

## 4. Where have all the young men gone? Gender imbalance in tertiary journalism courses

### ABSTRACT

This project worked with groups of students who typically apply to tertiary journalism courses. Some students joined focus groups, some completed questionnaires, all had the opportunity to discuss their impressions of journalism and what might attract them to such a course. This research is set against published literature which highlights a gender imbalance in journalism courses but does not address it. The project reveals participants' perceptions, largely based on the television news they see, determine their consideration of journalism as a career. It provides an insight into how young males view the news and the men who present it.

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**T**ERTIARY journalism courses in New Zealand currently offer approximately 260 students a year the opportunity to study for diplomas and degrees as preparation for a career in the news media. Anecdotal and statistical evidence shows these courses attract more applicants than the places available, with several turning away more than they accept. Most applicants apply to the schools with similar backgrounds, skills and aspirations. The courses offer similar content with varying opportunities for specialisation. Against the similarities is one glaring difference. Most applicants are female, although in 2005 most schools reported higher numbers of male applicants. In some cases the ratio has been as high as 7:1 (female: male).

### **The growth of journalism education**

The number of journalism courses and students in Australia and New Zea-

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land has mushroomed since the first university journalism graduate left Canterbury University in 1915. Australian students now have 18 journalism courses to choose from and New Zealanders have 11, nine teaching New Zealand Journalists' Training Organisation-approved unit standards, among diplomas, degrees and one post-graduate diploma. The annual survey of journalism and mass communication enrolments in American colleges, conducted every year since 1968, shows increases in recent years. More than 170,000 students enrol each year and women students are 'the highest percentages ... probably since the end of World War II' (Becker, Vlad, Hugh & Daniels, 2002). Likewise, preliminary research of applicants to three of New Zealand's journalism courses revealed a gender imbalance over five years in favour of women, with ratios as high as nine females to each male (Densem, 2003).

A 2003 survey of New Zealand's journalists provides a snapshot of the news media, although its significance is open to question because of a poor response rate. Respondents were 53 percent female and 47 percent male. Half had completed an undergraduate degree (Lealand, 2004). Overseas research into education levels of journalists found 79 percent of Dutch journalists have a BA or MA degree, as do 82 percent of American journalists, 65 percent of German journalists, 49 percent in Britain and 35 percent in Australia (Deuze, 2001). A report from the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development shows numbers of women have overtaken those of men at every level of education in developed countries around the world. New Zealand women have the highest participation rate in tertiary education in the world, at 89 percent, compared to 62 percent for men (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2003).

It seems no research has been conducted to profile the Kiwi journalism student; however Australian research provides some clues, for example, a profile of a typical student as being a 19-year-old female who wants to work in magazines or the features section of a newspaper. She reads a tabloid newspaper and watches commercial television (Alysen & Oakham, 1996). Or a typical newspaper cadetship applicant as a 17 to 18-year-old urban female, likely to have attended a private school, with best subject English, wanting to become a journalist to satisfy her desire to write (Pearson, 1988).

A majority of Australian tertiary students, asked why they were studying journalism, cited its vocational opportunities, while others said they enjoyed writing (Alysen & Oakham, 1996). Another study found students wanted to



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be journalists so they could write, deal with current events, do creative work, serve society, plus a few wanted to meet famous people or become well known themselves (Pearson, 1988). Trendle Polus (2002, p. 24) also found ‘evidence of glamour and celebrity’ as factors in choosing to study journalism, while in New Zealand school careers advisors also state that ‘the glamour element is important’ (Cropp, 2003). A careers advisor says peer pressure has an effect and ‘teenagers are very concerned with being cool so they’ll choose careers that are seen as being cool’.

Statistics and research show more women have entered the workforce in recent decades in many occupations, including white-collar work similar to journalism. Britain’s Equal Opportunities Commission (2000, p. 1) refers to ‘a growing convergence between the participation of women and men in paid work’. A report from the commission (2000, p. 2) states that ‘between 1984

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and 1999 the employment rate for women rose from 58 to 69 percent whilst for men there has been no overall change'. A later report by the same commission (2001, p. 1) says 'by the end of the 20th century, younger women's qualifications had increased to a similar level to men's'. Another British study found the whole nature of people's careers had changed (Halford, Savage & Witz, 1997). Work has become casualised with many more people on short-term or part-time contracts. This often suits women, particularly those juggling home and work commitments, more than men, who still seek steady on-going fulltime careers.

#### **Role models**

Many people's perceptions of journalism are based on observations of news and current affairs programmes, for example, listening to or watching Paul Holmes, widely considered New Zealand's most successful broadcaster, in his radio or television shows. Indeed, his radio manager Bill Francis describes him as 'a once-in-a-lifetime broadcasting genius' (Francis, 2002, p. 60). This standing was tested in September 2003, when, on his nationwide radio show, Holmes referred to United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan as a 'cheeky darkie'. The comment resulted in public condemnation and media commentary, including complaints to the Broadcasting Standards Authority and calls for Holmes to be sacked. While the comment was dismissed by some as a rush of blood to Holmes' head, it was raised by this study's participants as having damaged their impression of him. Three weeks after his comment, newspapers reported Holmes receiving a \$30,000 increase in pay, taking his television salary to more than \$700,000 (*New Zealand Herald*, 2003). These figures were raised by participants during discussions about salary perception and importance.

By contrast, radio host Martin Devlin has a following on the strength of his opinionated and unpredictable delivery. Of Devlin, Francis (2002, p. 149) writes: 'He's zany, feisty, challenging ... the biggest "fresh" talent in radio since Paul Holmes.' Devlin's reputation for an extraordinary sports knowledge is further boosted by regular appearances on a television sports quiz show. Young male sports fans also speak highly of sports broadcaster Tony Veitch and say they respect 'the old guard' of Peter Montgomery and Keith Quinn, but prefer the colloquial, quirky and often irreverent style of the younger Veitch and Devlin.

McGregor & Comrie (2002, p. 8) cite British journalist Bernard Levin asking 'whether journalism was an art, a science, a craft, a confidence trick or a disease'. The introduction to the book *What's news? Reclaiming journalism in New Zealand* (McGregor & Comrie, 2002, p. 7) says 'the news has tumbled as a means of information and entertainment and there is declining belief in its integrity'. It refers to New Zealand's journalism as 'driven by all-consuming forces of commercialism, a terrible hybridisation of news characterised by superficiality and sloppiness has knocked the stuffing out of journalism' (McGregor & Comrie, 2002, p. 7) and says 'changing patterns in journalism have left professional reporters and their audiences wondering what journalism is for' (McGregor & Comrie, 2002, p. 13).

Australian political commentator Mungo MacCallum (Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 2002b) believes today's media is 'subservient, a gutless media, a censored media'. Chris Cramer, head of CNN's International networks, believes the media generally is 'obsessed with celebrity news, obsessed with lifestyle and medical stories, obsessed with reality television and reporting reality television, and obsessed with car chases' (Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 2002c). It seems journalists themselves are generally lowly regarded. John Hartigan, chief executive officer of News Ltd, told a conference (Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 2002a) 'journalists are often disconnected snobs and pompous know-alls' and columnist Dave Barry wrote 'when I tell people I work for a newspaper, I've detected the subtle signs of disapproval—the dirty looks, the snide remarks' (Barry, 2003). Yet journalism is also seen as a glamorous profession, 'the stuff adventures are made of, with reporters dashing off to exotic destinations on missions of intrigue, uncovering corrupt officials' (Pearson & Johnson, 1998, p. 1).

### **Method**

This study employed both qualitative and quantitative research methods to explore why fewer young men than women study for a journalism career. Qualitative research was first employed to gain an understanding of the perceptions of young media students and likely entrants to journalism. It undertook three focus groups, plus interviews, observations and discussion. Quantitative research tested how reliable or widespread these perceptions were in samples of the same population at large. It undertook surveys with classes of students, the formation of a database and analysis of

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the data. The qualitative and quantitative research focused on male and female students at secondary schools. This included a cross-section of single-sex and co-educational, lower and higher decile schools. It surveyed tertiary mass communication students (because preliminary research showed many apply for journalism courses), as well as radio and television students in a media course separately offering journalism studies. The only identifying factor respondents were required to give was gender. The research was conducted in Christchurch, New Zealand.

### **Analysis**

This section aims to correlate the findings of the focus group research, questionnaire responses, information gathered from industry sources and published literature. The word *participants* is used to describe all people who took part in the study (focus group members, questionnaire *respondents*, students involved in discussion after completing and handing back questionnaires, educators and news industry members) and *respondents* describes only those who answered the questionnaire. Throughout the project, these variables were considered:

- gender—male perceptions against female;
- study level—secondary school against tertiary students;
- considering journalism—those students considering journalism as a career and those not.

### *Describing journalism*

Most respondents (68 percent) consider the career of journalism to be interesting, but many also consider it serious and difficult. They certainly do not describe the career as fun. While most respondents consider journalism to be interesting, they probably consider many things that way, as they are young and exploring options. Their impression it is serious and difficult is of more value to this study. Among all 118 male and 162 female respondents, whether considering the career or not, the second most common perception (16 percent) is that the career of journalism is 'serious'. Males in particular feel that way, especially those *not* considering the career, so we could surmise this is a factor putting them off considering becoming a journalist. When added to the perception among both males *and* females *not* considering the career that

journalism is difficult *and* not much fun, we can start to see why the career is not attracting them.

There is certainly an impression among participants that the process and presentation of news is restrictive. This confirms the opinion of an Australian former head of a journalism school that young males struggle with the confines of news (Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 1996). That impression of restriction seems to imply little fun to be had. The word 'fun' came up often during this study, particularly the perceived lack of it in journalism. This is possibly not surprising as students are mostly 16 to 23 years old, an age where having fun is a priority.

In one focus group of tertiary media students, a male said he is working towards a career in radio programming because 'journalism seems hard and I'm not sure I have the smarts'. Another spoke of his belief that to be a journalist, 'you have to be pretty clued up before you start' and another said 'it seems too academic'. This did not, however, seem to concern females. A female added 'journalism seems a bit serious' and three males in the group loudly agreed with her, with one adding 'and a bit unforgiving'. Reasons for not considering the career include a secondary female student feeling journalism would be 'depressing to work in', agreed with by a male who believes 'most news is bad and focuses on the negative', and another agreeing 'we don't get to hear about good things, except before the ads'.

#### *Gender balance in journalism*

Most respondents (40 percent) consider the gender balance of broadcasting journalists to be about even, although male tertiary students and males not considering journalism as a career perceive a high number of female journalists. The majority of males in all the focus groups believe there are more females in journalism than males and are put off by that. One voiced it succinctly—'we see young females and older balding males. That's not me.' The message from the males involved in this project is the men they see in the media are ones few identify with, or could see themselves as. More than that, these are men many do not want to see themselves as.

Several have the impression, based largely on the presentation of television journalists, journalism is not only a serious career, but also conservative. A male tertiary student believes 'there's a certain look about them', with another two adding 'and all the females look the same'. There are negative

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impressions of males they see on television too—‘always wearing collar and tie and standing up straight’ and ‘not someone to have a barbeque with’. This clearly does not attract these young men to journalism, yet the business-like appearance of women on television was not raised as a negative by young women.

#### *Blokey*

Most respondents consider the career of journalism to be well respected and ‘cool’, but definitely not ‘blokey’, a word used by participants to mean masculine, self-confident, staunch but not necessarily macho, and a certain amount of devil-may-care attitude. An overwhelming number of focus group participants believe journalism is not ‘blokey’. This word first surfaced in the focus groups and high numbers of respondents to the questionnaire agreed (79 percent). Those impressions are strongest among those not considering the career, whether male or female. Many believe current affairs programmes allow for what participants call ‘heavy’ stories (perceived as more ‘blokey’) to be told, but the daily news is perceived to be ‘light’, so not a ‘bloke’s’ domain.

Tertiary males in focus groups felt part of the ‘blokeyness’ of a job hinges on its stability. Journalism is generally not considered by them to be a stable career, therefore not for them. The impression a journalist must move often between workplaces and cities appears prevalent and a disincentive. The more ‘blokey’ aspects of journalism are generally agreed to be sports reporting or commentating and war reporting. A male tertiary student suggested the New Zealand culture is ‘staunch and looks down on males who are “out there” presenting themselves’. There was general agreement with this comment in this group, echoed by another male saying ‘guys don’t like to get out of their depth’ and another saying ‘we like to be in control’. They perceive the control in journalism not to be with journalists, but with editors.

#### *Cool*

The word ‘cool’ was one participants used often, apparently to imply social acceptance and appreciation. Both males and females considering journalism as a career are sure it is ‘cool’ (82 percent male, 72 percent female). Those not considering the career consider it less ‘cool’. Some aspects of journalism are considered ‘cool’, for example sport among most of the males. However



it seems 'trying to be cool' is frowned on. Disparaging comments were made about a female television news presenter they perceive 'tries to be cool' and enjoys the celebrity factor of her job. On the other hand, some secondary students said 'her clothes are cool'. These comments contrast with comments about the clothes men wear on television.

### *Salary*

Most respondents (55 percent) do not know whether journalists are well paid or not. Those considering journalism are not doing so for the money, nor are those not pursuing the career dismissing it because of perceptions of journalists' salaries. This finding supports a careers advisor's observations of the importance of employment enjoyment versus salary (Cropp, 2003). Participants in this study, male and female, at both secondary and tertiary level, made similar statements insisting money was not their career decider, including the comment 'I would rather have a career I enjoy than a lot of money'. The contrary view was of some tertiary students who believe a job with a good income is important to pay off student loans. However, a secondary school media studies teacher believes journalists' pay scales keep boys out of his classes. He said 'boys make subject choices with income in mind' and believes that works against journalism (P.A. Hewson, personal communication, July 6, 2003).

### *The role of a journalist*

Most participants believe the role of a journalist is to inform (52 percent) and investigate (36 percent), with entertainment a lesser consideration and holding people to account almost negligible. Most believe journalists largely get the informing role right, but don't do enough investigation. By contrast, some believe, and dislike, journalists to be 'pushy'. There is a definite feeling that a lot of the news they are offered is negative, dull, light and presented in a prescribed way—all off-putting to these students, particularly males. Few see entertainment as part of a journalist's role, though males considering the career rate it a higher priority (13 percent) than those not (6 percent). This probably relates to males' interest in becoming sports journalists sensing more entertainment there. Very few participants (3 percent) consider holding people to account an important part of a journalist's job description, though news-room professionals rate it highly (Deuze, 2001). The students' responses are

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likely to be connected to their perceptions of news bulletins being lightweight and their admission they don't watch many current affairs items or documentaries.

In this study, the few who do consider this aspect important are tertiary students considering journalism as a career. This suggests assessment changes with age and exposure to media education. This would be supported by Eveland (1997, 1998) who found 'those with higher education are more likely to engage in elaborative processing of mediated information' (cited in Gross, 2001). Hoijer (1989) also 'argues that stored information provides a reference point with which to compare new information' (Gross, 2001).

#### *Impressions of male and female journalists*

Participants generally consider female journalists to be 'intelligent, determined and credible' on the positive side, as well as 'serious and good-looking' which have negative implications. There seemed to be reluctance from some participants to voice the notion they hinted at that a young good-looking female is not always taken seriously. 'Intelligent' and 'determined' rate as the top impressions respondents have of male journalists, but 'serious' rates highly too and is definitely considered by participants to have negative implications, particularly among males not considering the career. Males and females not considering the career at either study level perceive both male and female journalists to be serious and not much fun. Several are clearly dismissing the career because of those impressions.

#### *Role models*

The majority of role models named by participants were presenters rather than journalists, although in conversation many students at both study levels named what they termed 'in-the-field reporters' or spoke of not being able to recall the names of many of those. The woman respondents named most often as a positive role model was then *One News* presenter Judy Bailey, with participants speaking of her 'straight up' and 'straight down the middle' professional presentation. It seems Bailey is revered for the very qualities which appear to count against male journalists. Similar comments about delivery were made about Carol Hirschfeld, then co-presenter of *3 News*, with most saying she 'doesn't speak down to me'. Her good looks were mentioned positively, at odds with other comments made in this study. By contrast, students

made several unflattering comments about Kim Hill's appearance on camera, yet praised her intellect and ability to get an answer from an interviewee. Former netballer, turned *One Sport* presenter, April Bruce was mentioned favourably because she does not fit the female presenters' perceived mould.

The male role models provided a few surprises. *3 News* presenter and journalist John Campbell was definitely the most often named positive male role model. There was respect for *One News*' former presenter Richard Long, though Campbell's lesser age was a plus for the participants. Both men were rated for the way they 'just tell the news'. Campbell also has the reputation of being slightly unpredictable, which was not only a plus for the participants but also offset his being what they don't like—a man wearing a suit, sitting still while delivering largely dull and bad news. Paul Holmes' name came up often during this project. His name was offered as a person whose job participants would like and would not like, would like to be and would not like to be, respect and do not respect, who does a good job and who does a poor job. The one thing they agreed on was they would like his salary, which is interesting against their not making career decisions based on salary. Radio host Martin Devlin was mentioned favourably in focus groups, though barely mentioned in questionnaire responses. Both he and Tony Veitch are appreciated by participants for their quirky approach and for not fitting the mould news journalists and presenters are perceived to be in. In contrast to Holmes, because Devlin is younger, works in sport and is considered 'cool', his unpredictability and 'naughtiness' is apparently a plus. There clearly are different expectations of the two men.

The three surprises in the male role model discussions and responses were weather presenter Jim Hickey, satirical presenters Havoc and Newsboy and Darren McDonald, a *3 News* presenter sacked after being convicted on drugs charges. Perhaps the students simply know these men's names, but it seems the common ground is the perception of their being outside the perceived norm. There is the perception of their being 'cool' and 'blokey', challenging convention and perhaps even being on the outer. The essence of the selection of participants' role models was choosing qualities with which they identify. They chose role models based on how they wish to see themselves and characteristics, appearances and opportunities they would like themselves to have.

*Glamour and celebrity*

Although glamour and celebrity were found in an American study (Trendle Polus, 2002) to be factors in choosing to study journalism, they did not seem obvious factors in this one—if we consider personal celebrity. A male tertiary student, asked about desire to be a recognisable face on television, said he valued his privacy too much to be on television. This prompted another to wonder aloud whether potential exposure puts men off journalism. There is something to consider here against participants' comments about the Kiwi culture, men wanting to look staunch and the words 'blokey' and 'cool'. On the other hand, the media bombards young women with information on how to be more noticed (through advice on clothes, hair and makeup, for example), so perhaps many young women are generally more comfortable with being 'out there' than young men are.

An interesting discussion in this area was around what one male tertiary student termed 'journalists elevated to "star" just because they're on television'. Several agreed journalists should tell stories, not promote themselves, and a male suggested 'there is too much emphasis on personality'. That clearly is not 'cool' or 'blokey' and supports comments about young men not wanting to 'be out there'. However, it also goes against impressions of male journalists being predictable and prescribed. The findings of this study would seem to be more in line with Pearson's study (1988) where a small number of journalism students indicated choosing the career to meet famous people or become well known themselves, although no-one in this study voiced that desire. Possibly openly stating you want fame would not be 'cool'.

*Specialisation*

Most respondents, whether male or female, considering journalism or not, would choose to report entertainment news. Is this overwhelming interest in reporting entertainment a reflection of the opinion the media is 'obsessed with celebrity news' (Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 2002c)? Or does it support the importance of glamour in a career (Cropp, 2003)? It is probably glamour and celebrity in another guise. It suggests younger students see journalism as a passport to being at the 'cool' places with the 'cool' people, a type of reflected celebrity and is therefore in line with Pearson's findings (1988). In marketing parlance, it could be said participants focus on the sizzle, rather than the sausage. For example, a male secondary school student involved in

this study is keen to become a journalist so he can work for a magazine he subscribes to, which test-drives new cars. Another thought being a journalist would be fun because she could write movie reviews.

### *Sport*

Sport was the second-highest reporting preference for males overall and the *most* preferred among males considering journalism as a career. Several males spoke of wanting to become a sports reporter because 'it would be cool', but were unclear on the way in and not sure they would attend a journalism course which includes city council meetings and court hearings. Disparaging comments were made in one focus group about sports stars who gain reporting and commentating roles by virtue of their on-field past. Ironically, these sports stars were probably admired, considered 'cool' and 'blokey' while a sportsperson, but not now wearing a suit while seated at a desk speaking within a formatted programme. The sports stars' backgrounds were considered relevant to some roles, but it was generally agreed among participants that journalists require solid education and training, even though some males are put off journalism by its academic image.

### *Boys vs girls*

In a focus group of secondary students, a male spoke of his belief that a journalist must be well organised, which he felt ruled him out, along with most of his mates. He suggested it was therefore a better career for females, who he considers generally better organised and naturally able to multi-task. In another group, a female suggested 'journalism seems to need maturity and you have to remember guys mature later'. Welham (2003) writes about the inability of males to do more than one thing at a time and why they find it difficult to work in busy environments. She refers to research suggesting 'boys are hardwired for numeracy and scientific thought, while girls are hardwired for linguistics'. This point often came up in discussion during this project, with teachers, parents and students speaking of boys' preference to work with numbers, rather than words. In the secondary students' focus group, it was suggested as the reason more males choose the technical side of the media, while females prefer writing and talking. This is reflected also in the higher numbers of female respondents anticipating a career in front of a camera or microphone.

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These comments seem to support Platts' (1999) belief that communication, interpersonal and problem solving skills are increasingly seen as the keys of the future. It could be argued that if these skills come more easily to females, the communication industry would naturally be more attractive to educated and articulate young women. A media studies teacher at an all-boys secondary school said he struggles to get the best English students into his class. He says many teachers and parents feel media studies is not an academic subject, so encourage boys to choose science and mathematics subjects (P.A. Hewson, personal communication, July 6, 2003). It is possible males come to journalism later. Several males apply to the journalism course this researcher is associated with after study, travel or a few years in another field. These men generally have a wider view of the world, a stronger sense of self, know what journalism entails and are sure it is the career they want. At an older age, men may also have a different view of what is 'serious' and 'difficult'.

### **Conclusion**

This project posed the question 'Where have all the young men gone?' It seems they are discounting journalism because they do not identify with the men and women they observe in it. Most young students making career decisions seem to be basing their view of journalism on television news they see. Perception is their reality and many young men are turned off journalism by their perceptions. Participants in this study generally consider journalists to be intelligent, sometimes insensitive, good-looking young women and older men, who wear suits, look the same as each other and offer mostly bad news in a serious and formatted way. To them, this is not 'cool' and certainly not the way young men want to be.

Most respondents to the questionnaire believe a career in journalism could be interesting, but many also believe it would be serious, difficult and not much fun. The image of difficulty seems to extend to academic background. There is a prevalent belief that journalism requires academically inclined people, which many males do not believe they are. Participants, particularly males, believe much news coverage is lightweight and therefore not a male domain. These aspects are off-putting to many young men, who crave excitement, want to push boundaries, have fun, be 'cool' and 'blokey'. Most believe a career in journalism would not fulfill this wish-list. Young men do not want to be contained within a prescribed format, which is their view of jour-

nalism. They are drawn towards sports and war reporting, because of perceived ruggedness and lack of convention there. They admire role models whose presence and attitude challenge the perceived prescription. They want news delivered to them in a way they relate to, by people they identify with. Today's multiplicity of media gives young people increased access to information carefully styled for them and made more immediate and accessible than ever before.

Young people's attraction to popular culture, trends and reporting of celebrity is reflected in how many respondents would opt to report entertainment news if they became a journalist. Students follow the popular stories about people in the spotlight and see journalism as a way to get to the 'cool' places alongside 'cool' people. Some males appear turned off journalism by the belief good looks are required for it. There is something risky and unappealing about men being 'out there'. Male students want to be 'blokey', staunch and one of the boys—not qualities they ascribe to male journalists they see standing straight on screen, wearing a collar and tie, speaking earnestly about issues students might not care about.

Students are unsure of exactly what journalism is and want some clearly defined grounds on which to decide whether it is right for them. They want to be sure before they begin a journalism course. Through the discussions and data involved in this research also runs a thread of increased focus, more acute observation and more informed decision-making as students age and become more educated, either academically or in the ways and issues of the world. Those are generalities and within them are ambiguities and conflicting beliefs. For example, secondary and tertiary males have different views of the world; those living at home sometimes get different information and experiences to those living away from home.

While young men want a 'cool' and 'blokey' career which does not restrict them, they do not want it to involve unreliable hours or moving cities. That would seem to preclude war reporting, which they say appeals to them. They say they do not mind whether their career pays well or not, but want to be able to pay their bills. They are not sure they want to be publicly recognisable, yet want to be around people who are. They scorn conformity, yet don't want to be 'out there'. They want to fit in, yet admire men who do not. Though they take their career choice seriously, boys just want to have fun—which is the basis on which many rule out journalism.

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