

MANAGING “AMAZONIA”:
A CULTURAL CASE STUDY
OF FEMALE LEADERSHIP
AT THE *SARASOTA HERALD-TRIBUNE*

A Dissertation
presented to
the Faculty of the Graduate School
University of Missouri-Columbia

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

By TRACY EVERBACH
Dr. Betty Houchin Winfield, Dissertation Supervisor
DECEMBER 2004

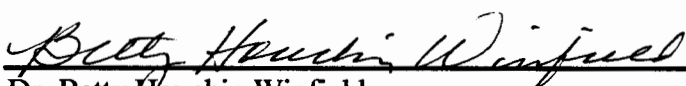
The undersigned, appointed by the Dean of the Graduate School, have examined the dissertation entitled

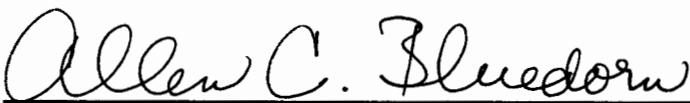
MANAGING "AMAZONIA":
A CULTURAL CASE STUDY
OF FEMALE LEADERSHIP
AT THE SARASOTA HERALD-TRIBUNE


Presented by Tracy Everbach

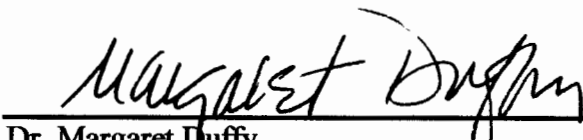
A candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy


And hereby certify that in their opinion it is worthy of acceptance.


Dr. Betty Houchin Winfield


Dr. Allen C. Bluedorn


Dr. Charles N. Davis


Dr. Margaret Duffy


Dr. Esther Thorson

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project would not have been possible without the extraordinary cooperation of the managers and employees in the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*'s newsroom, who were welcoming, helpful, candid and fascinating to observe and interview. I am grateful to publisher Diane McFarlin, former executive editor Janet Weaver and former managing editor Rosemary Armao for being so receptive to my initial proposal and for granting me unrestricted access to the newsroom. As the project progressed, Armao's successor, Diane Tennant, was incredibly generous with her time, insights and logistical help.

I am particularly indebted to Dr. Betty Houchin Winfield, dissertation supervisor, for her guidance, wisdom, hours of time and patience. I also am grateful to Dr. Charles N. Davis, dissertation committee member, for his advice and counsel, and to Dr. Allen C. Bluedorn, Dr. Margaret Duffy and Dr. Esther Thorson, dissertation committee members, for their work and assistance. Finally, thank you to Jake Batsell for your never-ending help, support and encouragement.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
LIST OF TABLES	iv
ABSTRACT	v
Chapter	
1. A MANAGEMENT MILESTONE FOR NEWSPAPER WOMEN, 1999-2003.....	1
2. FEMALE LEADERSHIP AT THE <i>SARASOTA HERALD-TRIBUNE</i> ...	50
3. A HOLISTIC NEWSROOM CULTURE.....	74
4. REACTION TO FEMALE-LED NEWSPAPER.....	112
5. THE INFLUENCE OF FEMALE MANAGEMENT ON THE <i>HERALD-TRIBUNE'S</i> CONTENT.....	141
6. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	181
APPENDICES	
1. APPENDIX A, Observation	196
2. APPENDIX B, Interviews	199
3. APPENDIX C, Cultural Product Analysis	205
4. APPENDIX D, Rape-Related Stories	208
BIBLIOGRAPHY	231
VITA	241

TABLES

Table	Page
1. <i>Sarasota Herald-Tribune</i> Page One Stories by Gender-Designated Writer.	148
2. <i>Sarasota Herald-Tribune</i> Page One Sources by Writers' Gender.....	149
3. <i>Sarasota Herald-Tribune</i> Local News Stories by Gender-Designated Writer.....	153
4. <i>Sarasota Herald-Tribune</i> Local News Sources by Writers' Gender.....	154
5. <i>Sarasota Herald-Tribune</i> Business News Stories by Gender-Designated Writer.....	157
6. <i>Sarasota Herald-Tribune</i> Business News Sources by Writers' Gender.....	158
7. <i>Sarasota Herald-Tribune</i> Sports Stories by Gender-Designated Writer	160
8. <i>Sarasota Herald-Tribune</i> Sports Sources by Writers' Gender.....	161
9. <i>Sarasota Herald-Tribune</i> Lifestyle Stories by Gender-Designated Writer...	163
10. <i>Sarasota Herald-Tribune</i> Lifestyle Sources by Writers' Gender	164
11. Use of Sources in the <i>Sarasota Herald-Tribune</i> By Section and Gender.....	165
12. Use of Images in the <i>Sarasota Herald-Tribune</i> By Section and Subjects' Gender.....	168

MANAGING “AMAZONIA”:
A CULTURAL CASE STUDY
OF FEMALE LEADERSHIP
AT THE *SARASOTA HERALD-TRIBUNE*

Tracy Everbach

Dr. Betty Houchin Winfield, Dissertation Supervisor

ABSTRACT

This ethnographic study, the first comprehensive examination of a newspaper managed by women at its highest levels, found that female leaders made some differences in newsroom management and culture, and, to a lesser degree, newspaper content. Based on feminist and organizational theories, the study entailed an examination of the *Sarasota* (Fla.) *Herald-Tribune* during a time when an all-female management team led the newspaper. Through the methods of interviews, observation and content analysis, the study found that the managers brought their feminine standpoints to the workplace. They created a work environment that emphasized teamwork, consensus and a balance of work and family. The study also found that the female leadership changed some of the processes and philosophies that had been established by previous male managers at the newspaper. However, the outcome revealed that established masculine news values and practices of reporting, images, editing, and news selection remained entrenched despite the all-female management team. The female gatekeepers selected and published news topics that conformed to male-dominated news values and influenced content only in small, selected areas.

CHAPTER 1

A MANAGEMENT MILESTONE FOR NEWSPAPER WOMEN, 1999-2003

This is the study of an era. From 1999 to 2003, the *Sarasota (Fla.) Herald-Tribune* morning newspaper, circulation 106,000 in 2004, was the only large newspaper in the United States led exclusively by women. In January 2004, a man took over the job of the newspaper's executive editor and ended the reign of what the women managers and employees of the newsroom nicknamed "Amazonia" after the legendary Amazon tribe of women warriors. This study examines the period of female leadership and its influences on the organization, its culture, the management and the content of the newspaper.

As noted by mass media scholars, media set their own dominant news values of the United States. By their very process, the mass media teach people what to think about and reinforce dominant social values. In his 1922 book *Public Opinion*, Walter Lippmann noted that the news media influence the public agenda and help create "pictures in our heads."¹ Four decades later, in 1963, Bernard Cohen maintained that the media have the ability to select and tell the public what topics are important.² In 1972, Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw pointed out the function of media as public agenda-setting entities that tell people not what to think, but what to think about.³

¹ Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (New York: Macmillan, 1922), 29.

² Please see Bernard Cohen, *The Press and Foreign Policy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963).

³ Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw, "The agenda-setting function of mass media," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 36 (1972): 176-187.

The media traditionally have emphasized men and male viewpoints and rarely have focused on women and their concerns. In 1978, Gaye Tuchman found “symbolic annihilation” of women in the media, noting the frequent absence from and trivialization of women in the American mass media.⁴ The media may set the public agenda, but that agenda mainly has included the activities, interests and experiences of men.⁵ Harvey Molotch reinforced the notion that women are not part of dominant United States media values when he wrote in 1978 that news is “men talking to men,” and noted that the newspaper business is controlled primarily by men.⁶ More recently, Maurine Beasley asserted that while women now are the majority of journalism students, their influences have not significantly changed dominant news values in the United States, mainly because few women serve in the highest ranks of news organizations.⁷ Women have more influence in newsrooms than in past decades and their increase in numbers has coincided with a focus by journalists on stories about social problems, personalities and

⁴ Gaye Tuchman, Arlene Kaplan Daniels and James Benet (eds.) *Hearth and Home: Images of Women in the Mass Media* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 3-38.

⁵ Kay Mills, “What Difference Do Women Journalists Make?” in Pippa Norris (ed.), *Women, Media, and Politics* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 43.

⁶ Harvey Molotch, “The News of Women and the Work of Men,” in Tuchman, Daniels and Benet (eds.) *Hearth and Home* (1978), 180.

⁷ Maurine H. Beasley, “Is There a New Majority Defining the News?” in Pamela Creedon (ed.) *Women in Mass Communication*, Second Edition (Newbury Park, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1993), 130-131. See also Maurine H. Beasley and Sheila J. Gibbons, *Taking Their Place: A Documentary History of Women and Journalism* (Washington, D.C.: American University Press, 1993), 26.

human interest, according to David Weaver.⁸ However, Weaver noted, “changing the culture, structure, and values of news organizations, especially large ones, is not a quick and simple matter.”⁹ Kay Mills asserted that because women have different experiences in society than men, women journalists and editors bring different viewpoints to stories and consider different stories to be news.¹⁰ Mills maintained women have helped changed the definition of what is news since their numbers increased in newsrooms in the latter half of the twentieth century. But while more women work at newspapers than in the past, they remain poorly represented in decision-making positions at newspapers.¹¹

The dearth of women in newspaper management makes more unusual the all-women management team at the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*. This dissertation examines the newspaper and its female leadership, using theoretical bases in the fields of feminism in women’s studies and business management. The central research question is: How did the all-women management team at the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* shape the organizational culture and influence the operation, management and content of the newspaper?

Organizational culture and feminist approaches

Culture, as defined by organizational theorist Edgar Schein, is “the accumulated shared learning of a given group, covering behavioral, emotional and cognitive elements

⁸ David Weaver, “Women as Journalists,” in Pippa Norris (ed.), *Women, Media, and Politics* (1997), 38-39.

⁹ Ibid., 39.

¹⁰ Mills, “What Difference Do Women Journalists Make?” 41-42.

¹¹ Ibid., 53-55.

of the group members' total psychological functioning."¹² The organization is the unit under study: the newspaper, its physical components, its product, and its managers and employees. The organizational culture of a group is revealed through its shared basic assumptions, its artifacts or physical manifestations, and its espoused values.¹³

According to Schein, such assumptions tell members of the organization how to behave, think, and feel about the organization.¹⁴ This study examines the values indoctrinated to employees within the organization and the ways in which those values are manifested in the workplace. Feminism, according to Josephine Donovan, "is a political interpretation of the condition of being a woman."¹⁵ Cultural feminism views women as a cultural group with its own values, practices and "standpoint."¹⁶

This research examines the socialization of newspaper employees and the organizational culture of the newspaper with a theoretical basis in organizational theory. Unlike much of the organizational research, which focuses on male executives, this project takes a feminist perspective. Using feminist standpoint theory, the research seeks to analyze the ways the management team's gender helps to shape the organization and its culture. A cultural approach allows the research to examine the processes through which employees become socialized into the organization and also the management

¹² Edgar H. Schein, *Organizational Culture and Leadership*, Second Edition (San Francisco: Josey-Bass, 1992), 10.

¹³ Schein, *Organizational Culture and Leadership*, 7, 12.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 23, 27.

¹⁵ Josephine Donovan, *Feminist Theory: The Intellectual Traditions of American Feminism* (New York: Continuum, 1992), 199.

¹⁶ Josephine Donovan, *Feminist Theory*, 187-8.

team's influences on the final cultural product, the printed version or electronic version of the newspaper.

Calvert and Ramsey suggested that management research use feminist approaches to challenge ingrained cultural assumptions within organizations.¹⁷ Often in organizational research, women are examined as a subordinate group, rather than being studied for their unique contributions to organizational practice.¹⁸ This study examines women as the dominant group within an organization and seeks to discover the influences of women's perspectives on the organizational culture. The organizational culture of this newspaper may have been formed, molded and reinforced by its female leadership.

Until the 1970s, societal and labor market discrimination kept all but a few women from progressing to the upper ranks in journalism.¹⁹ Women traditionally have not received equal opportunities in the working world, including education, training, hiring, promotion, contacts and networking. Women have faced barriers in part because of pervasive perceptions that their roles in society should be family caretakers.²⁰ Structural barriers, discrimination, gender stereotyping and gender differences have held

¹⁷ Linda McGee Calvert and V. Jean Ramsey, "Bringing Women's Voice to Research on Women in Management: A Feminist Perspective," *Journal of Management Inquiry* 1, 1 (March 1992): 79-88.

¹⁸ Ibid., 83-84.

¹⁹ Mary Arnold Hemlinger and Cynthia C. Linton, *Women in Newspapers 2002: Still Fighting an Uphill Battle*, Media Management Center at Northwestern University (2002): 19.

²⁰ Sue A. Lafky, "The Progress of Women and People of Color in the U.S. Journalistic Workforce: A Long, Slow Journey," in Creedon, *Women in Mass Communication*, (1993), 100-101.

woman back from advancement to management levels in the business world.²¹

Newspapers responded to this phenomenon in the 1970s after being influenced by the activism of the women's movement's second wave and the legal and societal achievements of the civil rights movement.²² Newspapers pledged to diversify their staffs and create newsrooms more reflective of newspapers' readers, including women.²³

Women, not minorities in the United States, constitute about 51 percent of the population, but they historically have been minorities in the workforce.²⁴ As recently as the 1960s women made up only 30 percent of the American workforce.²⁵ In 2002, women composed close to half the labor force, 46 percent.²⁶ Newspapers do not display the same ratios of female employment as the general labor market. Only about 33

²¹ Claartje J. Vinkenburg, Paul J.W. Jansen and Paul L. Koopman, "Feminine Leadership – A Review of Gender Differences in Managerial Behaviour and Effectiveness. In eds. Marilyn J. Davidson and Ronald J. Burke, *Women in Management: Current Research Issues Volume II* (London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage, 2000) 120-137.

²² David H. Weaver and G. Cleveland Wilhoit, *The American Journalist: A Portrait of U.S. News People and Their Work*, Second Edition (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1991), 181.

²³ AJR staff, *American Journalism Review*, "Diversity Delayed," *AJR* 20 (1998): 9. See also American Society of Newspaper Editors, 2002 Newsroom Census. Retrieved December 2002, from <http://www.asne.org/kiosk/diversity/2002Survey/2002CensusReport.html>.

²⁴ Lafky, "The Progress of Women and People of Color," 89.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Mary Thorn, "Balancing the Equation: Where are Women & Girls in Science, Engineering and Technology," The National Council for Research on Women, retrieved from the World Wide Web, July 31, 2002 at <http://www.ncrw.org>.

percent of newspaper employees in the United States are women.²⁷ These numbers have not changed since the early 1980s, according to the American Journalist Survey. The survey also reported that “compared to the U.S. civilian work force in 2000, women journalists are considerably less prevalent than women in other professions. Women journalists also are less likely to be managers than women in other areas of the professional work force.”²⁸

Women in newspaper management

At the time I studied the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*, in June 2002, September 2003 and December 2003, 41 percent of the newsroom’s 155 employees were women, higher than the national average, but not in equitable proportion to the U.S. population.²⁹ At the end of 2003, only two of the 10 reporters on the Sarasota city desk were women. About 8.2 percent of the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*’s employees were listed as minorities during 2002 and 2003.³⁰ By comparison, the most diverse newspaper in Florida was the *Miami*

²⁷ Indiana University School of Journalism American Journalist Survey, “Women Journalists Aren’t Increasing Overall,” posted on PoynterOnline. Retrieved from the World Wide Web, July 28, 2003 at <http://www.poynter.org>. These figures are part of data collected by David H. Weaver and G. Cleveland Wilhoit for an update to their book, *The American Journalist*. (Personal correspondence, March 22, 2004.)

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Interview with *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* executive editor Janet Weaver in her newsroom office, Sept. 12, 2003.

³⁰ ASNE 2003 Newsroom Census, <http://www.asne.org>.

Herald, with 44.2 percent minority employees. However, several newspapers in Florida had no minority employees.³¹

One of the most recognized women who led a large, well-known newspaper in the twentieth century was the late Katharine Graham, who took over as president of *The Washington Post* after her husband, former publisher Phil Graham, committed suicide in 1963.³² Until the 1990s only a handful of women were able to follow Katharine Graham's leadership role. By the late twentieth century and into the twenty-first, several women took the helm of large (circulation over 85,000) American newspapers after progressing through the ranks of media organizations. Three of these women are Amanda Bennett, named executive editor of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* in 2003, Ellen Soeteber, who became executive editor of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* in 2000, and Karen Jurgensen, named executive editor of the nation's largest newspaper, *USA Today*, in 1999.³³ Although these women were in the top editorial positions at their papers, they answered to male publishers in higher positions. A 2002 study by the Media Management Center at Northwestern University found that the numbers of women in newspaper management actually are decreasing in the twenty-first century, as opposed to the 1990s when the numbers of women entering newspaper management had been increasing.³⁴ Women held about 26 percent of executive jobs at large American newspapers in 2002, down from 29 percent two years before.³⁵

³¹ Ibid.

³² Katharine Graham, *Personal History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997), 331, 340-341.

³³ Jurgensen resigned in 2004 after a scandal in which a *USA Today* reporter, Jack Kelley, was found to have fabricated portions of stories over several years.

³⁴ Hemlinger and Linton, *Women in Newspapers 2002*, 13.

Only one American newspaper ranked in the top 100 newspapers by circulation had an all-woman management team during the time of this study. The *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* was the only newspaper in the United States with a circulation higher than 100,000 where women held the three top positions: publisher, editor and managing editor. A man shared management duties as director of the newspaper's electronic media counterparts on the Internet and cable television. The newspaper, owned by the New York Times Company since 1982, also employed two women assistant managing editors. Female management at an American newspaper was so unusual that the managers, when they formed their team in 1999, referred to the newsroom as "Amazonia" after ancient women warriors.³⁶ The leadership, overall workplace culture and content of the *Herald-Tribune* are studied in this ethnographic project through interviews, behavioral observation, and cultural product analysis.

Women's rise, and plateau, in the newspaper business

With workforce diversification efforts beginning in the 1970s, newspapers hired more women and people of color as reporters, editors, designers, photographers and other newsroom workers. The American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE), the pre-eminent organization of newspaper editors in America, boldly stated newsrooms would be as diverse as the communities they covered by 2000. However, in 2000, ASNE abandoned that goal and pushed forward the year to 2025 when it realized U.S.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Sherry Ricchiardi, "Where Women Rule," *American Journalism Review* 23, 1 (2001): 52.

newsrooms would not meet the original deadline for women or minorities.³⁷ In fact, in 2001, ASNE's annual survey of newsrooms showed the number of racial and ethnic minorities working at U.S. newspapers dropped for the first time in the 23 years the organization has been conducting its study. Only about 12 percent of newsroom employees were racial or ethnic minorities in 2002.³⁸ In contrast, the 2000 U.S. Census showed the nation is more diverse than ever. People of color make up nearly 30 percent of the United States population, and women compose 51 percent of the population.³⁹

Women fare even worse in professional journalism jobs than people of color in proportion to their demographics. The numbers in the professional world stand in stark contrast to the fact 64 percent of journalism school graduates are female, a number that has remained steady since the 1980s.⁴⁰ Oddly, while women compose the majority of journalism school students, 64 percent of the journalism faculty in the U.S. is male, and only one-fifth of tenured journalism faculty is female.⁴¹ Without role models or mentors to encourage them, women may encounter barriers, or at the very least, discouragement,

³⁷ AJR staff, "Diversity Delayed," *American Journalism Review* 20 (1998): 9.

³⁸ ASNE survey, 2002.

³⁹ Eric Schmitt, "Broader Palette Allows for Subtler Census Portrait," *The New York Times* (12 March 2001): A12.

⁴⁰ Lee B. Becker, Tudor Vlad, Jisu Huh, and Nancy R. Mace, "Annual Enrollment Report: Graduate and Undergraduate Enrollments Increase Sharply," *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator* (2003), 58 (3): 273-300.

⁴¹ Ibid.; Journalism and Women Symposium (JAWS) resolution on ASNE newsroom diversity policies.

Retrieved from World Wide Web October 1998: <http://www.jaws.org>. See also Thom Storey, "Women fill journalism classrooms, avoid newsrooms," *Free!* online publication of the Freedom Forum. Retrieved from World Wide Web July 13, 1998: <http://www.freedomforum.org>.

to enter the journalism profession, and specifically, print journalism. Larissa A. Grunig noted in 1993 that students are influenced by a “glass ceiling,” or transparent barrier, imposed on women who teach journalism.⁴² Women faculty members often have fewer promotion and tenure opportunities than their male colleagues, which contributes to a lack of female role models and advisers.⁴³ A decade later, this situation could be changing and developing. Still, the gendered demographic profiles of American journalism schools and American newspapers practically are reversed: about 64 percent female to 36 percent male in university and college journalism programs,⁴⁴ and 33 percent female and 67 percent male at newspapers.⁴⁵ The majority of female journalism school graduates are not landing jobs at newspapers; instead, they apparently are choosing or being forced into other professions. Unless more women enter the newspaper business, the pool of women who might advance to newspaper management will continue to remain small.

⁴² Larissa A. Grunig, “The ‘Glass Ceiling’ Effect on Mass Communication Students,” in Creedon, *Women in Mass Communication*, (1993), 276-300.

⁴³ Ibid., 276.

⁴⁴ Becker, Vlad, Huh and Mace, “Annual Enrollment Report: Graduate and Undergraduate Enrollments Increase Sharply,” 284.

⁴⁵ Indiana University School of Journalism American Journalist Survey, “Women Journalists Aren’t Increasing Overall.”

Patriarchal media culture

Media culture is “largely defined in male terms,” according to Carter and her co-authors.⁴⁶ A 2001 Annenberg Public Policy Center study from the University of Pennsylvania found women make up only 13 percent of top executives in media, telecom and high-tech firms and only 9 percent of seats on corporate boards of these companies.⁴⁷ The 2002 Media Management Center study that found women make up 26 percent of newspaper executives also noted most women executives hold positions in personnel, community affairs and legal departments, “areas not historically on the right track for moving into the highest positions.”⁴⁸ In 2003, Al Neuharth, former chairman and CEO of Gannett Co. Inc., one of the largest American newspaper companies, criticized the newspaper business for its continued lack of diversity. “Too many middle-aged white men still make the decisions,” in newsrooms and journalism classrooms, Neuharth said.⁴⁹ The former executive added that the homogeneity of management and staff is causing circulation to drop and driving away potential audiences, including young people, women and people of color.

However, including more women as leaders of publications does not necessarily change their content. In a 1994 study of women’s magazines from the 1960s through the

⁴⁶ Carter, Branstetter and Allan, *News, Gender and Power*, 2.

⁴⁷ Carrie Johnson, “Women at the top? ‘We’re still talking token numbers,’ ” *Austin American-Statesman* (1 April 2001), J10.

⁴⁸ Hemlinger and Linton, *Women in Newspapers 2002*, 15.

⁴⁹ Matthew Daneman, “Former Gannett CEO Neuharth crusades for media diversity,” (Rochester, N.Y.) *Democrat and Chronicle* (21 February 2003), retrieved from the World Wide Web Feb 21, 2003 at http://www.democratandchronicle.com/news/0221story19_news.shtml.

1980s, Jolliffe and Catlett found that women editors did not substantially alter negative and stereotypical portrayals of women in magazine content.⁵⁰ Jolliffe and Catlett analyzed the content of seven women's magazines over twenty years, beginning when the publications' editors were mainly male and ending when their editors were primarily female. The authors found that during the period when female editors began to take over the magazines, 1965 to 1975, increasing amounts of content described women "as active masters of their environments, as independent, as knowledgeable, and as self-reliant."⁵¹ However, in the second decade of female editorial leadership studied, 1975 to 1985, the magazines' content featured more articles depicting women as "passive ... dependent and submissive," and often had a tone of an adult speaking to a child.⁵² The authors concluded that the female editors adopted the same stereotypes male editors had used in the past, and speculated that radically changing the content of women's magazines would require more than female leadership; it would demand "changes in the dominant culture."⁵³

⁵⁰ Lee Jolliffe and Terri Catlett, "Women Editors at the 'Seven Sisters' magazines, 1965-1985: Did they make a difference?" *Journalism Quarterly* 71, 4 (Winter 1994): 800-808.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 806.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 806-807.

Masculine newsroom values and story sources

Some media researchers have noted women who enter the male-dominated culture of journalism are pressured to conform to the “masculine” culture of the newsroom.⁵⁴ Van Zoonen asserted that certain professional norms, values, styles and practices in journalism can be perceived as masculine or feminine. So-called masculine topics include politics, crime and finance, reported with overwhelmingly male sources. On the other hand, so-called feminine topics tend toward consumer news, human-interest stories, culture and social policy, with mainly female sources.⁵⁵ The predominance of masculine culture in the news could explain why, although the numbers of women working at newspapers have increased over the decades, the numbers of women quoted in stories as sources of authority and power have not increased.⁵⁶ Van Zoonen asserted that women in newsrooms do not have autonomy or authority to change the white male-dominated newsroom culture; therefore, men and women journalists go about doing their jobs in much the same way, with an emphasis on “masculine” news.⁵⁷

News sources are primarily men in government and corporate positions. In a 1987 study, Jane Delano Brown and her co-authors confirmed previous research by Leon

⁵⁴ Liesbet van Zoonen, “One of the Girls? The Changing Gender of Journalism,” in Carter, Branstetter and Allan (eds.) *News, Gender and Power* (1998), 33-46.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 35-36.

⁵⁶ Lynn M. Zoch, and Judy Van Slyke Turk, “Women Making News: Gender as a variable in source selection and use,” *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 75, 4 (1998): 762-775.

⁵⁷ Liesbet Van Zoonen, “One of the Girls? The Changing Gender of Journalism,” 34.

V. Sigal,⁵⁸ Tuchman and Gans, that the majority of news in newspapers is based on information from overwhelmingly male elite and official sources.⁵⁹ Brown et al. asserted that the lack of diversity among sources showed “newspapers have failed to live up to the expectations of the media in a pluralistic democracy.”⁶⁰ In the study, the researchers conducted a content analysis of six American newspapers, including *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and four North Carolina newspapers. They noted the newspapers largely eliminated women as news sources. Of the approximately 50 percent of sources they could identify by sex, only 10 percent were women.⁶¹ A 2004 content analysis of eighteen newspapers across the U.S. confirmed the dominance of male sources in stories, finding that men were mentioned three times more than women. The study by Cory L. Armstrong also found that men were portrayed “more advantageously” than women, allowing newspapers to “contribute to the low public status of women.”⁶² In addition, the research found that female news writers were more likely to mention and quote women in their stories, and male reporters were more likely to mention and quote men.⁶³

⁵⁸ For example, see Leon V. Sigal’s book, *Reporters and Officials: The Organization of Newsmaking* (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Company, 1973).

⁵⁹ Jane Delano Brown, Carl R. Bybee, Stanley T. Wearden and Dulcie Murdock Straughan, “Invisible Power: Newspaper News and the Limits of Diversity,” *Journalism Quarterly* 64, 1 (1987): 45-54.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 53.

⁶¹ Ibid., 50.

⁶² Cory L. Armstrong, “The Influence of Reporter Gender on Source Selection in News Stories,” *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 81 (1), (Spring 2004): 139-154.

⁶³ Ibid., 149.

In a 1997 content analysis followed by interviews, Carol M. Liebler and Susan J. Smith found that both female and male network television reporters heavily relied on male sources for their broadcasts during the first 100 days of the Clinton Administration.⁶⁴ Liebler and Smith noted, “Reporter gender does not appear to influence news source gender.”⁶⁵ The authors concluded that despite an increase in the numbers of women reporters, the content of the news had not changed. Women continued to be rarely defined as “newsworthy” and rarely used as news sources. Liebler and Smith speculated that women were bound by organizational constraints and an organizational culture, dominated by men, that defined what constituted news and which people were news sources. They also posited that women were socialized by their news training to rely mainly upon male news sources.⁶⁶

In addition, Marilyn E. Gist noted that news judgment and news values are based on what white men consider news.⁶⁷ Women, she pointed out, have been underrepresented and marginalized in the news media.⁶⁸ In fact, female journalists “have grown accustomed to non-representative coverage as the norm,” Gist asserted, and therefore, they accept so-called male news values as the norm of journalistic objectivity.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ Carol M. Liebler and Susan J. Smith, “Tracking Gender Differences: A Comparative Analysis of Network Correspondents and Their Sources,” *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* 41, (Winter 1997): 58-68.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 61.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 65-66.

⁶⁷ Marilyn E. Gist, “Through the Looking Glass: Diversity and Reflected Appraisals of the Self in Mass Media,” in Creedon, *Women in Mass Communication* (1993), 109-110.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 108.

The majority of news is biased in favor of the dominant group, white males, and the message that white men's values, biases, priorities and wishes are important shapes the views of mass audiences.⁷⁰ Stuart Allan wrote that in patriarchal societies, "masculine" interpretations of the facts are considered to be rational, "feminine" viewpoints are deemed irrational. Therefore, male viewpoints on what is news "are accepted as the most appropriate vantage points from which the immutable truth of reality is to be revealed."⁷¹ Allen noted that male interpretations of facts and male version of truth are considered authoritarian, leading to the masculinization of news.⁷²

The routines and practices of journalism require reporters to focus on institutions of government and corporations and on sources in positions of authority and power, as studies by sociologists Gaye Tuchman and Herbert Gans showed in ethnographic studies of news organizations.⁷³ Tuchman noted that those who hold "the reins of legitimized power" have greater access to mass media than other groups and therefore are more likely

⁶⁹ Ibid., 109.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 110.

⁷¹ Stuart Allan, "(En)gendering the Truth Politics of News Discourse," in Carter, Branstons and Allan, *News, Gender and Power* (1998), 126.

⁷² Ibid., 133.

⁷³ Gaye Tuchman, *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality* (New York: The Free Press, 1978). See also Herbert Gans, *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek & Time* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979). Both Tuchman and Gans spent months observing routines and practices in newsrooms, interviewing and following journalists. Their groundbreaking ethnographic studies focused on the notion that the news is a social construction rather than simply a reflection of events that happen in the world each day.

to be used and quoted as news sources.⁷⁴ In a patriarchal society such as the United States, that powerful group has become institutionalized as white, middle-aged males.⁷⁵ Topics deemed “female” take a secondary status in news.⁷⁶ In Gans’ study of news magazines and television networks, he did not point out a particular male bias in the news but focused on the fact that the majority of people covered in the news were male.⁷⁷ Like Tuchman, he found that media serve to reinforce legitimized values and power structures and repress and eliminate those elements that contradict the norms.⁷⁸ Unlike Tuchman, Gans did not characterize the dominant values as male, but he referred to women and their interests in the late 1970s as the “latest newsworthy minority.”⁷⁹

Other, more recent, studies have noted women rarely are represented in positions of authority and power in newspaper stories. A study in the mid-1990s by the Men, Women and Media project, sponsored by Knight-Ridder, showed that of sources quoted on newspaper front pages, 75 percent were men and 25 percent were women. The same study showed women were three times more likely than men to be portrayed negatively in newspaper stories.⁸⁰ A 1998 study by Lynn M. Zoch and Judy Van Slyke Turk

⁷⁴ Tuchman, *Making News*, 133.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 152.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 138.

⁷⁷ Gans, *Deciding What’s News*, 28.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 292-299.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁸⁰ Debra Gersh Hernandez, “Good and the bad about women’s news in newspapers,” *Editor and Publisher* (21 May 1994), 17. See also Karen Schmidt and Colleen Collins, “Showdown at Gender Gap,” *American Journalism Review* 15, 6, (1993): 39-42.

showed that women are more often quoted as victims or because they have a relationship to a man who is a central figure in a story than quoted as authorities.⁸¹ Other studies have confirmed these findings, showing women continue to be quoted as news sources in stories of national or international importance only a fraction of the time men are quoted.⁸²

Since media have been shown to have an agenda setting function; that is, to choose issues and concerns that become important in society, the relative invisibility of women as sources in the press tends to diminish the importance of women in social order.⁸³ Because media have authority and credibility in society, the lack of women's voices emphasizes the male-dominated construction of news organizations. Men, particularly white men, tend to become the voices of authority and power in most newspapers; therefore, the agenda setting function of media places men and their interests in the highest rungs of society. Women may become virtually invisible and powerless in newspaper content.

During the time newspapers have been trying to diversify their staffs, they also have been losing circulation. Women readers are more likely than men to abandon newspapers.⁸⁴ The Newspaper Association of America reported that in 2003, men comprised 55 percent of newspaper readers and women comprised 45 percent of

⁸¹ Lynn M. Zoch and Judy Van Slyke Turk, "Women Making News: Gender as a variable in source selection and use," *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 75, 4 (1998): 762-775.

⁸² For example, see Shelley Rodgers, Esther Thorson and Michael Antecol, "'Reality' in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch," *Newspaper Research Journal* 2, 3 (2000): 51-68.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ *Editor and Publisher*, "Newspapers post strong 3Q profits," (Oct. 17, 1998), 16.

readers.⁸⁵ Some of the reasons for the lower percentage of women included contentions that women rarely are represented in articles and that newspapers do not publish many stories of interest to women.⁸⁶

Research on newspaper reading shows the types of stories in which women are interested differ somewhat from men's choices. Women report they want to read stories that are relevant to their lives.⁸⁷ They are "interested in topics such as their children's education and how they learn (not the politics of the school board); time and money and how to save both; safety and health issues; women in the workplace; social concerns, such as homelessness; and family and personal relationships."⁸⁸ Women also are interested in stories that have depth and sensitivity, rather than the detachment and factual superficiality of stereotypical masculine news culture.⁸⁹ Studies have shown that women stop reading newspapers because content does not seem relevant to them.⁹⁰ When women do not see themselves or hear their voices represented in newspapers, they may lose motivation to read them. Newspapers that publish stories appealing to women's interests in prominent parts of the paper and that quote and feature women in positions of authority and power are more likely to attract female readers. Some feminists assert that

⁸⁵ Newspaper Association of America booklet, "Facts About Newspapers: A Statistical Summary of the Newspaper Industry, 2003."

⁸⁶ Hernandez, "Good and the bad about women's news in newspapers," 17. See also Schmidt & Collins, "Showdown at Gender Gap," 39-42.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Hernandez, "Good and the bad about women's news," 17.

⁸⁹ Van Zoonen, "One of the Girls?" 36.

⁹⁰ Walsh-Childers, Chance & Herzog, "Women journalists report discrimination in newsrooms," 86-87.

a newspaper headed by women who make decisions on story coverage, story placement and other publishing issues could appeal more to women readers, in part because it might portray women story subjects in positions of authority and power.⁹¹

The *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*, with its all-female management team, was shown in a previous study to have cultural qualities that distinguish it from a majority of U.S. newspapers. *Impact*, a study of 100 American daily newspapers, found that that the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* had a culture that differed from 80 percent of the other study subjects.⁹² The majority of newspapers in the study were characterized as “aggressive-defensive,” defined as a culture in which “people are expected to approach tasks in forceful ways to protect their status and security,” and “persistence and hard work are valued.”⁹³ On the other hand, the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*’s culture was identified as “constructive,” meaning it “encourages members to work to their full potential, resulting in high levels of motivation, satisfaction, teamwork, service quality and sales growth.”⁹⁴

“Amazonia” on Florida’s west coast

Sarasota Herald-Tribune publisher Diane McFarlin, executive editor Janet Weaver and managing editor Rosemary Armao said when they formed their management team in 1999 that their goal was to “put out a hard charging, high quality newspaper in a

⁹¹ Hernandez, “Good and the bad about women’s news in newspapers,” 17.

⁹² Readership Institute, Media Management Center. *Impact Study*. (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University, January 2000).

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

more effective newsroom, one that is fun, family friendly and diverse.”⁹⁵ As previously noted, the employees called the newsroom “Amazonia” because of the all-women management team. The managers noted that filling all the top jobs with women was not intentional.⁹⁶



Diane McFarlin



Janet Weaver



Rosemary Armao

During this study, Armao resigned her position after an ethics disagreement with Weaver.⁹⁷ Shortly thereafter, she became the projects editor of the *South Florida Sun-Sentinel*. In October 2003, Weaver announced she was leaving the newspaper to become dean of faculty at the Poynter Institute in St. Petersburg, Florida. McFarlin replaced Weaver in December 2003 with a male executive editor, Mike Connelly. The implications of the departures of Armao and Weaver are analyzed in this study as part of the influence and formation of the culture and content of the newspaper.

⁹⁵ Ricchiardi, “Where Women Rule,” 52.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Rosemary Armao informed me that she resigned in June 2002 after she wrote an e-mail message to a reader expressing her intent not to vote for Katherine Harris, a Republican candidate for Congress in Sarasota. The reader had complained that a piece on Harris in the *Herald-Tribune* was too easy on the candidate. Armao also wrote the reader that she had “no intentions of covering the Democratic candidates to the same extent” as Harris. Editor Janet Weaver said she does not believe journalists should air their opinions publicly, and because she and Armao differed on this point, Armao resigned. Another woman, Diane Tennant, later replaced her. Note: Katherine Harris won the election.

The *Herald-Tribune* main building, located about five miles from downtown Sarasota, houses various departments: the city desk (local news), business news, lifestyles, sports, photography, a reference library, graphics department, department editors' and assistant editors' desks, copy editing stations, and wire editors' desks. The newsroom is one of a handful in the United States that has converged with broadcast media. The newspaper collaborates with SNN, a local cable television news station, and the newsroom contains a small television studio with a newsroom staff of 18 reporters, anchors, producers and photographers. Print, broadcast, and Internet operations share information and resources and use the latest technological media equipment, including digital editing software and digital cameras. However, the broadcast and Internet operations are much smaller in scope than the newspaper and are managed directly by a man, Lou Ferrara, who does not supervise newspaper personnel. The Internet operation, HeraldTribune.com, has three employees, all online editors. This study examines primarily the newspaper operation because it is the dominant operation of the organization and the focus of the women managers' decision- and policy-making. The majority of the newsroom employees work for the newspaper. The male-managed Internet operation features postings of the newspaper content, and the television operation is a local TV station that has its own staff and focuses on the news published in the newspaper and other breaking news in the newspaper's coverage area. The three operations share stories with each other, but the newspaper operation is dominant and under the direct purview of the all-women team, whereas the broadcast and Internet operations are secondary contributors and managed by a man. Therefore, the newspaper is the focus of this study.



Photo by Tracy Everbach

The *Herald-Tribune*, with a daily circulation of 106,000 in 2004, is in Sarasota County, which has a population of about 335,000 and is located on the west coast of Florida along the Gulf of Mexico. Before the women took over the newspaper in 1999, the daily circulation was about 110,000. However, it would not be fair to attribute the drop in circulation directly to the female management. Almost all American newspapers during this time period, 1999 to 2003, saw a drop in circulation, connected primarily to a lackluster economy, which brought fewer readers and fewer advertising dollars.⁹⁸

The *Herald-Tribune* distributes five zoned editions, four beyond the boundaries of Sarasota County, in Manatee County, population 275,000, and Charlotte County, population 147,000.⁹⁹ The total audience comprises about a population of 757,000 in

⁹⁸ Newspaper Association of America, "Facts About Newspapers: A Statistical Summary of the Newspaper Industry. Retrieved from the World Wide Web Aug. 17, 2004 at <http://www.naa.org/info/facts04/cmi.html>.

⁹⁹ U.S. Census Bureau, retrieved Sept. 15, 2003 at <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states>.

three counties. The news organization operates bureaus that produce zoned editions in Venice, Bradenton, Charlotte and Englewood. The main competition is a smaller, local newspaper in the neighboring community of Bradenton, Florida, *The Bradenton Herald*. The larger *Tampa Tribune*, circulation 214,000, and *St. Petersburg Times*, circulation, 333,000, are located in large cities 30 to 45 miles north of Sarasota and do not focus on Sarasota-area news. The *Herald-Tribune* does not consider them direct competition. The *Herald-Tribune* newspaper was created in 1938, when the *Sarasota Herald* bought the *Sarasota Daily Tribune* in 1938.¹⁰⁰ The New York Times Company bought the paper in 1982 but the all-female management team did not take shape until 1999.

The Sarasota climate is mild, with an average year-round temperature of 72 degrees, and the county's beaches are tourist attractions, with white sand and activities such as swimming, boating, fishing, parasailing and other water sports.



Photo by Tracy Everbach

¹⁰⁰ Sarasota County records.

The average personal income in the area is \$35,000 and the largest employer is the school district, with the second largest the health care system. The median age of residents is 49, and the area has a large community of retired people. In 2000, *Modern Maturity* magazine named the Sarasota the third-best U.S. city to retire, and *Money* magazine named it one of the top 20 places to retire.¹⁰¹ The newspaper serves an influential community, since a large number of residents are members of the age group most likely to read a daily newspaper.¹⁰² The women who ran the newspaper from 1999 to 2003 selected its content; therefore, the stories they selected could have shaped the community's perception of what issues were important. Their decisions had the potential to set the agenda for a large community of newspaper readers.

Theoretical bases of the study

This dissertation uses as its bases organization theory and feminist theory. The management and structure of the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* are examined using these theoretical bases in an attempt to reveal the culture of a woman-led newsroom and to answer the research question: How has the female management team at the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* shaped the organizational culture and influenced the operation, management and content of the newspaper?

¹⁰¹ Greater Sarasota Chamber of Commerce, 2002 *Greater Sarasota Chamber of Commerce Business Desk Reference*.

¹⁰² See Shirley Biagi, *Media/Impact*, Sixth Edition (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth/Thompson, 2002), 84. A chart, "Percentage of Population who Say They Read a Newspaper Every Day," shows the majority of newspaper readers (approximately 85 percent) is age 35 or older.

Management theorist Joanne Martin noted research on gender within organizational studies has been marginalized or ignored. She emphasized the importance of including gender in management studies. Martin noted that “most mainstream scholarship continues to be presented as if theories and data were gender-neutral,” but she suggested a male perspective most often is taken in such research.¹⁰³ Because gender inequalities are realities in organizations, Martin stressed the importance of research that includes analysis of gender influences and women in management. She recommended reframing classic organizational theories to take into account gender and include studies of women and gender-specific aspects of their experiences.¹⁰⁴

Feminist scholarship is largely absent from organization theory, which has emphasized male perspectives. Calas and Smircich suggested a re-examination of organizational science and its values under feminist theories in an attempt for more neutral analysis.¹⁰⁵ Harriman noted that current organizational literature is based on a “masculine” model of work, emphasizing masculine traits such as rationality, aggression, detachment and competitiveness as the norm, and feminine traits such as emotion,

¹⁰³ Joanne Martin, “Hidden Gendered Assumptions in Mainstream Organizational Theory and Research,” *Journal of Management Inquiry* 9, 2 (June 2000): 207.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 211.

¹⁰⁵ Marta B. Calas and Linda Smircich, “Using the ‘F’ Word: Feminist Theories and the Social Consequences of Organizational Research,” in Albert J. Mills and Peta Tancred (eds.), *Gendering Organizational Analysis* (Newbury Park, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1992), 222-234.

cooperation and intimacy as “deviant.”¹⁰⁶ Kanter described a “masculine ethic” of management traits assumed to belong to men, including toughness, analytical abilities, and lack of emotion and personal feelings.¹⁰⁷ Calvert and Ramsey suggested that management research take into account women’s perspectives to challenge the ingrained cultural assumptions within organizations.¹⁰⁸ They asserted that in management research, women’s perspectives and differences have not been valued because the emphasis has been on how women “fit” into organizations.¹⁰⁹ In fact, “characteristics often seen as stereotypically feminine” (emotion, teamwork, closeness) “are interpreted instead as attributes of subordinate groups.”¹¹⁰

Cultural feminism asserts that women are members of a “separate cultural group” with “its own values and practices,” coming from women’s socialization into a gender identity that emphasizes dependence, nurturing, cooperation, qualities characteristic of the domestic sphere of society.¹¹¹ Cultural feminism strives to analyze women’s experiences from women’s standpoint or perspective, as opposed to the dominant male

¹⁰⁶ Ann Harriman, *Women/Men/Management* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger Publishers, 1996), 2. See also Liesbet van Zoonen, *Feminist Media Studies* (London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1994), 56-64.

¹⁰⁷ Rosabeth Moss Kanter, *Men and Women of the Corporation* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), 22-23.

¹⁰⁸ Calvert and Ramsey, “Bringing Women’s Voice to Research on Women in Management: A Feminist Perspective,” 79-88.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 80.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 83-84.

¹¹¹ Donovan, *Feminist Theory: The Intellectual Traditions of American Feminism*, 187. See also Linda L. Lindsey, *Gender Roles: A Sociological Perspective*, Third Edition (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: 1997), 53-73.

values of a patriarchal society found in the United States.¹¹² A women's standpoint takes into account women's experiences and backgrounds as different from men's. Women historically have been restricted to the domestic, or private realm, of social life rather than the public realm, which has been the domain of men. Cultural feminism hypothesizes that for women to succeed in influencing culture and politics on a mass level, they must accept their standpoint as critical and different from men's.¹¹³ Calvert and Ramsey asserted that women have a more holistic view of work within an organization than men, "with less separation and more blurring of the lines between their personal and professional lives."¹¹⁴ Under feminist standpoint theory, this holistic vision is a hallmark of women's and girls' experiences. Girls grow up socialized within a "network of connection, a web of relationships ... sustained by a process of communication," while boys are trained to think in a more hierarchical fashion.¹¹⁵ Because women traditionally have been relegated to the domestic sphere rather than the public arena, they have developed their own perceptions and perspectives that include "fundamental respect for the contingent order, for the environmental context, for the concrete everyday world."¹¹⁶ In other words, women bring to the workplace a more complete picture of the world than men, taking into account family and personal responsibilities as well as work duties.

¹¹² Donovan, 190.

¹¹³ Ibid., 199.

¹¹⁴ Calvert and Ramsey, "Bringing Women's Voice to Research on Women in Management," 84.

¹¹⁵ Donovan, *Feminist Theory*, 177. See also Deborah Tannen, *You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1990), 38.

¹¹⁶ Donovan, *Feminist Theory*, 173.

However, within organizations, women often adapt to a male form of communication and behavior to gain power and authority since men hold most of the dominant positions.¹¹⁷ Although men and women experience culture differently, the male-dominated form of culture becomes unconsciously ingrained in organizations, which then become resistant to change.¹¹⁸ Marshall wrote: “Women have not been, and are still generally not, accepted as legitimate meaning makers if their interpretations of reality differ significantly from established, male-based notions of the truth.” Therefore, women’s forms of communication and understanding of culture are devalued.¹¹⁹

Bullis has noted that socialization is linked to success within an organization: “Organizational socialization processes are viewed as central to role taking, newcomer acculturation, employee attitudes and behaviors, and the shaping of newcomers’ identities.”¹²⁰ Feminist standpoint theory assumes women have been part of a marginalized or oppressed class that has not been part of dominant groups within organizations.¹²¹ This research assumes the opposite. It examines women as the dominant group, the leaders of an organization.

¹¹⁷ Judi Marshall, “Viewing Organizational Communication From a Feminist Perspective: A Critique and Some Offerings,” in Stanley Deetz (ed.), *Communication Yearbook 16* (Newbury Park: Sage, 1993), 122-143.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 126-7.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 128.

¹²⁰ Connie Bullis, “Organizational Socialization Research: Enabling, Constraining, and Shifting Perspectives,” *Communication Monographs* 60, March 1993, 10.

¹²¹ Donovan, *Feminist Theory*, 187-192. See also Bullis, “Organizational Socialization Research,” 12.

Cultural feminists contend women are part of a “separate cultural group that has its own values and practices,” different from men’s.¹²² Bullis noted that standpoint theory, meaning women have differing perspectives and values, has not been widely accepted among organizational theorists. She contended, however, that women’s standpoint is important because they are socialized outside and inside organizations differently than men.¹²³ Standpoint theory allows researchers to examine the changes women, a marginalized group, may make within organizations because of their particular backgrounds and experiences.¹²⁴ At the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*, women hold the positions of power. Therefore, women at the newspaper may not be a marginalized group and the female managers may have the ability to make certain decisions and policies that reflect their particular position and standpoint as women. The depth interviews and observation for this study might reveal whether this is the case.

Leadership versus management

One important theoretical construct to this study is the distinction between management and leadership. John P. Kotter of Harvard Business School studied the qualities and actions of leaders in complex organizations and specified their differences from managers. Kotter noted that both good leadership and good management are

¹²² Donovan, *Feminist Theory*, 187.

¹²³ Bullis, “Organizational Socialization Research,” 12.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 12-13.

required for effective organizations, but only leadership can create useful change.¹²⁵

Producing change within a complex organization requires several practices, according to Kotter. Among them are overcoming barriers, including politics, bureaucracy and lack of resources; setting a direction for the organization, including vision and strategy; and aligning people to understand, accept and act according to the chosen direction.¹²⁶ One leader cannot bring about such change alone.¹²⁷ Kotter pointed out that while managers can plan, budget, organize, control and solve problems, only leaders can make significant changes.¹²⁸ Often this process takes a longer time frame than the few months to few years that managers allot for planning. Therefore, finding, implementing and nurturing leaders is an arduous and difficult process that extends beyond locating and developing good managers.¹²⁹ Kotter's findings can be applied to the *Herald-Tribune* to determine the extent of change the female management team was able to achieve during its four-year tenure, and whether women's actions were characteristic of managers or leaders.

The social construction of gender

Feminist theorists also have employed cultural studies into analyses of gender issues. Van Zoonen wrote, "gender is a, if not the, crucial component of culture."¹³⁰

¹²⁵ John P. Kotter, *A Force for Change: How Leadership Differs From Management* (New York: The Free Press, 1990), 3-4, 17.

¹²⁶ Ibid., ix-x.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 3-4.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 5-6.

¹³⁰ Liesbet van Zoonen, *Feminist Media Studies*, 6.

However, while cultural studies have been applied to several areas of feminist research into media, most often popular culture, “the area of media production has been largely neglected by feminist communication scholars working within a cultural studies paradigm.”¹³¹ This paradigm assumes the “relation between gender and communication is ... primarily a cultural one, a negotiation over meanings and values that inform whole ways of life.”¹³² Van Zoonen noted that a central issue is “the struggle over the meaning of gender” and how it is socially constructed.¹³³ Within media organizations, women adapt to a shared set of professional values based on a masculine model of competitiveness, assertiveness and detachment – characteristics contrary to those they are socialized to adopt. As Van Zoonen noted, “the specific contribution in the area of sensitivity and humanity that women could make to journalism – following from their socialization as women – is not appreciated by colleagues and editors and is not considered professional.”¹³⁴ This dissertation attempts to fill the void of research on women’s roles in media organizations by examining the role their gender plays in the production, operation, management and content of a newspaper led primarily by women.

Few previous organizational researchers have taken into account the assertions of some feminist thinkers that gender is socially constructed; i.e., the concepts of “female” and “male” are accompanied by definitions of how one should behave according to

¹³¹ Ibid., 7.

¹³² Ibid., 41.

¹³³ Ibid., 41.

¹³⁴ Van Zoonen, *Feminist Media Studies*, 56.

gender.¹³⁵ In the workplace, women are more likely to emphasize cooperation and consensus, while men are likely to employ competition and control.¹³⁶ Culture “constructs ... appropriate behavior for men and women.”¹³⁷ For instance, in a study of women surgeons, Joan Cassell found that in a hospital where the women worked, a code of unspoken rules defined how men and women were supposed to behave, and a system of social rewards and punishments reinforced the gender-appropriate behavior.¹³⁸

Within organizations, culture is developed as a set of understood beliefs, practices and rules. In *Organizational Culture and Leadership*, Edgar Schein applied cultural analysis to organizations by deciphering sets of shared basic assumptions.¹³⁹ Those assumptions are embedded within an organization at different conceptual levels, which Schein defined as artifacts, espoused values and basic underlying assumptions.¹⁴⁰ Artifacts compose the surface level and are the visible manifestations of an organization's culture such as “the architecture of its physical environment, its language, its technology and products, its artistic creations, and its style as embodied in clothing, manners of address, emotional displays, myths and stories told about the organization, published lists

¹³⁵ Joan Cassell, “Doing Gender, Doing Surgery: Women Surgeons in a Man's Profession,” in Aaron Podolefsky and Peter J. Brown (eds.), *Applying Cultural Anthropology*, Fifth Edition (Mountain View, Calif., London, Toronto: Mayfield Publishing Company, 2001), 174-175. See also Judith Lorber, *Paradoxes of Gender* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994).

¹³⁶ Lindsey, *Gender Roles: A Sociological Perspective*, 88; Tannen, *You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation*, 216-244.

¹³⁷ Cassell, “Doing Gender, Doing Surgery,” 172.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 172-178.

¹³⁹ Schein, *Organizational Culture and Leadership*, 7, 12.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 17.

of values, observable rituals and ceremonies, and so on.”¹⁴¹ Espoused values are the strategies, goals and philosophies of an organization, confirmed by “the shared social experience of a group.”¹⁴² Those within the organization learn these values and eventually accept them as group beliefs and norms. Basic underlying assumptions become embedded within the group and are the deepest level of cultural analysis. Schein defined these assumptions as being “so taken for granted that one finds little variation within a cultural unit.”¹⁴³ Such assumptions tell members of the organization how to behave, think, and feel about the organization. They help to provide stability and meaning to members of the group and indoctrinate new members to the organization.¹⁴⁴ The assumptions, beliefs and norms of the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* are analyzed in this dissertation to gain a clearer understanding of the newspaper’s culture and the influence female managers might have in shaping that culture.

Within a male-dominated organization such as the newspaper business, group assumptions are largely based on male-defined values and philosophies.¹⁴⁵ Women’s perspectives and viewpoints are largely excluded or relegated to marginalized status. For example, Albert J. Mills noted that when people join organizations they become part of the organizational culture by learning the expectations of the group.¹⁴⁶ These rules of

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 17.

¹⁴² Ibid., 20.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 21-22.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 23, 27.

¹⁴⁵ Allan, “(En)gendering the Truth Politics of News Discourse,” 126.

¹⁴⁶ Albert J. Mills, “Organization, Gender and Culture,” in Albert J. Mills and Peta Tancred, *Gendering Organizational Analysis*, (Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1992), 104.

behavior come to define and distinguish organizations from each other. Many of these rules have served to allow male dominance of the majority of organizations and hold back women from advancement: “Male domination of the organizational world, in the form of ownership and control ... is reinforced and maintained by a cultural system which associates women with ‘domestic’ life ... and which associates men with ‘public’ life.”¹⁴⁷ Cultural assumptions about men and women provide stereotyped roles of men as strong leaders and women as weak followers.¹⁴⁸ Mills asserted that analysis of an organization’s culture should take into account gender and its perception as part of the embedded, underlying rules of the group. Mills suggested “organizations be viewed as frameworks of human experience which have key implications for the construction and reproduction of gendered relationships but which, in turn, have implications for the development and existence of the organization itself ... The ubiquitous nature of gender raises questions about the character of organizational culture.”¹⁴⁹ However, this organization, the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*, is not a male-dominated newspaper. Its managers are women, and therefore group expectations and assumptions may reflect the managers’ gender and their socialization, backgrounds, and experiences. I expect to uncover through depth interviews and observation the ways in which the female management has shaped the newspaper’s organizational culture and its content.

This project employs organizational theory with a feminist perspective, taking into account the lack of feminist approaches to organizational research that have been

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 106.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 110.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 111.

noted by Calas and Smircich, Calvert and Ramsey, Harriman and Martin. The research examines, from a feminist standpoint, how gender influences the socialization and work environment of members of this organization, the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*. The research analyzes influences that a female management team has on members of the organization, their practices, perspectives, perceptions and their product, the newspaper.

Methodology

This study employs three major ethnographic methods to examine the ways the female management at the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* has shaped and influenced its culture and content. The methods are observation, depth interviews and cultural product analysis.

The interpretive approach

In his classic ethnography of Balinese society, anthropologist Clifford Geertz asserted that the study of a culture must be conducted from a native perspective; that is, the researcher must immerse her or himself in the culture to understand it. Geertz's interpretive approach maintains the study of culture is an interpretive search for meaning.¹⁵⁰ Geertz's notion of interpretive cultural studies is rooted in social sciences and the humanities and is employed in this study of a newsroom. Cultural anthropologists define culture as "the acquired knowledge that people use to generate

¹⁵⁰ Paul Shankman, "The Thick and the Thin: On the Interpretive Theoretical Program of Clifford Geertz," *Current Anthropology* 25 (3) (June 1984): 261.

behavior and interpret experience.”¹⁵¹ Others have offered slightly different definitions of cultural analysis, including Schein, who defines culture as “shared learning of a given group.”¹⁵² For this study, I immersed myself in the culture of the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* by spending a total of three weeks in the newsroom, observing daily activities and interviewing employees and managers. I followed the data collection of observations and interviews with a cultural product analysis of the newspaper’s content.

Ethnography is the acquisition, description and interpretation of artifacts and information about a culture, gathered and organized in a systematic fashion. Ethnography seeks an insider’s viewpoint to a culture and studies the “relationships among knowledge, behavior and artifacts.”¹⁵³ For this study, these relationships within the organization are revealed through observation, interviews and cultural product analysis of the newspaper. In ethnography, the researcher is heavily involved in description and writing. The more detail included in ethnography, the more complete its interpretation of meaning within a culture becomes.¹⁵⁴ Therefore, all aspects of the newsroom studied here, no matter how small they may seem, may be relevant to description and analysis. The shared assumptions of employees and managers, their interactions in the newsroom and the physical manifestations of their workplace and their work are all relevant to the study. (See Appendix A, page 196.)

¹⁵¹ James P. Spradley and David W. McCurdy, *Conformity and Conflict: Readings in Cultural Anthropology*, Seventh Edition (New York: Harper Collins Publishers Inc., 1990), 16.

¹⁵² Schein, *Organizational Culture and Leadership*, 10.

¹⁵³ Spradley and McCurdy, *Conformity and Conflict*, 17, 26.

¹⁵⁴ Thomas R. Lindlof, *Qualitative Communication Research Methods* (Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1995), 19-20.

Fieldwork on this project began in June 2002. I previously obtained clearance from the University of Missouri-Columbia's campus Institutional Review Board. Throughout the research, I watched and participated in the culture and environment of the *Sarasota Herald Tribune* by taking up residence in the newsroom, observing daily activities of employees and managers, and interviewing them as they did their work. I also conducted interviews outside of work. During the time I observed at the newspaper, I conducted open-ended, in-depth interviews with twenty-six female and male reporters, photographers, page designers and editors about the workplace and their impressions and feelings about the management practices and policies. (See Appendix B, page 199.) I assured employees that they would remain anonymous in the study, but the four top managers I interviewed agreed to include their names. The ethnography includes a total of three weeks of note taking and writing, observation and detailed description during three different time periods in which I was able to gain a deep understanding of the newsroom culture and the people who work there.¹⁵⁵

Under the concept of cultural relativism, the researcher seeks to understand the context of beliefs, values and symbols within a culture.¹⁵⁶ The premise of cultural relativism is that the researcher should suspend her or his values in order to study another system within its set of learned values.¹⁵⁷ During this fieldwork, I attempted to maintain my independence and dispel my own biases so I could observe, interview and analyze data from a position as an objective observer. My background includes 14 years as a

¹⁵⁵ The weeklong newsroom visits were June 2, 2002 through June 8, 2002, September 8, 2003 through September 14, 2003 and December 15, 2003 through December 21, 2003.

¹⁵⁶ Podolefsky and Brown, *Applying Cultural Anthropology*, 2.

¹⁵⁷ Spradley and McCurdy, *Conformity and Conflict*, 8-12.

newspaper reporter in male-dominated organizations but also six years of training in journalism graduate schools to do scholarly research.

Studying an organization from an interpretive perspective allows a researcher to understand the complexities of organizational issues.¹⁵⁸ The researcher spends time in the field and gains rich accounts of organization members' experiences and views. Such interpretive data allows the researcher to unravel and understand issues, symbols, rituals and communication among and between managers and employees within the organization. Kreps and Herndon recommend using open-ended, unstructured, in-depth interviews and analysis of artifacts to interpret the culture of an organization.¹⁵⁹

Justification for observation and depth interview methods

Schein noted that to study culture within an organization and understand the deep, underlying assumptions "one must try to understand the perceptions and feelings that arise in critical situations."¹⁶⁰ In ethnography, a researcher spends time with the people being studied, participating in their lives, observing their behaviors and their shared assumptions.¹⁶¹ The researcher collects data and perceptions, then discerns patterns among the data to determine "how the people studied present order and systemize their

¹⁵⁸ Sandra L. Herndon and Gary L. Kreps, *Qualitative Research: Applications in Organizational Life*, Second Edition (Cresskill, N.J.: Hampton Press, Inc., 2001), 3-4.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Schein, *Organizational Culture*, 13.

¹⁶¹ David N. Gellner and Eric Hirsch (eds.), *Inside Organizations: Anthropologists at Work* (Oxford, New York: Berg, 2001), 1-5.

lives.”¹⁶² Part of this project included my note taking and organization of notes and other data gathered in order to understand how the newsroom operates and to interpret employees’ experiences working in the newsroom. Gellner and Hirsch recommended that in an ethnography of an organization, a researcher adopt a “methodological holism” and focus derived from the people being studied, who will point the researcher in the most appropriate direction. “It often then turns out that a small set of key concepts provide the crucial insights needed to gain an ‘ethnographic’ understanding of the organization.”¹⁶³

During this study, I followed the subjects through their workdays, and gathered data. I later organized the data into categories that pointed me to key concepts that showed the nature and culture of the newspaper. For example, I examined issues, symbols and rituals involved in the news process, news conventions and the workers’ organizational behavior.

It should be noted that the total amount of time spent in the newsroom was only three weeks, spread out over a 19-month period. This research provides only a window into the management, operation and content of the newspaper; a study in which a researcher spent considerably more time in the newsroom might have produced different results.

¹⁶² Ibid., 8.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 8-9.

Categorizing data

The process worked as follows. In the newsroom and the bureaus, I took notes on my laptop computer throughout the day's activities and interviews. Later I sorted the data into categories; for instance, data on culture and on content. From these broad categories, I broke down the data into smaller categories more specific to the intended chapters of the dissertation. Most of the data consisted of notes and tape recordings of the words spoken by managers and employees. Therefore, I needed to transcribe the information and categorize it in paper files and on computer files. Specific patterns emerged as the ethnography progressed.

Within organizations, culture may be manifested in various forms, including "routines, rituals, dramas and games."¹⁶⁴ Processes and practices studied include decision-making, communication and cooperation, and examination of political and social practices.¹⁶⁵ I aimed to draw "systems of meaning" from the organization in a realistic way by observing patterns of behavior, common practices and language, and ingrained values among managers and employees.¹⁶⁶ Bantz suggested ethnography is an apt method of studying an organization because "understanding people's practices" is the fundamental goal.¹⁶⁷ Bantz defined ethnography as "the study of and representation of people," and noted it is researched in the field.¹⁶⁸ He pointed out that ethnography is

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 240.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 241-242.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 255-256.

¹⁶⁷ Charles B. Bantz, "Ethnographic Analysis of Organizational Cultures," in Herndon and Kreps, *Qualitative Research: Applications in Organizational Life* (2001), 171-172.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 172.

suited to the study of organizations because of its “focus on people and their social constructions.”¹⁶⁹ Lang and Lang encouraged studying people and events in their natural settings when using an interpretive approach in qualitative communication research.¹⁷⁰ To draw inferences from observation, they recommended imputing meaning from others’ behavior, analyzing situations to infer meanings that others read into them, constructing a model of the process through which diverse perspectives develop into public definitions, and checking inferences for consistency with data and fit with the model.¹⁷¹

Specifics of the process

The methods of data collection in ethnographic cultural analysis are varied and connected to each other.¹⁷² Fieldwork and use of multiple methods (my methods are interviews, observation and content analysis) are integral.¹⁷³ Researchers study subjects in their natural settings, in this case, a newsroom. The research is considered a process and may change throughout the journey.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 174.

¹⁷⁰ Kurt Lang and Gladys Lang, “Studying Events in Their Natural Settings,” in Klaus Bruhn Jensen and Nicholas W. Jankowski (Eds.), *A Handbook of Qualitative Methodologies for Mass Communication* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), 193.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 202-207.

¹⁷² Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (eds.), *The Landscape of Qualitative Research: Theories and Issues* (Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1998), 3.

¹⁷³ Ibid., 3-5.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 23.

Behavioral observation includes participation in a particular culture to discover evidence that demonstrates how practices and behavior are learned.¹⁷⁵ I took up residence in the Sarasota newsroom, observing daily activities from morning until evening to help understand the routines, practices and processes that contribute to the newspaper culture that employees and managers understand and accept.

Depth interviewing consisted of questioning members of a defined population to understand their perspectives and beliefs and to create rapport that allows the researcher to understand and interpret behavior. I interviewed managers and employees inside and outside the newsroom where they work to gain a deep understanding of the organization and its processes, indoctrination processes, understood assumptions and other aspects of its culture. Ethnographic interviews often have little structure, and often the researcher will question people as they are doing their jobs.¹⁷⁶

Cultural product analysis consists of examining cultural artifacts to find their meanings within a group.¹⁷⁷ The artifact in this case is the actual, published version of the newspaper, including its stories, photographs, headlines, layout, and other aspects of content. (See Appendix C, page 205.)

The study included depth interviews of the three top women at the newspaper at the time I studied it: publisher Diane McFarlin, executive editor Janet Weaver and managing editor Diane Tennant, and an interview with previous managing editor Rosemary Armao. It also includes interviews with female and male reporters, graphic

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 134-136.

¹⁷⁶ Lindlof, *Qualitative Communication Research Methods*, 5.

¹⁷⁷ Denzin and Lincoln, *The Landscape of Qualitative Research*, 29.

designers, columnists, copy editors, librarians and other newsroom employees. The interviews with the three top managers were intended to glean information on the managerial philosophies, motivations, management styles and values of these women. The employee interviews were intended to offer viewpoints that might conflict, contradict or agree with the core management philosophies, values, styles and motivations of the managers.

Anthropologist Debra Spitulnik noted that various forms of mass media, including newspapers, can be considered cultural artifacts or cultural products that construct meanings in society.¹⁷⁸ The newspaper is examined as a text that can be analyzed for the contexts in which it presents messages to its audience.

Gender influence on newspaper culture

The study specifically looks at the newspaper's culture and the role gender plays in its production and management. The study also examines the newspaper's content and influences of gender. The purpose is to discover the ways the female management team has shaped the organizational culture and influenced the operation, management and content of the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*.

I expect to find a culture at the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* influenced by the gender of its managers. Since standpoint theory allows researchers to examine the effects women may have upon organizations, this study may reveal that the female managers create a culture in which women who work for the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* feel they have equal opportunity for career advancement to men at the newspaper. Interviews with

¹⁷⁸ Debra Spitulnik, "Anthropology and Mass Media," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 22 (1993): 293-296.

employees might show that the perception of sex discrimination, which a majority of women say they feel at mainstream newspapers, is virtually absent at this newspaper. Women employees in other organizations have reported the phenomena of the glass ceiling and an “old boys’ club” in which men receive preferential treatment in hiring, promotion and salaries.¹⁷⁹ Because women are the bosses at the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*, they are not part of a marginalized or oppressed class, as standpoint theory assumes. Within this organization, the problems noted in male-dominated organizations may be eliminated, or reversed: male employees might feel they are excluded from opportunities for promotion and raises. Or, both male and female employees could feel the work environment is more egalitarian with women in charge.

Another finding could be manifested in the organization’s work product, the printed newspaper. The newspaper might publish stories that emphasize issues relevant to women readers. It also might quote women as sources of authority more often than literature shows other mainstream newspapers do. Because women are in charge, and therefore are not merely tokens or even minorities in management, their editorial choices might include a thoughtful and watchful eye for assigning and choosing stories that are important to women readers. As Kay Mills has noted, women tend to bring different perspectives than men to the notion of what is news. Because women have different life experiences, “some women write or broadcast different elements in stories that some men would write or broadcast about the same events...Likewise, many female editors ask

¹⁷⁹ Harriman, *Women/Men/Management*, 186-7; Hemlinger and Linton, *Women in Newspapers 2002*, 20; Walsh-Childers, Chance and Herzog, “Women journalists report discrimination in newsrooms,” 86-87.

some questions that their male counterparts do not ask.”¹⁸⁰ The women editors at the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* might ensure that their reporters make a concerted effort to diversify their sources, quoting women in stories more often than other, mainstream newspapers, which have been shown to quote men to women at approximately a 3-to-1 ratio. Because of their different perspectives, women managers may bring a different voice to a medium that has been shown to subtly perpetuate biased views, including racism and sexism.¹⁸¹ This study might discover that the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* is not a “boys’ club,” but a “girls’ club.” The influences of the women who manage the organization might have a profound effect upon the work atmosphere and product because of their socialization and experiences.

Overall, this project has the potential to be an eye-opening look at how women in management create a culture that influences a newspaper’s operation, coverage, readership, readability, appearance, role in the community, and workplace atmosphere for employees. Some of the problems for women in the newspaper business and the business as a whole include lack of women in management positions, drop in female readership, and resistance from female journalism students to enter the newspaper profession. If this newspaper has a unique culture because of its female leadership, then other newspapers could use it as a model for content and operation, and perhaps be inspired to promote more women into positions of power and authority in the industry. If newspapers are able to find ways to attract more female readers, newspaper circulation could improve and give the newspaper industry a readership boost it needs. Newspaper industry studies

¹⁸⁰ Mills, “What Difference Do Women Journalists Make?” 42.

¹⁸¹ Gist, “Through the Looking Glass,” 114.

have shown that women readers are abandoning newspapers more often than men, and women editors might be more likely than men to focus on the types of stories that women want to read and are relevant to their lives.¹⁸² And if women are equal partners in journalism management, bringing their unique perspectives to journalism management and workplaces, then more young women might choose journalism as a career because they will have the role models and mentors needed to encourage and help them.¹⁸³

It is possible that although this newspaper is managed by women, it conforms to the same “masculine” news values,¹⁸⁴ standards and practices as many other American newspapers. This ethnography might find that having women in charge does not create a distinctive culture. However, if this is the finding, it could indicate that gender roles and a masculine perception of news are embedded in American newspaper culture. The next step would be for researchers will be to figure out a way to achieve equality in newsrooms beyond installing women in powerful positions.

This is only one newspaper and therefore cannot represent every future newspaper that might employ women in the executive ranks. A drawback is that the study includes no comparison with newspaper headed by an all-male team. This research is intended to be a case study of a woman-led newspaper.

¹⁸² *Editor and Publisher*, “Newspapers post strong 3Q profits,” 16; Hernandez, “Good and the bad about women’s news in newspapers,” 17; Walsh-Childers, Chance & Herzog, “Women journalists report discrimination in newsrooms,” 86-87.

¹⁸³ Grunig, “The ‘Glass Ceiling’ Effect on Mass Communication Students,” 276-300.

¹⁸⁴ Zoch and Turk, “Women Making News: Gender as a variable in source selection and use,” 762-775.

This dissertation includes this introductory chapter outlining the theoretical and methodological bases for the project. Chapter 2 analyzes female leadership at the *Herald-Tribune*. Chapter 3 examines the culture of a newsroom led by women. Chapter 4 centers on reactions and perceptions about the ways the female management team has shaped and influenced the *Herald-Tribune*. Chapter 5 is a cultural product analysis, in the form of a content analysis, of the influence of gender on the newspaper's stories, photographs, layout, headlines and other content. The final chapter, Chapter 6, draws conclusions based on the research. It also recommends ways newspapers can implement the positive managerial and operational aspects the research uncovers, and avoid the negative ones.

CHAPTER 2

FEMALE LEADERSHIP AT THE *SARASOTA HERALD-TRIBUNE*

The managers of the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* are leading the newspaper from positions that very few women in the public sphere of society have achieved. They have broken the “glass ceiling,” a phenomenon that has been cited as one factor preventing women from advancing after entering the male-dominated world of business, including newspapers. Research has shown that women journalists say they tend not to be considered for prime assignments, promotions and raises as often as male journalists. Many women journalists also believe men have advantages relating to male managers because male managers tend to favor those who have backgrounds, values and behavior similar to their own.¹ Therefore, as the metaphor insinuates, women hit a “glass ceiling” when it comes to career advancement. They can see through the ceiling to the top but they cannot break through the glass. This chapter examines the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* managers’ paths to top jobs in the newspaper industry and the leadership traits that helped them reach those positions.

Sex discrimination, or perhaps the perception of discrimination, is a confirmed and serious problem at American newspapers.² As previously cited, women compose about one-third of newsroom employees and an even lower portion achieve management

¹ Kim Walsh-Childers, Jean Chance and Kristin Herzog, “Women journalists report discrimination in newsrooms,” *Newspaper Research Journal* 17, 3-4 (1996): 86-87.

² Mary Arnold Hemlinger and Cynthia C. Linton, *Women in Newspapers 2002: Still Fighting an Uphill Battle*, Media Management Center at Northwestern University (2002): 20.

ranks.³ Most newspaper publishers are white men, and they tend to relate best to other white men, a phenomenon that Gilbert Bailon, executive editor of *The Dallas Morning News* and former chairman of ASNE's diversity committee, called the "comfort factor."⁴ In a 1996 study, Kim Walsh-Childers and her colleagues found that nearly half of women journalists surveyed thought men were paid better than they were and about 40 percent thought men were more likely to be promoted than women.⁵ Salary inequity based on gender is a common American occurrence. The 2000 U.S. Census showed women earn 73 percent of what their male counterparts earn.⁶ The National Association for Female Executives found in a 2003 study that female print journalists earn an average of \$9,000 a year less than their male counterparts. The pay gap in print journalism is greater than in many other industries, the survey reported.⁷ In their book *The American Journalist: A Portrait of U.S. News People and Their Work* (1991), David H. Weaver and G. Cleveland Wilhoit pointed out women's status in journalism is similar to most U.S. corporations.

³ Hemlinger and Linton, *Women in Newspapers 2002*; Indiana University School of Journalism American Journalist Survey, "Women Journalists Aren't Increasing Overall," posted on PoynterOnline. Retrieved from the World Wide Web, July 28, 2003 at <http://www.poynter.org>. These figures are part of data collected by David H. Weaver and G. Cleveland Wilhoit for an update to their book, *The American Journalist*. (Personal correspondence, March 22, 2004.)

⁴ AJR staff, "Diversity Delayed," *American Journalism Review* 20 (1998): 9.

⁵ Walsh-Childers, Chance and Herzog, "Women journalists report discrimination in newsrooms," 86-87.

⁶ United States Census 2000. "Women in the United States: A Profile." Retrieved from the World Wide Web, May 2001: <http://www.census.gov>.

⁷ Reuters News Service, "Women's pay gap widens in some fields," (December 9, 2003).

“The inequities that women face in salaries, promotion and the challenges of balancing family and work roles are not unique to journalism.”⁸

Weaver and Wilhoit noted that women’s entrance and advancement into journalism in the 1970s coincided with “favorable labor market conditions” and legal action such as lawsuits that helped give them opportunities. Despite these achievements, sex discrimination still exists in most sectors of the American workforce.⁹ The increase in women’s newsroom presence was bolstered in part by sex discrimination lawsuits in the 1970s against two major news organizations, *The New York Times* and the Associated Press.¹⁰ Women contended reform could not occur without a “critical mass” of women who could lobby for changes in story decisions, assignments and hiring and promotions.¹¹ In a 2003 update to their research, Weaver and Wilhoit noted that the percentage of journalists who are women has remained the same since the early 1980s, “even though more women than ever are graduating from journalism school and entering the profession.”¹²

⁸ David H. Weaver and G. Cleveland Wilhoit, *The American Journalist: A Portrait of U.S. News People and Their Work*, Second Edition (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1991), 181.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Kay Mills, “What Difference Do Women Journalists Make?” in Pippa Norris (ed.), *Women, Media, and Politics* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 45.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Indiana University American Journalist Survey, “The Face and Mind of the American Journalist,” retrieved from the World Wide Web on July 28, 2003 from www.poynter.org.

Breaking traditions

In the late 1970s, Rosabeth Moss Kanter, one of the first scholars to examine gender roles within organizations, characterized women managers in corporations as tokens. In Kanter's study, *Women and Men of the Corporation* (1977), she defined four types of groups based on proportional representation within an organization.¹³ They were: uniform groups, which include only one type of manager or employee; skewed groups, which have a large proportion of one type of person over another; tilted groups, less extreme than skewed (e.g., a ratio of about 65:35); and balanced groups.¹⁴ The corporation Kanter studied in the 1970s was a skewed group. Newspaper industry figures in the early 2000s indicated a tilted management proportion: 66 percent male and 34 percent female.¹⁵ In her study, Kanter found that within the corporate structure, women's problems as managers resulted from their lack of status and authority within the system.¹⁶ Kanter conducted her study at a time when women were beginning to breaking into the "good old boys" network of management in the American corporate structure. The large corporation she studied, which she never identified specifically but called Industrial Supply Corporation (Indsco), had almost no women in its professional and managerial levels. Homogeneity of managers, she noted, is common in companies where change is beginning to take hold. Uncertainty spurs more homogeneity in organizations because managers grasp for trust through "homosocial reproduction," or selection based upon

¹³ Rosabeth Moss Kanter, *Women and Men of the Corporation* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), 207-12.

¹⁴ Ibid., 208-9.

¹⁵ ASNE 2002 newsroom survey.

¹⁶ Kanter, *Women and Men of the Corporation*, 6.

social similarities.¹⁷ Women managers at the company she studied were anomalies because they did not fit into the homogenous male model. “Women were decidedly placed in the category of the incomprehensible and unpredictable. There were many reports that (male) managers felt uncomfortable having to communicate with women.”¹⁸ Men had trouble dealing with the female managers because the women appeared different from the men’s perception of a manager. Kanter termed women managers as tokens, the O’s among the majority X’s. In a 1993 update to her study, Kanter acknowledged the business context had improved greatly for women in twenty years. Women achieved greater success, although they were still held back by structural factors, including opportunity, power and numbers.¹⁹ At the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*, the top managers are women, so women are likely to feel more accepted and part of the group instead of placed in the position of outsiders. Male employees might feel they are the tokens.

Women as leaders

Thirty years after the second wave of the women’s movement, men continue to dominate the corporate world. New York-based Catalyst, a women’s advocacy group that conducts research on women in the workplace, reported that in 2002, only six women served as chief executive officers of Fortune 500 companies.²⁰ That was a slightly higher

¹⁷ Ibid., 54.

¹⁸ Ibid., 58.

¹⁹ Kanter, *Women and Men of the Corporation*, 289.

²⁰ Catalyst, *2002 Catalyst Census of Women Corporate Officers and Top Earners in the Fortune 500*, retrieved from the World Wide Web, Dec. 5, 2002 at <http://www.catalystwomen.org/research/censuses.htm>.

percentage than the previous year. Catalyst also reported that ninety Fortune 500 companies had no women officers. *Fortune* magazine, which compiles the lists, published an issue in October 2003 that examined women in power and compiled a list of the fifty most powerful women in American business. The list was topped by Carly Fiorina, chair(wo)man and CEO of Hewlett-Packard. Fiorina was pictured on the cover of the magazine with National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice, perhaps the most powerful woman in the U.S. government sector.²¹ In the accompanying article, some of the top women executives interviewed said they viewed power “differently from the way that men do: They see it in terms of influence, not rank.”²² Several of the powerful women interviewed for the article, in both the public and private sector, said they believed society does not consider power a desirable or acceptable trait for women.²³ Included in the interviews were Sen. Hillary Clinton (D-New York), who said, “I’m finding that power in and of itself isn’t very attractive these days;” Meg Whitman, president and CEO of eBay, who opined that “power has a negative connotation;” and Jenny Ming, president of Old Navy, who maintained, “Power is in your face and aggressive and I’m not like that.”²⁴ However, Patricia Sellers, the author of the article, pointed out that if the word “leadership” were substituted for “power,” “these women most likely wouldn’t bat an eye.”²⁵ The article concluded that many women are not

²¹ Ann Harrington and Melanie Shanley, “The 50 Most Powerful Women in American Business,” *Fortune* 148, 8 (October 2003): 103.

²² Patricia Sellers, “Power: Do Women Really Want It,” *Fortune* 148, 8 (October 2003): 82.

²³ *Ibid.*, 86.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

seeking the highest-ranking positions in corporations and in the public sector because the jobs demand a considerable amount of energy and time, which can be especially challenging for women with children and other family responsibilities.²⁶ The article also noted that many powerful women have nontraditional family arrangements. More than a third of the women on the *Fortune* list of most powerful women had stay-at-home husbands.²⁷

Successful newspaper managers often have nontraditional family situations, a 2000 master's thesis found.²⁸ In the study, which examined the backgrounds, career paths and work and family lives of twelve top female newspaper managers, the women reported they were either single, in a partnership with another woman, or married to a man supportive of their career. Some of the male spouses had changed jobs or careers for their wives' career benefit and others had become primary caregivers to children so their wives could advance.²⁹ The study found that women who had advanced to high-ranking positions in newspapers shared other traits, including education. All the women held at least a bachelor's degree from a college or university, several earned master's degrees, and nearly half attended specialized management programs.³⁰ Another feature the women shared was the support of mentors or a network of professionals who advised them and helped usher them through the ranks of the newspaper business. The women

²⁶ Ibid., 88-92.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Tracy Everbach, " 'News is Different As a Woman': An Examination of Women in U.S. Newspapers' Upper Ranks," Master's Thesis, The University of Texas at Austin, May 2000.

²⁹ Everbach, "News is Different As a Woman," 97-98.

³⁰ Ibid., 94-95.

also cited flexibility, such as a willingness to move out of town for a job, as an asset to their advancement.³¹

Several journalism advocacy groups have maintained newspapers can be more women-friendly workplaces by placing more women in positions of authority, where they also make decisions on newspaper content, story and photo placement, community priorities, and hiring, promotion and organization of newsroom staff.³² But some researchers and theorists, as well as journalists who offer anecdotal information, maintain that simply placing more women in charge does not necessarily change established news values and routines. Cynthia Carter, Gill Branston and Stuart Allan argued in their book *News, Gender and Power* (1998) that having more women in the newspaper industry is “not enough,” to achieve gender balance in newsrooms because many women managers feel compelled to conform to stereotypically masculine news standards.³³ For example, some women in positions of authority adopt and even exaggerate stereotypically masculine behaviors such as aggression and competition, presumably to gain respect and power. For instance, two women interviewed for the 2000 master’s thesis exploring women’s paths to newspaper management described their professional advancements in journalism with a distinctly masculine tone. Each woman credited her achievements to

³¹ Ibid., 98-99.

³² For example, see American Society of Newspaper Editors, “ASNE Sets New Vision for Diversity Beyond 2000,” press release dated October 20, 1998; also, Journalism and Women Symposium (JAWS) resolution on ASNE newsroom diversity policies. Retrieved from World Wide Web October 1998 at <http://www.jaws.org>.

³³ Cynthia Carter, Gill Branston and Stuart Allan, *News, Gender and Power* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 4.

the fact, “I worked my ass off.”³⁴ In a 2000 speech to the Radio-Television News Directors, acclaimed broadcast journalist Christiane Amanpour noted that her first boss was a woman who did not support her. “If I had thought I would get a sympathetic hearing from her, some female solidarity, I didn't. I was sorely mistaken. She hated me and my ambition. She made fun of me, she said, ‘You’ll never make it at CNN; you’ve got to go somewhere else and start.’”³⁵

Traits of male and female managers

Studies of female managers have found that while some women mimic traditional male management traits, others adopt a management style different from men's.³⁶ Van Zoonen noted that many women in journalism feel that despite their professionalism, they should also emphasize their feminine traits. At the same time, “This does produce a very awkward situation ... because the other way around, they also have to prove that despite their femininity they are good professional journalists,” a mainly masculine profession.³⁷

³⁴ Everbach, “‘News is Different As a Woman,’ ” 61.

³⁵ Christiane Amanpour, speech to Radio-Television News Directors Association Murrow Awards Ceremony (13 September 2000). Retrieved from the World Wide Web, February 2003, at <http://gos.sbc.edu/a/amanpour.html>.

³⁶ Ann Harriman, *Women/Men/Management*, Second Edition (Westport, Conn., London: Praeger, 1996); Gary N. Powell, *Women and Men in Management*, Second Edition (Newbury Park, London, New Delhi: Sage, 1993).

³⁷ Liesbet van Zoonen, “One of the Girls? The Changing Gender of Journalism,” in Carter, Branston and Allan (eds.) *News, Gender and Power* (1998), 37.

Women's identities in journalism can be termed "fragmented and problematic," but that appears to be changing.³⁸

Several studies have concluded that masculine behaviors and values are considered effective for managers and that people tend to conceptualize leaders as male.³⁹ However, Powell pointed out that most of these studies depended on observations of male managers.⁴⁰ Women have been ignored as research subjects in management and leadership. Powell noted that while more managers are male, this "does not necessarily mean that *better* managers are masculine."⁴¹ The assertion that a good manager is male is a stereotype, Powell argued, especially since no management behavior theories suggest that either masculinity or femininity contribute to making a better manager.⁴² Stereotypically, a masculine management style is less interpersonal and more autocratic, and a feminine management style is more interpersonal and democratic.⁴³ In reality, according to Powell, women and men who reach high managerial levels exhibit few differences in their traits, and traits labeled as masculine could be "simply the traits of high-level managers."⁴⁴

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Harriman, *Women/Men/Management*, 2-3.

⁴⁰ Powell, *Women and Men in Management*, 176.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid., 178.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Harriman, *Women/Men/Management*, 155.

Anthropologist Helen Fisher has noted in her research that women and men often approach leadership and work differently because they are socialized differently.⁴⁵ In general, men regard power as status and women see power in terms of connections, according to Fisher's research. Men see their advancement in the workplace as hierarchical, based on titles, perks and salaries, while women seek harmony, support and consensus.⁴⁶

These differences could explain why a 2002 study commissioned by the American Press Institute and the Pew Center for Civic Journalism found that 45 percent of female journalists say they are conflicted about their careers and probably will leave journalism.⁴⁷ The study also found only one in five women journalists says she wants to advance in the newspaper industry. By contrast, one in three men says he wants to move up in the business.⁴⁸ Many women journalists find it hard to adapt to masculine management approaches, since such approaches are contrary to the predispositions with which they have been socialized, according to Fisher.⁴⁹ The career-conflicted women in the study most likely had become disappointed at their failure to adapt to men's expectations in the workplace, and women who were more satisfied with their jobs

⁴⁵ American Press Institute, "Women Men and Newsroom Leadership," DVD release 2003.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ American Press Institute and Pew Center for Civic Journalism, *The Great Divide: Female Leadership in U.S. Newsrooms*. (Des Moines, Iowa: Selzer and Company, September 2002), 3-5.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

probably had found mentors who helped guide them through the politics and expected behavior of a male-dominated business.⁵⁰

Peter Bhatia, executive editor of *The Oregonian* in Portland, Oregon, noted that women bring varied perspectives to the newspaper business and said men should be concerned that such a high proportion of women are thinking about leaving the industry.⁵¹ “If women leave, we are going to lose some of the issues that have been brought forward (in the media) in recent decades,” Bhatia said.⁵²

Strengths that make women good leaders include excellent verbal and writing skills, an ability to make connections, diversity, flexibility and a “win-win” attitude of cooperation that does not emphasize winners and losers, according to Fisher.⁵³ Men, on the other hand, excel in spatial skills and display hierarchical attitudes, a tendency to select co-workers like themselves, linear thought, and competitive approaches to work. If given the opportunity, women can change the workplace, including the newspaper business, Fisher said.⁵⁴

Traits of women and men in the workplace

Women	Men
Verbal skills	Spatial skills
Connection	Hierarchy
Diversity	Homogeneity
Flexibility	Linear thought
Cooperation	Competition

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

Deborah Tannen has pointed out that connections are extremely important to women; in fact, they approach the world as a network of community and connection.⁵⁵ Men, on the other hand, are concerned with achieving status. Both sexes are aware of and think about the issues and goals the other sex finds important, but those issues and goals are not their main focus, according to Tannen. The goals of achieving status versus making connections can cause conflict in the workplace. For instance, Tannen noted that “many women are comfortable receiving help and giving it,” but many men, while willing to give help, are averse to receiving it.⁵⁶

These conflicts can block women from being perceived as leaders in a male-dominated industry. However, Fisher noted, the workplace is changing with women’s entry into management positions.⁵⁷ The women of the *Herald-Tribune* have brought their styles, practices and backgrounds to a newspaper that formerly was led by men. They are examined here using Fisher’s definitions of women’s leadership traits.

Verbal and writing skills

Publisher Diane McFarlin started her newspaper career at age 16. She proved her verbal and writing skills at this young age when she landed a job by proving to the local newspaper publisher in her central Florida town, Lake Wales, that she could write.⁵⁸ She worked as a reporter during summers, holidays and weekends, and the summer she

⁵⁵ Deborah Tannen, *You Just Don’t Understand: Women and Men in Conversation* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1990), 24-25.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 71.

⁵⁷ API, “Women, Men and Newsroom Leadership.”

⁵⁸ Interview with publisher Diane McFarlin in her office at the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*, Sept. 11, 2003.

graduated from high school, the publisher showed his faith in her by leaving her in charge of the newspaper while the editors went on vacation. While they were gone, the sports editor, her colleague, was charged with child molestation. She had to cover the story and publish the paper on her own. “I made it through with flying colors,” she said. “After that, I had it in mind that I wanted to manage a newsroom.”⁵⁹ She earned a bachelor’s degree in journalism from the University of Florida in Gainesville.

Executive editor Janet Weaver’s verbal and writing skills also developed early. She said she decided in third grade she wanted to be a journalist. Growing up in Tennessee, her goal was to attend the University of Missouri’s School of Journalism. She graduated from Missouri in 1984 and landed a reporting job at the *Irving Daily News* in Texas. Weaver left 20 months later as the paper’s city editor. She was only 21. Attaining that position led her to a series of editing and reporting jobs in various parts of the United States that led to becoming executive editor of the *Herald-Tribune*.⁶⁰

Managing editor Diane Tennant took a circuitous path to journalism but is trained in English literature, which she studied at St. Lawrence University and Syracuse University, both in New York state. She, too, has strong verbal and writing skills, holding a master’s degree in English. After she graduated from university in the early 1970s, she worked as an office manager for a research firm. But the company eliminated her job, an experience she said shaped the rest of her working life. “It was a very good lesson on the way the business world works,” Tennant said. “I always kept that in mind

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Interview with executive editor Janet Weaver in her *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* newsroom office, Sept. 12, 2003.

throughout my career.”⁶¹ She talked her way into her first job at the *Herald-Tribune*, a part-time position organizing tear sheets sent to advertisers, then worked her way up through the ranks over more than a decade by landing several jobs until she reached the rank of managing editor.

Connection

Two of the women leaders, McFarlin and Weaver, made connections that gave them strong mentors who helped guide them through the newspaper business. McFarlin also said she gained “a great deal of self-confidence” from being an only child with parents who encouraged her to succeed in school and other endeavors. She said another influence on her self-confidence was the fact that she grew up mainly around boys. “I was the only girl in my neighborhood,” she said.⁶²

McFarlin’s first mentors were John Walsh, the publisher at the local Lake Wales daily newspaper who gave her a chance, and an editor there whom she recalls as “Mr. Caldwell.” The editor once assigned her a feature story about a bird watcher, a story she thought at the time was “beneath me.” When she met the story subject, she “was so taken with him” that the story poured out of her. After she filed her piece, Mr. Caldwell gathered the staff in the newsroom, “and in a Shakespearean voice, read the lead of my story,” she recalled, tears welling in her eyes. “This man was telling me I could do this.”⁶³

⁶¹ Interview with managing editor Diane Tennant at a Sarasota restaurant, Sept. 10, 2003.

⁶² McFarlin interview in her office Sept. 11, 2003.

⁶³ Ibid.

Another mentor for McFarlin was the editor of the Sarasota paper during the 1980s, Bill McElwain. “I like to say I got my master’s in journalism from Bill McElwain,” she said. She said she learned a great deal from seminars and conferences offered by the American Society of Newspaper Editors, which made her its president in 2002.

Although she is only nine years younger than McFarlin, Weaver’s mentors have mainly been women, as opposed to the men who helped guide the publisher into management. Weaver said her female mentors represent women’s entrance into newspaper management during the 1980s and 1990s. These connections, as Fisher noted, were extremely important; in fact, they were essential on Weaver’s path to management. “I wouldn’t have been ME (managing editor) at 31 or EE (executive editor) at 36 if not for mentors,” Weaver said.⁶⁴

Weaver met one of her most significant mentors, Sandra Rowe, now chief editor of *The Oregonian* in Portland, Oregon, when Rowe offered her a job at the *Virginian-Pilot* in Virginia Beach, Virginia. Weaver started as a city hall reporter there and advanced quickly to city editor. She left the paper to take a job as a reporter for the *Miami Herald*, where she covered Hurricane Andrew. But she only stayed in Miami three months because Rowe lured her back to Virginia Beach as deputy managing editor over features and sports. “We went to a restaurant at 5 p.m. and stayed until 1 a.m.,” Weaver said of their bond.⁶⁵ Within six months of her return, she had become deputy managing editor of the paper. However, by June, Rowe had left for *The Oregonian*, but

⁶⁴ Interview with Weaver in her office, Sept. 12, 2003.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

not without recommending Weaver to the Knight-Ridder Corporation. With Rowe's endorsement, Weaver left the *Virginian-Pilot* in 1994 to become managing editor of the Knight-Ridder-owned *Wichita (Kansas) Eagle*, where she worked until arriving at Sarasota as managing editor in 1997.⁶⁶ Weaver said she and McFarlin "clicked. "I felt we were so in synch," she recalled.⁶⁷ At first she decided she was not interested because the job seemed like a lateral move, but then she talked to McFarlin again at a reception for women at an American Society of Newspaper Editors conference. Weaver decided to take the job, and became executive editor in 1999. Weaver said she believed both Rowe and McFarlin wanted to help her advance because they "saw something in me, a recognition of what was in themselves."⁶⁸

Tennant's career was more self-made but her ability to connect with people also helped her advance. After she landed a job at the *Herald-Tribune* as television editor, in charge of the daily TV listings page, her bosses were impressed and assigned her the consumer section.⁶⁹ She proceeded through various features sections and eventually became features production editor. She later directed a project that installed a new computer system in the newsroom and trained 200 people to use it. This caught the eye of Weaver, who promoted Tennant to assistant managing editor. Tennant took on the day-to-day operations of the newsroom, since one facet of journalism she had not had

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Interview with Tennant at a Sarasota restaurant, Sept. 10, 2003.

was news experience. “It taught me what I needed to know,” she said.⁷⁰ Weaver named her managing editor in 2002.

Publisher McFarlin acknowledged she fostered a network of mentoring women, noting that people tend to “like to mentor people who are like ourselves.” She said she felt she had an ability to see potential in women than many men would not see, noting that she not only hired Weaver for the executive editor job, but she also placed women within the organization in the positions of advertising manager, human resources director and suburban publisher.⁷¹ Weaver brought Armao to the paper because she had worked with her at the *Virginian-Pilot*, and several other women at the *Herald-Tribune* came because they had worked with Weaver or Armao at other newspapers. This “good old girls” network was similar to the “good old boys” network Kanter pointed to in *Men and Women of the Corporation*. Kanter noted that in industries that are rapidly changing, such as media, especially in a new model like the *Herald-Tribune’s* converged newsroom, managers become pressured to form homogeneous groups in order to foster trust.⁷² Kanter called the phenomenon of seeking managers based on social similarity “homosocial reproduction,” and it appears this occurred to a degree at the *Herald-Tribune* between 1999 and 2003.⁷³ However, McFarlin insisted she never sought to build an all-women management team. She said she hired Weaver and the rest of the staff

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Telephone interview with McFarlin, Dec. 30, 2003.

⁷² Kanter, *Men and Women of the Corporation*, 48-49.

⁷³ Ibid., 54.

“because they were the best people for the job.”⁷⁴ The all-female management team toppled in 2003, when McFarlin hired Mike Connelly to replace Weaver as executive editor. She said she chose him because he was the best person for the job, “and the best person in this instance happened to be a man.”⁷⁵

Diversity

Fisher, Bhatia and others have noted that women bring different perspectives than men do to the workplace. The women of the *Herald-Tribune* brought varied perspectives and policies to the newsroom, including encouragement for employees to make time for their families. These family-friendly policies are different from those established by male managers who led the *Herald-Tribune* in the past, according to interviews with several employees and managers. Tennant, who has worked for the newspaper since the 1980s, said management practices changed under the female leadership to what she called a “very family friendly newsroom.”⁷⁶ Employees appreciate the family-friendly policies, and respond by working hard when they are needed most. “We have employees who will go the extra mile, who are very loyal to our newsroom,” Tennant said. “There has been a change in culture over the years.”⁷⁷ A male reporter agreed, noting that he knows of no other newsroom that is as family-friendly and flexible as the *Herald-*

⁷⁴ Interview with McFarlin in her office, Sept. 11, 2003.

⁷⁵ Newsroom observation in main Sarasota newsroom, Dec. 19, 2003.

⁷⁶ Interview with then-assistant managing editor Tennant in newsroom conference room, June 3, 2002.

⁷⁷ Interview with Tennant at a restaurant, Sept. 10, 2003.

Tribune's. "It's obvious that with the right environment, a talented journalist can both do a job and have a life," he said.⁷⁸

Flexibility

The women managers at *Herald-Tribune* were willing to work in different jobs and move to different newspapers in various cities in their ascent up the management ladder. Flexibility, as Fisher pointed out, is an asset women bring to the workplace. The *Herald-Tribune* managers' career flexibility worked to their advantage and advancement.

McFarlin had ascended to managing editor of the *Herald-Tribune* by age 30, but she then moved to the *Gainesville Sun* as executive editor. This was a "very hands-on" job in which she spent hours in the newsroom with reporters and editors, not a usual practice for executive editors, who often stay out of day-to-day newsroom operations.⁷⁹ This move proved to be a steppingstone to the job of executive editor of the *Herald-Tribune*. She was hired back with the understanding that she would receive publisher training and take over when the male publisher, Lynn Matthews, retired. But soon after she returned to Sarasota, Matthews received a promotion within the New York Times

⁷⁸ Interview with male reporter No. 1 in *Sarasota-Herald Tribune* newsroom conference room, Sept. 11, 2003. Note: Employees interviewed for this study are not identified by name per agreement with the author, the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* managers and the University of Missouri's Institutional Review Board. The decision to keep employees was intended to allow them to speak freely without fear of retribution on the job.

⁷⁹ Interview with McFarlin in her office Sept. 11, 2003.

organization. McFarlin was named publisher, and again, she learned a job by doing it. “I think on-the-job training is best,” she said.⁸⁰

McFarlin has no children. However, executive editor Weaver has two, both born while she was managing a newspaper. Her son was born when she was managing editor at the *Wichita (Kan.) Eagle*, and her daughter was born while she was executive editor at the *Herald-Tribune*.⁸¹

Before landing the job in Sarasota, Weaver was willing to move her family to several states, including Texas, Florida, Virginia and Kansas, so she could move into higher-ranking positions at newspapers. She said she often wonders whether she would have attained those positions had she had children before entering management. She said she has been “very lucky;” her husband, also a journalist, has stayed home with the children since they moved to Sarasota. She also took three months’ maternity leave after her each of her children’s births.⁸²

Tennant also displayed job flexibility. She had her two children, now grown, before she entered the newspaper business. She worked various jobs, including organizing the *Herald-Tribune*’s advertising tearsheets, teaching in her children’s preschool, and teaching English literature in high school before taking various jobs in the

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Janet Weaver left the *Herald-Tribune* in November 2003 to become dean of faculty at the Poynter Institute, a nationally acclaimed school for journalists in St. Petersburg, Fla. Her stint in academia last only about seven months, and she was named managing editor of the *Tampa Tribune* in June 2004. See Guy Bolton, “Tampa Tribune Names New Managing Editor,” *Tampa Tribune*, June 21, 2004, retrieved online at <http://news.tbo.com/news/MGBWCHXXQVD.html>.

⁸² Interview with Weaver in her office, Sept. 12, 2003.

Herald-Tribune newsroom. She accepted jobs in various capacities, including editing the television section and heading a project to install a new computer system, before advancing to the job of managing editor.

Cooperation

The female managers at the *Herald-Tribune* welcome ideas and comments from employees, and make a point to give employees open-door access to their offices, a change from the newspaper's previous male-dominated management, several employees and managers said. Fisher noted that cooperation, a trait she called a "win-win" attitude, is a positive characteristic that women bring to the workplace and contrasts with the competitive attitude displayed by many men.⁸³ McFarlin said the newspaper's current managers "are better at communicating and listening. We have an openness to the input of employees. The top leaders tend to be good coaches, the men as well as the women."⁸⁴ Tennant noted that she emphasizes teamwork and welcomes comments and debate from employees. "There is a very open atmosphere in the newsroom now, where people can talk about things and question things."⁸⁵ An employee, male reporter No. 2, who has worked at the newspaper since the 1970s, said that under the female management team, the newsroom atmosphere has become "very open and consensus-building" and "there is

⁸³ API, "Women, Men and Newsroom Leadership."

⁸⁴ Interview with McFarlin in her office, Sept. 11, 2003.

⁸⁵ Interview with Tennant in newsroom, June 3, 2002.

very little ego involved.”⁸⁶ Cooperation and teamwork are hallmarks of the women’s management.

Feminine leadership

The top *Herald-Tribune* leaders made career moves designed to launch themselves up the management ladder. They also have employed nontraditional family arrangements, similar to several of the women in the 2000 master’s thesis as well as some of the powerful women in business interviewed in the *Fortune* magazine article. Many powerful women arrange their family lives differently from the traditional nuclear family, which places the woman in the domestic sphere rather than the public sphere, because their jobs are extremely demanding.⁸⁷ For example, McFarlin has no children and is divorced, leaving her with few family responsibilities. Weaver has two young children, but her husband, Mark Weaver, has stayed home with them. He also has moved to different cities to help advance her career. Tennant had more of a traditional family arrangement in her 20s, staying home with her children until they started school. She landed her most powerful position, managing editor, after her children were grown.

These female leaders have found ways to advance in the newspaper business despite the confines that tend to hold women back from promotions: lower pay than men, sex discrimination, a good old boys’ network of homosocial reproduction, family

⁸⁶ Interview with male reporter No. 2 in the newsroom, Dec. 15, 2003. Note: Employees interviewed for this study are not identified by name per agreement with the author, the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* managers and the University of Missouri’s Institutional Review Board. The decision to keep employees was intended to allow them to speak freely without fear of retribution on the job.

⁸⁷ Sellers, “Power: Do Women Really Want It,” 88, 92.

responsibilities, and a masculine newspaper culture. Although women are part of an oppressed class in the newspaper business, these female newspaper managers found ways to subvert their domination through education, determination, flexibility, relationships with mentors and nontraditional family situations. These women exhibited the feminine leadership traits that Fisher said women bring to the workplace: verbal and writing skills, connection, diversity, flexibility, and cooperation or teamwork through their management of the *Herald-Tribune* from 1999 to 2003. The next chapter examines the newsroom culture the female managers helped form during the time they led the newspaper.

CHAPTER 3

A HOLISTIC NEWSROOM CULTURE

Newspapers, like other organizations, have varied cultures with their own methods of indoctrination, expected behaviors, operation and demands. Culture, according to Schein, is a group's "accumulated shared learning."¹

A majority of newspapers have cultures that can be characterized as male, as are the cultures of most organizations.² Albert J. Mills noted that "in modern society, the 'public' domain is very much an organizational domain" that is embedded with gender discrimination against women.³ Those in power within organizations are overwhelmingly male, and masculine values permeate most organizational cultures.⁴ On the other hand, Van Zoonen noted a "gendered nature of journalism"⁵ that contrasts masculine and feminine values in the news business. These approaches include news topics, in which masculine foci are politics, crime, finance and education and upbringing, and feminine foci are human interest, consumer news, culture and social policy. Other contrasts exist in news angle, where masculine interests rely on facts, sensation and male points of view, and feminine interests rely on backgrounds and effects, compassion and

¹ Edgar H. Schein, *Organizational Culture and Leadership*, Second Edition (San Francisco: Josey-Bass, 1992), 10.

² Albert J. Mills, "Organization, Gender and Culture," in Albert J. Mills and Peta Tancred, *Gendering Organizational Analysis* (Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1992), 93-111; Liesbet Van Zoonen, "One of the Girls? The Changing Gender of Journalism" in Cynthia Carter, Gill Branston and Stuart Allan, *News Gender and Power* (London, New York: Routledge, 1998), 33-46.

³ Mills, "Organization, Gender and Culture," 94.

⁴ Ibid., 99.

⁵ Liesbet van Zoonen, "One of the Girls?" 36.

general interest; and ethics, with masculine values as detached and feminine values focusing on audience needs.⁶

In this chapter, the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* is examined for the effects an all-female management team has on the newsroom culture, including interactions and communication between and among managers and employees, policies and practices, and general workplace atmosphere. Particular attention is paid to women's standpoint as a marginalized or oppressed class and the reversal of this standpoint at the *Herald-Tribune* because the top managers are all women. Also taken into account is women's tendency to bring emotion, cooperation, intimacy and a "holistic" approach of blending personal and professional lives to the workplace.⁷

In the *Impact* study that found the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune's* culture differed from the majority of American newspapers', 80 percent of newspapers shared a culture type characterized as "aggressive-defensive."⁸ This type of culture emphasized force, hierarchy and status and led employees to "feel they must avoid all mistakes, keep track of everything and work long hours to meet narrow objectives."⁹ On the other hand, the

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Linda McGee Calvert and V. Jean Ramsey, "Bringing Women's Voice to Research on Women in Management: A Feminist Perspective," *Journal of Management Inquiry* 1, 1 (March 1992), 84; Ann Harriman, *Women/Men/Management*, Second Edition (Westport, Conn., London: Praeger, 1996), 2; Liesbet van Zoonen, *Feminist Media Studies* (London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1994), 56-64.

⁸ Readership Institute, Media Management Center. *Impact Study*. (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University, January 2000).

⁹ Ibid.

Sarasota Herald-Tribune had a “constructive” culture, defined as possessing “high levels of motivation, satisfaction, teamwork, service quality and sales growth.”¹⁰ *Impact* determined organizations with constructive cultures are “managed in a participative and person-centered way where people are expected to be supportive and open to collaboration.”¹¹

Publisher Diane McFarlin said she was not surprised by the findings. She said gender has a large influence on the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*. “This organization probably has more ‘feminine’ traits than other newspapers,” she said. “We tend to be more communicative. There is more of a sense of well being of employees, more of a nurturing environment, and this is true of our male employees, too.” She noted that “we’re not as autocratic or closed” as some other newspapers. “To the extent that is influenced by women leaders, I don’t know, but there is some influence.”¹² As *Impact* indicated, the *Herald-Tribune* newsroom has “feminine” cultural characteristics, including openness, teamwork, cooperation and consensus.

The sections below analyze the *Herald-Tribune*’s culture, which the *Impact* study showed and information gathered in this study indicates, is different from many other American newsrooms. It can be defined as feminine, meaning that instilled in the newsroom are policies of openness and collaboration, practices that balance family and professional life, and an emphasis on teamwork.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Interview with *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* publisher Diane McFarlin in her office, Sept. 11, 2003.

Family-friendly policies

A consistent theme among *Herald-Tribune* employees was the newspaper's family-friendly policies. The managers said they have made a particular effort to accommodate families and employees' family issues. This is in direct contradiction to a phenomenon many women with children have reported in the corporate world: the "mommy track." In the 1970s through 1990s, female managers who left corporations temporarily to raise children found that when they returned, they did not attain the same status they had when they left. Instead, they had to work their way back up the management ladder.¹³ The "mommy track" concept not only caused women to lose managerial ground, but also ignored the needs of men who might have been interested in staying home to raise children.¹⁴

A male reporter in his 30s¹⁵, considered one of the top reporters at the *Herald-Tribune*, said he had no doubt the paper's female leadership is the reason he now has a family life. The reporter, for more than a decade a single father, said he had worked at a succession of newspapers and wire services over a more than 15-year career in journalism. None, he said, respected his desire to spend time with his young son. In fact, at one newspaper in Florida where he worked, he asked for a promotion, but an editor

¹³ Angel Kwolek-Folland, *Incorporating Women: A History of Women & Business in the United States*. (New York: Palgrave, 1998, 2002), 203-205.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Male reporter No. 1.

told him that would not be possible until “you get that situation at home figured out.”¹⁶

He said he realized that that newspaper “was not going to be a place for a single father to work – or a married father who wanted to see his kids.”¹⁷

The reporter moved on to a news wire service, where he said he was expected to put work before family concerns. At one point, he said, a male boss took him into his office and told him he needed to leave journalism. Finally, the reporter applied for a job at the Sarasota paper. During his job interview, publisher McFarlin asked him, “What makes you happiest?”

“I know my answer should have been, ‘Having a page one story on Sunday,’ but I said, ‘My son,’” the reporter recalled. “I was mortified, but she looked at me and said, ‘Good answer.’”¹⁸

Working at the *Herald-Tribune* with a female bureau chief, city editor, managing editor and executive editor, and said he “came to realize, ‘women dig kids.’” The managers’ attitude is, in his words: “If it’s Friday and you have nothing to do, go home and be with your family. WE do...From the top down, they value family. They also value good journalism,” he said.¹⁹

¹⁶ Interview with male reporter No. 1 in *Sarasota-Herald Tribune* newsroom conference room, Sept. 11, 2003. Note: Employees interviewed for this study are not identified by name per agreement with the author, the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* managers and the University of Missouri’s Institutional Review Board. The decision to keep employees was intended to allow them to speak freely without fear of retribution on the job.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

That type of atmosphere fosters loyalty and devotion, said male reporter No. 1 and several other employees interviewed for this study. “I’ll do anything for them,” male reporter No. 1 said of his bosses. “I worked eight straight days after 9/11 and I had no problem with it.”²⁰

Time for families

Managing editor Tennant said that when she began working at the *Herald-Tribune* in 1984, when the management team was all-male, she understood that she was to keep her personal life separate from her work life. She had two small children, and when they were sick she did not take time off. “I was loathe to make it seem like I couldn’t pull my weight,” she recalled. “It’s different now. We make accommodations for people. It’s routine for us that people have family needs.”²¹ Publisher McFarlin said she has made a concerted effort to help employees spend more time with their families. “There is a recognition here that when employees get to interact with their kids, they are happier,” she said. “We’re going to feel more success if employees are happier. I want everyone to look forward to coming to work here and feel comfortable.”²²

Executive editor Weaver said women editors can be role models for family-friendly policies. She gave birth to her daughter while she was managing editor of the *Herald-Tribune* and took three months’ maternity leave afterward. She had her son when she was managing editor of the *Wichita (Kansas) Eagle*. Weaver’s husband, Mark

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Interview with *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* managing editor Diane Tennant at a Sarasota restaurant, Sept. 10, 2003.

²² Interview with McFarlin in her office, Sept. 11, 2003.

Weaver, also a journalist, stayed home with the children during her time as executive editor of the *Herald-Tribune*. The newspaper's policies designed to accommodate family needs are priorities within the organization, Janet Weaver said.

"I want to keep talent," Weaver said. "Some of the ways to keep people from going to bigger newspapers is to see how inflexible they (bigger newspapers) are."²³ For example, she said, *The Washington Post*, one of 10 largest and most prestigious newspapers in the nation, recently courted the *Herald-Tribune*'s manager in charge of the television and Internet operations. The manager, who has a 6-year-old son, told Weaver thought he would not see his child very often if he worked for the *Post* because of its demands, so he decided not to pursue a job there.²⁴ "Here, he can live a fulfilling professional life and have a home life, and it's OK," Weaver said. "I don't know a lot of places where it would be OK."²⁵ McFarlin said she has accommodated employees who find family obligations overwhelming. "We've seen it here, where a woman has said, "I can't do that. I can't work those kinds of hours."²⁶

But the policies are not perfect. One day in the newsroom, a female editor²⁷ with a 3-month-old baby talked with a colleague about the difficulty of seeing her husband, also an editor at the paper. She said they were working different shifts to share childcare duties, and often she was asleep when he arrived home from work. But, she added, this is

²³ Interview with executive editor Janet Weaver in her newsroom office, Sept. 12, 2003.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Interview with McFarlin in her office, Sept. 11, 2003.

²⁷ Female editor No. 1.

not the first time they have had to work out different work schedules. Before they had a child they worked at another newspaper where they had opposite schedules, she said.²⁸

Weaver said she believes part of the newspaper's family-friendly policy is attributable to the female leadership, but part of it is also "generational."²⁹ "You have people in there (the newsroom) that don't want to live that kind of life – out drink 'em, work a billion hours, out cuss 'em," she said, referring to the traditional, stereotypical journalists' lifestyle. "More women and men in positions of leadership are saying, 'This is how I want to live my life.' Younger people are coming in and saying they don't want to live in newsrooms. People are saying they don't want to work 80 hours a week."³⁰ Therefore, the *Herald-Tribune's* family friendly policies might not only be female-driven, but also spurred by a generation of journalists who put more emphasis on family and personal time than generations past.

Still, several women noted differences between the *Herald-Tribune's* other newspapers' cultures regarding families. A female reporter in her 20s³¹ said that at a previous newspaper where she worked, women with children were "sent to work in the bureaus," a less-prestigious assignment than working in the main newsroom downtown.³² That newspaper had an all-male management team and she said the comparison was "night and day" with the *Herald-Tribune*. "You were expected to work 15 hours a day

²⁸ Newsroom observation of female editor No. 1's conversation with another employee, Dec. 17, 2003.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Female reporter No. 1.

³² Interview with female reporter No. 1 in newsroom, June 5, 2002.

and it was very corporate,” she said. “Here, it is not corporate at all. The atmosphere is very laid back. If you work eight hours a day you are not looked down upon.”³³ The reporter said the managers encourage employees to spend time with their families. “It’s easy to sneak out for a couple of hours to pick up your kid,” the reporter said. However, she said she ideally would prefer a mix in manager gender rather than working for an all-female or all-male team because she thought this situation would bring more balanced perspectives from editors.³⁴

A lighthearted approach

Humor about the female management and the family-friendly newsroom is a hallmark of the organization. One day in an editors’ meeting in a *Herald-Tribune* conference room, executive editor Janet Weaver reminded editors to complete their evaluations of employees. One editor, she said, was exempt because she had a baby the previous week. A female bureau editor jokingly chimed in, “I’m going to have a baby, too!” Weaver replied that she would actually have to actually produce a baby to wriggle out of the assignment. Weaver also laughingly warned that she would call the local hospitals and warn them that an editor was on the loose with “evals” due. She cautioned the rest of the editors about the evaluations, “So don’t anybody else try to dodge it by having babies, or by having any indiscriminate organs removed.”³⁵

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Observation of budget and editors’ meetings in newsroom conference room and in advertising department conference room, Sept. 8, 2003 and Sept. 10, 2003.

At the same meeting, a male editor asked what the female editor and her husband, who also works at the newspaper, are going to do with “it,” referring to the baby. Managing editor Tennant and executive editor Weaver jumped in and corrected him, saying the baby is a “her,” and her name is Grace. Weaver told the staff that the father was going to take a leave of absence after the mother took her maternity leave.³⁶

Balancing work and family

The issue of balancing work and personal life is a relatively new phenomenon in the workplace, coinciding with women’s entry into management positions after the feminist movement of the 1970s. While *Fortune* magazine in 2003 published its sixth annual list of the 50 most powerful women in the workforce, it also published an article noting that women view power differently from men, noting that women “see it (power) in terms of influence, not rank.”³⁷ The *Fortune* article also reported that some women have chosen not to seek high-level jobs in the corporate world because of the drive and commitment such positions require.³⁸ In fact, the nonprofit research firm Catalyst, which tracks trends and numbers of women in business, reported in its study “Women in U.S. Corporate Leadership: 2003” that 26 percent of women who have not yet reached the most senior posts say they do not want those jobs. Conversely, 55 percent of women in

³⁶ Observation of editors’ meeting in advertising department conference room, Sept. 10, 2003.

³⁷ Patricia Sellers, “Power: Do Women Really Want It?” *Fortune* 148 (8): 80 (13 October 2003).

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 86.

senior posts do desire top jobs and 19 percent say they have not ruled out the possibility of acquiring those positions.³⁹

In an October 2003 *New York Times Magazine* cover story, Lisa Belkin postulated that women are retooling the male definition of work, which has long been money and power.⁴⁰ Belkin wrote: “Women today have the equal right to make the same bargain that men have made for centuries – to take time from their family in pursuit of success. Instead, women are redefining success. And in doing so, they are redefining work.”⁴¹ Belkin posited that women’s definition of work also is liberating for men: “Instead of women being forced to act like men, men are being freed to act like women. Because women are willing to leave, men are more willing to leave, too – the number of married men who are full-time caregivers to their children has increased 18 percent. Because women are willing to leave, 46 percent of the employees taking parental leave at Ernst & Young last year were men.”⁴²

This type of philosophy contrasts from earlier struggles of women in the journalism field, in which women “were compelled to work extra hard to prove that they could achieve the same degree of tough-minded disembodiedness as men,” according to

³⁹ Catalyst press release, “Catalyst study finds women need experience in the business of the business to claim top leadership roles” (3 June 2003). Retrieved from the World Wide Web at <http://www.catalystwomen.org>.

⁴⁰ Lisa Belkin, “The Opt-Out Revolution,” *The New York Times Magazine* (26 October 2003), 45.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 45.

⁴² Belkin, “The Opt-Out Revolution,” 86.

Steiner.⁴³ For most of the twentieth century, journalists assumed that “femininity is incompatible with authority.”⁴⁴

Albert J. Mills wrote that gender has strongly influenced ideas of how organizational life, the public sphere, should be lived. The organizational world has developed through a process Mills referred to as “organizational desexualization,”⁴⁵ which has emphasized male qualities such as rationality and emotional control. As he noted: “Family ties have been severed from organizations and replaced with bureaucratic, professional structures. Organizational goals and purposes have taken precedence over personal drives.”⁴⁶ These developments have strengthened the ideas that male and female values are different, with men associated with rationality and instrumentality and women with emotionality and expressiveness, Mills wrote.⁴⁷

Deborah Tannen noted that, in general, women tend to see the world in terms of connection and community, while men see it in terms of hierarchies of power and

⁴³ Linda Steiner, “Newsroom Accounts of Power at Work,” in eds. Cynthia Carter, Gill Branston and Stuart Allan, *News, Gender and Power*. (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 150.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 150.

⁴⁵ Albert J. Mills, “Organization, Gender and Culture,” in Albert J. Mills and Peta Tancred, *Gendering Organizational Analysis*, (Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1992), 103.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

accomplishment.⁴⁸ While women are concerned with status and authority, these are not their main goals. But for men, hierarchy, status and achievement are prime goals.⁴⁹

Thus, at the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*, emphases on teamwork, collaboration, and a balance of family and professional lives are primary goals. Several employees say they are satisfied with their jobs and motivated to work because of the supportive, egalitarian environment the female managers have created. These traits, confirmed in the *Impact* study, contribute to the newspaper's constructive culture.

Openness in the workplace and the community

Another organizational trait emphasized by *Herald-Tribune* employees and managers is the newspaper's atmosphere of openness, both in the newsroom and with the public. While Tannen noted a male communication style tends to emphasize hierarchy, status and competition,⁵⁰ the women leaders at the *Herald-Tribune* made a point of welcoming employee input, having open-door conversation policies, and coming out of their offices to communicate often with the staff. McFarlin described the management style at the *Herald-Tribune* this way: "There are more conversations here. Meetings are not directive. They're very open."⁵¹

⁴⁸ Deborah Tannen, *You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation* (New York: Ballantine, 1990), 25.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 71.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 25, 38.

⁵¹ Interview with McFarlin in her office, Sept. 11, 2003.

Tennant said the managers tried to foster an atmosphere of openness in the newsroom. “We want people to question and debate,” she said.⁵² As the managing editor, she called meetings every two weeks for the editors of the zoned bureaus. The meetings are designed to broaden the managers’ knowledge of the company as a whole, beyond the newsroom. The bureau chiefs meet with speakers from the human resources, circulation and advertising departments. Tennant said one reason for the meetings is that the news department can be seen as “aloof” from the other newspaper departments. Another reason is to allow the managers from the different bureaus to bond and tackle problems from a team approach. “They need to be self-sustaining as a team,” she explained. “They need to be able to talk without me. They don’t have to come to me for everything.”⁵³

When Diane McFarlin announced the hiring of Mike Connelly as executive editor in December 2003, she gathered the staff in the newsroom on a Friday afternoon and told them in person, rather than issuing a memorandum. She told the approximately 50 staff members on hand, “There were 40 candidates for this job, and the three people I brought in (for interviews) I felt were the best fits for this newspaper. They didn’t necessarily have the biggest titles.”⁵⁴ McFarlin said of Connelly: “He really is the complete package. He has journalistic chops. He has enthusiasm for convergence, although he doesn’t have any television experience, he has experience with zoning, which anyone at this paper knows (is important), he’s really passionate about local news and he has business acumen. He has the strategic bent that executive editors have to have these days.”⁵⁵ She

⁵² Interview with Tennant in newsroom, June 4, 2002.

⁵³ Interview with Tennant at restaurant, Sept. 10, 2003.

⁵⁴ Observation in main Sarasota newsroom, Dec. 19, 2003.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

noted that Connelly would start his job in January, “but he has some things to do. He promised to take his daughter to Arizona State on a college trip, and he promised to take his wife on a vacation.”⁵⁶ She added that Connelly’s daughter is a junior in high school and will have to transfer to Sarasota in her senior year. McFarlin told the staff she considered it important to have their support on her choice, and when she decided to hire Connelly, she had considered their feedback. “Congratulations! You made a great choice,” she told the staff.

Then McFarlin asked whether any staff members had questions. One employee asked whether the publisher expected Connelly to stay at least three to five years. She replied, “I told him I’d kill him (if he doesn’t).” Another employee asked whether Connelly would be working under contract. McFarlin replied, “No,” and added that the organization only draws up contracts for its TV station, SNN, since that is common practice in the broadcast industry.⁵⁷

Allowing the staff to participate in the decision to hire an upper-level manager by offering their comments and opinions to the publisher, meeting the job candidate in person and asking him questions in small and large group meetings, and announcing the choice in an open forum, are all contradictory actions to the hierarchical, rational, bureaucratic structures of most newsrooms.⁵⁸ But they are characteristics of the *Herald-Tribune*’s open, consensus-building culture.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Steiner, “Newsroom Accounts of Power at Work,” 146.

Building consensus

In another example of openness and a sense of community, then-managing editor Armao held a meeting in June 2002 to discuss how bylines should be listed on stories. Reporters had been concerned about getting bylines after reporting stories on the Sept. 11, 2001 bombings of the World Trade Center and Pentagon. Sixteen employees attended the meeting, but only one was a reporter. Armao asked each person at the meeting to express his or her feeling on the issue. She then appointed two subcommittees to research the issue and make policy recommendations.

Managing editor Tennant said she strongly believes consensus building is a superior management style to strict hierarchical formulas. “I still think that the best solutions come from a team – not from a managing editor or some other editor.”⁵⁹ This philosophy differs from the “increasingly hierarchical and bureaucratic nature of the newsroom” that Steiner noted has come with the advent of technology and standards in newsrooms, as well as the rationality and detachment associated with masculine newsrooms.⁶⁰ It also contrasts with the male “jockeying for status” and domination in workplace conversations, observed Tannen.⁶¹

Working under female leadership has become a norm for many *Herald-Tribune* employees. A male editor⁶² who has worked at the newspaper since 1986 said he has always worked with at least one female manager, noting that Diane McFarlin was managing editor when he arrived. He said the addition of the other female managers has

⁵⁹ Interview with Tennant at restaurant, Sept. 10, 2003.

⁶⁰ Steiner, “Newsroom Accounts of Power at Work,” 146-147.

⁶¹ Tannen, *You Just Don't Understand*, 38.

⁶² Male editor No. 1

made the newsroom more “interesting and creative.”⁶³ He also said the atmosphere is more open and he feels more freedom to disagree with his bosses than in the past. But he added that he thinks the phenomenon is not because of the managers’ gender, but because of their individual personalities.

A male reporter⁶⁴ who has worked at the paper since 1974 said that the female management team has created the best work environment in his 30 years there. “Women editors definitely make a difference,” he said.⁶⁵ He credited McFarlin with encouraging this feeling, which did not exist with her predecessors, he said. “There’s an openness that didn’t exist before. She has respect for creative people. Diane is a real innovator.”⁶⁶ Male reporter No. 2 said a friend who had worked for *The Los Angeles Times* once came to visit him in the newsroom, and McFarlin stopped by his desk to say hello, not an unusual occurrence. The friend was amazed. “He said, “You know the *publisher*?” The publisher at his newspaper had never come into the newsroom, much less talked to a newsroom employee.⁶⁷ Male reporter No. 2 said that a male publisher who previously ran the *Herald-Tribune* had visited the newsroom only once in his seven years. But with women in charge, the paper now has “a family atmosphere,” male reporter No. 2 said.⁶⁸

⁶³ Interview with male editor No. 1 in the newsroom, June 6, 2002.

⁶⁴ Male reporter No. 2.

⁶⁵ Interview with male reporter No. 2 in the newsroom, Dec. 15, 2003.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

Tannen noted that women “prefer to rule by consensus,” and also see the world as a “network of connections.”⁶⁹ Women’s hierarchies are less associated with power and authority and more associated with connection and communication.⁷⁰ The *Herald-Tribune*’s managers embody these qualities in the newsroom culture they have created.

However, former managing editor Armao, known as an advocate for hard, investigative news, said she felt the female-led newsroom discouraged traditional, tough male journalists from applying for jobs. She said she saw two types of people come in for job interviews: “Strong, intelligent, powerful women, and men who are not assertive.”⁷¹ Armao asked, “Where are all the big men of journalism, the Jimmy Breslins? We’re not seeing it anymore.”⁷²

Policy changes

Past policies under *Herald-Tribune* male managers reeked of sexism, some employees said. A male reporter⁷³ who has worked at the paper two decades said that one male boss instituted a policy that women could not cover the police beat in one of the bureaus. “The bureau chief felt they (women) were endangered,” covering crime, he said.⁷⁴ The policy held through the mid-1980s, but changed after *The New York Times* bought the newspaper, male reporter No. 3 said.

⁶⁹ Tannen, *You Just Don’t Understand*, 217, 25.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 25

⁷¹ Interview with Rosemary Armao in newsroom conference room, June 5, 2002.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Male reporter No. 3.

⁷⁴ Interview with male reporter No. 3 in news bureau office, Dec. 16, 2003.

Some female employees said female management made them feel more comfortable in the workplace than when they worked in more male-dominated environments. A female photographer⁷⁵ in her 30s said she was astounded at her ability to show emotion in the *Herald-Tribune* newsroom. “I’ve cried in the newsroom,” she said. “I’ve broken the cardinal rule.”⁷⁶ She noted that in three previous, male-dominated, large newsrooms where she worked, managers frowned upon crying, but often tolerated “men showing anger.”⁷⁷ She also said none of the sexual harassment she had experienced in three other newsrooms had occurred at the *Herald-Tribune*. She recounted that she had had her “butt slapped” and received comments about her “sweaters and what was in them” while working at the other newspapers.⁷⁸ No sexual harassment had occurred at the *Herald-Tribune*, she said.

Another female reporter,⁷⁹ who is in her 40s and has worked at the paper since 1986, said she has always worked under some female management, adding that Diane McFarlin was a manager when she started. She said she does not know if the female management should get the credit, but recently the newspaper has finally addressed some social issues it ignored in the past.

“They finally did something on the homeless issue ... and affordable housing,” the reporter said.⁸⁰ However, the reporter, who is African American, said she is

⁷⁵ Female photographer No. 1

⁷⁶ Interview with female photographer No. 1 in newsroom, June 5, 2002.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Female reporter No. 2.

⁸⁰ Interview with female reporter No. 2 in newsroom, June 5, 2002.

concerned about a lack of racial diversity in the newsroom. The women managers are all white. Still, she said other women, “particularly black women,” might be encouraged by seeing women at the top, no matter what their race or ethnicity. “I certainly don’t mind having more women,” she added.⁸¹

A female page designer⁸² in her 30s said she got her job at the *Herald-Tribune* through connections in the “old girls’ network.”⁸³ She previously worked with Janet Weaver at the *Wichita Eagle*. She said the only negative about the female leadership is that while the women managers are open on some issues, they do not communicate with the staff on internal personnel changes as well as she had expected. Some jobs had opened and were never posted in the newsroom, and some promotions occurred without notice to employees that those jobs were available, she said. Despite those complaints, she said editors treated her fairly and trusted her judgment on page design. “I have so much confidence in this management,” she said.⁸⁴

Some employees noted downsides to working with exclusively female bosses. One female reporter⁸⁵ in her 30s said that while the newsroom had more of a family structure because of the female management, “I do feel more cattiness.”⁸⁶ She said gossip appeared to be a staple of interactions between her immediate boss and employees. “Not that men can’t gossip,” she said, “but there is more of a blur here between work and

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Female page designer No. 1.

⁸³ Interview with female page designer No. 1 in newsroom, June 5, 2002.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Female reporter No. 3.

⁸⁶ Interview with female reporter No. 3 at a restaurant, Dec. 16, 2003.

personal life.”⁸⁷ She said a particular female editor, not one of the top managers, had pried into her personal life, which she did not want to discuss with her, and had told her details of her own personal life that she did not want to know. She said she felt obligated to listen because the woman was her boss. Another female reporter⁸⁸ in her 30s said she got along better with male bosses she had in the past than with female bosses, except one “who was like a mom.” She said she has had 20 different bosses in different industries, but also conceded that she might have related better to male bosses because of their responses to her attractive appearance. She conceded that she had used her looks and charm as a way to create rapport with male bosses.⁸⁹

Societal socialization often forces female managers into characterizations in gender stereotypical terms by employees and other managers, both male and female.⁹⁰ Aggressive women have complained that they are considered “bitches” or “pushy” when displaying the same traits considered desirable in men.⁹¹ Women also have been accused of exploiting their sexuality to advance.⁹² Tennant said she knows some women prefer working for men because they feel the way some women manage is going to be a “coffee

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Female reporter No. 4.

⁸⁹ Interview with female reporter No. 4 at a restaurant, Dec. 16, 2003.

⁹⁰ Linda L. Lindsey, *Gender Roles: A Sociological Perspective*, Third Edition (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1997), 53-59.

⁹¹ Angel Kwolek-Folland, *Incorporating Women: A History of Women & Business in the United States*, 168-9, 201.

⁹² Ibid., 202.

klatch” thing.⁹³ Studies of management stereotypes have shown that people’s perceptions of “good managers” tend to favor a “masculine” style.⁹⁴ This is probably because for so many years, stereotypical male behavior has been considered the norm.⁹⁵ So-called masculine leadership traits emphasize control, strategy, lack of emotion, and analysis, while feminine traits include less control, empathy, collaboration and performance.⁹⁶ At the *Herald-Tribune* the female managers displayed many of the so-called feminine qualities, particularly collaboration and empathy, but also some of the masculine ones, specifically strategy and analysis. Some studies have shown that “men and women are similar in their overall effectiveness as leaders.”⁹⁷ In another study, researchers considered defining management styles as “masculine” and “feminine” to be stereotyping and note that empirical studies have found no significant gender differences in managerial behavior, personality or effectiveness.⁹⁸ This dissertation recognizes feminine management style as a particular type marked by openness, concern for family issues, collaboration, teamwork and a recognition of women’s viewpoints and perspectives. This is not to say that women are the only managers capable of employing

⁹³ Interview with Tennant in newsroom, Dec. 17, 2003.

⁹⁴ Gary N. Powell, *Women & Men in Management* (Newbury Park, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1993), 153-169.

⁹⁵ Harriman, *Women/Men/Management*, 2-4.

⁹⁶ Lindsey, *Gender Roles: A Sociological Perspective*, 262-264.

⁹⁷ Powell, *Women & Men in Management*, 167.

⁹⁸ Claartje J. Vinkenburgh, Paul J.W. Jansen and Paul L. Koopman, “Feminine Leadership – A Review of Gender Differences in Managerial Behaviour and Effectiveness. In eds. Marilyn J. Davidson and Ronald J. Burke, *Women in Management: Current Research Issues Volume II* (London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage, 2000) 123-4, 130.

a “feminine” management style; many men display these traits as well. The *Herald-Tribune* was the only exclusively female-managed newspaper among the 20 percent of newspapers found in the *Impact* study to have constructive cultures. The others had at least some male managers.

Communicating through humor

Some employees face the *Herald-Tribune*’s reputation as an estrogen-laden work environment with humor, and humor also is used as a way to create bonds between employees and managers. At a newsroom going-away party for a female reporter⁹⁹, co-workers designed and printed a mock front page as a departing gift. Listed under the masthead was the tagline, “An all-female conglomerate.” Then-managing editor Armao presented the reporter with a book on former journalist and U.S. Representative Clare Boothe Luce, saying Luce “had to figure out how to use the men in her life to advance.”¹⁰⁰

When Weaver left the paper, employees also made mock pages for her and played on the hallmarks of the newspaper during the time of her leadership: the female management, the converged newsroom with newspaper, television and the Internet, and the newspaper’s many zoned editions. Headlines included “ ‘Amazonia’ Moves North,” referring to Weaver’s new job as dean of faculty at the Poynter Institute in St. Petersburg, Florida, about 40 miles north of Sarasota; “Weaver: Convergence is a Crock;” and “Newspaper to Add Six Editions.” The mock pages also featured a “sports” story about

⁹⁹ Female reporter No. 5.

¹⁰⁰ Newsroom observation, June 7, 2002.

the University of Tennessee football team, of which Weaver is a fan, and a “fashion” piece on Weaver’s penchant for wearing pastel colors.

Such humor translates into newsroom behavior as well. One day in June 2002, a male reporter¹⁰¹ came into the office wearing shorts, sandals and bright red painted toenails. His dress was unusual compared to the uniform of khaki pants, jeans, and open collared shirts and closed-toe shoes worn by most of the men in the newsroom. He said he volunteered to work on a story on a man’s day at the spa, and decided to wear the toenail polish into the newsroom. He also got a facial and a massage. The story, he said, made him realize he “wouldn’t want to go through the crap women have to go through” but if he got paid an extra \$10,000 a year, like his editors, he might consider it.¹⁰² Later, the same writer wrote a story about an expensive spa opening in town, and a female editor¹⁰³ in a budget meeting complained jokingly that the reporter “got to do that story where he got all those massages – now he gets to do this!”¹⁰⁴

Employees also are encouraged to express their opinions about the newspaper’s content. Newsroom employees have access to an Intranet site called the “Hot Spot,” which includes a feature called “Feedback,” where employees are encouraged to comment on newspaper content and other issues that concern them. The message board allows employees to debate and discuss with each other and with managers. This contributes to the sense that the newsroom is a team, and adds to the managers’ emphasis on working together toward the newspapers’ goals. The site encourages employees to get

¹⁰¹ Male reporter No. 4.

¹⁰² Interview with male reporter No. 4 in the newsroom, June 4, 2002.

¹⁰³ Female editor No. 2.

¹⁰⁴ Observation of budget meeting in newsroom conference room, Sept. 9, 2003.

to know each other, listing their birthdays daily and features photographs and profiles of new employees, and including a face book so employees can identify each other by name.

One “Feedback” discussion centered on gender characterizations in high school and college male and female sports teams. A female news assistant¹⁰⁵ noted that a school’s boys’ team was referred to in a headline as “the golf team,” and the girls’ team was specified as the “girls’ golf team.” The news assistant wrote, “I wish we could avoid this kind of bias.”¹⁰⁶ The discussion drew a storm of opinions, including a one-word reply from a sports reporter,¹⁰⁷ “Bias?” A male news employee¹⁰⁸ insisted that it is not sexist to assume the “golf team” is male. But a male news columnist¹⁰⁹ went on to note that singling out the girls’ team as different is a biased assumption: “The bias isn’t just in the sports dept. or in this newsroom, but in our entire American culture,” he wrote. “But, as with racism or other forms of bigotry, that doesn’t make it something we ought to thoughtlessly go along with.”¹¹⁰ The male employees in the newsroom had differing views on what constituted sexism and felt free to express their opinions on it, even if their views might not agree with those of their female bosses.

Male employees also felt free to tease their female managers about their leadership roles. On the inter-office message board, after an announcement about the Poynter Institute’s National Writers Workshop that featured a list of speakers who all

¹⁰⁵ News assistant No. 1.

¹⁰⁶ Feedback column, Sept. 10, 2003.

¹⁰⁷ Sports reporter No. 1.

¹⁰⁸ Male reporter No. 7.

¹⁰⁹ Male reporter No. 6.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

were men, a male columnist¹¹¹ posted a tongue-in-cheek reply: “Sounds like that all-male journalism group we’ve been planning.”¹¹² A male employee answered him: “Thank God! We finally get a voice. Power, brothers.”¹¹³ This facetiousness showed male employees did not feel their female bosses stifled their words, and even felt comfortable ribbing their superiors.

The managers’ policy of openness extended to newspaper readers. The managers said they had made an effort to be open about story selection in the newspaper and they allowed and even welcomed input from the public and from employees. McFarlin instituted the Reader Advocate, a telephone hotline that readers can call with concerns and complaints, when she was managing editor. The phone line is part of a reader credibility project that also includes a reader advisory board. In fact, members of the advisory board sometimes are invited to sit in on budget meetings, an unusually open policy for a newspaper.¹¹⁴ Reporters, editors, page designers, photographers and other employees staff the hotline on a rotating basis, each serving a one-week stint answering calls. One-third of the calls involve circulation questions.¹¹⁵ The advocate also performs public services, answering general questions such as, “What is the quality of the air today?”¹¹⁶ and “Did the postal rates go up?”¹¹⁷ as well as complaints and comments about

¹¹¹ Male reporter No. 6.

¹¹² Hot Spot, *Herald-Tribune* office Intranet, May 16, 2002.

¹¹³ Ibid., May 23, 2002.

¹¹⁴ Observation of budget meeting in newsroom conference room, June 6, 2002.

¹¹⁵ Interviews with Janet Weaver in her office and Diane Tennant at a restaurant, September 2003.

¹¹⁶ *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* Reader Advocate log, June 4, 2002.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

content of the newspaper. Each log has a section for the weekly advocate to record what action was taken to help the caller. For example, the log shows that on June 4, 2002, a caller told the advocate he had “received a phone call from ‘Bob’ asking him to read his Discover card number to him for verification.” The advocate noted, “Man thinks it’s a scam. He gave me our phone number and Bob’s extension.” Under the listing, “Action taken,” in the log, the advocate wrote, “I called Bob’s extension and sure enough, it was Bob. Explained the situation and he asked if I would transfer the man back to him. Man did not want anything to do with anything.”¹¹⁸ The employees who work the phone line emphasize customer service and helpfulness to the community even when callers are difficult or rude or their questions have nothing to do with the newspaper or its content.

The open connection with the community continues in other sections of the newspaper. Names, numbers and e-mail addresses of editors in charge of various sections as well as reporters and top managers are published in the newspaper so readers may contact them. The editors also try to have open, two-way communication with sources. For example, a suburban editor¹¹⁹ said that when a new police chief took office, she met with him to try to have more effective communication between reporters and police. She said she began the conversation by offering to listen to any concerns and to correct any errors reporters may make. On the other side, she said she wanted to make sure the newspaper received the information it needed to publish stories on deadline. Because of the meeting, the police department was much more cooperative than in the

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Female editor No. 3.

past, she said.¹²⁰ The editor also said she looks for opportunities to improve communication by making a point of meeting with public officials who take office. Executive editor Weaver said she encouraged this practice, and noted that she often “disarmed” people by giving them her home phone number and cell phone number and asking them to call her.¹²¹ Weaver also said she and the other managers were open with the staff about their activities. “If I take my son to (baseball) spring training, I send out a message saying what I am doing.”¹²²

A dearth of racial and ethnic diversity

Despite the female management, the paper’s staff suffered from a lack of racial and ethnic diversity. Before the women took over the newspaper, the *Herald-Tribune* reported about 11 percent of its newsroom employees were racial and ethnic minorities. By 2003, the percentage had dropped to 8 percent.¹²³ “In the meantime, our community has gotten more diverse,” about 11 percent non-white, said publisher McFarlin.¹²⁴ Several minority employees left for higher-paying jobs at bigger newspapers. In fact, turnover among many of the younger reporters, minorities and white, is common and many leave the *Herald-Tribune* after two or three years for larger newspapers. The

¹²⁰ Observation of editors’ meeting in advertising department conference room, Sept. 10, 2003.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Interview with Weaver in her office, Sept. 12, 2003.

¹²³ Bill Dedman and Stephen K. Doig, report compiled for Knight Foundation, May 2004. Retrieved from the World Wide Web on August 17, 2004 at http://powerreporting.com/knight/fl_sarasota_herald-tribune.html.

¹²⁴ Interview with McFarlin in her office, Sept. 11, 2003.

managers conceded that they had trouble retaining minority employees, in part because many talented minority reporters could get better-paying jobs elsewhere after working in Sarasota for a couple of years. Also, the population of the community is largely white and older. Managers said recruiting minority reporters to work in Sarasota and getting young reporters, whatever their race or ethnicity, to stay in the area is not an easy task. Before she resigned, managing editor Rosemary Armao explained: “We’re a 100,000-circulation newspaper in an area that has lots of bigger, better-paying papers (referring primarily to the 233,000-circulation *Tampa Tribune* and 344,000-circulation *St. Petersburg Times*¹²⁵). The population is old and white. Getting young people is hard, period. It’s particularly hard to get young minorities.”¹²⁶ On the other hand, the newspaper has many older, white employees in mid-level positions who have worked for the *Herald-Tribune* organization for decades, including those who have raised families in Sarasota.

At a September 2003 meeting Weaver told editors she was happy that minorities had been hired to fill three job openings. “One of my goals was to improve the diversity of the paper,” she said. “It was getting pretty darn white, so I’m pleased.”¹²⁷ Interestingly, all 15 editors at the meeting were white.

Weaver said the paper had lost several minority reporters to bigger newspapers. “It’s always a challenge at a paper this size,” to retain minority employees, she said.

¹²⁵ *St. Petersburg Times*, “Circulation of Florida’s Largest Newspapers,” retrieved from the World Wide Web, Jan. 3, 2004 at <http://www.sptimes.com/Marketbook/circulation.html>.

¹²⁶ Interview with Armao in newsroom, June 5, 2002.

¹²⁷ Observation of editors’ meeting in advertising department conference room, Sept. 10, 2003.

“Other papers can offer more money and prestige.”¹²⁸ She also said the three-county area covered by the newspaper is mainly white. “One of the things that has happened in the past is that (minority job candidates) look at the newsroom and like what they see, but they don’t want to live in a community that is 87 percent white.”¹²⁹ She also acknowledged that the paper’s minority recruiting efforts have been “unfocused.”¹³⁰

The paper has 155 newsroom employees, 41 percent of whom were women as of September 2003.¹³¹ The *Herald-Tribune* employs more women than the national average of 37 percent female newsroom employees, but still is not dramatically different from many other newspapers. Because of the female leadership, McFarlin said that the perception by many was that the diversity issue faced at the *Herald-Tribune* “is men – that was the running joke.”¹³² When she hired Mike Connelly for the managing editor position, she joked that she was implementing a diversity program. She said she enjoyed the distinction of being the only large, female-led newspaper in the U.S., but “it was not a mantle we were required to wear forever.”¹³³ She said Connelly was the best candidate for the job, although one of the other finalists was a woman. Therefore, the “good old girls” network that created the all-female management team did not adhere to its expected practices if it were to follow the “good old boys” white, male model. McFarlin

¹²⁸ Interview with Weaver in her office, Sept. 12, 2003.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Interview with McFarlin in her office, Sept. 11, 2003.

¹³³ Lisa Rab, “H-T publisher names new top editor,” *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* (20 December 2003), 12A.

repeatedly emphasized that she always hires the person she thinks will best suit the position, no matter the gender.¹³⁴

Tennant noted that by late 2003, the paper had hired a number of male reporters to work on the Sarasota city news desk. That left only two female reporters out of about 10 on that desk.¹³⁵ Because of turnover, the numbers tended to ebb and flow. But it seemed that the overall reporting staff was reflecting the gender proportion seen in ASNE statistics for the industry: 33 percent female and 67 percent male.

A male reporter in his 20s¹³⁶ who is a member of a racial minority group said he was somewhat bothered by the all-female management team – not because of their gender but because of their homogeneity. “I don’t like for any group to dominate,” he said. “I don’t like working with all women, all men, all black people, all white people.”¹³⁷ Therefore, having an all-female management team can make some employees feel like the workplace is too homogeneous.

An “old girls” network

Business networks are defined as connections among like-minded people. Women create networks to provide the same type of support men give each other in the organizational world.¹³⁸ Men’s networks have served to bar women from promotions and

¹³⁴ Telephone interview with McFarlin, Dec. 30, 2003.

¹³⁵ Interview with Tennant in newsroom, Dec. 17, 2003.

¹³⁶ Male reporter No. 5.

¹³⁷ Interview with male reporter No. 5 in newsroom, Dec. 16, 2003.

¹³⁸ Cheryl Travers and Carole Pemberton, “Think Career Global, but Act Local: Understanding Networking as a Culturally Differentiated Career Skill.” In eds. Marilyn J. Davidson and Ronald J. Burke, *Women in*

add to the “glass ceiling” women face in many organizations.¹³⁹ Because women have been excluded, they have begun to form their own networks over the past two decades as a form of “empowerment.”¹⁴⁰

At the *Herald-Tribune*, networking was important to the hiring of the women who headed “Amazonia.” McFarlin said she hired Weaver after admiring her work and bonding with her in conversations and at professional newspaper organization meetings. Weaver said she hired Armao because she knew her reputation as a hard news and investigative reporting advocate and knew her personally from conferences. McFarlin said the concept of “Amazonia” was a “badge of honor” for her but she was willing to disrupt it by hiring Connelly in December 2003 to replace Weaver.¹⁴¹ The all-female management team “was never contrived, never by design,” McFarlin said. “It was something that happened by virtue of merit. Women were running the news side by virtue of merit. I became publisher not because I was a woman, and I didn’t hire Janet (Weaver) because she was a woman ... I didn’t force it.” After she hired Connelly, McFarlin said she hoped it was not long before other newspapers could claim all-female management teams.¹⁴²

Management: Current Research Issue Volume II (London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage, 2000), 84-103. Also see Rosabeth Moss Kanter, *Men and Women of the Corporation* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), 84.

¹³⁹ Travers and Pemberton, “Think Career Global, but Act Local: Understanding Networking as a Culturally Differentiated Career Skill,” 87.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, 87, 90.

¹⁴¹ Telephone interview with McFarlin, Dec. 30, 2003.

¹⁴² Ibid.

Weaver said she did not think most *Herald-Tribune* job candidates were seeking a newspaper with female management. However, she said she served a mentoring role to some women, pulling aside those who showed promise and wanted to move up within the organization and giving them tips on becoming a manager.¹⁴³ Therefore, she encouraged a form of homosocial reproduction, but from a different standpoint than that of white, male managers who engaged in the practice. Weaver came from a background where people of her gender were not traditionally managers and executives. Although Weaver encouraged women to move up within the organization, she made a point of saying that she tried to make male job candidates and employees feel just as comfortable. “We aren’t scaring men,” she said.¹⁴⁴ However, the lack of minorities at top positions in the organization was visibly apparent.

One day, Weaver and a male photo editor were discussing a presentation given at a conference by female photojournalist for another newspaper. She had been embedded with Marines during the Iraq war. The male photo editor said he was astounded because the photojournalist is a “tiny Hispanic woman” who worked on the front lines in the war. He said she recounted that a female Marine who signed her in told her that if she were a Marine she would never be that far forward. Weaver recalled that she had talked to a woman editor who worked with the photojournalist about how they were impressed by her work.¹⁴⁵ The photojournalist later won the Pulitzer Prize for her work.

¹⁴³ Interview with Weaver in her office, Sept. 12, 2003.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Observation in main Sarasota newsroom, Sept. 8, 2003.

Still, having women in charge does not mean political correctness rules the newsroom or that the traditional wicked humor of journalists is eliminated. In one meeting, two female editors reacted negatively to a story and photo about clothes designed for elderly women. The baggy clothes had easy-to-open fasteners and were loosely fitting. One editor called the photo “hideous” and the other said the female model looked like “a man in a wig.” The clothes, she said, were “horrible.”¹⁴⁶ In a city where many of the newspaper readers were senior citizens, the conversation showed insensitivity to the audience.

One morning before a September 2003 meeting, all editors in the conference room were watching The Weather Channel, keeping an eye on Hurricane Isabel. All in the room were men. “It’s a big girl,” one of the male editors commented about the hurricane.¹⁴⁷

Schein’s model applied to the *Herald-Tribune*

Schein noted three conceptual levels of culture within an organization: artifacts, espoused values and basic underlying assumptions.¹⁴⁸ Artifacts are the visible manifestations of an organization’s culture, including physical environment, language, technology, products, artistic creations and style. Style encompasses “the architecture of its physical environment, its language, its technology and products, its artistic creations, and its style as embodied in clothing, manners of address, emotional displays, myths and

¹⁴⁶ Observation of budget meeting in newsroom conference room, Sept. 9, 2003.

¹⁴⁷ Observation of budget meeting in newsroom conference room, Sept. 12, 2003.

¹⁴⁸ Schein, *Organizational Culture and Leadership*, 7, 12, 17.

stories told about the organization, published lists of values, observable rituals and ceremonies, and so on.”¹⁴⁹

The *Herald-Tribune*’s open, family-friendly culture is reflected through its artifacts (perhaps the most visible artifact, the content of the newspaper, is discussed in Chapter 5). The converged newsroom fosters an understanding that employees are not gathering information and reporting it for only one medium. Print, broadcast and Internet all operate within one newsroom.

Other physical manifestations of the culture can be seen in the open newsroom, such as the top editors’ willingness to keep office doors open most of the time. However, the physical setup of the newsroom is strikingly similar to other, male-dominated newspapers, following traditions established by male managers. Employees clearly understand that they can approach managers about problems and concerns without having to go through hierarchical levels. Problem solving is often done by consensus and teamwork rather than by one person making a unilateral decision – all characteristics of a feminine style rather than a masculine, or hierarchical and bureaucratic, one.¹⁵⁰ As Tannen noted, women are more comfortable with dealing with issues in terms of connection and community rather than in terms of hierarchy.¹⁵¹ Many of the *Herald-Tribune*’s major decisions involve teamwork and consensus. When McFarlin was choosing an executive editor to replace Weaver, she took input not only from other managers, but from employees as well. The candidates met with employees in small and

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 17.

¹⁵⁰ Steiner, “Newsroom Accounts of Power at Work,” 146.

¹⁵¹ Tannen, *You Just Don’t Understand*, 25.

large groups and took any questions they wanted to ask. McFarlin said she based her decision in part on the recommendations of employees. Employees can freely voice their opinions on content in the newsroom's Intranet bulletin board. Even readers have a say in what the paper publishes, through the Reader Advocate telephone line. The characteristics of management were termed by the Northwestern *Impact* study as "constructive," a type of culture that shares many of the same traits others have termed as "feminine."¹⁵²

The family-friendly policies of the management also reflect the culture. Employees say it is understood that if they need time off to take care of family members, children or elderly, they will be able to take it without reprisal. The managers set the stage for these policies by observing them as well.

Schein's next conceptual level of culture is espoused values, the strategies, goals and philosophies of an organization, confirmed by "the shared social experience of a group."¹⁵³ The beliefs and norms of the *Herald-Tribune* managers are ingrained in employees' practices and are accepted as group standards and values. New employees are indoctrinated to the policies and practices through employee handbooks, bulletin board postings, Intranet communications and through the stories and policies employees tell each other. Employees are socialized to understand that the *Herald-Tribune* is a workplace that values openness, family matters, teamwork and humor. This is demonstrated through numerous accounts by employees interviewed for this study and by

¹⁵² Readership Institute, Media Management Center, *Impact Study*.

¹⁵³ Ibid., 20.

the New York Times Company values to which the newspaper adheres (discussed further in Chapter 4 on news process).

Schein's deepest level of cultural analysis, basic underlying assumptions, tells people how to think, feel and behave about the organization.¹⁵⁴ The *Herald-Tribune*, a female-dominated organization, does not exclude or marginalize female perspectives, as many male-dominated newspapers are known to do. In fact, it embraces feminine perspectives such as valuing family along with work, whether those views come from female or male employees. When *Herald-Tribune* employees learn the organization's expectations, they do not see women as being held back from advancement or being relegated to the domestic rather than the public sector of life.¹⁵⁵ Neither men nor women interviewed for this study viewed gender as an obstacle to advancement within the organization. In fact, many employees reported a sense of well-being and comfort in their positions because of the female leadership. Employees considered the organization to be fair about family issues, to value employee opinions and perspectives and to consider men and women to be on an equal playing field. However, employees did acknowledge that while gender did not seem to be an issue affecting hiring, promotion, salary and rank, the newspaper staff lacked racial and ethnic diversity. Minorities did not hold any of the top positions at the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*. Overall, employees were generally positive about the organization, particularly its acceptance of family concerns, its gender fairness, the openness of management and the feeling that the newspaper staff worked as a team rather than a hierarchy. This relates to the holistic approach mentioned

¹⁵⁴ Schein, *Organizational Culture and Leadership*, 21-23, 27.

¹⁵⁵ Mills, "Organization, Gender and Culture," 104, 106.

by Calvert and Ramsey in which women within organizations tend to blend their professional and personal priorities, reflecting a more complete view of the world than the traditional masculine model of work.¹⁵⁶ This standpoint reflects women's lives as communicators who flourish in networks of connections and relationships, including family and work colleagues.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁶ Calvert and Ramsey, "Bringing Women's Voice to Research on Women in Management," 84.

¹⁵⁷ Josephine Donovan, *Feminist Theory: The Intellectual Traditions of American Feminism* (New York: Continuum, 1992), 173, 177. See also Tannen, *You Just Don't Understand*, 38.

CHAPTER 4 REACTION TO A FEMALE-LED NEWSPAPER

This chapter examines the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*'s managers' and employees' perceptions on and philosophies about the newspaper concerning the ways in which the female management team shaped and influenced the *Herald-Tribune*.

As previously stated, studies have shown that the majority of news in America is about white, middle-class, middle-aged men and focuses on issues that interest and affect them. Men are overwhelmingly dominant sources and subjects in print and broadcast media.¹ Stories involving women are less common and are relegated to other sections

¹ Cory L. Armstrong, "The Influence of Reporter Gender on Source Selection in News Stories," *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 81 (1), (Spring 2004): 139-154; Jane Delano Brown, Carl R. Bybee, Stanley T. Wearden and Dulcie Murdock Straughan, "Invisible Power: Newspaper News and the Limits of Diversity," *Journalism Quarterly* 64, 1 (1987): 45-54; Matthew Daneman, "Former Gannett CEO Neuharth crusades for media diversity," (Rochester, N.Y.) *Democrat and Chronicle* (21 February 2003), retrieved from the World Wide Web Feb 21, 2003 at http://www.democratandchronicle.com/news/0221story19_news.shtml; Marilyn E. Gist, "Through the Looking Glass: Diversity and Reflected Appraisals of the Self in Mass Media," in Creedon, *Women in Mass Communication* (1993), 109-110; Carol M. Liebler and Susan J. Smith, "Tracking Gender Differences: A Comparative Analysis of Network Correspondents and Their Sources," *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* 41, (Winter 1997): 58-68; Pamela J. Shoemaker and Stephen D. Reese, *Mediating the Message: Theories of Influence on Mass Media Content* (White Plains, N.Y.: Longman Publishers USA, 1996), 56; Liesbet van Zoonen, "One of the Girls? The Changing Gender of Journalism," in Carter, Branston and Allan (eds.) *News, Gender and Power* (1998), 33-46; Lynn M. Zoch and Judy Van Slyke Turk, "Women Making News: Gender as a variable in source selection and use," *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 75, 4 (1998): 762-775.

than hard news.² Women rarely are represented in positions of authority and power in newspaper stories. In most newspapers, women are quoted about one-fourth of the time that men are quoted and are three times more likely than men to be portrayed negatively.³ Women are often quoted as victims or because they have a relationship to a man who is a central figure in a story.⁴ Several professional journalism organizations and some scholars have argued that placing more women in newsroom positions of power will increase coverage of women and issues of interest to them.⁵ But studies have not confirmed this; for example, the Jolliffe and Catlett analysis of women's magazines from the 1960s to the 1980s that found female editors did not change stereotypical portrayals of women in content.⁶ More recent studies have found that women journalists make some small differences in content. In 2004, Armstrong found that female news writers were more likely to mention and quote women in their stories.⁷ Craft and Wanta found

²Stephanie Craft and Wayne Wanta, "Women in the Newsroom: Influence of Female Editors and Reporters on the News Agenda," *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 81 (1), (Spring 2004): 124-138.

³ Debra Gersh Hernandez, "Good and the bad about women's news in newspapers," *Editor and Publisher* (21 May 1994), 17; Karen Schmidt and Colleen Collins, "Showdown at Gender Gap," *American Journalism Review* 15, 6, (1993): 39-42.

⁴ Zoch and Turk, "Women Making News: Gender as a variable in source selection and use," 762-775.

⁵ American Society of Newspaper Editors, "ASNE Sets New Vision for Diversity Beyond 2000," press release dated October 20, 1998; JAWS resolution on ASNE newsroom diversity policies; Kay Mills, "What Difference Do Women Journalists Make?" in Pippa Norris (ed.), *Women, Media, and Politics* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

⁶ Lee Jolliffe and Terri Catlett, "Women Editors at the 'Seven Sisters' magazines, 1965-1985: Did they make a difference?" *Journalism Quarterly* 71, 4 (Winter 1994): 800-808.

⁷ Armstrong, "The Influence of Reporter Gender on Source Selection in News Stories," 149.

that newspapers with high percentages of female managers were more equitable when assigning beats to male and female reporters and emphasized more positive news than at male-dominated newspapers.⁸ However, Craft and Wanta also determined that issues covered were not significantly different between newspapers with high percentages of female editors and those with lower percentages of female editors.⁹ Because of the dominance of male authority and power in the newspaper business, female and male journalists generally do their jobs similarly, with an emphasis on “masculine” news.¹⁰ As Gist noted, women accept male standards on what topics make news by treating the established news values as norms of journalistic objectivity.¹¹

Choosing what is news is a “highly subjective” process conducted by gatekeepers who categorize and select which information is covered and published.¹² As Tuchman noted in *Making News*, news is a product of routines and processes that are ingrained and passed along to other news workers.¹³ Thus, news is socially constructed through these routines and processes.¹⁴ News selection often adheres to a “pack mentality” in which media organizations monitor each other and follow the same issues and ideas.¹⁵ Media

⁸ Craft and Wanta, “Women in the Newsroom: Influence of Female Editors and Reporters on the News Agenda,” 124.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Van Zoonen, “One of the Girls? The Changing Gender of Journalism,” 34.

¹¹ Gist, “Through the Looking Glass,” 109.

¹² Gist, “Through the Looking Glass,” 109; Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message*, 117-122.

¹³ Gaye Tuchman, *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality* (New York: The Free Press, 1978).

¹⁴ Ibid., 12.

¹⁵ Shoemaker and Reese, 122-125. For an example of pack journalism, see Timothy Crouse, *The Boys on the Bus* (New York: Random House, 1972).

organizations also rely on the same “official” sources for information.¹⁶ Since men are in the majority of positions of power and authority in government and corporations, news is geared toward the male point of view.¹⁷ The dominant group in media, white males, passes its values along to the public and “significantly influence(s) the beliefs of mass audiences.”¹⁸ This chapter examines whether those masculine values are entrenched at the *Herald-Tribune*, a female-led newspaper.

Philosophies at the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*

Former *Herald-Tribune* managing editor Rosemary Armao said that when she first arrived at the newspaper in 1999, it covered what she described as standard fare for the area. “Any day I could tell you what would be on page one: the Middle East, prescription drugs, anything on the elderly.”¹⁹ She said the editors had changed many of the story selections, but she was not sure whether the changes were because of female leadership or because of “these particular women.” She said simply having female leaders does not necessarily change content or work environment. Armao noted that she previously worked at a newspaper that had a woman editor-in-chief and it was “the most sexist place I ever worked.”²⁰ Armao acknowledged that she had set out to change content at the *Herald-Tribune*. For example, she noted that she and other editors had

¹⁶ Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message*, 57-60, 129.

¹⁷ Van Zoonen, “One of the Girls?” 34.

¹⁸ Gist, “Through the Looking Glass,” 110.

¹⁹ Interview with managing editor Rosemary Armao in the Sarasota newsroom, June 5, 2002.

²⁰ Ibid.

instructed the male wire editor, a veteran of the paper since 1985, “to look for things out of the ordinary and women’s issues.”²¹

In a June 2002 budget meeting, that male editor²² pushed for a story about dangers of Caesarean sections to run on the front page.²³ The other editors agreed with his judgment; the story was on page one the next day. After the meeting, he said he felt the story warranted page-one coverage because, “If I were a pregnant woman, I would think it’s pretty important, but I might be wrong about that.”²⁴ He said he did not think that the fact women managed the newspaper spurred him to choose the story, but he was not sure because he did not know how his subconscious was affected. The wire editor noted that since the women managers had taken over the newspaper, people in the newsroom had joked about more stories about women appearing in the paper, but he also said that employees talked about the frequency of stories on prostate cancer and menopause because of the older age of the community’s residents.²⁵

Differently from Armao, executive editor Weaver said she did not think the majority of the *Herald-Tribune*’s content differed significantly from other newspapers where men are in charge. “If you look at it day-to-day, I don’t see a difference,” she said. “There are not necessarily more women’s health stories, or more stories about children and families.”²⁶ Weaver maintained that readers unaware of the editors’ gender

²¹ Ibid.

²² Male editor No. 2.

²³ Observation of budget meeting in newsroom conference room, June 4, 2002.

²⁴ Interview with male editor No. 2 in main Sarasota newsroom, June 4, 2002.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Interview with executive editor Janet Weaver in her newsroom office, Sept. 12, 2003.

“wouldn’t say, ‘This paper is edited by women.’”²⁷ However, Weaver acknowledged that the newspaper’s ground-breaking coverage of rape, in the form of stories that touched on issues like incest, the effects of rape on the community, and included a first-person column by Weaver revealing she once had been sexually assaulted, probably would not have appeared in a newspaper edited primarily by men.²⁸

Positive versus negative news

At one June 2002 afternoon budget meeting in the newsroom conference room, editors discussed coverage choices that fit the masculine model of news. The lead stories focused on politics, crime, and finance, and included the Michael Skakel murder trial, a raid in the Philippines, and a feature on the richest and poorest towns in America.²⁹ Sports news included Venus and Serena Williams playing in the French Open, the racehorse War Emblem’s contention for the third race of the Triple Crown, and a Mike Tyson fight. An editor offered one of her reporter’s stories, a tragic piece about a local 21-year-old man who died in a plane crash while flying a banner for a high school graduation intended to honor a student who died in a car crash. Armao said she was concerned that the front page would be dominated by sports events surrounded by bad news about death.³⁰ One male editor commented that the tennis-playing Williams sisters

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Interview with Weaver in her office, Sept. 12, 2003.

²⁹ Observation of budget meeting in newsroom conference room, June 7, 2002.

³⁰ Ibid.

were alive, and Armao responded, “And they’re gorgeous, too.”³¹ Armao’s comment was met with chuckles, but a similar comment by a male editor might have been interpreted as objectifying the female athletes. A female editor had more freedom to express her views on the Williams sisters’ appearance without raising eyebrows than a male editor would have had.

In another budget meeting, then-assistant managing editor Diane Tennant also expressed concern over “bad” news on page one. She said the editors tried to put some “light” news on the front page, but the negative news had dominated. At a meeting in September 2003, the editors chose hard news and death for page one. One story was about a lawsuit in which 22 Florida prisoners alleged they were tortured by guards with chemical spray. The suit included photographs of their injuries. A firefight in Iraq also made page one, as did the deaths of singer Johnny Cash and actor John Ritter.³²

The news topics discussed in budget meetings and chosen by the editors for newspaper content were consistent with themes that have been established by scholars as masculine-focused news: crime, politics and economics.³³ They also tended to follow the pack, meaning they were the same stories that other media, broadcast, Internet, print and wire services emphasized on the same days. Much of what is considered news in the U.S. media is primarily “male.” However, the concerns editors raised about getting more positive news into the newspaper also supported Wanta and Craft’s finding that women tend to emphasize positive news in their content choices.³⁴

³¹ Ibid.

³² Observation of budget meeting in newsroom conference room, Sept. 12, 2003.

³³ Van Zoonen, “One of the Girls?” 36.

³⁴ Craft and Wanta, “Women in the Newsroom,” 135.

When Armao was managing editor, she was known as an advocate for traditional “male” news: hard news and investigative journalism. Newsroom employees joked that reporters who wanted to write animal stories should run the other direction from Armao. To tease her about her dislike of fluffy features, employees papered the door of her office with pictures of kittens and puppies. After Armao resigned in June 2002, the paper was readily running animal stories, although one in particular had a hard-news twist. In September 2003, the *Herald-Tribune* covered a story about the area’s “cat lady,” a woman who adopted dozens of animals in whose yard some dead cats were found. The woman claimed the cats were homicide victims. At a budget meeting, Weaver recalled that when she had served as managing editor several years before, the woman had showed up in the newspaper’s lobby and wanted to come into the newsroom “with mewing cats, a possum and a raccoon.”³⁵ A male editor joked that he did not know about the first, “but the last two sound like lunch.”³⁶ Later, a necropsy showed that the cats actually were killed. The animal story retained its hard-news angle.

At a budget meeting in June 2002, Armao was upset because the local Catholic diocese was having a meeting regarding priest abuse that it said was open to the public, but not the press.³⁷ She said she was sending a reporter there anyway. “They can’t have it both – it’s either public or private,” she said.³⁸ The paper later sent a reporter with a notebook to the meeting, and the reporter was not ejected. However, church officials

³⁵ Observation of budget meeting in newsroom conference room, Sept. 8, 2003.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Observation of budget meeting in newsroom conference room, June 6, 2002.

³⁸ Ibid.

might not have recognized him because he was a different reporter than the two who had been covering the story on a regular basis.

At another budget meeting, an editor in the suburbs offered a story about a baton-twirling convention that attracted 100,000 twirlers to town.³⁹ Armao rolled her eyes, but perked up when the editor mentioned that some of the twirlers were in their 80s.⁴⁰ The story then could have a more unconventional news focus. Armao wanted the newspaper's stories to emphasize hard news, although she also wanted the newspaper to publish stories that she and the other female editors felt were different from the *Herald-Tribune*'s traditional news focus under its previous male leaders.

Changes under female leadership

Publisher McFarlin said in her view, female leadership affected the content of the newspaper in subtle ways. "I do think this newspaper is more attuned to issues involving children and human services," than male-dominated newspapers, she said.⁴¹ McFarlin said she believed women had a higher profile in *Herald-Tribune* content than during the years when the newspaper had mainly male managers.⁴² She said the *Herald-Tribune* would not shy away from hard news, and was committed to "tough love:" having to sometimes point out "what's wrong about the community."⁴³ That watchdog role was

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Interview with publisher Diane McFarlin in her *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* office, Sept. 11, 2003.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

part of the newspaper's mission to "do right by the community and make this a better place to live."⁴⁴ Pointing out wrongs went hand-in-hand with "celebrating what's right and good. That's the hardest thing to do, report what's not inherently news."⁴⁵ Her comments agreed with Craft and Wanta's finding that women editors tend to support positive news.⁴⁶ The types of stories she emphasized also agreed with previous findings that women prefer that stories about negative topics probe the issues deeply and cover them in a comprehensive manner.⁴⁷

Managing editor Tennant said she had seen huge changes in the newspaper's content since she first arrived in 1984.⁴⁸ Issues important to women, including rape and domestic violence, started to take precedence when the women took over management. She noted that even as recently as the early 1990s, the newspaper did not consider these types of issues priorities, Tennant said. She recalled that during the early 1990s, wire services distributed a series of stories about violence against women around the world, including a piece about genital mutilation in Africa and a story on the difficulty that well educated, married women in Japan had getting jobs. "I was so fascinated by the series," Tennant recalled. "I went over to the wire editors and said, 'Wouldn't it be great to run this in the paper?' But there was no place in our newsroom for that."⁴⁹ That series, she

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Craft and Wanta, "Women in the Newsroom," 135-136.

⁴⁷ Hernandez, "Good and the bad about women's news," 17; Walsh-Childers, Chance & Herzog, "Women journalists report discrimination in newsrooms," 86-87.

⁴⁸ Interview with managing editor Diane Tennant at a Sarasota restaurant, Sept. 10, 2003.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

said, would undoubtedly run in the newspaper today because the female leaders would recognize it as important to their readers.

Tennant said the female editors had encouraged reporters to write more in-depth, interpretive stories “that capture the spirit of the community and give a long, hard look at issues.”⁵⁰ She said the managers believed it was important to educate the community through explanatory journalism. For example, during the time of this study, she was working with reporters and editors on a series about affordable housing in the area that she called a “primer” on the topic. “We will be trying to take a complicated problem and make it accessible to people,” she said.⁵¹ The planned stories included an overview of the difficulty of finding affordable housing, viewpoints of buyers, builders, lenders and elected officials, and explanations of the costs and solutions to the problem. She said the paper was “very committed” to serving the public through informative stories.⁵² The affordable housing story package ran in the *Herald-Tribune* on April 11, 2004.

In a September 2003 editors’ meeting, Weaver told the editors she wanted more in-depth stories in the paper and instructed them to tell their reporters to keep their eyes open for subjects that could be expanded. “Don’t just write the brief and put it in the paper,” she said.⁵³ As previous studies have shown, women want to read newspaper stories with depth and sensitivity that examine issues closely, which does not conform to

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Observation of editor meeting in advertising department conference room, Sept. 10, 2003.

the traditional definition of masculine news.⁵⁴ While news values are ingrained and women are trained in the journalism business to recognize news according to the masculine definition, it does appear that the women of the *Herald-Tribune* at least attempted to change some of the criteria of news judgment. Although Creedon and others have pointed out that “the process of gathering and defining the news has not changed fundamentally”⁵⁵ with the entry of women into the business, the *Herald-Tribune* managers have approached some news topics from their standpoint as female journalists. They pushed for more in-depth coverage of issues that were important to women and they held strong beliefs that the newspaper should raise these issues as a service to the community.

Coverage of the gay community in the *Herald-Tribune* increased with the female leadership, and some of the stories faced public controversy. In 2001, the paper covered Pridefest, an annual gay festival, and the story focused on two drag queens. Some members of the gay community complained to the newspaper because they felt they were being mocked.⁵⁶ Armao, who was managing editor in June 2002, said she wanted to make sure that this year, the coverage was appropriate and would show “what it is really like to be a gay person in this area.”⁵⁷ In February 2002, the paper published a photo of

⁵⁴Hernandez, “Good and the bad about women’s news,” 17; Van Zoonen, “One of the Girls?” 36; Walsh-Childers, Chance & Herzog, “Women journalists report discrimination in newsrooms,” 86-87.

⁵⁵ Pamela Creedon, “The Challenge of Re-Visioning Gender Values,” in Creedon, *Women in Mass Communication*, 13.

⁵⁶ Observation of budget meeting in newsroom conference room, June 7, 2002, and interview with male reporter No. 6, June 7, 2002.

⁵⁷ Interview with Armao in the newsroom, June 7, 2002.

two women kissing, which some readers complained was inappropriate. Armao, however, told employees she thought the biggest mistake with the photo was failing to get the women's full names in the paper.⁵⁸ The women were identified in print as "Bobby and Flo," and Armao said that the paper should have explained why they did not want their full names published: "Out of fear a bigot would track them down and come to their house and hurt them."⁵⁹ In May 2002, the paper published a story about two teenage boys who went to the prom together. Some readers responded with outrage and said the story was too "in your face" for a family newspaper.⁶⁰ Several employees posted comments on the inter-office message board defending the story. One male editor⁶¹ commented that the people who complained about the story were probably "homophobic nutcase(s) who take offense at the very existence of human beings who are gay."⁶² A female employee⁶³ commented, "I think so long as there is intolerance, any discussion or depiction of gay couples or biracial couples or mixed religion couples will be "In your face" to people who cannot accept alternative lifestyles."⁶⁴

⁵⁸ Hot Spot, *Herald-Tribune* office Intranet, Friday, Feb. 22, 2002.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Hot Spot, *Herald-Tribune* office Intranet, Wednesday, May 22, 2002.

⁶¹ Male editor No. 3.

⁶² Hot Spot., May 23, 2002.

⁶³ Female reporter No. 6.

⁶⁴ Hot Spot, May 21, 2002.

Gender and New York Times Company values

The New York Times Company, which owns the *Herald-Tribune*, has its corporate values prominently posted on bulletin boards in the newsroom as an example to employees of principles to which they should adhere. *The New York Times*, the largest newspaper in the chain, is acknowledged as the most respected and influential newspaper in the United States; the “arbiter of quality and professionalism across all the news media.”⁶⁵ In *Deciding What’s News*, Herbert Gans compared the *Times*’ influence on journalism to Harvard University’s influence on higher education.⁶⁶ The company values state that its core purpose is to “enhance society by creating, collecting and distributing high quality news, information and entertainment.”⁶⁷ The values also include “content of the highest quality and integrity” and “fair treatment of employees based on respect, accountability and standards of excellence.”⁶⁸ The company also stipulates rules for employee conduct, which include “treat each other with honesty, respect and civility,” “strive for excellence,” “embrace diversity,” “contribute...to team efforts,” “take risks and innovate,” “accept responsibility; delegate authority, and “maintain perspective and a sense of humor.”⁶⁹ The notice also acknowledges the company’s business strategy, which is to “continually improve the quality of our journalistic work and our business performance,” and to operate “the leading news and advertising media in each of the

⁶⁵ Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message*, 125.

⁶⁶ Herbert Gans, *Deciding What’s News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek and Time*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979), 180.

⁶⁷ New York Times Company, posting on *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* newsroom bulletin board.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

local markets we serve and in the national/global ‘knowledge audience’ market served by The Times.”⁷⁰

McFarlin said the *Herald-Tribune* echoed the New York Times Company values by expounding in its mission statement that the paper’s intention is to “deliver information as best we can.”⁷¹ She said implicit in that statement are certain values: being a credible source of news, offering excellent customer service, taking a role of leadership within the community, and being a role model for public service organizations.⁷²

Hanging on the wall of the Sarasota conference room, where the editors meet for budget meetings, is a list called “The Significant Six,” guidelines for news selection compiled by the editors:

1. Broad appeal?
2. High impact or importance?
3. Encompasses the very best writing, photos, etc. we have for the day?
4. Wow! Rack appeal?
5. Timely, local and competitive?
6. Adds to a good mix on the page or contributes to diversity coverage?⁷³

These criteria relate to The New York Times Company values. Choosing content that appeals to and affects a large audience correlates to the Times’ values of enhancing society through news.⁷⁴ Making sure the content includes the best possible for the day is compatible with the Times’ principle of providing “content of the highest quality and

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ McFarlin interview in her office, Sept. 11, 2003.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Newsroom observation in main Sarasota newsroom, Dec. 18, 2003.

⁷⁴ The New York Times Company values.

integrity.”⁷⁵ Ensuring the front page is appealing to the audience fits the Times’ company strategy of operating the leading media in the area and the principle of good corporate citizenship, as does the timely, local and competitive stipulation.⁷⁶ Finally, the diversity tenet is also laid out in the Times’ company values.⁷⁷ The *Herald-Tribune* managers’ gender does not necessarily affect this set of professional values. However, studies have found that female journalists contend their values are different from male journalists’, showing more respect for readers and their needs as well as including more compassion, humanity and diversity in news coverage.⁷⁸

McFarlin, acknowledging that women sometimes focus on different types of news stories than men, said she had been concerned that the female management might affect news values. “I hate to generalize about gender, but I have worried in the past that we were losing our hard news edge.”⁷⁹ She said she has tried to maintain the commitment to hard news while increasing the visibility of women in the newspaper. “When I started at this newspaper (in the late 1970s), a woman wouldn’t see herself unless she turned to the ‘women’s section.’ Now women are more visible in all sections.”⁸⁰ The female leadership is not the only factor in increased coverage of women, McFarlin said. Several women hold leadership roles in the city, including the owner of a major real estate

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Van Zoonen, “One of the Girls?” 35-36.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

company and several elected officials. McFarlin said she hosted a party every year to foster female mentorship, with the theme, “Great Women Represent Great Women.”⁸¹

The *Herald-Tribune* managers addressed some long-debated issues about journalism standards in the newspaper’s stylebook. While the *Associated Press Stylebook and Libel Manual*, acknowledged by most news organizations as the journalist’s “bible” on writing style, recommends that women receive “the same treatment as men in all areas of coverage,”⁸² it still endorses the use of words like “mankind.” The AP stylebook also specifies “treatment of the sexes should be even-handed and free of assumptions and stereotypes.”⁸³ The *Herald-Tribune* stylebook addresses the entry under the heading “sexism.” Like the AP, the newspaper recommends treating men and women equally in print, but also notes “the goal is to treat the sexes with dignity, and to distract the reader as little as possible in the process.”⁸⁴ The *Herald-Tribune* stylebook entry notes that while sexism was not a concern in the newspaper business fifty years ago, masculine terms not are appropriate for both sexes in the twenty-first century: “Times have changed, but the language has not.”⁸⁵ This entry is reflective of a female standpoint and takes into account the changed in women’s societal status over the past few decades. It is doubtful an entry similar to this would appear in a stylebook written primarily by men because it reflects a deep knowledge of women’s

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² The Associated Press, *The Associated Press Stylebook and Libel Manual* (New York, N.Y.: AP, 2003), 229-30.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ The *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*, “The *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* Stylebook and Usage Manual,” 100-101.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 100.

experiences and feelings about dichotomies in the English language. By including this entry in the newspaper's stylebook, the women leaders of the *Herald-Tribune* have embedded their own feelings about how women are treated in the English language into the official policies of the newspaper. They have shaped employees' and readers' perceptions and policies about the newspaper and the community with their emphasis on sex neutral language and neutrality in descriptions.

An unconventional approach to stories about rape

Weaver particularly emphasized covering comprehensive stories about issues relating to rape and sexual assault during her time as executive editor. She said she felt strongly these serious issues had not been covered in a straightforward and thorough manner by most of the media, and the *Herald-Tribune* set out to confront them honestly and clearly. The point of contention, she said, was not whether to name victims, the most common debate about rape stories within journalism, but to open discussion about sexual assault because it occurs so often.⁸⁶ Manatee editor Toni Whitt, who also felt strongly about the coverage, said statistics show that every six minutes in the United States, a person is raped.⁸⁷

Weaver said because rape is so prevalent, it deserved to be written about in a more complex and thorough manner than as a police story or an instance of a celebrity charged with sexual assault. "To me, the conversation is, why does it only show up as

⁸⁶ Interview with Weaver in her office, Sept. 12, 2003.

⁸⁷ Observation of editors' meeting in advertising department conference room, Sept. 10, 2003. Note: Whitt agreed to have her name used in connection with the rape stories, saying she felt strongly about the coverage and easily could be identified by others as an editor who worked on them.

some horrible story, sensational story, or a police brief?” Weaver said. “We don’t write about it with any kind of consistency, or explore how to handle the issue within the justice system, or the societal impact, or the impact on families and on schools.”⁸⁸

In a study of various British media, Paula Skidmore found a resistance among male journalists to news coverage of sexual violence.⁸⁹ Skidmore noted that the “structured inequality between men and women in journalism” affected the content of news, specifically in relation to stories about child sexual abuse.⁹⁰ She found that most media reports of sexual abuse focused on public scandals, and that news media were reluctant “to acknowledge that children are abused in the majority by adults who know them.”⁹¹ This reluctance related to the dominance in journalism of the “male agenda,” Skidmore found, noting that several male and female journalists she interviewed admitted male journalists felt uncomfortable about and wanted to avoid coverage of the issue.⁹² Some journalists had even coined the term “child abuse fatigue” in relation to stories about the topic.⁹³ Women, Skidmore found, were more likely to fight for running stories about abuse, and to encourage more “fully contextualized” coverage that would examine the problem in-depth.⁹⁴

⁸⁸ Interview with Weaver in her office, Sept. 12, 2003.

⁸⁹ Paula Skidmore, “Gender and the Agenda: News Reporting of Child Sexual Abuse,” in Carter, Branston and Allen, *News, Gender and Power*, 204-218.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 216.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 213.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 213-215.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 214.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 215.

Helen Benedict has pointed out that the media have done a poor job in the past of covering rape and sexual assault, placing victims in roles of “virgins,” or “vamps.” In an analysis of press coverage of several high-profile rape cases, Benedict noted that reporters, most of whom are men, often hurt victims by stereotyping them either as sexually pure or as whores.⁹⁵ The press also buys into false beliefs about rape, such as women who are raped asked for it or that women lie about rape, according to Benedict.⁹⁶ Rape should not be covered like most other crimes, Benedict contended; rather, it requires comprehensive, informative coverage from reporters and editors who are well educated about rape myths and truths.⁹⁷ Rape should be reported fairly and accurately without hurting or punishing victims and without sensationalizing the crime as related to sex.⁹⁸ Rape is a violent crime, “torture that uses sex as a weapon,” Benedict noted.⁹⁹ Sex crimes will “never be covered fairly” as long as media are dominated by male reporters and editors ill-informed about rape, she contended.¹⁰⁰

In May 2003, the *Herald-Tribune* ran a front-page story called “Coming Forward,” about three adult siblings who were sexually abused by their stepfather when they were children.¹⁰¹ The victims, two women and one man, frankly discussed what

⁹⁵ Helen Benedict, *Virgin or Vamp: How the Press Covers Sex Crimes*. (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 5, 23-26.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 14-18.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 259-266.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 263.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 254.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 265.

¹⁰¹ Robert Patrick, “Coming Forward,” *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* (May 4, 2003), 14A-16A.

happened to them in graphic language and allowed their first names and photographs to be published. The three came forward 30 years after the crimes and finally watched their stepfather prosecuted and convicted for raping and molesting them. The story package also featured a piece about how media avoids the issue of rape by reporting it episodically and without context,¹⁰² and an article specifying where sexual assault victims can get help.¹⁰³ (See Appendix D, page 208, for the stories.) This type of in-depth coverage, offering information about sex crimes and on how to find assistance, is contrary to the conventional, sensational coverage of rape Benedict analyzed. It directly follows her recommendations for fair coverage of sex crimes.

In the same edition of the newspaper, Weaver wrote a first-person column in which she revealed that she once had been raped. She acknowledged to readers that the main story about the incest was hard to read, but insisted that it was necessary to face the reality that sexual assault is common, and that women and children are the likely victims.¹⁰⁴ She cited the statistic that one in five women has been the victim of a rape, sexual assault or attempted sexual assault. Weaver wrote that her own rape happened “a long time ago, in another state; there was no criminal case.”¹⁰⁵ She told readers that her interest in the topic of rape certainly “is formed by my own experience,” but noted that

¹⁰² Toni Whitt, “Media often report superficially on rape, sexual assault issues,” *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* (May 4, 2003), 14A.

¹⁰³ Robert Patrick, “Services offer advice, counseling for sexual assault victims,” *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* (May 4, 2003), 15A.

¹⁰⁴ Janet Weaver, “Coverage of rape has always been too formulaic – and too easy,” *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* (May 4, 2003), 3B.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

her “interest as a journalist is in helping the newspaper cover this pervasive, destructive problem in a way that provides meaning, context and understanding.”¹⁰⁶ (See Appendix D, page 219, for Weaver’s column.) Sharing her personal experience with a sex crime is certainly an unusual approach for a newspaper editor to take, and since women are overwhelmingly the victims of rape, her standpoint as a woman made her more likely than a man to be able to write such a piece.

In a later interview, Weaver called rape “a complicated, nasty little problem we ought to deal with better.”¹⁰⁷ She noted that, “More people are touched directly by rape or sexual assault than by any county commission meeting we’re going to cover. Here’s this topic we are living with, and we don’t write about it very well.”¹⁰⁸ Weaver said she was inspired by the honesty of columnist Michael Kelly of the *Omaha World-Herald*, who wrote about his daughter’s abduction, robbery, shooting and rape. (See Appendix D, page 221, for Kelly’s column.) Of Weaver’s own experience with rape, she said she was glad she had gone public about it. After her column ran, several women who had been sexually assaulted contacted her by e-mail and started a discussion that helped all of them, she said.¹⁰⁹

Whitt noted that Weaver was “good at looking at stories differently,” than the standard news values.¹¹⁰ “Newspapers are so timid about rape,” Whitt said. “She (Weaver) was willing to go out on the edge and I was right there with her. We were

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Interview with Weaver in her newsroom office, Sept. 12, 2003.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Interview with Toni Whitt, Manatee bureau chief, in her bureau office, Dec. 16, 2003.

‘Thelma & Louise’ going over the cliff.”¹¹¹ Whitt said the story about the siblings who were sexually assaulted by their stepfather was intended to be told thoroughly and to show “how it affects people down the road.”¹¹² The story told of the myriad problems the three victims had had as adults after being abused as children. The editors and reporter also allowed the victims and their mother to read the story before it was published, an unusual practice for journalism.¹¹³

Robert Patrick, the reporter who wrote the story, said he stumbled onto the family’s story one day when he was covering courts.¹¹⁴ He witnessed the stepfather being sentenced to life in prison, and that day he asked Whitt, his editor, about how to handle the story. She told him, “We have to wait and tell the story right.”¹¹⁵ While the competing newspaper, the *Bradenton Herald*, ran the piece the next day as a daily courts story, Patrick approached the adult children to ask if they would be interested in talking to him in-depth. They said they were open to the idea.¹¹⁶ Patrick said the story was extremely difficult to report and write because of the graphic descriptions of abuse. Emotionally, it surprised him that the victims talked so openly about what occurred. “If

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Interview with Robert Patrick in Manatee bureau, Dec. 16, 2003. Although employees’ names are not revealed in this study, Patrick agreed to be named in connection with this story since readers of this dissertation, including *Herald-Tribune* managers and employees, easily could recognize the story as his.

¹¹⁵ Interview with Whitt in Manatee bureau Dec. 16, 2003.

¹¹⁶ Interview with Patrick in Manatee bureau Dec. 16, 2003.

it happened to me, I'd be like..." (He motioned as if he were locking his mouth.)¹¹⁷ He said one person told him that when people talk about traumatic events they "see" them in their minds, and that was his experience with the interviews.

In line with Skidmore's findings in the British study, Patrick said some men in the newsroom were reluctant to run the story. "They were squeamish about it." He said Weaver's personal experience with rape may have been the impetus behind the story, but "I can write about these things, and it hasn't happened to me."¹¹⁸ Patrick said he was glad he was able to make people more aware of the issue of sexual abuse. He said he did not realize how many sexual abuse cases existed until he covered courts. "Oh my God, there's so many of these," he said of the open cases.¹¹⁹

Whitt worked with another, female reporter on a story called "Every Six Minutes" that recreated the day in which a woman who worked at a dry cleaner was raped by high school students who were skipping school. Weaver said this was part of her initiative to turn routine stories into in-depth projects. "As soon as this (rape) happened, Toni (Whitt) and I were on the phone talking about how we needed to do more on this," Weaver recalled.¹²⁰

That story, which ran Dec. 7, 2003, received criticism from some newsroom employees who thought it was unfair because the victim did not want to cooperate with the reporter. (The victim's name was not revealed in the story.) Whitt, the editor on the story, pointed out that only male employees of the newspaper had complained about the

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Observation of editor meeting in advertising department conference room, Sept. 10, 2003.

coverage.¹²¹ In the Feedback message board for employees, a male reporter¹²² wrote that he did not understand the purpose of the story. “As far as I can tell, we outed a rape victim, against her wishes, when there was no reason to do so...What service did we provide the reader?”¹²³ Whitt answered him by posting on the message board an e-mail the victim had sent to the reporter, saying that she was “very pleased” by the story and hoped to give the reporter an “exclusive interview” after the suspects were convicted.¹²⁴ (The posting on the inter-office message board did not include the victim’s name.) Other male employees defended the story, and one wrote, “If we held back writing stories about people and crimes if they didn’t want to be in the paper, then we would have a lot of white space in our sections every day.”¹²⁵

Whitt said she and the reporter tried their best to persuade the victim to talk about the story, but the victim’s husband answered for her, telling the journalists to stay away from the family. The victim “had no voice in this,” Whitt said, since the husband was “being controlling.”¹²⁶ The intention of the piece was to tell the story “in a different way,” Whitt said, through the eyes of others who were affected by the crime.¹²⁷ The story was written in a literary, narrative style: “a non-journalistic way,” Whitt said. “There even was symbolism in this story.” She said she thought that the unconventional

¹²¹ Interview with Whitt in Manatee bureau, Dec. 16, 2003.

¹²² Male reporter No. 6.

¹²³ Hot Spot, *Herald-Tribune* office Intranet, Dec. 8, 2003.

¹²⁴ Hot Spot, *Herald-Tribune* office Intranet, Dec. 8, 2003.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Interview with Whitt in Manatee bureau, Dec. 16, 2003.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

approach bothered some of the traditional journalists in the newsroom.¹²⁸ (To read the story, see Appendix D, page 223.)

Although the editors approached the rape stories from nontraditional journalistic standpoints by covering them in-depth and graphically, educating readers about rape through facts and figures that contradicted rape myths, offering the editor's personal experience with rape and explaining where victims could get help, they did not abandon traditional journalistic standards of ethics, fairness and responsibility, outlined in the Society of Professional Journalists Code of Ethics.¹²⁹ During a story meeting in December 2003, managing editor Tennant made some judgment calls on which subjects to feature in the next story examining rape and sexual assault.¹³⁰

Reporter Patrick was again the reporter, writing a story about the reasons why many reported rape cases never are prosecuted. His idea was to feature several cases he learned about on the courts beat. One involved a teenage girl who said she was raped by a 16-year-old when she was 14.¹³¹ The 16-year-old, a friend of the girl's brother, was arrested and charged, but never prosecuted. The prosecutors did not charge the boy with statutory rape because the teenagers' ages were too close under the law. Another case involved a 5-year-old girl sexually abused by her father, according to her mother.¹³² That

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Society of Professional Journalists Code of Ethics, available on the World Wide Web at http://www.spj.org/ethics_code.asp.

¹³⁰ Observation of telephone conference call among Diane Tennant, Toni Whitt and Robert Patrick in Manatee bureau, Dec. 16, 2003.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid.

case was not prosecuted because the witness was a child. A third case involved a woman raped by a car salesman who had sold her a vehicle.¹³³ Prosecutors told Patrick they declined to try the case because the woman visited her physician the next day and failed to report the rape. Instead she told her doctor said she had had unprotected sex and needed preventive treatment. The woman reported the case to authorities three days later.

Tennant told Patrick she was concerned about the sources' credibility in the case of the 5-year-old.¹³⁴ She argued that readers would not believe what either parent said because they had lied in the past. Patrick maintained that the case was a good illustration of the problem of failing to prosecute child sexual abuse cases because children are unreliable witnesses. He also said the parents' behavior should not affect whether the paper reported the story. "You can't say that because somebody lives a 'Jerry Springer' life that they don't deserve to have their story told," Patrick said.¹³⁵ Eventually, he relented after Tennant stood her ground.

The coverage of rape and sexual abuse in the *Herald-Tribune* defied the routine treatment of these topics in the news media, which tend to cover cases involving high-profile people, cases in which authorities conduct large investigations and scandals involving agency errors.¹³⁶ The female managers at the *Herald-Tribune* took an innovative approach to covering sexual abuse by publishing stories about incest, running an admission of a rape committed against one of the newspaper's editors, and featuring the effects of rape on people who came in touch with a victim. The women of the

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Skidmore, "Gender and the Agenda," 211.

Herald-Tribune brought a decidedly feminine angle to the news of sex crimes, which Skidmore called a “gendered process,” to selection of the newspaper’s content.¹³⁷ They defied masculine journalistic norms, which historically have treated these issues on a case-by-case basis dependent on how sensational the crimes are, and changed approaches to news about rape and sexual abuse by emphasizing the broad context of these issues upon society.

Summary: Gender influences

The women of the *Herald-Tribune* approached the content of the newspaper in traditional ways by adhering to traditional standards of what makes news. The managers, in their 40s and 50s, were trained in the 1970s and 1980s in journalism schools and at newspapers that adhered to a masculine definition of news: politics, crime and finance, based on hard facts and emphasizing competition, conflict and controversy. However, in some cases, the women tried to change some of these standards, most notably in the newspaper’s coverage of rape and sexual assault. The editors tried to tackle this complicated issue with in-depth, innovative coverage that explored the issue from usually taboo topics such as incest, expressed different points of view than the norm, and even included a personal admission from an editor. They showed that women editors might affect content in selected areas, including attempts to explore issues more in-depth and place them in broader societal context. In general, though, the managers adhered to basic news values and corporate principles that do not necessarily have to do with gender.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 216.

Since the newspaper is owned by the powerful New York Times Company, a longtime male-dominated organization, these findings are not surprising.

The next chapter, will analyze the content of the *Herald-Tribune* over the weeks I spent at the newspaper. It pays particular attention to source gender, reporter gender, types of stories selected for front pages and section fronts, and the ways in which stories fit or do not fit masculine news values.

CHAPTER 5

THE INFLUENCE OF FEMALE MANAGEMENT ON THE *HERALD-TRIBUNE'S* CONTENT

This chapter examines stories and photographs on the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune's* front pages and fronts of the local news, business, sports and lifestyle sections to determine whether the female management team influenced the content of the newspaper. The front page and section fronts are generally considered the places newspapers run the most important or interesting stories from the previous day.¹ Therefore, they are analyzed here to determine which story and photograph subjects the editors of the *Herald-Tribune* considered important enough to highlight as the most appealing or gripping news of the day. The analysis examines the use, frequency and placement of female subjects in stories and images and their adherence to norms and values that previous scholars have established to be common in American news media.

Gist has noted that news judgment is subjective and depends on who is making choices about which topics are newsworthy.² Often, female journalists internalize the

¹ Cory L. Armstrong, "The Influence of Reporter Gender on Source Selection in News Stories," *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 81 (1), (Spring 2004): 141; Brian Brooks, George Kennedy, Daryl L. Moen and Don Ranly, *Telling the Story: The Convergence of Print, Broadcast and Online Media* (Boston, New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2004), 24-25; Lynn M. Zoch and Judy Van Slyke Turk, "Women Making News: Gender as a variable in source selection and use," *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 75, 4 (1998): 762-775.

² Marilyn E. Gist, "Through the Looking Glass: Diversity and Reflected Appraisals of the Self in Mass Media," in Pamela Creedon, *Women in Mass Communication* (Newbury Park, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1993), 109-110.

news values men have established, which results in media reflecting the views and perspectives of the dominant male group.

The subjects of stories and photographs and the ways in which they are presented send a message to the readers of a newspaper that the newspaper editors consider certain topics important to the community they serve. The media, by publishing or broadcasting stories and images determined to be news, set the agenda for public discussion and determine which issues and people are worthy of media coverage.³ Most news focuses on white, middle-aged men and their interests, and women become invisible in news media, either eliminated or trivialized in news coverage.⁴ This symbolic annihilation might be reversed by female editors with power to choose newspaper content. Scholars have suggested that women's standpoint brings different perspectives and values than men to stories and images chosen for publication.⁵ This analysis attempts to determine whether the female managers of the *Herald-Tribune* brought feminine perspectives or values to the newspaper's content and whether they selected stories and images that differed from the traditional masculine definition of news.

³ Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw, "The agenda-setting function of mass media," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 36 (1972): 176-187.

⁴ Gist, "Through the Looking Glass," 110; Gaye Tuchman, Arlene Kaplan Daniels and James Benet (eds.) *Hearth and Home: Images of Women in the Mass Media* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 3-38.

⁵ Kay Mills, "What Difference Do Women Journalists Make?" in Pippa Norris (ed.), *Women, Media, and Politics* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 43.

Previous studies have shown that male sources outnumber female sources on newspaper front pages at approximately a 3-to-1 ratio.⁶ News judgment and news values largely have been based on what white men consider news, and many women journalists have accepted these values as the norm.⁷ This analysis seeks to determine whether the *Herald-Tribune's* female leadership established different values of news judgment than at male-dominated newspapers.

Because many women journalists have accepted male news values as objective, the institutionalized routines of journalism generally have excluded women from making decisions that would include more women as news subjects.⁸ At most newspapers, women have not brought their perspectives to influence decision-making in news selection. Newspaper editors and reporters, the gatekeepers who construct the news by choosing which topics are considered news, follow routines and internalize values that guide them in determining what is newsworthy.⁹ Because of routines associated with a beat structure that emphasizes “masculine” crime, government and political stories; deadlines and time constraints; and journalist socialization through journalism schools

⁶ Jane Delano Brown, Carl R. Bybee, Stanley T. Wearden and Dulcie Murdock Straughan, “Invisible Power: Newspaper News and the Limits of Diversity,” *Journalism Quarterly* 64, 1 (1987): 45-54;,” Debra Gersh Hernandez, “Good and the bad about women’s news in newspapers,” *Editor and Publisher* (21 May 1994), 17; Karen Schmidt and Colleen Collins, “Showdown at Gender Gap,” *American Journalism Review* 15, 6, (1993): 39-42.

⁷ Gist, “Through the Looking Glass: Diversity and Reflected Appraisals of the Self in Mass Media,” 109-110.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 108-110, 114.

⁹ Pamela J. Shoemaker and Stephen D. Reese, *Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content*, Second Edition (White Plains, N.Y.: Longman Publishers USA), 117-120.

and professional newspaper training, news values emphasize stories involving topics that interest and involve mainly men.¹⁰

This study employs a cultural product analysis in the form of a qualitative content analysis to determine whether the content of the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* was influenced by the fact that women were the chief gatekeepers in charge of the newspaper during one week each in June 2002, September 2003 and December 2003, the periods of time I spent observing and interviewing in the newsroom.

Methodology of analysis for stories and sources

To determine whether female leadership affected the use of male and female sources in news stories, I examined stories, news sources and images on the front pages and the section front pages (local, business, sports, lifestyle) of the *Herald-Tribune* during the three weeks of Sunday, June 2, 2002 through Saturday, June 8, 2002; Monday, September 8, 2003 through Sunday, September 14, 2003; and Monday, December 15, 2003 through Sunday, December 21, 2003. I selected these weeks because I was in the newsroom, able to observe the planning and execution of the stories that were published. I watched and listened to story assignments and budget meetings, observed editors' and reporters' discussions and debates over stories, and viewed reporting, editing, and choices over placement of stories and photographs.

¹⁰ Ibid., Carol M. Liebler and Susan J. Smith, "Tracking Gender Differences: A Comparative Analysis of Network Correspondents and Their Sources," *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* 41 (Winter 1997): 58-59; Liesbet Van Zoonen, *Feminist Media Studies* (London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications), 56-57.

As part of the analysis I calculated percentages gathered from counting numbers of male and female sources and story authors. The content analysis is used as one of several bases for examining the meaning of the text from a feminist perspective.¹¹ Previous qualitative studies have employed forms of content analysis. For instance, Herbert Gans counted types of news subjects in the media organizations he studied for his ethnography of television news networks and news magazines.¹² In her study on newspaper coverage of rape, Helen Benedict used a form of content analysis to count the numbers of male and female writers who reported the stories while also employing qualitative methods to analyze the language and other portrayals of the victims in the stories.¹³ I used similar methods by counting the numbers of male and female sources and reporters, then analyzing the ways in which the sources were portrayed in stories and examining whether reporter gender correlated to those portrayals.

I began with a numerical analysis. I counted the numbers of stories on page one and the four other section fronts for the dates listed above. I noted how many story authors were female and male. If the sex of an author was ambiguous because of the name, I did research to find out whether the author was a woman or man. If the story had more than one author (co-bylined) I counted each male or female author as 0.5. I counted only stories that had bylines, or identified authors, not briefs, columns or stories that

¹¹ Thomas R. Lindlof, *Qualitative Communication Research Methods* (Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1995), 51-52.

¹² Herbert Gans, *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek & Time* (New York; Pantheon Books, 1979), 8-16.

¹³ Helen Benedict, *Virgin or Vamp: How the Press Covers Sex Crimes* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 4-6.

carried no author name (such as stories credited only to “Associated Press” or “staff reports”). Out of the 326 stories that I analyzed, I determined the percentage of stories that were written by women and men. Later I calculated the numbers of stories that came from news wires, which were sources other than the *Herald-Tribune* staff, and separated those from staff-generated stories. This was an important distinction because while the female editors at the *Herald-Tribune* had considerable influence over staff-generated stories, they did not choose the topics or reporters for the wire-generated stories that came from other news organizations. The wire services provided stories from organizations including *The New York Times* and the Associated Press, both large, male-dominated news organizations. The data source included 114 wire stories, or 35 percent of the total stories on page one and the section fronts.

My next step was to analyze the types of sources used in the stories. I counted the number of sources in each story on the front page, local news section front, business section front, sports section front and lifestyle section front for those three weeks. Sources were defined as people who were quoted, or who provided information, even if that information was “no comment.” A quoted source was defined as a person whose words were quoted in direct quotations or paraphrased, with attribution for that statement given to the person. For instance, a sentence followed by, “President Bush said” indicated that President Bush was the source of the information. People who were mentioned in stories but who did not provide information were not counted as sources. For example, the stories in December 2003 on the day after Saddam Hussein was captured did not include Saddam Hussein as a source because although he was a subject of the story, he did not provide information used by the reporter. As another example, many athletes

mentioned in sports stories because of their actions in games were not counted as sources because they did not provide reporters with quotes or other information used in the stories.

I counted sources in the full stories, including the copy that jumped to later pages. I broke those sources into categories of male or female, counting only sources that were identifiable as male or female. If a source was not identified by name, or the name was ambiguous, I eliminated it from the analysis unless the person was identified by sex, such as “spokeswoman” or “spokesman.” In some cases, I identified the source’s sex by contacting the reporter who wrote the story and asking him or her, or by doing an Internet search for the source. With these numbers, I determined the percentage of sources that were female or male. I also sought the percentage of female sources quoted by female authors and percentage of female sources quoted by male authors. The data included a total of 1,017 sources.

To better discern whether male or female authors were more likely to quote female sources, I further focused the analysis of sources to include only stories with single bylines. I did not include stories with more than one author, since information on which author decided to contact which sources was not available. Page one had by far the most co-bylined stories, 15, and local news had three. The business news section had only one story with more than one author, and the sports and lifestyle sections had none. These co-bylined stories were eliminated from the source analysis.

Further, I examined the types of female sources used in stories to determine whether women were portrayed in positions of power and authority or if they were

depicted as connected to men or as victims, as previous studies have found women news sources often appear.¹⁴

For stories on the local news section front, I chose to evaluate the Sarasota sections from the *Herald-Tribune's* several zoned editions since the newspaper is headquartered in Sarasota. The other zoned editions were eliminated from the analysis.

Page one: Female authors more likely to use female sources

At the time of the study, 41 percent of the *Herald-Tribune's* staff was composed of women, while 33 percent of newsroom employees in the U.S. were female.¹⁵ Overall, 35 percent of the authors of page one stories in the *Herald-Tribune* were women. (See Table 1.)

TABLE 1
***Sarasota Herald-Tribune* Page One Stories by Gender-Designated Writer**
(Authors of co-bylined stories were counted as 0.5)

	Staff Stories		Wire Stories		Total stories*	
Female authors	11.5	41.1%	20	32.3%	31.5	35%
Male authors	16.5	58.9%	42	67.7%	58.5	65%
	28		62		90	

*z-score for total = -2.98

¹⁴ Zoch and Turk, "Women Making News: Gender as a variable in source selection and use," 762-775.

¹⁵ Interview with *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* executive editor Janet Weaver in her newsroom office, Sept. 12, 2003; Indiana University School of Journalism American Journalist Survey, "Women Journalists Aren't Increasing Overall."

The z-score indicates the findings are statistically significant, with more than a 99 percent confidence level.

Because authors of co-bylined stories were given credit for half a story, the total number of stories by gender totaled 31.5 for female authors and 58.5 for male authors. It should be noted that 69 percent of the front-page stories in the *Herald-Tribune* were provided by wire services, including The New York Times News Service and the Associated Press. The *Herald-Tribune* staff reporters wrote only 31 percent of the page one stories.¹⁶ Most of the page one stories were national and international stories that Sarasota-area reporters did not cover.

TABLE 2
***Sarasota Herald-Tribune* Page One Sources by Writers' Gender**

	Female Authors		Male Authors		Total*	
Female sources	47	33.3%	53	22.5%	100	26.5%
Male sources	94	66.7%	183	77.5%	277	73.5%
	141		236		377	

*z-score for total = -10.32

The z-score indicates that the findings are statistically significant, with a nearly 100 percent confidence level.

Female authors were more likely than male authors to quote female sources, in line with Armstrong's findings that the presence of women in newspaper bylines is a

¹⁶ Sixty-two of the front-page stories were provided by wire services and 28 were written by staff reporters.

significant predictor of women's presence in stories.¹⁷ (See Table 2.) In *Herald-Tribune* front page stories written by women, 33.3 percent of the sources were female, compared to only 22.5 percent in stories written by men. Overall, 26.5 percent of the sources in front page stories were women, a 2.8-to-1 ratio of male sources to female sources.

Previous studies have found that in newspaper page one stories, women are vastly underrepresented.¹⁸ Brown et. al found in 1987 that male sources outnumbered female sources 4-to-1 in front page stories of six newspapers, including *The New York Times* and *Washington Post*.¹⁹ Rodgers et. al determined in 2000 that males outnumbered females 4-to-1 in *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* news stories and 3-to-1 in news photos.²⁰ Zoch and Turk in 1998 found in an examination of three newspapers, one large, one medium and one small, that male sources outnumbered female sources nearly 3-to-1 in news stories.²¹ My analysis found a similar trend to these studies, with women quoted or mentioned as 26.5 percent of sources overall on *Herald-Tribune* front pages. Stated another way, male sources outnumbered female sources 2.8-to-1 on the front pages of the Sarasota newspaper, specifically 377 male sources to 100 female sources. Therefore, the women

¹⁷ Armstrong, "The Influence of Reporter Gender on Source Selection in Newspaper Stories," 139, 148.

¹⁸ Ibid., 144; Brown, Bybee, Wearden and Straughan, "Invisible Power: Newspaper News and the Limits of Diversity," 39-42;" Hernandez, "Good and the bad about women's news in newspapers, 17;" Shelley Rodgers, Esther Thorson and Michael Antecol, "'Reality' in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*," *Newspaper Research Journal* 2, 3 (2000): 51-68;" Zoch and Turk, "Women Making News: Gender as a variable in source selection and use," 762-775.

¹⁹ Brown, Bybee, Wearden and Straughan, "Invisible Power: Newspaper News and the Limits of Diversity," 50.

²⁰ Rodgers, Thorson and Antecol, "'Reality' in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 51-68.

²¹ Zoch and Turk, "Women Making News: Gender as a variable in source selection and use," 762-775.

managers at the *Herald-Tribune* did not appear to meaningfully alter the percentage of women quoted on the newspaper's front page from that of other newspapers. The stories relied on the same, male "official" sources that supply most of the information for national and international news. Female news sources in the *Herald-Tribune* were not presented in positions of power and authority on page one of the *Herald-Tribune* nearly as often as male sources. However, 55 percent of the stories that ran on the front page were not generated by the female editors; they were wire stories that came from other sources. Although the same symbolic annihilation of women that occurs at male-dominated newspapers appeared to continue on the *Herald-Tribune's* front pages, the majority of the stories were national and international stories generated by reporters other than *Herald-Tribune* employees. The *Herald-Tribune* managers had limited influence over these stories; they could choose which to publish, but not which stories to cover in the first place. Their gatekeeping abilities were limited by the routines and constraints of the male-dominated news agencies that generated and distributed the stories.

Page one: Women shown in a few powerful contexts

In the *Herald-Tribune*, women were quoted on the front page in a wide variety of stories, including political, medical, environmental, business, local feature and crime pieces. Most of the stories were national and international rather than focusing on local Sarasota topics and subjects. In some contexts, women were quoted or presented as sources because of their attachment to men who were subjects of news stories. These included the mother of a soldier killed in Iraq; the mother and daughters of a man killed in Vietnam; the mother of murder victim Martha Moxley, whom Kennedy relative

Michael Skakel was convicted of killing; and the black daughter of the late white Senator Strom Thurmond, Essie Mae Washington-Williams. Some women were quoted because they were victims. One story featured nine female sources, but seven of them were victims of a con man who was the focus of the piece.

However, several women also were mentioned or quoted as sources because of their positions of authority and power, including Philippines President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo; Democratic leader of the U.S. House of Representatives Nancy Pelosi; Senator Dianne Feinstein of California; Florida House Democratic leader Lois Frankel; and Florida elected officials, including state senators and representatives, county commissioners and school board members.

Women also were quoted in their professional capacities, including physicians, attorneys, professors, judges, company spokeswomen and business owners. One of the prominent stories in June 2002 featured FBI agent and whistleblower Coleen Rowley, the subject of several page one stories. Curiously, in all the stories about her, Rowley was the only female source. Overall, women were represented in positions of power and authority far less often than men. Some powerful women received coverage because of their ranks and actions, but few women were featured in stories conducting their everyday activities, while men often were quoted because of their work. Women were minorities on the *Herald-Tribune's* front page.

Local news section

Unlike page one news stories, the majority of stories on the front of the Sarasota local news section were stories written by *Herald-Tribune* staff writers rather than wire

service stories. The total number of stories analyzed in the local section was 77, and 26 of those were written by women. (See Table 3.)

TABLE 3
***Sarasota Herald-Tribune* Local News Stories by Gender-Designated Writer**
 (Authors of co-bylined stories were counted as 0.5)

	Staff Stories		Wire Stories		Total stories*	
Female authors	21.5	31.6%	4	44.4%	26	33.8%
Male authors	46.5	68.4%	5	55.6%	51	66.2%
	<hr/> 68		<hr/> 9		<hr/> 77	

*z-score for total = -3.01

The z-score indicates that the results are statistically significant, with a more than 99.85% confidence level.

Content in the local news section represented the influences of the female managers on the newspaper's content more accurately than page one because most of the stories were prepared in the *Herald-Tribune* newsroom. Sixty-eight stories, or 88 percent of the stories on the Sarasota news section front, were reported and written by *Herald-Tribune* staff writers.

Surprisingly, the percentage of stories written by women was roughly the same as the page one stories. Thirty-four percent of the authors on the Sarasota section front were women and 66 percent were men, compared to a 35/65 breakdown on page one. This could be explained in part by the fact that the time of the study, the majority of Sarasota city desk reporters were men.²² However, the local news section is a reflection of the area stories the editors considered important from the previous day, and the fact that

²² Interview with Weaver in her office, Sept. 12, 2003.

mainly men reported and wrote most of them is significant. Reporting and writing local news stories fell primarily into the hands of male reporters. (See Table 4.)

TABLE 4
***Sarasota Herald-Tribune* Local News Sources by Writers' Gender**

	Female Authors		Male Authors		Total*	
Female sources	21	25.9%	47	33.8%	68	30.9%
Male sources	60	74.1%	92	66.2%	152	69.1%
	<hr/> 81		<hr/> 139		<hr/> 220	

*z-score for total = -6.12

The z-score shows that the results are statistically significant, with nearly a 99 percent confidence level. The female managers appeared to have had more of an influence on source selection than on reporter gender. The percentage of female sources used in local news stories was somewhat higher than on page one stories. Overall, 68, or 31 percent, of the sources on local news section front stories were women. This is a higher percentage than the approximately 25 percent of female sources found in previous studies and the 26.5 percent on the *Herald-Tribune's* front page. Another significant finding was that the propensity of male reporters to quote female sources was much greater in local stories than in *Herald-Tribune* page one stories. While only 22.5 percent of the sources male authors quoted or cited in page one stories were female, nearly 34 percent of the local news sources quoted by male authors were female. Because most of the stories on the local news section front were reported and written by *Herald-Tribune* staff writers rather than other sources via wire services, this shows a possible influence of

the female managers on the use of female news sources by male reporters. Male *Herald-Tribune* reporters might have contacted female sources for stories because they were more accustomed to women in positions of power than male reporters at male-dominated newspapers. Or they might have wanted to prove to their female bosses that they could contact women as sources. On the other hand, the Sarasota area also might have had more women officials in government and business at the time of the study, meaning more women were in authoritative positions that reporters turn to for news sources. Interestingly, female *Herald-Tribune* reporters used slightly fewer female sources than male reporters. About one-fourth of the sources that female reporters used on the local news section front were women. Female news reporters might not have felt they had to prove their gender sensitivity in the way male reporters did.

Local news: Women portrayed in more powerful positions than on page one

Women on the local news section were quoted most often because of their positions of authority, whether in their capacities as officials or spokeswomen for organizations. However, some were quoted as spokeswomen for powerful men, such as an aide to the president of Florida State University and a representative of the Florida speaker of the house, Tom Feeney. Other women were quoted because they were somehow attached to men who were story subjects. These included the wife of man who witnessed a plane crash, the daughter of a man whose house burned in a fire, a supporter of a male mayoral candidate, the mother of a male teenager who rescued a drowning boy, the live-in girlfriend of a man accused of molesting a child, and the wife of a resident

protesting a Wal-Mart store in his neighborhood. Several of these women easily could have been quoted in their own capacities rather than as a satellite of a male story subject.

The majority of women mentioned and quoted in stories placed on the front of the local news section were included because of their powerful positions. They included the chairwoman of a museum; a prosecutor; other attorneys; city and county commissioners; principals of schools; Florida Lieutenant Governor Toni Jennings; U.S. Representative Katherine Harris of Sarasota; a fire marshal; and several realtors. Others were quoted as the main subjects of feature stories, such as a woman who decorates her house elaborately for Christmas, or because they spoke out at public meetings or were students at schools that were story subjects.

Women were quoted in contexts of authority and power in the local news section more often than on page one. This could be attributable to several factors, including male *Herald-Tribune* reporters' greater likelihood of quoting women, employees being accustomed to powerful women, or the fact that many women in the Sarasota area hold authoritative positions. Like page one stories, women in the local news section continued to be represented in fewer positions of power and engaging in fewer activities than men were. But women also were more visible in Sarasota news than in the national or international news that dominated the front page. It is not clear that the female managers influenced these choices. Several employees interviewed for this study said they were under no particular pressure to quote female sources in their stories.²³

²³ Interviews with male reporter No. 6, June 3, 2002; male editor No. 2, June 5, 2002; male reporter No. 2, December 15, 2003.

Business news section largely reflects patriarchal business world

The content of the business news section usually focuses on the male-dominated corporate world. The *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* proved to be no exception to this emphasis. (See Table 5.)

TABLE 5
***Sarasota Herald-Tribune* Business News Stories by Gender-Designated Writer**

	Staff Stories		Wire Stories		Total stories*	
Female authors	12	26.7%	12	48%	24	34.3%
Male authors	33	73.3%	13	52%	46	65.7%
	45		25		70	

*z-score for total = -2.77

The z-score indicates that the findings are statistically significant, with a more than 99 percent confidence level.

Women reporters wrote approximately one-third of the business news stories on the front of the section. Compared to the local news section, a lower percentage of business news stories were written by staff writers, with the business section relying more on wire services. However, staff stories were more prevalent on the business section front than on page one. The majority of stories in the *Herald-Tribune's* business section, 64.3 percent, came from staff writers, and 35.7 percent originated from wire services.

TABLE 6
***Sarasota Herald-Tribune* Business News Sources by Writers' Gender**

	Female Authors		Male Authors		Total*	
Female sources	21	26.9%	25	19.8%	46	22.5%
Male sources	57	73.1%	101	80.2%	158	77.5%
	<hr/> 78		<hr/> 126		<hr/> 204	

*z-score for total = -9.38

The z-score indicates that the results are statistically significant, with a nearly 100 percent confidence level.

Female business reporters were more likely to quote female sources than male business reporters were. (See Table 6.) Twenty-seven percent of the sources female business writers quoted or cited were women, while only about 20 percent of the sources male business writers used were women. Overall, the majority of sources in business stories were male. One hundred and twenty-six, or 77.5 percent, of business sources were men, and 78, or 22.5 percent, were women. Female sources constituted less than one-fourth of all the business sources quoted, indicating that women were not considered as important as men.

Business news: Some female sources speak with authority

Although their numbers were few, female sources in the business news section were quoted primarily because of their positions of power and authority. They included a Federal Energy Regulatory commissioner; the top executive at a Sarasota hospital; a pediatrician; a congresswoman; the executive directors of the Manatee Economic

Development Council and the Sarasota County Convention and Visitors Bureau; the general manager of the Ritz-Carlton Hotel; a director of marketing for a company; and a business owner. Many of the female business sources were spokeswomen for companies or government agencies, including Tropicana Products, the Manhattan District Attorney's Office, the AAA Auto Club, Wal-Mart, Westfield Corp., and a bank. These spokeswomen were not necessarily executives who held power at these organizations; they were chosen to speak for the top managers.

Some women were quoted in stereotypical roles, such as the three shoppers who were quoted in business stories, and a mother featured because she bought her son a car.

Overall, most of the female sources in the business section had equal status to the powerful men quoted in the section, indicating an effort on the part of reporters to represent women as important to the business and corporate world. Perhaps if the corporate sector in the United States included more powerful women, the business news section also would.

Sports section: Invisible women

Women sportswriters were literally absent from the sports section front. Not one sports story out of the 66 stories examined was written by a female author. Male sportswriters entirely dominated the section. (See Table 7.)

TABLE 7
***Sarasota Herald-Tribune* Sports Stories by Gender-Designated Writer**

	Staff Stories		Wire Stories		Total stories*	
Female authors	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Male authors	57	100%	9	100%	66	100%
	<hr/> 57		<hr/> 9		<hr/> 66	

*z-score cannot be calculated. Results do not have normal distribution since one data set is zero; however, zero percent is statistically significant.

These results are surprising, because while the sports section is often the most male-dominated section of any newspaper, I had expected the *Herald-Tribune's* female managers to have at least some influence over sportswriters' gender. Instead, the sports section remained its own, male-dominated world. As one female employee²⁴ noted in an interview, the *Herald-Tribune* sports section employed only one woman, and she designed pages rather than reported or edited stories. Sports, the employee said, "is a separate world" from the rest of the newspaper.²⁵ Managing editor Diane Tennant acknowledged in an interview that the sports section often operates on its own without much interference from female management. "Sports ends up being a renegade because of the hours they work," Tennant said, explaining that the timing of sports events requires

²⁴ Female page designer No. 2.

²⁵ Interview with female page designer No. 2 in main Sarasota newsroom, June 5, 2002. NOTE: The page designer quoted here was not the lone female employee of the sports section.

sports reporters and editors to work primarily at night.²⁶ “One of the biggest challenges is to incorporate sports into the newsroom,” Tennant said.²⁷

TABLE 8
***Sarasota Herald-Tribune* Sports Sources by Writers’ Gender**

	Female Authors		Male Authors		Total*	
Female sources	0	0%	7	4.6%	7	4.6%
Male sources	0	0%	145	95.4%	145	95.4%
	<hr/> 0		<hr/> 152		<hr/> 152	

*z-score cannot be calculated. Results do not have normal distribution since one data set is zero; however, zero percent is statistically significant.

Women and girls were difficult to find as sources in sports stories. (See Table 8.) Only seven female sources out of a total 152 sources were quoted in the sports section. The female managers at the *Herald-Tribune* appeared to have slight or no influence over the sources quoted in the sports section. One factor about the cycle of sports news should be noted here. The weeks I was in the office fell during June, September and December, and the sports season for most female athletes falls largely during the spring months. This is because high school and college sports, for which women receive much more media coverage than the few women’s professional sports, take place primarily between January and June. The sports seasons for women’s basketball, track and field, volleyball, soccer and softball are mainly during the second half of the school year. The months of

²⁶ Interview with managing editor Diane Tennant at a Sarasota restaurant, Sept. 10, 2003.

²⁷ Ibid.

June, September, and December usually are dominated by sports coverage of men's professional, college and high school baseball, basketball and football.

The female sources quoted in the sports section included tennis players Venus and Serena Williams; a high school softball player chosen as area player of the year; the woman chosen as softball coach of the year; the head coach of a high school volleyball team; a high school volleyball player; and a high school basketball player. Even stories about girls' sports teams often quoted their male coaches rather than the players. This could be because male sportswriters felt more comfortable talking to adult male coaches than to teenage girls. Female sportswriters might have felt more comfortable talking to the female athletes, but the *Herald-Tribune* had no female sportswriters on staff. Overall, the female managers of the *Herald-Tribune* kept their hands off the sports section and it remained, as with many other newspapers, extremely male-dominated.

Lifestyle section

Prior to the 1980s, lifestyle sections in many newspapers were called the "women's" section. Not surprisingly, the *Herald-Tribune* lifestyle represented the largest percentage of female-authored stories of all the other newspaper sections. This was true for staff stories, with women authoring 57 percent, but even more so for wire stories, with women writing nearly 90 percent. (See Table 9.)

TABLE 9
***Sarasota Herald-Tribune* Lifestyle Stories by Gender-Designated Writer**

	Staff Stories		Wire Stories		Total stories*	
Female authors	8	57.1%	8	88.9%	16	69.6%
Male authors	6	42.9%	1	11.1%	7	30.4%
	<hr/> 14		<hr/> 9		<hr/> 23	

*z-score for total = 2.04

The z-score indicates that the findings are statistically significant, with a more than 97.5 percent confidence level.

A higher percentage of male staff writers appeared in the traditionally female-dominated lifestyle section of the *Herald-Tribune* than male wire story authors. This indicates that the *Herald-Tribune* managers might have been more conscious of equitably balancing the gender of reporters than editors at other news organizations. They may have decided that the lifestyle section should not be female-dominated.

The lifestyle sections of the *Herald-Tribune* evaluated here consisted of a features section called “Florida West,” published Sunday through Thursday; “Ticket,” an entertainment magazine published on Friday; and “Play!,” a recreation-focused section published on Saturday. The number of stories on the lifestyle section fronts was fewer than the number of stories in the other sections. This is because the lifestyle section front usually publishes longer pieces, with larger illustrations, than page one and the local news, business news and sports section fronts. Also, the lifestyle section featured several columns and essays, which I eliminated from the analysis because they were not news stories subject to the traditional practices of source gathering.

TABLE 10
***Sarasota Herald-Tribune* Lifestyle Sources by Writers' Gender**

	Female Authors		Male Authors		Total*	
Female sources	24	55.8%	8	38.1%	32	50%
Male sources	19	44.2%	13	61.9%	32	50%
	43		21		64	

*z-score for total = 0. There is a 50 percent chance these results could change in another trial. The sample size included a total of 64 authors, so to more accurately determine statistical significance, the sample size could be increased.

The use of sources in the lifestyle section was more egalitarian than any other section of the newspaper. Overall, half of the quoted sources were female and half were male. (See Table 10.) Like the other sections of the newspaper, female writers were more likely to quote female sources than male writers were. However, male writers in the features section were more willing than male authors in any other *Herald-Tribune* sections to use female sources: 38 percent of their sources were female and 62 percent were male.

The types of female sources used in the lifestyle section varied, and mainly featured women engaged in activities described in human-interest stories. Two of the women had achieved in a literacy program, one was a yoga instructor, one a registered nurse, and two were on vacation in Florida. Others were featured in groups: four members of a senior-citizen ice skating team, several teachers and mothers of special-

needs children, and several family members who participated in a Christmas Adopt-a-Family program.

Summary of gender influence on selection of story sources

TABLE 11
Use of Sources in the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* By Section and Gender

	Female sources		Male sources		z-score*
Lifestyle	32	50%	32	50%	0
Local news	68	30.9%	152	69.1%	-6.13
Page one	100	26.5%	277	73.5%	-10.32
Business	46	22.5%	158	77.5%	-9.38
Sports	7	4.6%	145	95.4%	-26.70
<hr/>					
Totals	253		764		

*All z-scores were statistically significant with close to 100 percent confidence levels.

As Table 11 shows, female sources in the *Herald-Tribune* were most likely to appear in the traditionally female-dominated lifestyle section. Male sources were equally as likely to be quoted in the lifestyle section. The local news section was the second most likely to feature female sources, a possible influence of the female leadership of the *Herald-Tribune*. The female editors had considerable influence over the local news section and choices of sources since the majority of the stories were staff-generated.

Women were less likely to be quoted on page one, dominated by the national and international news. In business news, male sources continued to be the majority, and in sports, which the female managers appeared to treat as a separate world, women were practically invisible.

Methodology of image analysis

Next, I turned to an examination of the images published in the newspaper. To determine the numbers of males and females depicted in *Herald-Tribune* page one images, I counted the subjects featured in photographs on page one, the local news front, business news front, sports front and lifestyle section front in the Sarasota editions of the newspaper during the same weeks I observed and interviewed in June 2002, September 2003 and December 2003. I also included several illustrations that appeared on the lifestyle section front. Of the subjects that could be identified by sex within the photos, I indicated whether they were male or female. This methodology enabled me to determine the number of males and females depicted in photos for page one and each section front. Next, I examined the photographs and illustrations to determine the contexts in which women were pictured in the newspaper, such as whether they appeared in positions of power and authority, as victims, or because of their connection to a man. I eliminated from the analysis photographs and illustrations that did not include people; for example, images of buildings, landscapes, animals, flowers, food or other items.

By examining credit lines under the photographs, I counted the number of male and female photographers in each section who could be identified by sex. It should be noted, however, that two-thirds of the images in the newspaper that featured people had

no photo credits. This prevented a more in-depth examination of how a photographer's gender might have influenced the gender of the subjects. Only 111 photographs and illustrations out of 327 total on page one and the section fronts featuring people were credited to a particular person. Of those, only 21 images were attributed to female photographers or artists. Many images in all sections bore credits without identifying a photographer, such as credits that read only "Associated Press." Several were "file photos" or photos from archives. Many simply had no identification of the photographer or artist. Several of the photographs of people on section fronts were head shots of columnists or others without photo credit. This suggests a dearth of female photographers, although the analysis is limited by the lack of photo credit lines. The small number of female-composed photographs, 21, was not enough to determine whether women photographers were more likely to photograph female subjects. For example, not one of the photos on the front page that could be identified as shot by female photographers featured women. Page-one photos shot by identifiable female photographers included a landscape shot of fishing boats at sunrise; a far-away picture of a funeral for a New York City firefighter; a mug shot of Ahmed Qurei, speaker of the Palestinian parliament; a close-up of male firefighter consoling a male child; and a photo of a male attorney representing prisoners who sued the state.

Male subjects most often in *Herald-Tribune* images

The subjects in all photographs were overwhelmingly male. Of 418 identifiable subjects in photos, 318 were male and 100 were female. This corroborates previous

studies that found male subjects were represented in newspaper images at least twice as often as female subjects.²⁸ (See Table 12.)

TABLE 12
Use of Images in the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* By Section and Subjects' Gender

	Female subject		Male subject		z-score*
Lifestyle	25	38%	40	62%	1.91
Local news	33	35%	62	65%	3.12
Business	12	23%	40	77%	4.61
Page one	21	19%	88	81%	8.14
Sports	9	9%	88	91%	13.82
<hr/>					
Total	100		318		

*The z-scores indicate that the results are statistically significant, with the lifestyle results having more than a 95 percent confidence level and local news, business, page one and sports results having more than a 99.85 percent confidence level.

The likelihood of female subjects to be featured in photos on page one and the section fronts essentially followed the pattern of sources in *Herald-Tribune* stories. The lifestyle section, traditionally the “women’s” section, published the highest percentage of images featuring women. The local news had the second-highest percentage, and business news and page one followed. In sports, women once again were practically invisible.

²⁸ Rodgers, Thorson and Antecol, “ ‘Reality’ in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*,” 51-68.

Page one image analysis

Very few photographs on the front page featured women, and several of the women depicted on the front page made news because they were connected to men. Women were not shown going about their daily activities as men were, except for a 16-year-old girl photographed while she was applying for a job and a sheriff's deputy carrying cats. Most of the women featured individually were celebrities, including the queen of England, singers and actresses. The only female sports figure depicted on the front page was tennis player Venus Williams, but her photo appeared in a layout with images of the racehorse War Emblem and boxer Mike Tyson. The photo of the racehorse was larger than that of Williams. In contrast, nearly a dozen male sports figures, from football players to coaches to tennis player Andy Roddick, were pictured on page one. Even children pictured on the front page tended to be boys, including a 2-year-old lighting a menorah, a child being comforted by a firefighter, and a boy watching the president with his father at an Army base.

Only two women were featured in large photos: Essie Mae Williams Washington and Coleen Rowley. Washington appeared in a three-column photo above the fold when she announced that she was the daughter of Strom Thurmond. Rowley was depicted in a three-column photograph below the fold after she criticized the FBI for failing to communicate information that might have prevented the September 11, 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon.

It should be noted that very few page one photographs were taken by *Herald-Tribune* photographers. Only 13 of the 109 images on page one were attributed to staff

photographers. Since the front page emphasized national and international news, the identified photographers came from other media organizations, not from the local newspaper. Many of the male subjects of photographs were international political figures, including U.S. President George W. Bush, U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell, U.S. Vice President Dick Cheney, former Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein, Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat, Russian President Vladimir Putin, and Libyan leader Moammar Gadhafi. Other males depicted on the front page were Florida political figures, including Governor Jeb Bush, Florida Senate President John McKay and Manatee County Commissioner Joe McClash. Other males were sports figures, such as Miami Dolphins Coach Dave Wannstedt, Los Angeles Lakers player Kobe Bryant, several Tampa Bay Buccaneers football players, tennis player Andy Roddick and boxer Mike Tyson. Some males depicted on page one were well-known people who died, including singer Johnny Cash, actor John Ritter, songwriter Warren Zevon and former NFL quarterback Otto Graham. Several males depicted in photographs were not political officials, sports figures or celebrities, but were people who happened to be participating in activities the photographer was chronicling. These included a gravedigger in a Mexican village where a land feud caused killings, fans of World Cup soccer, soldiers who fought in Iraq, workers cleaning up the aftermath of a bombing in Jerusalem, a U.S. Army sergeant and his young son watching President Bush visit an Army base, several men trying to fly a replica of the Wright brothers' plane, and a young boy lighting a menorah for Hanukkah.

In contrast, women and girls were rarely photographed for the front page. Almost none were depicted in photographs showing activities they happened to be involved in when the photographer took his or her shots. Photographs of several women appeared on

the front page because of their connection to men. These included images of a woman whose son died in the Vietnam War, a woman crying because her brother died in the September 11, 2001 attack on the World Trade Center, the wife in a married missionary couple who had been kidnapped in the Philippines, the wife in a married couple who had moved from Chicago to the Sarasota area, and the wife in a married couple eating lunch at a soda fountain. Also included in this category was Essie Mae Washington Williams, who had revealed Strom Thurmond was her father.

The only women featured on page one because of their own reputations or successes were Queen Elizabeth II, FBI agent and whistleblower Coleen Rowley, singer Ashanti, tennis player Venus Williams, actress Nicole Kidman, and filmmaker Leni Riefenstahl, who had died. One female pictured on the front page was Rilya Wilson, a young girl who was missing because of the alleged incompetence of the state's child protective services agency.

Local news image analysis

The subjects of local news section front photographs were mainly male, although compared with page one photographs, a higher percentage of female subjects were pictured. Sixty-two of 95 subjects, or 65 percent, featured on the local news section fronts were male, and 33, or 35 percent, were female.

The local news section focused on Sarasota-area news, and the higher percentage of female subjects who appeared on the local news front sections indicated that women were more often featured in Sarasota local news photographs than in the newspaper's national or international photographs. Of the photographs that had identifiable credits,

female photographers composed only five. Twenty-five of the photographs on the local news section front bore credits with the names of male photographers. One photograph bore the credit: “STAFF PHOTO / NAME,” clearly an error. Several photographs, mainly mug shots, had no photo credits.

Many of the male subjects on the local news section front were men or boys involved in activities, including workers at the site of a plane crash, mayoral candidates, men building a log cabin, male biologists rescuing a manatee, a boy playing on parallel bars, a man graduating from college, male students in a school class, and a man at a conference on neighborhoods. Several of the images of men on the local news section front were regular shots of three male columnists who wrote pieces on different days of the week.

Some male subjects of photographs were suspects in crimes or were involved in accidents or other violence. These included a man accused of child molestation, a man charged in a hit-and-run fatality, a man accused of an investment scam, a male Sarasota County Sheriff’s Office major accused of driving under the influence, a man who died in a plane crash, a man hurt in a crash while fleeing police, and a male coach charged with sex crimes. Women were not exempt from images tied to violence and crime, but were featured less often than men. One female subject was a woman sentenced to fifteen years in prison for child neglect and another was a 19-year-old woman killed in an SUV accident.

More women were shown in their everyday activities on local news section fronts than on the newspaper’s front page. Female subjects in photographs included a choral director at Sarasota High School, a woman who decorated her house elaborately for

Christmas, a teacher with several of her male and female students, a woman named Red Cross volunteer of the year, women comforting each other at a 9/11 observance ceremony, a Girl Scout who won an award, and a female archeologist searching for artifacts. Some women were pictured because of their positions of power or authority, including Lieutenant Governor Jennings, the director of the local Court Watch program, a hearing officer, an attorney, the former director of the Selby Gardens in Sarasota, and a former school principal. However, similar to the front page, some women appeared in photographs because of their connections to men. One woman, pictured with two mayoral candidates, was not identified, although the men's full names and titles were in the photo cutline. Bridgette Gregory, an aide to Feeney, the speaker of the House, appeared in a photograph with him because of questions about her employment and phone calls she had made.

Business news image analysis

The 12 women whose images were featured on the business news section front fell into two categories: appearing because of their authoritative position, or taking a backseat to male or inanimate photo subjects. The authoritative women included a female guard escorting a convicted Enron executive, a woman business owner working an embroidery machine at her shop, *Herald-Tribune* business columnist Lauren Mayk, and the head shot of a financial planner who writes a Sunday column. One photograph featured a woman identified as Adriana King, head of distribution for a Mexican candy company. The candy she was holding was in focus and her face was out of focus, placing the importance on the inanimate object, not on her.

Female subjects who appeared in secondary images included a photo of a woman riding a Segway scooter behind a male rider who dominated the picture; a woman who, along with her husband, bought her son a car; a shopper pushing a cart that took up most of the foreground; and model Cindy Crawford, who was pictured with a man who introduced her at a company meeting as a Wal-Mart shopper at a company meeting. Images of women in the business section tended to portray them as less important than the male CEOs, business owners, and workers, who were pictured more often.

Sports image analysis

The handful of images in the sports section that featured women included photos of three female professional athletes: tennis players Venus Williams, Serena Williams and Jennifer Capriati, all of whom were playing in the French Open in June 2002. The largest photo, of Capriati, featured her grimacing and smashing a tennis ball with her racket. A large image of Venus Williams showed her smiling and celebrating a win, and a slightly smaller image of Serena Williams showed her with a determined look on her face. The photo cutline noted that the sisters would be playing each other for the French Open championship. All the women appeared with the expressions and actions of successful, powerful athletes.

The rest of the female subjects in the sports section were high school players and coaches. Their photographs were considerably smaller and placed lower on the page than those of the Williams sisters and Capriati, indicating that the sports editors and designers considered the professional athletes more important, or perhaps more photogenic. The high school softball coach of the year and high school softball player were featured in a

photograph together. Most of these photographs were staged or were head shots that appeared to be supplied by the schools. Only one picture was an action shot, and it featured two high school basketball players. Male athletes were shown in action much more often than female athletes.

Lifestyle image analysis

The lifestyle section published illustrations as well as photographs, but none of the illustrations featured a woman. Some of the women pictured in this section were celebrities, including singers Ashanti and Jennifer Lopez, and actors Whoopi Goldberg, Meg Ryan and Uma Thurman.

Other images featured female subjects engaged in activities, including four sequined senior citizen members of an ice-skating team, three little girls embracing a costumed Disney character, and a speech pathologist and teacher helping special-needs children. Four of the women were models: a senior citizen showing off a dress designed for older people, and three teenagers modeling surfing clothes. One woman was pictured shopping with a man described as her brother-in-law for Adopt-a-Family Christmas gifts. Female subjects were shown in a variety of contexts in the lifestyle section.

Images in *Herald-Tribune* were similar to those in male-dominated newspapers

Overall, the female leadership at the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* did not appear to significantly change the way women are featured in images from the practices of most male-dominated newspapers. Female subjects were most likely to appear in images on the lifestyle section, traditionally the realm of “women’s news.” In the lifestyle section, they were pictured in various contexts: in several different types of activities and at

different ages, from girls to senior citizens. Female subjects were least likely to appear in the *Herald-Tribune's* sports section, the most male-dominated section of the newspaper that essentially eliminated them.

Local news and business news appeared to be most influenced by the *Herald-Tribune's* female leadership. Many of the women shown in these sections were engaged in work and other activities. Women appeared in positive contexts, including as leaders and in positions of authority.

For page one images, the female editors' choices primarily were limited to the photographs provided by wire services since most of the front page news was national and international. The people pictured in page one photographs were mainly male, including men in positions of power, men going about their daily business, and even small boys engaged in activities that were considered newsworthy by the newspaper's editors.

Female leaders perpetuated women's absence from newspaper content

The findings that few women appeared in front-page and local news section front stories and images published in the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* are consistent with previous studies conducted on newspapers managed by men. The lack of female representation in stories and photos in the *Herald-Tribune* indicates that female leadership at the newspaper did little to overcome the predominance of masculine news values. However, in sections such as local news and business news, there was some indication the women had an influence over the sources and photographs their reporters, photographers and editors chose to represent the news. In these sections, which featured primarily local

news generated by the *Herald-Tribune*'s staff rather than outside wire services, women appeared in positions of power and authority more often than in other sections. Male reporters in the local news section were more likely to quote women than female reporters were, indicating that male reporters made an effort to contact female sources. Women were portrayed in several powerful contexts in stories and images on the local news section, and to a lesser degree in the business section, indicating an acceptance of female power and authority among *Herald-Tribune* employees.

Despite these small signs that female editors influenced stories and images to feature more women, the content did not differ greatly from newspapers in past studies that were led by men. Male reporters, sources and images were much more prevalent in the *Herald-Tribune* than female reporters, sources and images. As Van Zoonen pointed out, women have not been able to change the male-dominated news business, so they continue to emphasize masculine definitions of news.²⁹ The managers of the *Herald-Tribune* were trained to be journalists and socialized about news values at newspapers and in journalism schools that continue to be dominated by men. They learned their routines and practices, such as which sources on whom to rely, from experiences in these male-dominated institutions. The content of the *Herald-Tribune* focused on news about government, finance and crime, similarly most other news media in the United States. The majority of sources of power and authority in a patriarchal society like the United States' are white, middle-aged males, and in the *Herald-Tribune* this was no different. The managers constructed the news similarly to the ways in which male newspaper

²⁹ Liesbet van Zoonen, "One of the Girls? The Changing Gender of Journalism," in Carter, Branstetter and Allan (eds.) *News, Gender and Power* (1998), 34.

managers have constructed it.³⁰ As Gist noted, women journalists appear to have accepted these values as the norm in the guise of journalistic objectivity, and have not challenged them to a degree that will bring about considerable change.³¹

In the *Herald-Tribune*, women were represented in front-page stories at about the same 3-to-1 ratio as other studies have found portrayed.³² The *Herald-Tribune* results also corroborated Zoch and Turk's 1998 study that found women featured on the front page were often quoted in connection with their relationship to a man.³³ Several of the women featured in *Herald-Tribune* photographs and stories on page one and in local news were pictured and identified because of their connection to a men, including women identified as wives, mothers or girlfriends.

The *Herald-Tribune* front pages featured several stories from *The New York Times*, which owns the Sarasota newspaper. In previous studies, the *Times* has been shown to rarely feature women as news sources, and in one study only 10 percent of the sources on page one of the *Times* were female.³⁴ Armstrong's 2004 study showed that newspapers, by failing to portray women as newsworthy, perpetuate women's low

³⁰ Gans, *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek & Time*; Tuchman, *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality*.

³¹ Gist, "Through the Looking Glass: Diversity and Reflected Appraisals of the Self in Mass Media," 109-114.

³² Brown, Bybee, Wearden and Straughan, "Invisible Power: Newspaper News and the Limits of Diversity, 45-54;" Hernandez, "Good and the bad about women's news in newspapers, 17;" Schmidt and Collins, "Showdown at Gender Gap," 39-42.

³³ Zoch and Turk, "Women Making News: Gender as a variable in source selection and use," 762-775.

³⁴ Brown, Bybee, Wearden and Straughan, "Invisible Power: Newspaper News and the Limits of Diversity," 45-54.

societal status.³⁵ Since the news media tell people what is important through agenda setting, they reinforce the notion that the interests and priorities of men are more important than those of women. When a newspaper fails to acknowledge women by not featuring female subjects in stories and photographs, it indicates that women have a lower profile in society than men, and contributes to their symbolic annihilation. The *Herald-Tribune* appeared to differ little in this respect from its parent newspaper, *The New York Times*.

Female leadership seemed to have a small influence on content of the local news section fronts and possibly, to a lesser extent, the business section. Male local news reporters at the *Herald-Tribune* were more likely than female reporters to quote female sources on local stories. This could indicate an influence of the female editors, because men who work primarily for women may be more accustomed to seeing and accepting women in positions of power and authority. Also, many of the women featured in images on the front of the local news section and business news section were in powerful positions, which could have reflected an influence of female editors. However, the fact that powerful women appeared in several photos also could mean that the Sarasota area has several women in powerful positions.

The sports and lifestyle sections appeared to adhere to their stereotypical roles in the newspaper. The sports section virtually ignored and eliminated women, and the female leaders made no effort to change this, considering sports a separate world from the rest of the newspaper. The lifestyle section featured more women than any other

³⁵ Armstrong, "The Influence of Reporter Gender on Source Selection in News Stories," 148.

section of the newspaper, but one difference is that it also featured an equal number of men. The female leadership might have influenced this equity.

Overall, the female leadership of the *Herald-Tribune* perpetuated the masculine definition of news adopted by the U.S. news media, allowing the interests and activities of men to dominate the news presented to the community on page one and the local news section fronts. Women managers did not change the newspaper's content to a significant degree.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study is one of the first comprehensive examinations of a newspaper managed by women at its highest levels. Scholars have not been able to examine large, female-led newspapers in the past, primarily because they did not exist. The *Herald-Tribune* management team did not come together until 1999, and it lasted until December 2003. This study, employing a feminist perspective and organizational theories, shows that female management can make some differences in management and culture, and, to a lesser degree, content. However, the outcome reveals that long-established masculine news values and practices of reporting, choosing images, editing, and selecting news remained entrenched despite the all-female management team.

Most organizational studies have not examined management from a feminist standpoint, which assumes that women are a separate cultural group with their own perspectives. This dissertation considers the ways in which the managers' gender shaped the work environment, especially employees' perceptions of the newsroom culture. It was in this area that the female leaders had the most influence. Most newspapers have a masculine newsroom culture that emphasizes male values such as hierarchy and status; however, the *Herald-Tribune* had a more holistic culture of employee and management interaction, and emphasized a feminine perspective that embraced openness and a balance between work and family.

One of the expectations of this study was that the culture of the newspaper would be influenced by the gender of the managers. This study speculated that female

employees at the *Herald-Tribune* would feel they had equal opportunities to career advancement as their male counterparts. It also postulated that a perception of sex discrimination among female employees would be more or less absent. With male employees, the study envisioned two scenarios: either male employees would feel discrimination, or both male and female employees would perceive the work environment as egalitarian. This research found the newsroom was more reflective of the latter scenario.

Another expectation was that the newspaper's female leadership could influence news values and standards to a degree that might help address some of the newspaper industry's problems, such as a drop in readership. They also could have created a work environment and network of mentoring that would encourage more female journalism students to enter the newspaper business, since studies have shown many young women choose other careers.

A third expectation was that the newspaper might publish more stories emphasizing issues that interested and were relevant to female readers. The study posited that the newspaper might quote more female sources in positions of authority and power than other newspapers. It also speculated that the female management might bring a different perspective to the news than male-dominated newspapers.

Finally, the study expected to find that the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* had a female network or pipeline for recruiting, hiring and promoting that made the newspaper somewhat of a "girls' club" in contrast to the "boys' club" atmosphere at the majority of other newspapers.

Findings on culture

This study found a culture at the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* that reflects feminine leadership traits. The emphasis on communication, consensus, teamwork, connection and a balance of work and family was unusual in the majority of the newspaper business. This study confirmed the *Impact* study by the Readership Institute at Northwestern University, which said the *Herald-Tribune's* “constructive” culture differed from approximately 80 percent of the newspapers in the United States. This difference, however, was not necessarily attributable solely to female leadership since women did not exclusively lead the other 20 percent newspapers with constructive cultures.

The *Herald-Tribune* was led by women who came of age during the 1980s and 1990s, when women were advancing to the ranks of management in the newspaper industry. This study showed that factors contributing to *Herald-Tribune's* female leaders' success in journalism were their educations, location flexibility, shared or supported family responsibilities in relation to their jobs, and strong connections or mentors.

In interviews, employees and managers of the *Herald-Tribune* emphasized a newsroom culture that valued children and families. Family responsibilities were not considered liabilities, as some employees mentioned as the case at their other newspapers. The managers stressed their beliefs that keeping employees and their families connected and content fostered loyalty, and employees confirmed this. Employees and managers acknowledged in interviews that the policies were not infallible, but overall they were content with the holistic newsroom culture.

Contrary to the general hierarchical and bureaucratic nature of organizations with strong masculine cultures, the women leaders at the *Herald-Tribune* emphasized teamwork, collaboration and open-door policies. They encouraged employee and reader input into the newspaper and its content through forums such as the Reader Advocate and the Hot Spot feedback forum for employees. Several employees said in interviews that they welcomed the chance to voice their opinions and add their comments to workplace practices and newspaper content. They took advantage of the forums to express their thoughts and offer critiques of newspaper practices and content.

Several female employees reported in interviews that while they had experienced sex discrimination and even sexual harassment at other newspapers, they observed none at the *Herald-Tribune*. Some said in interviews that they were grateful for the chance to be able to act “female” at work by expressing emotion such as tears in the newsroom without this being viewed negatively. However, some female employees voiced minor complaints about the all-female leadership; specifically, some reported an atmosphere of gossip and “cattiness” that they felt was attributable to a woman-dominated atmosphere.

Both male and female employees in interviews reported an egalitarian environment in which gender was not considered a barrier to advancement. Male employees reported in interviews that they did not suffer any discrimination or miss opportunities to advance because of their gender. In fact, several male employees felt enough confidence that they tease their female bosses without fearing retribution. In employee interviews, some men praised the work the women had done in changing newsroom policies and practices to be more open, creative and family-friendly. They said they appreciated the women’s decisions and management styles. However, it should

be noted that the study began in 2002, three years into “Amazonia,” and these male employees could have been those who felt particularly comfortable with female managers and their policies. Men who were uncomfortable or dissatisfied with the female management team, could have left the newspaper during the three previous years. (No figures exist on how many men departed the *Herald-Tribune* during 1999-2003.)

This research confirms management studies by Helen Fisher and others that showed women, as well as men, can thrive in a culture that reflects the feminine traits of connection, consensus, relationships, and a balance work and family. What made the *Herald-Tribune* unusual was that the women shaped a holistic culture that took into account families and encouraged an open atmosphere in which many employees were content with the majority of practices and policies in the workplace.

Findings on news process and news values

Women managers at the *Herald-Tribune* made an effort to change the ways in which some gender-related issues had been covered in the past, most notably, rape and sexual assault. The groundbreaking stories they ran on rape took innovative approaches to reporting and writing. They included in-depth coverage that offered not only excruciating detail intended to explode myths about rape but also gave information on how rape and sexual assault victims could obtain assistance. The stories also probed the legal system, critiqued media coverage of sexual assault and examined ways in which rape affects the community. The editors not only wanted to change the way newspapers treat rape and sexual assault but also show that the crimes affect many people. They confronted the fact that rape is more prevalent than most people perceive and demonstrate that victims are not to blame. The coverage included executive editor Janet

Weaver's personal admission that she once had been raped. These stories, which addressed the topics of incest and juvenile rape, showed a major initiative to alter the traditional methods newspapers have employed in rape and sexual assault coverage.

To a lesser degree, the women also tried to change the way the newspaper covered some other issues by including coverage the local gay community. They also emphasized issues that generally interest women, such as homelessness, children and affordable housing. The editors also instituted policies about using sex-neutral language, rather than emphasizing gender differences in the newspaper's text and images.

At the same time, the managers adhered to more traditional values embraced by the newspaper's parent company, The New York Times Company. These news values were more focused on stereotypical masculine perceptions of news. They emphasized publishing the most important news of the day, which, according to the male-dominated *The New York Times*, is defined as masculine: politics, economy and crime. The Times Company values also stressed business strategy and maintaining superiority over other newspapers, also traditionally masculine traits. While these traditional journalistic values of the corporate owners remained ingrained at *the Herald-Tribune*, some of the Times values were gender-neutral or even feminine, especially those emphasizing employee conduct, such as embracing diversity and maintaining a sense of humor.

Overall, in day-to-day news selection, the women managers of the *Herald-Tribune* adhered to masculine topics established by the Times' corporate principles, the women's training in journalism schools and in previous newsrooms' practices. Most sections of *Herald-Tribune* published stories that did not differ from established news values found in major dailies, of hard news and standard "masculine" topics. Even the

traditionally female-dominated lifestyle section published feature stories that showed no particular innovation or radical change from most other newspapers. The topics focused on food, recreation, entertainment, education and home decoration. However, the female managers demonstrated through their innovative approach of writing comprehensively about rape and sexual assault, and their alternative approaches to other issues such as affordable housing, that women managers, with a strong effort, can change the news process in selected areas by exploring issues in depth and placing them in broader societal contexts.

These changes did not help the *Herald-Tribune* gain more readers. In fact, circulation fell by about 4,000, from 110,000 to 106,000, during the time women were the top managers. However, this drop followed the same trend as many other newspapers during the same period, when the U.S. economy was sluggish. Therefore, the loss of circulation cannot be attributed solely to the female management.

Findings on content

The content of the *Herald-Tribune* did not differ greatly from that of male-managed newspapers studied in the past. This was disappointing because the study had expected to see an influence of the female leadership through more female-authored stories, more female sources, and more images of women and girls on the front page and section fronts. Like male-dominated newspapers, the *Herald-Tribune* adhered to patterns of symbolic annihilation that trivialize or eliminate women from representation in media. Male story authors, male sources and images of men and boys prevailed in all sections of the newspaper, except for the news sources in the lifestyle section, traditionally the “women’s” section of the newspaper. The sports section displayed the most

disheartening results, with female authors, sources and images nearly eliminated from coverage. Women and girls as story and image subjects should be in all sections of newspaper because studies have shown that people are interested in reading about people like themselves. If women of all ages see other women and girls represented in a newspaper, then they likely will be more interested in reading that newspaper.

The study did find some signs that female leadership at the *Herald-Tribune* led to a greater female presence the newspaper's content. The local news section featured several powerful and authoritative women as story sources and in published images. In the local news section, male reporters were more likely than female reporters to quote female sources. The presence of female superiors might have caused the male reporters to accept women in authoritative positions. The male reporters also might have been trying to prove their egalitarian attitudes to their female superiors. Whatever the reason, they made more of an effort than reporters generally do to represent women in their stories. To a lesser degree, the business news section also featured some powerful women in story text, although photographic images of women in authoritative positions still were few and far between. These trends indicate that women in positions of management can influence both male and female reporters to represent more women and girls in newspaper coverage, possibly alleviating the media's symbolic annihilation of women.

The most egalitarian section, the lifestyle section, could serve as an example of practices that other sections could employ. Half the sources quoted by female writers were women and half were men, and the same was true for male writers. However, it should be noted that the longer, human-interest stories in the lifestyle section tended to

quote more “regular people” as news sources rather than the hard news sections such as page one and local news, which tended to rely on “official” sources. In general, lifestyle stories usually contradict traditional news values, which focus on hard news and stereotypical masculine interests, including crime, politics and finance. This study confirms that as long as the government and corporate worlds are dominated by men, fewer women will be quoted as official sources in hard news stories.

A girls’ club

The study supported the expectation that the women of the *Herald-Tribune* created a network of female recruiting, mentoring and hiring. Although the managers maintain that “Amazonia” was a coincidence, female connections and networking did play a large role. Publisher Diane McFarlin said she hired executive editor Janet Weaver because of her talent and reputation, but also because they bonded with similar backgrounds and experiences in the journalism. The same reasons held for Weaver’s hiring of Rosemary Armao, although Weaver later pressured her to resign after determining she violated the newspaper’s ethical policies. Weaver replaced Armao with Diane Tennant, a woman who knew the newspaper well, having spent two decades working there, on and off, in various capacities. In interviews, the women managers acknowledged they saw something of themselves in each other, which led to their formation of a management team. They also made efforts to mentor other female reporters and editors, helping them propel their careers. Their gender awareness was obvious.

Despite these overt efforts, the majority of employees at the newspaper, 59 percent, remained men, and most of the local news reporters were male during this study. This research argues that it will take more than women managers for newsrooms to reflect the gender distribution of the general population.

Some of the reasons the female management team was not able to bring about major, significant change at the *Herald-Tribune* can be analyzed using John P. Kotter's previously mentioned theoretical construct on the differences between managers and leaders. As Kotter noted, only leaders, not managers, are able to change organizations in a lasting and meaningful way and such change takes a considerable amount of time. The female management team of the *Herald-Tribune* lasted only four years, not enough time to create a significant vision, implement a direction, communicate it to people and motivate and inspire them to commit to it and pass it along to newer employees and successors. The female managers also faced several obstacles mentioned by Kotter, including political, bureaucratic and resource barriers. The *Herald-Tribune's* owner, the New York Times Company, did not encourage the newspaper's managers or employees to change traditional newspaper values; instead, it urged them to adhere to its corporate values and processes. For a major change in news values to have occurred, the women of the *Herald-Tribune* would have needed more time, ideas, vision, resources, corporate support and employee countenance than they had.

Still, McFarlin made a lasting stamp on the newspaper, guiding it through her conception of excellent community service for nearly 20 years in Sarasota. This research indicates she has been a strong leader, influencing employees and hiring managers like Janet Weaver and Mike Connelly, who have continued her vision. A follow-up study

would demonstrate whether McFarlin's leadership and vision are long lasting and whether they will continue to guide the *Herald-Tribune* through the twenty-first century.

Recommendations

In the United States, women remain only one-third of newspaper employees, so the "critical mass" that previous scholars envisioned has not occurred in the newspaper business. However, the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* provided a glimpse of how women might influence newspaper management, culture and content. The following recommendations are gleaned from the findings of this study and are intended for all newspapers:

1. *Make newsrooms more family-friendly and open.*

A holistic newsroom culture like the one at the *Herald-Tribune* appears to make employees more content with their jobs than in male-dominated culture, which emphasizes status and hierarchy. The feminine influence on workplace policies and practices at the *Herald-Tribune* brought more emphasis on children and family, teamwork and communication. By and large, employees reacted positively to these management practices, responding with appreciation and loyalty.

2. *Cover rape and sexual assault in a straightforward manner, with approaches designed to eliminate myths about the crimes.*

Female leadership at the *Herald-Tribune* had a strong influence on coverage of rape and sexual assault, taking the attitude that knowledge is power. The honest, open and helpful coverage they offered gave members of the community information and assistance they probably could not have received elsewhere. They truly performed a

public service. If other newspapers employ these types of approaches, societal awareness could help lift the stigma of rape and spur people to do more to prevent it.

3. *Make efforts to cover more topics that are of interest to women.*

Many newspapers have failed to realize that they could increase female readership, which is dropping, by publishing more stories on topics that have been found in studies to be relevant to women. Examples are family, children, education, health, the workplace, social issues and personal relationships. Male readers probably would be interested in more of these types of stories also. Too much news, even in the female-managed *Herald-Tribune*, focuses on the topics that supposedly interest male readers, including crime, finance, and the competitive aspect of politics.

4. *Pay more attention to women's sports and hire female sportswriters.*

The lack of female representation on the sports page is not only a problem at the *Herald-Tribune* but also at many other newspapers. With more female sportswriters on staff, sports sections probably would be more attuned to women's sports, would increase coverage of women, offer more diverse perspectives, and quote more female athletes. Featuring more women in stories and in images on the sports pages would probably draw more female readers to the section since people are drawn to topics that involve people like them. Both men and women might enjoy more coverage of talented female athletes. Also, the nation's health professionals have encouraged lifetime sports activities.

5. *Instruct reporters, photographers and editors to make more efforts to contact and include female sources.*

The lack of female sources in newspapers may be due in part to the fact that journalists, particularly male journalists, simply do not think to contact women, even

when they reach prominence as elected officials, bureaucrats, judges, prosecutors, and CEOs. However, in the *Herald-Tribune*, some men on the local news pages did contact female sources, indicating female leadership might foster an acceptance of other women as leaders. While male and female reporters usually turn overwhelmingly to male official sources, they often do not realize they are eliminating women. If the low percentages of female sources were pointed out to reporters, photographers and editors, they might be more likely to think of a woman or girl to quote in or photograph for stories. Newsrooms also could develop source lists of female business, government and community leaders so that journalists would have names, numbers and e-mail addresses easily available. Lists like this could be part of broader initiatives to diversify sources by gender, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation and mental and physical challenge.

6. *Encourage girls and women to enter the newspaper business.*

Education, mentoring and networking are essential to recruiting more women in the newspaper business. The numbers of women newspaper journalists have not changed since the 1980s, indicating something is turning women away from journalism. Without a strong female influence in the field, male values likely will remain entrenched, and girls and women will continue to choose to work in other media industries or other fields. The *Herald-Tribune* had a network of female mentorship and with it came a greater percentage of female employees than newspapers' average, 42 percent versus 33 percent.

Encouraging women to become newspaper journalists needs to begin in journalism schools, which should provide strong female role models in the form of professors, instructors and professional role models. When young women see role models who have interesting, exciting jobs that can make a difference in society, they are

more encouraged to enter those professions. Professional organizations also can encourage students by providing programs and mentors for them. Professional women in journalism can volunteer their time, wisdom and encouragement to students and other young journalists. They might create their own “good old girls” network that could ultimately change the journalism business and introduce readers to a broader perspective that includes the standpoints of women’s lives.

Future studies

This research is important to women and men, but further study might be hindered by the fact “Amazonia” no longer exists. However, with women networking and advising each other, and some men advocating that women advance into newspaper management, another female newspaper management team is likely to form in the coming years. Such a study would be important to compare to this one. Whether another female management team makes a greater, lesser or equal impact on culture, management or content of the newspaper could help determine the influences of male news values and possibly could establish a new set of female news values.

Other possibilities for research include survey research, interviews, content analysis and/or textual analysis on how female management can influence female readership, a topic important to the newspaper industry as it loses circulation. Probing how the work of male reporters might be influenced by female managers also merits research, as this study indicates that having female bosses can motivate some men to include more female subjects in their stories. Certainly an in-depth look at women in sports journalism is warranted, especially after the dearth of women in the *Herald-*

Tribune's sports section. Other topics of study could include the evolution of newspaper lifestyle sections from the traditional "women's section" to what appeared to be the most egalitarian section of the *Herald-Tribune*, and an examination of women or men and their loyalty to and longevity with an organization. Comparisons of the *Herald-Tribune* with newspapers managed exclusively by men also would warrant further study.

Finally, research could focus on the 20 percent of male-managed newspapers in the United States found in *Impact*, the Northwestern University Readership Institute, to compare environmental, cultural and influences and compare them to the female management at the *Herald-Tribune*. Such research also could establish a management model that could help other newspapers provide employees with a more satisfying workplace.

APPENDIX A OBSERVATION

Newsroom observation included the processes, routines and behaviors of the editors and reporters. The managers at the *Herald-Tribune* assigned me a desk in the general middle of the newsroom, from which I was able to observe all news departments. I had free access to employees, internal memos, computer files and other materials that employees regularly use and see.

I observed regular news budget meetings among editors, held three times a day, and other regular meetings between management and employees. I sat in telephone conferences and in-person conferences between editors and reporters about stories. I observed meetings about layout, headlines, story selection and story assignments.

During the research I spent full working days in the newsroom. I watched editors giving assignments to and interacting with reporters, reporters making calls on their beats, and coordination of story plans by the photo desk and graphics department.

Through these observations, I paid particular attention to:

- Interactions between managers and employees
- Interactions among editors
- Interactions among employees
- Decisions on story assignments
- Decisions on which stories and photos appeared in the newspaper
- Decisions on placement of stories in the paper
- Decisions on headlines
- Physical set-up of the newsroom, including location of managers' desks and offices

- Physical manifestations of the newsroom, including contents of employees' desks, bulletin boards, walls and other parts of the newsroom
- Responses to audience feedback, including a hotline called the Reader Advocate to which readers may phone comments and questions about content and other matters
- Memos, news budgets, schedules and other inter-office written materials.

These observations showed me ways in which the managers communicated their policies, values and practices to employees and the ways in which the employees became indoctrinated to the culture of the newsroom. They also helped reveal the qualities and processes by which employees and managers communicated with each other and how those qualities and processes influenced the culture and the content of the newspaper.

Days in the newsroom usually began at 9 a.m. or 10 a.m., the time of the regular news meeting for editors to plan stories and photographs for the day and in advance for following days. Reporters and editors arrived at about 9 a.m. or 10 a.m., and editors usually arrived earlier than the reporters they worked with directly. Copy editors, layout editors and designers arrived early in the afternoon. The editors met for another meeting at 4 p.m. to solidify and update the next day's content. They also met at 6 p.m. for a brief meeting to review a tentative page one layout; often news would change throughout the evening. I would remain in the newsroom until 7 p.m. or 8 p.m. watching copy editors, headline writers and assignment editors package the news for the next day's editions. Sometimes I met with employees outside the newsroom after work for interviews and discussions.

I developed daily logs of the activities, conversations, interactions and other aspects of the newsroom. I took notes by hand and on a laptop computer. At the end of

each day, I reviewed the logs and divided data into categories, such as “interviews,” “news meetings,” “manager-employee interactions,” for later systematic analysis. I also divided the data into categories that applied to the dissertation chapters, such as data that applied to leadership, culture, process and content. The logs also included details on material items in the newsroom, such as company memos, cartoons or other drawings and signs on desks, work spaces, and other elements of the workplace that might reveal aspects of culture. Bantz notes that a researcher in ethnography must create a journal, or file, of the data gathered and then “write through” the data, coordinating and organizing it.¹ The journal is an ongoing process, and includes information such as “formal and informal talk, noting bulletin boards, memos, letters, architectural design, e-mail, web sites, and other available messages.”²

Through these journals I hoped to glean insight into the operation and practices of the newspaper, and discover the ways in which the gender of the managers might shape the practices, atmosphere and shared understandings in the workplace.

After I gathered the information sorted and categorized the notes. I reviewed my handwritten journals, typed notes, and computer files and selected information relevant to the chapters of the dissertation: culture, content and textual analysis. When working on each chapter, I reviewed these categories and divided the notes into sub-categories. For example, within the culture chapter were categories including “family-friendly policies,” “openness” and “humor.” I divided the observations, notes, quotes and comments into the sections to which they applied.

¹ Bantz, “Ethnographic Analysis of Organizational Cultures,” 176.

² Ibid., 176.

APPENDIX B INTERVIEWS

During my fieldwork, I interviewed a total of 26 reporters, editors, photographers and page designers who worked in the newsroom. I also interviewed four top managers. Interviews took place in person, inside and outside the newsroom. By agreement with the top managers and the University of Missouri Campus Institutional Review Board, the names of employees other than the top managers were kept anonymous. The reason for this was so that the employees could speak candidly and openly without fear of retribution in their jobs.

Interviews were open-ended and semi-structured, based in part on techniques suggested by Kathryn Anderson and Dana C. Jack in their 1998 article, "Learning to Listen: Interview Techniques and Analysis."³ Anderson and Jack advocate an interviewing style that emphasizes interaction rather than information-gathering, a style they say allows the interviewer to "ask for clarification, to notice what questions the subject formulates about her own life, to go beyond conventional, expected answers to the woman's personal construction of her own experience."⁴ Managers and employees, women and men were interviewed for this project. Long interviews were audio taped and then transcribed; shorter ones were transcribed by note taking.

The questions for employees mainly were loosely structured, more like conversations than formal interviews. This gave employees the opportunity to add whatever comments they wished and gave me the opportunity to ask follow-up questions.

³ Kathryn Anderson and Dana C. Jack, "Learning to Listen: Interview Techniques and Analysis," in Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (eds.), *The Oral History Reader* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 157-171.

⁴ Ibid., 169.

The interviews with the managers were more structured in order to gain information in a consistent manner. Each manager was asked the same general questions, with variations in follow-up questions.

After the interviews, I reviewed and organized the data gathered and searched for patterns, themes and categories as recommended by Berger in his chapter on interviews.⁵ Some interviews were followed up by telephone and e-mail after the researcher left the fieldwork site.

The questions asked of the managers were:

- Please describe your background in the newspaper business. (Follow-ups to this question included childhood influences, family status, educational background, work history, and path to management.)
- What factors helped you reach the position you are in? (Follow-ups included educational influences, mentors, other influential people, personal characteristics.)
- Do you have a philosophy by which you manage?
- How did you develop your management philosophy?
- How did the top management here end up all-female? (Follow-up: Was it an intentional plan?)
- In what ways does gender affect the way the organization is managed?
- Does gender play a part in the newsroom culture here?
- Does gender affect the content of the newspaper?

⁵ Arthur Asa Berger, *Media and Communication Research Methods* (Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, Inc., 2000), 120-122.

- Please describe your personal experience with balancing work and family responsibilities.

- What is your philosophy on employees' balancing of work and family responsibilities?

- Is there a mission of this newspaper?

- What is the paper trying to accomplish as far as gender diversity?

- What is the paper trying to accomplish in regard to racial and ethnic diversity?

Through these questions, I hoped to develop a deep understanding of the women managers' experiences and backgrounds and how their perceptions and socialization shaped their management philosophies. I also aimed to discover the ways in which their values and goals influenced the culture and content of the newspaper.

A sample interview for employees included some or all of the following questions. Several employees approached me and offered information unsolicited. Many were eager to talk to me and contribute information to the study. The following were basic questions asked of the employees; many interviews took different directions and consisted of several follow-up questions.

- How long have you been in the newspaper business?

- What jobs have you held?

- How long have you worked at the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*?

- How do you feel about working here as compared with places you have worked in the past?

- Has the fact the management team is made up of women affected your job in any way?

- How are elements of the newspaper's practices are affected by the female management?
- What is your understanding of how this newspaper became the only one in the nation with a female management team?
- How do you perceive your work experience under an all-woman management team?
- How does gender affect the policies of this newspaper?
- How does gender influence the management of this newspaper?
- How does gender influence the structure of this newspaper?
- How does gender influence the content of this newspaper?
- How does working with women managers affect your work experience?
- How have employees reacted to all-female management?
- Why do you think the *Herald-Tribune* is the only large newspaper in the U.S. with women at the helm?

- For those who worked at the newspaper for several years: What has changed about the newspaper since the women took over management?

Through these employee interviews, I hoped to gain an understanding of how the employees viewed their work experiences at the newspaper and their feelings on how the gender of the managers influenced its culture and content.

I asked employees and managers about what types of changes had occurred at the newspaper under the female management. Some who had worked for the organization for many years were able to pinpoint specific incidents that had shaped the women's management and leadership as well as employee response to these.

The interviews revealed the backgrounds, philosophies, perceptions, feelings about work, opinions about female management and general observations about workplace among employees. They also revealed the managers' backgrounds, perceptions and philosophies. Sorting of notes from the interviews was similar to the process with the observation notes. I divided the interview material into chapter categories: leadership, culture, process and content. Then I categorized my notes into sub-groups that applied to each chapter.

When I chose the interview subjects whose quotes and interview information applied to the sections I assigned them codes so readers could distinguish among the different sources. (The top female managers are identified by name in the study.) I interviewed other employees whom I did not quote in the study. The sources I quoted and dates of interviews or other sources of information are as follows:

Reporters

Male reporter No. 1: Sept. 11, 2003

Male reporter No. 2: Dec. 15, 2003

Male reporter No. 3: Dec. 16, 2003

Male reporter No. 4: June 4, 2002

Male reporter No. 5: Dec. 16, 2003

Male reporter No. 6: June 7, 2002 and Sept. 10, 2003

Male reporter No. 7: Sept. 10, 2003 (posted message on inter-office bulletin board)

Female reporter No. 1: June 5, 2002

Female reporter No. 2: June 5, 2002

Female reporter No. 3: Dec. 16, 2003

Female reporter No. 4: Dec. 16, 2003

Female reporter No. 5: June 7, 2002 (observation only)

Female reporter No. 6: May 21, 2003 (posted message on inter-office bulletin board)

Male sports reporter No. 1: Sept. 10, 2003 (posted message on inter-office bulletin board)

Editors

Male editor No. 1: June 6, 2002

Male editor No. 2: June 4, 2002

Male editor No. 3: May 23, 2002 (posted message on inter-office bulletin board)

Female editor No. 1: Dec. 17, 2003 (observation with follow-up interview)

Female editor No. 2: Sept. 9, 2003 (observation in budget meeting)

Female editor No. 3: Sept. 10, 2003 (observation in editor meeting)

Other newsroom employees

Female photographer No. 1: June 5, 2002

Female page designer No. 1: June 5, 2002

Female page designer No. 2: June 5, 2002

Female news assistant No. 1: Sept. 10, 2003 (posted message on inter-office bulletin board)

Employees who agreed to be named for interviews on rape stories

Manatee editor Toni Whitt: Dec. 16, 2003

Manatee reporter Robert Patrick: Dec. 16, 2003

Top female editors

Rosemary Armao: June 5, 2002

Diane Tennant: Sept. 10, 2003

Janet Weaver: Sept. 12, 2003

Publisher Diane McFarlin was interviewed Sept. 11, 2003

APPENDIX C

CULTURAL PRODUCT ANALYSIS

The analysis focused on the newspaper's page one and the section fronts, including local news, sports, business and lifestyle. These artifacts were "read" as texts, which combined with observation and interviews may reveal the culture within the organization. Van Dijk notes that news reports can be analyzed for their meaning and implications.⁶ The examination took the form of a qualitative content analysis. Part of the examination included counting sources and authors by gender.

The analysis focused on the following, taking primarily gender into account:

Topics of all stories on page one and section front

Reporter gender

Placement of stories

Length of stories

Number of sources

Contexts in which sources were quoted

Source gender

Placement of photographs

Size of photographs

Subjects of photographs

Gender of photo subject

Contexts in which photographs were presented

⁶ Teun A. Van Dijk, "The Interdisciplinary Study of News as Discourse," in Jensen and Jankowski, *A Handbook of Qualitative Methodologies for Mass Communication*, 113-114.

I gathered newspapers from each day of the weeks I spent in the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* newsroom: June 2, 2002 through June 8, 2002; September 8, 2003 through September 14, 2003; and December 15, 2003 through December 21, 2003. The total number of newspapers examined was 21. I read all stories and examined all photographs on page one, the local news section front, business news section front, sports section front and lifestyle section front. For page one and each section front, I recorded the number of stories published and for each story, the author's sex. I also recorded the number of sources quoted in each story and noted the sex of the source, if discernable. For some story authors and sources, I did further research to determine their sex, either by asking reporters who wrote the stories, employees who knew sources or authors, or searching public records on the Internet. I also recorded whether the stories came from staff reporters or from other sources, such as the Associated Press wire or New York Times News Service. The female editors at the *Herald-Tribune* would not have influence over the reporting of stories that came from other sources.

The data included 326 total stories and 1,017 sources. After I gathered the numbers, I analyzed the ways in which the sources were portrayed in stories and photographs and used the feminist theoretical bases of the study to examine whether gender might have influences those portrayals. I sought to determine whether women were portrayed in positions of power and authority or whether they were depicted in stereotypical roles, such as satellites of men or as victims, as previous studies have found women news sources often appear.⁷

⁷ Lynn M. Zoch, and Judy Van Slyke Turk, "Women Making News: Gender as a variable in source selection and use," *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 75, 4 (1998): 762-775.

The overall intent was to examine the ways in which women were portrayed in stories and images in various sections of the newspaper. I also compared the representations of women in each section to the other sections.

APPENDIX D

RAPE-RELATED STORIES

Coming Forward¹

Copyright 2003 Sarasota Herald-Tribune Co.
Sarasota Herald-Tribune (Florida)

May 4, 2003 Sunday All Editions

SECTION: A SECTION; Pg. A14

LENGTH: 3704 words

HEADLINE: coming FORWARD

BYLINE: ROBERT PATRICK,
robert.patrick@heraldtribune.com

BODY:

Note to readers: The following story contains graphic descriptions of repeated sexual and mental abuse.

The house in Oneco was like a palace to Sonya.

Just 6 years old, she'd never had a home like this one.

In her old house, draped blankets provided the only privacy. Sonya's real dad didn't have time to finish the walls.

But Sonya's mother had a new boyfriend. And Ed Thaler's house had walls. That was what made it so special.

There were other special things about moving in with Thaler. Sonya got her first doll, a hand-me-down Mrs. Beasley. Her mother, Virginia, got a Corvette.

More important for them was their mom's obvious happiness. Sonya and her brother, Trek, and sister, Tonya, had never seen their mother this happy before.

The children eagerly embraced this new life. They put on plays for Thaler. The family snuggled together on the couch, watching Disney specials or "Mutual of Omaha's Wild Kingdom" before bedtime.

Virginia asked her children to call Thaler "pops."

The happiness lasted one week.

The family sat in the living room, watching television. Sonya and Tonya, the oldest child at 10, were ready for bed, wearing white T-shirts and panties. Tonya sat on the gold couch with her mom. Four-year-old Trek was on the floor with his blanket.

¹ All newspaper stories here were retrieved from Lexis-Nexis online database, June 11, 2004.

Sonya and her blanket were nestled in Thaler's lap on the matching gold chair.

Snuggled up against him, Sonya felt Thaler's hand, rough from his work as a marble mason, move across her thigh. She loved the affection. It felt good.

Thaler moved his hand toward the second-grader's panties, then on top and underneath, his busy fingers hidden by her security blanket.

She didn't call out. She didn't push his hand away. She didn't really know what was happening. Too young to know about sex, she felt only acceptance and love.

She didn't think to tell her mom what Thaler had done so casually in front of everybody.

Thaler wanted her in his lap every night after that. She always kept silent.

A few months later, with her mother out of the house and her siblings watching television, Sonya answered Thaler's whispered plea. "Come here," he beckoned, leading her steps away to the small white-tiled bathroom.

Thaler told her to kneel. He dropped his pants. He put his hand on the back of her head. He pushed his penis into her tiny mouth. She gagged.

"It'll be OK," he said, soothing her before pushing her head forward.

When she tensed or gagged again, he gave Sonya a short break. Then he started over.

Days later, he took her to the bedroom. He laid her down on the bed and penetrated her. He pulled back as she cried out in pain. "It will get easier," Thaler told her. She looked away, looked at the cracked and peeling paint on the windowsill, wishing that someone would come home and help her.

After it was over, Sonya knew she couldn't tell. If she told, the palace would disappear. If she told, her mother's happiness would evaporate.

All that was left to her was to hope and pray. Hope that her mother would break up with Thaler. Pray that Thaler would decide on his own to stop.

Neither happened. Sonya was trapped, as if in a shell, silent and utterly alone.

She did not know then that she wasn't alone. Thaler had not singled her out. Soon, he would turn to Trek and Tonya as well.

Three children, all horribly molested for years and years, none aware that the others were being abused.

That was what passed as a childhood for Sonya, Tonya and Trek.

This is the story of what years of abuse cost them, as children and as adults. It is a story of how they decided to fight back. And it is a story of how, in fighting back, they have found hope, and maybe even redemption.

Shattering the silence

In her 20s, Sonya dated a man who liked her to dress like a little girl. When she was intimate with him, her mind often traveled back to Thaler and the things he used to do to her.

Her boyfriend promised to marry her. When she found out he was planning to leave her instead, Sonya tried to kill herself by taking 80 Tylenol. Her boyfriend found her vomiting in the bathroom and took her to the hospital.

The silence she and her brother and sister adopted as children in order to survive was choking them as adults.

"You were out there searching for something you couldn't get," Sonya said. "I don't know if you're searching or burying." Sexual abuse makes "you run ... you just walk away" from people and relationships.

After 30 years of silence, Sonya, Tonya and Trek finally found the courage to speak.

Because they did, Ed Thaler is in prison now. He will never get out.

But they will never get back the wasted, ruined years of their youth and young adulthood.

All three have struggled with depression. They abused alcohol and drugs in an attempt to mask their pain.

They failed at relationship after relationship.

Having sex with someone was "like shaking their hand," said Trek.

Tonya married four times. She lost custody of her own son when a family court judge ruled her unstable. Eventually she'd be arrested three times for DUI.

"I was about ready to drink myself to death," she said.

When he was 17, Trek moved into a trailer with 10 other young men. The only reason they went to school was to deal drugs.

Trek, who is now married with two children, estimates that he's had hundreds of jobs. "It was nothing for me to tell people to 'get bent' and walk right out on them," he said.

His wife of seven years has helped him overcome a cocaine addiction and endured his depression and mood swings. "She was my rock. She was there more than my family," he said.

He told her: "You're the first person who ever truly loved me."

Confronting Thaler took courage none of them thought they had.

The people who heard their story in court when Thaler was sentenced in February recognized their bravery.

Trek's account of his abuse sealed Thaler's fate with the judge.

It all started one morning after his mom left for work. Trek lay on his mother and Thaler's bed watching television. His sisters weren't awake yet, but Thaler was. He took the tiny boy's hand and pulled it under the sheets, placing it on his penis.

"Hold on to that for me," he told Trek.

The second or third time it happened, Thaler took photos of the naked little boy.

Trek testified about the nights Thaler dragged him from his bed at 2 a.m. and into the garage, where Thaler pulled off his underwear and performed oral sex on him, and then forced him to do the same.

It happened in Thaler's room, in Trek's bedroom, and when the blond, cherubic boy was in the shower. Four to five times a week, thousands of times before Trek turned 16.

After his testimony, the accused felons and their families waiting in the courtroom for other hearings patted Trek on the back, shook his hand and congratulated him for helping put Thaler away.

It was the first time Trek had ever felt such pride.

No end in sight

It was 1974, and Sonya had been trapped in her silent shell for two years, always hoping that her mother would break up with Thaler.

That last, desperate hope died one weekend that August. Thaler and her mother got married in Sarasota while the children were spending time at their father's house.

Thaler and Virginia didn't tell the children they planned to get married. It was a "surprise."

Sonya was sick when she heard the news. Now she was sure the abuse would never end.

In February 1975, Thaler and his wife bought a house on Idlewild Court, in south Manatee County. The house was different from the one in Oneco. It didn't have doors, so the children could never close Thaler out of their bedrooms or even have privacy in the bathroom.

Behind the two-story white house, there was a smaller two-bedroom cottage.

It was used largely for storage. But Thaler had another purpose in mind, and it involved Tonya.

For Tonya, the abuse started at age 10, but her first vivid memory of it takes place in that cottage, when she was 14.

The family was watching "Love Story" on television when Thaler handed Tonya a tall, pastel-colored Tupperware tumbler full of cheap wine.

You're lucky, he told her, the other kids just get Kool-Aid.

Thaler then led Tonya back to the cottage. Amid the boxes and weightlifting equipment, he laid her down and raped her on the hard concrete floor.

As Tonya walked downstairs the next morning, Thaler held up a bloody sheet.

"See, you were on your period. And you won't get pregnant. And your mom will never know because I do the laundry," he told her.

Thaler was home to do such household chores, off from work often because of back problems. That meant more time alone with the children.

It also meant ready access to painkillers. He sometimes gave the pills to the girls, who shared a room, to keep them quiet while he molested them.

Often Sonya and Tonya woke up with their panties down to their knees or ankles and no memory of what had happened.

Living in fear

An old picture shows Thaler standing next to his boat, cradling the sawed-off shotgun he named "Boomer."

The image evokes the fear he instilled in his stepchildren.

He told them he had a black belt in karate and was a former heavyweight fighter. He said he served time in an Ohio jail for beating a man to death in a bar fight.

Alone with the kids on his boat, he described how easy it would be to get rid of a body by feeding it to the sharks.

One afternoon, the children stood watching Thaler feed the family's pigs. You could get rid of someone real easy by feeding their body to wild hogs, he told them.

The stress was getting to Sonya. She began having frequent stomachaches and couldn't concentrate in school. She napped behind her teacher's desk and often went to the nurse's office.

The stomachaches got so bad, Sonya ended up in Pasco County's Community Hospital when she was in fifth grade, but doctors were unable to find anything physically wrong with her.

School officials suspected something was wrong and called in a psychologist, who visited the family. The house was neat, the children clean and their stepfather charming.

Their mother said the psychologist must have thought "there's no way these kids are in a home that's not good for them."

The psychologist -- whose name no one can remember -- said Sonya must be having problems with her brother and sister. There was no need for any follow-up.

By the time they entered middle and high school, Tonya and Trek were masking their pain and fear in drugs and alcohol. Trek drank Jack Daniels before school each day to try to forget what happened only a few hours before. Tonya drank the wine Thaler gave her, and smoked pot, moving on to harder drugs as she got older.

Sonya smoked marijuana to try to block flashbacks of Thaler later in life.

And each child made an attempt not just to mask the pain, but to end it.

Twice Trek sat across the street from his house holding a .22-caliber rifle with a scope, but he couldn't pull the trigger.

Tonya told her high school boyfriend, a neighbor's son, that Thaler had been raping her. He told his parents, who didn't believe her. Her stepfather seemed like such a nice guy.

After the family moved to Pasco County in 1976, Sonya was planning to write a letter to a teacher in Manatee who had become a pen pal. She was going to tell her about the abuse, but the teacher had moved and her letters were returned.

Coming forward

While each tried to end the abuse, the children never confided in each other about what was happening. Thaler encouraged competition to drive a wedge between his stepchildren.

It wasn't until 1986, when Tonya was in her mid-20s, that she told her brother about the abuse.

She was living in Delaware, working at an Italian restaurant and feeling like an "emotional basket case," when she decided to go home.

She left Delaware and, fueled by methamphetamines and homesickness, drove straight through to Pasco County.

When she arrived, Thaler convinced her to take some pills so she wouldn't wake up with a headache. Instead, she woke up in the middle of the night as Thaler was pulling off her underwear.

She moved out of the house a few days later with the first guy who would take her.

Before she left, she told Trek her secret. "I thought it was just me," he replied.

Trek, 17 at the time, confronted Thaler. His stepfather kicked him out of the house. That first night he slept under a carport at a friend's. He would never stay at his mother and Thaler's house again.

While later living with Sonya for a few months, Tonya discovered Thaler had abused them all.

"If you ever tell, I'll kick you out of my house," Sonya said after revealing her secret.

A year later, in 1987, Tonya finally decided to tell her mother. Her mother wouldn't meet her for lunch, so Tonya gave up and blurted it out over the phone.

Initially shocked, Virginia wasn't convinced by her daughter's story. Thaler told Virginia that Tonya was just a lying drug addict who wanted to break them up.

Still, Virginia was moved to ask Sonya if Thaler had raped her. Sonya, not yet strong enough to tell the truth, denied it.

Years later, in 1999, Virginia was devastated when she learned Thaler was having affairs.

"Three strikes, he's out," Virginia told Tonya, threatening to leave him if he had one more affair.

"Tonya, Sonya, Trek. That looks like three strikes to me," Tonya replied, furious that her mother thought extramarital affairs were worse than the sexual abuse of her own children.

Yet in the end, it was their mom's well-being that helped convince the three children to go to police and prosecutors with their story.

After Thaler's affair, they noticed Virginia was often confused and slept a lot. The three feared Thaler was drugging their mother.

If fear for their mother was the final straw, the need to confront Thaler had been building in all three of them for years. They'd all come to realize the truth of something Tonya's second husband had once told her:

"This is affecting your life so badly, if you don't confront it, it's going to ruin you."

Trapping Thaler

Their mother now describes Thaler as controlling, paranoid and demeaning, and says he lied to her throughout the marriage.

"At first, I thought he was a wonderful man and all I wanted was a father for my children and somebody to love us," she said. "And that's what I thought I had."

With their mother finally willing to face what her husband had done, the children still had fears about confronting Thaler. They wanted to make sure they could protect their mother and themselves.

The children decided to come forward in 2000 as Tonya was preparing to go to jail for her third DUI. Sonya finally realized the effect Thaler had had on Tonya.

"Oh my gosh, there's definitely a problem," Sonya told Tonya. "We've got to do something about this. He's affected our lives too much."

The two approached Trek, who also agreed to come forward.

The three filed a complaint with the sheriff's office in both Pasco and Manatee counties early in 2001. And they decided Sonya would confront Thaler, since she was the only one who never had.

Pasco County investigators placed a microphone under Sonya's clothes and behind her couch. Sonya invited her stepfather to her home.

When he arrived, she summoned her courage, looked at him and said:

"I brought you down because you're going to sit in front of Mom and give her every single detail about what you've done."

Thaler turned white, rubbing his hands together as he confessed to his wife and stepdaughter. "We drilled and we drilled and we drilled for three hours," Sonya said, to get the evidence on tape.

Two days later, Thaler met with Trek at Sonya's house. After he detailed the abuse for another three hours, Sonya had enough. She gave the agreed-upon code, and Deputy James Browning walked in the front door.

Browning talked to Thaler while Sonya threw up.

"Edward stated that everything that happened was his fault, not the children's," according to Browning's interview notes. "Ed then began to cry and state 'I just couldn't stop myself' ... Ed states that he was molested as a child by a friend's father. Ed stated that he drank hard liquor nearly every night and the alcohol made him weird."

The children don't remember Thaler getting drunk. He was a "health freak," Sonya said.

Trek was angry and upset that Thaler claimed to have been abused and used that as an excuse.

"I'm a victim, and I'd never dream of hurting my children," Trek said. "That's what makes me so mad."

Thaler's confession made it easy to prosecute him.

"You couldn't ask for a more solid case," Browning said.

Browning was assigned the case on a Wednesday and talked with Sonya and Trek the following Friday. Tonya was at work, trying to hold on to a job.

"By Monday the whole case was done," Browning said.

The children waited through years of delays so they could tell their stories to the judges and ensure that Thaler got a long prison sentence. Their stories did just that.

In February, two years after they filed their complaint, Thaler pleaded guilty to three counts of capital sexual battery in Pasco County and five counts of capital sexual battery in Manatee County.

A Pasco County judge sentenced him to 25 years. Two weeks later the three testified at the Manatee sentencing hearing to get him another 25-year sentence to begin after the first was completed.

They wanted to be sure that he would never get out to hurt them, their mother or another child.

'I have healed'

All three hope they are past the worst of their grief, their anger. At a recent gathering at Tonya's house, they sat in the shade drinking iced tea and talking about how they are moving forward.

They are no longer shy or embarrassed about what happened. They don't blame themselves. And they don't want people to look at their story as a sorrowful one.

"I have healed," said Sonya. "And I'm looking for better ways to help."

Sonya works as a substitute teacher, and she has offered to talk about her experiences with teachers and guidance counselors in Pasco County, to help them recognize the signs of sexual abuse.

Her sister and brother are reaching out to others, too. Last month Tonya prepared an exhibit for sexual assault awareness day. She sewed three pairs of jeans, one on top of the other. Each was smaller than the one beneath it, and each represented the age at which Thaler first started abusing them. "Don't button up. Tell someone," she wrote on the jeans.

Trek has volunteered his cell phone number to victim advocates in Pasco County, and says he is willing to talk to victims anytime, anywhere.

They still try to protect their mother, just as they have all of their lives. At least now, they better understand one reason their mother's happiness always seemed so fragile.

When Sonya was confronting Thaler about the sexual abuse, Virginia blurted out that she, too, had been raped.

She was 17 then, just married for a year to her first husband, when a neighbor raped her. Her husband didn't seem to care, she said. She never told anyone else or tried to get help.

She put that experience behind her, she said, and part of her thought her children should be able to do the same.

"This is why I can't understand why Tonya can't handle it. Why Trek can't handle it," Virginia said when Sonya confronted Thaler. "But one thing, I don't have people in front of me reminding me of the things that happened to me."

In the years after Virginia was raped, she tried to commit suicide three times. But finally she decided she needed to live for her three babies -- the same three babies who would someday feel the need to watch over her.

For much of their lives Tonya, Sonya and Trek blamed themselves for the abuse and its aftermath.

They thought something was wrong with them because Thaler molested them and because for years they couldn't seem to get their lives together.

The three realize now that they were never to blame and that they couldn't have prevented what happened to them. It's taken years for them to come to terms with that.

And in coming to terms with it, Sonya reaches back across the years, to that 6-year-old girl who believed she would be a princess in a palace. In her writings, Sonya speaks for the little girl she once was:

This was not your fault and I wish I could follow you with the knowledge and strength I have now. A voice, something kept hidden for a long time. ... You are free now the little girl can be the little girl in my

children. ... To be voiced. To have the strength to handle what the truth will be! To accept others reactions good or bad. I will work on this for you Sweet Sonya. This will be a gift I can give you, one that I hope will say I'm sorry for all you ever endured. You deserved a much happier childhood.

Victims' letters tell of all they lost

As part of the case against Thaler, Sonya, Tonya and Trek all wrote letters to the court. In her letter, Tonya spoke of the strength she gained from all she'd suffered, but talked also of what was lost to her:

I just wish I could have a relationship and when I'm making love to someone special that my stepfather not be there. ... I am going to do my best to get through this by seeing him Rot in prison and by utilizing all the tools that are available to me. Counselors and so forth to have a more normal life.

I might appear a normal young woman but I'm not. I have so many unanswered questions and thoughts to how one person can make three beautiful children have so much grief and anger through all their life and who knows how many more children he has affected in this way.

Trek wrote to the court about his loss of innocence, inability to trust others and his hope for a chance to begin again:

It made me look for exseption from the worng people. People that did drugs of all sorts. It was not hard to walk away from school jobs. I was used to giving up, Some time I wish that I was dead. It suck fighting to stay a flot in this thing we call life.

Do not let this person no monster loss he will hurt some one. I will not stand unheard. I was hert for twelve years of my life. I did not get past the 10th grad. I wish I had a second chance to start all over.

Services offer advice, counseling for sexual assault victims

Copyright 2003 Sarasota Herald-Tribune Co.
Sarasota Herald-Tribune (Florida)

May 4, 2003 Sunday All Editions

SECTION: A SECTION; Pg. A15

LENGTH: 443 words

HEADLINE: Services offer advice, counseling for sexual assault victims

BYLINE: ROBERT PATRICK,
robert.patrick@heraldtribune.com

BODY:

Assistant state attorney Jeff Quisenberry lives with sexual assault every day.

He prosecutes many of Manatee County's sexual abuse cases. His office receives about four to five new capital sexual battery cases every month -- sexual crimes so egregious that the accused face sentences of life in prison.

It is a numbing parade of horrors.

Charges involving sexual crimes against children have been filed against more than 600 people in Manatee County in the past decade, according to court records.

Statewide, an estimated 5,400 children were sexually abused in 2000, the last year for which data were available. About 87,000 children across the country were sexually abused that year.

And those are only the reported crimes.

Parents, acting alone or with others, are responsible for almost half of the reported cases of childhood sexual abuse, according to data from the National Child Abuse and Neglect Data System. Other relatives accounted for another 20 percent.

By law, sexual abuse of children must be reported to the Florida Abuse Registry, at (800) 96-ABUSE. Anyone who knows or has been told about a child being sexually abused must report it, said Linda Herbert, rape crisis services supervisor for Manatee Glens, a mental health and addiction treatment center.

"If it's not reported, the child is unlikely to come forward and get help," she said.

Prosecutors and counselors say survivors of childhood sexual assault should seek help before confronting their abuser. Often the best evidence for prosecution comes when the accused is unprepared for the confrontation.

Deborah Kostroun, chief operating officer for Manatee Glens, said it's uncommon for decades-old abuse cases to be reported or make it to trial.

In the case of Edward Thaler, who was convicted 30 years after the abuse began, prosecutors were dealing with strong, motivated family members, and had three taped confessions.

"This was certainly a rare and excellent outcome, but not a common one," she said.

Adult victims of sexual abuse are not required to contact law enforcement. They should get medical help, if necessary, and call police or a rape hot line.

Trained advocates help victims decide whether to contact authorities and help them arrange for counseling.

Manatee Glens maintains a 24-hour sexual assault hot line at 708-6059, and will provide counseling and support during any investigation and trial. Assistance to victims of sexual assault is free.

In Sarasota and DeSoto counties, the Safe Place and Rape Crisis Center hot line is 365-1976.

In Charlotte County, call the Center for Abuse and Rape Emergencies at 627-6000 or 475-6465.

Media often report superficially on rape

Copyright 2003 Sarasota Herald-Tribune Co.
Sarasota Herald-Tribune (Florida)

May 4, 2003 Sunday All Editions

SECTION: A SECTION; Pg. A14

LENGTH: 765 words

HEADLINE: Media often report superficially on rape,

sexual abuse issues

BYLINE: TONI WHITT, toni.whitt@heraldtribune.com

BODY:

Every week, police reports show a panorama of sexual assault and abuse: A father raping a toddler, a stepfather raping his stepdaughter for more than 10 years, uncles, next-door neighbors and baby sitters abusing teenagers. Even mothers abuse and sometimes prostitute their children.

The reports -- all from this region in the past year -- are difficult to read, the details heartbreaking.

But if the crimes themselves are hard to contemplate, perhaps even more detrimental to a victim's recovery are the secrecy and shame that surround rape.

Because rape and sexual abuse are difficult for the media to tackle directly, the secrecy and shame are perpetuated. By avoiding the issue, or reporting it episodically, journalists fail to provide the kind of consistent scrutiny that would allow readers to better understand the extent of the problem.

There's no question that the problem is pervasive. Studies show that one in five American women has been the victim of rape or sexual assault; for men, the figure is one in seven. Nearly 78 percent of women who have been assaulted say they knew their attacker; nearly 30 percent of women were assaulted before they reached age 11.

"Rape in American society is different from what is in newspapers or on television," said Kelly McBride, who serves on the ethics faculty at the Poynter Institute. The St. Petersburg institute offers training for journalists.

"You would think young adult women are most often raped, primarily by strangers. In reality the people who get raped are children and the rapists are relatives or friends," said McBride. "We don't tell those stories in the media because we feel handcuffed by our obligation to minimize the harm by not revealing names or relationships."

While there is no legal requirement that journalists not report the names of victims, most media outlets traditionally withhold them voluntarily in recognition of the stigma rape still carries.

Rape rarely made it in newspapers at all until the 1960s and 1970s, when reports on the Boston Strangler included that he sexually assaulted his victims, McBride said.

Bringing the issue into the news pages prompted some backlash: People began blaming the victims for myriad reasons -- the way they dressed, their being divorced or single or even because they were pretty.

That's about the time the media decided not to name victims, McBride said.

But protecting identities raised new issues, especially in cases where the accused is related to the victim. Shielding the victim's identity meant concealing that relationship. As a result, the true picture of child sexual abuse was distorted, perpetuating the idea that most rapes are committed by strangers.

Set aside the logistical questions, and journalists still have trouble writing about the topic. It's uncomfortable for most people, a subject to be avoided. That's particularly true of sexual abuse of children.

"The rape of children is, I think, the most difficult form of violence to report about, or to deal with as a person," said Roger Simpson, director of the University of Washington's Center for Journalism and Trauma. "Collectively, we share the assumption that parenthood cannot possibly involve terror against the children it creates."

"I think the media need actively to change both their own practices and the flawed public assumptions about sexual violence against children."

Sex abuse can lead to behavior problems, teen pregnancy, domestic violence, suicide and a host of other unexplored problems. It can also contribute to educational problems, including dropout rates.

Those effects are why writing about rape is so important. Sexual assaults affect communities in ways that have never been explored fully.

"Journalists and the public are both growing more realistic about sexual violence," Simpson said. "The media -- and public -- were forced by a growing number of accounts of sexual violence to face the nature of rape and learn about its lasting effects."

It's time for the media to get past the arguments about whether to name victims or relationships, McBride said. Journalists should be thinking about bigger issues surrounding those sexual assaults.

"Our sole motivation for writing about rape in the past has been as a public safety issue, when in fact most rapists aren't threats to the public," McBride said. "We need to stop covering it as a news event, but as an issue. The same way we cover racism or education."

Janet Weaver column on rape, sexual assault

Copyright 2003 Sarasota Herald-Tribune Co.
Sarasota Herald-Tribune (Florida)

May 4, 2003 Sunday Sarasota Edition

SECTION: B SECTION; Pg. BS3

LENGTH: 816 words

HEADLINE: Coverage of rape has always been too formulaic -- and too easy

BYLINE: Janet Weaver, Executive Editor

BODY:

Today's front page story on the years of rape and sexual abuse endured by three young children is not our usual Sunday morning newspaper fare.

The story is so harrowing it is difficult to read. The details that Sonya, Tonya and Trek shared about the nightmare they called a childhood are overwhelming in their horror.

But if the story was that hard to read, imagine how difficult it was for three young children to live through it.

At the core, that is the reason we decided to publish a story more explicit than most in its descriptions of rape and sexual abuse. The issue is so important, the crime is so pervasive, that we need to be able to confront what rape really means.

We may want to stop and turn away. But we should turn and face it instead.

The timing seems right for a closer examination of how journalists cover rape and sexual assault. In the last 18 months, newspapers and television news have been filled with stories that involve sex crimes.

Allegations that some Catholic priests sexually abused young boys rocked the church last year. The Elizabeth Smart kidnapping case turned into a rape case as well, when police charged her alleged abductors with sex crimes. The Central Park jogger, whose identity had been protected by the media for nearly 15 years since her beating and rape, came forward and wrote a book about her experience.

Those are the high-profile cases. But any reporter who covers courts and police knows that there are many, many more cases that we don't cover at all.

And those are only the cases that get reported to police. Some studies of the problem, which rely on surveying women rather than just crime statistics, show that as many as 1 in 5 women have been the victim of a rape, sexual assault or attempted sexual assault.

That's a lot of wives and mothers, daughters and sisters, colleagues and friends. And as today's story reminds us, the victims aren't exclusively female.

With a societal problem this common, you would think you'd read much more about it in newspapers. But our coverage tends to be formulaic and inconsistent.

In October, I attended a seminar at the Poynter Institute in St. Petersburg on covering rape and sexual assault. The institute offers continuing education and professional development courses for journalists.

We talked about how our coverage does not reflect the reality of rape. If you relied only on newspaper and television coverage, you might believe that rape is a crime in which a stranger attacks a grown woman in the dark of night.

But the statistics don't bear this out. At least 30 percent of women who have been raped or sexually assaulted were 11 years old or younger when it happened. Nearly 78 percent of women who are raped know their attacker.

Stranger rape is a very real part of the problem, and it should be a basic part of our coverage. But when that is the only face we show, we misrepresent the nature of rape in America.

Since that Poynter seminar, I've spent a lot of time thinking about how we should cover rape. When reporter Robert Patrick told his editor that Sonya, Tonya and Trek were willing to tell their story, full and unblinking, I decided this was a good place to start challenging the "way we've always done it."

I don't have a road map for how we may change our coverage of rape. I don't intend for us to write long stories about the subject every week, or put together a six-part series.

Instead, I intend for us to stop presenting an incomplete picture of the problem, to move from routine coverage to a deeper questioning. We are too often thoughtless when we cover rape and sexual assault. We are thoughtless in that we do not give enough consideration to what rape is, what it costs women, families, communities, to challenge the way we are covering it.

Let me tell you what this is not about: Naming names. I believe we can tell this story without naming names. Names help the reader to connect to the story, certainly. A story with names is more powerful than one without.

But the choice about coming forward and making her name public belongs to the victim, not to the newspaper, and we will continue to honor that.

Because I believe that the editor of the newspaper has a special responsibility to disclose anything that could even be considered a bias, I will tell you this: I was the victim of sexual assault. It happened a long time ago, in another state; there was no criminal case.

There is no denying that my interest in the subject is informed by my own experience, just as my other life experiences illuminate my thinking on other topics.

But my interest as a journalist is in helping the newspaper cover this pervasive, destructive problem in a way that provides meaning, context and understanding. I don't think my own experience disqualifies me from doing that.

It might even make me the right person for the job.

Michael Kelly column from the *Omaha World-Herald*

By Michael Kelly, Omaha World-Herald

July 25, 2002

Copyright 2002, The Omaha World-Herald

Now you don't have to read between the lines and wonder: My daughter was raped.

Since she was attacked June 21 by a stranger who kicked in her locked apartment door, World-Herald news stories and two of my columns have said that she was abducted, robbed, shot and left for dead.

That's in keeping with this newspaper's long-standing policy not to name rape victims. It's a good policy, grounded in the notion that much of society still attaches a stigma to rape victims and that printing names might discourage victims from going to the police.

The policy remains, and victims need not fear that their names will be printed in the paper. They should report a crime that is believed to be the most underreported of crimes.

My daughter's attack in Texas made news in Omaha because of its horrible nature – she was shot in the back with 9 mm bullets – and because she grew up in Omaha. Editors say an additional factor, and one causing Bridget's name to be published initially, was that she is the daughter of a longtime columnist.

A grand jury in Bell County, Texas, indicted a man Wednesday on five counts, including attempted murder and aggravated sexual assault. Because Bridget's name had already been reported in connection with the shooting, the sexual-assault charge created a policy dilemma for editors, who decided – with the concurrence of my daughter, my wife and me – to make a rare exception and report it.

In the hospital more than a month ago at Fort Hood, Texas, unable to speak at first, Bridget wrote that in news coverage of her case, "It's OK if they say rape."

She says she wasn't speaking for others or suggesting how they should feel. But she adds: "Why is it more shameful to be a rape victim than a gunshot victim?"

Surely, it is not. But there is shame in rape, and it rests squarely with the attacker, not the victim.

Historically, though, society unfairly has made many rape victims feel either that they contributed to the attacks or that they are somehow diminished – stigmatized – merely by being victims.

The stigma from this awful crime should be on the predator, not on the prey.

In conversation, our family has spoken openly about our daughter's ordeal. We honor her courage in not only surviving her attack but also in not being ashamed.

To be sure, she has wept. So have my wife and I. So have our daughter's grandmas and brothers and sister and aunts and uncles and cousins and friends and colleagues and, in some cases, kind people we haven't met. The circle of anguish spreads widely.

Our 25-year-old daughter has endured extreme physical pain from her brutal attack as well as mental pain – post-traumatic stress and anxiety, which will continue. She has benefited from physical and psychological care, and is determined to return to a full life and her career as a first-grade teacher. But there have been moments of near despair.

"This should never have happened to you," I said painfully at her bedside that first weekend. Crying, she replied: "This should never happen to anybody."
But it does. And the silence about rape may add to the feelings of victimization.

Geneva Overholser, then editor of the Des Moines Register, made that point in 1989. "I believe that we will not break down the stigma," she wrote, "until more and more women take public stands. ... Rape is an American shame. Our society needs to see that and attend to it, not hide it or hush it up."

Sexual violation is not sex, it's violence. It's not love, it's hate. It's not so much an act of lust as of power and control.

Because rape is such a personal and despicable act, it is natural for victims and their families not to talk. But perhaps, in the long run, that works to the advantage of the attacker and to the detriment of the victim.

Justice Department figures indicate that one woman in three is a victim of some form of sexual assault during her lifetime. Since our daughter's attack, that statistic is no longer static – it has come alive, all around us.

Dear friends of ours for 20 or 30 years, several of them, have revealed that they were raped. We had no idea. Some never told police, counselors or even family members.

"If you or your daughter ever need someone to talk to," an Omaha colleague told me quietly, "I'd be happy to do so. A man broke into my home 11 years ago and raped me."

People we met in Texas told us painful and harrowing stories – a 9-year-old daughter, now 23, beaten nearly to death in an attempted rape; a wife, now in her 40s, abducted in her 20s, chained to a pig sty and raped; an airline supervisor's daughter, now 15, raped by a stranger when she was 12.

The news reports of my daughter's abduction and shooting, and of her 200-yard trek to a subdivision seeking help, produced a comforting wave of sympathy and encouragement. The cards, e-mails and prayers had a tangible result for us and for her – they are helping us all get better.

We are so grateful. But at the same time I hold feelings bordering almost on guilt. Why? Because most rape victims must go it alone. They don't get all that moral support.

The walking wounded from the crime of rape try to move on. They rebuild their lives, return to their jobs, rejoin society, caress their children and try to smile – hiding the horror they experienced.

Some victims suffer for years. Some families break up.

And all of that is in addition to the immediate fear of impregnation, HIV or other diseases. (My daughter is not pregnant, and her first HIV test was negative; more are needed.)

Because my daughter's attacker had a gun and was a criminal, he made her feel helpless. But not hopeless.

She tried to talk with him, saying she was a teacher and didn't he remember his teachers? He reacted coldly, telling her to shut up.

Her strong religious faith strengthened her spirit. As he was about to rape her, she told him: "God doesn't want you to do this."

He ignored her. Even as she feared for her life, knowing what might come next, she offered her suffering up to God.

When the man was finished with her, he got dressed and told her to turn around. He shot her in the back, and she fell. He shot her twice more.

He thought she was dead and left in her car.

The Catholic faith, which Bridget practices, honors a saint named Maria Goretti. A century ago this month, Maria was stabbed 14 times in an attempted rape and died the next day.

By coincidence, according to an account I read, she had used words almost identical to my daughter's. Trying to rebuff the man, Maria said: "No! It is a sin! God does not want it."

God does not want rape, and neither does our society. And yet it continues, and we rarely talk about it.

Every Six Minutes

Copyright 2003 Sarasota Herald-Tribune Co.
Sarasota Herald-Tribune (Florida)

December 7, 2003 Sunday All Editions

SECTION: A SECTION; Pg. A22

LENGTH: 2798 words

HEADLINE: Every Six Minutes

BYLINE: DEBI SPRINGER, debi.springer@heraldtribune.com

BODY:

On a muggy August morning, Judge Scott Brownell pushed his 18-foot kayak into the Manatee River.

Darkness enveloped him as the turquoise-and-white boat sank under his weight into the water. A heron stalking fish nearby squawked its disapproval.

The only light came from the Green Bridge, Brownell's destination, three miles away.

At 5 a.m., boaters without lights could make Brownell's trip hazardous; so could unseen wildlife. The portable light on his life jacket made him visible to boaters, but didn't allow him to see what was ahead.

He pushed into the water, paddling intently, watching the time, 100 strokes every eight minutes. His heart was pounding. Within minutes he was breathing hard. By the end of his 48-minute paddle, the rest of the world was beginning to rise.

A teacher prepared her morning tea. A 911 dispatcher made her 10-year-old daughter's school lunch.

And at 7 a.m. Aug. 19, as the sun began to spread across the sky, a newly trained clerk pushed her key into the lock at the Value Cleaners at Market Place West plaza on 53rd Avenue West in Bradenton.

The neon OPEN sign sizzled on as a parade of students on bicycles, skateboards and inline skates passed by.

Six schools -- Electa Lee Middle, Bollettieri Tennis Academy, Bayshore High, Manatee Technical Institute, Community High and Manatee Community College -- surround the dry cleaner.

Middle school boys jumped the curbs on their bicycles and skateboards. Girls giggled, compared outfits and stole glances at the boys. Kids harangued one another, laughed, teased and even pushed and slapped at each other.

In the second week of school leaders begin emerging. Reputations are being made. Alliances are forming.

As the students passed her window -- some of them just a few years younger than she -- the clerk counted the store's money, put cash into her register, organized the dry cleaning and tickets.

At Community High School, Omar Edwards celebrated his first official day as principal at the alternative high school. Edwards, who had been interim principal, knew he was taking on a tough task in leading a school where students are at risk of dropping out.

He called a student assembly at 8 a.m. to discuss the school's dress code. He emphasized that dress is an element of success.

Students at Community High wear a distinctive school badge clipped to their clothes. Their electric blue shirts are imprinted across the left breast with the school's name and motto: "Higher Standards, Better Futures."

As the dry cleaning clerk finished her morning routine around 9 a.m., the sub shop employees opened the store next door. Patti Woods, the manager, counted money, went through the sandwich orders and began preparing food, chopping tomatoes and onions and green peppers, before the lunchtime rush.

At Community High, Gael Anderson was teaching her environmental science class about predators and prey.

The job of the predator is to hunt for food, she told the students. Humans, she said, are predators at the top of the food chain. Unlike other animals, human predators don't hunt just for food.

During the lesson, Anderson noticed an empty desk. Philip Mosier, 16, was missing. He had been there the day before. Anderson took note of it for attendance.

In Madeleine Ross' class, Ian Parker, 17, was supposed to be writing in his journal. Ross, who worked individually with students at their own pace, hadn't seen him for five or six school days. She kept marking him absent and planned to ask the main office if he withdrew or transferred from the school after the first week.

By the end of second period classes at 9:30 a.m., the attendance reports were processed through the office and Edwards learned which students were absent. The computerized reports were on their way to the School Board downtown.

Routine interrupted: The Rape

While school officials went through the paperwork on absent students, the manager at the Subs 'N Pasta flicked on the two rows of fluorescent lights and then pulled the string to light the OPEN sign.

She unlocked the front door at about 10 a.m. and put out the sandwich board listing menu items.

The parking lot was quiet. The grounds at Electa Lee Middle School were empty, and traffic on 53rd Avenue was light.

It was the usual morning lull.

Lisa Kalmbach, a 911 operator with the county, was chatting on the phone at the dispatch center with her husband, Brian. An engineer at a local fire department, he usually called her twice a day, just to say hello.

Inside the dry cleaner, crisp, clean clothing hung in two rows 15 feet deep. The petite clerk had to stretch to reach the top of the rows to grab the hangers.

The tinkling of the bell that hung on the door disturbed the quiet at around 10:15 a.m. Two young men walked in.

"How much to clean a tuxedo?" one of them asked.

As the clerk replied, the bigger one jumped behind the counter, grabbed her and pressed a knife's blade against her throat.

The other ran to the door and locked it.

They made the 20-year-old clerk turn off the lighted OPEN sign. They didn't want customers interrupting them.

Once the light was off, they took the clerk into the bathroom.

The smaller young man grabbed the knife and forced the clerk against the wall.

He held the knife against her. "Pull down your pants." He spun her around and told her to look at the wall as he began to push his body against hers. He touched her where she was naked and then forced her to lie down on the cold bathroom floor. He got on top of her. He penetrated her.

She begged him to stop. Finally she said she would give them all the money in the store if he would stop. He told her he wanted her identification, too.

He got up and led her to the front of the store, where his partner told him he'd already cleaned out the cash register.

It's not enough, the rapist told her. The clerk then handed over the store's petty cash and her driver's license.

The two young men ran off, but not before the clerk noticed they were wearing school uniforms -- with the name of the school emblazoned across their chests in small white letters.

As soon as they were gone, the clerk ran to the sub shop next door. The manager was behind the counter working, and another employee was making sandwiches.

They hadn't heard a thing. They didn't know that the clerk next door was in trouble.

The clerk was shaking, crying, scared. After the woman said she had been raped and robbed, Woods locked the sub shop's front and back doors and dialed 9-1-1.

At 10:25 a.m., Kalmbach's computer screen lit up with simulated sirens and her phone rang.

"Oh, I gotta go, hon, I'll call you tonight when I get home, all right, bye," she told her husband.

As she answered the call, Kalmbach could hear sobbing in the background.

Woods said she was reporting a rape.

"OK, all right, I need to ask you a couple of questions. When did it happen?" Kalmbach said in a calm non-nonsense voice.

"It just happened. Just now," Woods replied, trying to match Kalmbach's tone.

"Do you know where the assailant went?"

"Do you know which way they went?" Woods asked the clerk.

In the background a small voice, strained and teary, said, "They went out the back door. One is wearing a blue shirt."

The sub manager continued to act as the go-between for the clerk and the 911 operator.

While the pair talked to Kalmbach, another dispatch operator sent officers looking for the young men who attacked the clerk.

Outside, a half block beyond a cement wall separating the plaza from Morton Village, a retirement community, two young men were running.

"They're running! They're running northbound. They're running right back to the crime scene. I gotta run it on foot," yelled Deputy Jim Anderson into his radio.

Deputy Anderson ran through Morton Village breathing so hard he couldn't give his location to other deputies.

"William - 25, where are you at?" a deputy radioed.

Deputy Anderson tried to say something as he huffed.

"You need to advise your location," said Melissa Wardell, the dispatch operator.

"Anderson, give us a 10-20," another deputy radioed.

It's the end of the tape: Radio communication closed down after Anderson caught Ian Parker and Philip Mosier in Morton Village. The radio went quiet at 10:39 a.m.

Meanwhile, Kalmbach, the 911 operator, gave last minute instructions for the clerk.

"Don't go to the bathroom or change your clothes."

"I won't," the clerk replied in a tiny muffled voice.

"OK. I do have help on the way. Do not let her have anything to eat or drink. It could make her sick or cause problems for the doctor," Kalmbach advised Woods.

"Tell her to get into the most comfortable position, and wait for help to get there," Kalmbach said.

Kalmbach hung up her headset.

She dropped her head and said a prayer for the clerk.

The people it touched

Michael Rutkowski, 44, drove up to the dry cleaner. He'd come to pick up a pair of shorts and a dress shirt he'd dropped off the day before.

He saw the store surrounded by police cars, a crime scene van and detectives. Yellow crime scene tape blocked off the cleaner.

"I hope she's not dead," Rutkowski thought.

The crime scene reminded him of Feb. 24, 1999 -- the day a burglar raped and murdered his 24-year-old niece in Colorado.

He remembered the newscast of his niece's apartment. Crime scene tape around the building, detectives, police cruisers and reporters.

"I take it I won't be getting my dry cleaning," Rutkowski said to an officer.

They told him he could try later in the afternoon. Rutkowski walked down to the Winn-Dixie and bought a few items, some bottled water. He asked a cashier if she knew what happened.

When the cashier told him the clerk was raped and robbed, he was angry. It was an anger, he said, that forced him to think about why these things happen.

"Where's our God?" Rutkowski asked himself.

Students at Community High School were beginning lunch by 11:20 a.m. Principal Edwards patrolled the cafeteria from 11:20 a.m. until noon. Students were seated in primary-colored plastic chairs around formica-topped square and circular tables. They hunched over brown-bag lunches, or meals they bought in the school's cafeteria.

Edwards, who had just learned from the school's director about the chase nearby, was surprised that two of his students were suspected of the rape and robbery. Rumors were that it was part of a plan several kids had been talking about.

Edwards couldn't help thinking he would've been able to prevent what happened, if only it had been later in the year. Someone, some student, would have said something.

Teachers at the high school learned about the rape in an after-school teacher assembly. Edwards told them two students had been arrested, but didn't say who they were. After the assembly Edwards went to the main office so that teachers could talk to him.

Some confessed they were scared by the thought that it could've happened to one of them.

The young clerk spent the afternoon at Blake Medical Center. The faint smell of rubbing alcohol drifted through the cool air. Nurses shuttling hundreds of patients have worn the shine from the gray- and-mauve-tiled floors.

A nurse called the clerk into an exam room, where she checked her heart rate and blood pressure. She then collected all of her clothes.

Then her body was treated as evidence: There was oral swabbing, hair combing and plucking, drawing blood and a urine sample.

A doctor began the internal evidence collection. He asked the clerk about the last time she had sexual intercourse before the rape. Then he conducted a pelvic exam. Once the exam was finished, the evidence was given to law enforcement officials.

Rape victims are offered a prophylactic antibiotic to prevent gonorrhea and chlamydia. They are also offered a "morning after pill" to prevent pregnancy.

If the clerk accepted the antibiotic she would have waited an extra 20 minutes to see if she had any side effects.

Once rape victims enter the hospital, the whole process usually takes about four hours.

Erasing the crime

The morning of Aug. 20, Jen H., a clerk from another store, slipped the key into Value Cleaners' lock.

Jen had been managing that store just two weeks before. She knew the routine, yet she couldn't shake a feeling of apprehension.

She pushed through the feeling and eased into the day's routine: checking receipts, counting money and organizing the day's cleaning.

Principal Edwards arrived at school at 7:05 a.m. He stood on the patchy grass next to the bus dropoff. He watched the children he's responsible for during the week climb off the buses.

He held another assembly during first period. This time he didn't talk about school dress codes.

He talked about life. He talked about what had happened the day before.

By 9 a.m., Judge Brownell was seated in Courtroom J, where Community High School students Philip Mosier and Ian Parker stood side by side with three other juveniles.

Mosier and Parker, dressed in matching green jail jumpsuits, faced south looking out the courtroom's windows onto Manatee Avenue. Their backs were turned to Brownell until he called them forward. Their ankles were shackled together with two and a half feet of leg chain; their wrists were handcuffed.

Brownell was expecting them after watching the news the night before.

Brownell read the juveniles their rights and made sure they understood them. Then he called Mosier. Mosier looked Brownell straight in the eye. Brownell read the arrest report -- also known as a probable cause affidavit -- to the teens.

Next, Parker went before the judge. The teenager looked at the ground, never once making eye contact. Parker was nervous, massaging his index finger behind his back.

Brownell turned his attention to the parents of the two young men. He carefully explained that their sons might be charged as adults.

As adults, Brownell said, if convicted the teens would serve longer sentences. If they remained charged as juveniles and were later convicted they would be free at age 21. Not necessarily long enough for the nature of some crimes, Brownell said.

Both young men were charged with robbery with a deadly weapon and resisting arrest without violence. Mosier was also charged with sexual battery.

Brownell set an arraignment date and finished their case in less than 15 minutes.

That morning the bathroom wall and plumbing fixtures at the dry cleaning business were smeared with graphite dust fingerprints.

Jen, a tough-looking woman with a cigarette raspy voice, wouldn't enter the bathroom. She didn't want to be reminded of what had happened.

She told the company to paint the walls or she wasn't coming back. She didn't want to see evidence of the crime committed against the 20-year-old clerk.

She didn't want to be reminded that she, too, was vulnerable.

Jen stood behind the counter, her resolve and attitude defiant. She pulled out a 2-foot-long screwdriver with a black handle from under the counter, balancing it in her hand.

"They would never get me," she said.

Hot line for help

Manatee Glens, a mental health and rape crisis center, operates a 24-hour rape crisis hot line for those in need: (941) 708-6059.

Administrative offices: (941) 741-3131, 8:30 a.m. to 5 p.m. Monday through Friday.

Florida statistics

In Florida, a forcible rape occurs at least every 42 minutes. In 2002, 19,514 forcible sex offenses were reported, according to the state's Uniform Crime Report.

Locally, the number of forcible sex offenses reported in 2002 is as follows:

Charlotte County: 47

Manatee County: 161

Sarasota County: 190

How we reported this story

This story was compiled through interviews with Judge Scott Brownell, 911 operator Lisa Kalmbach, Dispatcher Melissa Wardell, Manatee County Superintendent of Schools Roger Dearing, Community High School Principal Omar Edwards, and teachers Gael Anderson, Madeleine Ross, and Jodi Perry.

Also interviewed were Linda Herbert, Manatee Glens supervisor of rape crisis services and a licensed therapist dealing exclusively with sexual assault cases; Lorna White, victim advocate team leader for Manatee Glens; Dr. Steve Watsky, medical director of Manatee Memorial Hospital's emergency department; customer Michael Rutkowski; and Jen H., the clerk who worked at the dry cleaners the day after the rape. She asked that her last name not be used.

The reporter also reviewed police reports, court records, and 911 and Sheriff's Office dispatch tapes and observed daily activities and routines at the dry cleaner, the sub shop, and the emergency room where the victim was treated.

The rape victim declined to be interviewed for this story. The Herald-Tribune does not name victims of sex crimes without their permission.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Academic journal articles

Armstrong, Cory L. Spring 2004. "The Influence of Reporter Gender on Source Selection in News Stories." *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 81 (1): 139-154.

Becker, Lee B., Tudor Vlad, Jisu Huh and Nancy R. Mace. 2003. "Annual Enrollment Report: Graduate and Undergraduate Enrollments Increase Sharply," *Journalism and Mass Communication Educator* 58, 3.

Briggs, Jacqueline Ellen. July 1997. "Women Politicians and the Media," *Journal of Gender Studies* 6 (2): 216-217.

Brown, Jane Delano, Carl R. Bybee, Stanley T. Wearden and Dulcie Murdock Straughan. 1987. "Invisible Power: Newspaper News and the Limits of Diversity," *Journalism Quarterly* 64 (1): 45-54.

Bullis, Connie. 1993. "Organizational Socialization Research: Enabling, Constraining, and Shifting Perspectives," *Communication Monographs* 60 (10): 239-257.

Calas, Marta B. and Linda Smircich. 1992. "Using the 'F' Word: Feminist Theories and the Social Consequences of Organizational Research." In eds. Albert J. Mills and Peta Tancred, *Gendering Organizational Analysis*. Newbury Park, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Calvert, Linda McGee and V. Jean Ramsey. 1992. "Bringing Women's Voice to Research on Women in Management: A Feminist Perspective," *Journal of Management Inquiry* 1 (1), March: 79-88.

Cassell, Joan. 2001. "Doing Gender, Doing Surgery: Women Surgeons in a Man's Profession." In eds. Aaron Podolefsky and Peter J. Brown, *Applying Cultural Anthropology*, Fifth Edition. Mountain View, Calif., London, Toronto: Mayfield Publishing Company, 174-175.

Craft, Stephanie and Wayne Wanta. Spring 2004. "Women in the Newsroom: Influence of Female Editors and Reporters on the News Agenda." *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 81 (1): 124-138.

Jolliffe, Lee and Terri Catlett. 1994. "Women Editors at the 'Seven Sisters' magazines, 1965-1985: Did they make a difference?" *Journalism Quarterly* 71, 4, 800-808.

Liebler, Carol M. and Susan J. Smith. 1997. "Tracking Gender Differences: A Comparative Analysis of Network Correspondents and Their Sources." *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* 41, Winter: 58-68.

Martin, Joanne. 2000. "Hidden Gendered Assumptions in Mainstream Organizational Theory and Research." *Journal of Management Inquiry* 9 (2), June: 207.

McCombs, Maxwell and Donald Shaw. 1972. "The agenda-setting function of mass media," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 36: 176-187.

Rodgers, Shelly, Esther Thorson and Michael Antecol. 2000. " 'Reality' in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch." *Newspaper Research Journal* 21 (3): 51-68.

Shankman, Paul. 1984. "The Thick and the Thin: On the Interpretive Theoretical Program of Clifford Geertz." *Current Anthropology* 25 (3): 261.

Spitulnik, Debra. 1993. "Anthropology and Mass Media." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 22: 293-315.

Walsh-Childers, Kim, Jean Chance and Kristin Herzog. 1996. "Women journalists report discrimination in newsrooms." *Newspaper Research Journal* 17 (3-4): 68-87.

_____. 1996. "Sexual harassment of women journalists." *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 73 (3): 559-581.

Zoch, Lynn M. and Judy Van Slyke Turk. 1998. "Women Making News: Gender as a variable in source selection and use." *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 75, 4: 762-775.

Books and book chapters

Allan, Stuart. 1998. "(En)gendering the Truth Politics of News Discourse." In eds. Cynthia Carter, Cynthia, Gill Branston and Stuart Allan, *News, Gender and Power*. London and New York: Routledge.

Anderson, Kathryn and Dana C. Jack. 1998. "Learning to Listen: Interview Techniques and Analysis." In *The Oral History Reader*, eds. Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, London and New York: Routledge.

Associated Press. 2003. *The Associated Press Stylebook and Libel Manual*. New York, N.Y.: The Associated Press.

Babbie, Earl. 1998. *The Practice of Social Research*, Eighth Edition. Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

Bagdikian, Ben. 1997. *The Media Monopoly*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Bandura, Albert. 1977. *Social Learning Theory*. Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

- Bantz, Charles B. 2001. "Ethnographic Analysis of Organizational Cultures." In *Qualitative Research: Applications in Organizational Life*, Second Edition, eds. Sandra L. Herndon and Gary L. Kreps, Cresskill, N.J.: Hampton Press, Inc.
- Beasley, Maurine H. 1993. "Is There a New Majority Defining the News?" In ed. Pamela Creedon, *Women in Mass Communication*, Second Edition. Newbury Park, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Beasley, Maurine H. and Sheila J. Gibbons. 1993. *Taking Their Place: A Documentary History of Women and Journalism*. Washington, D.C.: American University Press.
- Benedict, Helen. 1992. *Virgin or Vamp: How the Press Covers Sex Crimes*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Berger, Arthur Asa. 2000. *Media and Communication Research Methods*. Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Biagi, Shirley. 2002. *Media/Impact*, Sixth Edition. Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth/Thompson.
- Brooks, Brian S., George Kennedy, Daryl L. Moen and Don Ranly. 2004. *Telling the Story: The Convergence of Print, Broadcast and Online Media* (Boston, New York: Bedford/St. Martin's.)
- Carter, Cynthia, Gill Branston and Stuart Allan (eds.) 1998. *News, Gender and Power*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Cohen, Bernard. 1963. *The Press and Foreign Policy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963.
- Creedon, Pamela (ed.) 1993. *Women in Mass Communication*, Second Edition. Newbury Park, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Davidson, Marilyn J. and Ronald J. Burke. 2000. *Women in Management: Current Research Issues Volume II*. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage.
- Deetz, Stanley (ed.) 1993. *Communication Yearbook* 16. Newbury Park: Sage.
- Denzin, Norman K. and Yvonna S. Lincoln (eds.) 1998. *The Landscape of Qualitative Research: Theories and Issues*. Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Donovan, Josephine. 1992. *Feminist Theory: The Intellectual Traditions of American Feminism*. New York: Continuum.

Gans, Herbert. 1979. *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek & Time*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Gellner, David N. and Eric Hirsch (eds.) 2001. *Inside Organizations: Anthropologists at Work*. Oxford, New York: Berg.

Gist, Marilyn E. 1993. "Through the Looking Glass: Diversity and Reflected Appraisals of the Self in Mass Media." In ed. Pamela Creedon, *Women in Mass Communication*, Second Edition. Newbury Park, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Graham, Katharine. 1997. *Personal History*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Grunig, Larissa A. 1993. "The 'Glass Ceiling' Effect on Mass Communication Students." In ed. Pamela Creedon, *Women in Mass Communication*, Second Edition. Newbury Park, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Harriman, Ann. 1996. *Women/Men/Management*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger Publishers, 1996.

Herndon, Sandra L. and Gary L. Kreps. 2001. *Qualitative Research: Applications in Organizational Life*, Second Edition. Cresskill, N.J.: Hampton Press, Inc.

Iyengar, Shanto and Richard Reeves (eds.). 1997. *Do the Media Govern? Politicians, Voters and Reporters in America*. Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Jacobs, Jerry A. 1995. *Gender Inequality at Work*. Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage.

Jensen, Klaus Bruhn and Nicholas W. Jankowski (eds.). 1991. *A Handbook of Qualitative Methodologies for Mass Communication*. London and New York: Routledge.

Kanter, Rosabeth Moss. 1993. *Men and Women of the Corporation*. New York: Basic Books.

Kotter, John P. 1990. *A Force for Change: How Leadership Differs From Management*. New York: The Free Press.

Kwolek-Folland, Angel. 1998, 2002. *Incorporating Women: A History of Women & Business in the United States*. New York: Palgrave.

Lang, Kurt and Gladys Lang, 1991. "Studying Events in Their Natural Settings." In eds. Klaus Bruhn Jensen and Nicholas W. Jankowski, *A Handbook of Qualitative Methodologies for Mass Communication*. London and New York: Routledge.

- Lafky, Sue A. 1993. "The Progress of Women and People of Color in the U.S. Journalistic Workforce: A Long, Slow Journey." In ed. Pamela Creedon, *Women in Mass Communication*, Second Edition. Newbury Park, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Lindlof, Thomas R. 1995. *Qualitative Communication Research Methods*. Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Lindsey, Linda L. 1997. *Gender Roles: A Sociological Perspective*. Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- Lippmann, Walter. 1922. *Public Opinion*. New York, Macmillan.
- Lorber, Judith. 1994. *Paradoxes of Gender*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994.
- Louti, Martha Fetherolf. 2001. *Women, Gender and Work: What Is Equality and How Do We Get There?* Geneva, International Labour Office.
- Marshall, Judi. 1993. "Viewing Organizational Communication From a Feminist Perspective: A Critique and Some Offerings." In ed. Stanley Deetz, *Communication Yearbook* 16. Newbury Park, Sage. 122-143.
- McChesney, Robert W. 2000. *Rich Media, Poor Democracy: Communication Politics in Dubious Times*. New York: New Press.
- Mills, Albert J. and Peta Tancred (eds.). 1992. *Gendering Organizational Analysis*. Newbury Park, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Mills, Kay. 1997. "What Difference Do Women Journalists Make?" In ed. Pippa Norris, *Women, Media, and Politics*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Molotch, Harvey. 1978. "The News of Women and the Work of Men." In eds. Gaye Tuchman, Arlene Kaplan Daniels and James Benet. *Hearth and Home: Images of Women in the Mass Media*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Norris, Pippa (ed.) 1997. *Women, Media, and Politics*. New York. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Perks, Robert and Alistair Thomson (eds.) 1998. *The Oral History Reader*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Podolefsky, Aaron and Peter J. Brown (eds.) 2001. *Applying Cultural Anthropology*, Fifth Edition. Mountain View, Calif., London, Toronto: Mayfield Publishing Company.
- Schein, Edgar. 1992. *Organizational Culture and Leadership*, Second Edition. San Francisco: Josey-Bass.

Shoemaker, Pamela J. and Reese, Stephen D. 1996. *Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content*. White Plains, N.Y.: Longman Publishers USA.

Sigal, Leon V. 1973. *Reporters and Officials: The Organization of Newsmaking*. Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Company.

Skidmore, Paula. 1998. "Gender and the Agenda." In eds. Cynthia Carter, Gill Branston and Allan, *News Gender and Power*. London and New York: Routledge.

Spradley, James P. and David W. McCurdy. 1990. *Conformity and Conflict: Readings in Cultural Anthropology*, Seventh Edition. New York: Harper Collins Publishers Inc.

Tannen, Deborah. 1990. *You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation*. New York: Ballantine Books.

Tuchman, Gaye. 1978. *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality*. New York: The Free Press.

Tuchman, Gaye, Arlene Kaplan Daniels and James Benet (eds.) 1978. *Hearth and Home: Images of Women in the Mass Media*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Van Dijk, Teun A. 1991. "The Interdisciplinary Study of News as Discourse." In eds. Klaus Bruhn Jensen and Nicholas W. Jankowski. *A Handbook of Qualitative Methodologies for Mass Communication*. London and New York: Routledge.

Van Zoonen, Liesbet. 1994. *Feminist Media Studies*. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications.

_____. 1998. "One of the Girls? The Changing Gender of Journalism." In eds. Cynthia Carter, Gill Branston and Stuart Allan, *News, Gender and Power*. London and New York: Routledge.

Vinkenburg, Claartje J., Paul J.W. Jansen and Paul L. Koopman. 2000. "Feminine Leadership – A Review of Gender Differences in Managerial Behaviour and Effectiveness. In eds. Marilyn J. Davidson and Ronald J. Burke, *Women in Management: Current Research Issues Volume II*. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage. 120-137.

Weaver, David. 1997. "Women as Journalists." In ed. Pippa Norris, *Women, Media, and Politics*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Weaver, David H. and G. Cleveland Wilhoit. 1991. *The American Journalist: A Portrait of U.S. News People and Their Work*, Second Edition. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press.

_____. 1996. *The American Journalist in the 1990s: U.S. News People at the End of an Era*. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Periodical articles

American Journalism Review. 1998. "Breaking Through the Glass Ceiling." *AJR* 20 (10): 43.

American Journalism Review. 1998. "Diversity Delayed," *AJR* 20: 9.

Editor and Publisher. 1998. "Newspapers post strong 3Q profits." 17 October 1998: 16.
Harrington, Ann and Melanie Shanley. October 2003. "The 50 Most Powerful Women in American Business," *Fortune* 148, 8: 103-110.

Hernandez, Debra Gersh. May 1994. "Good and the bad about women's news in newspapers," *Editor and Publisher*, 17, 41.

Johnson, Carrie. April 1, 2001. "Women at the top? 'We're still talking token numbers,' " *Austin American-Statesman*, J10.

Kelly, Michael. July 25, 2002. "A Plea for More Openness on Rape." *Omaha (Neb.) World-Herald*.

Patrick, Robert. May 4, 2003. "Coming Forward." *Sarasota Herald Tribune*, 14A-16A.

_____. May 4, 2003. "Services offer advice, counseling for sexual assault victims." *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*, 15A.

Ricchiardi, Sherry. 2001. "Where Women Rule." *American Journalism Review* 23 (1): 52.

Reuters News Service. December 9, 2003. "Women's pay gap widens in some fields."

Schmidt, Karen and Colleen Collins. 1993. "Showdown at Gender Gap," *American Journalism Review* 15 (6): 39-42.

Schmitt, Eric. March 12, 2001. "Broader Palette Allows for Subtler Census Portrait." *The New York Times*. A12.

Sellers, Patricia. Oct. 13, 2003. "Power: Do Women Really Want it?" *Fortune* 148 (8): 80-100.

Weaver, Janet. May 4, 2003. "Coverage of rape has always been too formulaic – and too easy," *Sarasota Herald Tribune*, 3B.

Whitt, Toni. May 4, 2003. "Media often report superficially on rape, sexual assault issues," *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*, 14A.

Industry reports

American Association of University Women Educational Foundation. 2003. *Women at Work*. Washington, D.C.: American Association of University Women Educational Foundation.

American Press Institute and Pew Center for Civic Journalism. September 2002. *The Great Divide: Female Leadership in U.S. Newsrooms*. Des Moines, Iowa: Selzer and Company.

American Society of Newspaper Editors. 1998. "ASNE Sets New Vision for Diversity Beyond 2000." Press release dated October 20, 1998.

Coffey, Shelby III. 2002. *Best Practices: The Art of Leadership in News Organizations. Insights from the careers of 20 news executives*. Arlington, Va.: The Freedom Forum.

Gallagher, Margaret. Winter 2001. "Reporting on Gender in Journalism: Why do so few women reach the top?" Nieman Reports. Cambridge, Mass.: Nieman Foundation.

Hemlinger, Mary Arnold and Cynthia C. Linton. 2002. *Women in Newspapers 2002: Still Fighting an Uphill Battle*. Media Management Center at Northwestern University.

Impact. June 2001. Readership Institute, Media Management Center of Northwestern University.

Newspaper Association of America, "Facts About Newspapers: A Statistical Summary of the Newspaper Industry, 2003."

Philip Merrill College of Journalism, "Sunday and Feature Editors Association to Move to Maryland Journalism School," August 30, 2000.

Unpublished work

Everbach, Tracy. 2000. "'News is Different As a Woman': An Examination of Women in U.S. Newspapers' Upper Ranks." Master's thesis at The University of Texas at Austin.

The New York Times Company values, posted on bulletin board in *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* main newsroom.

World Wide Web sources

Amanpour, Christiane. 2000. Speech to Radio-Television News Directors Association Murrow Awards Ceremony. Retrieved from the World Wide Web in February 2003, at <http://gos.sbc.edu/a/amanpour.html>.

American Society of Newspaper Editors. 2002. "2002 Newsroom Census." Retrieved from the World Wide Web in December 2002, at <http://www.asne.org/kiosk/diversity/2002Survey/2002CensusReport.html>

Bolton, Guy, June 21, 2004. "Tampa Tribune Names New Managing Editor," retrieved online at <http://news.tbo.com/news/MGBWCHXXQVD.html>.

Catalyst. 2002. *2002 Catalyst Census of Women Corporate Officers and Top Earners in the Fortune 500*, retrieved from the World Wide Web, December 5, 2002, at <http://www.catalystwomen.org/research/censuses.htm>.

Daneman, Matthew. Feb. 21, 2003. "Former Gannett CEO Neuharth crusades for media diversity." (Rochester, N.Y.) *Democrat and Chronicle*. Retrieved from the World Wide Web, Feb. 21, 2003 at http://www.democratandchronicle.com/news/0221story19_news.shtml.

Dedman, Bill and Stephen K. Doig. May 2004. Report compiled for Knight Foundation. Retrieved from the World Wide Web on August 17, 2004 at http://powerreporting.com/knight/fl_sarasota_herald-tribune.html.

Indiana University School of Journalism. 2003. "Women Journalists Aren't Increasing Overall." *American Journalist Survey*. Retrieved from the World Wide Web, July 28, 2003 at <http://www.poynter.org>.

JAWS. 1998. Journalism and Women Symposium (JAWS) resolution on ASNE newsroom diversity policies. Retrieved from World Wide Web in October 1998 at <http://www.jaws.org>.

Newspaper Association of America. 2004. "Facts About Newspapers: A Statistical Summary of the Newspaper Industry. Retrieved from the World Wide Web Aug. 17, 2004 at <http://www.naa.org/info/facts04/cmi.html>.

St. Petersburg Times. 2004. "Circulation of Florida's Largest Newspapers," retrieved from the World Wide Web, Jan. 3, 2004 at <http://www.sptimes.com/Marketbook/circulation.html>.

Society of Professional Journalists Code of Ethics. Retrieved from the World Wide Web June 18, 2004 at http://www.spj.org/ethics_code.asp.

Storey, Thom. 1998. "Women fill journalism classrooms, avoid newsrooms," *Free!* online publication of the Freedom Forum. Retrieved from World Wide Web July 13, 1998, at <http://www.freedomforum.org>.

Thorn, Mary. 2002. "Balancing the Equation: Where are Women & Girls in Science, Engineering and Technology," The National Council for Research on Women, retrieved from the World Wide Web, July 31, 2002, at <http://www.ncrw.org>.

United States Census 2000. 2001. "Women in the United States: A Profile." Retrieved from the World Wide Web, May 2001: <http://www.census.gov>.

VITA

Tracy Everbach was born July 2, 1962 in Fort Campbell, Kentucky. She attended public and private schools in Evansville, Indiana; Menlo Park, California; and Worcester, Massachusetts. She graduated in 1980 from Notre Dame Academy in Worcester, Massachusetts. She received a B.S. in journalism from Boston University in 1984, an M.A. in journalism from The University of Texas at Austin in 2000, and a Ph.D. in journalism from the University of Missouri-Columbia in 2004. She worked as a newspaper reporter at *The Boston Herald* from 1984 to 1986 and *The Dallas Morning News* from 1986 to 1998. She currently is an assistant professor of journalism at the University of North Texas in Denton, Texas. She is married to Jake Batsell.