysis, the practice of sex *quid pro quo* is prevalent in economically deprived jurisdictions, where competition for limited job vacancies and job promotions are high. More often sex is exchanged for job promotions, pay rise, and employment opportunities (International Labor Organization & Employers' Federation of Ceylon, 2013; Andsanger, 2011; Herrera et al., 2017;

Shultz, 1998). Despite limited statistical evidence to support this claim, there is a general impression that sexual *quid pro quo* is a prevalent feature in the journalism work environment in Africa (Kaija 2013; Radu & Chekera). Female interns and student journalists who encounter sexual advances are also known to exchange sexual favors or are instigators of sex for job-related opportunities. (Akwei, 2017; Leina, 2011).

Workplace sexual harassment is also deemed as a principal source of gender discrimination in work organizations. It is also generally agreed that male-dominated work organizations tend to produce and create conducive atmospheres for the prevalence of sexual harassment (Hershcovis & Barling, 2010). But coupled with this, is the persisting impression that sexual harassment is a prime instrument for deepening 'women's oppression' (Schultz 1998, p.1699) at the workplace.

Historically, Lin Farley's seminal treatise in 1978, *Sexual Shakedown: The Sexual Harassment of Women on the Job* laid the groundwork on which future discourses and definitions of sexual harassment would be constructed (Saul & Diaz-Leon 2017; Schultz 1998). Other feminist and legal theorists acknowledge the crucial role Catherine Mackinnon's (1979) dominant theoretical perspective played in establishing men's dominance and their use of sex as a tool in gender power relations. This perspective dominated the conceptualization of workplace sexual harassment (Crouch, 2001; North, 2016; Schultz, 1998; Scott, 1999). However, MacKinnon cautions against reliance on a single definitive and universal concept of workplace sexual harassment.

Farley, for instance, conceptualizes sexual harassment from a gender-dominance perceptive arguing that it is an "unsolicited non-reciprocal male behavior that asserts a women's sex-role over her functions as worker" (cited in Schultz 1998, p. 1699). Schultz then points to Silverman's allusion to sexual harassment in economic terms. However, Schultz goes on to describe sexual harassment in derogatory terms, generally, as an interaction "between that of the prostitute and her customer" (p. 1699).

Early conceptions of proclivities of sexual harassment at the workplace were explained away within a natural/biological theoretical frame (Pina, Gannon, & Saunders, 2009). The theory explains that the idea of sexual harassment contains misconceptions and ambiguities. The theory goes on to hypothesize that the basis of sexual harassment is germane to biological evolutionary instincts buried within men and women. These instincts come to the fore when men and women work closely within the work environment. They may develop amorous romantic or sexual interests in each other. This is exemplified by the number of marital relationships contracted between co-workers. The theory perceives these workplace sexual relations as innocuous and natural - 'an expression of sexual attraction, a natural element in mate-seeking' (Pina, Gannon, & Saunders, 2009, p.132).

Feminist theorists have critiqued such theoretical argumentations. They argue that natural/biological theorists of sexual harassment ignore socio-cultural perceptions that position men as 'sex agents and women as sexual ob-

jects´. Secondly, they ignore the dynamics of sex as an instrument of masculine power in competitive social-political and economic relations. Thirdly, the theory fails to acknowledge sexual harassment as a form of abuse and/or violence meted out to women in hostile work environments.

Contrary to assertions made by natural/biological theorists, Pina et al., draw on arguments by Tagri, Burt and Johnson (1982) to maintain that the socio-cultural theory of sexual harassment instead frames sexual harassment as a product of a gendered society. They posit that socio-cultural myths and allusions about sex, sexual relations, and sexism are ingrained in both men and women. Men are particularly socialized to perceive sex and sexual interactions mainly as 'given' tools for gratifications of carnal urges and needs. Secondly, the socialization process conceptualizes sex as a powerful instrument, partially employed to dominate and subjugate women. Therefore, its employment in the workplace entrenches gender inequalities and keep women within limits in the workplace. However, Pina et al., cautions that even though most perpetrators of sexual harassment are men, any generalization must consider the notion that women can be instigators of sexual harassment. Some feminist theorists (Pina et al., 2009) still believe that sexual harassment is a convenient tool used by men to discourage women from paid work. Such feminist frameworks conceive of sexual harassment as a means to retrench patriarchal thoughts that privilege male sexual preferences which are a product of androcentric biological and instincts. Herrera, Herrera, and Expisto (2017) argue that such socially privileged male androcentric worldviews (see Saul and Diaz-Leon, 2017) fuel misogynist behaviors, and attitudes. These attitudinal and behavioral perceptions socialize men to objectify women, which sees them as cheap sexual objects (Lachover, 2005) and to trivialize sex as a hunting game. Such inclinations and stereotypical social perceptions of male dominance over women, further embolden and empower men to view themselves as predators and see women as 'prey', trophies' or a game challenge. Eventually, the "tolerance of sexual harassment and sexual harassment proclivities are correlated with sexist ideology, hostility towards women, acceptance of interpersonal violence, adversarial sexual belief…" (De Judicibus & McCabe, 2001, p. 404.)

The sexual desire-dominance paradigm expands the scope of the conception of sexual harassment by reiterating the associations of male domination and male power. It hypothesizes the continuous use of sexual harassment to engender gender discrimination in work organizations (Lachover, 2005; Scott, 1999). According to Schultz (1998), the paradigm maintains those enduring notions of human passion, carnality, and sexual desires as argued by Tangri et al.'s., natural/biological model. However, the model downplays the prominence of the use of sex as a formidable tool in gender-power play relationships, especially, in the way sex can be used as a subliminal instrument to coerce, suppress, and eventually dominate the less privileged and less powerful employees, especially women, in hostile work environments (Scott, 1999; Schultz, 1998).

It is the organizational theory of sexual harassment that provides a sufficient framework for the appreciation of and inculcation of profound conceptual discourses for examination and explanation of the endemic nature of sexual harassment in work organizations. The theory looks well beyond the two-dimensional social-cultural theoretical explanations by probing the role of gender power differentials at the workplace plays in enabling sexual harassment. The theory proceeds to outline the role organization's workplace creates hostile environments gendering and enabling sexual harassment to thrive and fester. By these views, the theory challenges widely held positions that men mostly perpetrate workplace sexual harassment. Though it maintains the statistical dominance of men as significant perpetrators of sexual harassment, it concedes that there are also possibilities and tendencies among some female workers, especially, those in positions of power to resort to sexual harassment and or to instigate sexual advances that may be misconstrued as sexual harassment (Pina, Gannon, & Saunders, 2009).

Pina et al. (2009) further explain that an organization's vision, work culture, norms, and ethics as well as its gender policies, can either enable or discourage sexual harassment. Such organizational 'climates' could permit male workers in powerful, authoritative positions to exercise hegemony over female subordinate workers. Sexual harassment, therefore, creates hostile work environments that contribute significantly to women's disempowerment while entrenching workplace inequalities. These levels of disempowerment may ultimately impede women's career progression consequently ensuring that men retain their dominant positions at the workplace (Barnes, 2017; Herrera et al., 2017; Leina, 2011; North, 2009; Pina, Gannon, & Saunders, 2009; Melin-Higgins, 2004; Andsager, Bailey & Nagy, 1997). As Schultz (1998) clarifies:

> "Sexual harassment involves a more powerful, typically older, male supervisor, who uses his superior organizational position to demand sexual favors from a less powerful, typically younger, female subordinate. Sometimes, his motivation is sexual desire: He wants her, and he uses his organizational position to get her" (p.1692).

Feminist theorists have described the organizational theory as versatile, considering that various aspects of the theory's assumptions have been empirically tested. They also consider various variables and different factors that underline the proclivity of sexual harassment in work organizations. (Pina et al., 2009).

2.3.3   Blame Attribution: Self-blame and other-woman blame

A critical analytical examination of sexual harassment in the journalism profession must also delve into considerations of strategies adopted by female journalists in assigning responsibilities and blame for incidences of sexual harassment. According to De Judicibus and McCabe (2001), Jensen and Gutek (1982) and Valentine-French and Radtke's (1993) studies are influential in shaping the analysis of blame attribution in sexual harassment. Valentine-French and Radtke have examined the experiences and blame attribution options of female students who have been victims of sexual advances and harassments from Univer-

sity professors. Jensen and Gutek's (1982) model also explain belief systems that influence blame attribution choices by victims of sexual harassment.

According to De Judicibus and McCabe, sociological and psychological factors significantly influence blame attribution options of most victims. Victims of sexual harassment may assign responsibility for incidences of sexual harassment either to themselves or on others based on embedded social perceptions and acquired social attitudes. In some cases, victims may excuse the actions of harassment perpetrators because of social perceptions and attitudes about women generally derived from sex-related myths. Some female targets might believe that men have a natural 'prerogative' to pursue women and engage in sex with women regardless of women's objections. (De Judicibus and McCabe, 2001). Besides, social labeling increases the anxiety levels of victims forcing them to take wrong blame decisions or worst still develop a 'culture of silence' by declining to report incidences of sexual harassment.

Accordingly, attribution theorists (De Judicibus et al., 2001; Valentine-French & Radtke 1993) identify two blame attribution options: 'self-blame' and 'other-women blame'. According to Robinson and Hassija (2017), the choice of any of the two options is dependent on internal and external factors relevant to the personal circumstances of the victim. Also, blame attribution theory is premised on philosophical arguments enshrined in Melvin Lerner and Carolyn Simmons's just-world hypothesis popularized in the 1960s. In the 1970s, Rubin and Peplau (1973) tested Lerner's ground-breaking suppositions in a comparative study of justifications where participants thought they have been selected or not chosen by a random lottery system for draft military service (Rubin & Peplau, 1973). According to Rubin and Peplau, Lerner argues that justification decisions were based on cognitive processes involving rationalization used to maintain balance or achieve a sense of justice and fairness in an unfair circumstance or environment. Extensive studies also find that participants tended to blame themselves as victims of such misfortunes. In other tests, participants tended to blame victims for the occurrence of misfortunes.

Self-blame attribution enables victims of ill-treatment to justify and make meaning out of the occurrence of the action by blaming personal behavioral, attitudinal, or characterological tendencies for the outcome. Various studies confirm this assertion that self-blame attribution may stem from these psychological symptoms linked to the victim's behavior or character or both. (Robinson & Hassija, 2017; Filipas & Ullman, 2006; De Judicibus et al., 2001).

According to Perrilloux, Duntley and Buss, (2014) some victims tend to attribute blame to contextual factors. Robinson and Hassija (2017) explain this scenario as part of the locus dimension of causal attribution theory. For instance, victims may blame themselves for encouraging sexual advances or harassments because they had too much to drink (Grub & Harrower, 2018). While some victims may blame themselves in their choice of dress, others may blame being in the wrong place, at the wrong time. However, more importantly, self-blame attribution is often deemed as a coping mechanism employed by victims in traumatic incidences. Thus, victims may see themselves as deserving of the out-

come of any harassment. As Crippen (2015) emphasizes, manifestations of victim blame attribution are, in part a reflection of broader gender contradictions that influence social perceptions about sex and sex-related issues. For Crippen, the arguments raised by the ambivalent sexism theory resonate in discussions of blame attribution. She argues that both aspects of the theory objectify women to the extent that women may resort to 'self-objectification' perceiving themselves as sex objects for the sole gratification of men.

On the other hand, other-women blame attribution associated with victim blame attribution partly reflects pervading negative social attitudes and preconceived prejudices towards issues of sex, sexual harassment, and rape (Crippen, 2015; Perilloux, Duntley & Buss 2014; Grub & Harrower, 2008).

Grub and Harrower (2008) report that rape victims often face unsympathetic publics. Besides, women in some traditional conservative societies, who fall prey to sexual advances or fall victim to sexual harassment are often characterized, and socially labeled as 'loose' women or prostitutes. Perilloux et al., (2014) argue that victims of sexual harassment and rape may often be blamed by either perpetrators or female friends or both. For example, in a recent interview in Variety magazine, 92-year-old actress, Angela Lansbury argued that women must bear some blame when they make themselves attractive to men (McNary, 2017). Lansbury's observations confirm Grub and Harrower's assertion that women tend to blame other women victims than men.

2.4   Synthesis: Journalism Doxa

Figure 2   Dimensions of challenges impending female journalists' integration into journalism practice in Ghana

GENDERED SOCIO-CULTURAL IMPERATIVES
- Patriarchy
- Multiple role demands
Male Dominance

GENDERED NEWSROOM
- Male Dominated
- Male controlled
- Male oriented

GENDERED WORK-TIME ARRANGEMENTS
Non-standard schedules
Irregular work hours
Unsociable work schedules

SEX-BASED HARASSMENT
Newsroom harassment
On-assignment harassment

CHALLENGES & OUTCOMES
- High Attrition rate
Barriers to 'career progression
Psychological & Physical stressors
Work-life conflicts
Marital & socai challenge
Hostile Newsroom.

Figure 2 above shows the dimensions of experiences and challenges female journalists encounter working as journalists. These dimensions are a synthesis of the conceptual discussions outlined above. Also, it builds inter-connectedness between isolated variables in each of the individual dimensions, arguing that each has a contributory causative impact culminating in the challenges and outcomes female journalists experience in work practice.

The dissertation bolsters its arguments by borrowing from Bourdieu's sociological approach of field, habitus, and doxa which has been useful for critical empirical analysis and studies on the intersections of society and journalism (Barnes, 2017; Nikunen, 2014; Steiner, 2012; Zuidervald, 2011; Hanitzch, 2011; Schultz, 2007; Benson and Neveu, 2005; Djerf-Pierre, 2005; Marliere, 2005; Melin-Higgins, 2004). Bourdieu (2005) posits that the journalism profession is embedded within a broader socio-cultural milieu of gender inequalities, disparities, and male hegemony, as shown in figure 1 above. Social actors within these

cultural settings imbibe these patriarchal, sexists, and domineering attitudes, habits, and behaviors, allocating to themselves entitlements and privileges to scarce political and socio-economic resources (Maton, 2008). As a professional field, journalism practice reflects and entrenches discriminatory parctices such as sexist behaviors, habits, and attitudes tendencies derived from society. Again, these androcentric and misogynistic attitudes spill over into the journalism field which eventually become integrated and socialized habits; naturalized, taken-for-granted, and as 'self-evident' (Bourdieu, 2005) cultural conducts of journalism work. These habits also become widely accepted practices and conduct by both genders in the profession (Ross, 2001), so that for instance the prevalence of sexual harassment in journalism is widely acknowledged and has become an '*open secret*' (Hanson-Young, 2017) conveniently ignored in the industry. Various scholars like Steiner (2016) also argue that historically some female journalists, attempt to cope by adopting and imitating such androcentric behavior and attitudes in the newsrooms. It also confirms Gallagher's (2002) assertion that some women in journalism must often prove '*to be good as a man*' in the newsroom (Gallagher 2002, p.2). Deer (2008) also argues that in this sense the 'Doxa' is formed based on these '*self-evident*' '*open secret*' *habits*, performances, practices, and perceptions which become self-reflexive in the interactions and lived experiences of the interactants. The outcome, according to Thomson (2008), is evident in how Bourdieu describes the journalism field (field of television as):

> "… a structured social space, a field of forces, a force field. It contains people who dominate and people who are dominated. Constant, permanent relationships of inequality operate inside this space, which at the same time becomes a space in which various actors struggle for the transformation or preservation of the field. All the individuals in this universe bring to the competition all the (relative) power at their disposal. It is this power that defines their position in the field and, as a result, their strategies". (Bourdieu 1998b: 40–41 cited by Thomson, 2008)

Certain dimensions of Kyung-Hee's (2006) exclusion mechanisms in news organization well explains how the gendered social patriarchy generates similar circumstances in news organizations that engender various forms of gender inequalities and gender discriminations. For instance, Kyung-Hee looks at the extent to which 'masculine bonding' by male journalists act as exclusionary mechanisms that influence the marginalization of female journalists.

Various global surveys and studies (for example, GMMP, 2015; Byerly, 2011) support Bourdieu's assertions of the scale of inequalities within all sectors of the journalism doxa. The state of inequalities is evident in two distinct segregation patterns; vertical and horizontal segregation – which are evident as male dominance and hegemony of the news managerial and ownership structures despite remarkable increases of female journalists at the global level. On the regional level, the population of female journalists in Africa has risen since the 1990s. Despite the remarkable increase in the population of female journalists, there is still a tremendous gender gap. Even in the four Nordic countries with high levels of gender equity in other critical aspects of media and journalism practice, there is still a substantial gender disparity ratio in the population of

journalists. (Byerly, 2011). The Worlds of Journalism Study survey shows that in Finland and Norway, there are more female journalists than men. In Denmark and Sweden the difference is relatively small. (see: http://worldsofjournalism.org/country-reports/)

Analyses of gender vertical segregation show that men dominate and have hegemonic control of the structures of media operations and management; this is evident in the huge gender gaps in media management positions all over the world (Gallagher, 1981). Statistical indicators show a high number of men in Boardrooms and high-level managerial positions in the media and news production industry. Most female journalists are challenged by invisible glass ceilings and sticky floors in newsrooms. In Ghana, and since the 1970s, despite the prominence of female journalists in media development, they have been on the peripheries of decision-making. Gadzekpo (2009) referring to Kate Abbam a magazine publisher in the 1970s points out that of 71 female media workers at Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC) only two were in any managerial or decision-making positions. According to Gadzekpo, large percentage of these media workers were 'concentrated at the bottom end of the organization and were rarely to be found in middle or top management' (Gadzekpo 2009, p.71) These two invisible impediments, coupled with familial and social obligations, act in concert as barriers to women's career progression and promotions up the management ladder. (North, 2016, 2012, 2009; Steiner, 2017, 1998; GMMP, 2015; Byerly, 2011; Chambers et al., 2011; Djerf-Pierre, 2011; Zuidervald, 2011; Creedon & Cramer, 2007; Kyung-Hee, 2006; Ross, 2001; van Zoonen, 1998).

Despite these, Byerly's (2011) study shows some growth increases in the number of women in decision-making positions in newsrooms. Though the 26-27% rate increase of women in governing boards and management positions is low, the increase can be considered as significant. In South Africa, for instance, 80% of most managerial positions in newsrooms are occupied by women. Data from Lithuania also show that 71% of managerial positions are occupied by women (Byerly, 2011). The GMMP (2015) survey also indicates that since 2005 female journalists have been pushing against invisible glass ceiling barriers within the industry. Africa and Latin America had made some of the most significant improvements, with some 11% African female journalists occupying senior, managerial and governing positions since 2005.

Below, the glass ceiling, there are indications that most newsrooms create similar invisible barriers in the form of sticky-floors which keep women glued to junior positions. While the GMMP (2010) show a high percentage of female radio and television news presenters comparative to male presenters, at middle-level managerial positions a further critical analysis point to the sticky-floor syndrome afflicting most female journalists. The ratio of recurrent and reinforced residuum (R^3 hypothesis) hypothesized by Rush, Oukrop and Sarikakis (2005) asserts in part that, the sticky-floor syndrome could contribute to the high attrition rate of women from journalism. De-Miguel, Hanitzsch, Parratt, and Berganza' (2017) study on socio-demographic features of the gender gap in Spain affirms the R^3 hypothesis.

From the feminist standpoint, these high numbers also typify the deep-seated sexist attitudes, prejudices, and penchant for objectifying women journalists (Steiner, 2017; North, 2004). It reiterates the assertion that physical appearances of female newscasters are highly valued and appreciated far more than the professional capabilities (Lobo, Silveirinha, da Silva, Subtil, & Filipa, 2015; Chambers & Steiner, 2010) and bolsters North's argument of objectification of the female for their beauty. As statistical data from GMMP indicate, female television newscasters/presenters make up 47% of the total number of news presenters and newscasters. In Asia, women make up 58% of newscasters, while they are 57% in the Middle East and 52% in the Pacific regions. In the USA, the population of female journalists is lower. Here women make up 35% of the population of newscasters (GMMP, 2015).

Mindy Ran, co-chair of the Gender Council of the International Federation of Journalists, echoes the sentiments that female journalists are stuck within middle and lower ranks of journalism work due mostly to internal organizational discriminations and external patriarchal socio-cultural perceptions and obligations which include maternity care and the motherhood penalty/dilemma. (see GMMP 2015, p.53 & North, 2016). Again, as figure 1 shows there are strong associations between these socio-cultural tendencies and attitudes to female journalists in the journalism practice, in what Bourdieu describes as "*an unconscious relationship*" (Bourdieu 1993a, p. 76 cited in Maton, 2008).

As in most professional fields, the journalism profession as a field reflects these gendered prejudices, but more importantly, journalism practice is itself 'routinized' such that newsroom work develops its unique cultural characteristics. For instance, news production principles are highly underpinned by nationally and internationally acknowledged news values, ethical standards, and codes of conduct. (see Skjerdal, 2016; 2008; Allan, 2010; Diedong, 2008; Mfumbuasa, 2008). As already established, the routinized journalism practice extends to time arrangements for work, and deadlines for news content production, including deadlines for newsgathering assignments.

Reich and Godler (2014); Allan (2010) among others present two critical aspects of time demands in news production; first, the principle of news timeliness and secondly, the reporter's ability to meet news deadlines. These are essential factors to news production processes, such that journalists are socialized into the profession with this view in mind. Reich and Godler posit that the presumption of time as a 'depletable' element in journalism news production promotes the '*hourglass view*' or '*stopwatch culture*', which also invariably creates stresses and pressures on journalists' work productivity. However, studies on the essence and effect of the rigors of time factors in news content production on the gender of journalists are lacking. Delano's (2003) findings on the implications of gendered journalism work time arrangements confirm van Zoonen's '*professional mythology of long and inconvenient working times… '* (Delano, 2003 p.284.). Though van Zoonen (1998) herself claims that certain aspects of time in journalism like news 'deadlines or broadcast hours' (p.33) are not gendered,

other researchers like Delano reports that about 56% of female journalists as against 44% of male journalists in the UK complain of the long and unsocial hours they put in at work due to demands to meet these deadlines. A high proportion of UK journalists work more than 50 hours a week; 33% of these are female journalists. According to Delano, many female journalists work between 30-40 hours per work.

MacDonald, Saliba, Hodgins and Ovington (2016) and Reinardy (2013; 2009) and Cooks and Banks (1998) have nevertheless, studied how aspects of journalism newsroom work induce physical and psychological stress and burnout in journalists. Besides that, they have studied how these stress and burnout affect male and female journalists differently. Then, Kyung-Hee (2006) finds that under-representation of Korean female journalists at the senior editorial and management positions stems from their need for adequate time away from work for childcare and domestic chores. To this end, most Korean working mothers who are journalists experience 'horizontal and vertical marginalization at the organizational levels' (Kyung-Hee, 2006, p.136.), which consequently leads to job and news assignment segregation. Various studies (GMMP, 2015; Safa & Akter, 2015; North, 2007; Kyung-Hee, 2006; Opoku-Mensah, 2004) all allude to this gendered/sexist segregation of news assignments and news beats into 'soft' news (female) and hard new (male).

The journalism doxa is also characterized by high incidences of sexual objectification and sex-based harassment of female journalists which are indicative and reinforces the notion of gender inequalities that have become endemic in the journalism field. Rush (1993, p.75) asserts that media industries worldwide is saddled with the perception that 'sexual harassment is a way of life for many and a burden for all'. Unfortunately, and according to North (2009), the media are less likely to report and expose these incidences of sexual harassment. The International Federation of Journalists – IFJ (2017) survey reports that about 37% of journalists worldwide have experienced sexual harassment.

Previous studies by Melki and Mallat (2016), for instance, have examined practices of gender-based discrimination in journalism practice in the Arab news industries. Their study also involves understanding the extent to which the journalism work environment is sexualized and identifying elements that encourage sexual harassment against female journalists. They find that sexual harassment was pervasive in Arab newsrooms and was generally perpetrated by senior editors who demand sex as a trade-off to use stories, promotions, or high wages.

Walsh-Childers, Chance, and Herzog's (1996) survey of 227 women newspaper journalists in Florida reveals that a significant number of female journalists complain of regular occurrences of subtle sexual comments and lewd jokes from their male colleagues. They also complain of experiencing physical, sexual harassment. In Australia, North (2016, 2012 & 2009) has studied and written extensively on the prevalence of sexual harassment in Australian newsrooms. North (2009) points to the extent of, the 'jokey-blokey' culture like what female journalists experience in Florida prevailing in Australian newsrooms. North

finds that male journalists tend to use sexual humor as a powerful tool to demean women and maintain the male dominance status quo.

Robinson (2004) has also examined similar issues in the newsrooms in Canada. Steiner (2017) and the IFJ (2015) also report the high incidences of sexual harassment and sexism in Indian newsrooms. In the IWMF report authored by Barton and Storm (2015) 48% of female journalists have experienced workplace sexual harassment. Of the 999 total acts reported, the most common form consisted of "unwanted comments on dress and appearance", 20.2% (202 were of "suggestive remarks or sounds", 18.6% (186) involved "jokes of a sexual nature" 16.9% (169), comprised of "invasion of personal space" 15.5% (155) and "unwanted physical contact" were made up 14.7% (147).

In the African context, despite abundance of evidence of prevalence of sexual harassment in journalism (Kaija, 2013; Kareithi, 2013), however, the lack of empirical data on sexual harassment cases is disturbing. Nonetheless, some journalists' unions have carried out surveys and report high incidences and preponderance of sexual harassment cases in newsrooms. For instance, a Zimbabwe Union of Journalists' (ZUJ) survey in 2017, reports over 900 cases of sexual harassment reported by female interns in Zimbabwe newsrooms (Akwei, 2017). Meanwhile, Osakwe (2017) reports in *The Guardian* of Nigeria of complaints by participants at the 10th Global Investigative Journalists Conference (GIJN) in Johannesburg, South Africa in 2017, about the pervasiveness of sexual harassments in newsrooms in their countries.

In a blog for Doha Centre for Media Freedom, Henshall (2012) reveals that young Tanzanian female journalists are often easy prey to sexual harassers who happen to be senior news editors and news managers. These perpetrators take advantage of high rates of unemployment among young journalists; the low rates of remuneration, non-existing journalism trade unions, and 'low management accountability' that plague Africa journalism.

Female journalists also tend to experience sexual harassment from other job-related sources, especially, from politically prominent and financially influential news sources. Lachover's (2005) study in Israel and Melki and Mallat's (2016) study in Lebanon points to the prevalence of journalists-news source sexual harassment. They point out that a substantial number of female journalists have reported high incidences of on-assignment sexual advances and sexual harassment, especially from such influential news sources. Melki and Mallat argue that most female journalists have difficulties deflecting, resisting, or filing complaints of sexual harassment from influential and powerful news sources for fear of job loss or losing valuable sources of information.

To conclude and as figure 1 shows the combined functions of the gendered socio-cultural imperatives which are wholly adopted by journalism practice creates a gendered newsroom or journalism doxa. The resulting journalism culture creates and operates gendered work arrangements and encourages sexual harassment practices. Subsequently, newsrooms turn into hostile work environments forcing women who cannot cope to abandon the profession. In some cases, and according to Massey and Elmore (2011) believe that most fe-

male journalists in the United States prefer to work as free-lance journalists. Also, certain social, economic, and psychological imperatives like childbirth and childcare, alternative job offers with higher salaries, and disillusionment with journalism influences tend to influence the high turnover of women from the journalism profession (Elmore, 2009; Reinardy 2011). Finally, Mindy Ryan (2017) cautions that as the incidences of sexual harassment increases in the industry, the attrition rate of female journalists from the industry may also increase.

3 CONTEXTUAL DISCUSSIONS

3.1 Female Journalists and Ghana Media Landscape

The West African country of Ghana, with a population of 28.2 million people (World Bank, 2018), is acclaimed by international media and press ranking bodies as the leading liberal and pluralistic media environment in Africa. Ghana ranks 23 on the 2018 World Press Freedom Index up 0.4 percentage points from a previous position of 27 in the 2017 rankings (RSF, 2018). The country is currently one of the democratic countries in Africa that operates a multiparty political system since 1992 (Freedom House, 2018).

Since 1957 when Ghana gained independence from British colonial rule, the country has vacillated between phases of authoritarian one-party rule, military regimes, and short-lived Constitutional democracies. Scholars like Hasty (2006) for instance examine Ghana's media landscape by tracing back to the country's post-colonial antecedents, traditional political and socio-cultural history including it private/state-media dichotomy. These broad dimensions combine seamlessly to condition media operations over the years. Thus, Hasty argues that Ghana's media operations can be examined through lenses colonial heritage, traditional cultural setting and contradictions within private, state-media ideology.

For several years, the country experienced restrictions in freedom of expression and political democracy. Normative media functions in Ghana have equally been aligned to the regime ideology and political agenda (Gadzekpo 2005, 2013; Hasty, 2005). External and internal pressures in the 1990s beginning from the collapse of the Soviet Union and prompted by the rise of neoliberal economic policies including global agitations for democratic reforms forced most African military cum one-party political dictatorships including that of Ghana to opt for a multiparty constitutional rule. By signing on to the Windhoek Declaration, Ghana laid a firm framework for the institution of a vibrant,

liberal, and pluralistic media system that ensured freedoms of speech and expression for its citizenry (African Media Barometer, 2017; Anyidoho, 2016; Karikari, 2007).

The current media landscape is dominated by a plethora of private television and radio stations which have overshadowed the operations of once vibrant state-owned public broadcasting service - the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation. Data from the Ghana National Communication Authority (NCA), the regulatory and licensing body for allocating broadcast and communication frequency spectrum, indicate that 471 FM radio stations are registered to operate in Ghana. Three hundred forty (340) of this number operates as private commercial stations, with 74 community stations, 31 public service stations, including 21 campus radio stations. Out of the 128 licensed television operators, only 53 are currently operational on a nationwide basis. There is also an increasing demand among the Ghanaian audience for local language content on both radio and television programming. (National Communications Authority - NCA, 2017).

As the Media Foundation for West Africa suggests, the absence of a policy framework regulating the establishment of print media leads to the unregulated publication of new newspapers and magazines. The 1992 Constitution of Ghana requires publishers to register any publication as business entities at Ghana's Register-General Department. Ambiguous clauses in the country's outdated media policy framework create additional challenges in ascertaining the number of newspaper publications in the country. For instance, according to the MFWA ownership monitor project as of 2003, there were over 3000 registered businesses operating newspapers, magazines, and journal publications, however, as of 2015, only 135 were registered with the National Media Commission. The project further reports that the two state-owned media groups- the Graphic Communication Group and the New Times Corporation dominated the newspaper readership market with 72 percent of audience concentration.

Despite this high readership concentration by the state-owned media groups, the political economy of Ghana's media ecology since the inception of the fourth Republic in 1992 has been dominated by private media establishments. The influence of state-owned/public service media is gradually diminishing. Private media owners have leveraged the deregulated media market, developing advertising dependent media businesses, politically and religiously affiliated media concerns. The contemporary media landscape is therefore characterized by extreme commercialization, including diversification of media content and media related activities. Secondly, the Ghana media ownership structure is dominated by horizontal and vertical integration strategies. Most private media houses operate a variety of media platforms combining television and radio broadcasting with online and print media publications. Ownership of media in the country is concentrated in the hands of a few business concerns.

Currently, media ownership is concentrated in the hands of six media groups comprising four private concerns and two public service corporations. The Graphic Communication Group and Ghana Broadcasting Corporation

(GBC) are state-owned media enterprises with a long history in media operations in Ghana since before independence. Recent entrants on to the media landscape include the Despite Group of Companies, Multimedia Group, EIB Network, Global Alliance Media Group. The control of all facets within the media production and distribution chain from the production of news and entertainment content, dissemination including advertising, marketing, and sales within the supply chain of the media industry. Generally, and due to low levels of revenue, these dedicated media industries have entered parallel markets like events management to increase their operational revenues (MFWA, 2017).

Added to this, Ghana's media is claimed to be highly exposed to politically affiliated persons and religious organizations, which control ownership of electronic and printed media channels in Ghana. This leads the Media Foundation for West Africa – MFWA- to conclude that the current media landscape in Ghana is replete with 'conflicts of interest between media owners and politicians, and a weak regulatory system [which] further pose a threat to freedom of expression in the country' (MFWA, 2017).

In the last two decades, the journalism profession in Ghana experienced dramatic structural shocks because of the political transition. The media system has emerged as a liberal, pluralistic system to conform to the country's neoliberal socio-political and economic agenda. Journalism education and training have also been reformed to reflect these ideological changes and to meet the demands of the privatization and proliferation of private media houses. More private and public universities are currently accredited and operational to provide training in journalism and communication-related studies at both the undergraduate and graduate levels.

Enrolment records of the leading j-school in the country – the GIJ – show high gender parity ratio in favor of women. Gender Equity Ratio (GER) of enrolment records of diploma students (Table 1), shows an increase in enrolment of women in j-school, as compared to male students from 2007 to 2016. At the 4-year undergraduate level, enrolment data beginning from 2013 to 2018, as shown in Table 2 indicate that female student enrolment is close to 65% of the student population at GIJ. For instance, nearly half of the 2014-2018 student intakes for journalism were female students.

Table 2   Gender Parity in GIJ: Diploma in Communication Studies 2000-2016

ENROLMENT YEAR	FEMALE	MALE	Yearly Diff.
2000	102	93	9 (M)
2001	98	95	3 (M)
2002	92	101	9 (M)
2003	98	100	2 (M)
2004	85	86	1 (M)
2005	101	75	26 (F)
2006	100	105	5 (M)
2007	141	100	41(F)
2008	147	88	57 (F)
2009	126	99	27 (F)
2010	95	66	29 (F)
2011	112	41	71 (F)
2012	115	54	61 (F)
2013	172	84	88 (F)
2014	103	69	34 (F)
2015	104	61	43 (F)
2016	147	93	54 (F)
GER 3046	1636	1410	
%	54	46	

Source: Academic Affairs Unit Ghana Institute of Journalism July 2015

Table 3   Gender parity ratio of 4-year BA Journalism & PR students at GIJ from 2013-2018

Level		Program	Female	Male	Grad. Year
100 (1st Year)		Journalism	321	168	2014-2018
200 (2nd Year)		Journalism	238	95	2013-2017
300 (3rd Year)	Regular	Journalism	90	43	2012-2016
300 (3rd Year)	Top-Up/ Weekend	Journalism	42	35	2014-2016
400 (4th Year)	Regular	Journalism	79	46	2011-2015
400 (4th Year)	Top-Up/ Weekend	Journalism	47	36	2013-2015
N	1230		807	423	
%			66	34	

Source: Academic Affairs Unit Ghana Institute of Journalism July 2015

At the professional level, the Ghana Journalists Association (GJA) is the officially recognized union of journalists representing the interests of Ghanaian journalists. The Association's formation in 1949 precedes the founding of the State

of Ghana and epitomizes the efforts Ghanaian journalists have played in the struggles culminating in the independence of the country. The Association is currently the only organization that maintains a credible and valid register of journalists. The Association membership records indicate that as of 2005, it had a total of 638 registered journalists in Ghana. By 2016, the population of journalists rose to 1094. Current, 2017 records of the members however show a decline to 656 members. This can be explained in part by efforts of the Association to clean up and sanitize its membership list to reflect members in good financial standing and to delete names of dead members and members who had moved on into other professions. This was in preparation for its executive elections to be held by September of 2017. (GJA, 2017). It is also prudent to caution that the GJA membership list does not in any way reflect the total population of journalists in Ghana. Since the GJA is not recognized as a unionized body with powers to negotiate and to bargain for salaries and members' welfare, the Association is deemed as a voluntary organization; this discourages a large number of practising journalists from joining as members.

A gender trend analysis was carried out based on GJA members data between 2005 to 2017 to ascertain the extent of the feminization of the journalism profession in Ghana. The Association did not have efficient recordkeeping and archiving system; this has resulted in loose of vital membership data from 2006 to 2016. However, a disaggregation of available data from GJA and data from other sources enabled an analysis of gender disparities of the population journalists in Ghana. The GJA membership list of 2005; shows that 27.3% (171) of 626 registered journalists with the Association were women. In the absence of data from the GJA, the International Women's Media Federation (IWMF) carried out an extensive survey in Ghana in 2011 which shows that 141 women worked at various levels in journalism (Byerly 2011, p.93). Then Gadzekpo reports that as of 2014, the total number of female journalists stood at 257 (30%) (Ghana News Agency 2014). Finally, by 2017, the GJA reports that 33% that is 215 of its 656 members were women (GJA, 2017).

The MFWA admits the growing number of women in the profession but is worried about the under-representation of women in essential levels of media management, particularly in Board rooms and at ownership positions in Ghana. The MFWA survey of 25 media industries reveals that only two were minority shareholders. Secondly, the MFWA finds that only 3 women are Chief Executive Officers (CEO) of major private media organizations.

While the contemporary media landscape in Ghana is acclaimed as one of the most liberal in Africa, it is also considered as overly pluralistic with over-reliance on private sector ownership. Generally, most media houses are not run based on sound financial principles and do not operate for profit but for political and other associated gains, which tend to affect the working conditions of media workers and journalists (MFWA, 2017; Africa Barometer Report, 2013; Gadzekpo, 2009). Speaking in a 2014 interview with the Ghana News Agency (GNA) to commemorate World Radio Day on the theme 'gender equality and women's empowerment in radio', Gadzekpo bemoaned the fact that only 26%

of female journalists in Ghana earn any meaningful salaries while on maternity leave.

Secondly, and despite, the immense contributions and active participation of female journalists in media operations and media development in Ghana since before independence, their role has been willfully ignored and remain undocumented (Gadzekpo, 2005). Besides, recent media economic liberalization policies have harmed the working rights and conditions of female journalists in Ghana. The state-owned media system that once provided better conditions of service, which were relatively convenient to the needs of female journalists, currently faces a bleak future due to depreciating government funding (Media Ownership Monitor Ghana, 2017). The proliferation of private media has also created volatile employment conditions, job insecurities, widened salary disparities including sustained, unpaid internship practices (Gadzekpo, 2013), and tight time schedules that also increases high levels of job stress. However, as Byerly (2011) points out, while most female journalists are not assured of permanent employment possibilities, they, turn to enjoy salary parity with their male counterparts.

Another critical but often overlooked aspect in discourses of the rise of media privatization in Africa is the plight of regional correspondents and journalists. These journalists work in regional/rural offices of major news organizations outside the major cosmopolitan and metropolitan news. Regional correspondents or reporters are based in provincial capitals outside the metropolitan capital. They are mostly responsible for providing news feeds from the outlining district and rural areas to metropolitan newsrooms. In Ghana, most national media houses tend to hire stringers for that purpose; other more profitable news organizations transfer senior journalists from the metropolis newsroom to manage regional or provincial news bureaus as regional correspondents. These transfers are often done on a gender-neutral basis. For instance, three of the state-owned media outlets – Ghanaian Times Company, Ghana News Agency, and Graphic Communication Group – all have female journalists as senior regional correspondents.

4 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

4.1 Feminist Standpoint approach

The feminist standpoint approach provides an ontological foundation on which the four original research studies compiled for this dissertation premised. As argued earlier, this approach gives privilege to women's experiences and women's perceptions and considers such experiences as essential in constructing epistemic knowledge about women and gender. The approach also has political undertones in that it empowers women to identify social factors that challenge and undermine the significant achievement of power in gender interactions. It consequently gives women a voice to narrate their experiences and express the subservient nature of their relationship in society. (Kokushkin, 2014; Rolin, 2009). Generally, feminist standpoint studies have relied on qualitative research methodologies to explore into the deeper recesses of women's lived experiences, to understand how women construct and convey meanings in their daily interactions in power-related social situations (Mason, 2002). Thus, Holstein and Gubrium (1995) describe women's lived experiences as 'passive vessels of answers' (p. 7) and imbued with knowledge awaiting gathering and interpretation using appropriate data gathering tools. Thus, ethnographic in-depth interview forms can become appropriate tools that can provide women with the narrative space for espousing their lived experiences and give investigators opportunities to assess these unique lived experiences (Vandenberghe, d'Haenens, & van Gorp, 2017).

As stated earlier, the first article included in this dissertation carries out a gender parity ratio analysis of the enrolment data of GIJ and GJA to establish the levels of the feminization of journalism in Ghana. The second and third studies rely on primary data gleaned from in-depth unstructured interviews with a cross-section of female journalists in Ghana. The second study looks at Ghanaian female journalists' experience with journalism work-time arrange-

ments and how they manage to achieve an appreciable level of work-social life balance. The third paper presents narratives of Ghanaian female journalists' experiences with work-related sexual harassment and how they attribute blame for these acts of harassment. The final paper is a systematic literature review of published studies and articles from 2000-2016 on the treatment of gender in Africa's media content. In-depth unstructured interviews were used to collect primary data for two of the original studies included in this dissertation.

4.2   Summary of articles included in the dissertation

4.2.1   Paper 1: Reversal of Gender Disparity in Journalism Education- Study of Ghana Institute of Journalism

- Objective 1: To determine the parity ratio of male-female enrolment at the Ghana Institute of Journalism (GIJ).

- Objective 2: To identify periods that female enrolment peaked within the 16 years from 2000 to 2016

This first study examines the gender parity ratio at the j-school level in Ghana to ascertain the extent of the feminization of journalism in the country. The paper draws on Gallagher's feminization of journalism hypothesis and identifies the periods that female enrolment reached its peak within 16 years from 2000 to 2016.

The paper asserts that gender disparities and imbalances in journalism educational institutions may directly engender and entrench gender imbalances in the journalism profession. Furthermore, the study adopts the UNESCO Institute of Statistics model for Gender Parity Index-GPI to measure the gender parity ratio between male and female students. Most United Nations agencies like UNICEF, UNESCO, including other international agencies like the World Bank use the GPI as determinant models for measuring and ascertaining the parity ratio for enrolment of boys and girls in education in various countries. The UN statistics division and Department of Economic and Social Affairs state that: "A GPI of 1 indicates parity between the sexes; a GPI that varies between 0 and 1 typically means a disparity in favor of males; whereas a GPI greater than 1 indicates a disparity in favor of females" (United Nations Statistics Division: Department of Economic and Social Affairs).

The GIJ is considered the foremost journalism educational institution in Africa. It was established in 1959 with the mandate to offer professional diploma certificates in Journalism and Public Relations. The GIJ was to be pivotal to Ghana's Pan-Africanist role 'toward the development of a patriotic cadre of journalists to play an active role in the emancipation of the African continent' (GIJ, 2015).

Initially, GIJ only offered a two-year professional diploma certificate in Journalism. It trained reporters, stringers, and media and public relations officers. The GIJ is reputed to have trained over 60% of journalists in Ghana. In 2006, a Parliamentary Act 717 granted the GIJ autonomy to operate as an autonomous public university to award its own undergraduate Bachelor of Arts degrees in Communication Studies. Students can major in Journalism and Public Relations.

In 2013, the Ghana National Accreditation Board (NAB) granted the Institute accreditation to award post-graduate Master of Arts degrees in Journalism, Public Relations, Media Management, and Development Communication, under the management of the School of Graduate Studies and Research - SOGSAR (GIJ, 2015).

As of the 2014/2015 academic year, 3012 students were enrolled at GIJ for the following programs

- Two-Year Diploma Courses in Communication Studies

- Four-Year Bachelor of Arts Degree Program in Communication Studies

- Two-Year Top-up (Evening/Weekend) Bachelor of Arts Degree Program for students who already held a diploma or had some years of work experience

- 12-month postgraduate Master's Program in Communication Studies (GIJ, 2015).

4.2.1.1   Paper 2 and 3 – Research Design

Paper 2: **Multi-skilled in many ways: Ghanaian Female Journalists Between Job and Home**

- Objective 1: Explore experiences and opinions of Ghanaian female journalists to journalism work time arrangements which consist of work time, work schedules, and work volumes.

- Objective 2: Ascertain the extent to which work-time arrangements spillover and intrude into other significant social roles of female journalists.

Paper 3: **Proclivity of Sexual Harassment and Blame Attribution in Journalism: Experiences of Ghanaian Female Journalists**

- Objective 1: Explore the attitude of Ghanaian female journalists to the proclivity of sexual harassment in Ghana's journalism practice

- Objective 2: Examine the lived experiences of Ghanaian female journalists and how they perceive the actions and dynamics of sexual harassment.

- Objective 3: Explore strategies Ghanaian female journalists use in attributing blame to incidences of sexual harassment.

The two papers are exploratory. They use qualitative methodology to collect primary data to analyze the experiences of Ghana's female journalists' encounters with work-related sexual harassment and work time arrangements. In line with the set objectives, unstructured in-depth, open-ended interview sessions were conducted between February and April 2016 with twenty-three (n=23) Ghanaian female journalists sampled from a cross-section of the journalism industry in Ghana.

The original data collection design had intended to draw samples from the population of female journalists on the membership list of the Ghana Journalists Association (GJA). However, a pilot study conducted in April of 2015 revealed that most female journalists were busy, disinterested, or reluctant to return administered questionnaires. They were extremely reluctant to participate in interview sessions. Most prospective respondents complained of busy schedules and domestic pressures. To overcome these challenges, a non-probability, non-random snowball sampling, or respondent-assisted sampling technique was adopted. Despite weaknesses in this sampling technique, Daniel (2012) deems it as a convenient technique suitable in instances when the 'study have an explorative purpose' or in cases where researchers have difficulties in accessing 'elements of the population' (Daniel, 2012, p.69).

The sample selection process, therefore, relied on female journalists who were sympathetic to the plight of the researcher and were willing to sacrifice 30–45 minutes of their busy schedule for the interview session. The researcher also relied on his network of former students from the Ghana Institute of Journalism (GIJ) and other former workmates at the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation to convince their colleagues to participate. Two female journalists were initially identified and interviewed. They were then urged to recommend and persuade other female journalists to participate in subsequent sessions. Only twenty-three (n=23) journalists eventually agreed to take part in the interview sessions which took place in the autumn of 2016. Four sampling selection criteria were developed along these lines (1) female journalists from all ten regions of Ghana, (2) to identify female journalists working across the media types spectrum -radio, television, newspaper, news agency, sports, and online media, and (3) female journalists working across all media ownership types- private and state-owned, public service media types, (4) varied range of years of work experience.

As table 4 shows, the respondents are aged between 37 and 70 years: with collective work experience ranging between 5 and 45 years. Five of the interviewees hold Master of Arts degrees. Ten of them hold Bachelor of Arts degrees. Five others have High National Diplomas (HND) or professional certificates, and only two have high school diplomas. Fifteen respondents are married while seven of them single and one a divorcee. Eighteen have children, and five of them do not have any children at the time of data collection.

Thirteen of the interviewees work as regional correspondents outside the capital, while ten work in metropolitan newsrooms in Accra, the capital of Ghana. Again, 13 of these respondents work with private media outlets, while

the other ten worked in various state-owned media organizations. In terms of types of media, eight interviewees work in print media, five work as radio journalists, and five others are television journalists, the last four participants work in a news agency.

The researcher and respondents agreed on convenient locations for interview sessions. All interview sessions were held outside the office premises of the respondents. For instance, one interview session was conducted with the interviewee during her news assignment. Most interview sessions were conducted in the evenings after 6 pm.

Over 30 hours of recorded audio interviews were transcribed, coded, and analyzed based on prior themes derived from relevant concepts. To maintain, some level of anonymity, interview respondents were made to sign consent agreements that spelt out the objectives of the research, guarantees of anonymity, and other relevant terms of engagement per the University of Jyväskylä's research ethics principles.

Table 4   Demographic characteristics of sampled respondents

Age Range	37-70 years
Work Experience	5- 45 years
Educational Qualifications	MA: 5; BA:10; Dip & cert:5; SHS:2
Marital Status	15 (M); 7(S); 1(D)
Parental Status	18 (K); 5 (NK)
Metropolitan Newsroom	10
Regional Correspondents	13
Private Media	13
State Media	10
Type of Media	Print-9; Radio-5; TV-5; News Agency-4

The following coding scheme was developed to help describe the characteristics of respondents:

Respondent coding scheme:

Numerical coding/Age/Education/Marital Status/Parental Status/Work Experience/Geography/Ownership/Type

Numerical coding: Respondent: #1, #2, #3
Age years – 30-39 (3); 40-49 (4); 50-59 (5); 60-69 (6); 70-79 (7)
Educational attainment – T (Tertiary Education: Bachelors or Masters); V (Vocational: Diploma or Certificate); S (Secondary - Senior High School)
Marital Status – M (married); U (unmarried/single); D (divorced)
Parental Status – K (have kids); NK (no kids)

Work Experience years – 5-9 (A); 10-19 (B); 20-29 (C); 30-39 (D); 40+ (E)
Media Ownership – Priv(ate); State
Geography – Metro(politan); Reg(ional)
Type – Pp (Print press); R(adio); TV; Nag (News Agency)

Therefore: #15/6/T/D/NK/B/State/Metro/TV can be decoded as respondent number 15, aged between 60-69, with a tertiary education degree, no children, with 20-29 years of work experience; working in a state-owned media in the metropolis as a television journalist.

Thematic analysis

Both studies extrapolated a priori themes from concepts and theoretical perspectives relating to work-time arrangements and sexual harassment. Fagan et al.'s (2011) three dimensions of work-time arrangements provide a basis for identifying thematic categories and sub-themes for analysis. Further conceptual analysis of multiple gendered roles also helped to delineate significant thematic patterns and sub-themes for analysis of collected data. Though, thematic analysis can be problematic especially in achieving replicability and generalizability (Krippendorf, 1989), it is often utilized as a means of identifying data code patterns and organizing codes into relevant themes (Braun and Clarke, 2006). However, more importantly, the thematic analysis approach allows for analyzing, interpretation, and description of narratives of the lived experiences of subjects (Vaismoradi, Turunen and Bondas, 2013).

Table 5 provides an outline of major themes and sub-themes used in analyzing work-time arrangements. The extrapolated themes are categorized into volumes of work which relates to the extent to which female journalists perceive and are affected by the hours of work per day and how these work volumes relate or contribute heavy workloads.

The second theme is based on work schedule arrangements which consist of non-standard work times such as the experiences and challenges female journalists encounter working weekends, evenings, night, and shift systems. Besides, it analyzed, the levels of flexibility female journalists have in varying their work schedules to suit peculiar needs and whether they could control work locations aside from office location. The final thematic area deals with the multiple roles female journalists play in the domestic sphere in addition to paid journalism work. These multiple roles include being wives, mothers, grandmothers, caregivers, including other social and other ceremonial rituals.

Table 5   Thematic areas for interview sessions

Theme 1: Volume of Work
• Number of hours worked • Amount of workload
Theme 2: Work time schedules
• Non-standard time (*weekends, evening, night shifts*) • Flexible work (*Part-time, flextime)* • Degree of work control over work schedule
Theme 3: Multiple Roles
• Wife • Mother • Caregiver • Social activities (*religious activities, matrimonial activities, child-naming activities, funeral & mourning rituals*)

Four main themes also emerge from the conceptual and theoretical analysis of female journalists' encounters and experiences of work-related sexual harassment in journalism work in Ghana. These four main themes outlined here help analyze the broad range of issues related to sexual harassment inherent in journalism practice in Ghana. Interview responses were extrapolated and eventually analyzed under the following themes:

Theme 1:   Perception and Experience of Harassment
Theme 2:   Hegemonic Power/*Quid Pro Quo*
Theme 3:   On- Assignment Harassment
Theme 4:   Blame Attribution:
  o   Other-women blame
  o   Self-blame

Paper 4: **Mining Journalism Studies for Gender: A Review of Publications on Women in the Journalism Profession in Africa**

The systematic literature review (SLR) aims to map the depth of studies and published research articles appearing high-impact factor peer-reviewed journals relating to the broad range of issues of gender, feminism, and media in Africa. It also seeks to identify niche areas for research within the process of 'genderization' and 'feminization' phenomenon in the journalism profession in Africa. The review sets four (4) objectives:

Objective 1: To identify peer-reviewed studies and articles published in high impact journals on issues of gender, women, and feminization in the journalism profession in Africa from 2006 to 2016

Objective 2: To identify conceptual, theoretical and themes that underpin these studies

Objective 3: To find and classify the methodological approaches used for these studies

Objective 4: To ascertain the sub-regions or countries in Africa where the gender and media related studies were conducted, including identifying countries in Africa that dominate in publishing on gender-media related issues.

This SLR adopted the PICO protocol model as an efficient framework in conducting a literature search in a systematic format. The protocol is mostly used in medical research studies to help describe a population or problem of study, consider possible various intervention factors, compare or control alternative factors, and help improve on outcomes (Schardt, Adams, Owens, Keitz, and Fontelo 2007).

Thus, the SLR developed a stage-by-stage protocol. The first stage identifies a significant problem and population for the review based on the stated objectives above. The second stage involves identifying intervening instruments and developing effective search strategies for locating relevant literature. In the third stage, an inclusion and exclusion criteria are designed to enable comparison between relevant literature and filter out irrelevant literature. In the final stage, an in-depth meta-analysis is carried out on the remaining retrieved literature to identify relevant conceptual and theoretical leanings of the identified studies and publications.

A three-step process of the intervention was also used to search for relevant literature dating from 2006-2016. First, the relevant databases of journals were identified and chosen. Thus, the following citation databases- Web of Science, the Social Science citation index (SSCI), Ex-Libris, Google Scholar, and EBSCO*host* provide multidisciplinary and subject-specific databases. The second step involved developing elaborate search terms related to journalism, media, gender and, feminism in Africa. The search also used a smart-texting search logic key phrase format. The key phrases included 'female journalists in Africa'; 'gender and media in Africa'; 'gender and journalism in Africa'; 'gender and media in Africa'; 'women journalists in Africa'; 'female sports journalists in Africa'. In the third step, the 34 peer-reviewed journals were retrieved then screened using SCImago journal ranking (SJR) indicators to ascertain whether they meet the requisite criteria to be classified as high impact factor journals that fall between quartile 1 to quartile 4 (Q^1-Q4). Twenty-three (23) of these journals had published studies and articles between 2006-2016.

As table 6 indicates, the two journals- the *Feminist Media Studies* and the *Journalism Studies* with Q^1 rankings each published a single study. One journal- *Gender and Development* with Q^2 impact factor ranking also published one study. *Howard Journal of Communication* with an impact factor ranking of Q^3 also published one article. Then, seventeen (17) peer-reviewed articles were published in four Q^4 journals. The majority of articles (14) were studied within the Southern African context. The rest were conducted in the Eastern African, with one in the West African country of Nigeria. Most publications that are 70% of published articles used qualitative methodological approaches for data collection and analysis for published studies. For instance, four of these articles used a discourse analytical approach for the studies published in the journals. Only one (1) article used a quantitative survey methodology for data collection, but one oth-

er study conducted an online survey of women's blogs. Six (6) broad thematic areas emerge from the meta-analysis of the published studies.

1) Issues of women's career mobility in journalism
2) Issues and challenges women experience in the journalism profession
3) Media's role in women empowerment
4) Gender Power Relationship in the journalism profession
5) Media representations and portrayal
6) Gender differences in media operations

Table 6   Peer-reviewed articles in high impact factor journals on communication, media, journalism, and gender issues in Africa published between 2006-2016

JOURNALS	SCIMAGO RANKINGS	NO. OF PUBLISHED ARTICLES
Feminist Media Studies	Q^1	1
Journalism Studies	Q^1	1
Gender & Development	Q^2	3
Howard Journal of Communication	Q^3	1
Journal of African Media Studies	Q^4	5
Agenda	Q^4	5
EcQuid Novi-African Journalism	Q^4	3
Global Media Journal	Q^4	3
Communicatio: South Africa Journal for Communication Theory and Research	Q^4	1
N		**23**

5 FINDINGS

5.1 Gender Parity

As chart 1 shows there are significant gender gaps and disparities between males and females at the diploma level at the GIJ. The gap began increasing gradually since 2007 and reached its peak in 2013. The findings indicate that from 2000 to 2016, the Gross Enrolment figures of diploma students at GIJ from (see Table 1) stood at 3348. While Gross Enrolment figures of female students for the same period was 1938, that for male students is 1410. The Gross Enrolment Rate (GER) for a male to female, indicating the male to female ratio was 47:65. Calculating the Gross Parity Index (GPI):

GPI (2000 -2016) $\frac{1410\ (male)}{1938(female)}$ = 47/65 = 0.72<1

indicates a disparity in favor of female students at the diploma level between the years 2000 to 2016. The male to female ratio at the diploma level at GIJ for the same period, therefore, stood at 1:1.53.

Chart 1   Gender differences: Diploma Graduates in Communication Studies, GIJ, 2000-2016
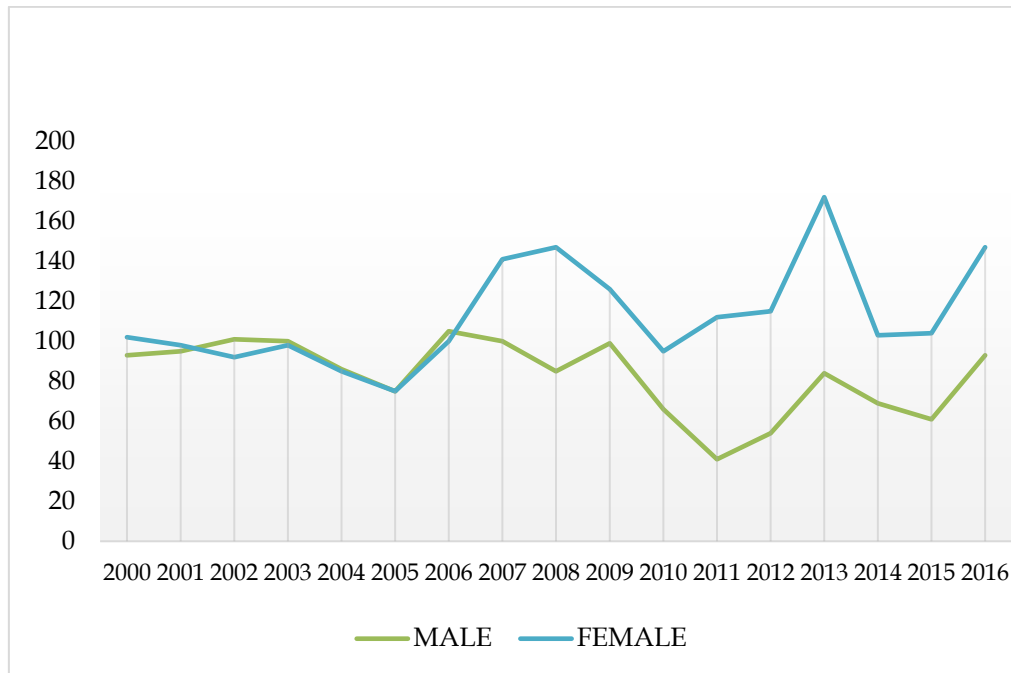
Source: Academic Affairs Unit Ghana Institute of Journalism July 2015

The gender gap at the undergraduate level (chart 2) shows a male-female gap of students offering journalism as a major. The gender gap begins widening significantly in favor of girls from the 2011 academic year group. A summary of student enrolment data showed that the total number of undergraduate students at various levels of undergraduate studies as at 2014/2015 academic year was 1238. Thus, the GEI of students offering journalism as a major for the 2014/2015 was 1238 students in the academic year. Gross Enrolment gender breakdown stood at 421 for men and 816 female students. A ratio of 34:66 and with a GPI ratio as shown here:

GPI (2014/2015) - $\frac{421 (male)}{817\ (female)}$ = 34/66 =0.52<1

The GPI for the 2014/2015 academic year point to a significant level of gender disparity in favor of female students.

Chart 2   Gender parity between 2015-2018 of undergraduate journalism students at GIJ
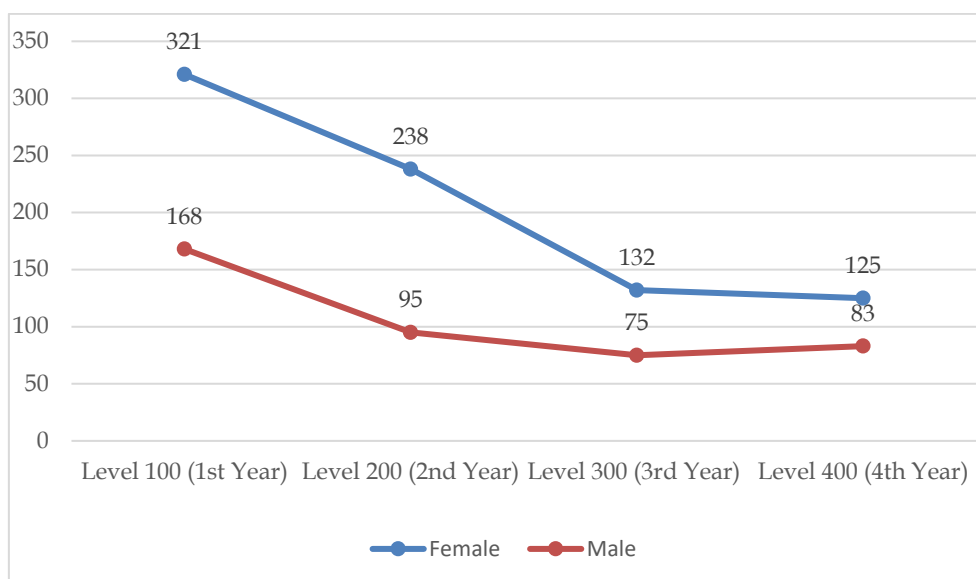
5.2 Work-time Arrangements

Some significant findings of female journalists' experience with journalism work-time arrangements point to the global acceptance of the fact that work arrangements are generally unsociable and unfriendly. Generally, most female journalist interviewees consider their work time schedules as challenging obstacles that impede them from achieving or maintaining a balanced social life. Significantly, these journalism time schedules consistently impose physical and psychological constraints on female journalists in achieving appreciable levels of balance between public work and private lives. Gallagher (1995) had already identified these unsociable and unfriendly work conditions as instrumental obstacles to women's successful integration in the journalism profession. Other scholars attribute the attrition of female journalists from the profession to the erratic nature of work schedules (Everbach, 2009).

Most interviewees agree that they kept long working hours per day. Then the consensus among interviewees was that time spent on news assignments contributes significantly to the heavy workloads they experience daily. These are compounded by unpredictable assignment schedules and long commute times required to cover news assignments. Another significant factor, contributing to heavy work volumes has also been identified by Reinardy (2011), which relates to the introduction of new technologies and the introduction of multimedia forms of news. According to Reinardy, newsrooms are now more of 'information centres' requiring journalists to provide content for online multimedia publications in addition to traditional legacy media. Journalists must also consistently learn and re-learn new skills to enable them to use new newsgathering equipment, mobile news dissemination devices, as well as the latest digi-

tal editing tools. So that such changes instead of reducing journalist's workload rather tend to add to their workloads.

> **Respondent (#2/3/T/U/NK/A/Pri/Metro/TV)** Every day is stressful because of the production we do. Now I produce the major news bulletin which is at 7 pm and it's a two- hour bulletin and to fill that 2hour bulletin, you really have to start getting content from the morning so basically, I'm in the afternoon shift and my shift actually starts at 12:30. … currently, I help with the production of a topical program called TBS, and then after that, I do the prime as well. But before, I was reporting… I used to come in the morning. Because I was a reporter, I was in the morning team, so I come in around 8 or 7:15. I go out, I pursue my stories; sometimes two stories a day. I come back to the office and because it's TV, you have to write it, the editor has to look at the script, you have to voice it, you have to sit down with the editor and package it. If the editing bench is busy, you'd have to edit it yourself and so because of that, it's common for reporters to have the editing software installed on their laptops so they can do it that is if you want to speed up the process. So then by the time, you would finish the whole cycle, it'd be like 6 pm- 7 pm because if your story is not ready to go on air you've not done your job. Now that I'm doing mainly production, it's not different because what I do is that I have to make sure that all the reporters who have stories have delivered their stories including regional reporters and so you are talking to this person, talking to that person so it can be very stressful, it is time consuming because you basically don't have any time for yourself because you must be chasing one story or another, thinking about how you are going to treat it; if you are going to do a phone interview on the back of a particular story, you have to arrange that interview. Now we are doing more of Skype so you have to arrange with the person whom you are going to speak to, the internet issues, this and that and in the end you realize that you go to work at 12:30 but then frankly, sometimes you can begin your production as early as in the morning because you might want to call people you wish to interview in the evening and that's the time that you can get the person.

For most regional correspondent respondents, the heavy workloads are worsened by lack of equipment and inadequate personnel to cover multiple or concurring assignments or events in a single day. Regional correspondents also reveal that they are generally over-stretched, especially when they must cover multiple events and produce content for multiple media platforms for their news bureau daily.

> **Respondent (#23/3/T/U/NK/B/Pri/Reg/TV):** Its very hectic; about 3 days ago there were three developing stories at the same time. You move from the court covering the vigilante group who were sent to court. Right from there within 30 minutes or an hour, there was a fire outbreak at the …Central Market. I am the only person corresponding for Metro TV so I have to be at the court and I have to be at the fire scene at the same time. You also have other stories to send at the same time because the editor will be on your neck demanding the story for the vigilante group. Meanwhile, you have to cover the story of the fire outbreak.

The unfriendly and unsociable nature of journalism work arrangements is also evident in the non-standard and irregular work schedule systems run by most newsrooms. Such work schedules are not peculiar to Ghanaian journalism practice. However, in Ghana, most female journalists allude to the extent to which weekend work schedules, evening, and night shifts put pressure on their childcare and household chore times. Female journalists in regional newsrooms are most severely affected by these non-standard time schedules. This experience is similar to the work schedule of health care workers, like their healthcare col-

leagues' regional correspondents are on 24/7 duty calls. They cover pre-planned events, newsworthy assignments, accidents, and incidences round the clock. Regional correspondents also often travel to remote rural communities to investigate and report on news events. Aside from physical and psychological stresses, there is a general acceptance among respondents that the irregular working hours, especially the difficulty in controlling work close times have a spillover and negative effect on family lives. Respondent#19, a TV newscaster of a major private television station in the capital, Accra vividly describes her daily and weekly work routines and schedules, and workload and the impact it has on her lifestyle.

> **Respondent (#19/T/M/K/B/Pri/Metro/TV):** I often anchor the 8 am news bulletins on weekdays. I also come to work in the weekends for the morning news, I may have to stay on and do the mid-day news even though it may be my off-day. So, most weekends I come to work with my child. As a senior broadcast journalist, I am also on the Health Desk doing news features on health and related stories. This means that I come to work by 5 am to prepare for the 8 am news bulletin, then I go on assignments. I usually get back home around 10.30 pm, even though, I was on the morning shift. The work is having an impact on my eating habits – I mostly eat late at night and my lunch consists of banana and peanuts.

A majority of respondents share similar sentiments like the above respondent. Already, most female journalists have complained about the extensive intrusion of weekend work schedules into their social life activities. It is vital to note that women, in general, do 'double day' jobs; working at formal paid jobs in addition to unpaid informal housework (Sirianni & Negrey, 2000). The nature of news journalism also requires that journalists must commit to working on weekend shifts, a situation which often disrupts the social lives of most journalists, however, for female journalists this creates tensions and conflicts between work- social life. Most female journalists are also responsible for domestic chores, doing laundry, cooking, and engaged in daily school drop-offs and pickups. According to some respondents, the inability to participate actively in the day-to-day activities of their children has a significant psychological impact on their lives. As a coping mechanism, most respondents generally refuse promotions or appointments as night editorship or take up nighttime news assignments. These positions come with increased allowances and financial gain. These sentiments support the earlier assertion that female journalists are unable to become night sub-editors due to familial related and domestic obligations. It also further affirms the idea of the motherhood penalty alluded to in the conceptual discussions. This point is also critical, especially since it plays a significant role in affecting the career progression of female journalists and help widen the perceived gender wage gap between male and female journalists. North (2009) and van Zoonen (1998) have also reported similar sentiments in their separate studies. In Ghana, two respondents affirm this claim and allude to the issue of 'motherhood penalty':

> **(Respondent#6/4/T/M/K/B/Metro/State/Pp/)**…indeed there have been vacancies. You see the challenges we have as women, for instance, recently a number of people have retired. We have the Sub-editor's position, we have the Chief Sub, and we have

the night editor, the deputy night editor, and all that. But you see these are fantastic positions, but it comes with a challenge. I can't work in the evening up to midnight because you have your kids there...until the paper goes to bed for you to see. So much as there are so many people qualified for the job, no single lady went for that interview.

(Respondent (#5/4/T/M/K/B/Metro/State/Pp/) …A lady could. The challenge however is this; you will look at the demography and you realize that it is people who have passed their 40's and 50's where their children are old enough to be left on their own or their children are in secondary school, so the pressures of family life is not that much. Even the older women, whose children are married; it's like they go home and there's nothing much for them to do. I remember when a position came at the Sub desk and I was asked to apply, and I told them I would not. They asked me to apply for the Assistant editorship and I told them that I will not. It wasn't because I wasn't competent, but I think that growing up, knowing many female journalists, the notion and the tag was that female journalist cannot raise families because they are so engrossed with their jobs, they are unable to have a balance between family life and career, so you become a poor mother or wife at the expense of your job or you become a fantastic mother and your job suffers. I personally, I was determined to make both works for me, I wasn't ready because as an assistant editor you are more or less an editor too. You need to take up challenges; when everyone is gone, you should be the last person to leave and because I had decided that I was not going to entrust the care of my children in anybody's hands, I decided to make the sacrifice.

Finally, for many of the respondents, all aspects of journalism work schedules are unfriendly and generally intrude into other equally important sectors of life their activities. For instance, alternating between day and night shifts disturb their daily life routines. Then weekend work schedules limit the possibility of participating actively in important social ceremonies such as funerals and marriage ceremonies. However, for most respondents, such irregular and sometimes unsociable work schedules affect their ability to maintain or sustain meaningful relationships with their spouses. Weaver et al., (2007) found similar situations in their study of journalists in the US. They also found that marital breakdowns were common among journalists in the US. In Ghana, some married respondents believe that their irregular work schedules were a contributing factor in the levels of mistrust and misunderstandings they experience in their marital relationships.

(Respondent (#22/3/V/D/K/B/Pri/Reg/TV)… We also have our religious lives as well. I strive that "I want to go to church this evening" but the job does not allow you. Last Sunday for instance; I was singing at church; I don't know what came over me I just put the mic down because the pastor was ministering. I picked my phone, went through my WhatsApp and then I saw that our Director had put on his page that he has a program at his church and there's no cameraman, meanwhile I had assigned a cameraman who didn't go. Weekends if you are supposed to be free with your family, you have friends to visit, most importantly go to church because you have been to work the whole week but look at the situation now; you are in church and you are being called that come and cover a program.

(R#7/3/T/M/NK/A/Reg/Pri/TV)…It's been difficult. You will need to make calls to your husband that this is the schedule. You need to keep updating that you are at this point now. Maybe the train has not moved from exactly your location so probably you're hoping that the next 2 hours, you're starting your return journey hopefully that you will get to the house. So, you need to keep communication alive. Sometimes it fails because you are thinking that within the next 30 minutes you're finishing your assignment and probably calculating the journey but…especially when it's a

> political season; campaigns and all those stuff and then the politicians speaking too much, you stay longer and then you have to apologize that you're getting late and all that. When Nana (Presidential candidate) we kept late. Around 11:30 pm we were still there because he wanted to greet the chiefs, the community people, and everybody because there had been a durbar there to address him, so he couldn't move away, and we had to be there. Unfortunately, I ran out of battery and my phone went off, so you cannot communicate as to "Meba sesia anaa menya mbaɛ" (would I be home soon, or I may not be home). So, there was that confusion of where is she? When is she coming? That was it.

Young and unmarried female journalists experience similar challenges. For most of them, the heavy workloads coupled with prolonged working hours and the unpredictable work nature of journalism work feeds into the social perception that female journalists as having loose morals, too liberal in their ways, and may not be reliable wives. Such perceptions significantly affect their ability to develop romantic relationships.

> **(R#11/4/T/U/K/C/Reg/Pri/R)...**At 40 I am single; it's because I am a female journalist. It is about 80% because of that. I am not ashamed to mention this because people think when you know too many big men, it means that there is something going on between you and those big men. To me most men who have come my way have an inferiority complex. I have had offers; quit your job and let me marry you but I think that my husband could leave me at any point. What happens to my career and so I have on several occasions chosen my career over marriage, I have people tag me as sleeping with a lot of men because I am a female journalist.

5.3   Sexual Harassment

The high prevalence rate of sexual harassment in newsrooms epitomizes the sustained dominance of 'male power' in the journalism profession. This is despite the feminization of the profession (North, 2016; 2009; 2007; Barton & Storm, 2014; Byerly, 2011; De Bruin, 2004). In discussing the prevalence of sexual harassment, North (2009) highlights in her book '*The Gendered Newsroom*' the extent of proclivity and global nature of the sexual harassment behaviors in journalism practice. In her subsequent 2016 study on the subject, she finds that female journalists of all ages and at various positions in the newsroom experience varied forms of sexual harassment (North, 2016). She argues further, that, sexual harassment in journalism is generally prevalent in highly patriarchal societies. For instance, Kaija (2013) and Kareithi (2013) also recount how sexual harassment is a disturbing practice in journalism in Uganda and Kenya.

The responses of most interviewees stress the complex nature of sexual harassment as experienced by female journalists in Ghanaian newsrooms. First, while respondents are all agreed about the high prevalence of sexual harassment in journalism and its impact on their work, none of them directly admit to being victims. Secondly, a significant proportion of respondents underline the role of female journalists in instigating sexual harassment.

The twenty-three female journalists interviewed were aware of the depth of the problem in Ghanaian newsrooms. They were generally agreed on the

crucial role sexual harassment plays in creating hostile newsrooms as well as the demotivating role it plays for female journalists. Interestingly, interpretations of respondents' responses reveal that respondents are ambivalent with and resorted to denials concerning behaviors of sexual harassment. Most respondents have resigned themselves to accepting sexual harassment attitudes and behaviors as an integral aspect of newsroom culture, similar observations made by De Bruin (2004). This state of thinking is premised on a social perception that sees female journalists as deviants ´diverging from acceptable female professions of nursing and teaching' (Londsale 2013, p.464). In Australia, North (2016; 2009) found that male journalists often used the 'jokey-blokey' technique in the newsroom as a teaser to sexual harassment Walsh-Childers' (1996). Some interviewees acknowledge this assertion and recount that such seemingly innocuous behaviors are often harbingers of sexual harassment. Respondent #4 observes the jokey-blokey behavior often manifests in acts of sexual harassment. The excerpts here vividly illustrate the points raised above:

> **(Respondent#6/4/T/M/K/B/Metro/State/Pp/)**…In the newsroom I have…you know as for newsroom we have their own ways. Newsroom harassments, I think it is OK for the ladies to…because you finish, and it makes you tough. You will end up having about 5 or 6 reporters chasing one girl, as for those things it happens in all the newsrooms.

> **(Respondent (#5/4/T/M/K/B/Metro/State/Pp/)**…I mean in the newsroom, you'll be there and someone will just try to hold your breast and I tell them please I don't like that and they think that "Oh you, can't you take a joke?"

> **(R#4/2/T/U/NK/A/Metro/Pri/Pp)...**I think every newsroom has its own culture. In here, mentioning certain parts of the body and saying certain things is common. Even though they know that for me I do not entertain such things in the newsroom, sometimes I ignore it. They try to play it with other people in the newsroom, they do it as if it's just for fun, just for jokes and things but I don't see it that way, but I've had the instance of telling someone I didn't want him to send things on WhatsApp because I knew where that thing was going to end. He didn't take it lightly, but I had to make my point because if I didn't stop him at the initial stages it would develop into something else I couldn't stop. So, I'd say every newsroom has their own culture, this place I'd say it's free for everyone; they can say depending on the topic they are talking about …. they are not inhibited in covering certain words. They'd just say it openly.

To North (2016, 2009), the use of sexually explicit jokes underlines the male dominance and power relationships persisting in newsrooms. It further exposes the taken-for-granted attitudes and behaviors endemic in journalism Doxa as expressed by Bourdieu and elaborated extensively by North's respondents. Then for North, the fact that most female journalists are ambivalent in their responses and perceptions to the proclivity of sexual harassment connotes a level of submission or signifies a means of coping within a hostile environment. Then, to escape stigmatization, labeling, and the associated consequences of admitting to or reporting of being a victim of sexual harassment, most respondents tend to deny personally experiencing any harassment (Barton & Storm, 2014; De Bruin, 2004) Respondents may refrain from publicly discussing sex related matters based on the traditional notions that sex and sexual issues are private personal

issues, including the fact that women are socially prohibited to discuss sex in public. In their US study Walsh-Childers et al., (1998) found that most female journalists adopted a culture of silence on issues of experiences with sexual harassment. The excerpt below typifies the experiences of female journalists in Ghana:

> **(R#8/4/T/M/K/B/Metro/Stat/Nag/)** I remember one of my female colleagues; one day I came and just as I was entering the newsroom…we had this small pantry. So, when I was entering the newsroom, I saw a senior colleague coming out of the pantry and I saw my colleague friend in there and then I entered. So, when I entered the news-room, she followed me. She was crying, and I asked her what the matter was, and she said, "Can you imagine this man forced me and kissed me" and I asked why she didn't slap him. She said the thing was so sudden that she was so shocked, she couldn't do anything.

Meanwhile, some respondents challenged the ideal and widely-held notions explaining the motivating factors underpinning sexual interactions at the workplace. While, it is widely acknowledged that sexual harassment is a pow-er-dominance tool used to control and control women in the newsroom (North, 2016; De Bruin, 2004), some authors have argued from the socio-cultural theo-retical perspective that these workplace interactions are just innocuous advanc-es. Such advances can and often do develop into marital relationships. For in-stance, three of the Ghanaian respondents are married to journalists they either met on assignment or had prior sexual interactions within the newsroom.

There is also the notion of seeing sexual harassment as a means by which men in authority positions tend to exchange job-related rewards for sexual fa-vors – *a quid pro quo-* mechanism. Again, the issue of gender power play and hegemony comes to the fore. It is generally accepted that senior editors, pub-lishers, and directors often demand sexual favors from vulnerable women in the media industry with the promise of offering employment, or promotion or salary increment. The situation is similar in Ghana, where most of the respond-ents describe incidences, where senior editors use various means to seek repris-als if they are denied sexual favors.

> **(Respondent (#5/4/T/M/K/B/Metro/State/Pp/)…**Some people overdo it such that now because you are not giving in to their demands it affects your work; they won't even assign you or use your work..…you know when you are young, now you don't care about byline; "my story goes without the byline I'm not worried" but when you are young journalist the byline that is your pride, to see your name in the paper

Incidentally, the practice of *quid pro quo* has become a normalized ritual in Gha-na journalism work. As one respondent explains, her supervising female col-league expressed her indignation at the respondent because she had been pro-moted without exchanging sexual favors.

> **(R#9/3/T/M/K/A/Metro/Pri/R)**…In my previous jobs in other media houses. Before I had confirmation, I had a problem. I did not understand why my confirmation was being delayed so a senior colleague whom I met there; she's very arrogant, rude to-wards me without any reason. I find it strange to understand. I started going on air, she was asked to train me, so I go on air. She had a problem with that. I started doing my own small, small training and improving per people's advice. Then one day she

> said, "Some of us came, they slept with us and employed us, and you came, nobody knows where you came from and you want to be employed just like that. It's impossible." I was shocked, but I kept quiet. Then I started asking people around and they said Oh yes. Everybody around knows that's what she did so she finds it strange that you came and even with all her talent and all her expertise, they had to sleep with her to give her the position.

The above subjective narration captures the extent to which the *quid pro quo* exchange contributes to undermining and diminishing the self-worth and confidence of some female journalists (North, 2016). According to North (2009), Australian female journalists report the extent to which such practice frustrates their work and undermines their confidence. North concludes that female journalists, therefore, encounter a moral dilemma as to whether to accept the 'liberal narrative of sexual harassment' (North 2009, p.100) as normality in journalism.

> **(R#9/3/T/M/K/A/Metro/Pri/R)..**I believe that the female ladies, most of us are so desperate to make it in this industry so we go for anything at any length to compete with the men because the gap and the pace is really widening in this industry

Another dimension of this discourse is the role some female journalists play in the *quid-pro-quo* exchange. While sexual harassment is perceived as a male-centric act, with *quid pro quo* as a simple tool employed by most men to exchange job-related rewards for sex, women are also noted to employ sex as a tool to further certain ends.

However, a single most essential aspect of sexual harassment in journalism relates to on-assignment sexual harassment often ignored in journalism scholarship. Lachover's (2005) study in the Israeli context is an eye-opener. The lived experiences of Ghanaian respondents narrated here collaborate some of Lachover's findings. Generally, male news sources with political and economic influencers are considered main perpetrated of on-assignment sexual harassment. It is essential to recognize that most on-assignment sources take advantage of the journalist's need to build a network of reliable sources as part of journalism work.

On the other hand, most corporate communicators and public agenda-setters often cultivate influential journalists who can easily facilitate access to media, which creates and inter-dependent or symbiotic relationship necessary for newsgathering and production. However, to most female journalists, some male news sources tend to misconstrue such professional cordialities as invitations to sexual relationships. On a social level, such professional cordialities are also seen through gendered social lenses that consider female journalists are morally weak, excessively liberal with sex, and are further perceived as sex objects and therefore open to sexual advances (Berkowitz, 2009).

Another generally ignored aspect of journalism- sexual harassment discourse- is the experiences of female regional correspondents to on-assignment sexual harassment. Though in Ghana, most regional correspondents report that they do not experience much newsroom harassment, they claim that the level of on-assignment sexual harassment is relatively higher. Most female regional cor-

respondents experience sexual advances and sexual harassment from local politicians, local businessmen, traditional chiefs, and other prominent male news actors in their regions. Thus, the male news source-female journalist interdependency replete with sexual undertone demonstrates the extent to which power dynamics are employed in this gendered professional interaction (North, 2016; 2009; Lachover, 2005). As already argued these dynamics and stereotypes are inherent in the gendered society and are duly transferred into the journalism context (Lachover, 2005). Several of the respondents in Ghana report that it is a common habit for news sources to entice female journalists by arranging interview meetings in hotels, invitations for dinner meetings or request female journalists to accompany official delegations on local or foreign travel trips. The experiences of the respondents below highlight the levels of intimidation and the anxieties some female journalist experience in such encounters with male news sources. Such experiences also affirm the distancing strategies De Bruin (2004) and Walsh-Childers et al., (1998) say some female journalists employ as a tactic to avoid news source sexual harassment.

> **(R#3/3/T/M/K/A/Reg/State/Pp)...** There is this attachment lady who came to work in my office and one of the police commanders was trying to make advances. So, when she's going to him for any news, I had to follow her because she was afraid if she goes alone, the man will be worrying her and she was a married woman too.

> **(R#20/7/T/U/K/E/Metro/State/Pp)...**Everybody wants to take advantage of you…to sleep with you. Why, because I am a woman? No, it does not happen that way. Those were basically serious challenges. You go on assignment and they say "You go and sit there. Are you free tonight?" I tell them "No, I'm not free but I have come to cover your assignment and I have finished, I've the story. Why to ask whether I'd be free tonight". These were basically some of the things that if you are not careful…some women, by the time you are aware you have slept with every man.

> **(R#14/3/T/M/K/A/Reg/Pri/R)...**Just last week I had an experience where we had to interact with one Head of the Institution and I told him a reporter will come. When the person went he said he wanted me to come and till today the interview never came on because I didn't want to go. I didn't see the point because basically, it would have been the same thing that we are going to talk about, so I assumed maybe he had other motives than just the interaction because really if it was just what we were going to talk about. I don't just see why a male reporter from my place it can't just do meanwhile we had met on several occasions, so I didn't see why it should be me.

Some respondents draw attention to the economic dimension of on-assignment news source and female journalist inter-relationship. Gadzekpo (2009) has pointed to the implications of *the marketization* of the media landscape on gender in Ghana's journalism profession. As discussed earlier, despite the feminization of the media industry in Ghana, most female journalists are worse off financially since most work for low salaries or are employed as interns or not paid at all for work (Gadzekpo, 2013). As such most female journalists, especially, those at the lower ranks in the newsrooms, including cub reporters, and interns are vulnerable to such *quid pro quo* situations. They are willing to exchange sex for bylines or financial inducements. As respondent #22 remarks, most cub female reporters are eager for immediate bylines, to make more money or are

interested in traveling as such they tend to ingratiate themselves to prominent and rich news sources.

> **(Respondent (#22/3/V/D/K/B/Pri/Reg/TV)...**to some people it is the best profession, they get the chance to meet people. We were at (town withheld) for I think Bank xyzzy and when we got to (name of town withheld) there was this lady who did something. She is new in the system. I was standing there with (Director) exchanging pleasantries he was telling his colleague of how unhappy he gets anytime he is in town because he has no one to chat with and the lady was like "I'm available". When we got to town, she was taking the guy's number. So, if he happened to be a bad man, that evening they'd meet, and these ladies feel "Oh! I know the Head of Communications, Bank xyzzy" and then they'd be hiding under the umbrella of journalism doing their things

5.4   Blame Attribution

It has been well established that most incidences of sexual harassment in journalism go unreported (North, 2016; 2007; Barton & Smith, 2014) for fear of social and organizational repercussions. Nevertheless, a high number of women journalists who experience sexual harassment in the newsroom develop psychological and emotional distress (North, 2016). Most victims of sexual harassment prefer to self-blame rather than report cases of sexual harassment, which supports similar findings by Barton and Smith (2014).

In Ghana, since all respondents denied ever having experienced sexual harassment, it implied that they would not resort to self-blame. However, the respondents #14's revealing experience illustrates Miller et al.'s (2010) assertion that victim's self-blame attribution often stems from peculiar personal circumstances and is mainly shaped by social complexities and demands of the social contexts. As a cub reporter respondent #14, some 14 years ago, had a child with an influential news source. She still attributes blame to herself. Reflecting on her circumstances, she further blames her inability to sustain a romantic or marital relationship on that 14-year-old relationship she had with an influential news actor.

> **(R#14/3/T/M/K/A/Reg/Pri/Radio)...**I had the baby and that time I was 22 years, I wasn't so matured and so I had some challenges. In 2004 I wanted to quit journalism because as a female journalist I had many friends especially politicians. Most of the then Ministers especially those who were MP's in the region were friends because we've had a relationship since 1997, I have been covering them and I was most of the time associated with them…like people thought I had an intimate relationship with them and it got to me

However, there is a high level of other women blame attribution among female journalists for the persistence in sexual harassment in journalism in Ghana. De Judicibus and McCabe (2001) have made assertions that most women tend to blame female harassment victims. Some of the respondents' experiences recounted here and those by respondents #22 and#9 above attest to the distaste

some Ghanaian female journalists have to the role cub journalists play in sexual harassment in the journalism industry.

> **(R#11/4/T/U/K/C/Reg/Pri/R)...**I have always had problems with the victims, so I normally don't want to talk about it. For me I think that it depends on you. If you are competent, if you can do the job, if you can prove yourself nobody will deny you that position and nobody will even request for a favor let alone a sexual favor before giving you a job to do. So, I have a reservation about that, but I have heard a lot of stories and I know women who on their own try to lose that…you know to get that favor from their bosses. I know. They will tell you **"**you have to use what you have to get what you want**."** and it is very common

> **(Respondent (#22/3/V/D/K/B/Pri/Reg/TV)...**The thing is some people are doing it that's the problem. Some people do it and it makes others feel every lady journalist does that because we have some of our colleagues who give themselves to whoever they want. So, if you and I are not doing it and someone sees you and they come to you and "eeii we are going for a press soiree and we are going to meet the ministers" and because Adjoa did it, you might think Ama will do it.

There is a paucity of literature on blame attribution and its relation to sexual harassment in journalism. Other women blame attribution is first, symptomatic of a broader social marginalization of women's issues. Secondly, it is also characteristic of the extent to which women have been socialized to view feminine values. Van Zoonen (1998) posits that female journalists tend to be more self-critical and critical of their group. Women are also highly protective of feminine values and actions, then male journalists. Thus, other women blame attribution typifies this assertion. Some respondents were worried about how negative actions of other female colleagues undermine the prestige and professional integrity and other hard-won gains female journalists have fought for in Ghana.

6 DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSION

This research project set out to explore and document the experiences of female journalists in Ghana about how specific elements of their working conditions influence and create challenges to their effective work in journalism in the country. The three studies embodied in this dissertation attempts to contribute to the theoretical and empirical body of knowledge underlining gender and journalism practice on the African continent. As has been argued, there is a paucity of study and literature around the gendered nature of journalism work, especially on how work time arrangements and work-related sexual harassment impact on female journalists in Africa. This research project has attempted to fill that gap. This section first discusses the limitations that impact on the insights of the study. Secondly, it discusses essential insights that have a theoretical and practical bearing on genderized journalism practice.

6.1 Main Insights

6.1.1 Gender Disparity

Though the feminization of the journalism profession in sub-Saharan Africa is checkered, there are clear indications that the participation of women in journalism is growing. This research project has, therefore attempted to raise pertinent issues that fall outside the general focus of gender-media scholarship in Africa.

Franks (2013) has postulated that studies of academic journalism institutions confirm the feminization of journalism. This research project, therefore, first attempts to establish and trace the growth trends of women in journalism by studying the entry and exit points in j-schools in Ghana. The study ascertains the gender parity ratios at the GIJ for 16 years from 2000-2016.

Results indicate that enrolment at Ghana's premier journalism training school shows a wide gender parity ratio in favor of women. Antara Sinha (2015)

writing in the *USA Today College* online newspaper, reveals that women make up 75% of student enrollment in j-school at the University of Florida's College of Journalism and Communications as of the Fall 2013 semester. Similarly, Alastair Reid (2015) using quoting the Universities and Colleges Admissions Service (UCAS) of the UK show a significant gender gap in enrolment at the undergraduate level in UK universities.

Emenyeonu (1991) had studied vital motivators that influence Nigerian women's preference for journalism education. Already, in 1991, the number of young girls applying for undergraduate studies in Nigerian journalism universities equaled that of boys. Emenyeonu found that despite the awareness of sex discrimination in journalism practice, most young girls were still motivated and attracted to journalisms by ideals of altruism and the glamor of being in the public limelight. It is also essential to see journalism education as one of the likely routes through which women may gain some cultural and economic capital that could be leveraged in competitive societies like Ghana (de Miguel et al., 2017; Thomson, 2008).

In Ghana, it is essential to point out that the high enrolment figure of girls into j-schools are not a part of any deliberate recruitment policies initiated by the administration of GIJ. However, the high enrolment levels are an effect of deliberate national and international development interventions in the educational system that was aimed at achieving gender parity at the primary and secondary education level. Also, data from Ghana show that the feminization of journalism education can also be a direct consequence of the growing preference of girls for humanities, social sciences, education, and health-care studies. For instance, a Ghana Country Profile 2013 survey report that 33 percent of girls enrolled to graduate in health sciences, education, liberal arts, humanities, and social sciences in the 2009/10 academic year. (Country Gender Profile, 2013).

Some journalism scholars (Franks, 2013; Ross & Carter, 2011; North, 2010; Van Zoonen, 2002; Emenyeonu, 1991) have anticipated that the gender gap disparity in favor of women in journalism could have significant implications for recruitment into journalism. Despite these high hopes, Griffin (2014), among others, has questioned where the large number of female graduates from j-schools end up after graduation. According to the Ghana National Accreditation Board (NAB) database of 2017, well over ten accredited Universities and institutions of higher learning offered journalism and communication studies training in Ghana (NAB, 2018). However, a critical analysis of the GJA membership list shows that despite the large numbers of female students who graduate from j-schools like GIJ, a large percentage do not end up in the profession. A phenomenon which affirms Gallagher's (1995) explanation and Smith, Caputi and Crittenden's (2012) 'leaky pipeline' metaphors, that most young female journalists fail to enter journalism partly due to 'career interruptions' and to the social obligations of marriage, childbirth, and childcare.

6.1.2 Work-time arrangements

Journalism work-time arrangements have been the bane of most journalists, including male journalists. Reinardy's (2011) gender-neutral study has highlighted the stressful nature of journalism work which leads to burnout and family and work-life conflicts. Results of Snyder et al.'s (2019) study indicate that male journalists find it difficult to separate work life from social and domestic lives. What this project has sought to show, is the extent to which variations in journalism work-time arrangements impact on the lives of female journalists.

The conclusions from the findings, though not generalizable, bring to the fore the scope and depth to which journalism work have a negative impact on the social lives of female journalists. Respondents' lived experiences reveal that they juggle numerous other social roles besides working as journalists. Like their counterparts in the US, Bangladesh, and South Korea (Safa & Akter, 2010; Everbach, 2009; Everbach & Flourney, 2007; Kyung-Hee, 2006), Ghanaian female journalists are equally effective in managing work in the domestic sphere, as well as working efficiently as journalists in the public sphere.

An essential finding with significant empirical implications for journalism study and research is the extent to which journalism work time impacts on family and social lives of regional correspondents and female journalists in small towns. The narratives of experiences of Ghanaian female regional correspondents describe daily work overloads engendered by long working hours, extremely unpredictable schedules, and intrusions of work and work time into the personal, family, and social lives of most female journalists. Most gender-neutral analysis of journalism research inquiry glosses over the regional correspondent-work-time arrangements relationship. Though most regional correspondents have the work flexibility to control and vary time schedules and locations to work from, however, analysis of the respondents' narratives indicates that they are often inundated with news assignments leaving them insufficient room to exercise such flexibility. Such a situation happens in news bureaus where the regional correspondents combine administrative management of the news bureaus with news reporting activities and when there is a lack of junior reporters or stringers in rural communities to assist in news reporting. As the findings further indicate, most of the regional correspondents tend to multi-task. Aside from doing domestic chores, they tend to cover multiple news events daily. Some of the respondents also reveal that even on lean news days, they engage in other news production activities, including feature writing, articles, or maintaining news blogs. Other respondents also reveal that they run PR and other communication consultancy services for some corporate agencies to supplement their meagre wages.

Interestingly, despite the heavy workloads and the impact of the unpredictable and irregular nature of work schedules including the consequences on the well-being and lifestyles of female journalists in Ghana, it is surprising that this pertinent problematic has not come on to the empirical radar of African feminist media activists over the years. One explanation can be that most fe-

male journalists have learned to fit in well into the journalism profession by adopting and adapting male-oriented time arrangement dominant in journalism. Borrowing from Bourdieu's notion of habitus and Doxa, it can be argued that most female journalists have well adapted to the habitus of the profession (Benson & Neveu, 2005). In some form, women journalists have socialized well into the profession by adapting to the attitudes, behaviors, and habits that form the predispositions of journalists. Female journalists have, therefore taken the "distinct maleness" (SANEF, 2006) of work time schedules for granted and as a given nature of journalism. As Benson and Neveu (2005) argue these 'assumptions' and 'illusion' are ingrained in the journalism field; therefore, any opposition or challenge to these naturalized illusions from women entering the profession may produce adverse reactions from the established male structures. Geertsema (2010, p.69) therefore emphasizes that "gender in media is an uncharted path-exciting but also frightening. Frightening because when you dare to challenge the lion in its den, you are likely to encounter extreme difficulties". To survive in the profession, female journalists tend to develop coping strategies that enable them to achieve appreciable levels of balance between work and life activities; this is despite the physical and psychological stresses accompanying such exercise. Though this point may be contentious, it is a fact worth considering in further empirical discussions.

The findings further point to the multi-leveled nature of the impact of the motherhood penalty on female journalists. The motherhood penalty does not affect all working women equally. Its impact is felt differently according to class, at which level of the organizational structure the woman may occupy, family support network and or the orientation of women's partner. Various studies; (Safa & Akter, 2015; Chamber & Steiner, 2010; Kyung-Hee, 2006) point to the impact of the motherhood penalty on the career advancement of women in journalism. Some respondents have revealed that without support from other family members, they may decline to take up night shifts and assignments duties that demand work at night to take of their children and family. Delano (2003) has for instance identified similar problems in studies in the UK. Invariably, this means that while male journalists take on night shifts with higher wage rewards, they often advance further up the career ladder which leads to a widening gender pay gap and ultimately to male dominance of managerial and governance positions in the media industry.

At some point, news editors also make assignments decisions that also aggravate the motherhood penalty. Safa and Akter (2015), Griffin (2014), and Opoku-Mensah (2004) point to the role of gender, motherhood, and marital considerations play as critical factors that influence which assignments editors allow female journalists to cover. Some news editors tend to make assignment decisions based on the schedule of assignments, and the extent to which the schedule may inconvenience the female news reporter in either picking or dropping her child to and from school and other such related factors. In some traditional societies like Bangladesh, night editors may be reluctant to assign female journalists to late-night assignments for security and religion-related

reasons (Safa & Akter, 2015). Kyung-Hee (2006) also reports that night editors in Korea also find assigning female journalists for night assignments problematic. Contradicting these findings, Ghanaian female regional correspondents, who manage regional news bureaus alone, have limited options. They are much more impacted by the exigencies of work schedules than their counterparts in metropolitan newsrooms.

At the opposite end of the motherhood penalty dimension, is the guilt and psychology dilemma most female journalists feel concerning the amount of time spent with their children (Chambers & Steiner. 2010). As most respondents reveal, work time schedules create difficulties in meeting childcare needs efficiently. Most respondents feel psychologically conflicted realizing they spend less time with their children.

Based on these factors, gender scholars, researchers, and media-gender activists like Chamber and Steiner (2010) and Griffin (2014) have called for radical shifts in the newsroom cultures to accommodate the presence of women. From a sociological viewpoint, respondents' experiences are clear indications of the constraining impact of the gendered journalism work arrangement inhibiting female journalist's effectiveness in socializing with family and friends. For instance, Olande (2007) and Ward (2019) support the assertion that most female journalists tend to face challenges in maintaining meaningful marital relationships.

6.1.3 Sexual harassment and blame attribution

Narratives from respondents confirm the pervasive and endemic nature of sex-based harassment in Ghana newsrooms. The lived experiences narrated in this study underscore the fact that despite nearly 100 years of women working alongside men in journalism, the profession is still burdened by socio-cultural imperatives that see female journalists also as sex objects or sex preys. The proclivity of sexual harassment as testified by some of the female journalists' first underline the arguments of the sex-desire dominance paradigm. Secondly, it further affirms the notion that male journalists employ sex as a tool to entrench their dominance while further subjugating women in marginal sectors of the profession.

Some of the narratives reported here relate to the normalization of sexual harassment as a rite of passage that every woman must experience on entry into the journalism profession. At the same time, most female journalists frown on the way some of other female journalists tend to exchange sex for favors in and outside the newsroom. Some of these narratives also recount the frequency and extent to which both sexes tend to utilize *the quid pro quo* mechanism to achieve personal goals. Though it is well established that male senior editors are generally principal perpetrators of sexual harassment, it is necessary also to acknowledge the role women play in occasionally instigating sexual harassment.

However, the extent to which economic and other social pressures, force female journalists to use or exchange sexual favors for career rewards is essential in the analysis of sexual harassment in journalism. For instance, poor work-

ing conditions in a liberalized media economy like in Ghana (Mabweazara, 2010), as well as the destabilizing impact of social media (Chambers & Steiner, 2010) in most African countries, are likely to aggravate already existing schisms in the gendered journalism workplace, such that most graduating female journalists are disadvantaged in employment opportunities (Gadzekpo, 2014). It has been argued that most news editors, publishers, and directors take advantage of the dire economic situation in most African countries as a convenient excuse to prey on young desperate girls seeking employment into the profession. Female journalists also face similar forms of sexual harassment on assignment from prominent and influential news sources (Lachover, 2005). While male journalists may be enticed with 'brown envelopes' (Mabweazara, 2010; Skjerdal, 2010; Hasty, 2005) from news sources, most female journalists, on the other hand, may receive additional enticements in the form of sexual advances from these news sources.

Then the high levels of victim deniability of sexual harassment among respondents have a corresponding influence on levels of ambiguity they have in assigning blame. Respondents acknowledge the proclivity of sexual harassment as a natural rite of passage for women joining the profession but, in another breath, they blame their colleagues for contributing to its persistence.

6.2 Practical and Theoretical Implications

The findings of this research project also reveal a broad range of challenges that women face working in the male-dominated and male-oriented gendered journalism practices. Feminist media scholars have identified and discussed extensively the array of discriminatory challenges female journalists experience in working journalism (see De-Miguel et al., 2017; Lobo et al., 2015; Zuiderveld, 2011; Djerf-Pierre, 2011; Chambers & Steiner, 2010; Geertsema, 2010; Everbach, 2009; North, 2009; Everbach & Flourney, 2007; Kyung-Hee, 2006; Lachover, 2005; De Bruin, 2004; van Zoonen, 1998; Gallagher, 1995). Most of this literature identify sexism as underlining the set of discriminatory practices in journalism work. Sexist attitudes, behavior, and practices significantly influence the gendered nature of work culture in the journalism doxa. The sexist nature of newsroom culture encourages these work segregation and gendered work-time arrangements, including perceptions and practices of work-related sexual harassment. These challenging experiences have profound implications for future empirical studies.

Another major challenge for journalism practice relates to the high rates of attrition and low retention rates of female journalists in newsrooms (Hardin & Whiteside, 2009). Rush et al.'s (1993) R^3 hypothesizes that women's population may grow or stagnate as they encounter prevalent challenges in the journalism profession. As reported elsewhere in this study, it is evident that despite the high numbers of female journalists graduating from j-schools, not all of them end up working as journalists (Kaija, 2013). Though this gap has been attributed

to 'career interruptions' an equally pertinent reason, can be associated with the high levels of dissatisfaction and disillusionment most female journalists experience on return from internships programs or when they encounter employment challenges (Kaija, 2013). Female journalists often transit into PR practice and other female-friendly occupations. For instance, Hardin and Whiteside outline in their study the various inter-related factors that 'push' or make women 'opt-out' (Graf, 2007) of journalism at a younger age. Work pressures and work overloads generally exacerbated by long working hours, unpredictable work schedules, tensions between work, and domestic obligations are significant push factors that influence this opt-out option (Kaija, 2013; Hardin & Whiteside,2009; Graf, 2007; Weaver et al., 2007). Coupled with these, are structural impediments and socio-cultural obligations that encourage practices such as work-place sexual harassment which in turn creates hostile work environments for both young and older female journalists. Ultimately, women working in journalism have three distinct options: they must either opt-out, learn to cope, or build resistance mechanisms.

The Standpoint viewpoint approach as a theoretical point of departure offers scholars an epistemological opportunity to understand social phenomena from the unique viewpoint of the socially marginalized and oppressed. Analyses of the SLR reveals the extent to which African feminist scholars in media and gender relationship give the privilege to dominate theoretical approaches in drawing knowledge from African women's experiences. Sanger (2008), for instance, departs from the norm by examining South African gender and media relations through the theoretical lenses of intersectionality.

The propositions of Standpoint viewpoint theoretical approaches with their political undertones have been essential to unearthing valuable but suppressed epistemic insights about female journalists' experiences and encounters with issues often ignored in the profession in Ghana. The framework allowed the researcher to aggregate the disparate experiences of female journalists from their marginalized positions. Secondly, it has been useful as a means of understanding how certain essential but invisible and taken-for-granted situations are critical factors in socio-political power relations that also induce sexist perceptions in journalism. It is essential to note that Standpoint viewpoint approaches also gave voice to marginalized segments of women in the journalism profession in Africa. What is noteworthy here is that though fundamentally, all women are considered social and politically marginalized, there are significant distinguishing differences based on certain demographic criteria (Bowell, 2011). For instance, women are not all equal in society. Educated, upper-class women with 'proper' family connection in Africa may escape certain forms of discrimination and sexism. For instance, the narratives on sexual harassment and blame-attribution reveal that though most female journalists are susceptible to experiencing incidences of sexual harassment. It is also evident that female cub reporters, desperate for employment and eager to enter the profession including other female journalists experiencing 'sticky-floor' in the newsrooms are likely to fall victim to sexual harassment in the profession.

This also brings into the discussion the idea of situated knowing advanced by proponents of the Standpoint viewpoint. The lived subjective experiences of cub reporters about sexual harassment occurrences may be remarkably different from those of senior female editors. Besides, female journalists working for private media establishment may experience sexual harassment in a different way than their counterparts in state-owned media. Similarly, the experiences of female regional correspondents concerning work-time schedules and encounters with sexual harassment were distinctively different from women working in metropolitan newsrooms.

More importantly, adopting a Standpoint viewpoint empowers research subjects, to reflect on their lived experiences in such unfair and widely marginalized social situations. For instance, whilst some respondents used the interview opportunity to vent their frustrations in working in journalism, other respondents reflected on certain individual actions that led to what they considered unwise decisions in their career. Again, such subjective/relativistic approach though contradicts epistemic objectivity provides a pathway for unearthing primary and rich knowledge. In critiquing the dominant notions of objectivity Bowell (2011) argues that:

> The traditional starting point for knowledge is the position of the dominant and, despite assumptions to the contrary, that position is ideologically permeated. This results in partial and distorted accounts of reality, which thereby fail to live up to modernistic standards of impartiality, neutrality and universality associated with a commitment to epistemic objectivity.

Therefore, if African feminism scholars could go beyond the criticisms leveled against the theory for its Marxist, relativistic/subjectivistic stance and essentialists underpinnings, they could adopt the theory to help unearth significant epistemic knowledge situated and buried underneath layers of experiences within the marginalized women communities in most African countries. As Bowell (2011) states:

> Conceptual frameworks emanating from patriarchal systems fail to provide cognitive tools that enable women and others who are marginalized to make sense of their experiences in and of the world. The emergence of appropriate conceptual frameworks furnishes the marginalized with the cognitive tools to become epistemic subjects, whereas previously they are merely known by others. It enables them to name and think about their experiences in ways that properly represent those experiences.

6.3   Suggestions for future studies

The research studies have opened a virgin area for further studies. The findings and conclusions discussed in this dissertation allude to the need for African feminist media researchers to begin to delve into substantive issues raised in these studies. As has been argued elsewhere, the focus on micro-level issues in gender and media has been exhaustive. There is, therefore, the need for a refocus on to meso-level issues and the development of robust theoretical, analyt-

ical frameworks to study these phenomena. Three areas emerge from the findings of the studies and strongly related to Byerly's (2016a) meso-level of analysis.

1. Future research interests must attempt to explore the impact of irregular work-time arrangements on female regional correspondents. The findings of the study in this dissertation have unearthed the extent of neglect by African media scholars, including feminist scholars of the gendered state of journalism working conditions at the regional and provincial levels. Any further studies could provide valuable empirical insights into the prospects, challenges, and experiences encountered by female journalists who work outside metropolitan newsrooms in most African countries. Research questions could focus on the extent of differences in various aspects of working conditions between regional and metropolitan journalists and whether these work conditions are gendered.

2. The second meso-level analysis worthy of empirical investigation relates to understanding the extent and the depth of *quid pro quo* – exchange of sex- as a mechanism woman employs in gaining advantages in journalism practice in Africa. Again, studies in this dissertation have highlighted the problem that as more and more women continue to compete for entry into the journalism profession, issues of women using sex to manipulate their way into and up hierarchical journalism structures may become rampant. There is no gain-saying that this issue is a virgin and fertile area appropriate further investigation by African media scholars.

3. Finally, ethnographic studies exploring the experiences of women in journalism are generally lacking in African media scholarship. As has been firmly established in this dissertation, the advantages of experiential explorations provide an opportunity for researchers to unearth obscured empirical insights into marginalized populations. In taking such a methodological approach, the researcher could give voice to marginalized categories of journalists including female journalists, regional correspondents, and in Africa, journalists emerging from minority tribes, religious leanings, or journalists of certain class status.

6.4   Limitation of the Study

The research project suffers a major limitation relating to its sample size for the ethnographic interviews. A sample size of twenty-three respondents limits the researcher in his ability to draw a generalizable conclusion. Though the qualitative methodological approach does not allow for generalizing findings, the researcher acknowledges that the sample size for the study was not representative enough. However, North (2009) justified her sampling of 17 respondents for in-depth interviews for her study in Australia by arguing that the selection

of a smaller sample allows the researcher to carry out a 'close reading of interview transcripts and explore overarching themes…'(p.213.) Thus, though the views of twenty-three respondents are an insufficient basis to draw conclusive inferences, they, however, provide valuable insights that can help for further exploration of gender-journalism practice, particularly in Africa.

It is also important to discuss and address other challenges that act to impede the researcher's ability to increase sample population for the study. First, it must be acknowledge that the researcher should have spent more time on the field to enable for capture more population sample, however, as concede elsewhere, the researcher had earlier spent over a month on a pilot survey which yielded minimal results. The researcher redesigned his sampling technique and returned to the field with the aim was to interview a sample of 40 female journalists, representing four female journalists each from the ten regions of Ghana. The researcher stayed in Ghana close to two months and had to deal with challenges related to unwillingness by respondents to participate in the project coupled with withdrawal of potential participants at the last minute was frustrating. Potential interviewees consistently complained of time constraints, and work overload. A significant number of interested interviewees also refused to participate for reasons related to lack of remuneration for participation. In addition, the choice and reliance on respondent-assisted sampling method or a non-random snowball sampling technique restricted the researcher in determining and selecting respondents within specific age brackets.

In a competitive social context with scarce resources like Ghana, any acquisition of additional educational capital may increase the social and economic status of an individual and could also ignite some level of social resentment. Thus, on the successful completion of doctoral studies invariably reward the PhD holder with higher social status may command more social and financial rewards. This deepens the existing social cleavages - widening wage gaps-which create some form of jealousy among colleagues. Some of the participants openly expressed these sentiments to the researcher.

Other potential respondents declined to participate because there was no financial benefit in it for them (see: Hasty, 2005). The issue of reciprocity raises a thorny ethical dilemma. According to Gokah (2006), Verhezen (2003), and Harrison et al., (2001), reciprocity in fieldwork poses ethical and philosophical challenges for fieldworkers. In some jurisdictions, reciprocity can be perceived as exchanging money for information. In most cases, providing financial rewards in exchange for information is a breach of University research ethics. In some deprived jurisdictions, respondents were provided equivalent incentives instead of monetary rewards. However, respondents were provided lunch or dinner or reimbursed for their transport fares to and from the interview sessions. Another limitation involved the high levels of deniability by respondents about being victims of sexual harassment. Most respondents may have been reluctant to discuss the delicate and intimate issues of sex with the researcher because of his gender.

Another significant limitation that must be acknowledged here relates to the reliance on GIJ student enrolment as the only indicator to measure and establish to the process of feminization in Ghana. As Hasty (2006) has testifies in her ethnographic study of press and media work in Ghana, the GIJ is the leading journalism training institution in Ghana. Until recently, the Institute was the only j-school dedicated to the training of journalists in Ghana. The School of Communication of Studies of the University of Ghana trained communication experts at the post-graduate and graduate level. Other Universities with media and communication studies programs have less than 10 years history of training journalists. Though, access to GIJ records were time consuming and tedious, the Institute enrolment records dates back as far as before 2000.

SUMMARY

The studies compiled for this dissertation first examined the extent of gender disparity in the leading journalism and Communication University in Ghana to confirm the feminization of the journalism profession hypothesis. It studies also explored the lived experiences of female journalists about how journalism work-time arrangements, work-related sexual harassment, and blame attributions of sexual harassment pose challenges for them. The systematic literature review (SLR) also helps establish the fact of the lack of paucity of studies on the topics by African media scholars.

By studying various dimensions of work-time arrangements, the study identifies the role of irregular and non-standard journalism work schedules as vital factors in creating tensions and conflicts between journalism work and the domestic lives of female journalists in Ghana. It further established from respondents' narratives that Ghanaian female journalists encounter various forms of sexual harassment both in newsrooms and on assignments, and the fact that women were also prime instigators of exchanging sex for job-related rewards in the profession. This leads most female journalists to resort to other-blame attribution for the recurrence and preponderance of sexual harassment acts in journalism in Ghana. The work employed a feminist standpoint approach to analyzing these gendered issues. A general conclusion drawn by this research project maintains that the gendered nature of journalism newsroom culture emanates from broader patriarchal social perceptions and actions.

Results of the SLR conducted to ascertain the depth of publication of empirical studies on women in journalism work in Africa in high ranking journals from 2010-1016 revealed an empirical gap. Most studies captured in the SLR focus on issues at the micro-level analysis (Byerly, 2016). Specifically, issues related to gender representation, gender mainstreaming, and gender empowerment in media in Africa. There was less empirical focus on the general working conditions under which female journalists work in Africa. This project is an attempt to fill this empirical gap and to provide a theoretical focus to such pertinent issues. Byerly provides essential pointers for expanding the focus of African gender-media research into other levels like the macro and meso -levels. These levels enable the feminist researcher to understand the profound nature of gender discrimination and marginalization that women endure in the media industry in Africa.

The three original studies compiled for this dissertation are set within the Africa journalism context of Ghana. The twenty-three (n=23) female journalists were drawn from various media types and four regions or provinces from the southern sector of Ghana. They participated in the in-depth unstructured interview sessions narrated their lived and shared experiences on the objectives set forth.

YHTEENVETO

Sukupuolittuneen journalismin haasteet:
Ghanalaisten naisjournalistien työelämäkokemusten tarkastelua

Tässä väitöskirjassa tarkastellaan haasteita, joita naispuoliset toimittajat kohtaavat työskennellessään journalistin ammatissa Ghanassa. 1980-luvulta alkaen journalismin parissa työskentelevien naisten määrä on kasvanut tasaisesti. Tämä 'naisistuminen' tuo mukanaan haasteita, erityisesti siksi, koska journalismi on ollut miesvaltainen ja siinä on ollut miehinen työkulttuuri. Useissa tutkimuksissa on tunnistettu pinnan alla olevia haasteita ja syrjiviä oletuksia, jotka vaikuttavat naisten tehokkaaseen pääsyyn, sopeutumiseen, ja pysymiseen ammatissa. Suurin osa näistä oletuksista pohjautuu syvälle juurtuneisiin patriarkaalisiin ja seksistisiin oletuksiin. Täten tässä väitöskirjassa esitetään kolme tärkeää kysymystä:

- Mikä on sukupuolten jakauma journalismin koulutusinstituutioissa Ghanassa?
- Millaisia vaikutelmia ja kokemuksia Ghanalaisilla naisjournalisteilla on liittyen työaikajärjestelyihin ja työaikatauluihin, ja kuinka nämä työjärjestelyt ja aikataulut ovat vaikuttaneet naispuolisten journalistien elämään työn ulkopuolella?
- Millaisia vaikutelmia ja kokemuksia naispuolisilla journalisteilla Ghanassa on seksuaalisen häirinnän taipumuksista, ja mihin kohteeseen ja miten naispuoliset journalistit suuntaavat syyn seksuaalisen häirinnän tapauksissa ammatin sisällä?

Systemaattinen kirjallisuuskatsaus afrikkalaisten tutkijoiden tekemistä sukupuoli-media tutkimuksista paljastaa, että empiiristä tutkimusta, jossa on tehty mikrotason analyysia sukupuolten representaatiosta ja väärin representaatiosta median sisällöissä ja mediateollisuudessa, on paljon. Meso- ja makrotason analyyseja, joissa tarkastellaan sukupuolijakauman tasoja johto- ja omistustasolla, on niukasti. Mukaan lukien sellaiset, joissa tarkastellaan kansallista medialainsäädäntöä ja organisaatioiden linjauksia, jotka kannustavat naisia murtautumaan läpi erinäisistä media-alan lasikatoista.

Väitöskirja lainaa Bourdieun käsitteitä kuten kenttä ja doxa syvempään analyysiin journalismin kentästä ja ammatista. Siinä väitetään, että journalismi ammattikenttänä sisältää sääntökokoelmia ja ammatillisia käyttäytymiskoodeja, jotka lopulta vaikuttavat työkulttuuriin. Tulokkaiden tulee opetella ammattimaiset työkulttuurit ja koodit, jotta he tulevat tunnistetuiksi alan ammattilaisina. Lisäksi opitut kulttuurit muuttuvat itsestään selviksi rutiineiksi, hyväksytyiksi ja haastamattomiksi tavoiksi tehdä asioita ammatissa. Toiseksi, journalismin kenttä toimii laajemmassa sosioekonomisessa ja kulttuurisessa systeemissä, joka vaikuttaa sen työkulttuuriin ja funktioihin.

Väitöskirja myös hyödyntää teoreettisia näkökulmia feministisestä Standpoint-teoriasta. Se mahdollistaa analyysin naisjournalistien eletyistä kokemuksista. Suurin osa Standpoint-teoreetikoista esittää, että feministiset näkökulmasidonnaisuusperspektiivit voivat auttaa purkamaan sukupuoleen pohjautuvia

eroja etenkin sukupuolittuneissa organisaatioissa. Monipuoliset perspektiivit Standpoint-näkökulmasta antavat vaihtoehtoisia selityksiä subjektiivisille/relativistisille kokemuksille sosiaalisesta todellisuudesta. Ne ehdottavat, että pätevää empiiristä tietoa usein nousee historiallisesti marginalisoitujen naisten omista kokemuksista. Pääosin nämä näkökulmat ovat suoraan kontrastissa positivistisiin/dominoiviin käsityksiin objektiivisuudesta empiirisissä selvityksissä ja epistemologiseen tiedontuotannossa nähden.

Täten sukupuolittuneen organisaation lähestymistavat, jotka on johdettu feministisistä näkökulmista, myös tarjoavat teoreettisen pohjan journalismin naisistumiseen liittyvien kysymysten analysointiin. Vuosien saatossa feministi-teoreetikot ovat analysoineet työyhteisöjä institutionaalisina konteksteina, jotka ilmentävät hierarkkisia valtarakenteita, joissa välttämättömien resurssien jako on autoritäärisen kontrollin alla. Resurssit kuten palkkiot ja palkat, johtoasemat ja jopa työtehtävien jako ovat seksististen käsitysten sukupuolittamia ja ehdollistamia. Sukupuolittunut organisaatioparadigma pohjautuu vallassa oleviin sukupuolittuneisiin sosiaalisten rakenteiden järjestelyihin, jotka jo erottelevat ja jaottelevat työtä pääosin sukupuoliroolien perusteella. Täten sukupuolittuneet työorganisaatiot ja instituutiot rakentuvat samalla tavalla perinteisten sosiokulttuurisesti määriteltyjen sukupuoliroolien roolien varaan, jotka rajaavat naiset tekemään palkatonta epävirallista kotityötä, kun miehet samanaikaisesti sijoitetaan palkallisiin, virallisiin töihin.

Länsi-Afrikassa Ghanan media-alaa pidetään kaikkein liberaaleimpana. Tämä media-ala tarjoaa enemmän naisten journalistiseen ammattiin osallistumista edistävän ilmapiirin, kuin suurin osa Afrikan maista. Vuodesta 1992 saakka Ghanan mediajärjestelmää on yksityistetty, liberalisoitu, ja kaupallistettu. Valitettavasti suurin osa näistä yksityisomisteisista mediataloista ovat rakentaneet vahvan yhteyden poliittisiin puolueisiin. Mediakentälle on myös luonteenomaista median korkea keskittyminen niihin yleisöihin, joilla on yhteys näihin muutamiin mediataloihin. Radio ja televisio ovat uutis- ja tietolähteitä, joilla on matala levikki. On ilmiselvää, että kun valtion media on laskussa, niin uutis- ja tietovirta on myös tullut yksityiseksi. Vielä tärkeämpi seikka on, että liberaalin mediaympäristön myötä tulee myös lisääntynyttä kilpailullisuutta kasvavine työepävarmuuksineen, haasteineen työolosuhteissa ja epätasapainoineen journalistisilla markkinoilla. Monet Ghanassa journalismista valmistuneet ovat edelleen työttömänä tai siirtyvät toisiin lähialoihin kuten myyntiin, markkinointiin, ja PR-työhön. Toiset työskentelevät lyhyillä työsopimuksilla, tai pitkäaikaisina harjoittelijoina ilman vakinaistamista. Tällaisella ankaran talouskurin mediaympäristöllä on yleensä suurempi vaikutus naisjournalisteihin ja potentiaalisiin journalistin alasta kiinnostuneisiin naisiin. Analyysi 2017 GJA:n (Ghanan Journalistiliitto) jäsenasiakirjoista osoittaa, että Ghanassa on 656 rekisteröitynyttä journalistia, joista 215 (33%) ovat naisjournalisteja (GJA, 2017).

Tämä väitöskirja koostuu kolmesta tutkimuksesta. Ensimmäinen tutkimus, otsikoltaan: "Reversal of Gender Disparity in Journalism Education – Study of Ghana Institute of Journalism" ("Sukupuoliepätasapainon Kääntyminen Journalismikoulutuksessa – Tutkimus Ghanan Journalismi-instituutista") julkaistu

Obervatorio:ssa (OBS*). 2017, Vol. 11 Numero 2, pyrkii saavuttamaan ensimmäisen tavoitteen, samalla kun se todistaa hypoteesin journalismin naisistumisesta. Se lainaa laajalti käytettyä YK:n sukupuolipariteetti-indeksiä (GPI) mitatakseen sukupuolijakaumaa journalistisen ammatin perustasolla. Siinä analysoidaan kymmenen vuoden ajalta opiskelijoiden läsnäolotilastoja Ghanan Journalismin Instituutissa (GJI), jolla selvitetään mies-nais jakauma perustutkinto-opiskelijatasolla.

Kaksi viimeistä tutkimusta keskittyvät naisjournalistien elettyihin kokemuksiin Ghanassa. Kahtakymmentäkolmea (23) naisjournalistia, jotka kerättiin uutistoimistojen ja erilaisten mediatyyppien poikkileikkauksesta neljästä Ghanan kymmenestä alueesta haastateltiin liittyen aiheisiin, jotka liittyvät työaikajärjestelyihin, seksuaalisen häirinnän tapauksiin, ja niihin liittyneisiin syynsuuntaamisiin. Otantahaasteiden vuoksi, ei-todennäköisyyspohjaista vastaaja-avusteista otantatekniikkaa käytettiin, jotta pystyttiin erottamaan relevantti näyteosuus naisjournalisteista. Haastattelukohteilta kysyttiin avoimia kysymyksiä, joissa heille tarjottiin riittävät mahdollisuudet jatkokysymyksille. Haastattelut toteutettiin kolmen kuukauden ajanjaksolla helmikuusta huhtikuuhun 2016. Haastattelusessiot toteutettiin pääasiallisesti paikoissa, jotka olivat jokaiselle vastaajalle sopivimmat. Haastattelujen kestot olivat välillä 40-90 minuuttia, ja ne olivat ääni- ja videotallennettuja. Yli 30 tuntia audio- ja videodataa tallennettiin ja litteroitiin koodaamista ja analyysia varten käyttäen deduktiivista menetelmää, jolla haettiin merkitystä vastauksista liittyen valmiisiin teemoihin.

Toinen tutkimus, otsikoltaan "Journalism work-time arrangements and balancing gender roles: Qualitative studies of work experiences of female journalists in Ghana" (Journalismin työaikajärjestelyjen ja sukupuoliroolien tasapainottaminen: Laadullisia tutkimus naisjournalistien työkokemuksista Ghanassa"), joka on lähetetty julkaistavaksi lehteen Communication Today, käsittelee journalismin vaikutusta työaikajärjestelyihin Ghanalaisten naisjournalistien yksityisissä/sosiaalisissa elämässä. Siinä esitetään seuraavat kriittiset kysymykset:

R1.Q1: Millaisia ovat Ghanalaisten naisjournalistien vaikutelmat ja kokemukset suhteessa heidän työaikajärjestelyihinsä?

R.Q2: Kuinka nämä työaikajärjestelyt vaikuttavat heidän sosiaalisiin rooleihinsa ja elämiinsä?

Työaikajärjestelyt koostuvat kolmesta perustavanlaatuisesta ulottuvuudesta: 1) Työaikataulujen elementit – tyypilliset / epätyypilliset työaikajärjestelyt ja työn kestoajat 2) työn volyymit ja 3) työntekijöiden joustavuus uudelleen järjestellä työaikoja sovittaakseen ne henkilökohtaisiin velvollisuuksiin. Työntekijät saattavat kokea jotkin työjärjestelyjen ulottuvuudet joko positiivisesti vaikuttaviksi tai negatiivisesti tunkeutuviksi heidän yksityisiin ja sosiaalisiin elämiinsä nähden. Sukupuolittunut lähestymistapa pakottaa uudelleenajattelemaan ennalta oletetun sukupuolineutraalin suhteen työaikajärjestelyjen ja erinäisten muiden

roolien välillä, joita naiset omaksuvat yhteiskunnassa. Useimmat yhteiskunnat vielä odottavat naisten tekevän lukuisia määriä kotiaskareita samalla kun he tekevät töitä elannon ansaitsijoina. Täten, jotkin työaikajärjestelyjen osa-alueet voivat vaikuttaa haitallisesti naisten kykyyn sopiva taso työn ja elämän tasapainossa.

Kolmas tutkimus myös tarkastelee naispuolisten journalistien elettyjä kokemuksia Ghanassa työhön liittyviin seksuaalisen häirinnän tapauksiin, etenkin siinä määrin, kun seksuaalisen häirinnän uhrit suuntaavat syytä mistään seksuaalisen häirinnän tapauksesta.

Kun useammat naiset menevät töihin sukupuolittuneille aloille kuten journalismiin, aiheet liittyen hyväksikäyttöön seksuaalisissa suhteissa nousevat etualalle. Seksuaalinen häirintä on tunnistettava muoto työpohjaista syrjivää käytöstä, joka nousee sukupuolivaltasuhteista laajemman sosiaalisen kulttuurin sisällä, jossa työorganisaatiot olevat. Seksuaalisella häirinnällä on emotionaalisia ja laillisia implikaatioita, mutta sen potentiaali vihamielisen työympäristön luomisessa naisille on kriittinen. Vaikka seksuaaliselle häirinnälle on erilaisia määritelmiä, on yleisesti hyväksyttyä, että auktoriteetti- ja vaikutusasemassa olevat miehet työpaikan rakenteissa ovat tyypillisesti pääasiallisia tekijöitä. Tämän idean haastaa jossain määrin rooli, joka naisilla on quid pro quo vaihtokaupassa, jossa vaihdetaan seksuaalisia palveluita töihin liittyviin palkintoihin.

Journalismissa taipumus seksuaaliseen häirintään ei rajoitu uutishuoneisiin. Naispuoliset journalistit myös kokevat jutunteon yhteydessä seksuaalissävytteistä häirintää pääosin taloudellisesti ja poliittisesti merkittävien uutislähteiden suunnalta. On erittäin hyvin tunnettua, että suurin osa naisjournalisteista, jotka joutuvat seksuaalisen häirinnän uhreiksi eivät tee näistä tapauksista rikosilmoitusta. Mikä tärkeämpää, suurimmalla osalla naisjournalisteista on taipumus suunnata syy seksuaalisen häirinnän kasvusta alan sisällä uhrien tekoja ja käyttäytymistä kohtaan. Kolmas tutkimus keskittyy "Proclivity of Sexual Harassment and Blame Attribution in Journalism: Experiences of Ghanaian Female Journalist" ("Taipumus seksuaaliseen häirintään ja syyllisyyden suuntaaminen journalismissa: Ghanalaisten naistoimittajien kokemuksia"), ja on lähetetty julkaistavaksi lehteen Observatorio (OBS*). Siinä kysytään kaksi tärkeää kysymystä:

R.Q1: Millaisia ovat naisjournalistien vaikutelmat ja kokemukset liittyen seksuaalisen häirinnän taipumuksiin Ghanassa?

R.Q2: Kuinka naisjournalistit suuntaavat syyllisyyttä liittyen seksuaalisen häirinnän tapauksiin ammatissa?

Tämän väitöskirjan kolmen tutkimuksen pohjalta tehtiin kolme pääasiallista havaintoa. Ensimmäinen havainto vahvistaa journalismin kasvavan naisistumisen Ghanassa. GIJ:n läsnäolotietokannan analyysi paljastaa huomattavan sukupuolien välisen eron jopa Journalismikoulun tasolla. Kokonaisläsnäolomäärät (GER) ja GPI osoittavat selkeän epäsuhtaisen eron naisopiskelijoiden hyväksi.

Tämä ero on kasvanut sitten vuoden 2006 ja se on saavuttanut korkeimman huippunsa akateemisen vuoden 2012 ja 2013 välillä.

Toiseksi, suurin osa vastaajista olivat samaa mieltä ristiriidasta journalismin työaikajärjestelyjen ja lukuisten roolien välillä, jotka heillä on kotona ja suuressa yhteiskunnassa työn ulkopuolella. Ghanalaiset naisjournalistit vakuuttavat, että journalismin työkulttuuri ja aikataulut tunkeutuvat heidän elämäänsä ja häiritsevät heidän kykyään hallita tehokkaasti työn ja elämän tasapainoa. Epäsosiaaliset ja epäystävälliset työaikataulut työn volyymi vaikuttavat tehokkaaseen lastenhoitoon, äidin ja lapsen kiintymyssuhteeseen, kykyyn omata ja ylläpitää avioliitto/romanttinen suhde ja toimia monissa muissa kriittisen tärkeissä sosiaalisissa funktioissa.

Löydökset vastaajien narratiiveista osoittavat, että Ghanalaiset naisjournalistit kokevat työhön liittyvää seksuaalista häirintää. Myöskin, sen sijaan että he syyttäisivät seksuaalisen häirinnän tekijöitä, suurimmalla osalla naisjournalisteista on taipumus syyttää kollegojaan, jotka ovat joutuneet uhriksi. Vanhemmilla päätoimittajilla, uutispäälliköillä ja mieskollegoilla on myös taipumusta ahdistella naisia seksin toivossa ylennysten ja muiden työetujen sijaan. Ghanalaiset naisjournalistit myös paljastavat, missä määrin vaikutusvaltaiset uutislähteet hyväksikäyttävät lähteen ja journalistin välistä suhdetta tavoitellakseen seksiä. Yksi huomattava löydös liittyy siihen rooliin, mikä nuorilla naisjournalisteilla on heidän lietsomissaan seksisuhteissa, jotka voidaan tulkita väärin erääksi seksuaalisen häirinnän muodoksi. Tämä seksin vaihtokauppa työhön liittyviin etuihin – quid pro quo – jota on edesauttanut työn epätasapaino ja taloudelliset haasteet, myös alleviivaa taipumusta seksuaaliseen häirintään journalismin alalla.

Toinen huomattava havainto on ero työskentelyolosuhteissa ja kokemuksissa niiden naisjournalistien välillä, jotka johtavat uutishuoneita pääkaupungin metropolialueen ulkopuolella. Paikalliset kirjeenvaihtajat tekevät pitkiä työpäiviä, epämieluisina aikoina vuorokaudesta, ja useimpina viikonloppuina, siten, että työaika tunkeutuu heidän kotielämäänsä ja sosiaaliseen elämäänsä, mikä asettaa suuria taakkoja naisjournalisteille, jotta he kykenevät ylläpitämään tasapainon työn vaatimusten ja kotitalouden velvollisuuksien välillä.

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ORIGINAL PAPERS

I

REVERSAL OF GENDER DISPARITY IN JOURNALISM EDUCATION – STUDY OF GHANA INSTITUTE OF JOURNALISM

by

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Reversal of Gender Disparity in Journalism Education- Study of Ghana Institute of Journalism

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Abstract

Journalism has practically become a feminine profession across the world. To understand the root of the flow of women into the Journalism profession it is pertinent to begin at the university education level. Gallagher's 1992 worldwide survey of female students in 83 journalism institutions reveals a significant increase in number of female students. Djerf-Pierre (2007) and others argue along Bourdieu's conception of education as a form of social capital which empowers, enable and enhances women's competitiveness in a pre-dominantly androgynous social arena. Using 16 years of enrolment data retrieved from the Academic Affair Unit of the Ghana Institute of Journalism (GIJ), a leading Journalism, and Communication University in Africa, the empirical study examines the growing feminization of journalism. This study uses the UNESCO gender parity index model (GPI) to ascertain the gender parity ratio of male to female students enrolled at the University. Findings indicate a significant shift in the gender parity ratio in favor of women in the journalism education.

Keywords: feminization, gender parity gap, gender equity, journalism education.

Introduction

Global trends in journalism shows a marked appreciation in the number of women entering and engaged in the profession. A starting point in examining the extent of the women's activities in journalism is Gallagher's seminal study, and report for the UNESCO some 20 years ago. It examined gender employment patterns in the media and confirmed the 'feminization' of journalism (Djerf-Pierre, 2011; Gallagher, 1995). This study ascertains the gender parity ratio of enrolment of women to men into journalism training institutions in Ghana within the last 10 years. It attempts to trace how the age-old gender disparity ratio in favor of men is gradually being reversed in the field of journalism in Ghana. The paper forms part of an ongoing study that aims to explore challenges and experiences of female journalists in newsroom settings across Ghana.

The influx of women into journalism is a well-studied and discussed phenomenon (North, 2014 & 2009; Hanusch, 2013 &2008; Byerly, 2011; Fahs, 2011; Gadzekpo, 2009 & 2001; Frolich, 2007; Gil, 2007; Steiner, 2007; Tusan, 2005; de Bruin, 2004; Chambers, 2004; van Zoonen, 1998; Theus, 1985). The International Federation of Journalists' (IFJ) survey carried out in 2001 attest to these upward trends of women into the journalism occupation throughout the world. Countries like Australia, New Zealand, and the Nordic countries lead the field in percentages of women working in news production and in journalism (de Bruin, 2014 & 2011; Djerf-Pierre, 2011; IFJ, 2001). For Djerf-Pierre, the Scandinavia and Nordic 'success stories' in attainment of gender equality in journalism has become a challenge and a standard to emulate by most countries. The Nordic gender success story is reflected in gender mainstreaming from journalism education to journalism employment and career mobility.

So far, studies in gender equity in journalism and gender access to journalism education point to similar growth rates of influx of women. Gallagher's 1995 survey provides insightful evidence to the extent of the achievement of gender parity in journalism training institutions worldwide. For instance, African Universities

and colleges offering journalism courses are experiencing some proportionate growth trends in female to male student parity. The global University enrolment figures meanwhile indicate a high preference for journalism major for female students (Berger, 2007).

While such achievements are laudable, studies on gender equality, gender equity, and gender parity in journalism organizations, also report the extent of invisible barriers that hinder women's progress in newsrooms, hinder women's career mobility and even in accessing education (Geertsema-Sligh, 2014). Issues of power play, hegemonic and cultural/traditional relativities come into play here. Feminist perspectives like Critical Feminist Approaches consider access to education, and inclusivity in higher education for women as empowering and critical tools in minimizing male socio-economic, and political dominance, power and hegemonic control. These are also significant factors in the quest to address gender biases and inequalities inherent in all spheres of social engagement. Djerf-Pierre (2007), therefore calls for comprehensive analysis of such contributory factors that impact on gender imbalances even in academia and in journalism newsrooms.

The arguments raised in this paper discuss journalism and mass communication education institutions as integral to attempts at breaking the institutionalized male dominance in journalism education in African countries. Secondly, it examines discourse on gender mainstreaming in terms of parity in access to journalism education. The assertion here is that any gender disparities and imbalances in journalism education institutions may directly engender and entrench gender imbalances in the journalism profession. For instance, Rush, Oukrop, Sarikakis, Andsager, Wooten, and Daufin (2005) allude to some of these systemic biases in their study of equity for women and minority junior scholars in Communication universities. Their findings highlight pertinent scholarly narratives that goes to caution and deter male scholars from studying women's issues in journalism.

The main objective of this study therefore is to determine the parity ratio of male-female enrolment at the Ghana Institute of Journalism (GIJ). Secondly, it attempts to identify periods that female enrolment reached its peak within a 16-year period from 2000 to 2016.

The first section of the paper presents an overview of various empirical studies of women in journalism education and conceptual analysis of the general idea of feminization of journalism and feminization of journalism education. It further presents a historical overview of media education in Ghana, including the structure and format of the media education system that pertains within the Ghana Institute of Journalism. The second half of the paper presents the methodology and data collection techniques including analysis of the findings and conclusions.

Women studying Journalism

Women's enrolment into journalism education is a significant aspect of broader scholarly studies on women's work in journalism, and women's representation in the media. Golombisky (2002) and others, for instance, have studied women's role and enrolment in journalism education from the perspective of gender equity, gender disparity, gender imbalances, sexual discrimination and sexism embedded in academia.

In addition, an important starting point is the recognition of women's role in the history of journalism education around the world. In the USA, Martha Louis Rayne of Michigan is generally acknowledged in journalism history as a pioneer in establishing journalism education specifically for women in 1886 (Beasley,

1985). However, journalism historians conveniently omit Rayne's role in the development of journalism training and the role of women in journalism. In their paper Women in Journalism Education: the formative period 1908-1930, Beasley and Theus (1988) attempt to trace the antecedents to the feminization of journalism education. In the United States of America, women's issues have often dominated discussions at the same pace as journalism was experiencing professionalization and 'academization'. In the meantime, all attempts at achieving gender mainstreaming in journalism education through creation of gender-neutral newsrooms have often met with pejorative tags - describing journalism as becoming 'pink collar ghetto' (Franks, 2013) or 'velvet ghetto' (Golombisky, 2002). It is pertinent to note that the issue of feminization of journalism has become indispensable to any general empirical study of journalism education (Nordenstreng, 2009).

Global surveys by Gallagher (1995), Peters (2013), Golombisky (2002), Densem (2006), Becker, Vlad and Olin (2009) all provide statistical evidences of the growing influx of women enrolling into journalism courses (North, 2010). According to Gallagher's 1995 survey of 83 countries, for instance, Africa has shown significant comparative improvement in enrolment of female journalism students. In countries like Ghana and Ivory Coast in West Africa, male to female journalism student populations are almost at parity. In Egypt and Tunisia, in North Africa, women make up over 80 percent of students studying journalism or mass communication at the University level.

In addition, Gender Links' 2009 audit provides latest figures on the extent of female students in Journalism University in Southern African. According to the Gender Link's report, 60 percent of journalism students are now women. Meanwhile only three out of the 13 countries surveyed - Malawi, Swaziland, and Mozambique - had more men than women studying journalism (Made, 2009). At the University of Zambia enrolment records indicate that about 56 percent of its first-year students in the mass communication department are female students. The figure increases to 81 per cent female students when students choose their study majors during their third year of study (Nyondo, 2009).

Melki and Farah (2014) cite Melki's (2009) study to indicate that in countries like Lebanon, in the Middle East, women currently make up two-thirds of students in journalism and mass communication departments. This is in spite of the fact that these countries are predominately-Arab countries with patriarchal cultural systems.

De Bruin (2014) among others have criticized such quantitative surveys as 'the body count' approaches to examining and understanding a more complex problematic. Evidence of such body count however, provide valuable indicators like those from American Society Newspaper Editors' (2005) survey that reveal that one out of two journalism undergraduates in the United States are women. Audit of member institutions of the Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism Mass Communication (ACEJMC) from 1989 to 2002 shows a widening gap in the enrolment of women in journalism. Figures from 1987 indicate that 21.4 percent more women than men studied for graduate journalism degrees in the US. By 2001, the number had increased to 34.8 percent more women than men studying journalism.

Historical data from the United Kingdom from the 1930s show a ratio of 33 women to 27 men studying journalism at the tertiary level. Enrolment figures from City University, UK indicate a ratio of 2.01:1 female to male students were studying for journalism in 2012 (Franks, 2013).

Feminization and Education

Conceptual discussions on feminization find roots in feminists' arguments. Particularly, on the inter-play of 'power and hegemony' embedded in gender relations. Djerf-Pierre (2007) situates the feminization of journalism within arguments of Bourdieuian social capital perspectives.

Thus, any conceptual discussion of social capital that concentrates solely on the economic perspective of the concept ignores certain contestable values. Such symbolic, cultural, and social values revolve round education, prestige, titles etc. Such fundamental propositioning conveys the enormity of women's struggle in the access and acquisition of education as a form of social capital. It transforms, enables, and empowers women to compete equitably in a highly competitive 'social field' (Djerf-Pierre, 2007, p. 82).

Djerf-Pierre, therefore focuses on Bourdieu's conception of the social field as an artificial social arena relevant to the feminism arguments. The social field/arena can be an intangible locale or institutional systems where social actors relate and compete, ultimately attaining social rewards. 'The actors use different strategies to acquire positions and influence. What is at stake is success, prestige, status and, ultimately, the power to decide who shall be recognized as a member of the profession…' (Djerf-Pierre, 2007, p.82).

Hence, social arenas or fields such as the twin institutions of journalism and education are enabling tools utilized by both gender in competitive social games for acquisitions of prestigious rewards and awards of social entitlements and professional degrees. Feminist theorists discuss power in similar vein, as 'a resource and […] a form of empowerment' and as instrument of socio-political and economic domination. In addition, various feminist perspectives analyze social interactions between the genders in any social field, in terms of men's sole preserve to mechanisms of power. Men have continually manipulated power, hegemony and access to scarce social, political, and economic resources that empowers them to dominate competitive allocation of scarce cultural, economic, or political resources (Allen, 2014).

In certain jurisdictions, sociological approaches perceive formal education as a scarce social resource. Sociologically, formal education is imbued with transformative, developmental, and empowering qualities that enhance competitiveness in some social systems. Consequently, an individual's acquisition of formal education becomes a key indicator of individual socio-economic advancement and a means of social and economic success. According to Philips (2013), Apple (1990) classified education and schools not only as arenas for transmission of knowledge but also '[…] a form of cultural capital that comes from somewhere that often reflects the perspectives and beliefs of powerful segments of our social collectivity [….]'. Hence, social and economic values already embedded in the political and social institutions, form the basis of 'formal corpus of school knowledge' (Phillips, 2013).

Rice (1999) re-emphasizes Martin's (1999) influential role in analytic discourses on feminists' contributions to the philosophy and theoretical developments of education. Martin's seminal argument relates to conscious or unconscious attempts to blackout the 'ideas and experiences' of women in education. Such historical erasure of memories of contributions by social minorities, like women, invariably affects any analysis of gender inequalities. Radical feminists therefore, tend to fixate on the inherent social inequalities and on patriarchal nature and dominance of the male gender in formal and institutional 'production of knowledge' (Rice, 1999). Unlike other feminists' perspectives, radical feminists theorize the 'sexual politics of schooling', by examining entrenched historical inequalities, imbalances, and insidious discriminatory biases deep-rooted in contemporary education systems, that call for radical means of elimination (Mendick & Allen, 2013).

For socialist feminists, contemporary education systems are patriarchal in nature but are also a manifestation of gender inequality and an entrenchment of capitalistic political economic system. Along these lines of thinking, Ferguson (2004) also examines Rubin's (1975) stance that stages in capitalist development prompt transition moments which enable women to move into the productive work systems. These transition periods allow women to transit between housework and formal wage-earning employment at different stages or during the swings in the capitalist market economies (Ferguson & Hennessy, 2010). Consequently, Rubin's statement fits the phenomenon of growing feminization of journalism education or the production of knowledge systems.

Rubin further points to the extent women can access education and achieve parity of male-female ratio in formal education systems. As men continue to dominate access to educational institutions, the resulting consequence becomes obvious at the workplace. Radical feminists therefore argue for and recommend that education and training institutions must aim at gender equality and equity, and parity in education, especially at the tertiary level to empower women compete equitably in other social arena. Governments and multilateral organizations have purposefully intervened to achieve gender equality and gender parity at all levels of education. For instance, Goal 2 of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), and the Goals 2 and 3 of the Dakar Framework of Action of Education for All – EFA – are typical instances of international multilateral initiatives aimed at eliminating gender inequalities and achieving gender parity.

The twin key concepts of gender equality and gender parity aim at the eventual elimination of innate inequalities and discriminations at all levels of formal education. Any critical analyses of these concepts show some distinguishing but inter-related features. Gender equality goals are achievable on the corresponding successful achievements of gender parity goals. Gender equality therefore underscores the equal rights of access to and participation in education with the principle goal of 'ensuring equality between boys and girls'. It further emphasizes the idea of 'sameness' of sexes … "as well as rights within education gender-aware educational environments, processes, and outcomes, and rights through education meaningful education outcomes that link education equality with wider processes of gender justice" (Subrahmanian, 2003, p. 2)

On the other hand, gender parity compliments efforts at achieving gender equality by providing measurements that Subrahmanian describes as 'numerical concepts' that quantify the extent of gender access and participation at all levels of education within certain timelines. "… gender parity tell us about the 'peopling' of institutions of education by gender, and indicate whether men and women, boys and girls are represented in equal numbers. Thus, the right 'to' education is measured in terms of access, survival, attendance, retention, and to some extent transition between levels of education" (Subramanian, 2003, p. 8).

Education and Media Economy in Ghana

Karikari's (2007) overview of African media since Ghana's Independence posits that the current African media policies tilt towards neo-liberal thinking. Studies of Africa's media landscape confirm the impact of the neo-liberal shifts even in journalism education. The African media systems are presently highly privatized with less state interference and control (Skjerdal, 2011). In addition, various African Barometer

Reports on Ghana (2011 & 2013) place the country at the forefront of Africa's efforts at media liberalization, media pluralism, and diversification.

Utuka (2008) and Karikari (2007) among others point to the sweeping waves of democratization in Africa in the 1990s and particularly the impact of 1991 UNESCO Windhoek Declaration that prompted media freedoms and private media operations. Article 2 and 3 of the Windhoek Declaration called for media pluralism and encouraged private business participation in information production and dissemination (Declaration of Windhoek- 3 May, 1991).

Meanwhile, a liberal economic atmosphere further encouraged participation of entrepreneurs, and religious bodies in provision of commercial university education in Ghana. As at 2014, the National Accreditation Board of Ghana had granted 67 private universities licenses and accreditation to offer university level courses. In addition, 15 public-funded universities and professional institutions operate offering undergraduate and graduate level education. Most of these universities offer journalism, and communication related courses (National Accreditation Board).

In Ghana, access to University level education is unrestricted. Gender discriminatory policies or legislation, especially those barring girls from any form or level of education are non-existent. The Government of Ghana education policy initiatives like the Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education – FCUBE-provides fee free basic education for children. Volume two of the government of Ghana Education Strategic Plan of 2010-2020 highlight the need to achieve gender parity in second cycle and technical education enrolment by the end of 2018. (Ghana Ministry of Education, December 2010).

UNESCO's statistics reveal that over 2.5 million Ghanaian students pursue studies at diploma, degree, and post- graduate levels of education. As at 2010, Ghana had 65.3 per cent female adult literacy and 83.2 percent female youth literacy. Meanwhile, gross enrolment ratio of female to males in tertiary institutions stood at 11.1:17.6 as at 2013 (UNESCO Institute of Statistics 2014). Female dropout rate into tertiary institutions is rather high due to incidences of early marriages and teenage pregnancies. Nyondo (2009) attributes this trend to socialization processes in most African communities that tend to malign women who pursue formal education, '…females who pursued any formal education were even labelled prostitutes' (Nyondo, 2009, p. 5)

However, economic factors play a major role, acting as impediments to women accessing higher education. For instance, the 'ability to pay' and cost-sharing' policies introduced in line with the Ghana government's austerity policies contribute to impeding women's access to University education. It is pertinent to point out that in Ghana tuition is however free in all public funded universities (Utuka, 2008).

Ghana Institute of Journalism – GIJ

The study uses the Ghana Institute of Journalism as a case for study. The Ghana Institute of Journalism (hereafter GIJ), the foremost journalism education institution in Africa was established in 1959 with initial mandate to offer professional diploma certificates in Journalism and Public Relations 'toward the development of a patriotic cadre of journalists to play an active role in the emancipation of the African continent' (Ghana Institute of Journalism, 2015).

GIJ initially offered a two-year professional diploma certificate in Journalism, and trained reporters, stringers, and media and public relations officers. The Institute is reputed to have trained over 60% of

journalists in Ghana. In 2006, a Parliamentary Act 717 granted the Institute autonomy to operate as an autonomous public university awarding its own Bachelor of Arts degrees in Communication Studies. Students can major in Journalism and Public Relations. In 2013, the Ghana National Accreditation Board (NAB) granted the Institute accreditation to award post-graduate Master of Arts degrees in Journalism, Public Relations, Media Management, and Development Communications, under the School for Graduate Studies and Research - SOGAR (Ghana Institute of Journalism, 2015).

As of 2014/2015 academic year, 3012 students enrolled at the GIJ. The student population were fall within these programs categories:

Two-year Diploma Program in Communication Studies

Four-year Bachelor of Arts Degree Program in Communication Studies

Two-year Top-up (Evening/Weekend) Bachelor of Arts Degree Program for students with diploma and working experience

12-month postgraduate Masters' Program in Communication Studies

(Ghana Institute of Journalism, 2015)

Other journalism training schools include the public-funded University of Ghana's School of Communication Studies established 1972 and privately owned Jayee University College of the University of Winneba and the Africa University College of Communication.

Approach and Method

The approach to this study consists of identifying appropriate enrolment data set over a period; analyzing and processing data to estimate the parity gap and male-female ratio. Finally, it attempts to identify trends and peak periods in the parity gap since 2000.

Convenient sampling technique was therefore used to extrapolate data from over 50 years of composite data set of the Academic Affairs Unit of the GIJ. However, and typical of most African educational institutions, GIJ faces challenges related to record keeping and archiving of students' data. The University lacks a comprehensive, digitalized, and computerized filing and retrieval system for managing students' data. Record Management System for the University is traditional, utilizing old paperback files, filing systems store, archive of critical student data, and records. The filing system still employs manual data retrieval systems with files arranged on shelves and in boxes. These challenges impair any systematic retrieval of pre-2000 data.

With these challenges and as Salkind (2010) argues convenient sampling could be appropriate sampling method to enable the selection of relevant sample out of population that are often difficult to access. In this study, it became obvious that the stated challenges posed inconvenient difficulties in data collection. However, data from year 2000 was easily accessible and offered a convenient means suitable for the objectives of the study.

Data set for diploma students enrolled in the year 2000 and graduating in 2017 was easily available. Data for undergraduate students between 2003 until 2013 were also not difficult to access. Thus, two separate sets of data of students studying for two-year professional diploma and those for four-year Bachelor of Arts degrees are analyzed.

Empirical Model

To measure the gender parity ratios for male and female students, the study adopts the UNESCO Institute of Statistics model for Gender Parity Index – GPI (United Nations Statistics Division: Department of Economic and Social Affairs). United Nations agencies like the UNICEF, UNESCO, and other international agencies including the World Bank use the GPI as determinant models for measurement and ascertaining the parity ratio for enrolment of boys and girls in education in various countries.

FHI360, an international Education Policy and Data Center, describes the GPI as "Measures of gender parity in education help to explain how participation in and opportunities for schooling compare for females and males" [1]

The GPI measures the ratio of male to female or the number of female students enrolled at various levels of education to the number of male students at similar levels. "A GPI of 1 indicates parity between the sexes; a GPI that varies between 0 and 1 typically means a disparity in favor of males; whereas a GPI greater than 1 indicates a disparity in favor of females" (United Nations Statistics Division: Department of Economic and Social Affairs).

Thus, GPI is expressed as the:

GPI = Gross Enrolment Rate for boys/Gross Enrolment for girls

Findings and Analysis

GPI at Diploma Level

From 2000 to 2016, the Gross Enrolment figures of diploma students at GIJ from (see Table 1) stands at 3046. While, Gross Enrolment figures of female students for the same period is 1938, that for male students is 1410.The Gross Enrolment Rate for male to female or male to female ratio was 42:58. Therefore calculating for Gross Parity Index:

GPI (200-2006) 1410(male)/1938(female)=42/58=0.72<1

The Gender Parity Index therefore, indicates a disparity in favor of female students at GIJ at the diploma level for the period between the years 2000 to 2016. The male to female ratio at the diploma level at GIJ for the same period stands at 1:1.53.

The disparity ratio narrows slightly in 2010 to a ratio of 1:1.43 female students; however, by 2011 to 2013 the percentage ratio had increased significantly in favor of female students. Figures from 2010 to 2013 show a 70% increase in female enrolment for professional diploma in communication studies. Meanwhile, data show (see Table 1) that 2011 recorded the highest enrolment figures for the 16 years. By 2011, there were thrice as many female students for every male student registered to student for a professional diploma. The Gross Parity Index shows a disparity in favor of female students.

GPI (2011) 41(male)/112 (female)=0.36<1

The disparity rate shows a significant increase from 2011. Table 1 and Chart 1 shows that still twice as many female students enrolled at the professional diploma than male students a ratio of 1:1.90 female

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[1] See more at http://www.epdc.org/topic/gender-parity-indices#sthash.U9sRlNGv.dpuf
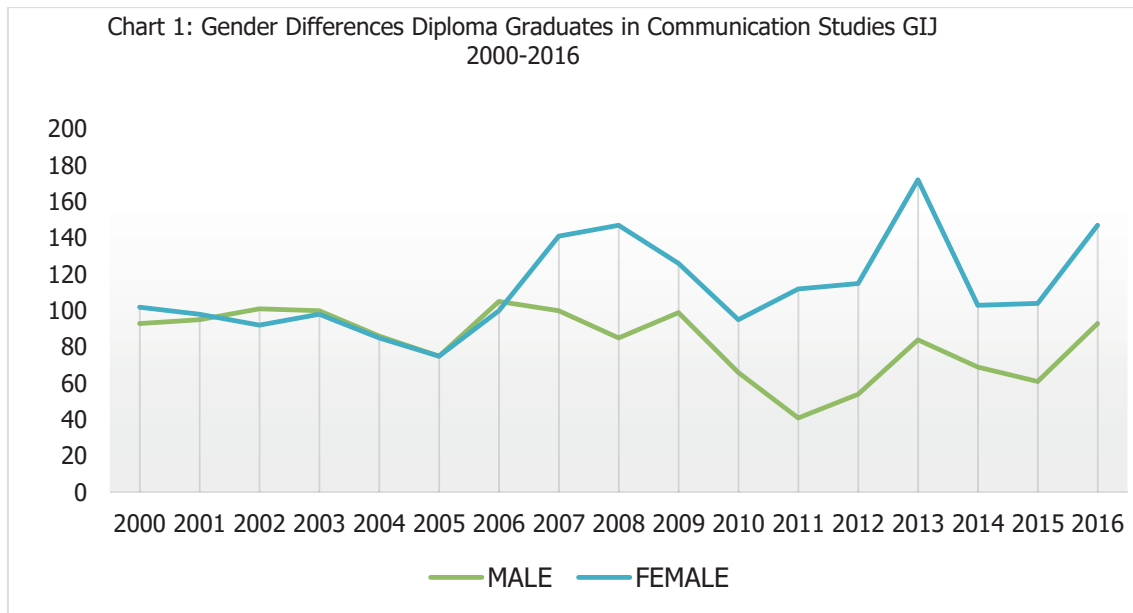
students. Chart 1 displays the annual parity gap trends over the 16-year period. The chart shows that the enrolment numbers of female student population begun to ascend from 2007 onwards.

Chart 1 further indicates the male and female enrolment gap from 2000 was at a low level with the widest disparity of only nine male students than female students. However, the parity gap begun to widen in favour of women from the 2007. For instance, with a gap of 41 female students in 2007, the gap increased and widened to 88 students in 2013.

Table 1: Gender Parity in GIJ: Diploma in Communication Studies 2000-2016

Enrolment Year	Female	Male	Yearly Diff.
2000	102	93	9 (M)
2001	98	95	3 (M)
2002	92	101	9 (M)
2003	98	100	2 (M)
2004	85	86	1 (M)
2005	101	75	26 (F)
2006	100	105	5 (M)
2007	141	100	41 (F)
2008	147	88	57 (F)
2009	126	99	27 (F)
2010	95	66	29 (F)
2011	112	41	71 (F)
2012	115	54	61 (F)
2013	172	84	88 (F)
2014	103	69	34 (F)
2015	104	61	43 (F)
2016	147	93	54 (F)
GER 3346	1938	1410	
%	58	42	

Source: Academic Affairs Unit Ghana Institute of Journalism July 2015

Chart 1: Gender Differences Diploma Graduates in Communication Studies GIJ 2000-2016

GPI at Undergraduate Level

At the undergraduate level, (see Table 2) 2086 students were studying for Bachelor of Arts degree in Journalism and Public Relations for the 2014/15 academic year. Of this figure, 1301 students were female, making up 62.4 percent of entire registered student body. Significantly, the figures indicate that there are over 500 more female students than male in the Institute for the academic year 2014/15.

Gross Enrolment Indicators (see Table 2) for aggregate population of undergraduate students at GIJ was 2086 for the 2014/2015 academic year. The number comprises of Journalism and PR major students. As Table 3 indicates 59% or 1237 of the gross population of Bachelor students intend to major in Journalism. Table 2 further indicate that female students make up 62.4 percent of the proportion of combined population of PR and Journalism students; this gives a proportional ratio of 1:1.65 male to female students enrolled.

$$\text{GPI (2014/2018) - 785 (male)/1301(female)} = 0.60 < 1$$

The GPI indicates a disparity in favor of girls taking Bachelor of Arts degree in Communication studies at GIJ.

The GEI for journalism major students (see Table 3) for the 2014/2015 were 1237 students the academic year. Gross Enrolment for male students stand at 421 to 816 female students, a ratio of 66:34

$$\text{GPI (2014/2015) - 421(male)/816 (female))} = 34/66 = 0.52 < 1$$

The GPI for the 2014/2015 academic year shows a significant level of gender disparity in favor of female students.

Analysis of data from Table 2 indicates that of the 208 final year Journalism students enrolled in 2011 and 2013 graduating in 2015, 61% are female. Female students make up 62% of the 210 third year Journalism undergraduate students admitted in 2012 and 2014 who intend to graduate by 2016. While, female students make up 70% of 333 second year journalism undergraduates to graduate in 2017. Female students also

make up 66% of the 489 first year journalism students enrolled for the 2014/2015 academic year at the undergraduate level.

Table 2 gives gross enrolment figures of students for PR and Journalism for 4-year Bachelor of Arts degree. As the table indicates, over 2086 students are enrolled at the GIJ at the GIJ at the bachelor level. The Gross Enrolment levels of Journalism (see Table 3) students stand at 1237, 59 percent of the entire population of students at the Bachelor level of study for the 2014/15 academic year. It is pertinent to explain that as indicators in Chart 2 show that any significant increase in students' enrolment population triggers a corresponding growth in the gender gap in favor of women's enrolment. Analysis of chart 2 shows, for instance, that the male-female ratio for final year Journalism enrolled in 2011 to graduate in 2015 is 1:1.5. The parity gap widens slight to a ratio of 1:1.76 male to female for third year students enrolled in 2012 to graduate in 2014. Further analysis shows significant growth in the gender parity gap for second and first year students at the Institute. The ratio grows significantly to 1:2.50 male to female journalism students in the second year. However, Chart 3 indicates a slight decrease in the male: female ratio of 1:1.91. The aggregate male: female ratio of first to final year journalism students registered to study in the 2014/2015 academic year is 1:1.93.

Available figures (see Table 2) indicate that even the Public Relations profession may experience similar feminization. Evidence from Table 2 point to a disparity in the gender gap at the undergraduate level skewed toward female students. For instance, the aggregate student population enrolled for PR from 2011/12 academic year until 2017/2018 year show 398 males students to 484 females making a ratio of 1:1.21

Table 2 also shows the number of students offering Journalism and Public Relations as a major. it further indicates that female students make up 66 percent compared to men offering journalism for the 2014/15 academic year.

Data for the students for post-graduate studies had yet to be compiled at the time of carry out the fieldwork.

Table 2: Gender Population of Undergraduate students of GIJ for 2014/15 Academic Year

Level		Programme	Female	Male	Grad. Year
100 (1st Year)		Journalism	321	168	2014-2018
		PR	79	53	
200 (2nd Year)		Journalism	238	95	2013-2017
		PR	120	57	
300 (3rd Year)	Regular	Journalism	90	43	2012-2016
		PR	40	36	

| 300 (3rd Year)	Top-Up/ Weekend	Journalism	42	35	2014-2016
		PR	83	135	
400 (4th Year)	Regular	Journalism	79	46	2011-2015
		PR	29	21	
400 (4th Year)	Top-Up/ Weekend	Journalism	47	36	2013-2015
		PR	133	60	
N=	**2086**		**1301**	**785**	
%			**62.4**	**37.6**	

Source: Data from Academic Affairs Unit of the Ghana Institute of Journalism July-August 2015

Table 3: Gender Differences of 2015-2018 under-graduate Journalism Students

Level	Female	Male	Yearly Diff.
Level 100 (1st Year)	321	168	153
Level 200 (2nd Year)	238	95	143
Level 300 (3rd Year)	132	75	57
Level 400 (4th Year)	126	83	43
N= 1238	**817**	**421**	**396**
%	**66**	**34**	**32**

Source: Data from Academic Affairs Unit of the Ghana Institute of Journalism July-August 2015

Chart 2 Gender Parity differences of 2015-2018 under-graduate Journalism students at GIJ
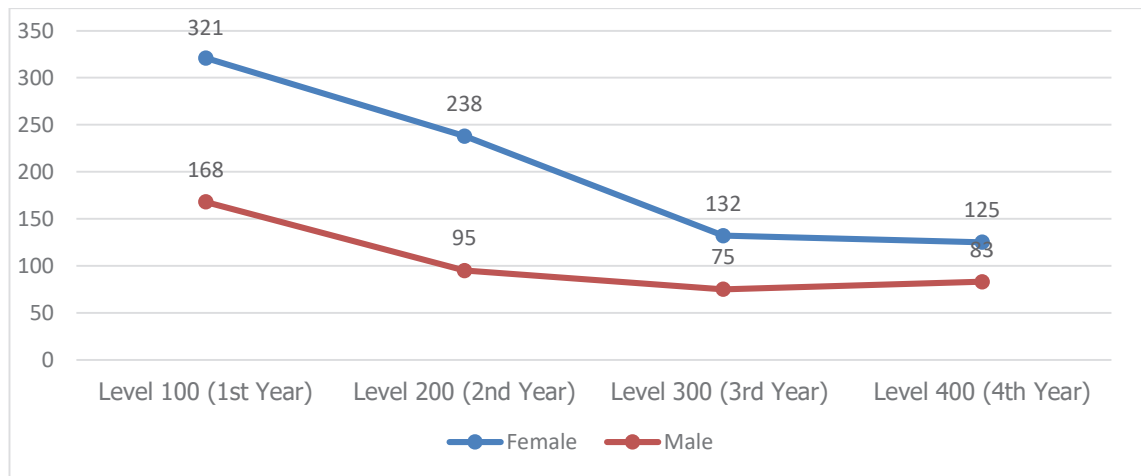
Source: Data from Academic Affairs Unit of the Ghana Institute of Journalism July-August 2015

Conclusion

This study set out to trace the growing feminization of journalism by analyzing enrolment figures students' data sets of the Ghana Institute of Journalism. The two-fold objective of the study was to identify the gender disparities within the set period and explain when these disparities may have begun.

Empirical data was gathered from the Academic Affairs Unit of the GIJ, a leading journalism training University in Accra, Ghana. The indicators confirm and affirm the hypothesis of the growing feminization of the journalism profession and the gradual erosion of the numerical strength of men in the journalism profession. It also confirms the findings, conclusions and assertions of studies by Byerly (2011), International Federation of Journalists (2009), Jones-Ross et al. (2007), Gallagher (2014, 1981 & 1995), and Rush et al. (2005).

It is also pertinent to point out that the progressive admission of women into journalism education are not deliberate institutional policies by the GIJ but a result of interventions by national and international development agencies aimed at achieving gender parity at all levels of education cycle. Intervention initiatives like the Gender Affirmative Education Sector policy incorporated in the state's Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) mandate; the Gender Parity in Second Cycle and Technical Education by 2018 and the establishment of the Girls' Education Unit in 1997 have all contributed to the increase of female students at the tertiary level of education.

While, Ghana's National Media Policy emphasizes on plurality and diversity, it is particularly silent on mainstreaming of gender or issues to do with eliminating gender inequalities or discrimination even in newsrooms. However, Article G on the broadcast media operations guidelines of the policy implore Ghana's media to: "Show a high sensibility to the dignity and respect of womanhood and defend and protect women's rights and interests" (National Media Commission, n.d).

However, the feminization of journalism and the reversal of entrenched gender disparities in education can be partly explained by the preference of girls for courses in the arts, humanities, social sciences, education and health care. Audit studies conducted for the Ghana Country Profile 2013 Final report funded by the Japan International Co-operation Agency (JICA) indicate that of the 33 per cent of girls and women studying in 2009/10 academic year, a majority were registered in the health sciences, education, liberal arts, humanities and social sciences (M&Y Consultants Ltd. 2013, p.33). Similar trends pertain in most African countries; thus, this trend is not confined to Ghana's education system. Results of empirical surveys carried out in South African for instance, indicate low enrolment levels of girls into faculties of natural sciences. (Sader et al., 2005).

Bradley's (2000) study on gender differentiation in academic disciplines reveal that despite impressive progress of women's enrollment into University education, women still gravitate toward arts and humanities instead of natural science studies. "Educational choices also build on normative assumptions that associate so-called feminine values with fields, such as the humanities and arts, and masculine values with business, the natural sciences, mathematics, and engineering" (Bradley, 2000, p. 4). Feminist theorists and thinkers like Barr and Birke (1998) attribute the low level of female students in natural science studies to the systemic and unconscious efforts at ignoring women's peculiar learning and social needs.

There are expectations that the high levels of female enrollment in journalism training institutions can enable profound transformations in the journalism profession. However, these numerical strengths may not engender fundamental structural or systematic changes if 'entrenched male privileges' in newsrooms are not radically challenged (Ross & Carter, 2011; North, 2010 p.111; van Zoonen, 2002). This notwithstanding, Geertsema-Sligh (2004) points to the significance of journalism as an 'agent of change' thus "to transform gender relations in media we need to start with the journalists of tomorrow".

The high enrolment rate of women into journalism schools may not translate into high number female journalists in newsrooms. Gallagher's 1995 survey for UNESCO concluded from findings that most young female journalists tend to experience 'career interruptions' due to family and maternity obligations (van Zoonen,1998). In addition to unfavorable work schedules, work stress and burn-out (Reinardy, 2011) imbalances in work-family life places undue strain on married and child caring female journalists, contributing to high attrition rates of female journalists from the profession (International Federation of Journalists, 2009). This confirms to a large extent Rush's (1989, 2004) Ratio of Recurrent and Reinforced Residuum (R3) hypothesis. The R3 provides a holistic explanation of this phenomenon and predicts that in spite of the numerical strength of female journalism students few transfer directly into the profession. Valenti (2015) therefore emphasizes the need for formulation of progressive policies that obligate men to share the burden of childcare and domestic unpaid work. Such policies can safeguard the successful gains of gender equality and gender parity at workplace.

Finally, it is pertinent to link the findings of the study to the eighth goal of the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals achievable by 2030 which aims to "Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment, and decent work for all" (Sustainable Development Knowledge Platform, 2015). For successful achievement of these ideals, educational and professional bodies and associations must formulate viable policies that eradicate gender-based discrimination in education while including mainstreaming gender issues in journalism education curricula to sensitize and create awareness about the social and economic essence gender parity and gender diversity in society.

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