

The Pennsylvania State University

The Graduate School

College of Communications

OPTED OUT

A STUDY OF MEN AND WOMEN WHO HAVE LEFT TELEVISION NEWS CAREERS

A Dissertation in

Mass Communications

by

Kim Garris LeGore

© 2009 Kim Garris LeGore

Submitted in Partial fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

August 2009

The dissertation of Kim Garris was reviewed and approved by the following:

Anne Hoag
Associate Professor of Communications
Chair of Committee

Marie Hardin
Associate Professor of Communications
Dissertation Adviser

Patrick Parsons
Associate Professor of Communications

Robert Drago
Professor of Labor Studies and Employment Relations & Women's Studies

John Nichols
Associate Dean for Graduate Studies and Research, College of Communications

*Signatures are on file in the Graduate School

ABSTRACT

This research reports the results of a qualitative study of former experienced television news journalists. The analysis of in-depth interviews reveals that female participants were more likely to leave their careers. The socialist feminist perspective suggests women's careers were inhibited by gender role expectations that conflicted with expectations of television news work. These conflicts were often found in the women's personal situations and reified in the organization of work. Men were more likely to leave their careers when they became dissatisfied with the work. Based on these interviews, the study suggests the television news industry should consider new models for work that will retain the experienced worker, particularly women.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables.....	v
INTRODUCTION	1
LITERATURE REVIEW.....	7
METHODOLOGY.....	38
FINDINGS.....	50
DISCUSSION.....	70
QUASI-STATISTICAL FINDINGS.....	94
Appendix A: Consent procedures.....	108
Appendix B: Participants' Demographics by pseudonym.....	114
Appendix C: Interview Guide.....	119
Appendix D: Opted Out: Themes & Codes.....	121
References.....	124

List of Tables

Table 1: When participants chose careers in television/news.....	95
Table 2: Frequency of occurrences for understanding and accepting traditional business practices.....	96
Table 3: Frequency of occurrences of the general theme <i>just the way it is</i>	97
Table 4: Perceptions by participants that family responsibilities challenge work effectiveness.....	98
Table 5: Frequency of participant responses to personal influences	99
Table 6: Ranking given to family concerns as a reason for leaving television news careers...	100
Table 7: Gender contrasts of personal issues affecting careers responses.....	101
Table 8: Frequency of responses for general theme <i>dissatisfaction with the work</i>	102
Table 9: Frequency of responses for bad working conditions.....	103
Table 10: Frequency of responses about beliefs that the business has changed.....	104
Table 11: Frequency of occurrence for perceptions of negative effects of changes in industry.....	105
Table 12 Ranking given to dissatisfaction with the work as a reason for leaving television news careers.....	105
Table 13 Frequency of responses for general theme <i>now not worth it</i>	106

Opted Out: A study of women and men who have left their TV news careers

In just 30 years women have made great gains in employment in television news. Since 1971 when scholars began conducting the American Journalist survey, women in television have increased their ranks from 11% to 37% (Weaver, Beam, Brownlee, Voakes and Wilhoit, 2007). Papper (2007) found a comparable figure of 40% women in television newsroom representation. In fact, the latest American Journalist survey shows television news outpaced all other journalism media in employing women, boasting a 12% increase between 1992 and 2002. On the other hand, the trend is not all positive. The gain has been made mostly among very young women and is coupled with a decline in the numbers of experienced women (Weaver et al., 2007). Women are leaving newsrooms at higher rates than men (Beasley, 2007). For example, Bulkeley (2004) cites a Radio Television News Directors Association survey that found 52% of newsroom workers in their 20s were women, but were only 3% of newsroom workers over 40. Women are choosing careers in TV news, but they are not staying.

Furthermore, though women exceed men, the decline in the experienced worker category (25-54 year olds) is large enough that it cannot be explained entirely by women's exits. Experienced men are leaving journalism, too (Weaver et al., 2007). While 10 years ago, more experienced journalists were more likely to stay in their careers, the most recent American Journalist survey noted that now, as experience increases, so does the likelihood that a worker will want to leave.

By Constitutional design, our society relies on the news media to function as a vehicle for dissemination of information necessary for an intelligent and responsible citizenry. Furthermore, the media are a powerful force in the perpetuation of culture. Local television is particularly influential since it is the medium of choice for the majority of citizens seeking out news and

information (Kurpius, 2003; Rosentiel, et al., 2007; State of the Media, 2008). Its influence comes partially from its mass dissemination ability, but also from its powerful process of constructing reality for consumers. Tuchman (2002) has theorized “news is made not found” (p. 80). It is produced from the social and organizational context in which the producer is situated. In each production, the producer essentially remanufactures his or her organization’s ideas. Since the people in newsrooms construct media messages – and thus play a part in constructing culture, it is important to understand who these constructors are. Ensuring that the ranks consist of a diversity of opinions and perspectives is important where such a powerful voice is concerned (Falk & Grizzard, 2005; Tuchman, 2002; Whitlow, 1977). On the other hand, Einstein (2004) points to findings opposing the claim that source diversity, the term used for producers of content, contributes to content diversity in television programming. Furthermore, other studies of network news have shown a larger presence of women in newsrooms has done little to impact the product (Jha-Nambiar, S., Liebler & Smith, 1997). Still, Sanders (1993) suggests a diverse newsroom will be a key component to the future success of television news. Perhaps now, 15 years and an entirely new computer-mediated world later, it is time for the industry to heed her advice:

the networks and local stations around the country may have to learn the hard lesson that the newspapers in many cities are beginning to understand: that is, if they do not reflect the diverse faces of their audience, Black and white, male and female, young and old, they may lose those viewers to cable and to the increasing presence of the competition. They will only have themselves to blame (p. 171).

Television newsrooms are employee-lean work environments. In 2007, local television news operations accounted for 42% of local television revenues; however, staffing continued a

downward trend at the same time newsrooms produced more content. News directors reported an all-time high in weekday news hours in 2006 (State of the media, 2008). While local TV news profit margins have remained high, revenues have fallen and advertisers and viewers are turning away (*Newsroom Economics*, 2006; Rosentiel et al., 2007). The move to pare down staffs and ramp up news production is partially an effort to hold the line on profits in response to the decline in television news viewership, and the subsequent reduction in ratings (Rosentiel, Just, Belt, Pertilla, Dean & Chinni, 2007), but that move might be a factor in ratings drops. In a 2001 survey, television news directors blamed shrinking budgets and staffs for increased workloads that were unacceptable to experienced workers (Rosentiel et al., 2007). Those employees are being replaced with inexperienced workers, and the effect is “a downward spiral of fewer resources, poorer journalism, and worse ratings” (Rosentiel et al., 2007 p. 123). News directors consistently attribute the need for more people to produce better quality news (Just, 1999; Rosentiel et al., 2007), and research indicates quality news is directly linked with commercial success (Pertilla & Belt, 2002; Rosentiel et al., 2007). Experienced news workers appear to be a key component to improving quality in news (Daniels & Hollifield, 2002; Rosentiel et al., 2007).

Consequently, research shows there is a link between company success and taking care of employees (Clarkson, 1995; Stanwick & Stanwick, 1998). Companies acting with higher levels of Corporate Social Performance have been shown to perform better than those performing with lower levels of CSP (Clarkson, 1995). Corporate Social Performance posits that an organization performs optimally when all stakeholders are considered (Jawahar & McLaughlin, 2001). Stakeholders are groups or individuals who impact or are impacted by an organization doing business (Jawahar & McLaughlin, 2001). CSP organizations understand the sound investment in

maintaining employees who are expensive to train and recruit. Industries implementing resource-productive innovations have reduced costs and increased productivity (Porter & van der Linde, 1998). Resource productivity posits that industries can use resources more productively, and by doing so, reduce the cost of both resources and other overhead. Porter and van der Linde (1998) suggest resource productivity reframes the issue from one of trade-off to one of mutual benefit. In this case, cared-for employees would produce a better product and would be fully utilized. The labor resource would be recycled and reused, saving the organization in turnover and absenteeism costs. Also, when news organizations address the employee stakeholder group, community stakeholders (i.e. viewers) reap benefits in the form of a better news product. Along the way, stockholder and advertiser stakeholder groups are better served with an economically healthy industry.

On principle alone, women should have the same opportunities for employment as men, but the television news industry also adheres to standards of public interest service through its licensing obligations. Equal opportunity is a requirement. Furthermore, to serve the public well, television news must promote the highest ideals of citizenship, not perpetuate outdated oppressive social systems.

The study

This dissertation explores the perceptions of 32 men and women and their decisions to leave their television newsroom careers. (Additionally, the study queries 2 women and 3 men who are still employed in television news.) Socialist feminism offers the best theoretical framework because it equally addresses the public and private sphere, the parts of a dichotomy that has traditionally served to divide women and men in Western culture (Cirksena & Cuklanz, 1992). From a socialist feminist perspective, women's secondary status in the home and the

workplace is maintained by the constant interaction of the institutions that organize unpaid and paid labor, patriarchy and capitalism (Steeves, 1987). Additionally, I will draw from organizational theory, which traces the social construction of work, and parallels ideologically with socialist feminism. The capitalist work structure in the United States is designed around the traditional notion of the ideal worker (Drago, 2007), which is enmeshed with cultural assumptions about gender roles derived out of patriarchy (Bailyn, 2006; Williams, 2000). From here, socialist feminist theory is used as a tool to critique the organization that subordinates the less than ideal worker, usually women. The feminist viewpoint is crucial to prevent overlooking the gendered assumptions embedded in the ideal worker norm (Gallagher, 2004).

While I approach this inquiry with *a priori* knowledge of the possibilities of a problematic structure of work, this exploratory study is not limited to questions or findings exclusive to this issue. This research is open to all possibilities that may emerge about news workers' reasons for leaving their television careers. All will be valuable in seeking ways to improve work processes and retain experienced employees; therefore, the research question is: *Why do some experienced women and men abandon their television news careers?*

The purpose and significance of the study

The overall purpose of this study is to add to the limited body of knowledge about the gendered structure of television news work and its impact on news workers. Extensive research has been conducted on consumption of television's gendered news product. Furthermore, extensive research has been conducted on the gendered construction of newspaper newsrooms, but few studies have addressed these issues in local television newsrooms and I have found no published studies that have researched television news workers who have already left their jobs. This study begins to fill a gap in the television news literature by asking questions of this group

that, by being absent from television newsrooms, has been silenced. Practically, this study may offer help to the industry by determining what changes in television newsroom structures can be made to retain experienced employees, most often women.

Literature Review

Within local television newsrooms, high turnover is commonplace. In a practice called churning, workers frequently move from market-to-market in an effort to advance (Rosentiel et al., 2007). Perhaps the acceptance of churning as a positive sign of ambitious employees has diverted attention from the trend of experienced television news workers who are turning away from the industry and not churning within.

There are numerous possible explanations for the exit of experienced television newsroom employees. Journalists who had declared their intentions to leave their careers in the American Journalist survey commonly cited low pay and poor working conditions (Weaver et al., 2007). A study of graduates of two East Coast journalism schools found the graduates who worked in traditional journalism jobs were paid less than peers who went into other communications-related jobs or left the field altogether, and the findings were in line with a similar study conducted by the Freedom Forum (McAdams, Beasley & Zandberg, 2004). Television news workers' salaries vary greatly by position and market, but have not kept up with the pace of inflation, and the workers have not seen increases in real wages in recent years (Papper, 2007a). Women in journalism earn 81% of what their male associates are paid (Weaver et al., 2007).

While salaries have not kept pace with the times, the television news industry has been on the fast-track in changing the way it operates. The frenzy of the 24-hour news cycle, prompted in the 1980s by competition from cable, seems to have been exacerbated by the internet and its digital companions that are luring television viewers. As such, work in television news has changed dramatically. Now, television news workers not only do work for traditional television news programs (which have increased), but also for convergent media. There are fewer

television newsroom workers and more work for them to do (State of the media, 2008). One television news worker who had declared her intention to leave the industry echoed a common theme when she explained that she no longer agreed with industry values (Weaver et al., 2007). News directors cited in the Project for Excellence in Journalism's Five Year Local TV News Project told researchers that they cannot retain experienced news workers because of the workload and reduced support (Rosentiel et al., 2007). Employees' cynical view of organizational values and feelings of overwork and unsupportive environments are characteristics described in organizational scholarship of employee turnover.

Turnover of professionals

Turnover factors have been studied carefully in other professional industries that share work characteristics with television news. Whether journalists are true professionals has been contested by scholars (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; Weaver et al., 2007). Those who gather television news as careers share characteristics of workers in occupations traditionally considered professional in that their work is a full-time occupation, provides service to community, requires specialized education, and allows for autonomous work (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). A body of literature has amassed on turnover in professions like law and medicine. Though journalists do not answer to an official professional board, like lawyers and doctors, many journalists consider their work professional and adhere to journalistic standards that will be discussed later in this paper (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). For this discussion of workplace structure, the classification is less important than the similarities in demanding work practices. Furthermore, television news work shares similar work practices with the IT industry, which also has no independent governing board, but has been studied for turnover among its professional workers.

Bunderson (2001) constructs a complex explanation for professional employee turnover and intention to quit theorizing workers' actions are a response to a perceived breach of a psychological contract. He suggests professionals, in this case doctors, who abide by professional norms as well as organizational demands come to their work understanding that they have obligations to the organization, but also expecting that employers have obligations. Those reciprocating expectations form the psychological contract. The employer is expected to provide the necessary resources for the professional to fulfill his or her duties to the market for the business enterprise, and for the professional to provide services to the community. When the worker feels the organization has not lived up to its obligations, the worker perceives the psychological contract is breached and responds. If the organizational breach is administrative, like failing to provide sufficient staff or resources, the response may be to intend to leave or to quit.

Applying this theory to television news, perhaps experienced news workers perceive a breach of contract because they have worked in the industry through the evolution of convergence. They now see more work assigned to fewer employees because of the requirement to produce content across platforms. Interestingly, according to Bunderson's (2001) theory, workers do not feel compelled to respond by quitting when they perceive professional breaches, those that are associated with professional roles like work quality as can be described as an adherence to journalistic values in television news.

Where professionals are concerned, the breach is an important distinction in the discussion of turnover because it suggests a level of commitment that distinguishes between a job and a career. Studying professional employee turnover requires consideration of factors beyond the basic market exchange of labor for wages. Job satisfaction becomes an essential

criterion for gauging employee turnover. Scholars have noted job satisfaction is often affected by work-related factors associated with overwork.

Work intensification, burnout, work overload, work exhaustion

The fast-paced computer industry shares common workplace characteristics with television newsrooms. The work environment is one of constant deadline pressure and operates under 24/7 demands for maintaining computer technologies (Moore, 2000; Sethi, Barrier & King, 1999). Downsizing has also been noted (Sethi, Barrier & King, 1999).

Modifications to work, like technological changes and increased working hours, are defined as work intensification (Burchielli, Bartram & Thanacoody, 2008). In organizational theory, work intensification is a feature of greedy institutions – those organizations that expect employee commitment above all else. Work intensification conditions like work overload or work exhaustion induce job burnout – a predictor of turnover (Cook, Banks & Turner, 1993). Workers who have job burnout exhibit high levels of exhaustion and depersonalization and low levels of personal accomplishment (Cook & Banks, 1993; Cook, Banks & Turner, 1993; Sethi, Barrier & King, 1999). In other words, workers become exhausted, withdrawn from their jobs and are dissatisfied with their work or workplace. Excessive workload and time pressures (work intensification) have been shown to influence symptoms of burnout.

For example, Moore's (2000) study of IT workers noted work overload is associated with intentions to leave the job, and that work exhaustion was a predictor of turnover. Almost half the workers she studied indicated lack of resources and staff as the cause of work exhaustion. Similarly, Sethi, Barrier and King (1999) found IT workers who exhibited signs of emotional exhaustion were correlated with burnout, and that perceptions of workplace fairness were most closely associated with turnover intention.

Burnout

In related media studies, higher rates of job burnout have been noted among newspaper editors who were experiencing work intensification caused by technology transitions and media competition (Cook, Banks & Turner, 1993). Cook, Banks & Turner (1993) found newspaper copy editors, who were dealing with added responsibilities brought on by changing technologies and competition, exhibited higher levels of burnout. Multiple roles assigned to workers, as might be found with the addition of convergent media responsibilities in television newsrooms, were also symptomatic of job burnout (Cook & Banks, 1993; Cook, Banks & Turner, 1993). Smith, Tanner and Duhe (2007) found that television new workers believed that convergence work threatened the quality of work in the newsroom and that workers felt they had reached the limits of their quality work capacity.

Reinardy (2006) found that the sports journalists he interviewed rated moderately in exhaustion and depersonalization, which was blamed on competition, deadline pressures and technology transition that increased work load (i.e. work intensity); however, they rated high on personal accomplishment, which he posits is the “buffer against burnout” (p. 408). Likewise, in the two studies of newspaper workers, those who rated higher in job satisfaction also rated lower in other indicators of job burnout (Cook & Banks, 1993; Cook, Banks & Turner, 1993).

What may be the most significant finding of the media burnout studies, as they relate to the current question, is that in these studies older workers rated lower on job burnout indicators (Cook & Banks, 1993; Cook, Banks & Turner, 1993). The studies posited that older workers were more experienced in dealing with job related stress and had learned to deal with it. In contradiction to these studies and previous professional studies of burnout (Cohen, 1999; Moore,

2000), current journalism workforce trends, including in television news, indicate it is the older and more experienced workers who are more likely to leave their jobs (Weaver et al., 2007; Bulkely, 2004). If conditions in the newsroom are such that now more experienced workers cannot or will not cope, there is reason to be concerned about the future of newsroom workers.

One explanation for this new trend may be found in job satisfaction. Among journalists, job satisfaction is associated with perceptions of organizational commitment to good journalism (Cook & Banks, 1993). Perhaps, older journalists perceive that good journalism is being sacrificed as news work changes. Job satisfaction in the American Journalist survey was negatively related to the perception of a lower priority to journalism than profits, the survey that also found more experienced workers intend to leave the industry. Journalists in the survey referred to the impact of market-driven journalism on their jobs (Weaver et al., 2007). McManus (1994) describes market-driven journalism as the process of applying market logic to news where the consumer becomes the gatekeeper, and market forces dictate the standards of journalism.

On the other hand, while she does not refer to job satisfaction, van Zoonen (1998) suggests market-driven journalism creates conditions in television news that clear the way for more jobs for women. She posits that the changes prompted by market-driven journalism, which she relates to feminine values, may lead to women's domination in the television news industry. The result, she suggests will not be positive for the industry or women because the change will prompt feminization of the industry, and a subsequent devaluing of this form of journalism.

The feminist perspective

If working conditions (like burnout) and poor salaries alone were prompting workers to leave, it would seem logical that the exiting employees would not be clustered among experienced workers, classified in the age range of 25-54. Again, looking to responses of the American Journalist survey participants who had declared their intentions to leave might offer an explanation. Other than pay and poor working conditions, workers gave personal considerations as a factor in their decisions to leave journalism work (Weaver et al., 2007).

While personal considerations could be a catch-all response, a closer look at the demographic composition of television news workers may be useful in gaining insight. As mentioned, more women than men are exiting television news careers. By cultural expectation, women assume the bulk of family responsibilities – a significant personal consideration. Additionally, of journalists remaining in the profession, women are more likely to be childless than men (Weaver et al., 2007). Weaver et al. (2007) posit “the demands of journalism may be more difficult for women who have childrearing responsibilities than are other occupations in general” (p. 11). Perhaps the rise in exits of experienced men suggests that they are now looking for lives more like their sisters, mothers and wives. Studies indicate men contribute more to domestic responsibilities than in past generations (Jackson, 2006), and younger people expect a different way of ordering work and life (Barnett and Rivers, 2004; Friedman and Greenhaus, 2007; Hewlett, 2007). Barnett and Rivers (2004) cite a study that found 82% of men between 20 and 39 put family first. Plus, now in the sandwich generation workers are often responsible for the care of young and old simultaneously (President’s Council, 2000). It appears more workers have caregiving responsibilities.

Personal considerations like family conflict may simply be the manifestation of a larger problem for women and men in television newsrooms who do not adhere to traditional gender

roles. Feminist media scholars point to the “gendered organizational culture that contributes to high female turnover rates” (Gallagher, 2004, p. 277). A report by the Women in Cable and Telecommunications Foundation, that sought to find ways to stop the erosion of female employees in the industry, noted that companies that provide for work/life balance have higher retention levels (*Women in Cable*, 2001). Might the structure of television news work be discriminatory to workers who have responsibilities outside of work?

The socialist feminist perspective on turnover. From the socialist feminist perspective, the previous studies of burnout and turnover may be seen as missing the important interplay of patriarchy with oppressive work structures. Cohen’s (1999) longitudinal study of lawyers addresses the issue when he suggests that conditions associated with job burnout do not always correlate with job turnover and that other factors are more predictive of turnover. Cohen (1999) found that non-work issues were more important to a lawyer’s decision to leave work than job satisfaction. Likewise, Moore (2000) notes perceptions of fairness were contributors to work exhaustion and turnover intention. Scholars have noted continued inequitable treatment of professional women.

In a study of difference between men and women and intention to leave work among professionals, Miller and Wheeler (1992) found women were almost twice as likely to express exit intentions as their male counterparts; however, closer analysis revealed that job satisfaction played a key role for women. When women expressed job dissatisfaction, they also expressed intention to leave, while men did not. Furthermore, women perceived fewer opportunities for advancement, which was a significant predictor of job dissatisfaction. And in a most interesting finding, unlike men, as women gained experience they were more likely to express intention to leave.

In a study of male and female lawyers, Spurr and Sueyoshi (1994) found that women are more likely to leave firms than their male contemporaries. In law, women still experience a pay gap. In one study at the 15-year career mark, women made 60% of what their male colleagues made, and the gap could not be explained by difference in types of law practiced (Blau & Kahn, 2006). Noonan and Corcoran (2004) document a progressive disadvantaging of women in the rise to law firm partnership. They found men were almost twice as likely as women to make partner, and among partners men's salaries were a third higher. The researchers attribute an organizational assumption about women's role as caregivers, even when such roles did not factor into work differences, and posited that these practices can be blamed for attrition.

Similarly, female doctors are paid less than male doctors and are concentrated in lower-level positions, and the divide is most notable among physician mothers (Boulis, 2004). In a study of doctors in a new specialty, Hoff (2004) found that men were paid more, even though men and women did the same work and worked the same number of hours. Consequently, the workers exhibited the same level of satisfaction in their work, which may be explained by their indications of different reasons for going into the specialty. Men discussed pay, and women discussed their perception that the work allowed for flexible lifestyle and more predictable hours. Hoff (2004) suggests role expansion theory might explain why the women were satisfied with their work despite inequitable pay. It posits that women gain psychological benefits from negotiating other roles outside of work, like family roles.

Research suggests women want different things from their work than men. They are more interested in meaning and quality than money and power (Hewlett, 2007). Boulis's (2004) study of female doctors seemed to agree. She found that women may be more interested in providing care than in big salaries and status. Serini, Toth, Wright and Emig (1997) found while men in

public relations were concerned about pay and status, women associated job satisfaction with attributes of meaning in work and a balance of family life and work. Sallop and Kirby (2007) drew the same conclusions in their study of graduating business students. Women journalists are no exception, according to the American Journalist survey; they want more than money. They want satisfying work (Weaver et al., 2007).

Socialist feminism. Socialist feminism explains differences in experience between women and men in the workplace by theorizing that all social relations are gendered, and thus influence social identity (Wharton, 1991). Socialist feminism is derived out of Marxist feminism. Marxists feminists focus on the oppression of women, as Marxists do, on class. In the Marxist view, people in the working class are subordinated through the labor process of capitalism (Tong, 1998). Socialist feminism is critical of capitalism for the oppression of women, but notes that capitalism alone cannot be blamed for women's subordination (Steeves, 2004). Socialist feminism adds patriarchy, as a system of mutual reinforcement of the oppression of women in the workforce (Tong, 1998). That oppression is perpetuated in the social organization of women's and men's roles in the home, as well (Steeves, 1987). Socialist feminism recognizes that gender has been constructed simultaneously in the organization of the institutions of capitalism and patriarchy (Wharton, 1991), and is not a product of natural biology (Steeves & Wasko, 2002).

Coventry (2004) discusses the socialization of the genders using gender role socialization theory. From this perspective, women and men develop different preferences beginning in childhood, based on what is socially acceptable for their genders. These preferences carry into the workplace and influence job preferences. Furthermore, they are linked to maintaining male hegemony in work and throughout society (Coltrane, 2004). Socialist feminists have been

influenced by Gramsci's concept of hegemony (Steeves, 1987). Hegemony is defined as consent to dominance through institutions of social order. Male hegemony is established through the institutionalization of male dominance – in this case, the institution of work organizations (Kellner & Durham, 2001).

Acker (1990) suggests work organizations were constructed to exclude women's bodies, so women will always be subordinated in traditional work organizations. Furthermore, she suggests all organizational measures perpetuate women's exclusion. She traces this male hegemony in work to the socialist feminist notion of the assignment of roles to men and women as the institutions of capitalism and patriarchy were developed.

History of the construction of the gendered worker

Patriarchy

Patriarchy lies at the core of our cultural organization and many of this culture's work practices are based on patriarchal assumptions (Coltrane, 2004). Patriarchy derives from centuries of assertions about women's and men's natures, though scholars have discovered that our ancestors did not organize themselves in a gender hierarchy (Barnett and Rivers, 2004; Riley 1988). As a matter of fact, Barnett and Rivers (2004) studied the work of scientists who debunked the hunter/gatherer myth when they discovered clay impressions that confirm that prehistoric women were hunters, too, providing "an estimated 80 percent of the food in hunter-gatherer groups" (p. 58).

Philosophers like Plato, not privy to these findings, believed women were predisposed to the irrationality of the flesh. Men were driven by the rationality of the soul. Men's dispositions were considered preferable and women were seen as inferior. Since men were naturally superior, they assumed their hierarchical position over women (Riley, 1988; Spelman, 1988; Weedon,

1999; Williams, 2000). Furthermore, by biology women were assigned the body, nature half of the mind/body, nature/culture dualisms that organized thinking during the Enlightenment (Creedon, 1993).

Gender as social construction

Feminist theorists dispute these differences as social constructions that have been repeated through history. Riley (1988) makes the case that woman is not a natural condition – it is constructed. These theories reject the claim that biology requires gender difference, but do all for differences in men and women. As Elizabeth Spelman (1988) points out “there is, however, a difference between the biological condition of being female and the social condition of being woman” (p. 61). Holmstrom (2002) builds a theory of difference from a Marxist perspective around the work that women do that places them into positions that are socially expected, not naturally selected. Valian (1999) points to a study in which fathers playing with their children were more likely to offer boys trucks and girls dolls. These findings illustrate that even at an early age, children learn through social norms.

Weedon (1999) points to Nancy Chodorow’s psychoanalytic theorizing on the mother/child relationship. Girls develop emotional relationships with their mothers that are quite different from the mother/son relationship. In turn, girls repeat these formations of close personal female relationships throughout their lives including with their own daughters. Boys, who identify more closely with fathers but spend less time with them, do not develop these deeply personal relationships. This pattern, Chodorow asserts, helps reproduce the dominating tendencies of patriarchy. What appears on the surface to be a natural tendency is explained as a construction reproduced generation after generation (Tong, 1998; Weedon, 1999).

Postmodern theorists like Judith Butler explain this difference between the sexes as constructed as well, but postmodern theory relies on the discourses of gender. These theorists posit the differences in the sexes are produced by the playing out of gender roles (Butler, 1999; Flax, 1992; Marecek, 2003; Weedon, 1999). Those patriarchal assumptions made by early philosophers have been perpetuated through the construction of language and social construction for centuries.

Socialist feminists, like Iris Young, suggest the construction of gender is based historically in the gender division of labor (Tong, 1998). The division relegates women to the subordinated position in the home, the private sphere.

Public/Private Sphere

Williams (2000) suggests when work and home separated at the industrial revolution, patriarchy gave way to the organizing structure she calls domesticity. Domesticity was supposed to have been a better arrangement for women because women were no longer considered inferior, just different; however, that is not how it developed. Perhaps Wood's (2002) argument that capitalism encourages male dominance could explain the development of men's dominance in domesticity. Under domesticity the home is composed of a market worker who has no care giving responsibilities and a caregiver who is given no other responsibilities or authority because power is tied to market work (Coltrane, 2004). Patriarchy assumed men's roles were to be that of workers and women's of caregivers. Men began here to base their value on their production of market work (Williams, 2000).

Ideal Worker

Following Williams (2000) domesticity principle, market work then organized itself around the full-time worker, who became what in industry is considered the ideal worker. What makes the ideal worker ideal is his undivided attention and loyalty to the job. An ideal worker's career is continuous. He puts in long hours, is available to work at anytime and will relocate at the call of the employer (Bailyn, 2006; Deutsch, 1999; Friedman and Greenhaus, 2000; Garey, 1999; Hewlett, 2007; Hewlett and West, 1998; Moen and Roehling, 2005; Perlow, 1997). To meet these demands, it is vital that an ideal worker have access to a homemaker partner who will take care of anything that could distract him from his optimal performance, including taking care of home and family. The ideal worker reinforces traditional gender roles – the male gender as worker (Clarkberg and Moen, 2001; Keene and Reynolds, 2005; Wax, 2004; Williams, 2000). “The ideal professional worker is still a man with a stay-at-home wife who fulfills his family obligations through being a breadwinner” (Coltrane, 2004, p. 215). Married men with families are still the most rewarded in the workforce (Schneer & Reitman, 2002). The numbers bear this gender bias out. A white middle-class husband earns 70% of the household income (Williams, 2000) and most top executives are men with homemaker wives, while the majority of female senior executives are childless (Bravo, 2007, p. 51). Under this organization, then the ideal caregiver is the woman. This assumption, too, has its roots in patriarchy and the place of women in the domestic sphere (Riley, 1988; Williams, 2000). These cultural norms are stubbornly perpetuated. The mere familiarity people have had of being raised by their mothers illicit the expectations of women as caregivers (Weedon, 1999). Women are still perceived as the primary caregivers (Spakes, 1995), even when both parents work (Brenner, 2002; Jacobs and Kelley, 2006). Even in countries where policies of work equality have been instituted, little has changed in the way families carry out gender roles (Spakes, 1995; Weedon, 1999).

Women are expected to act as ideal parents by putting family first. Men are expected to act as ideal parents by being breadwinners (Keene and Reynolds, 2005; Williams, 2000). Research confirms this expectation persists. Keene and Reynolds (2005) found women will limit work to protect family time twice as often as men, and that men are more likely than women to take on more paid work to meet family responsibilities. Fathers, trying to maintain ideal-worker status, spend little one-on-one time with their children (Williams, 2000). Furthermore, Hartmann (2004) defines husband career spillover as the penalty imposed on working women. A husband's job is considered more important than a wife's, and creates more pressure on her to handle the home front. Stone and Lovejoy (2004) found men's jobs take precedence over women's as more important, and are often judged that way because they are more financially lucrative. Salary and job prominence is another penalty women take in the current structure of work. Women most often are paid less than men, even when they work in male-dominated jobs (Stone and Lovejoy, 2004; Wax, 2004; Williams, 2000). Furthermore, women are often steered into jobs and careers that are predominantly held by women. As will be explained in detail later, these velvet ghetto jobs are considered second-tier both financially and professionally.

The ideal worker structure penalizes any worker who does not perform as ideal. Even when women do not reject work for family, in this male-as-norm culture, women can never be ideal. As Lafky (1993) suggests, women face two forms of discrimination when they step into the workforce: market discrimination (as their lives do not suit that of the ideal worker) and societal discrimination (as they are expected to maintain their place in society in the home as caregivers).

Not so Ideal

Interestingly, researchers have learned that the traditional ideal worker is an inefficient structure. Perlow's (1997) study of engineers in a computer company is an excellent illustration of the inefficiency of the model so stubbornly held as ideal. She identifies efficient redesigns and then applies them in an experiment with the employees. Perlow uncovers a pattern of advancement and reward based on an employee's presence, or face-time, but "being present had little to do with performance or substantive output" (p. 39). Face-time is simply a traditional measure of the ideal worker, and a poor measure of quality (Friedman and Greenhaus, 2000; Hewlett, 2007; Perlow, 1997; President's Council, 2000). Perhaps, the most pervasive problem is face-time's perpetuation of discrimination against workers who have to meet family obligations. Quality aside, they simply are not there as much (Bailyn, 2006; Barnett, 1998; Friedman and Greenhaus, 2000; Moen and Roehling, 2005; Williams, 2000). Ironically, research has proven in family friendly organizations people work smarter so they are more efficient (Friedman and Greenhaus, 2000); however, Perlow found even after experiencing increases in efficiency and productivity, the employees in her study returned to their traditional face-time working model at the end of the experiment, which points to the stubbornly strong beliefs that normative is traditional ideal worker.

What's more, the continuously employed, life-long ideal worker is no longer efficient for industry. As Moen and Roehling (2005) state, "working hard and putting in long hours- no longer guarantee success or even job security. (p. 188)" This trend is evident in television news, where staffs have declined and work has been added in the form of additional news time and convergent media formats (State of the Media, 2008). On the other hand, the evolution of the 24-hour news cycle has extended the ideal availability to around the clock (vanZoonen, 1994), and the technological changes brought on by the internet have intensified work demands in

television newsrooms (Rosentiel et al., 2007). Those changes have impacted workers (Smith, Tanner & Duhe, 2007), but the ideal worker seems to still be hanging around the newsroom.

Ideal worker in media industries

Research of mass media industries suggests traditional male worker norms are pervasive (Dyer, 1993; Gallagher, 2004; McQuail, 2005; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; Media Report to Women, 2002a). A United Nations status report on women in mass media pointed to the institutional and structural practices that are discriminatory to women in global media companies (Gill, 2003). Rush (2004) points to the challenges of changing the situation for women, arguing that little has changed for women in the last 30 years because men who still run the mass media have not rejected the male model, and women are still not in positions of leadership. Men have almost total control of media industries. Byerly (2004) found of the six major media conglomerates, women only held 14 of the top positions. Television, where only 26% of news directors (Bulkeley, 2004; Papper, 2006) and 16% of general managers are women, is no exception (Papper, 2006).

Glass ceiling

This absence of women in leadership positions has been coined the glass ceiling, and is where much of the research about women in journalism industries has focused. The term glass ceiling has been around since the 1980s with its earliest citation traced to an article in *Adweek* magazine in 1984 (Falk and Grizzard, 2005). The term generally refers to the barriers that impede advancement in an organization by minorities and women (U.S. Department of Labor, 1991). Cotter, Hermsen, Ovadia and Vanneman (2001) report even more disturbing findings to

women in that the discriminatory practices of the glass ceiling are so gender-biased that they are distinct and punitive to women above and beyond discrimination felt by minorities.

Over the years, headlines have touted the gains women in mass communication have made in breaking through the glass ceiling (Farrell, 2000; Mifflin, 1998; Stone, 1997; Thompson, 1998; Whitney, 2002), though when studied in media and telecommunications organizations, it appears that the glass ceiling is firmly in place (Falk and Grizzard, 2003; Falk and Grizzard, 2005; Slass, 2001; Tepavcevic, Ness & Slass, 2002). A succession of studies by the Annenberg Public Policy Center found women continue to be underrepresented in the highest levels of communications businesses (Falk & Grizzard, 2003; Falk & Grizzard, 2005; Slass, 2001; Tepavcevic, Ness & Slass, 2002). Wrigley (2002) suggests that the glass ceiling is such a powerful and implicit force to public relations professionals that they do not recognize its existence. She suggests female practitioners blame themselves for lack of advancement and may eventually leave the industry. Rush, Oukrop and Sarakakis (2005) hypothesize mass communications and journalism industries perpetuate the R³ or the Ratio of Recurrent and Reinforced Residuum. R³ hypothesizes that women get one third of what men get in the industry (whether it be power, money or head count), and they point to data showing R³ has held up for 30 years. A government study of women in communications fields seems to support this hypothesis where salaries are concerned. It found in 2000 a female manager earned 73 cents for every dollar her male counterpart made (Media Report, 2002b). The glass ceiling's powerful organizing force seems to reinforce the male as norm standard in mass communication industries.

Leaving phenomena: leaky pipeline, opting out, maternal wall and mommy track

Given the male privileging forces in the workplace like the glass ceiling, it does not seem surprising that some women abandon the traditional workplace even before they begin to bump up against the glass ceiling. This loss of experienced women before mid-career has been called the leaky pipeline. It is explained as the influences of an organizational structure, perceived or inherently, so prohibitive to women's family responsibilities and/or opportunities for advancement that women leave their organizations and head for home or more accommodating careers (Jackson, 2001; Jawahar and Hemmasi, 2006; Media Report, 2002; Michie and Nelson, 2006).

Caregiving in the ideal worker environment is taken as a sign of less commitment, but the role of parent is a liability only to women; it is often called the motherhood penalty or maternal wall (Barnett and Rivers, 2004; Friedman and Greenhaus, 2000; Kelly, 2006; Moen and Roehling, 2005). The pay gap between women who are mothers and non-mothers became larger than the one between men and women in the 1980s (Drago, 2007). Williams (2000) notes that fathers earn more than men without children while mothers earn less than women without children. Burke (1997) found families are damaging to women's careers, but not to men's. Fatherhood benefits men's careers, and women face more roadblocks to careers because of cultural expectations (Friedman and Greenhaus, 2000; Moen and Roehling, 2005).

Researchers also cite women who choose to dedicate time to caregiving that was previously spent on employment often find themselves mommy tracked in their careers. Mommy track was a phrase commandeered by conservatives in the 1980s suggesting that women do have a natural proclivity to nurture; however, it was originally proposed by a social researcher as a call for policy change where women who wanted to take time away from the workplace for a time could do so without long-term career penalty (Jacobsen, 2004; Marecek, 2003; Noonan and

Corcoran, 2004; Wax, 2004). Ironically, now the term connotes a practice that does exactly that. Women work reduced hours for disproportionately reduced pay and for no opportunities for advancement. Again, in current marketplace structure, these are not considered ideal jobs.

These less-than-ideal career paths have been explained away by women's choice. As a matter of fact, mainstream media have celebrated highly educated career women who have left the workforce altogether calling their actions "The Opt Out Revolution." Scholars reject that assertion, noting that opting-out is presented as a perfect outcome that accounts for none of the long-term and disastrous career consequences (Bailyn, 2006; Barnett and Rivers, 2004; Drago, 2007; Garey, 1999; Graff, 2007; Vavrus, 2000, 2007; Williams, 2000). Also, the choice option does not make sense considering the findings from Scarr, Phillips and McCartney (1989) that most women choose to work even if they do not need to work to support the family. Furthermore, Stone and Lovejoy (2004) found women's decisions to leave the workforce were influenced by the gendered realities they faced, not by a desire to assume traditional gender roles. Those realities are deeply ingrained in the work environment and in the home (Noonan and Corcoran, 2004; Williams, 2000).

Finding leaky pipelines, maternal walls, mommy tracks and opting out in TV News

There is limited gender research focused in local television newsrooms, but feminist scholars have studied the gendered nature of journalistic culture mostly in newspapers, where television news derives much of its practice. These scholars posit that journalistic organizations have reflected and perpetuated society's notion of male as normal and masculine as optimal in the production of work. Frohlich (2005) recognizes the gendered culture in her explanation of her friendliness trap theory. It posits that women are drawn to the communication professions like journalism because of their belief that the feminine gender commands superior

communication skills; however, they come into conflict with the male-biased journalism culture that does not value feminine-perceived communications behaviors. Determining career choices in that way, women unwittingly succumb to gender construction. As Ross (2001) suggests, women unknowingly abide by the culture of professionalism, which is ideologically really male-norm culture.

Professionalism. The professionalization of news work is derived in part from the economic efficiency in standardizing journalistic work processes or creating work routines. Objectivity has been relegated as the gold standard of good journalism, but the rational, unemotional attributes associated with objectivity have been ascribed to masculine values (van Zoonen, 1994). Objectivity as a standard in news production did not emerge as the natural normative state of good journalistic practice, but evolved out of the pragmatic need to standardize content for sharing across the nation via the telegraph (Knowlton & Parsons, 1995). Objectivity perpetuates the standardization process because this is the aim of all workers, and becomes the mark of the professional journalist (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Thus, the professional standard is masculine constructed. Also a professional is a worker, as Tuchman (1978) describes, who is able to get the story efficiently. Efficiency in news gathering requires a process that Tuchman coined the *news net*. The impacts to the product, news content, are significant. In Tuchman's assessment, only certain information becomes newsworthy because information must fit within frames that adhere to the structure of news. In this process, producing news becomes a routine (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; Tuchman, 1976). Melin-Higgins (2004) suggests these routines, like morning story meetings, become rituals to reify newsroom hierarchies.

Television news is an extremely routinized process (Berkowitz, 1993; Tuchman, 1978). The highly technological workings of television have prompted the need for routines (Shoemaker, 1996). In a high-turnover industry with expertise in technology a must, a standard operating procedure is imperative to getting the job done. Bantz, McCorkle & Baade (1980) suggested television newsrooms are like “news factories”. Furthermore Breed’s social control model suggests that workers are socialized into the newsroom procedures that pressure them to adapt to the standardized processes that, as stated above, are really male ideology (van Zoonen, 1994). Breed’s 1955 study of newspaper workers theorized that all workers would eventually adopt their organization’s philosophy through orientation and training into the newsroom culture (McQuail, 2005; Reese & Ballinger, 2001).

Furthermore, Tuchman’s (1978) professionalization process and routines seem to exhibit characteristics of the ideal worker norm, demanding a constantly available laborer. The news worker gets the story, and the practice influenced by the patriarchal ideal worker means getting the story whenever and wherever necessary.

These male-norm expectations are particularly punitive to caregivers. Feminist scholarship goes so far as to suggest female workers who act outside the norm are shunned from newsroom culture (Hardin and Shain, 2005). The long hours and pub culture are cited repeatedly in discussions of newsroom practice and culture (Hardin and Shain, 2005; Phalen, 2000; Ross, 2001; Ross, 2004; van Zoonen, 1994). The sports editors Reinardy (2007) interviewed frequently said the long hours on the job created conflict with family life and responsibilities. “Family continues to play a secondary role to the job” (p. 115), yet these workers accepted the practice of long hours. As suggested by professional socialization theories, it seems the long hours practice is so engrained that workers consider it the natural way of doing good work.

This “old boys’ network” provides no support for working mothers, and now, in many cases, working fathers (Ross, 2004; vanZoonen, 1994). For example, British female newspaper journalists in Ross’s (2001) study noted the male-ordered environment presented challenges to women’s careers including in balancing family responsibilities in the midst of the long hours culture. Lafky (2003) reports on an accumulation of studies of female newspaper journalists who say a continuing career challenge is balancing work and family. Everbach and Flournoy (2007) studied women who had left their newspaper journalism careers. They cited an inflexible male privileging culture that perpetuated the subordinating positioning of women which included a disregard for accommodating women’s needs to meet family responsibilities. Another study surveyed women who had left a newspaper job in the last five years, and found the women felt overworked, saw little advancement opportunities and had a desire for more personal time (Willard, 2007).

Engstrom and Ferri (1998) studied women TV news anchors’ perceptions of barriers in their careers. They discovered that women are no longer concerned about barriers to entry, but are now finding challenges staying in their careers as they struggle to balance work and family. The women, whose jobs require them to appear on camera, also noted the emphasis on their physical appearance as career barriers, a barrier they believe men do not face. The participants also cited a lack of networking opportunities for women, and barriers to advancement for working mothers.

Hardin and Shain’s (2005) study of women in sports media careers found the pervasive male culture created challenges for women trying to balance family with careers. They note most women work in the business for ten years, and do not become managers. In another study, the

researchers' found women in sports journalism are constantly struggling between their gender identities and the male-dominating environment of their sports careers (Hardin & Shain, 2006).

Two studies have addressed the work/family issue in television news, each by studying women in management positions in newsrooms. Burks and Stone's (1993) study of male and female news directors found women felt family obligations had hampered their career advancement, and were more likely to say family obligations influenced their career decisions, even though the men were more likely to have families. In her study of women in broadcast television management, Phalen (2001) found that the women she interviewed perceived organizational structures that are unfriendly to women, and when faced with a conflict between work and home, felt that the culture necessitated giving in to work. Considering Calvert and Ramsey's (1992) assertion that women view their lives as more integrated than men, it is no wonder the women feel conflicted when one part of their lives is pitted against another.

Human capital theory or constructed gender bias. Research suggests the workplace rejection of the realities of work/family is just one of the conflicts present for women who work within the male-as-norm work structure. Frohlich (2005) posits even when women do not have family responsibilities, they are penalized. As Armstrong, Wood and Nelson (2006) discovered in their study of broadcast news professionals "experience is not paying off for women" (p. 90), although they do contend that the situation is better in local news than national, which is explained as a reduction in the preference of males in some local markets. Coventry's (2004) study of television sports broadcasters found that women and minorities remained relegated to marginal positions. She explains the marginalization using social closure theory, which suggests people in positions of privilege work to maintain the status quo. She rejects the frequently cited human capital theory that posits women simply have less invested in careers (i.e. experience and

education) because they are more family oriented. Human capital theory posits that each individual has the opportunity to develop careers, and it is the difference in investment in careers that makes the difference in opportunities (Toth & Cline, 2007). If workers invest in education and work experience, they have greater human capital and greater opportunities.

Williams (2000) challenges human capital logic, too, pointing to evidence that workplaces are structured to privilege men, who assume less of the family obligations; “nearly half the gender gap at age thirty is due to women’s family status” (p. 15). Valian’s (1999) findings concur; “even when human capital is equal, women advance more slowly than men” (p. 190). In fact, journalism school statistics suggest human capital has little relevance to women’s struggles in the industry. Women make up 64% of journalism and communications undergraduates, but are only a third of the industry workforce. That is 13% less than women’s representation in the overall U.S. workforce (Jurkowitz, 2003; Weaver et al., 2007). As Smith, Fredin and Nardone (1993) note, human capital theory does not recognize the impact of social structures in promoting the subordinated position of women in the workforce. In their study of sex discrimination in local television news they found women are paid less than men as they gain experience, and they found that women’s morale decreases with experience. Lafky (1993) also found women continue to make lower wages than men.

In public relations jobs, a human capital perspective has been used to explain what has been coined the velvet ghetto, that posited women were attracted to lower paying and lower status public relations jobs (i.e. “mommy tracked” positions) because they preferred the technical aspects of the work as opposed to more managerial business positions. By some estimates the income penalty was as much as \$1.5 million for a life’s work (Creedon, 2004). Creedon (2004) challenged that explanation, noting the male-privileging system articulated in the

manager/technician dualism. The feminist perspective exposed the gendered nature of ideal work as managerial (Cline & Toth, 1993).

Public relations

This discussion of gender issues in public relations does not imply that television news workers and public relations professionals do the same kind of work. The two fields' practitioners work in different ways, and it might be argued that they work in opposition. But the two professions share some commonalities, and often rely on one another to do their jobs. Creedon (1991) has compared the technician role of a public relations professional to that of a journalist. They seem to share a common mass communications industry work culture. Since this common culture has been extensively studied in public relations, it can be of use in researching the gendered structure of television news work. Furthermore, unlike local television news and other journalism industries, there is a large concentration of women from which to draw for studying gender issues.

Two decades ago scholars began to study PR out of concern that the industry, of which women had become the majority of workers, had become feminized – a derogatory term describing a devaluing in status and pay (Aldoory, 2005; Aldoory and Toth, 2002, 2004; Creedon, 1991; Toth & Cline, 2007). Many scholars had maintained that women taking the majority position would improve their status, though researchers found substantial gender disparity (Cline & Toth, 1993). Almost 70% of the workers are women (Aldoory, 2005), but only 36% are managers and men's salaries are 45% higher than women's (Aldoory and Toth, 2002; Toth & Cline, 2007). These numbers have remained consistent for nearly two decades as Cline and Toth (1993) reported similar findings from a 1986 study.

In their 2002 study, Aldoory and Toth contend the early literature provided valuable descriptive data, but did not explain why gender disparity persists in this industry. Their 2002 study supports previous findings and seeks to explain the differences, which they posit are determined by gender role expectations that label women with a limited number of attributes. Furthermore, the gender role expectations are interplayed with the structural requirements of the organization, which collectively perpetuate male-as-norm culture in the industry. Frohlich (2007) has noted such a label in the PR bunnies stereotype given by female German public relations workers she studied. The PR bunny is reduced to sexist attributes, but is derived Frohlich (2007) asserts from the assumption that women are the good communicator gender and are better than men at PR; however, in the gender biased organization, those traits are devalued and women are then caught in the friendliness trap. Creedon (2004) notes trade publications have used the labels PR chicks or PR Barbies. Wrigley (2005) discovered the queen bee stereotype which works to pit women in PR leadership roles against other women in the organization because cultural norms expect women to exhibit feminine leadership styles, while they perceive that the organization demands masculine leadership traits. According to organizational theory, organizations behave to create culture, but also reify societal norms in what Wrigley (2005) calls “cycles and feedback loops” (p. 8). Although they did not call them cycles and feedback loops, Aldoory and Toth (2004) noted the pattern when they studied leadership styles in public relations. They found, that although the leadership style most closely associated with feminine characteristics was preferred by workers in public relations, the workers’ assessments of effective leadership were influenced by gender stereotypes which worked to constrain women leaders.

Aldoory and Toth (2002) suggest one outcome of limiting women to specific traits has been the raising of value of men, whose gender traits are missed and are seen as valuable. They assert the effect has been to give men priority in recruitment and retention, which has led to ignoring women, and because women have been socialized not to be aggressive, they do not make demands for change. They simply opt-out. Perhaps, with the concentration of young women coming into television (Weaver et al., 2007), the same thing is happening. There is anecdotal evidence to suggest that industry professionals perceive that men are being favored. In a panel discussion, the “The Feminization of Broadcasting: Good News or Bad News”, conducted at the annual Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication meeting in the summer of 2007 one panelist, a station manager in a top ten market, suggested that male news talent is more desirable because there are fewer men to choose from (*The Feminization of*, 2007).

Creedon (2004) suggests gender relations theory may help explain this interconnection of factors influencing continued disparity for women in public relations. In this framework, gender is seen as a societal system used to promote discrimination. The male-as-norm ideal worker model can be viewed as a societal system because it is constituted and played out at home and in the workplace.

Despite the disparities in leadership and pay, women are still the majority of workers in public relations, unlike other mass communications industry. In fact, in a pilot study I conducted of women who had left their local television news careers, of the 12 participants, seven of the women moved to other careers and four of those were careers in public relations. Researchers suggest women have found public relations more open to flexibility, which is suitable for women

with family responsibilities (Toth & Cline, 2007), unlike the 24/7 news-cycle practices found in television news work.

From velvet ghetto penalties to breadwinner penalties. The lack of flexibility constructed in the 24/7, long-hours mentality indicative of the traditional worker model penalizes all who do not adhere regardless of gender. Sometimes men, who reject the traditional work model, have an even more difficult time than women (Bailyn, 2006). The same cultural expectations that force women into caregiver roles force men into breadwinner roles. “Work success is so tied with most men’s sense of self that they feel little choice, but to try to fulfill the ideal-worker role” (Williams, 2000, p. 60). In news jobs, where salaries are considered to be on the lower end of professional occupations (Weaver et al., 2007), men who feel the pressure of cultural expectations as breadwinners may simply see no other choice, but to abandon their careers. As men develop in their careers, they are also likely taking on family responsibilities, and may internalize the cultural pressure to be better providers. The pressures are greater for men to maintain ideal worker status, and by cultural expectation should have access to a caregiver at home to take care of family responsibilities (Daly & Palkovitz, 2004). If, as studies indicate, men want to spend more time in caregiving for their children, the demands of television news work may not be conducive. As Jacobs and Kelley (2006) found, structural factors like work hours were a key determinant in a father’s involvement with his children. Snir and Harpaz (2006) explained that the tendency for men to more likely exhibit workaholic tendencies than women is related to their attitudes about gender role expectations as providers. As such, the researchers posited that social identity theory serves to reinforce these behaviors among men.

Social identity theory. Since the majority of managers in television news work are men (Bulkeley, 2004; Papper, 2006), it is possible that social identity continues to reify these

traditional work expectations among men. Also called relational demography theory or homosocial reproduction, social identity theory suggests that people will relate more closely with others who share similar cultural categories, i.e. gender, race (Bailyn, 2006; Foley, Linnehan, Greenhaus and Weer, 2006; Goodman, Fields and Blum, 2003). As Everbach (2005) posited in her ethnographic study of an all-female run newspaper, the culture created by the women managers was a much more family-friendly work environment than in male-run newspapers.

For women in the workforce, social identity theory works against them because co-workers and supervisors, who are more likely to be men, do not relate well. Perhaps this identity preference stems from subconscious notions about the proper roles of men and women. There is evidence, that in some cases, manager's cultural beliefs clash with policies, as in some managers think women with children should not work (Lewis & Lewis, 1996). Social identity theory works against men who do not follow the prescribed path of the traditional breadwinner ideal worker, of which traditional male workers can best relate.

Furthermore, the social identity explanation is consistent with literature on family-friendly policies, policies which are generally construed as less than ideal because they require a perceived divided loyalty to work (Williams, 2000), like in the ghettoized public relations field, which provides some flexibility to women. Studies indicate that supervisors are more determinant even than workplace policy in providing family-friendly support for employees, and that gender similarity between worker and supervisor plays a role (Foley et. al, 2006; Haddock, Zimmerman, Ziembra & Lyness, 2006; Thompson and Prottas, 2005). One study of supervisors found that bosses with working spouses were more supportive of employees' family issues than those married to homemakers (Williams, 2000). Wayne, Randel and Stevens (2006) found that formal policies are not as well received as informal policies and family supportive cultures, and

that managers were a key component. In a study of attitudes about flexible work arrangements, men were more likely to believe that the policy would have a negative impact on their careers than women (Almer & Single, 2004).

Though Sigal was referring to news content, his words quoted by Berkowitz (1997) seem appropriate to a discussion of investigating social identity at play in the work practices of television news: “So long as newsmen follow the same routines, espousing the same professional values and using each other as their standards of comparison, newsmaking will tend to be insular and self-reinforcing” (p. 423). For men (possibly more so than women) in television news, who do not want to abide by the traditional worker standards, perhaps they see their only option as exiting the culture.

Methodology

Interpretive inquiry

This study of experienced television news professionals who have left their careers employed procedures of interpretive qualitative inquiry, which are useful in studying employee interactions in and with organizational cultures (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). I have specifically used a technique for collecting data called respondent interviewing (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). As Lindlof and Taylor (2002) explain, the respondent interview model is useful in capturing the “interaction of an individual’s internal states (social attitudes and motives) with the outer environment” (p. 179). Since this research was specifically focused on obtaining the perceptions of former workers about the impact that the organization of news work had on their motivations to leave their careers, respondent interview techniques were appropriate. Furthermore, the population I sought to study was no longer a part of the organizational culture I was researching, so individual one-time depth interviews were most practical (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002).

The socialist feminism research mission

Socialist feminism provided the theoretical grounding for the methodological approach to the design of this study. While the research question was open to all possibilities, it was assumed that television news work is constructed with an inherent gender bias. As such, this marginalized position provided a useful vantage point from which to study newsroom work practices (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). The socialist feminist perspective provided the more specific framework for studying the interplay of the cultural impacts of gender found in the institutions of patriarchy and capitalism on newsroom workers (Steeves, 1987), which I contend provided a more complete analysis of why women and men leave their careers. For example, the

ideal worker norm, which is a feature of newsroom work, is a construct derived out of patriarchy and capitalism. Ideal worker, as an impact on news workers, could not be fully understood without consideration of both institutions of oppression. Shedding light on the systems of gendered oppression is, after all, the point of feminist research (Ramanazoglu & Holland, 2002).

The goal of this study, as is the goal of socialist feminist research (Steeves, 1987), has been to expose and change the interrelated institutions of oppression that may influence news workers to leave their jobs. Organizational scholars have called for a new approach to work design called the dual agenda approach, which considers workers' lives in the design of work (Bailyn, Fletcher & Kolb, 1997). One outcome of this research may be for news organizations to adopt the dual agenda approach and redesign work. Eliminating oppressive work designs would fulfill the goal of transformation of gendered subordination, so important to the feminist project (Ramanazoglu & Holland, 2002).

Role of the Researcher

I have approached this research from what I believe is an anomalous position, as a former television news journalist turned academic. I understand the culture and practices of a broadcast newsroom, knowledge which could take an outsider many years to acquire, and I have benefitted from extensive scholarly study of the industry. At the same time, I recognized that I must be cognizant of the biases I may have from this position. As a woman, who spent 16 years in television newsrooms, I observed little allowance for a balancing of work and family in workplace practices, and acknowledge that I approached this study with some assumptions about the impact that family responsibilities can have on women (and men) caregivers in television news careers. I recognized that my experience may be unique, and not reflective of any trends or

phenomena occurring in the industry. Throughout the study, I was mindful of my subjectivity, and strived to be accountable for the knowledge produced. I acknowledged that my interpretation situated me in a position of power, and that my interpretation was influenced by my view from the socialist feminist theoretical lens. A feminist methodology offered me a way of knowing and being (Caven, 2006) that participants did not share (Ramanazoglu & Holland, 2002). Caven (2006) suggests that feminist researchers in such a position have interpreted experiences as false consciousness on the parts of women who have expressed choice in career decisions. Where my academic interpretation, based on *a priori* theoretical knowledge, has come into conflict with the interpretations of experiences shared by my participants, I have noted the discrepancies in acknowledgement of the situatedness and power in the process of offering a ‘better’ account (Ramanazoglu & Holland, 2002). As Ramanazoglu & Holland (2002) explain, “there can never be one enduring truth about the nature of social reality that is independent of how knowledge of it is produced” (p. 57). I have not abandoned all truth claims because I believe I have offered an insightful account by framing knowledge claims in theory that was connected to experience. The socialist feminist framework is particularly useful in this regard with its historical roots in Marxism. Marxists posit that a component of subordination is the false consciousness that keeps the oppressed from recognizing their oppression (Tong, 1998).

Scholars have noted the difficulty female researchers can have in obtaining useful data from male participants (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002; Rubin & Rubin, 2005). I believe my position as a fellow former journalist served as common ground from which to develop rapport, and helped in leveling the playing field with male participants. Furthermore, though my research focused on the gendered construction of work, the line of questioning was directed at work experiences and not gender.

Finally, my prior insider position was particularly useful in obtaining access to former television news workers. Since the participants are no longer working in the industry, they are a difficult population to track. I used my ties to professionals and former professionals for gaining efficient access. Since I am a white woman, and have mostly white contacts in the industry, I narrowed my focus of study to white women and men, who were most accessible to me. Without question, there is a need to study minorities in the newsroom, and my research may offer a point of comparison for future studies of minority men and women in the newsroom.

Overview of procedures

I employed techniques from Rubin and Rubin's (2005) responsive interviewing model and McCracken's (1988) long interview design. I applied McCracken's (1988) four step process in building the design of this study by first searching relevant literature related to this line of inquiry. Then I reflected on my experiences and cultural knowledge of the topic. That *a priori* knowledge guided the construction of my interview guide. Finally, I applied McCracken's five step process for analysis. The richness of qualitative data was valuable in this research area, where previous work has not determined why women and men have left their television news careers. Media scholars have called for future research on women and family in television newsrooms (Burks and Stone, 1993; Engstrom & Ferrie, 1998; Smith, Fredin & Nardone, 1993). In part, I included men in this study for comparison and contrast. Additionally, in the feminist tradition, it is my hope that the research can be used to improve conditions for workers in the industry. I believe that the research is most useful if both women and men are considered. While it is possible that work structures are more discriminatory to women, much knowledge can be gained from learning about the experience of men, who are also leaving.

After obtaining approval from The Pennsylvania State University's Institutional Review Board, I collected data by personal or phone interview with 21 women and 11 men who have left their careers in local television newsrooms, and two women and three men who remain in television news careers. (Consent documents can be found in Appendix A.) The criterion used for defining a television news worker follows a similar criterion researchers have used for more than three decades in the American Journalist Survey: "those who have editorial responsibility for the preparation or transmission of news stories or other information" (Weaver et al., 2007, p. 3), with an exception that this research does not recognize workers in television public affairs departments as television news workers.

The interviews were conducted between December of 2007 and December of 2008. Participants were recruited by me and were former work associates, were recommended by participants, or were recommended by contacts I have within the industry. The interviews were semi-structured. I used a guide to help direct the conversation, but each participant was free to talk about issues she or he felt were pertinent and important.

Sample

I selected a purposive sample of 21 women and 11 men who left broadcast newsrooms in United States television markets within the last 10 years. Since their absence from the industry makes them a difficult group to identify, I used a snowball procedure (Schutt, 2006; Lindlof & Taylor, 2002) for recruiting participants. I began with women and men who were former work associates, and relied on them to provide names of people they know who have left the business. I contacted each of them by phone to recruit them for the study. To provide a check of responses about industry conditions, I also interviewed three men and two women who are still employed in local television news.

For breadth of comparison, all participants have varying years of experience in the industry. Additionally, they have different backgrounds journalistically, and have worked in a variety of positions in the newsroom. They worked or work in diverse markets throughout the country including all regions and market sizes. The participants held positions from news writer to news director and from editor to chief photographer. They ranged in age from 25-58.

Of the former professionals I interviewed, the women were younger when they left the business. The oldest woman I interviewed, 55, was 46 at the time of her exit. Career tenure for women peaked at 23 years. For men, career tenure averaged and peaked much higher. At 54-years-old, Jeff left the business after 35 years, but he will be surpassed this year by Ed, now only 52 who has no plans to leave his news director position. Two of the other men were 57 when they left their careers in television news.

Of the participants who've left the industry, only two women were not married at the time of their departures. One man and six of the women did not have children when they left the business, though only the man and one of the women intended to remain childless. One of the women was pregnant when she left the newsroom. Eight of the women had husbands who were also working in the same industry when they left their TV careers. None of the men was married to women who worked in the industry when they exited the profession. None of the married women was the families' sole breadwinner at the time of departure, but one was the main breadwinner. Five of the men were their families' sole breadwinners when they left the industry.

Of the five people interviewed who remain in the industry, one of the women and two of the men are married with children. The other man and woman, both 25-years-old, each expressed a desire to marry and have a family in the future. Specific demographic data for each participant is catalogued by pseudonym in Appendix B.

Site selection

When geographic proximity allowed, I met with the participants face to face. The other interviews were conducted over the phone using the Pamela recording software through Skype internet calling service. While it might have been optimal to interview all of the participants at the same site (i.e. their homes or public place), it simply was not practical. It is possible that the outcomes of the interviews may have been affected by the varied procedures for collection (i.e. phone vs private face-to-face interview), but in a pilot study where interviews were conducted both face-to-face and by phone common themes emerged among all settings.

I met with six of the participants (all women), either at their homes, at my home or in a quiet area of a convenient public location. Some of the women have primary caregiving responsibilities for their small children, so interviews were often planned around the caregiving duties, but even with careful planning the interviews were intermingled with minor interruptions for attending to children. The interruptions may have affected the flow of the interviews, but did not seem to challenge the validity of the data collected. Common themes emerged among all participants. All other interviews were conducted over the phone.

Data collection

Data was collected from each participant in a personal interview. A general outline served to guide the semi-structured interviews, and included an introductory section for obtaining biographical realities described by McCracken (1988). The general outline is constructed as prescribed by Lindlof and Taylor (2002) as an interview guide, which allowed for an informal and flexible interview protocol. The guide did not dictate the order of the interview, but served as a prompt to remind me of possible discussion topics. (The interview guide is provided in Appendix C.)

The interviews were audio recorded on a digital recorder. The recordings were copied to CD, and labeled with the participants' designated pseudonyms. The recordings were stored during data collection and analysis in a file cabinet in my locked office. (As required by IRB, at the completion of the study, I transferred my pseudonym list for storage in my dissertation advisor's locked campus office file cabinet.) At the conclusion of each interview, I prepared a post-interview summary documenting the mood of the interview, general themes, and personal thoughts and reactions. I included them in my notebook of memos for this study using the Windows software OneNote feature.

Since I used pseudonyms for each participant, and described the location of their previous employment only in terms of general market size and location, their identities should be well protected. I identified people who were named in the stories the participants told only in terms of their relation to the participant, like [HUSBAND'S NAME] or [NEWS DIRECTOR]. When there were specific details that might have made one of the participants identifiable, they were omitted from the report.

Data analysis

I analyzed the data through a process of analytic induction using procedures of constant comparison and abduction (Goetz and LeCompte, 1981). Specifically, I followed McCracken's (1988) five step analysis procedure, which seemed most appropriate since most of my data was collected in the form of long interviews. This plan moved data from the particular to the general. In the first stage, I read all transcripts, interview notes, post-interview summaries, and research journal notes looking for useful information. Next, I looked at all of the pertinent comments drawn from the data, and related them to the a priori knowledge I had attained through the literature review and my personal experience and observation. Some examples of the codes that

emerged are “*just the way it is*”, an in vivo code, which referred to the characterization participants gave for the way television news work was ordered, and *didn’t want to move* which referred to participants’ desire not to relocate for careers. Next, I read through the useful data again and began to make connections between data units looking for emerging patterns and themes. Some themes that emerged in this step were: *understanding career choice* which included the “*just the way it is code*” and housed all codes that referred to participants’ expectations for their careers in television news, and *expectations for life outside work* which included *didn’t want to move* and all other codes that referred to factors outside of newsroom work like family, decisions about lifestyle including how and where to live, priorities and changes in priorities and outside career opportunities. A complete list and meanings of themes and their codes is provided in Appendix D. In the next step, I began to analyze the themes looking critically at the patterns and themes I had identified. I looked for contradictions in my data, as well as determined which themes seemed to be most prominent. Finally, I analyzed my findings one more time with the intent of reviewing my discoveries and concluding what those findings might mean.

Recognizing Limitations and Practicing reflexivity

The initial step in ensuring validity, or more appropriately in qualitative research trustworthiness of my findings, was in giving rigorous attention to the design of the study. Design has great influence on findings of the research (Warren & Karner, 1994; Maxwell, 2005), and I continually modified the design throughout a pilot-study, and in preparation for this major study.

Also, I reflexively considered each step of the process. Ramanazoglu and Holland (2002) offer a model for guiding comprehensive reflexivity in feminist research. It requires identifying

power relations, the theories of power applicable to the research, the ethics, values and politics, which inform the research and an accountability of the process for producing knowledge. As important as the research itself, feminists stress the recognition of their standpoint to and within the research (Cirksena & Cuklanz, 1992; Ramanazoglu & Holland, 2002). This reflexivity ensures that feminists are not perpetuating taken for granted structures for which feminist research is so critical. Feminist methodological accounting ensures no presumption of one universal knowledge claim, but recognizes knowledge obtained from one specific position.

Furthermore, a useful tool was Lincoln and Guba's (Seale, 2003) criteria and procedures for ensuring trustworthiness. It included an assessment of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. Credibility was established with member-checking, which was done by taking my findings to people who remain in the business. Using them as a sort of control group, I queried them about the issues that the professionals who had left the industry explained to me. Their responses were in line with the responses give by the participants who have left the industry. While generalizability was not the goal of this work, I strived for transferability to ensure that the research had some applicability to real world cases. I believe the diversity of the participants I used, ensured the transferability in this study. I interviewed married and single women and men, women and men with and without children, and women and men who were in varied positions within newsrooms. As well, they had professional experience in various sizes of television markets. Dependability was checked by going back to the literature to ensure consistency. Also, using the critical self-evaluation of how the research was carried out through practices of reflexivity established confirmability. Again, attention to rigorous design and reflexivity ensured confirmability of findings in this study. The process for obtaining the participants, and the procedures for interviewing were well-documented and carried out

methodically, as indicated in the “overview of procedures” section. I maintained a research journal, and reflected on the processes and my interactions from the conceptualization through the completion of this major study. While Maxwell (2005) suggests validity is tested in the conclusion of the project, he notes attention to these strategies for verifying findings should be spelled out at the commencement of the research, and used throughout. The reflexivity process provided the documentation of these continuous validity checks.

Finally, I made every effort to rely on the data to tell me the findings, and for my interpretation to be a process of reading the individual data elements, and pulling them together into a coherent story. To the best of my ability, I provided analysis, which was found in the data, and therefore maintained confirmable findings.

Quasi-statistics for ensuring reliability

In any qualitative study, recognizing and accounting for researcher bias is an important step in ensuring reliable findings. It has not been my goal to eliminate my subjectivity. One of the benefits of qualitative research design is the use of the researcher’s perspective and experience in analyzing data (Maxwell, 2005). On the other hand, I have tried to maintain the highest integrity of findings by employing procedures for reflexivity in every step of the study, from initial design through final analysis. As an experiment in ensuring reliability of findings, I have conducted one more procedure for checking the effects of researcher bias. I conducted every step of this additional procedure after I had completed the analysis and write-up of my findings.

This experimental procedure may best be described as the quasi-statistical findings of this study (Maxwell, 2005). The term has been used to describe numerical results that can be found

in qualitative data. These results can contribute to reliability of findings by assessing the frequency in which a particular analytic conclusion occurs in the data. It can support claims of trends or phenomena found in the data by indicating in numeric results how many participants noted the claim.

In an effort to distance this procedure from any bias that might have been inadvertently applied to my coding, all 37 of the participant interview transcripts were recoded after my final analysis. I used my original list of codes, which I established using the first step of the McCracken (1988) five step process. The data was recoded into the Ethnograph computer program by me and a coder who was trained by me. Intercoder agreement was high; using Cohen's Kappa Statistic, intercoder agreement was .92 (Bakeman & Gottman, 1986; Landis & Koch, 1977).

I then used the Ethnograph program to tabulate frequencies of general themes. As Becker (1958) concluded, these quasi-statistics can help the researcher see the evidence for supporting a claim in a numerical way. Although qualitative inquiry reports in themes and patterns, the occurrence of findings can be supported by assessing the frequencies of these themes. In this procedure I tested for the frequencies of general themes and some of the specific codes in each of the four groups I studied. The results of this procedure are discussed in the final chapter of this study, which follows the discussion of my analysis.

Findings

Participant interviews suggest careers in broadcast journalism are highly competitive, and require years of dedication and sacrifice to achieve success. As Jim surmised, “your career in TV news can come to an end in like three seconds if somebody doesn’t like the way you part your hair. So, you know, you’ve got to give it your all.” As such, it is logical to conclude that it would take a dramatic shift in perspective to prompt a professional to leave his or her career.

While no generalizations can be derived from the data in this study, some general themes did emerge. Participants began their careers with like convictions and expectations. When they added family obligations, women’s and men’s responses diverged resulting in distinct impacts to careers. Family responsibilities and obligations contributed to female and male participants’ exit decisions, but more significantly for women. Male participants joined their newsroom sisters in walking away from their careers most often when they became disillusioned with the way their work or the industry was progressing. For participants, one or both of these factors seemed to lead to a change in personal perspective. This new perspective left professionals feeling their chosen field was no longer worthy of their time and efforts, and/or compatible with their priorities.

Understanding career choice

To better understand why personal factors or the belief that changes in the way the industry was progressing were crucial to exit decisions, it is first necessary to understand participants’ career plans and expectations when they commenced. These early expectations provide a contrast to participants’ perceptions at the termination of their television news careers.

Participants in this study may best be described as resolute in their aspirations for and expectations of a career in television news. Participants often mentioned settling on careers in journalism and/or television well before adulthood. Their career choices were well planned and they had ample time to deliberate their choice before their careers began. Of all participants, 34-year-old Karen made her career choice earliest in life. “I knew I actually wanted to go into TV journalism since I was in second grade.” David, 39, has childhood memories of pretending to be the commentator for football games he watched on television. “You know I never wanted to be a firefighter, never wanted to be an astronaut. I wanted to run some element of television.” Most often, though, participants began planning for a career in television and/or news in high school or college. Only Nicole and Crissy did not make journalism their first choice. Nicole, 35-years-old, noted that a career in television journalism was a fallback after she flunked out of nursing school. Crissy, who was 42-years-old when she participated in this study, was an education major through her sophomore year in college and turned to journalism when she discovered she did not like teaching during an education practicum.

With their early focus, these career-minded people seemed drawn to the notion of the virtues of journalism. Cal, a 58-year-old former news manager, describes this idealism. “We all have this, you know, Cinderella concept of what our career is going to be like....We’re going to come in and we’re going to storm the world and we’re going to change the world.” Occasionally, participants referred to Watergate as a model for journalism. They elaborated on practices of digging deep and uncovering injustice for upholding democracy. Participants often commented on the “powerful” position they believe television journalism holds in society.

The participant’s age did not appear to change this expectation of journalistic tradition. Karen, now 34 but 29-years-old when she exited the profession, spoke of her expectations for her

journalistic career in much the same way older journalists did saying, “I really thought I could make a difference.” The participants also commented that this useful and important work was enjoyable.

Traditional work practices

Participants accepted typical work conditions which often required long and irregular hours and low pay. As Mike, 32, explained, “there’s a lot of really sort of unglamorous stuff and you really have to have a love for the job to stay with it.” For some, the excitement and intensity was part of the draw. Now 39, Bill remembers having that perception at 18-years-old. “And I envisioned myself being the foreign correspondent, you know, in a foxhole with a photographer and bullets flying overhead and traveling the world.”

Some participants recounted news events in which they lived at their newsrooms for days at a time, and how fulfilling that work was. Participants perceived news as more than a job. A common response was “it’s a lifestyle.” Ellen, the 25-year-old reporter was emphatic about it. “There’s no question about it, it’s a lifestyle choice. This is not a career choice.”

Participants seemed to accept the demands of news work in their “lifestyle” comments, and often referred to work practices as the natural order of news work. The phrase “just the nature of the business” was recited repeatedly in explaining a need for a worker to meet the demand for constant availability and address the unpredictability of news. Belinda, at 54-years-old, has been out of the business for 7 years, but remembers dealing with the unpredictability as an assignment manager. “News happens. When it does, everything has to respond to the news.” Being ready for unpredictability, as Mike elaborated, gave you a chance in the competition. “You know news happens. When it happens, you know, there are three other stations that are all chasing more or less the same story and trying to get that next scoop or that next big thing.” For

the participants, being available at all times was the appropriate response for a good journalist. They understood that a dedicated professional was expected to provide undivided loyalty. Offering anything less was failing the job. Whether the nature of the business or simply industry demands, the participants were clear on the expectations. As Dawn, 40, described, the competitive environment demanded it:

And if somebody gets sick and you call up and say you can't anchor the noon news, and it's November and it's sweeps, you know, you're fired. That's just the way it goes. And then some 24-year-old is ready to come in and take your place for half the price and see you later.

Participants also often mentioned that news work is somehow best suited for younger workers. Cindy, now 33, was 30-years-old when she left the business. She attributes newsroom youth to the demands of the lifestyle. "Most of the people that worked in this business were young and single. They're very, very hungry, and they could afford to spend a lot of time..." Participants noted that they would look around the newsroom and find themselves among the oldest workers. Even Ellen, who is still in the business at 25-years-old, is already considering her television future. "I can't see myself at 50-years-old carrying a camera and a tripod and walking through the snow and ditches to cover a house fire somewhere." Once again, her comments allude to the demanding characteristics of news work.

Even if they did not like it, overall participants accepted the conditions described heretofore as the natural or unchanging culture of television news work. Although a few participants believed it did not have to be that way, they believed it would not change. For participants who had other expectations for their lives, this realization created one of the career-

ending conflicts revealed in this study. Consequently, it is at this point where women's and men's responses begin to diverge.

For women, as strong as their beliefs were about the right way to perform journalism, many of them were equally as committed to optimal performance of motherhood. The message they got from their newsrooms was that when they were performing as mothers, they were not performing well as workers. Val, 35, remembers feeling guilty when she had to care for her sick son. "I'd have to call in and somebody else had to do my job." Sandy, the oldest female participant at 55, recalls that even while she was getting the job done, her performance was challenged:

We would have conference calls at quarter of eight in the morning and everybody was expected to read the newspapers and know what had happened in the news overnight, and to be up to speed to determine editorially what stories we were going to go after. I was the only woman on that conference call, of course, and I remember when my second child was young, he cried a lot. And they would hear, the men would hear the baby crying and it was before, I didn't have a mute on my phone and they were, believe it or not, articulated their irritation with that. You know, and many, and as a result of that, you know, I would try to get the baby hushed before the call and one day I thought to myself, what am I doing? Why am I pacifying their ridiculous, chauvinistic, you know, just because they don't have to care for a child early in the morning doesn't mean it's bad for me to do that.

Sandy was a high ranking manager and could insist that newsroom routines adapt to her childcare duties, but most female participants did not command those positions.

Male participants agreed with the women that television news work demands undivided loyalty. Additionally, men noted that their careers denied them time with families; however, they did not mention that their employee performance suffered or was challenged because of conflicts between work and fatherhood.

Overall, the participants I interviewed who remain in the industry agreed with their exited colleagues about their expectations and acceptance of the performance of news work; however, one important contrast emerged. Crissy, the 42-year-old working mother, believed that she was not judged as less productive when she needed to meet motherhood demands. Furthermore, she believed that her role as a mother has enhanced her productivity at work. “I mean kids have a way of sort of humbling you and making you realize, God, there’s more to life. Don’t get so stressed...”

Change in priorities

A change in priorities was a consistent theme among women for the rationale for exiting their careers in television news, and the shift was primarily one from work to family. Val thinks the change in priority came with age. “As I kind of got into my mid-20s, I definitely started to reevaluate as far as what was important to me, and my career was still very high on my list, but family definitely trumped that.”

Women clearly understood that prioritizing family would have a lasting impact on careers. When asked if family had factored into career decisions, Carol, 53, answered, “Oh yeah, more than influenced, driven I would say since 1994, absolutely driven by my decision to have children.” The age of the women did not appear to matter in this context. The young women,

those who began careers in the business within the last few years, seemed to be impacted in the same way as those who entered the business 20 years ago.

Men gave change in priority responses, too. Some of the men cited similar answers to the women noting that, as they aged, the things that were important to them began to change. Family concerns became more prominent for many men as they grew older. Men also understood the impact reprioritizing had on television news careers, and commented on how their careers might have been different if families had not been a consideration.

On the other hand, there were differences in responses between female and male participants when they discussed shifting priorities. Men cited priority shifts less frequently. Moreover, it appears that men made these priority shifts later in the development of family. For women, they came early when they were planning for children, when children were very young or even at the time of marriage. Men were most often married for several years, and their children were older or even gone from the home. Fifty-four-year-old Jim's youngest child was a teenager when he left the business. "So I missed a good portion of my son and daughter's, you know, growing up. I wasn't home at night from the time they were born until they were, you know, in their teens."

The gender difference in response to change in priorities, though subtle, seemed to place the family as first consideration in career decisions for women. Twenty of the 21 exited female participants were mothers with children at home, or were considering starting families at the time they left. Of those women, all but one expressed that family considerations were prominent in their decisions to leave their television news careers, even when also citing another reason. Men seemed to place family in higher positions of consideration than previously, but not necessarily

first. Ten of the eleven male participants who have left their careers are fathers. Eight of the men had children young enough to be living at home at the time of their exits. Just three of the men cited the desire to spend more time with family as the primary reason for leaving.

Even if women made no conscious shift in priorities from work to family, by just adding family to women's lives, their careers seemed to be impacted. The responsibilities for family that women assumed usually altered their lives' compatibility with work. Family did not affect men in the same way. For some men, family responsibilities were not a consideration in careers at all. Jim was blunt about it. "I mean my family knows that my job is my job and I do what it takes to get it done." All but one of the fathers who have left the business had the benefit of a wife who was the primary caregiver to the children during their careers. The one male participant's wife worked full-time most of the time the couple was raising children while he was still in the business.

Of the female participants out of the business, only Sandy and Pam, 42, describe times when their husbands took on primary caregiving duties for their children. In both cases the husbands were employed. It should also be noted that Pam was a mother for only four years of her 20 in television news.

The male participants who are still in the business reported similar stories to those who have left the industry. The two fathers have had the benefit of wives who assumed primary caregiving duties. Gabe, the 25-year-old man just starting out in the industry, seems to already be preparing for the same arrangement. "Like I told my girlfriend now, I said, you know, if all goes well and we stay together I said, you know, this is one of my dreams and there may be times when I'm not home...." The contrast between the former and current employees in this

regard comes when separating by gender. Ellen has no children; however, Crissy, in her twentieth year at her station, has not experienced any problems negotiating career and family that would prompt her to leave her job. Perhaps most salient here is her description of her husband as an equal partner in caring for their two young children.

Need for flexibility

Given the finding that most male and female participants had distinct caregiving expectations throughout their careers, it is not surprising that female participants spoke at length about a desire for flexibility to accommodate families that they simply could not find in their television news careers. Participant responses indicated women want to work, and most have continued to work even after leaving television news. Furthermore, most of the female participants who do not work say they would like to work. Two of the women left their careers after employers rejected their requests for less than 40-hour-a-week schedules. Whether part-time or full-time, flexibility was a key component in the positions they selected after their television news careers.

Of the 21 female participants who have left their careers, 14 work in steady employment and 9 of those jobs are PR positions. Often these positions required less than full-time work, but they were always described as affording the flexibility the women needed for family responsibilities. This point was on 46-year-old Nancy's mind during our interview because that morning she had easily taken time away from her public relations job to take her son to the doctor:

If I had said to any of my news directors I want to, you know, I need some time off in the morning to take my son to the doctor, they would have looked at me like I had three heads.

Of the four women working who do not have public relations positions, they've stayed in media-related jobs. One woman turned to public service as an elected local government official, two women moved into television news peripheral companies, and one woman is teaching journalism at the college level. Two of those four women, the local government official and the teacher, also commented on the benefits of flexibility in their new jobs. Four of the women who called themselves stay-at-home-moms have negotiated freelance or consulting positions that fit easily with their family responsibilities.

Although flexibility was essential for the majority of female participants, they were adamant that flexibility could not be a substitute for fulfilling work. For example, they would not take flexible newsroom positions if they believed the schedule would compromise their ideas of how a good journalist should work. A few of the women were able to negotiate some flexible arrangements in their newsrooms, but they often felt the work was substandard. The lack of desirable flexible work seemed to make it even more difficult for women to stay in television news jobs.

Men talked less frequently about needing flexibility. They did talk of wanting to have more time to spend with kids and of a desire to work more regular hours, but they did not express the same specific, and day-to-day need for flexibility that women explained. They wanted to have work that allowed them to go to kids' ball games, or practices, or to be with family on holidays, but primary childcare needs were rarely an issue.

It is noteworthy that the contradictions found in the responses about inflexibility came from three women who had long career tenures. Furthermore, they each noted having the benefit of husbands who took on an equal share of the caregiving load. In one case, the participant simply negotiated her work hours around her husband's. He cared for the children on the weekends when she worked, and in this case, her position fluctuated between full-time and part-time.

Spouses' careers

Negotiating around spouses' careers was one reason women sought flexibility because their husbands' jobs were almost always given preference. Additionally, with just two exceptions, female participants reported that when needed they followed husbands' careers. Putting husbands' jobs first prompted disruptions, limits in and endings to television news careers. Jenny, 29, left her television producing job for a public relations position just before she married because her fiancé, who was also in television news, took a job in another town. "I figured it was better for me to leave the business than to leave my marriage before it ever started and I didn't want to start off in two different states..." Previously, Jenny had decided to limit her television career options to producing so that she wouldn't have to move around for a reporting career.

Frequently, women cited economic reasons for putting husbands' careers first. Female participants noted that their husbands' often made significantly more money, and that those higher paying jobs were more stable. Especially when children came along, the women noted that it made sense to alter their less lucrative careers to plug the gaps in caregiving. Karen's

husband followed her career for a short while, but of the 21 women who have left the business, only Sandy's husband followed her television news career to its end.

On the other hand, with one exception, male participants reported that their careers took precedence over their wives' careers, even when their wives made more money. Forty-seven-year-old Alan's wife was a social worker:

she has moved with me three times...and so that's been a very portable profession.

But just to give you an idea, I mean I didn't make more money than she did until I was in the business for five years I think.

Interestingly, as Alan suggests, some male participants mentioned marrying women whose vocational choices were compatible with the television news lifestyle. Some men also discussed making marital plans that included wives assuming primary parenting responsibilities. Jeff, 56, had the benefit of a wife who was a nurse, "so it was easy for her to move" and adjust hours for children, "she a lot of years worked part-time hours."

Didn't want to move

Since the women were willing to subordinate their careers to their husbands, it is not surprising that they were also willing to limit advancement for husbands and families. Furthermore, it is not surprising that the male participants responded differently. Most of the female participants rejected the advancement practice of moving from market to market when husbands and families came along. They determined it was not conducive to a personal life for them, their spouses or children, but also knew it would challenge their career success. Said 31-year-old Deb, "...really in the television news business you have to—your career does come first

and you have to be willing to move in order to climb the ladder. You have to move again and again every two years....”

Men generally agreed the vagabond lifestyle was not best for families, but described different solutions. When men described limiting career opportunities, it was usually in regards to limiting the number of moves. Jeff describes a decision to put down roots after several moves. “I decided that when we came back to CITY NAME in ’85 that I didn’t want to leave again. I wasn’t going to be running around in the business. We had children. We had more on the way.” The men did not refuse to move. They minimized moves.

The professionals who remain in the business tell similar stories. Forty-eight-year-old Tom has moved in what he calls a “tennis ball” fashion throughout his career, limiting the moves to jobs in either his or his wife’s hometown. Gabe, 25 and single, says the one thing that has made him consider leaving the business is that he wants to be near his family. Crissy is the exception. She has remained at one station for her 20-year-career and has no plans to move. Crissy is an exception in another important way. Unlike most of the women, she has had the benefit of a husband who altered his career plans to remain in the town where she worked. Considering the female participants’ responses, this benefit may be the key to Crissy’s career longevity.

Disappointed in the work

Dissatisfaction with the work played prominently in female and male participants’ decisions to leave their careers in television news. For most participants, dissatisfaction was associated with a feeling that the work had changed. They were being asked to work differently and to produce different content. Pam referred to this change as the end of an era:

...I feel like I got in on the tail end of what I would call sort of the glory days when we were really doing quality work because now I think what you're going to see is we can fill the shows by doing more with less, but that's all you're doing is filling the shows.

This change did not bode well for the idealistic careerists like Alan who perceived, "we're failing the public" because they felt the product was deteriorating. The participants commonly referred to an inferior product that did not serve the community as it once had. Consistently, participant interviews revealed this perception that the quality of journalism had deteriorated because of new or altered work practices. It should be noted there were contradictions to the belief that quality journalism existed originally. In just a few instances, participants mentioned their disenchantment in the news product throughout their careers.

Although participants occasionally acknowledged that declining economic conditions forced changes in industry practice, they still offered harsh assessment of the effects. The results for the participants were declining job satisfaction and sense of job security. The changes described were attributed to cost-cutting measures like doing more work with less people, trading experienced workers for cheaper ones, focusing on the bottom-line and corporate buyout practices that prioritized business over journalism.

Deb recalls noticing a practice that disturbed her. "And then they started adding more shows, but they definitely weren't adding personnel. They were trying to do more with less." Participants described various reasons for workers doing more. Sometimes workers needed to fill more news time. Other times, or in addition, newsroom workers needed to meet demands of new competition like the internet. Though the internet was mentioned only occasionally, participants

voiced uncertainty about its impacts. No matter the reason for increasing workloads, there was a general feeling that needing to do more with fewer resources took the emphasis off producing quality work.

Furthermore, participants believed that company buyouts exacerbated the resource shortages. Whether actual or perceived, participants noted a pattern of staff cuts following company buyouts. Consequently, even the rumor of a buyout elicited negative feelings about the company and the work environment. Not all participants personally experienced a buyout. When they did, however, they described the experience as negative for the profession and their careers. Jobs were eliminated. Quite often participants perceived that the eliminations were made with disregard for employee contributions. Deb declared that the only thing that would have kept her in her television newsroom was a change in new station ownership. In her career, in just five years, she had experienced an ownership change, which prompted a buyout of her contract. She continued on after that, but she was clearly disillusioned. "I was contemplating getting out of the business because I was frustrated with the way things were going overall, the decisions that were being made."

Not only were staff cuts a problem when companies bought out the stations, but participants believed the ownership change also signified a negative change in journalistic philosophy. Bill remembers being told by a new owner to now "report to people's fears." Often, a change in ownership was followed by a change in management that signaled to participants that employees were not valued, or that job stability was in jeopardy. For example, participants noted that the news director position often changes in a company buyout. That manager is usually the direct supervisor to newsroom workers. Participants felt that the news director was

often removed to make way for the new owner's management team with total disregard for a long tenure or good track record with employees.

In addition, the news director appeared to play a pivotal role in some workers' responses to job satisfaction. Though not mentioned frequently, a good boss appeared to mitigate perceived bad conditions. Nancy attributes her five year tenure at her last station to a great boss. "And NEW DIRECTOR'S NAME understood me because she had small children, too." A good boss seemed to also be able to influence the entire work environment, as Mike described:

There were a couple days where I had to bring my infant son with me to work and set up a playpen in the newsroom and, you know, cause a little bit of a scene, you know, and get a lot of attention. But thankfully, you know, and this is a credit to the station, and to the management there that they were understanding of that and they let that happen. I don't know how many other places would be okay with somebody, you know, sort of setting up an impromptu daycare in the work area. But, you know, they understood that I had a family. Most of the people had families who had been there for a while too. So they understood that.

Not surprisingly, a bad boss had the opposite effect. Anna, 28, says her main reason for leaving was a new "crappy" boss. She believed she would have stayed had her old boss stayed or come back. Nicole felt undervalued and did not return to her station after maternity leave. "If my boss and my station was more encouraging, um, and made it easier for me to come back."

With different levels of acceptance for the conditions, participants talked of an increasing emphasis on the bottom-line throughout their careers. Participants concluded that the focus on dollars was responsible for the decline in quality journalism, even when they acknowledged that

the practice was necessary for industry survival. Sandy noted that the environment of producing news had been reduced to “a factory.”

Participants noted what they perceived as another bottom-line practice, which challenged the quality of the news product. They often commented that they believed the industry was replacing experienced workers with younger workers. These younger workers were cheaper to retain, but lacked experience. For example, Belinda remembers asking a younger newsroom co-worker to work on a story. “When I asked someone who Alan Greenspan was and they didn’t know, that was, that was one of the times where I really said I thought it was time for me to go.” The trend was noted even among a younger participant. From her position, inside a newsroom and only 25-years-old, Ellen sees the need for experienced workers who bring sound judgment to a newsroom. “I think that sometimes that is lost.”

Still, overall Ellen finds the work satisfying and fulfilling – a sentiment she shares with the other participants who remain in the industry. Perhaps, this theme is where the greatest contrast exists between those who remain in the industry and those who have left. Those still working acknowledge that the many changes to the industry have challenged the industry, but all five believe that the work they do is still useful and interesting. For example, Ed, a 52-year-old current news director, sees the bottom-line demands as a challenge for the future; however, he believes the bottom-line principles have not threatened the quality of the product he produces.

Now not worth it

Especially for men, dissatisfaction with the work was sometimes enough to derail careers. More common, though, participants reacted by leaving their work when they faced what they perceived as an accumulation of unacceptable factors. No one single unacceptable factor was

usually enough to end a career, but the cumulative effect made the work finally seem not worth it. For example, participants frequently mentioned that their careers in television news were low paying, but they never cited salary as the primary reason for leaving their careers. On the other hand, when participants became disillusioned, money along with time and energy became important issues for participants. Participants noted feeling that the hard work had become “a grind.” Alan had a system for determining whether to stay in his television reporting career:

One of three things needs to be happening. You either need to be journalistically fulfilled, or you need to have a schedule that works for your life, or you need to be making some dough. I was zero for three, so it was time to go.

Sometimes participants even went so far as to ensure that they were not just in a bad situation, and gave the business “one more try” by taking a new position. Invariably, they abandoned their careers when problems they had perceived with the work did not improve in the new position.

It was the amalgamation of perceived deterioration of quality, poor working conditions and low pay that most often sent men out the door. Women cited the same reasons, but often added a list of personal factors contributing to incompatibility with life. Also, for the women it was often difficult to tell when one factor might have been influenced by another because they cited family concerns simultaneously with their dissatisfaction with the work. For example, Cindy said she ultimately wanted a change in career, but quickly followed with an explanation of her growing distaste for the business and of her desire to live near her fiancé.

Most often, women decided a demanding time-consuming career in television news was just not worth it when it meant sacrificing family concerns. Donna, 38, discussed how she

remembered at the end of her career after working all day begging people to interview with her for stories she didn't think were that compelling to begin with she would think, "and then in the end when I'm on my deathbed, really, what is going to be worth it for me?" The highest ranking female participant at the time of her exit, Pam, news director in a large market affiliate, returned to work after maternity leave for her second child set on continuing with her newsroom career:

I was generally not seeing them awake [her children]. Okay, so that was obviously a huge factor cause I was spending a half-hour with them in the morning and dropping them off at day care and they were generally asleep by the time I got home at night.

But even with the long hours and personal sacrifice, Pam was adamant that she had no intention of getting another job. She did not leave until what she described as a great career move, "just literally sort of popped up in my life." This career move offered her more time for family and more money. The job she loved simply was not worth the sacrifices anymore. Furthermore, she noted that her dissatisfaction with long hours was directly related to personal factors. "So if it weren't for my family, I would've probably been there a lot longer." The hours she was putting in were tough, but alone they were not enough to prompt her to leave.

The cumulative effect was often exacerbated for participants when they predicted their futures in the industry. Although not every participant discussed it, there was a sense among some that the issues that made them unhappy with the business would not improve. In fact, they often believed conditions in the industry would continue to decline. In a few cases, participants wondered whether the jobs they had loved would even exist in the future. This pessimism seemed to add to the case participants had been building for themselves for justifying why their

careers were no longer worth it. As such, it is not surprising that the participants still in the business are not so pessimistic. Although they acknowledge that the industry will change, they perceive the changes as useful in continuing the work they do. Twenty-nine-year veteran, Tom, says that is what keeps him coming back. “We can still change things. We can still shine light on a problem, and you know, really make a difference. And it sounds terribly Pollyanna and sometimes it is, but sometimes it’s all I got.”

Discussion

Results from this study suggest it was often not one, but an entanglement of factors both personal and professional that dashed or altered career plans and expectations prompting participants to exit their careers in television news. Women and men noted many similar experiences, and hearing from both women and men provided useful data for identifying differences that might be related to gender. Among the participants, there were both subtle and substantial gender differences. Even at the most rudimentary level of analysis, interesting distinctions between female and male participants were revealed. It is noteworthy that, of the participants in this study, the women were younger when they left the industry boasting shorter career tenures than the men. Even considering the possibility that this trend is the result of the sample I chose, it still reflects what has been cited in the literature. Women leave television news careers earlier than men (Bulkeley, 2004). While the findings of the participants were specific to their stories, the responses may provide some useful clues about what may be causing this exodus of all professionals, and particularly women. This exodus of women at a faster rate than men has been labeled ‘the leaky pipeline’.

Conflicts that discriminate against women

It is important to note that women, and men, in this study did not discuss gender discrimination like leaky pipeline or the glass ceiling. As a matter of fact, the women denied that their gender had challenged their careers at all. But from my socialist feminist researcher perspective, I assert that subtle gendered structures emerged as influential in the findings. Furthermore, I suggest these dangerously inconspicuous structures impacted women’s career decisions to leave their careers earlier than men. This research did not seek to find if the leaky

pipeline is at work. As the literature has shown, I expected to find it. This study sought to find what the leaks are, and I found that there are many. I also expected to find the glass ceiling; however, what my research revealed was not a discriminatory practice of keeping women from achieving the highest ranking positions as is typically glass ceiling. It noted a pattern that suggests the leaky pipeline may actually serve to prop up the glass ceiling since women wash out of the industry before they have a chance to bump up against the ceiling. The participants of this study exemplify this rationale. Of the 23 women I interviewed, 6 held management positions in their newsrooms. Of the 14 men I interviewed, 6 held management positions in their newsrooms. Career tenure likely played a significant role in the lower percentages of women in management positions. Two of the women had made it to news director, the top position in a television newsroom. Five other women were in the pipeline for news director, either one or two positions below. Four of those five women were under 35 when they left their careers. They virtually leaked out of the management pipeline. Scholars have noted similar career tenure patterns among women in sports media careers (Hardin & Shain; 2005).

While I acknowledge that my research did not set out to study glass ceiling, my findings suggest that achieving more diversity (i.e. women and women who are mothers) in high ranking positions may be one way to slow the leaks in the pipeline. Admittedly, the problem is more complicated than adding more caregivers who are usually women to leadership; however, for at least three women in this study bosses who understood their situations meant the difference in their leaving and staying. This finding is most significant when considering the literature on social identity (Bailyn, 2006; Foley, Linnehan, Greenhaus and Weer, 2006; Goodman, Fields and Blum, 2003). Social identity theory posits that people will relate more closely with others who share similar cultural categories. As has been articulated throughout this study, the cultural

differences between men and women are immense. Additionally, cultural differences are apparent between those who are caregivers and those who are not, though the caregivers are most often women. So, if fewer women are in newsrooms, especially in positions of power, then the work culture may be less accommodating to those who have caregiving responsibilities. Furthermore, I propose it is useful here to extend the definition of social identity theory to include people with similar life experiences. Now, the social identity theory includes people in categories (i.e. parents) who can relate well and promote a more supportive environment for work associates with similar life experiences. Williams' (2000) study of supervisors found that effect. Supervisors with working spouses were supportive of employee family issues more often than those whose spouses were homemakers. The problem my participants demonstrated is that there may not be enough women, or men, with similar social identities to dismantle the stubborn construction of news work, which is supported by society's gender role expectations.

Diversity in social identities among management will help in promoting more inclusive work conditions, but is not the singular solution. The challenge of restructuring long-held social and organizational norms will require fundamental change at all levels from individual worker to community level. Drago (2007) contends the most successful reorganizations incorporate democratizing processes like employee unions and community organizations. Furthermore, these processes have proven to be profitable, perhaps the most important outcome to news organizations.

And the leaks were?

It is the clash of the construction of news work and society's gender role expectations that springs the leaks in the pipeline for women. To the women I interviewed, the clash

prevented them from successfully negotiating television news careers and personal lives. Furthermore, they are barriers that the men simply do not face. Overall, the male participants had one reason for leaving their careers. They were dissatisfied with one or more components of the work. The women were dissatisfied with work, too. In addition, they were dissatisfied with their jobs because of the conflicts they found in work and personal responsibilities, and because they were expected to be primary and uncompromising providers of care.

Personal factors. Personal concerns, like family, figured prominently in participants' decisions to walk away from their careers, and most significantly for women. Fifteen of the 21 women who have left cited family concerns as a factor in leaving their newsroom jobs while only four of the 11 men noted family as a factor. The women's responses were consistent with the literature that posits women will limit work to protect family twice as often as men (Keene & Reynolds, 2005).

Looking at these results from a socialist feminist perspective may explain why family concerns impacted the women's careers more than the men's. It seems that the strong pull of women away from work, and toward personal concerns was assisted by an equally strong push of work practices that rejected women's need to respond to family concerns. Women were perpetually impacted by subtle yet oppressive patriarchal social and professional systems which work in tandem. Most often the systems were the ideal worker and the ideal caregiver. For example, women repeatedly responded to their ideal caregiver expectations by refusing to move. Performing optimally as caregiver, however, meant that they were not performing as an ideal worker. The male participants did not experience this dual and inverse effect since society does not expect ideal caregiver performance from them.

A possible explanation for Miller and Wheeler's (1992) findings that as professional women gain experience, unlike men, they were more likely to express intention to leave may be found in this study's data. These women, in most cases, had gained their newsroom experience while simultaneously starting and raising families. Living up to societal expectations, the women accepted the bulk of the caregiving load. For these women one facet of the motherhood penalty is enacted. Because women are expected to assume a larger load of family responsibilities, their careers will suffer (Barnett and Rivers, 2004; Friedman and Greenhaus, 2000; Kelly, 2006; Moen and Roehling, 2005). Conversely, men were granted the fatherhood benefit (Friedman and Greenhaus, 2000; Moen and Roehling, 2005). As Burke (1997) asserted women's careers are damaged by families, but not men's.

The motherhood penalty did not seem to subject participants to outright discrimination, but subtly and over time. As has been explained, the female participants never mentioned experiences of blatant discrimination. Like Engstrom and Ferri's (1998) study of women TV news anchors, the female participants never discussed problems getting into the industry. They also did not discuss being shunned for not participating in the well documented pub culture (Hardin and Shain, 2005; Phalen, 2000; Ross, 2001; Ross, 2004; vanZoonen, 1994), but some of the women sensed that when they had to divert their focus away from the newsroom for families they were not fulfilling their roles in the newsroom. Phalen (2001) found a similar culture that demanded work should come first in her study of women in television news. When these women felt they could not offer their undivided attention, they felt they could no longer perform optimally. This seems a further perpetuation of the ideal worker expectation.

Noonan and Corcoran (2004) found a similar pattern in law firms where it was assumed that women could not possibly do their jobs well and be mothers. Female

participants often perceived they could not keep up in the newsroom after becoming mothers. Such ideas fortify male hegemony in the newsroom, perpetuating the idea that women can never be ideal workers.

Without doubt, these participants accepted the organization of newsroom work as “the nature” of news, and overall could not envision it being organized another way. The findings suggest when the female participants could assume more ideal worker status they stayed in the industry longer. When female participants’ husbands provided equal caregiving, or if women did not have families, they had longer career tenures. In one instance a female participant was the family’s main breadwinner, and she remained in the industry for 20 years.

Who’s the breadwinner. The motherhood penalty punishes women for not adhering to ideal worker standards. It expects women to offer unending nurturance to families, like privileging husband’s careers over their own, even when children are not a consideration. After all, he is the socially accepted breadwinner. Scholars have named this phenomenon husband career spillover (Hartmann, 2004), and the participants I interviewed seemed to demonstrate its existence. It appears to have been a significant career-derailing factor for the female participants. Furthermore, the male participant responses provided acute contrasts. Female participants gave or were expected to give their spouses’ careers’ preference. Spouses of male participants gave preference to their husbands’ television news careers almost unanimously. Gender roles seemed to be working in harmony to maintain the stubbornly male culture in television news work, another demonstration of the socialist feminist perspective of the reifying effects of patriarchy within capitalism.

As has been noted in numerous studies (Stone and Lovejoy, 2004; Wax, 2004; Williams, 2000), female participants insisted that giving their husband's careers preference was an economic decision. The men made more money. Still, gender role expectations cannot be ignored. Consistently, the male participants noted that their careers came first even when they made less money than their wives. They adhered to their breadwinner role even when their loaf was smaller.

For whatever reason, since the women in this study made sacrifices to their careers more often and sooner, it can be expected that their salaries would be lower than their husbands'. If this social system remains in place, women can never catch up and women in newsrooms will forever give up their careers for their husbands' more lucrative ones.

Somebody's got to take care of the kids. Husbands' careers took precedence in numerous ways. Female participants uprooted, modified or abandoned their careers to pursue husbands' jobs and to provide caregiving for children. The male participants easily assumed their ideal worker positions in their newsrooms by having the benefit of an ideal caregiver. The female participants overwhelmingly assumed the caregiver role in their families and needed flexibility in their newsroom work. Unfortunately, the flexibility often was not available.

The expectation by both female and male participants that women assume primary caregiving responsibility reifies society's patriarchal structure. The lack of flexibility for employees reifies work structures reflecting the interplay of patriarchy and capitalism as socialist feminism suggests (Tong, 1998). Scholarship suggests news routines are male constructed with some scholars even referring to an old boys' network (Ross, 2004; vanZoonen, 1994). The results of this study support Melin-Higgins (2004) findings, which posited that news routines

reinforce newsroom hierarchies. When women could negotiate flexible work in newsrooms, it was work that was considered of lesser status like low paying part-time and free-lance positions. They are the so called mommy-track positions as scholars have noted (Jacobsen, 2004; Marecek, 2003; Noonan and Corcoran, 2004; Wax, 2004). It is more than ironic that women found most of the flexibility in public relations jobs where the feminist literature on mommy tracked or less valuable work is abundant (Creedon, 2004; Toth & Cline, 2007).

Participants' responses seemed to explicitly indicate most female participants went to great lengths to find flexibility and keep working even when it came at a price to their careers in television news. The results also challenge the assertion that women are opting out of careers, and supports the findings of numerous work/life scholars (Bailyn, 2006; Barnett and Rivers, 2004; Drago, 2007; Garey, 1999; Graff, 2007; Scarr, Phillips and McCartney's, 1989; Vavrus, 2000, 2007; Williams, 2000).

Furthermore, only half the participants, both men and women, who cited a need to put family first as their primary reason for leaving also noted some dissatisfaction with their newsroom jobs. So perhaps given some opportunities for flexibility, these experienced workers may have stayed in the newsroom. At least one study of communication industry companies found implementing policies providing for work/life balance helped retain women (*Women in Cable*, 2001).

That male participants noted their need for family flexibility in terms of making family events like children's ballgames and holidays is consistent with the literature that argues men and women have different role expectations. Men assist at home, but understand their primary family role is breadwinner (Williams, 2000). As a matter of fact, as the participants' interviews

revealed, some men plan for this situation as they seek out and settle on spouses. They remarked about seeking out spouses who could complement their career aspirations by offering subordinate careers and primary caregiving. This finding seems to support gender role socialization theory which suggests gendered preferences are developed throughout life (Coventry, 2004). Furthermore, these preferences seem to reinforce the male participants' more secure standing in newsroom work. With that expectation dominating, the motherhood penalty strikes again.

Studying the career impacts of patriarchal structures like the motherhood penalty and the ideal worker requires an analysis of not just the last career move, but decisions made throughout a career. Among the participants of this study, the women tended to make compromises for personal factors earlier and more often than men. I suggest those early and frequent sacrifices may have contributed substantially to the dissatisfaction women found in their work, which subsequently prompted them to abandon their careers. Because they moved around more often, they were subjected to continued low paying and short-tenure jobs. When female participants were established in their positions, they seemed to negotiate family and personal changes with minimal disruption to careers. To be fair, male participants modified career plans to make allowances for families, too. But as has been noted, they did so less frequently and with arguably less dramatic consequences.

When turning to the scholarship for an explanation of this phenomenon, role expansion theory may be of use. Hoff (2004) used the theory to explain why female doctors in a new specialty were satisfied with their work even though they made less than their male colleagues. According to role expansion theory, women gain psychological benefits from negotiating other roles outside of work, like family roles. The pattern Hoff (2004) found seems to be mirrored in

the ex-newsroom workers I interviewed. The female physicians Hoff (2004) studied were overwhelmingly the primary caregivers of children in the home, and most of the male physicians had the benefit of a non-working spouse to care for children. That is the same pattern found among the female and male participants in this study. Furthermore, the women physicians were just as satisfied with their work as the male physicians even though they were usually paid less than their male colleagues. It appears the exited women I interviewed, through this persistent shuffling of careers, may have used role expansion to negotiate fulfillment. While this study did not compare salaries, it did track the career negotiations of the female and male participants. Women were clearly more willing to negotiate career when they felt the societal push for them to provide caregiving. They accepted work that was less lucrative and ultimately out of their chosen fields, yet usually did not give up on the desire to work even when the job was not their first career choice. Since the work was less than they preferred, they seem to have learned to rely less heavily on work for fulfillment. Perhaps they could more easily turn outside the newsroom or other workplace and to families for deeper satisfaction. The women overwhelmingly discussed a change in life perspective brought on by starting families. Conversely, male participants have been groomed to be breadwinners. As the literature has shown, their sense of self-worth is tied up in work (Williams, 2000). There is no societal push for them to negotiate roles outside of work. The male participants' responses suggest they adhered to their breadwinning roles, helped by their caregiving spouses, and stayed in their newsroom careers longer than the women.

Professionals – that's the problem

Though men stayed longer than women, male participants reported that they left their careers when they became dissatisfied with their work. Given that men have a greater need than women to draw fulfillment from work, it is not surprising that dissatisfaction was enough for

men to exit their careers, which was not always the case for women. On the other hand, the female and male participants gave common responses to discussions on expectations of careers. These responses were indicative of what is found in the literature of professional workers and turnover. When professionals are disappointed in their work they respond by leaving. That the participants considered themselves professionals was an important finding of my research, which sought to study career exit intentions. As suggested by the literature, workers who consider themselves professionals are less likely to leave work than those who do not (Bunderson, 2001).

Participants exhibited characteristics indicative in the work literature of people who see their work as professional, an important distinction in the discussion of turnover intention (Bunderson, 2001). The participants' interviews revealed perspectives like settling on their careers early in life, and a perception of the journalistic mission. The former trait suggests a commitment level to the work beyond collecting a paycheck or a job of happenstance or convenience, and the latter that the work provided service to the community. They are both characteristics of professionals.

Dissatisfaction in the work

Participants in this study appeared to have accepted the psychological contract, which Bunderson (2001) explained is an indicator of professional commitment. Moreover, they expected their organizations to provide them the tools needed to carry out their duties to the business enterprise and the community. The participants repeatedly described situations in which they believed employers breached those obligations. These professionals considered time to produce good work a necessary resource, and constantly referred to practices that did not allow them sufficient time. Enough staff to do the work well was an obligation of the

organization to produce good journalism, and uphold the commitment to the community. Additionally, participants described other ways this perceived breach was carried out by their organizations. They perceived the companies' greater allegiance to the bottom-line meant cutting corners in good journalism by hiring younger cheaper workers. They were required to do more work when new platforms and program hours were introduced. Finally, they felt company buyouts threatened the public service mission by a change in news philosophy. According to the professional psychological contract theory (2001), just one breach was enough for workers to respond by leaving.

In contradiction to the consensus that quality has declined in the industry, two participants were adamant that they never agreed with or liked the television news philosophy. I suggest these responses do not challenge the pattern I found, but reflect the worker population in any industry. There are always employees who do not find the vocation a good fit. The two were among the shortest tenured participants, and thus appeared to quickly correct their career mismatch.

While Weaver et al. (2007) cited low pay and poor working conditions as reasons journalists offered for intentions to leave their careers, the participants in this study never cited low pay as the primary reason for leaving. The participants' responses may have been contradictory to this survey of American journalists, but is consistent with the work literature on professionals. Professionals consider turnover factors beyond an exchange of labor for wages. As a matter of fact, the participants often explained that they expected that the pay would be low from the start of their careers. As the literature suggests, if pay is less important, then job satisfaction is paramount. It seemed to be for these participants.

Given the added dimension of economic challenges to the industry, it is not surprising that many participants felt dissatisfied with their careers. They repeatedly cited stories of being reminded of the tough economic straits of their companies, especially by the constant turnover in ownership. I propose that participants may have internalized repeated company turnover as a sign of the devaluing of their work.

Biz Burnout

Only half of the participants attributed dissatisfaction with their work as a factor in their decisions to leave their jobs. Furthermore, only a handful of participants credit dissatisfaction as their primary reason for abandoning their careers in television news. What was a more constant theme among participants was descriptions of conditions like work intensification, work overload and work exhaustion. These situations are cited in the scholarship of work as conditions for burnout which leads to turnover. Occasionally, participants descriptively reduced their day's efforts in the newsroom to a "grind." Participants spoke of pressures to compete with new technologies like the internet that created experiences similar to Burcheille, Bartram & Thanacoody's findings (2008) on work intensification. The newsroom professionals were asked to do more work, for example, by writing for the internet and had to learn new skills for the new platform, as was exhibited by workers in studies of the newspaper industry (Cook & Banks, 1993; Cook, Banks & Turner, 1993). In many cases, these participants had already been experiencing work overload and work exhaustion (Cook, Banks & Turner, 1993; Moore, 2000). To close the gap on shrinking revenues their organizations often reduced staff and simultaneously increased content. Moore (2000) found lack of resources alone is enough for professional workers to experience work exhaustion; however, given that creating news is a team effort, perhaps an additional condition exacerbated work exhaustion for participants. They also

complained that their organizations were trading experienced workers for younger and cheaper ones. In this case, not only were workers being asked to do more work per employee, but the experienced workers may have felt they were forced to support a greater share of the already overbearing load.

Personal accomplishment (Reinardy, 2006), as in finding satisfaction in work, has been found to mitigate the effects of burnout and keep employees from quitting. The participants of this study suggest, though, that there may be a limit to this mitigating factor. Participants who have left their careers consistently expressed experiencing conditions of burnout, even when only half of them cited dissatisfaction with the work as a reason for quitting. It appears even satisfying work was not enough to hold these workers. Expecting employees to stick with it because they are dedicated to the cause of journalism or because they like television news may not be enough to keep experienced employees anymore. It may be possible that the pendulum has swung too far. When these participants weighed their sense of accomplishment against the mounting conditions prompting burnout, there simply was not enough personal accomplishment to justify staying. There was evidence that participants believed the work they loved simply was not worth all the sacrifices anymore. It may be a signal to media companies that they cannot rely on a lap dog employee pool or dedication to the cause anymore, especially where the experienced worker is concerned. As has been discussed, the experienced worker is the key to improving the product, which has been shown to be essential to economic viability (Rosentiel, 2007). Other industries appear to be luring people away, and in many cases these long-tenured employees will be costly to replace. This study suggests that the public relations industry has discovered this rich employee resource pool. Eleven of the 32 participants who left their television news careers moved directly into public relations positions.

I had posited that perhaps older journalists would be more likely to express feelings of lower personal accomplishment because they had witnessed the dramatic change in television news through the 1980s and 1990s; however, participant responses suggested age did not play a role. The older and more veteran participants did speak of the “glory days” when money for newsgathering poured freely into the newsroom, but their younger counterparts described similar feelings of being forced to sacrifice quality. One possible explanation, reflected in their responses, is that the youngest of the participants entered their careers with an idealistic view of journalistic work that has been perpetuated in popular culture in the valorization of Watergate. What would be prudent for the industry to consider on this point is that the next labor pool may be harder to hook. The next generation of adults seems less enamored with television news. Watergate occurred before this group was even born. Anecdotally, from my perspective as a teacher of college journalism and mass communication students, it has been my observation that this generation has virtually ignored television news as a source of information. These young people prefer the internet and its new forms of journalism like blogging. When they have turned on the tube for a dose of news, it has been to find out which newsmaker is the latest satire victim of John Stewart or Stephen Colbert.

Implications

The findings of this study illustrate that participants who left their careers perceived the newsroom as an inhospitable place for workers who also wanted to be caregivers. Furthermore, quite often those people left the newsroom with significant and valuable experience. They were hired into other industries often with higher wages and prominent positions. Perhaps this study can serve as a wake-up call to an industry that has become so fixated on the bottom-line it cannot see the long-term impacts.

The television news industry is in crisis there is no doubt. News of employee layoffs is frequent. The industry may best be served, though, by stopping and reconsidering this course of action. Ed is experiencing the challenges from his news director position, “so you’ve got to be willing to put aside sort of your old thinking and try to come up with some new ways to address those issues.” Applying a Corporate Social Performance model should be considered (Jawahar & McLaughlin, 2001). On a very small scale, perhaps Ed’s efforts at setting aside the “old thinking” demonstrate the use of CSP. He explained his plans for offering more content to his consumers without further taxing the workload of his employees, and without adding the expense of additional personnel:

We’re having some conversations locally in the market here about pooling some resources. We did on election day. We may on a day-to-day basis in a way to allow us to generate more content and focus on the things we want to focus on. You know, is it really necessary to have four different cameras at the major press conference when my putting one camera there and pooling that material allows us to go, you know, cover some other things that may be more unique and valuable to our audience without sort of giving up the initial franchise of knowing what’s going on in our community?

His solution provides positive outcomes to three of his stakeholders directly. He helps his employees, his company and his community, and also brings hope that the stockholder will be satisfied with the company’s economic prosperity.

As illustrated, these solutions do not have to be brilliant ideas. They do not even have to be original, as is the case of pooling resources. Pooling is a practice that has been used in television news for decades. The difference is its purpose.

Capitalize on new technologies

I propose that keeping experienced employees will be an essential component of the industry's survival. Research has proven viewers respond positively to substantive journalism (Pertilla & Belt, 2002; Rosentiel et al., 2007), the kind produced by seasoned veterans (Daniels & Hollifield, 2002; Rosentiel et al., 2007). Studies have shown television journalists have a learning curve, and that they are mentored by fellow journalists (McQuail, 2005; Reese & Ballinger, 2001). Participant interviews support that claim. Without question, young and energetic workers are important. As the participants suggested, the work requires energy they believe is best suited for young people. Moreover, the industry must change to survive. The trained-to-watch-at-six viewer is being lured away by the convenience of the Internet and digital platforms. Furthermore, the newest generations of potential viewers have different preferences. Young employees can bring new ideas about how television news can capitalize on the new technologies, but veteran employees armed with their wealth of experience and institutional knowledge will be vital to ensuring the industry transitions smoothly while maintaining the original purpose of television news. Providing a service to the community, I propose, is the key to distinguishing an organization in the new market of unlimited availability of information.

The digital transition may provide the perfect opportunity for newsrooms to rethink the way they operate and provide information. I suggest a mass of diverse veteran employees will be needed to steer the future course. The up-front investment for the transition was costly, and

arguably is a factor in the economic hardships some organizations face today. On the other hand, visionary thinking about the way this new technology can be used would justify the costs.

Multicasting may finally be a weapon to fight off the erosion of viewers, who have been lured to the specialized interests of Internet information. This narrowcasting option for local television news outlets can offer viewers specialized content on television, like the web offers.

Experienced employees, young employees, men, women, caregivers, single and married people and people of different races, ethnicities and characteristics, which contribute to narrowly focused interests, will best staff this new design. Furthermore, these employees may be utilized optimally in a less-traditional work design. In this mode, content will be changed when necessary not to meet a constructed six p.m. deadline. For example, a specialized content channel that addresses local politics would only need attention from employees when political issues are newsworthy like after city council meetings or during local elections. In this scenario remanufacturing the same information for the sake of the six p.m. newscast is no longer necessary or desired. It will be important; however, to resist falling into old work practices that have not improved the quality of the content or the lives of employees.

Look around for help

Human resource managers and company owners should look outside the newsroom to other industries for ideas for providing flexibility for employees, especially for women. For example, the IT industry, faced with a shortage of experienced workers, has been maintaining its female ranks with innovative programs for several years.

As the participant interviews revealed, societal gender role expectations are stubborn and pervasive even in the workplace. These roles leave working women shouldering more than their

fair share of caregiving. Since women want and often have to work, social policies designed to promote better child care may also provide some relief to the career-debilitating flexibility issue for women. I hope this study reminds policy makers of the need to rethink social and work policies in this country, policies which could help all kinds of caregivers not just parents. For example, the “sandwich generation” is in need of many of the same considerations.

Learn from those who remain

Finally, a close look at the contrasts between the participants I interviewed who have stayed in the business and those who have left may reveal some useful findings and suggest ways to keep experienced workers. On the surface, the contrasts were simple. The participants who have stayed are simply still happy with the work they do. They noted that they feel the work is relevant and worthwhile and that despite the hassles the work is still enjoyable. They further commented that they feel they are still contributing to the cause of good journalism. Ironically, too, they all noted that they have not thought of another career option.

The men who have stayed have remained satisfied with their work despite changes. Where male participants who have left could not accept the changes in bottom-line practices, the ones who have stayed seemed to have worked in organizations they perceive have protected the worker and his product. Ed’s proposal to pool resources is an example. Thus, the men who have stayed have found the changes hospitable. The men who have left consistently noted perceptions that their organizations did not care about the worker or the product. This observation may be useful to industry human resources leaders looking to develop effective retention policies.

Just like the men, the women who remain also noted their satisfaction with the work they are doing. The contrast for exited female participants can be seen with Crissy, the only in-

industry female participant with a family. She has successfully negotiated a personal life that works for her career. Crissy, unlike most of the female participants who have left, has benefitted from an atypically supportive and egalitarian spousal relationship. The two have accommodated her career by staying put for a company that she commented has developed a corporate culture that recognizes the importance of nurturing experienced employees by allowing for personal concerns. This contrast is highly significant. Crissy has grown her family while simultaneously growing her career, in an environment which she described as encouraging to both of her roles. Whether they are in or out of the business, for the male participants, caregiving was not an issue. It has either been relegated to a spouse or there were no children. But the contrast between in-career and out-of-career women is significant. Again, organizations may benefit by examining the corporate model under which Crissy has flourished. Also, the importance of egalitarian relationships cannot be understated for career women.

Along with the contrasts, similarities in responses between in-career and out-of-career participants may provide help. The two youngest participants still in the industry have hinted at dissatisfaction. Gabe, 25, commented that the vagabond lifestyle has made him consider leaving the industry. Again, industry human resource policy makers may look to rewarding longevity as Crissy's company has done. Furthermore, Ellen, also only 25-years-old and single, has already noted that the lifestyle may be incompatible with her desire to have a family. She acknowledged she's going to take a wait and see approach about her career future. Creating a more family friendly work policy may well be the key to retaining this young woman as she develops experience and institutional knowledge in the years to come.

Limitations and Further Research

For any industry, hearing from those who have left is a productive exercise. It can help promote a healthier work climate by taking a critical look at practices and conditions that can turn workers away. This study makes a contribution to the literature by querying a group that has never been asked, former television news journalists. Television news journalists have been part of the group of journalists who have answered researchers' questions on intent to leave for three decades (Weaver et al., 2007). But until this study, once they left the newsroom the door closed on this group's contribution to the television news scholarship. This study talks with television news journalists who have actually followed through on their intentions to leave, and begins to fill the gap in the literature by exploring why.

Since this research suggests that for some workers inflexible work played a part in their decisions to leave their jobs, it would be useful to experiment with new work designs. Perlow (1997) experimented with IT industry work designs. Her designs raised worker productivity and helped workers complete their projects faster than their traditional work practices. Television newsrooms should welcome opportunities to work more efficiently.

Although this study was strengthened by including both male and female participants, the genders alone do not address the scope of unique cultural experience. By design, all participants were white. The snowball sampling procedure did not allow for recruiting a sufficient number of minority participants to provide adequate representation, so the findings are limited to the experience of white television journalists. Further research is needed to study the experiences that drive minority journalists to leave television newsrooms. Minority representation in television newsrooms is a dramatically greater problem than female representation (Papper, 2007), and is a worthy area for research.

Once analysis began, it became apparent to me that the social identity of participants' bosses would have been useful information to study. The interview guide did not provide for such questions, and did not reveal itself as important until data collection was completed. The impact of social identity of supervisors on worker motivation to leave television newsrooms seems to be a rich area for further study.

My findings pointed to caregiving responsibilities as significant contributors to participants', especially women's, motivations to leave their careers; however, this research was limited to participants who were caregivers of children. I wonder if those issues would have manifested themselves differently in the workplace if they were for caring for elderly parents or other relatives who had special needs. This finding, that caregivers are penalized, should be explored more thoroughly comparing responses to different types of caregiving.

Finally, the male participants in this study averaged older when they left their careers and had longer career tenures, a condition indicative of the findings in the television news research (Bulkeley, 2004). Although another 37 men and women might reveal the same discrepancy in age, it would be interesting to see if the findings would be different if male and female participants were comparable in age. For full disclosure, this point has always seemed problematic to me, and partially prompted me to conduct this study. Future research of a pool of younger men might find they respond as researchers have suggested - that younger men want a different way of living and working (Barnett and Rivers, 2004). I did not find that to be the case among my participants. Still, there was a glimmer of hope in that two of the youngest men noted wanting more time with family as a determinant in leaving their newsroom careers.

Closing

The findings of this study indicate that these former television professionals did not take their decisions to walk away from their newsroom careers lightly. When they were dissatisfied, in several cases, they responded by “giving it a try” at one more station to ensure that their discontent was not an aberration. When they felt their doubts about the state of their industry were confirmed, they felt their time and talents were best spent in other vocations. Moreover, when participants felt their work could not or would not fit with their lives, they sought out ways to negotiate the conflicts. When their efforts were derailed by unyielding work structures, they too, turned their time and talents toward pursuits outside of the newsroom. That the former scenario was more often the response of male participants and the latter of the female participants is noteworthy. In the midst of a rapidly changing media landscape, in some ways, television newsroom cultures have stood still. This study suggests that newsroom work practices have lingered in outdated and patriarchal systems, but old models are no longer compatible. Society has changed. Women need to work. Many newsroom practices have not changed, but the time has come. Perhaps, too, this study points to a positive sign that at least some gender inequality is diminishing. For example, among both female and male participants discussions of appearance double standards for women were noticeably absent.

It is unrealistic to expect that the industry will suddenly embrace policies that would eliminate gendered structures. After all, the newsroom has had an ample supply of young women (Bulkeley, 2004). Furthermore, newsrooms must continue to focus on producing quality news, but it is my hope that this study points out that rethinking work is an important component for future success. By designing work that is more appealing to experienced workers, newsrooms will be better equipped to produce quality content through those workers.

Beyond the newsroom it is my hope that this study will illuminate to women and men that they have, perhaps, unwittingly accepted gendered social and work practices as nothing more than the natural order of work and life. It is not surprising that women have been willing to accept these inequities since the cultural forces are so strong, but if they have recognized them perhaps they will demand more. Only then can the vicious cycle created by these oppressive structures be broken.

Quasi-statistical Findings

As detailed earlier, a final check on the reliability of the findings involves calculating several statistics. This procedure provides a unique perspective on the analytic process by numerically testing claims made earlier. Below I test for the presence of both general themes and some specific codes which were highlighted in the earlier analysis. These tests were performed separately for each of the four groups I studied. The groups are: women who have left the business, men who have left the business, women who remain in the business and men who remain in the business. Respondents include 21, 11, two and three within each category, respectively, for a total of 37 interviews. These figures are used to generate averages for comparisons across the four categories.

Four general themes were tested. *Understanding career choice* includes codes indicating participants early expectations for their careers and their understanding of traditional work practices. *Changes in priorities* includes codes that indicated a shifting of priorities from exclusively work and accounts for factors outside of the workplace that impacted work. *Disappointed with the work* includes all of the conditions and practices in the workplace that prompted dissatisfaction among participants in their careers, while the theme *now not worth it* included factors that became important after other issues challenged the ways participants had perceived their careers at an earlier stage.

I have asserted that these participants chose their career paths in television news, and in most cases, had been planning the career for some time. This assertion provides an indication that these participants had willingly chosen this careers and that the choice was not one of happenstance or of constraints forcing them to take these particular jobs. Table 1 provides

numerical support for this assertion. For example, half of the participants had been planning for a career in television news prior to going to college.

Table 1

When participants chose careers in television/news

Group tested	No. in group	childhood/ "always"	High school	college	After college	Not 1 st choice
Women	23	13	1	5	2	2
Men	14	4	1	9		

I also asserted that these television news careerists understood and accepted the demands of television news work, which include erratic hours and inflexible schedules. I suggested the participants understood that the job demanded constant availability and unwavering commitment. This general theme is computed for frequency of occurrences and the results are shown in Table 2. The statistics support the assertion. All four of the tested groups reported that all or a majority of participants expected and accepted the traditional working conditions as described.

Table 2

Frequency of occurrences for understanding and accepting traditional business practices

Group tested	No. in group	participants commenting	Avg. no. of incidences per commenting participant	Avg. no. of lines per commenting participant
Women out of business	21	17	3	32.6
Women in business	2	2	3	22
Men out of business	11	10	3	29
Men in business	3	3	2	17.6

Furthermore, I posited that these participants believed that the demanding character of news work is the natural order and cannot or will not change. This general theme, *just the way it is*, emerged when reconstructing codes that related and referred to perceptions of work. Included were codes like *it's a lifestyle, just the way it is, it's a young person's job* and *someone's always willing to be available*. Table 3 provides numerical support for this theme's salience to participants. The table shows the theme appeared across most respondents.

Table 3

Frequency of occurrences of the general theme *just the way it is*

Group tested	No. in group	participants commenting	Avg. no. of incidences per commenting participant	Avg. no. of lines per commenting participant
Women out of business	21	17	3.1	31.5
Women in business	2	2	5.5	57
Men out of business	11	10	3.5	40
Men in business	3	0	0	0

That men who remain in the business did not discuss this perception may be explained by the fact that they remain actively engaged in news work and so have not stopped to think about or be concerned with the origins of its organization. Their discussions focused more on how they perceive their careers are progressing now.

As Table 3 illustrates, men and women agreed on the expectations they had for the work they performed in television news; however, there were some subtle distinctions in their answers. Both female and male participants acknowledged that constant availability was required and that news takes commitment. Women provided additional comments concerning the possibility that their commitment to the job was challenged when they had to divert their attention to matters outside of work, like family. I further asserted that men did not perceive this as a challenge to their work effectiveness. The findings detailed in Table 4 support this assumption. Note the

gender contrasts. Nearly 50% of the women responded, while the men's groups responded at a rate of less than 15 %.

Table 4

Perceptions by participants that family responsibilities challenge work effectiveness

Group tested	No. in group	participants commenting	Avg. no. of incidences per commenting participant	Avg. no. of lines per commenting participant
Women out of business	21	9	2.3	32.6
Women in business	2	1	4	36
Men out of business	11	2	1	13
Men in business	3	0	0	0

Only two men commented on this perception, and one of them discussed the issue in reference to women's ineffectiveness in the workplace once they became mothers. Only one of the men commented on his work effectiveness and his ability to father his children.

Personal Factors

When the discussions turned to personal issues, like parenting, the data revealed that various personal factors influenced career decisions for the participants. Table 5 illustrates that all but one of the participants who had left the business commented on personal influences, although the specific reasons varied, as we see below.

Table 5

Frequency of participant responses to personal influences

Group tested	No. in group	participants commenting	Avg. no. of incidences per commenting participant	Avg. no. of lines per commenting participant
Women out of business	21	21	4.2	47.5
Women in business	2	1	4	27
Men out of business	11	10	5.2	56
Men in business	3	1	2	73

My qualitative results indicated that, especially for women, changes in priorities influenced decisions to leave television news careers. Most often these priority shifts centered on family concerns like needing flexibility for child care or making adjustments to accommodate husbands' careers. Quasi-statistical calculations broken down in several different ways support this assertion. For example, Table 6 shows the strong consideration women gave to family commitments when reasons for leaving were prioritized. Here 1st, 2nd and 3rd indicates the participants' ranking of their reasons for leaving.

Table 6

Ranking given to family concerns as a reason for leaving television news careers

Group tested	No. in group	1 st	2 nd	3 rd	Not a factor	% factoring family
Women	21	14	3	0	4	90
Men	11	2	2	2	6	55

While this calculation (Table 6) did confirm that women were more likely to give up careers for family considerations, it is important to note that this finding is not entirely clear-cut. Often choices were not easy to divide across numerical rankings. Furthermore, sometimes reasons like desiring a better schedule were not noted as family considerations, but could be seen as desirable because of family commitments.

I also suggested that these personal issues impacted women's and men's careers differently. I suggested that personal issues were more likely to disrupt or end women's television careers than men's. Table 7 provides a breakdown of responses of individual codes, which referred to personal issues and their impacts on a participant's television news career. They are grouped to provide gender contrasts of the participants who have left the industry, and appear to confirm my assertions.

Table 7

Gender contrasts of personal issues affecting careers responses

Issues coded	% of women responding	% of men responding
Priorities/motivations changed	42	27
Didn't want to move	29	18
Limited opportunities for family	19	27
Limited career moves for family	14	18
Wouldn't put job above family	38	18
Sought out flexibility or part-time	24	18
Left for family changes	33	27
Spouse's job first	48	0
Wives followed careers	-	72
Husbands followed careers	14	-
Wanted family time	5	45

Although men noted changes in priorities and motivations, they were less likely to make personal changes that impacted their careers. For example, they were less likely than women to respond that work would not come before family, they were less likely than women to seek out flexibility in work, and they never put their spouses' careers first. Men did express a desire for wanting more family time than women, but it seems likely that this either reflects a sense of guilt because they had not made the career sacrifices their partners had, or changing values around involved fatherhood that modern careers leave precious little scope to advance.

Table 7 data may seem to suggest that women and men were similarly willing to limit moves for family, but a more detailed examination does reveal differences. By studying the

content of the interviews, the data reveal that men were willing to limit the number of moves. Women were willing not to move.

Dissatisfaction with the work

My findings also revealed the emergence of the general theme *dissatisfaction with the work*. I proposed that female and male participants who have left the industry each discussed this idea as significant in their decisions to leave their careers. This theme included any code that addressed quality of content or business practices that participants perceived as challenging to the quality of the product or the worker. Table 8 indicates the disparity in perceptions of dissatisfaction between those who remain in the industry and those who have left.

Table 8

Frequency of responses for general theme *dissatisfaction with the work*

Group tested	No. in group	participants commenting	Avg. no. of incidence per commenting participant	Avg. no. of lines per commenting participant
Women out of business	21	19	6.1	65
Women in business	2	2	1.5	5
Men out of business	11	10	11.7	113.2
Men in business	3	1	2	22

The high frequency of comments, 2,367 lines, by those who have exited their careers illustrates the salience of the theme. All but three participants who have left the industry discussed dissatisfaction with the work.

The overall theme can be broken down and tested for subcategories of significance because dissatisfaction seemed to be prompted by work conditions and by perceptions that the industry had changed. Unsatisfactory work conditions are shown in Table 9. The frequency of occurrences supports my finding of unsatisfactory work conditions as a prominent issue to participants who have left the industry.

Table 9

Frequency of responses for unsatisfactory working conditions

Group tested	No. in group	participants commenting	Avg. no. of incidences per commenting participant	Avg. no. of lines per commenting participant
Exited men & women	32	25	3.76	39.6
In industry men & women	5	3	1.3	18

The numerical calculations in Table 9 also illustrate the difference in prominence in discussions between those who have left the industry and those who remain. Note the significantly higher average number of lines per commenting participant when they had left the industry.

Though not mentioned by a majority of participants who have left the industry, Table 10 shows that all participant groups acknowledged that the industry had changed. The occurrences are noted by counting the frequencies of the code *the business has changed*.

Table 10

Frequency of responses about beliefs that the business has changed

Group tested	No. in group	participants commenting	Avg. no. of incidences per commenting participant	Avg. no. of lines per commenting participant
Exited men & women	32	8	2	26.5
In industry men & women	5	5	1.6	13.6

I posited that the differences between those who have remained and those who have left were not attributable to the simple fact that the industry has changed, but rather because these groups perceived differences in the effects those changes had on the industry. I found that participants who left were dissatisfied with work because they perceived that these undesirable work conditions had degraded the industry. Quasi-statistics show the contrasts between the in-industry and out-of-industry groups. Table 11 shows the absence of discussion on negative effects by those who remain in the industry. Furthermore, this perception was salient to more than half of the participants who have left the industry.

Table 11

Frequency of occurrence for perceptions of negative effects of changes in industry

Group tested	No. in group	participants commenting	Avg. no. of incidences per commenting participant	Avg. no. of lines per commenting participant
Exited men & women	32	17	3.1	34.4
In industry men & women	5	0	0	0

I had also proposed that men were more likely to leave the industry because they were dissatisfied with the work. Table 12 shows how participants ranked dissatisfaction with the work as a factor in their decision to leave their television news careers. These quasi-statistics support that assertion.

Table 12

Ranking given to dissatisfaction with the work as a reason for leaving television news careers

Group tested	No. in group	1 st	2 nd	3 rd	Not a factor	% factoring dissatisfaction
Women	21	1	2	4	14	33
Men	11	2	3	1	4	55

Although the numbers are small, the quasi-statistics suggest that the male participants considered dissatisfaction with work more than the women. The quasi-statistics indicate that women found

dissatisfying conditions, but Table 12 suggests these were less likely to factor into their decisions to leave relative to men.

Now not worth it

Finally, a general theme emerged from the earlier analysis suggesting that participants made their decisions to leave after enduring an accumulation of conditions that reduced satisfaction in work and/or life. This *now not worth it* theme included codes which indicated that the participants no longer enjoyed the work because of challenging personal circumstances, pessimism for the future of the industry and/or a belief that the rewards of their careers were no longer worth the sacrifices they had made. Table 13 reveals that *every* participant who had left the business offered comments on this theme. In contrast, only two participants who remained in the industry discussed this theme.

Table 13

Frequency of responses for general theme *now not worth it*

Group tested	No. in group	participants commenting	Avg. no. of incidences per commenting participant	Avg. no. of lines per commenting participant
Women out of business	21	21	2.8	35
Women in business	2	1	4	59
Men out of business	11	11	3.7	28.8
Men in business	3	1	3	24

Conclusion

These calculations listed above are not offered as a substitute for the rich and thickly descriptive qualitative research. The qualitative design was particularly useful in this study where I sought to explore people's perceptions and motivations because it was open to emergent findings. The quasi-statistics, though, do provide support for the claims I have made. They have illustrated that the assertions I made about emergent themes did appear to be numerically represented in the data. I acknowledge my bias has influenced my interpretation of the data, but these findings suggest that the data not my bias directed the analysis and descriptions that crafted this work into my participants' story.

APPENDIX A

**VERBAL CONSENT SCRIPT**

(to be read at beginning of interview)

Title of Project: *Opted Out: Women and Men who have left TV News Careers*

Principal Investigator: Kim Garris

927 Shiremont Drive
Mechanicsburg, PA, 17050
717-732-4187
kg110@psu.edu

Advisor:

Dr. Marie Hardin
201 Carnegie Building
University Park, PA 16802-5100
mch208@psu.edu
814-769-3159

Hello (Participant),

Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed today. Once again, my name is Kim Garris and I am a doctoral student in the College of Communications at The Pennsylvania State University.

VERBAL CONSENT:

First off, are you 18-years-old or older?

-- PAUSE for response --

IF “NO”:

I am sorry, I am not permitted to interview people under the age of 18. I apologize for the mix-up, thank you for your time today.

IF “YES”:

Thank you. Moving on, the focus of this interview is to learn about the experience of women who have left television news careers. I am trying to learn what the factors are that lead women to leave their full-time careers in broadcast journalism. I have reviewed the questionnaire that you completed. Thank you for taking the time to complete it. Now I would like to follow-up on a few of the comments you made and to ask a few other questions. I expect our conversation could be about an hour, but I appreciate whatever time you can give to share your insights and experiences. I would like to record our conversation so that I can give my full-attention to our discussion and can take notes at a later time using the recordings. Will you give your permission to be audio-recorded?

-- PAUSE for response --

I hope that this research will be useful and as such I hope it will be published and/or presented to professionals and academics. I will be using pseudonyms for attribution of quotes. Will you give your permission for direct quotes to be used in publications/presentations?

-- PAUSE for response --

IF “NO” TO Audio QUESTION:

No problem, I will certainly respect your wishes. Your participation in this survey is voluntary; your completion of the interview constitutes implied consent. You do not have to answer any questions you are uncomfortable or unfamiliar with and you may stop at any time. Your participation in this research is confidential. Please feel free to ask any questions or concerns you may have at any time. Are you ready to begin?

IF “NO” TO Publication QUESTION:

No problem, I will certainly respect your wishes. The audio tapes of the interview will be stored in my locked home office, will be accessible to only me and my advisor. The audio tapes will be destroyed by October, 2011. Your participation in this survey is voluntary; your completion of the interview constitutes implied consent. You do not have to answer any questions you are uncomfortable or unfamiliar with and you may stop at any time. Your participation in this research is confidential. Please feel free to ask any questions or concerns you may have at any time. Are you ready to begin?

IF “YES” TO BOTH QUESTIONS:

Thank you. The audio tapes of the interview will be stored in my locked home office, will be accessible to only me and my advisor. The audio tapes will be destroyed by October, 2011. Your participation in this survey is voluntary; your completion of the interview constitutes implied consent. You do not have to answer any questions you are uncomfortable or unfamiliar with and you may stop at any time. Your participation in this research is confidential. Please feel free to ask any questions or concerns you may have at any time. Are you ready to begin?

Are you ready to begin?

--- *INTERVIEW* ---

FOLLOWING THE INTERVIEW:

(Participant), thank you once again for participating today, your contribution has been valuable. Do you have any questions or concerns at this time?

-- *PAUSE for response (and answer if necessary)* --

I would like to give you some contact information, so get paper and a pencil ready. If you have any questions or concerns regarding this interview in the future, please contact me at 717-732-4187. You may also contact my faculty advisor, Marie Hardin at 814-769-3159.

Thank you, and have a great day, (Participant)!



Informed Consent Form for Social Science Research
The Pennsylvania State University

Title of Project: *Opted Out: Women and men who have left TV News careers*

Principal Investigator: Kim Garris
927 Shiremont Drive
Mechanicsburg, PA, 17050
717-732-4187
kg110@psu.edu

Advisor: Dr. Marie Hardin
201 Carnegie Building
University Park, PA 16802-5100
mch208@psu.edu
814-769-3159

1. **Purpose of the Study:** The purpose of this research is to explore the factors the lead women television journalists to leave their jobs.
2. **Procedures to be followed:** You will be asked to participate in a personal audiotaped interview. You will be asked questions about your experiences of life at the time you worked in and left a television newsroom.
3. **Benefits:** You might learn more about yourself by participating in this study. You might have a better understanding of the factors informing your decision to leave your job. You may discover that others have had similar experiences.

This research may provide a better understanding to employers and practitioners to help develop work/family policies in television companies.

4. **Duration/Time:** It will take approximately one hour to complete the personal interview.
5. **Statement of Confidentiality:** Your participation in this research is confidential. The data will be stored and secured in the investigator's home office. Data stored on a computer will be kept in a password protected file. In the event of a publication or presentation resulting from the research, no personally identifiable information will be shared.
6. **Right to Ask Questions:** Please contact Kim Garris at 717-773-2649 or 717-732-4187 with questions, complaints or concerns about this research.
7. **Voluntary Participation:** Your decision to be in this research is voluntary. You can stop at any time. You do not have to answer any questions you do not want to answer. Refusal to take part in or withdrawing from this study will involve no penalty or loss of benefits you would receive otherwise.
8. **Audio Recording:** To ensure accuracy of your answers, you are asked to consent to being audio recorded. The recordings will be stored in the locked home office of the principal investigator for three years after which they will be destroyed. Only the principal investigator and PSU advisor, Dr. Marie Hardin will have access to these recordings.

_____ I give my permission to be *Audio* taped.

_____ I do not give my permission to be *Audio* taped.

You must be 18 years of age or older to consent to take part in this research study. If you agree to take part in this research study and the information outlined above, please sign your name and indicate the date below.

You will be given a copy of this consent form for your records.

Participant Signature

Date

Person Obtaining Consent

Date

Appendix B

Participants' demographics by pseudonym

Participants' by pseudonym	Sex	Age	Marital status at exit	Children at home when in TV	Career tenure in years	TV position at time of exit	Time out of TV News	Current employment or career
Alan	M	47	Married	3	20	reporter	3 mos.	Health Care PR
Anna	F	28	Married	1	4	Managing editor	1 year	University Instructor
Belinda	F	54	Married	1	20	Assignment Editor	7 years	Health Care PR
Beth	F	40	Married	2	13	Managing Producer	6 years	Agency PR
Bill	M	39	Married	2	15	Reporter	2 years	Naval Officer
Bob	M	51	Married	0	20	Producer/ Photographer/ Editor	7 years	Media production for pro sports

Cal	M	58	Married	5	34	News Manager	10 mos.	Established a non-profit org.
Carol	F	53	Married	2	23	Wknd. Assign. Manager/ Human Resources	5 years	University Administration
Cindy	F	33	Single	0	12	Reporter	3 years	Stay-at-home Mom
David	M	39	Married	3	14	News Director	4 years	University Instructor
Dawn	F	40	Married	1	12	Reporter	5 years	Agency PR
Deb	F	31	Married	0	5	Executive Producer	5 mos.	State Gov't Agency PR
Donna	F	38	Married	1	9	Reporter	7.5 years	Stay-at-home Mom
Fran	F	25	Married	0	3	Assignment Editor	3 years	Healthcare Corp. Communications
Gail	F	35	Married	0	7	Reporter	7	Agency PR

							years	
Jane	F	42	Married	1	16	Reporter	4	Stay-at-home years Mom
Jeff	M	56	Married	4	35	Executive Producer	2	Student years
Jenny	F	29	Married	0	8.5	News Producer	2	None mos.
Jim	M	54	Married	3	30	Anchor	4	Media company years owner
Joe	M	58	Married	2	22	Reporter	5	Media Company years owner
Karen	F	34	Married	0	6	Producer	4	Media related years company
Kate	F	46	Married	1	22	Reporter/ Anchor	1.5	Stay-at-home years Mom
Kathy	F	36	Married	1	10	Reporter	3	Stay-at-home years Mom
Lance	M	36	Married	1	5	Chief Photographer	7	University years Professor

Matt	M	58	Married	0	28	Managing Editor	1 year	University Instructor
Mike	M	32	Married	2	6	Assignment Mgr./Producer	3 years	State gov't agency press sec.
Nancy	F	46	Married	1	18	Reporter	8 years	Health Care PR
Nicole	F	35	Married	2	6	Reporter	4 years	Local elected leader
Pam	F	42	Married	2	20	News Director	1 year	Health Care PR
Sandy	F	55	Married	2	20	Executive Producer	9 years	Media Company owner
Susan	F	38	Married	2	16	Anchor	1.5 years	Stay-at-home Mom
Val	F	35	Single	1	12	Asst. News Director	1 year	School PR

Participants still in the business

Crissy	F	42	Married	2	20	Reporter/Anchor	-----	-----
Ed	M	52	Married	2	35	News Director	-----	-----

Ellen	F	25	Single	0	3	Reporter/Anchor	-----	-----
Gabe	M	25	Single	0	6	Wknd. Anchor/ Reporter	-----	-----
Tom	M	48	Married	2	29	Mging. Editor	-----	-----

Appendix C



Principal Investigator: Kim Garris, Ph.D. Candidate
The Pennsylvania State University

Biographical Realities:

1. Please tell me the story of your family in the context of your career. (i.e. marital status, children at what stage in your career)
2. Please briefly describe your career history. How is it similar/different to what your expectations were at the beginning of your career.
3. If applicable, describe spouse/partner employment history.
4. Please explain how you arrived at the decision to leave your television newsroom job. (i.e. family situation, job situation, health situation)
5. Please describe current and future career objectives.
6. Please share any other information you believe is pertinent to your decision to leave your newsroom job.

Personal Interview general themes include, but are not limited to:

- ❖ Career path and expectations
 - Past
 - Present
 - Future
- ❖ Decision to leave full-time career
 - Factors
 - Economic
 - Personal
 - Professional
 - other
 - Current situation
- ❖ Workplace ideologies:
 - Characteristics of a good employee
 - What are the keys to success?
 - How does your industry define success?
 - Expectations of employers/yourself
- ❖ (If applicable) Family ideologies

- What is the ideal family situation?
- What does good parenting mean to you?
 - Good mother
 - Good father

Appendix D

Opted Out: Themes & Codes

Theme	Category	Definition	Code
Understanding Career Choice	Journalistic Philosophy Traditional Working conditions Embrace the positives/ accept the negatives	An explanation of career choice including appeal, motivation to work, and what was expected of the career including journalistic mission and work conditions	-Believed news is important -television is powerful and important -informing public -Watergate tradition/Murrow -not what I thought it would be -always wanted to do TV -storytelling -crazy hours - work bad, long hours -inflexible -must be constant availability - news takes commitment
Just the way it is/"Nature of the business"		Participants understand and accept the conditions and the way the business operates as the natural order of the work	-industry must be this way - no part-time news -business can't possibly be better - 'just the way it is' - 'the nature of the business' -it's a lifestyle not a job -someone's always willing to be constantly available -it's a young person's job -business won't get better for families -need more staff to make better conditions for flexibility
Can't meet career demands		Explains the issues that make the workers feel they cannot live up to the expectations of the business	-can't do both well (TV news and parenting) -challenge for parenting -motherhood can't stop the news cycle - Another position always more flexible

			-not family friendly
Expectations for life outside of news work	Personal factors /Change in priorities	Factors outside of the newsroom work like family, decisions about lifestyle including how and where to live, priorities and changes in priorities and outside career opportunities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -didn't want to move -limited moves for family -limited opportunities because of family -wanted part-time -couldn't put job above family - job first/family understands -desire for flexibility limited decent work -family changes -priorities/motivations changed -left for family changes -spouse's job comes first - wives followed my career (even when made more money) -husband follows my career -Not looking this was an opportunity -marriage agreement wife have kids -Wanted a change -personal decisions impacted careers -wanted better schedule
Expectations for work dashed/ dissatisfied with career	Bad conditions	This was a residual of the other theme, it meant that the way the business works is not conducive to the ideas these people have about conducting careers and/or personal life, it's a change in perspective or a shift in conditions – for example low pay	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -bad working conditions -don't want the grind -need more money -much instability - ahead of the hatchet -good bosses important -try another job no better -no advancement opportunity -need more staff - Didn't like news -didn't agree with news philosophy -not what I thought

		and bad hours were always there, but now they seem worse or unacceptable	
	Dissatisfaction with the business	Conditions that made participants dissatisfied with the work or the product	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -wanted content control -all about bottom-line/ratings -quality down - business is so bad/bad shape -younger worker is cheaper -trading experience for cheaper -bottom-line means experience is not valued -staff cuts: more news/less people -company sells work gets worse -dissatisfied
	Not like it used to be	A sense that conditions and quality used to be better than they are now	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -not like it used to be -the glory days -local news and the business has changed -people now just want to be on TV -churning was bad/now worse -don't/can't watch the news
	Not worth it	The feeling that the career is not worth the sacrifices expected for the limited or uncertain rewards	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Grim future <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -challenge of changing viewership -internet effect -not worth it (sacrifices to stay in TV news) -felt unappreciated -unfulfilled -need a career not a paycheck -New career appreciated

Key: anamolous code

References

- Aldoory, L. (2005). A (Re)conceived feminist paradigm for public relations: A case for substantial improvement. *Journal of Communication*, 55(4), 668-684.
- Aldoory, L. (2007). The social construction of leadership and its implications for women in mass communication. In Creedon, P. and Cramer, J. (Eds.), *Women in mass communication* (3rd ed., pp. 247-254). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Aldoory, L., & Toth, E. (2002). Gender discrepancies in a gendered profession: A developing theory for public relations. *Journal of Public Relations Research*, 14(2), 103-126.
- Aldoory, L., & Toth, E. (2004). Leadership and gender in public relations: Perceived effectiveness of transformational and transactional leadership styles. *Journal of Public Relations Research*, 16(2), 157-183.
- Almer, E. D. & Single, L. E. (2004). Career consequences of flexible work arrangements: The Daddy Track. *The CPA Journal*, 74(9), 56-58.
- Armstrong, C. L., Wood, M. L. M. & Nelson, M. R. (2006). Female news professionals in local and national broadcast news during the buildup to the Iraq war. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, 50(1), 78-94.

- Bailyn, L. (2006). *Breaking the mold: Redesigning work for productive and satisfying lives* (2nd ed.). New York: Cornell University Press.
- Bailyn, L., Fletcher, J. & Kolb, D. (1997). Unexpected connections: Considering employees' personal lives can revitalize your business. *Sloan Management Review*, 38(4), 11-19.
- Bakeman, R. & Gottman, J. (1986). *Observing interaction. An introduction to sequential analysis*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Bantz, C., McCorkle, S. & Baade, R. (1980) The News Factory. *Communication Research*, 7(1), 45-69.
- Barnett, R. (1998). Toward a review and reconceptualization of the Work/Family literature. *Genetic, Social and General Psychology Monographs*, 124(2), 125-182.
- Barnett, R. & Rivers, C. (2004). *Same difference: How gender myths are hurting our relationships, our children and our jobs*. New York: Basic Books.
- Beasley, M. (2007). How to stir up a hornets' nest: Studying the implications of women journalism majors. In Creedon, P. & Cramer, J. (Eds.), *Women in Mass Communication* (3rd Ed. , pp. 23-32). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Becker, H. (1958). Problems of inference and proof in participant observation. *American Sociological Review*, 23(6), 652-660.

Becker, H., Geer, B., Hughes, E. & Strauss, A. (1961). *Boys in white: Student culture in medical school*. New Brunswick, U.S.A.: Transaction Publishers.

Becker, L., Vlad, T., Vogel, M., Wilcox, D. & Hanisak, S. (2008) Enrollments increase with slightly higher percentages of male students. *Journalism and Mass Communication Educator*, 63(3), 198.

Bennets, L. (2007). *The feminist mistake: Are we giving up too much?* New York: Voice.

Berkowitz, D. (1993). Work roles and news selection in local TV: Examining the business-journalism dialectic. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 37(1), 67.

Berkowitz, D. (1997). *Social meanings of news: A text-reader*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Blau, F. D., & Kahn, L. M. (2006). The gender pay gap: Going, going...but not gone. In F. D. Blau, F. D., Brinton, M.C. & Grusky, D. B. (Eds.), *The declining significance of gender?* (pp. 37-66). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Boulis, A. (2004). The evolution of gender and motherhood in contemporary medicine. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 596(1), 259-261.

- Bravo, E. (2007). *Taking on the big boys: Or why feminism is good for families, business and the nation*. New York: The Feminist Press.
- Brenner, J. (2002). Intersections, locations, and capitalist class relations: Intersectionality from a Marxist perspective. In Holmstrom, N. (Ed.), *The Socialist feminist project: A contemporary reader in theory and politics* (pp. 336-349). New York: Monthly Press Review.
- Bulkeley, C. (Ed.). (2004). Whose news? Progress and status of women in newspapers (mostly) and television news. In Rush, R., Oukrup, C. and Creedon, P. (Eds.), *Seeking equity for women in journalism and mass communication education: A 30-year update* (pp. 183-204). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Bunderson, J. S. (2001). How work ideologies shape the psychological contracts of professional employees: doctors' responses to perceived breach. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 22(7), 717-741.
- Burchielli, R., Bartram, T., & Thanacoody, R. (2008). Work-family balance or greedy organizations? *Relations Industrielles*, 63(1), 108-133.
- Burke, R. (1997). Are families damaging to careers? *Women in Management Review*, 12(8), 320.

- Burks, K. & Stone, V. (1993). Career-related characteristics of male and female news directors. *Journalism Quarterly*, 70(3), 542-549.
- Butler, J. (1999). *Gender trouble*. New York: Routledge.
- Byerly, C. M. (2004). Women and the concentration of media ownership. In R. Rush, Oukrop, C. & Creedon, P. (Eds.), *Seeking equity for women in journalism and mass communication education: A 30-year update* (pp. 245-262). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Calvert, L. M., & Ramsey, V. J. (1992). Bringing women's voice to research on women in management. *Journal of Management Inquiry*, 1(1), 79-88.
- Caven, V. (2006). Choice, diversity and 'false consciousness' in women's careers. *International Journal of Training and Development*, 10(1), 41-54.
- Cirksena, K. & Cuklanz, L. (1992) Male is to Female as ____ is to ____: A guided tour of five feminist frameworks for communication studies. In Rakow, L. (Ed.), *Women making meaning: New feminist directions in communication*. NY and London: Routledge.
- Clarkberg, M. & Moen, P. (2001). The time-squeeze: Is the increase in working time due to employer demands or employee preferences? *American Behavioral Scientist*, 44(7), 1115-1135.

- Cline, C. G., & Toth, E. (1993). Revisioning women in public relations: Practitioner and feminist perspectives. In Creedon, P. (Ed.), *Women in mass communication* (2nd ed., pp. 183-198). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Cohen, A. (1999). Turnover among professionals: A longitudinal study of American lawyers. *Human Resource Management, 38*(1), 61-76.
- Coltrane, S. (2004). Elite careers and family commitment: It's (still) about gender. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 596*(1), 214-220.
- Cook, B. B. & Banks, S. R. (1993). Predictors of job burnout in reporters and copy editors. *Journalism Quarterly, 70*(1), 108-117.
- Cook, B. B. Banks, S. R., & Turner, R. J. (1993). The effects of work environment on burnout in the newsroom. *Newspaper Research Journal, 14*(3/4), 123-136.
- Cotter, D., Hermsen, J. M., Ovadia, S., & Vanneman, R. (2001). The Glass Ceiling Effect. *Social Forces, 80*(2), 655-682.
- Coventry, B. (2004). On the sidelines: Sex and racial segregations in television sports broadcasting. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 21*(3), 322-341.

- Creedon, P. (1991). Public relations and "Women's Work": Toward a feminist analysis of public relations roles. *Public Relations Research Annual*, 3, 67-85.
- Creedon, P. (1993). The challenge of re-visioning gender values. In Creedon, P. (Ed.), *Women in mass communication* (2nd ed., pp. 3-23). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Creedon, P. (2004). From making PR macho to making PR feminist. In R. Rush, Oukrop, C. & Creedon, P. (Eds.), *Seeking equity for women in journalism and mass communications education: A 30-year update* (pp. 223-241). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Daly, K., & Palkovitz, R. (2004). Reworking work and family issues for fathers. *Fathering*, 2(3), 211.
- Daniels, G. & Hollifield, C. (2002). Times of turmoil: Short and long-term effects of organizational change on newsroom employees. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 79(3), 661-680.
- Dates, J. (2007). Women and minorities in commercial and public television news, 1994-2004. In Creedon, P. and Cramer, J. (Ed.), *Women in Mass Communication* (3rd ed., pp. 73-84). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y., S. (2008). The discipline and practice of qualitative research. In Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.), *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry* (pp. 1-43). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Deutsch, F. M. (1999). *Halving it all: How equally shared parenting works*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Drago, R. (2007). *Striking a balance: Work, family, life*. Boston: Dollars & Sense.
- Dyer, C. S. (1993). Listening to women's stories: Or media law as if women mattered. In Creedon, P. (Ed.), *Women in mass communication* (2nd ed., pp. 317-340). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Eagly, A. & Johannesen-Schmidt, M. (2001). The leadership styles of men and women. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57(4), 781-797.
- Einstein, Mara. (2004). *Media diversity: Economics, ownership and the FCC*. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Earlbaum Associates.
- Engstrom, E. & Ferri, A. (1998). From barriers to challenges: Career perceptions of women TV news anchors. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 75(4), 789-802.

Everbach, T. (2005). *The feminine culture of a woman-led newspaper: An organizational study.*

Paper presented at the International Communication Association, New York, NY.

Everbach, T. (2006). The culture of a woman-led newspaper: An ethnographic study of the

Sarasota Herald-Tribune. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 83(3), 477-493.

Everbach, T., & Flournoy, C. (2007). Women leave journalism for better pay, work conditions.

Newspaper Research Journal, 28(3), 52-64.

Falk, E., & Grizard, E. (2003). *The Glass Ceiling Persists: The 3rd Annual APPC Report on*

Women Leaders in Communication Companies: The Annenberg Public Policy Center of the University of Pennsylvania.

Falk, E., & Grizard, E. (2005). The "Glass Ceiling Persists": Women Leaders in

Communications Companies. *Journal of Media Business Studies*, 2(1), 23-49.

Farrell, M. (2000, November 27). How three women broke through the glass ceiling.

Multichannel News, 21(48), 8-10.

Flax, J. (1992). The End of innocence. In Butler, J. & Scott, J. (Eds.), *Feminist Theorize the*

Political (pp. 445-463). New York: Routledge.

Foley, S., Linnehan, F., Greenhaus, J. & Weer, C. (2006). The impact of gender similarity, racial similarity, and work culture on family-supportive supervision. *Group & Organization Management*, 31(4), 420-441.

Friedman, Stewart & Greenhaus, J. (2000). *Work and family - allies or enemies? What happens when business professionals confront life choices*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Frohlich, R. (2005). The "friendliness trap": Feminine and feminist values as obstacles for women's future and career in journalism [Electronic Version]. *journet.unesco.org*. Retrieved April 1, 2008 from http://portal.unesco.org/ci/en/ev.php-URL_ID=19079&URL_DO=DO_PRINTPAGE&URL_SECTION=201.html .

Frohlich, R. (2007). PR bunnies caught in the agency ghetto? Gender stereotypes, organizational factors, and women's careers in PR agencies. *Journal of Public Relations Research*, 19(3), 229-254.

Gallagher, M. (2004). Theory and practice in feminism and media. In Rush, R., Oukrop, C. & Creedon, P. (Eds.), *Seeking Equity for Women in Journalism and Mass Communication Education: A 30-year update* (pp. 275-288). Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.

Garey, A. (1999). *Weaving work and motherhood*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

- Gill, R. (2003). *Participation and access of women to the media, and information and communication technologies and their impact on and use as an instrument for the advancement and empowerment of women*. Speech presented at the 47th session of the United Nations Commission on the status of women, New York, NY.
- Goetz, J. & LeCompte, M. (1981). Ethnographic research and the problem of data reduction. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 12, 51-70.
- Goodman, J. S., Fields, D. L., & Blum, T. C. (2003). Cracks in the glass ceiling: In What Kinds of Organizations do Women Make it to the Top. *Group & Organization Management*, 28(4), 475-501.
- Graff, E. J. (2007). The opt-out myth: Most moms have to work to make ends meet. So why does the press write only about the elite few who don't? *Columbia Journalism Review*, 45(6), 51-54.
- Haddock, S., Zimmerman, T., Ziemba, S. & Lyness, K. (2006). Practices of dual earner couples successfully balancing work and family. *Journal of Family and Economic Issues*, 27(2), 207-234.
- Hardin, M. & Shain, S. (2005). Strength in Numbers? The experience and attitudes of women in sports media careers. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 82(4), 804-819.

- Hardin, M. & Shain, S. (2006). "Feeling much smaller than you know you are": The fragmented professional identity of female sports journalists. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 23(4), 322-338.
- Hartmann, H. (2004). Policy alternatives for solving work-family conflict. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 596(1), 226-231.
- Hewlett, S. (2007). *Off-ramps and on-ramps: Keeping talented women on the road to success*. Boston: Harvard Business School Publishing.
- Hewlett, S. & West, C. (1998). *The war against parents: What we can do for America's beleaguered moms and dads*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Hochschild, A. (2003). *The second shift*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Hoff, T. (2004). Doing the same and earning less: Male and female physicians in a new medical specialty. *Inquiry-Excellus Health Plan*, 41(3), 301-315.
- Holmstrom, N. (2002). A Marxist Theory of women's nature. In Holmstrom, N. (Ed.), *The Socialist Feminist project: A contemporary reader in theory and politics* (pp. 360-376). New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Jackson, J. (2001). Women middle managers' perception of the glass ceiling. *Women in Management Review*, 16(1), 30-45.

Jackson, R. M. (2006). Opposing forces: How, why, and when will gender inequality disappear?

In Blau, F. D., Brinton, M. C. & Grusky, D. B. (Eds.), *The declining significance of gender?* (pp. 215-244). New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Jacobs, J. N., & Kelley, M. L. (2006). Predictors of paternal involvement in childcare in dual-earner families with young children. *Fathering*, 4(1), 23.

Jacobsen, J. (2004). Where we are now and future possibilities. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 596(1), 221-225.

Jawahar, I. & McLaughlin, G. (2001). Toward a descriptive Stakeholder Theory: An Organizational Life Cycle approach. *The Academy of Management Review*, 26(3), 397-414.

Jawahar, I. and Hemmasi, P. (2006). Perceived organizational support for women's advancement and turnover intention. *Women in Management Review*, 21(8), 643-661.

Jha-Nambiar, S. & Izard, R. (2005). *Who got to talk about it: Sourcing and attribution in broadcast news coverage of the first 24 hours of the "9/11 Tragedy"*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Communication Association, New York, NY.

- Jurkowitz, M. (2003, August 27). More women in J-school doesn't translate to jobs. *Boston Globe*, p. 1.
- Just, M. (1999). The budget game: Numbers show staff, not stuff, wins viewers. *Columbia Journalism Review*, 38(4), 93-94.
- Keene, J. & Reynolds, J. (2005). The job costs of family demands: Gender differences in negative family-to-work spillovers. *Journal of Family Issues*, 26(3), 275-299.
- Kelly, E. (2006). Work-Family policies: The United States in international perspective. In Pitt-Catsouphes, M. Kossek, E.; Sweet, S. (Eds.), *The work and family handbook: Multi-disciplinary perspectives and approaches* (pp. 99-123). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Kellner, D. & Durham, M. G. (2001). Adventures in media and cultural studies: Introducing the key works. In Kellner, D. & Durham, M. G. (Eds.), *Media and cultural studies: Key works* (pp.1-29). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Knowlton, S. R., & Parsons, P. R. (1995). *The journalist's moral compass*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.
- Kurpius, D. (2003). Bucking a trend in local television news. *Journalism*, 4(1), 76-94.

- Lafky, S. (1993). The progress of women and people of color in the U.S. journalistic workforce: A long, slow journey. In Creedon, P. (Ed.), *Women in mass communication* (2nd ed., pp. 87-103). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Landis, J. & Koch, G. (1977). The measurement of observer agreement for categorical data. *Biometrics*, 33(1), 159-174.
- Lewis, S. (1996). Rethinking employment: An organizational culture change framework. In Lewis, S. & Lewis, J. (Ed.), *The work-family challenge: Rethinking employment* (pp. 1-19). London: Sage.
- Liebler, C. & Smith, S. (1997). Tracking gender differences: A comparative analysis of network correspondents and their sources. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 41(1), 58-69.
- Lindlof, T. R., & Taylor, B. C. (2002). *Qualitative communication research methods* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Marecek, J. (2003). Mad housewives, double shifts, mommy tracks and other invented realities. *Feminism & Psychology*, 13(2), 259-264.
- Maxwell, J. (2005). *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

McAdams, K., Beasley, M. & Zandberb, I. (2004). Women graduates (and men too) express reservations about journalism education. In Rush, R., Oukrop, C. & Creedon, P. (Eds.) *Seeking equity for women in journalism and mass communication education: A 30-year update*, (pp. 315-330). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

McCracken, G. (1988). *The long interview*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

McManus, J. H. (1994). *Market-Driven journalism: Let the citizens beware?* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

McQuail, D. (2005). *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory* (5th Ed.). London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Media Report to Women. (2002a). *Television news pipeline remains narrow for women, experience notwithstanding*, 30(4), 6-9.

Media Report to Women. (2002b). *Another glass ceiling study: women in communications field losing ground*, 30(1), 6.

Melin-Higgins, M. (2004) Coping with journalism: the gendered newsroom. In de Bruin, M. Ross, K. (Eds.), *Gender and newsroom cultures: Identities at work* (pp. 197-222). Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

- Michie, S. & Nelson, D. (2006). Barriers women face in information technology careers: Self-efficacy, passion and gender biases. *Women in Management Review*, 21(1), 10-27.
- Mifflin, L. (1998, August 24). After drought, networks put more women in top posts. *The New York Times*, p. D1.
- Miller, J. G. & Wheeler, K. G. (1992). Unraveling the mysteries of gender differences in intentions to leave the organization. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 13(5), 465-478.
- Moen, P. & Roehling, P. (2005). *The career mystique: Cracks in the American dream*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.
- Moore, J. (2000). One road to turnover: An examination of work exhaustion in technology professionals. *MIS Quarterly*, 24(1), 141-168.
- Newsroom Economics*. (2006). Project for Excellence in Journalism. Retrieved May 11, 2008 from <http://www.journalism.org/node/544> .
- Noonan, M. & Corcoran, M. (2004). The Mommy Track and partnership: Temporary delay or dead end? *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 596(1), 130-150.
- Papper, B. (2006). *Year of extremes*. Retrieved June 23, 2008 from <http://www.rtnda.org/media/pdfs/communicator/2006/julaug/072006-24-28.pdf> .

Papper, B. (2007). *Women and minorities in the newsroom: African Americans have gained ground in radio and TV, while other minority groups have slipped*. Retrieved October 14, 2007 from http://www.rtnda.org/media/pdfs/communicator/2007/julaug/20-25_Survey_Communicator.pdf .

Papper, B. (2007a). *Seize the pay*. Retrieved May 27, 2008 from <http://www.rtnda.org/media/pdfs/communicator/2007/jun/062007-16-25.pdf> .

Perlow, L. (1997). *Finding time: How corporations, individuals, and families can benefit from new work practices*. New York: Cornell University Press.

Pertilla, A., & Belt, T. (2002). How strong is the case for quality? *Columbia Journalism Review*, 41(4), 91-92.

Phalen, P. (2000). "Pioneers, girlfriends and wives": An agenda for research on women and the organizational culture of broadcasting. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, 44(2), 230-247.

Porter, M. E., & Van Der Linde, C. (1998). Green and competitive: Ending the stalemate. In Porter, M. (Ed.), *On Competition*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business Review.

President's Council of Economic Advisors. (2000). *The new American family* (Economic Report to the President 2000). Washington, D.C. U.S. Government Printing Office.

Ramazanoglu, C. & Holland, J. (2002). *Feminist methodology: Challenges and choices*. London: Sage Publications.

Reese, S. & Ballinger, J. (2001). The roots of a sociology of news: Remembering Mr. Gates and Social Control in the newsroom. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 78(4), 641-658.

Reinardy, S. (2006). It's gametime: The Maslach Burnout Inventory measures burnout of sports journalists. *Journal of Mass Communication Quarterly*, 83(2), 397-412.

Riley, D. (1988). *Am I that name?* Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Riordan, E. (2002). Intersections and new directions: On feminism and political economy. In Riordan, E. & Meehan, E. (Eds.) *Sex and money: Feminism and the political economy in media* (pp.3-15). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Rosentiel, T., Just, M., Belt, T., Pertilla, A., Dean, W. & Chinni, D. (2007). *We interrupt this newscast: How to improve local news and win ratings, too*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Ross, K. (2001). Women at work: journalism as en-gendered practice. *Journalism Studies*, 2(4), 531-554.

Ross, K. (2004). Sex at work: Gender politics and newsroom culture. In de Bruin, M. Ross, K. (Ed.), *Gender and newsroom cultures: Identities at work* (pp. 143-160). Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Rubin, H. & Rubin, I. (2005). *Qualitative Interviewing: The art of hearing data* (2nd Ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Rush, R. (2004). Three decades of women and mass communications research: The Ratio of Recurrent and Reinforced Residuum Hypothesis revisited. In Rush, R., Oukrop, C. & Creedon, P. (Eds.), *Seeking equity for women in journalism and mass communication education: A 30-year update* (pp. 263-274). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Rush, R., Oukrop, C., & Sarikakis, K. (2005). A Global Hypothesis for Women in Journalism and Mass Communications. *Gazette: The International Journal for Communication Studies*, 67(3), 239-253.

Ryan, M. & Haslam, A. (2005). The glass-cliff: Evidence that women are over-represented in precarious leadership positions. *British Journal of Management*, 16(2), 81-90.

- Sallop, L., & Kirby, S. (2007). The role of gender and work experience on career and work force diversity. *Journal of Behavioral and Applied Management*, 8(2), 122-140.
- Sanders, M. (1993). Television: The face of the network news is male. In Creedon, P. (Ed.) *Women in Mass Communication*, (2nd Ed., pp. 167-171). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Scarr, S., Phillips, D. & McCartney, K. (1989). Working mothers and their families. *American Psychologist*, 44(11), 1402-1409.
- Schneer, J. A. & Reitman, F. (2002). Managerial life without a wife: Family structure and managerial career success. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 37(1), 25-38.
- Schutt, R. (2006). *Investigating the social world: The process and practice of research*. (5th Ed.) Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.
- Seale, C. (2003) Quality in qualitative research. In Lincoln, Y. & Denzin, N. (Eds.) *Turning points in qualitative research: Tying knots in a handkerchief* (pp. 169-184). Rowman Altamira.
- Serini, S. A., Toth, E., Wright, D. K., & Emig, A. G. (1997). Watch for falling glass...women, men, and job satisfaction in public relations: A preliminary analysis. *Journal of Public Relations Research*, 9(2), 99-118.

- Sethi, V., Barrier, T., & King, R. C. (1999). An examination of the correlates of burnout in Information Systems professions. *Information Resources Management Journal*, 12(3), 5-13.
- Shoemaker, P., & Reese, S. (1996). *Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content*. White Plains, NY: Longman Publishers.
- Sinacore, A. L. & Akcali, F.O. (2000). Men in Families: Job Satisfaction and Self-Esteem. *Journal of Career Development*, 27(1), 1-13.
- Slass, L. (2001). *Progress or No Room at the Top?: The Role of Women in Telecommunications, Broadcast, Cable and E-companies*: The Annenberg Public Policy Center of the University of Pennsylvania.
- Smith, C., Fredin, E. S., & Nardone, C. A. F. (1993). Television: The nature of sex discrimination in local television news shops. In Creedon, P. (Ed.), *Women in mass communication* (2nd ed., pp. 168-172). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Smith, L. K. Tanner, A. H. & Duhe, S. F. (2007). Convergence Concerns in Local Television: Conflicting Views from the Newsroom. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 51(4), 555-574.
- Snir, R. & Harpaz, I. (2006). The workaholism phenomenon: a cross-national perspective. *Career Development International*, 11(5), 374-393.

Spakes, P. (1995). Women, work, and babies: Family-labor market policies in three European countries. *Affilia*, 10(4), 369-397.

Spelman, E. (1988). *Inessential woman: Problems of exclusion in feminist thought*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Spurr, S. J., & Sueyoshi, G. T. (1994). Turnover and promotion of lawyers. *The Journal of Human Resources*, 29(3), 813-842.

State of the News Media. (2008). *Newsroom economics*. Retrieved May 11, 2008 from <http://www.stateofthenewsmedia.com/2008> .

Steeves, L. (1987). Feminist theories and media studies. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 4(2), 95-135.

Steeves, L. (2004). Trends in feminist scholarship in journalism and communication: Finding common ground between scholars and activists globally. In Rush, R., Oukrop, C., & Creedon, P. (Eds.), *Seeking equity for women in journalism and mass communication education: A 30-year update*, (pp. 289-312). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

- Steeves, L. & Wasko, J. (2002). Feminist theory and political economy: Toward a friendly alliance. In Meehan, E. & Riordan, E. (Eds.), *Sex and money: Feminism and the political economy in media* (pp. 16-29), Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Stone, P. & Lovejoy, M. (2004). Fast-Track women and the "choice" to stay home. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 596(1), 62-83.
- Stone, V. (1997). Women break TV's glass ceiling. *Electronic Media*, 16(19), p. 1/3.
- Tepavcevic, S., Ness, S., & Slass, L. (2002). *The Glass Ceiling in the Executive Suite: The 2nd Annual APPC Analysis of Women Leaders in Communication Companies*: The Annenberg Public Policy Center of the University of Pennsylvania.
- The feminization of broadcasting: Good news or bad news?(2007, August) Panel discussion conducted by *Commission on the Status of Women and Radio-Television Journalism Division* of Association for Journalism and Mass Communication annual convention, Washington D.C.
- Thompson, C. & Prottas, D. (2005). Relationships among organizational family support, job autonomy, perceived control, and employee well-being. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 10(4), 100-118.

- Thompson, M. (1998). Breaking through the glass ceiling. *American Journalism Review*, 20(10), 43.
- Tong, R. (1998). *Feminist thought: A more comprehensive introduction* (2nd Ed.). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Toth, E., & Cline, C. G. (2007). Women in public relations: success linked to organizational and societal cultures. In Creedon, P. & Cramer, J. (Eds.), *Women in mass communication* (3rd ed., pp. 85-96). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Tuchman, G. (1978). *Making news: A study in the construction of reality*. New York: The Free Press.
- Tuchman, G. (2002). The production of news. In Jensen, K. (Ed.), *A Handbook of Media and Communication Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Methodologies*. New York: Routledge.
- U.S. Department of Labor. (1991) *A Report on the Glass Ceiling Initiative*.
- Valian, V. (1999). *Why so Slow: The advancement of women*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- van Zoonen, L. (1994). *Feminist media studies*. London: Sage Publications, Ltd.

- van Zoonen, L. (1998). One of the girls? The changing gender of journalism. In Carter, C., Branston, G. & Allan, S. (Eds.), *News, gender and Power* (pp. 33-46). London: Routledge.
- Vavrus, M. (2000). From women of the year to "soccer moms": The case of the incredible shrinking woman. *Political Communication*, 17(2), 193-213.
- Vavrus, M. (2007). Opting out moms in the news. *Feminist media studies*, 7(1), 47-63.
- Wackwitz, L. & Rakow, L. (2007). Got theory? In Creedon, P. & Cramer, J. (Eds.) *Women in mass communication* (3rd Ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Warren, C. A. B., & Karner, T. X. (2005). *Discovering qualitative methods: Field research, interviews, and analysis*. Los Angeles, CA: Roxbury Publishing Company.
- Wax, A. (2004). Family-friendly workplace reform: Prospects for change. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 596(1), 36-61.
- Wayne, J., Randel, A. & Stevens, J. (2006). The role of identity and work-family support in work-family enrichment and its work-related consequences. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 69, 445-461.

- Weaver, D., Beam, R., Brownlee, B. Voakes, P. & Wilhoit, G. (2007). *The American journalist in the 21st Century: U.S. news people at the dawn of a new millennium*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.
- Weedon, C. (1999). *Feminism, theory and the politics of difference*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.
- Wharton, A. (1991). Structure and agency in socialist-feminist theory. *Gender & Society*, 5(3), 373-389.
- Whitlow, S. (1977). How male and female gatekeepers respond to news stories of women. *Journalism Quarterly*, 54(3), 573-579.
- Whitney, D. (2002). Most powerful women in television. *Electronic Media*, 21(41), 8-17.
- Willard, A. (2007, May). Why do women leave newspaper jobs? *Quill*, 23.
- Williams, J. (2000). *Unbending gender: Why family and work conflict and what to do about it*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Women in Cable and Telecommunications Foundation. (2001). Diversity through investment: Findings of the Women in Cable and Telecommunications Foundation's Best Practices Initiative. Retrieved December 12, 2005 from <http://www.wict.org/NR/rdonlyres/BA19C3F1-9> .

Wrigley, B. (2005, May). *What's the Buzz? The Queen Bee Syndrome in Public Relations*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Communication Association, New York, NY.

Vita
Kim Garris LeGore

Education

- 2009 Ph.D., The Pennsylvania State University, College of Communications
- 1990 Master's of Science in Broadcast Journalism, Boston University
- 1987 Bachelor of Arts in Mass Communications, Jacksonville State University

Academic Work History

- 2005-Present Assistant Professor, Shippensburg University
- 2004-2005 Instructor, Shippensburg University
- 2004-2005 Instructor, The Pennsylvania State University-Capital Campus

Broadcasting Work History

- | | | |
|-----------|-------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1995-2004 | Anchor/Reporter, ABC27 | Harrisburg, PA |
| 1994-1995 | Reporter, New England Cable News | Boston, MA |
| 1994-1995 | Reporter, WMTW-TV | Portland, ME |
| 1994-1995 | Correspondent, USA Networks | Jersey City, NJ |
| 1992-1994 | Reporter, WAFF-TV | Huntsville, AL |
| 1990-1992 | Reporter, WJSU-TV | Anniston, AL |
| 1988-1990 | Reporter, Neighborhood Network News | Boston, MA |
| 1988 | News Reporter, WDNG-AM Radio 1450 | Anniston, AL |

Publications

- Hardin, M., Simpson, S., Whiteside, E., & Garris, K. (2006). The "gender war" in U.S. sport: Winners and losers in news coverage of Title IX. *Mass Communication & Society*, 10(2), 211-233.

Conferences and Presentations

- Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication Annual Conference: August 2007
Panel Presentation: Rethinking TV Newswork: Possibilities for Quality News and Work-life
- Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communications Annual Conference: August 2007
Poster Presentation: Does Interactivity serve the Public Interest?: The role of Political Blogs in Deliberative Democracy
- National Cable and Telecommunications Association/ Cable Center Academic Conference: April 7-9, 2006
Poster Presentation: The Glass Ceiling in Television Management: A Comparison of Cable and Broadcasting

Awards

- Froke Scholarship, The Pennsylvania State University, 2007/2008
- Anderson Scholarship, The Pennsylvania State University, 2007/2008