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“Newsrooms need the metoo movement.” Sexism and the press in Kenya, South Africa, and Nigeria

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Abstract

The metoo and timesup movements aim to raise awareness of several gender inequalities across many sectors in many countries. In newsrooms, issues include sexist attitudes, gendered norms, and various forms of sexual harassment and abuse. This survey focused on news personnel from Kenya, South Africa, and Nigeria to identify ambivalent sexism, perceptions of newsroom equality, and personal experiences of sexual harassment. Nigerian participants had the highest levels of hostile (antipathy for women) and benevolent (belief in traditional gendered roles) sexism. Overall, men had higher levels of hostile sexism and perceived newsroom equality. Experienced newsroom sexual harassment was: 77.5% of women and 29.7% of men in Kenya, 57.5% of women and 11.4% of men in South Africa, and 38.1% of women and 10% of men in Nigeria.

Introduction

Sexual abuse is a global endemic crisis (UN Women n.d. ; UN n.d.). While activists around the world have been calling for change for years (Saskia Wieringa 1995), recent events—accumulating in what’s now called the metoo and timesup movements are capturing public attention like never before. In Sub-Saharan Africa, the metoo movement’s success is ongoing (Nita Bhalla and Inna Lazareva 2019); nevertheless, many African societies are still largely patriarchal and have entrenched cultural norms and religious influences, which position women as subservient to men (Tadios Chisango, Thokozile Mayekiso and Manuela Thomae 2015). It is with this backdrop the researchers sought to better understand the current climate of gender equality in African newsrooms.

Overall, the mobilization around metoo has expanded to many areas of concern. This study focuses on newsrooms in Kenya, South Africa, and Nigeria through measuring: Levels of ambivalent sexist attitudes, perceptions of newsroom equality, personal job satisfaction, and personal experiences of sexual harassment in the newsroom. The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI) is used to measure sexist attitudes. ASI is a well established measure introduced by Peter Glick and Susan Fiske (1996 , 1997 , 2001 , 2011). ASI was chosen because it divides sexism into two categories: hostile and benevolent. Hostile sexism is defined by antagonistic views of women and is associated with proclivities to abuse women or accept abuse of women. Benevolent sexism cherishes women as “the fairer sex” but ultimately places women and men in narrow gendered roles wherein women are perceived as inferior.

The ambivalence in sexism is thus prevalent in individuals who endorse negative views of women while simultaneously holding certain women in high esteem for the invaluable role they perform in heteronormativity (Glick and Fiske 2001). Unlike some other examples of enmity, the goal of ambivalent sexism isn’t to eliminate women, but rather to control them and ensure they don’t threaten men’s status (Glick and Fiske 2011).

By using ASI, this study measures hostile sexism, which can lead to sexual harassment and abuse. It also measures benevolent sexism, which prevents women from equal opportunities at work. Both components can happen simultaneously in the workplace, or at varying degrees

independently; but Glick and Fiske (2011) explain they are highly correlated on a macro level. Moreover, because of the gravity of hostile sexism, benevolent sexism is often invisible or even promoted (by men and women) as the consolation prize for not being abused (Miguel Moya, Peter Glick, Francisca Exposito Soledad de Lemus and Joshua Hart 2007). The results severely limit women's professional progression and personal safety, and accordingly, a study on sexism ought to include both components to fully encapsulate women's potential subjugation in newsrooms.

Besides measuring sexist attitudes, this study also examines perceptions of overall gender equality in the newsroom and personal job satisfaction. This is done through introducing newsroom equality and personal job satisfaction indices. The indices are based on the Job Descriptive Index (Patricia Smith, Lorne Kendall and Charles Hulin 1969). Many researchers have identified several problematic areas such as hiring and protecting sexist personnel (Frederick Attenborough 2013), unfair promotion and pay practices (Cindy Elmore 2007), and a lack of women in higher management and ownership positions (Carolyn Byerly 2011). There are also consistent gendered norms in regards to story assignment (Stephanie Craft and Wayne Wanta 2004). For these reasons, this study asks the attitudes of news personnel both in terms of how they view gender equality and how they evaluate their own satisfaction. Finally, this study measures experienced and witnessed sexual harassment (IWMF 2013; Louise North 2016).

This study uses an online survey (N = 202) of news personnel to compare and contrast the news industries in Kenya, South Africa, and Nigeria. The survey was administered on Qualtrics and based on purposive sampling. These countries have an established press (Francis Nyamnjoh 2005) and represent different geographical areas of Africa. They also place differently according to the World Press Index (Reporters Without Borders n.d.) and the Gender Gap Index (World Economic Forum 2018). The Gender Gap Index includes 149 countries and measures gender parity based on economic participation and opportunity, education, health and survival, and political empowerment (World Economic Forum 2018). The World Press Index annually ranks 180 countries based on pluralism, media independence, environment and self-censorship, legislative framework, transparency, infrastructure, and abuses (Reporters Without Borders n.d.). South Africa ranks highest for press freedom (31st) and gender equality (19th). Kenya has a more censored press (103rd) and a much higher gender gap (76th). Nigeria has the most censored press (115th) and the highest gender gap (133rd) of the three countries.

Table 1. Summary of survey participants by country.

% (n)	Kenya (n = 94)	Nigeria (n = 41)	South Africa (n = 67)
Media			
TV	30.9 (29)	9.8 (4)	10.4 (7)
Print	51.1 (48)	19.5 (8)	59.7 (40)
Online	9.6 (9)	68.3 (28)	20.9 (14)
Radio	8.5 (8)	2.4 (1)	9 (6)
Personal Political Ideology			
Conservative	10.6 (10)	14.6 (6)	7.5 (5)
Moderate	34 (32)	48.8 (20)	15 (22.4)
Liberal	55.3 (52)	36.6 (15)	70.1 (47)
Education			
High School	1.1 (1)	0	1.5 (1)

Some College	17 (16)	0	17.9 (12)
Bachelor's	57.4 (54)	68.3 (28)	64.2 (43)
Master's	23.4 (22)	31.7 (13)	16.4 (11)
Ph.D.	1.1 (1)	0	0
<hr/>			
Years of Experience			
0-1	5.3 (5)	17.1 (7)	1.5 (1)
2-4	25.5 (24)	34.1 (14)	19.4 (13)
5-7	28.7 (27)	12.2 (5)	19.4 (13)
8-9	11.7 (11)	7.3 (3)	6 (4)
10+	28.7 (27)	29.3 (12)	53.7 (36)
<hr/>			
Sex			
Female	42.6 (40)	21 (51.2)	59.7 (40)
Male	57.4 (54)	48.8 (20)	40.3 (27)
Other	0	0	0
<hr/>			
Sexuality			
Straight	96.8 (91)	95.1 (39)	89.6 (60)
Gay	0	0	1.5 (1)
Bisexual	2.1 (2)	4.9 (2)	4.5 (3)
Other	0	0	4.5 (3)
<hr/>			

Measuring ambivalent sexism

ASI was developed by Glick and Fiske (1996) and has since been replicated in several countries (Glick and Fiske 2001; Peter Glick, Susan Fiske, Antonio Mladinic, Jose Saiz, Dominic Abrams, Barbara Masser and Bolanie Adetoun 2000). ASI is divided into hostile and benevolent sexism (see Glick and Fiske 1996, 500). Hostile sexism positions women as cunning, devious, and possible threats to male dominance (Glick and Fiske 2011). Table 2 shows the items for hostile sexism include women exaggerating problems at work and claiming discrimination unjustifiably. Benevolent sexism is based on traditional gender roles that if fulfilled by women, make women worthy of praise (Glick and Fiske 2011). Table 2 shows items for benevolent sexism include putting women on pedestals and perceiving women to have purity. Men consistently have significantly higher levels of hostile sexism than women, but benevolent sexism has mixed results (Jennifer Bosson, Elizabeth Pinel and Joseph Vandello 2010; Glick and Fiske 2001; Glick et al. 2000; Nuray Sakalli 2002).

Hostile sexism

This study concentrates on how hostile sexism's antipathy towards women can affect women in the workplace. For example, Joseph Begany and Michael Milburn (2002) found hostile sexism is significantly connected to a proclivity to sexually harass women at work.

Table 2. Summary of exploratory factor analysis results for hostile and benevolent sexism (protective paternalism, complementary gender differentiation, and heterosexual intimacy).

Item	Factor Loadings			
	Hostile Sexism	Benevolent Sexism		
		Protective Paternalism	Complementary Gender Differentiation	Heterosexual Intimacy
A good woman should be on a pedestal	.68			
Women should be cherished	.55			
Men should sacrifice to provide	.65			
Women need not be rescued first (r)*	-.10			
Women have a superior moral sensibility		.73		
Women have a purity few men possess		.97		
Women have a more refined sense of taste		.92		
Every man ought to have a women		.61		
Men are incomplete without women		.50		.27
Men are complete without women (r)*				.87
People are often happy without heterosexual romance (r)*				.71
Women exaggerate problems at work	.94			
Women are too easily offended	.88			
Most women interpret innocent remarks as sexist	.84			
When women lose fairly, they claim discrimination	.90			
Women seek special favors	.87			
Feminists are making reasonable demands (r)*	.07			
Women seek power over men	.76			
Feminists are not seeking power over men (r)*	.28			
Few women tease men sexually	-.10			
Men are put on tight leashes	.72			
Women fail to appreciate men	.74			
Eigenvalues	7.33	2.91	1.43	1.25
% of variance	33.32	13.22	6.52	5.69

Note: Factor loadings over .40 appear in bold. *(r) = reversed coded. Glick and Fiske (1996)

Franciska Krings and Stephanie Facchin (2009) note hostile sexism in men can lead to sexual harassment as a form of retribution if they feel unfairly treated in the workplace. Hostile sexism has also been connected to negative attitudes towards women in positions of authority (Barbara Masser and Dominic Abrams 2004). Within the news industry, previous research shows sexual harassment is commonplace, but largely unreported (Janet Harris, Nick Mosdell and James Griffiths 2016; North 2016). The International Women's Media Foundation (2013) reports over 65% of female journalists experience some kind of sexual harassment or abuse.

Benevolent sexism

Research shows benevolent sexism creates inequality in the workplace (Jin Goh and Judith Hall 2015). For example, benevolent sexists agree with enacting employment equality policies but only inasmuch as the policies promote women in positions that are traditionally held by women (Ivona Hideg and D. Lance Ferris 2016). Despite women and men's similar desire for challenging tasks at work, benevolent sexism is also associated with assigning women less challenging tasks than their male counterparts (Eden B. King, Whitney Botsford, Michelle R. Hebl, Stephanie Kazama, Jeremy F. Dawson and Andrew Perkins 2012). Workplace restrictions are further compounded by assumptions of benevolent sexists that women will sacrifice work for their families (Debra L. Oswald, Maha Baalbaki and Mackenzie Kirkman 2019). Benevolent sexism consequently thwarts women's progress to higher management (Hideg and Lance Ferris 2016). As noted above, the journalism industry continues to operate with benevolent sexist ideals that deny women equal opportunity for management positions (Byerly 2011) and accepts gendered norms (Craft and Wanta 2004; Elmore 2007).

ASI research and Africa

Measuring ambivalent sexism in Africa has been limited. In a 19 country study, Glick et al. (2000) found South Africa and Nigeria ranked second and third in levels of hostile and benevolent sexism. Interestingly, women in both countries had higher levels of benevolent sexism than men but men had higher levels of hostile sexism (Glick et al. 2000). A survey in Nigeria by Adedeji Ogunleye and Sulaiman Adebayo (2010) reported higher levels of hostile sexism for participants from rural areas. There were also higher hostile sexism levels for those married and above the age of 35. Benevolent sexism on the other hand did not have significant predicting variables (Ogunleye and Adebayo 2010). A 51 country survey, which included Nigeria, found intimate partner violence significantly associated with sexist attitudes (Juan Herrero, Francisco Rodr.quez and Andrea Torres 2017).

There are some studies on South Africa and ASI. In a focus group study of participants from the North West Province, male participants objectified women and often positioned them as temptresses (Eileen Rich, Sebenzile Nkosi and Neo K. Morojele 2015). Jacqueline Mthembu, Leickness Simbayi, Dorina Onoya, Sean Jooste, Vuyelwa Mehlomakulu, Kelvin Mwaba and Demetria Cain (2014) found a correlation between intimate partner violence and hostile sexism in men from a Cape Town township. In a comparison between Poland, the UK, and South Africa, Magdalena Zawisza, Russell Luyt and Anna Maria Zawadzka (2012) found university students in South Africa had the highest levels of ambivalent sexism, but notably women had higher levels of hostile sexism than men.

The first research question seeks to extend current research on ambivalent sexism in

Africa to newsrooms by asking:

RQ1: How does ambivalent sexism manifest in participants from Kenya, South Africa, and Nigeria?

Next, the first hypothesis predicts that levels of ambivalent sexism in men and women will stay consist with previous research. Overall, men consistently have higher levels of hostile sexism; whereas, benevolent sexism levels can be higher for men or women depending on the context (Bosson, Pinel and Vandello 2010 ; Glick and Fiske2001 ; Glick et al. 2000 ; Sakalli 2002). Since research in Nigeria and South Africa shows men have higher hostile sexism and women higher benevolent sexism (Glick et al. 2000), this study states:

H1a: Men will report significantly higher levels of hostile sexism.

H1b: Women will report significantly higher levels of benevolent sexism.

Sexism and sexual harassment in Kenya, South Africa, and Nigeria

Research on newsroom gender equality and sexual harassment in these countries is limited. Kenyan media environments are mainly conservative in terms of cultural and religious views (Stephen Lawoko 2008 ; Nanjala Nyabola 2016). As a result, women’s voices are often overlooked in the news (H. Leslie Steeves and Irene Awino 2015). In the wider context, Kenyan women face verbal, physical and sexual abuse in public spaces (Jasmine Vallve 2015).

Previous studies found South African newsrooms are increasingly hiring more women but continue to privilege men when it comes to promotions and remuneration (Maria Zuiderveld 2014). Moreover, female journalists generally view themselves as having less power to alter news agendas compared to their male co-workers (Ylva Rodny-Gumede 2015). According to the South African National Editors’ Forum (SANEF 2018), South African women journalists have faced sexual harassment, sexism, and fewer opportunities for promotions.

Along with a low score for the Gender Gap Index (World Economic Forum 2018), other measures have ranked Nigeria as having “very high” discrimination towards women (UNDP 2016 , 90). There is also gendered marginalization within the media industry. Chinenye Enwefah (2016) found 93% of editorial staff on Nigeria’s four leading newspapers are men. Lillian Unaegbu (2017) found 66% of female journalists in Nigeria identified sexual harassment and working late hours as “major threats” in their profession.

To better understand how newsroom equality is perceived in newsrooms of the sampled countries, the next research question asks:

RQ2: How do participants from Kenya, South Africa, and Nigeria perceive newsroom equality?

The second hypothesis states men will consider newsrooms to be fairer than women. The Gender Gap Index shows there is not one country in the world with gender parity. One major focus of the Gender Gap Index is to measure economic participation and opportunity for women. Under that sub-index, Kenya ranks 37th , Nigeria ranks 79th , and South Africa ranks 91st . Gender inequalities have been observed in newsrooms in Kenya (Lawoko 2008 ; Nyabola 2016 ; Vallve 2015), South Africa (Rodny-Gumede 2015 ; Zuiderveld 2014), and Nigeria (Enwefah 2016 ; Unaegbu 2017). Accordingly, the next hypothesis predicts:

H2: Men will evaluate newsroom equality significantly higher than women.

Along with newsroom equality perceptions, participants were asked about their personal satisfaction at work:

RQ3: How do participants report personal satisfaction in Kenya, South Africa, and Nigeria?

H3: Men will report higher levels of personal satisfaction than women.

H4: Perceived newsroom equality will be positively correlated with personal satisfaction.

To understand experienced and witnessed sexual harassment in the newsroom, the last research question asks:

RQ4: How do participants report newsroom sexual harassment in Kenya, South Africa, and Nigeria?

Finally, since Nigeria ranks highest in terms of gender inequality (Enwefah 2016 ; World Economic Forum 2018), the last hypothesis states:

H5: Reported sexual harassment will be higher in Nigeria than Kenya and South Africa.

Method

The method for this study was an online survey hosted on Qualtrics and administered by the researchers. Ethical approval was granted through City, University of London. Pilot testing was conducted with six graduate students from City to ensure the survey was clear and accessible. The students were from Sub-Saharan Africa, studying journalism with previous practical experience, and were male and female. The final survey included news personnel from various news industries (print [47.5%], television [19.8%], online [25.2%], and radio [7.4%]) in different capacities (N = 202). See [Table 1](#) for full demographic details of participants.

Sampling

Once ethical approval was granted, the second researcher began to contact news personnel in Kenya, South Africa, and Nigeria. Purposive sampling combined with snowball sampling was used because the sample was a “selection of particular cases to study” (Herbert F. Weisberg 2009 , 235). Relevant news websites were searched for contact information. Once identified, an introductory email or private message via a social media platform was sent, which included information on the purpose of the survey, the research institution, ethical information, and a link to the survey. Relevant Facebook groups and Twitter handles were also identified and contacted, e.g., African Women in Media. News editors were also approached via email and encouraged to share the survey link with their editorial teams. This was to ensure that those not on social media also had the opportunity to take the survey. All journalists were also provided guarantees of confidentiality.

The data collection period ran from June 13 2018–September 17 2018. In that time, the second researcher contacted 548 journalists directly from 18 different news organizations. The

total number of recorded participants for the survey was 267. Partially completed surveys were eliminated to leave a sample of $N = 202$. Most partially completed surveys were from participants from non-sampled countries. The first question of the survey asked for geographic location, which served as the qualifier to take the remainder of the survey. A small portion of participants also dropped out when asked about sexuality. Since this is the first study to measure ambivalent sexism for the identified population, the researchers considered the survey to be exploratory. As such, a more modest sample size is acceptable (Johnnie Daniel 2012).

Measures

Ambivalent sexism inventory

ASI is a 22 item scale sub-divided into hostile and benevolent scales (for full list see Glick and Fiske 1996 : 500; see also Table 2). A 7-point Likert scale was used ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree.

A factor analysis with Promax rotation was run with results showing a Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of .88, above the recommended value of .6, and significant Bartlett's test of sphericity ($\chi^2 (231) = 2224.79, p < .001$). Table 2 shows how variables loaded for all four scales, with scores of .40 or higher in bold. Hostile sexism loaded except for the reverse coded variables. The three variables were consequently eliminated. The reliability alpha for the remaining items on the hostile sexism scale was high ($\alpha = .92$). For benevolent sexism, protective paternalism loaded as expected, except for "women need not be rescued first" (reverse coded), which was eliminated. All variables loaded as expected for complementary gender difference, as well as the variable, "men are incomplete without women." Finally, two variables loaded for heterosexual intimacy. All the benevolent sexism variables were combined to form one scale ($\alpha = .84$).

Newsroom equality

For this study, two additional measures were tested. The first is perceived gender equality in the newsroom and second, personal job satisfaction. Both measures were on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree. These measures were adapted from the well-used Job Descriptive Index (JDI, Smith, Kendall and Hulin 1969). It was also based on where gender inequality commonly exists in the work place (World Economic Forum 2018) and in newsrooms (IWMF 2013). This includes a gender pay gap (Elmore 2007), lack of access to power and promotion (Byerly 2011 ; Elmore 2007), and enacted gendered norms such as beat assignment (Craft and Wanta 2004). The JDI has five subscales: pay, promotion, coworkers, work, and supervision (Smith, Kendall and Hulin 1969). Table 3 shows the variables used for each index.

A factor analysis with Promax rotation was run with an acceptable Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of .86, and a significant Bartlett's test of sphericity ($\chi^2 (45) = 876.15, p < .001$). Factor loadings for both measures were grouped together by scores of .40 or higher (see Table 3). Five proposed variables for newsroom equality ($\alpha = .81$) loaded successfully. These variables were: overall fair treatment, equal opportunity for promotion, equal salary, advantages to men (reverse coded), and advantages to women (reverse coded).

Table 3. Summary of exploratory factor analysis results for newsroom equality and personal job satisfaction.

Item	Factor Loadings	
	Newsroom Equality	Personal Job Satisfaction
News organization treats women and men equally	.77	
News organization promotes equality	.87	
Equal salary for men and women	.81	
Men are given advantages (r)*	.72	
Women are given advantages (r)*	.59	
I personally feel treated fairly		.46
I have been promoted when applied		.82
I feel satisfied in my current position		.79
I feel comfortable to talk to supervisor		.84
I feel heard at work		.74
Eigenvalues	1.26	4.59
% of variance	12.61	45.88

Note: Factor loadings over .40 appear in bold. *(r) = reversed coded.

Personal job satisfaction

All five variables for personal satisfaction ($\alpha = .80$) loaded as expected. These variables were developed to test individuals' personal perception of how they think they are treated in the newsroom, namely: their overall treatment, promotion success, their satisfaction of current job, communication with supervisor, and ability to be heard in the newsroom.

Reporting sexual harassment

The last group of questions asked participants to report whether or not they have personally experienced sexual harassment in the newsroom or witnessed sexual harassment. This was reported as categorical variables with the options: never, one time, two-four times, five or more times, or I can't remember. Participants were also asked if they reported the incident, and who was the source of the harassment. Sexual harassment was defined as: unwanted sexual advances or obscene remarks (oxforddictionaries.com). This definition was included in the survey before each question relating to sexual harassment.

Results

To answer RQ1, which asked how ambivalent sexism manifested in Kenya, South Africa, and Nigeria, several tests were calculated. Firstly, to compare the countries broadly, two one-way

ANOVAs were run between the countries and the three ambivalent sexism scales. There were significant results for hostile sexism, $F(2, 199) = 9.49, p \leq .001, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .09$, and benevolent sexism, $F(2, 199) = 9.72, p \leq .001, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .09$.

Bonferroni post-hoc comparisons for hostile sexism showed that Nigeria ($M = 3.92, SD = 1.31$) had the highest level of hostile sexism, significantly higher than South Africa ($M = 2.70, SD = 1.38$). South Africa was also significantly lower than Kenya ($M = 3.42, SD = 1.59$). There was no significant difference between Kenya and Nigeria. Similarly, Nigeria ($M = 4.77, SD = 1.21$) had the highest levels of benevolent sexism—again significantly higher than South Africa ($M = 3.77, SD = 1.28$) but not Kenya ($M = 4.37, SD = 1.21$). South Africa was significantly lower than Kenya. Overall, running the ANOVA tests showed that Nigeria scored the highest for all three indices, South Africa the lowest, and Kenya in the middle. These results are consistent with Glick and Fiske’s (2011) conclusions that hostile and benevolent sexism run in tandem with each other on societal levels. Ambivalence is demonstrated here for Nigerian participants particularly, who perceived women to have moral superiority over men and in need of cherishment, but are simultaneously seeking to punish men through devious measures. Likewise, South African participants were more likely to reject both forms of sexism and Kenyans were in the middle.

Next, the countries were examined individually using multiple regression—with potential significant predictors: sex, work experience, education, and personal political ideology. The sex variable was coded as 0 = female and 1 = male. Table 4 shows significant results for hostile sexism in Kenya, $F(4, 89) = 11.34, p \leq .001$, Nigeria, $F(4, 36) = 7.59, p \leq .001$, and South Africa, $F(4, 62) = 3.57, p \leq .01$. Across all countries, sex was a significant predictor. For Kenya only, education was a negative predictor. The regression analysis shows that even though the countries vary in their overall levels of hostile sexism, their commonality is that men ($M = 4.0, SD = 1.49$) have significantly higher levels of hostile sexism than women ($M = 2.57, SD = 1.22$).

Multiple regression results for benevolent sexism showed no significance for Kenya, $F(4, 89) = 1.97, p > .05, R = .29, \Delta R^2 = .04$, or Nigeria, $F(5, 35) = 2.21, p = .09, R = .45, \Delta R^2 = .11$. There were significant results for South Africa, $F(4, 62) = 2.96, p \leq .05, R = .40, \Delta R^2 = .10$. But there was only significance for experience ($B = -.23, SE = .19, \beta = -.23, \alpha = -1.37, p \leq .05$). As experience increased, the level of benevolent sexism decreased. H1a stated that men have higher levels of hostile sexism than women, which was supported. H1b stated women have higher levels of benevolent sexism, which was not supported. The results reinforce the status quo in terms of men being more likely to have higher levels of hostile sexism than women. But differs since sex is not a significant predictor for benevolent sexism.

Next, RQ2 asked how newsroom equality is perceived in Kenya, South Africa, and Nigeria. Another one-way ANOVA was run between the countries and the newsroom equality index with significance, $F(2, 199) = 8.51, p \leq .001, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .08$. Examining Bonferroni post-hoc comparisons show Nigeria ($M = 5.61, SD = 1.24$) was significantly higher than South Africa ($M = 4.72, SD = 1.36$) and Kenya ($M = 4.54, SD = 1.51$). There was no significance between South Africa and Kenya. Despite Nigeria having the highest levels of ambivalent sexism, participants perceived gender inequality to be less than the remaining countries. The results reflect that Nigerian participants are most content with the status quo.

Table 4. Levels of hostile sexism by country.

Variable	Kenya			Nigeria			South Africa		
	<i>B</i> (SE)	β	<i>t</i>	<i>B</i> (SE)	β	<i>t</i>	<i>B</i> (SE)	β	<i>t</i>

Constant	5.16 (.99)		5.19** *	6.55 (2.09)		3.13**	5.42 (1.32)		4.40** *
Sex+	1.46 (.30)	.46	4.94** *	1.71(.33)	.66	5.24** *	.74 (.32)	.27	2.29*
Education	-.33 (.17)	-.18	-1.92*	-.47(.41)	-.17	-1.15	-.32 (.20)	-.19	-1.60
Experience	-.14 (.11)	-.12	-1.32	-.13(.13)	-.15	-.97	-.01 (.12)	-.01	-.01
Level of Conservatism	.16 (.14)	.11	1.19	.16(.16)	.13	.97	.29 (.18)	.20	1.62
R	.58			.68			.43		
ΔR^2	.34			.46			.19		

* $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$

+ Referent = female

H2 predicted men evaluate newsroom equality higher than women. To test H2, the same series of multiple regressions were run between countries and the newsroom equality index. Table 5 shows significant results for Kenya, $F(4, 89) = 8.00$, $p \leq .001$, and Nigeria, $F(4, 36) = 6.73$, $p \leq .001$, but not South Africa, $F(4, 62) = 1.87$, $p > .05$. The results show men rate newsrooms higher in gender equality than women, and so H2 is supported. The only other significant predictor variable was experience, which was positively significant in Kenya and negatively significant in Nigeria.

RQ3 asked how participants evaluated personal job satisfaction in the newsroom. An one-way ANOVA between countries and the personal job satisfaction index showed significance, $F(2, 199) = 14.25$, $p \leq .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .13$. Bonferroni post-hoc comparisons show Kenya ($M = 4.06$, $SD = 1.44$) is significantly lower than South Africa ($M = 4.86$, $SD = 1.26$), and Nigeria ($M = 5.25$, $SD = 1.08$). There was no significance between South Africa and Nigeria. This shows that Kenya had the lowest personal job satisfaction and Nigeria the highest, which coincides with newsroom equality attitudes.

H3 expected men to have higher personal job satisfaction than women. Multiple regressions were run for personal job satisfaction, but showed significance for Kenya only, $F(4, 89) = 2.50$, $p \leq .05$. Of the predictors, only sex was significant: ($B = .74$, $SE = .31$, $\beta = .26$, $t = 2.37$, $p \leq .05$). There is no significance for Nigeria, $F(4, 36) = 1.14$, $p > .05$, $R = .34$, $\Delta R^2 = .11$, or South Africa, $F(4, 62) = 1.70$, $p > .05$, $R = .25$, $\Delta R^2 = .07$. Since men only reported higher satisfaction in Kenya, H3 is only partially supported. Comparing the overall means, men ($M = 5.36$, $SD = 1.25$) considered gender equality quite high, but stated their own personal satisfaction as much lower ($M = 4.7$, $SD = 1.51$). Conversely, women ($M = 4.28$, $SD = 1.47$) evaluated newsroom equality and their own personal satisfaction ($M = 4.43$, $SD = 1.51$) similarly.

A simple linear regression was then computed to answer H4, which predicted perceived newsroom equality ($B = .55$, $SE = .06$, $\beta = .57$, $t = 9.91$, $p \leq .001$) is positively correlated with personal job satisfaction. The results were significant, $F(1, 200) = 98.27$, $p \leq .001$, $R = .57$, $\Delta R^2 = .33$. H4 is supported. The higher evaluation of newsroom equality, the higher personal satisfaction is reported.

Next, RQ4 asked how participants report sexual harassment in the newsroom in the respective countries. Table 6 outlines percentages for each country in relation to experienced and witnessed sexual harassment. Overall, women reported experiencing sexual harassment much more than men. In Kenya, 77.5% of women reported experiencing sexual harassment at least once, 40% reported five or more times. South Africa was second, wherein 57.5% of women

reported experiencing sexual harassment, and in Nigeria 38.1% of women. Men also reported experiencing sexual harassment at least once, the most in Kenya (29.7%), followed by South Africa (11.4%), and then Nigeria (10%). Men indicated witnessing sexual harassment at least once, more commonly than experiencing it in Kenya (61.3%), Nigeria (50%), and South Africa (62.9%). Women witnessed sexual harassment less than they experienced it in Nigeria (23.8%) and South Africa (47.5%), but not Kenya (80%). In all countries, for both men and women, the vast majority of experienced or witnessed sexual harassment was never reported.

To answer H5, which stated reported sexual harassment is significantly higher in Nigeria, than Kenya and South Africa, chi-square statistics were run, using standardized residuals of at least + or—2. There was significance for the experienced sexual harassment variable, $X^2(8) = 15.78, p < .05$. Examining the standardized residuals showed the only significant differences between the countries was for Kenya and the 5+ times variable (2.1). There was also significance for the witnessed sexual harassment variable, $X^2(8) = 24.58, p \leq .001$. The standardized residuals show that Kenya was once again significantly higher for the 5+ times variable (2.0). Nigeria was significantly higher for the never witnessed variable (2.7). Even though Nigeria had the highest levels of ambivalent sexism, the reported experienced and witnessed sexual harassment was lower than Kenya and South Africa. H5 is not supported.

Table 5. Levels of newsroom equality by country.

Variable	Kenya			Nigeria			South Africa		
	B (SE)	β	t	B (SE)	β	t	B (SE)	β	t
Constant	2.31 (.97)		2.39**	7.5 (2.0)		3.74** *	3.62 (1.2)		3.03**
Sex+	1.36(.30)	.45	4.61** *	1.23(.32)	.50	3.89** *	.89(.33)	.32	2.67**
Education	.02(.17)	.01	.10	-.13(.40)	-.05	-.33	.11(.21)	.07	.53
Experience	.27(.11)	.23	2.46**	-.29(.13)	-.36	-2.30*	.06(.13)	.05	.45
Level of Conservatism	-.13(.14)	-.09	-.95	.28(.16)	.24	1.80	.01(.18)	.01	.02
R	.51			.65			.33		
ΔR^2	.26			.43			.11		

* $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$

+ Referent = female

Table 6. Levels of sexual harassment by country in percentages.

% Experienced Sexual Harassment		Kenya		Nigeria		South Africa	
		Women (n = 40)	Men (n = 54)	Women (n = 21)	Men (n = 20)	Women (n = 40)	Men (n = 27)
	Never	17.5	59.3	57.1	80	37.5	85.2
	1 time	17.5	9.3	4.8	5	22.5	0
	2-4 times	20	13	23.8	5	27.5	3.7
	5+ times	40	7.4	9.5	0	7.5	7.4

	Don't know	5	11	4.8	10	5	3.7
Reported Experienced Sexual Harassment	Yes, action done	0	0	0	0	12	0
	Yes, no action done	12	4.5	22.2	0	8	0
	No	88	95.5	77.8	100	80	100
Source of Experienced Sexual Harassment	Fellow employee	50	27.8	28.6	10	35	7.4
	Direct supervisor	20	7.4	9.5	0	2.5	0
	Higher management	25	7.4	14.3	5	57.1	42.9
	Other	15	11.1	9.5	5	27.5	0
Witnessed Sexual Harassment	Never	10	22.2	71.4	35	35	33.3
	1 time	10	11.1	4.8	20	12.5	14.8
	2-4 times	37.5	20.4	4.8	20	25	29.6
	5+ times	32.5	29.5	14.2	10	10	18.5
	Don't know	10	16.7	4.8	15	17.5	3.7
Reported Witnessed Sexual Harassment	Yes, action done	12.5	9.3	0	7.7	11.5	16.7
	Yes, no action done	2.5	0	33.3	0	7.6	5.6
	No	85	90.7	66.7	92.3	80.9	77.7

Discussion

This study sought to better understand how sexism manifests in Kenyan, South African, and Nigerian newsrooms by measuring: levels of ambivalent sexism (ASI, Glick and Fiske 1996), perceptions of gender equality, job satisfaction, and experienced sexual harassment in the newsroom. An online survey was administered with anonymous participation of news personnel. In an open-ended question, which asked for any additional thoughts, one participant commented, “There aren't a lot of discussions about sexism in the newsroom because a lot of us are afraid of the repercussions. I think newsrooms are also in need of the #MeToo movement.”

When comparing ASI between countries, Nigeria had the highest results for both benevolent and hostile sexism, followed by Kenya, and South Africa with the lowest results. This is consistent with its high gender gap ranking (World Economic Forum 2018). Multiple regression analyses showed men were a significant predictor for hostile sexism for all three countries, which is the same as the Glick et al. (2000) study. Women weren't a significant predictor for benevolent sexism, which differs from Glick et al. (2000).

These results show a need to address ambivalent sexism in the newsroom. Hostile sexism is a significant predictor of having a proclivity to sexual harass at work (Begany and Milburn 2002; Krings and Facchin 2009). As alarming as a high level of hostile sexism is, benevolent sexism shouldn't be overlooked. In this study, benevolent sexism levels were higher in all three countries than hostile sexism. In the workplace, women are denied advancement because of benevolent sexism (Hideg and Lance Ferris 2016).

Two indices measured perceptions of the newsroom: newsroom equality and personal job satisfaction. All ten items (five per index) loaded as expected. Not surprisingly, Nigeria ranked the highest in perceived newsroom equality, followed by South Africa and then Kenya. Part of espousing gender norms prevalent in ambivalent sexism, is believing that the hegemonic status quo is fair and gender differentiations are natural (Glick and Fiske 1996 , 1997 , 2001 , 2011). Consequently, it is reasonable that since Nigeria had the highest ASI, it would also have the highest perceived gender equality.

Once again there was a significant difference between men and women in terms of perceived gender equality in the newsroom—men ranking equality higher. An important caveat to these findings is how personal satisfaction was not significantly different between men and women, except for in Kenya. Though women perceived the newsroom to have gender inequalities, they ranked their personal satisfaction similarly to men. Follow up is needed; nevertheless, one explanation could be internalized sexism—or the acceptance by women of sexist messages that purport it is natural for men to be privileged (Christina Capodilupo 2017). Interestingly, Mamphela Ramphele (1990) noted internalized sexism in South Africa years ago: “There is one thing which transcends all other differences between South African men— patriarchy, which most don’t even question” (14).

Women’s expression of personal satisfaction, despite facing gendered inequalities at work could also be explained by a sense of privilege (Naila Kabeer 2005). It is likely that African women working in the media feel “lucky” since many African women still have limited educational and economic opportunities (Shelley Clark, Marianne Paul, Richmond Aryeetey and Grace Marquis 2018).

Perhaps most unexpected were the findings on personally experienced and witnessed sexual harassment. It is important to note, surveys are a self-reported method. Sexual harassment is also severely underreported worldwide (UN Women n.d) and so it is possible that even with the guarantee of anonymity, some participants were not comfortable with reporting. That said, experiences of sexual harassment were high, particularly for women. In Kenya, almost 80% of women reported experiencing harassment at least one time in the workplace, 40% five or more times. The highest level of sexual harassment for men was also Kenya at 29.7%. This was higher than South Africa (62.5% for women; 11.1% for men) and Nigeria (38.1% for women; 10% for men).

Even though Nigeria ranked the highest in ASI, participants reported the lowest experienced sexual harassment. These results may seem contradictory, but are not unexpected since those with high levels of ASI more readily accept “male power . . . and men’s exploitation of women as sexual objects . . .” (Glick and Fiske 1997 , 121). It is consequently likely for self-reported sexual harassment to be lower. The results suggest a need to further investigate how sexual harassment is understood in Nigeria.

Also troublesome is that on average women chose not to report their experienced sexual harassment 82% of the time and men 98.5% of the time. Furthermore, South Africa was the only country where participants stated action was done when reported, but only 12% of the time. On the other hand, the average for action done was higher in all three countries if a participant had witnessed the sexual harassment rather than experienced it—though the average was only 9.6%. Notably, though men ranked gender equality higher than women, on average 58% of men stated they had witnessed sexual harassment in the newsroom.

This study significantly contributes to analyzing newsroom sexism in Kenya, South Africa, and Nigeria; yet, it is not without limitations. Firstly, this is a self-reported survey so

other methods of investigation would also be helpful in measuring sexism such as ethnographic observations, interviews, and experiments. Future research could also include the potential impact of newsroom sexism on its news content. Future research should also include further investigation to detail what types of sexual harassment are found in newsrooms. Additionally, given South Africa's history of racial segregation, future scholarship should consider the intersectionality of racism and sexism in South African newsrooms and explore how experiences of gendered discrimination might differ for news workers of different ethnicities. As in many studies with harder to reach populations the sample size in this study is modest. As such the margin of error is likely fractionally higher than with a larger sample. Regardless, we feel confident in the findings and their value to this research field since this is the first study of its kind.

Conclusion

In conclusion, by measuring ASI, gender equality perceptions, personal job satisfaction, and experienced sexual harassment, this study purports there is a serious need to change newsroom cultures in Kenya, South Africa, and Nigeria. By reporting the sexist attitudes and high levels of experienced and witnessed sexual harassment, this study seeks for newsrooms to take fundamental steps to eradicate newsroom sexism and sexual harassment. This study also contributes to the wider context of newsroom sexism found in other countries around the world (Harris, Mosdell and Griffiths 2016 ; IMWF 2013 ; North 2016) illustrating the need for a necessary shift in the news industry internationally.

Disclosure statement

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