Women and Media

A Critical Introduction

Carolyn M. Byerly and Karen Ross

Women and Media

Women and Media

A Critical Introduction

Carolyn M. Byerly and Karen Ross

© 2006 by Carolyn M. Byerly and Karen Ross

BLACKWELL PUBLISHING
350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148-5020, USA
9600 Garsington Road, Oxford OX4 2DQ, UK
550 Swanston Street, Carlton, Victoria 3053, Australia

The right of Carolyn M. Byerly and Karen Ross to be identified as the Authors of this Work has been asserted in accordance with the UK Copyright, Designs, and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, except as permitted by the UK Copyright, Designs, and Patents Act 1988, without the prior permission of the publisher.

First published 2006 by Blackwell Publishing Ltd

1 2006

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available for this title.

ISBN-13: 9781405116060 (hardback)
ISBN-10: 1405116064 (hardback)
ISBN-13: 9781405116077 (paperback)
ISBN-10: 1405116072 (paperback)

A catalog record for this title is available from the British Library.

Set in 10.5 on 13 pt Minion
by SNP Best-set Typesetter Ltd, Hong Kong
Printed and bound in the United Kingdom
by TJ International Ltd, Padstow, Cornwall

The publisher's policy is to use permanent paper from mills that operate a sustainable forestry policy, and which has been manufactured from pulp processed using acid-free and elementary chlorine-free practices. Furthermore, the publisher ensures that the text paper and cover board used have met acceptable environmental accreditation standards.

For further information on
Blackwell Publishing, visit our website:
www.blackwellpublishing.com

Contents

Preface and acknowledgments vi
About the authors ix

1 Introduction 1

Part I Research on women and media: a short history 15
2 Women in/as entertainment 17
3 Images of women in news and magazines 37
4 Women as audience 56
5 Women and production: gender and the political economy of media industries 75

Part II Women, media, and the public sphere: shifting the agenda 97
6 Toward a Model of Women's Media Action 99
7 First path: politics to media 129
8 Second path: media profession to politics 155
9 Third path: advocate change agent 185
10 Fourth path: women's media enterprises 208

11 Conclusion 231

Bibliography 240
Appendix: research participants 273
Name index 278
Subject index 284

Preface and Acknowledgments

We didn't set out to write this book. Three years ago, we were well on our way to completing a different book, an edited collection, which, as it got under way, seemed to call out for a companion theoretical volume, one that mapped out not only women's problematic relationship to media but also their responses as researchers, as activists, as media professionals. Jayne Fargnoli at Blackwell, who would become our editor for the first volume, *Women and Media: International Perspectives* (2004) would also be the person to make the call to us for the companion text. We hope that we have answered it adequately in this volume. As colleagues and friends who had already worked together on various small-scale projects and then on our jointly edited book, we trusted our cross-Atlantic working relationship. Even so, we were often challenged to manage this project, which seemed to expand beyond the undertaking that we initially envisaged. As we began our work, the more we talked to women about their experiences, the more we wanted to reveal and examine how those in quite different geographical and cultural settings had grappled with ways to amplify women's voices and presence in media. Building on existing research, we set out to locate and interview women in sufficient numbers to enable us to paint a broad picture of their work and accomplishments, as well as their analyses of these experiences.

Throughout this project, we worked under tight deadlines that competed with other commitments in our lives. In addition, we had the strain of realizing that while we shared a common language, we sometimes worked in uncommon vernaculars and theoretical approaches that challenged us to find ways to speak in a clear, more unified, voice to our readers. Thus,

the research and writing presented in this volume represent our personal growth as scholars and friends, as well as the collective encouragement, support, and participation of many women and men around the world who assisted us.

We are very grateful for the time and financial support afforded our work by our respective universities, the University of Maryland and Howard University (USA), and Coventry University (UK). And we have many other people to thank, without whose generous gifts of time, information, and other help this book would not exist. Ammu Joseph (Bangalore, India) was, in many ways, a partner in our project's development and enabled the interviews in India to take shape and place. We are, of course, enormously grateful to our 90 informants in 20 nations, whose names and affiliations appear in the Appendix. These women shared their experiences as media activists in candid and wonderful detail, enabling us to understand, describe, analyze, and theorize the ways in which they have worked to open up public spaces for feminist dialogue and, in many cases, to make media structures more egalitarian over the past 30 years. This book is dedicated to them and to all the other women (and men) who have provoked inspiration and shown dogged determination to ensure that women have a public voice through media.

We are also grateful to others who supported us in various ways: Frieda Werden of Women's International Newsgathering Service (WINGS), in Vancouver, staff at the Center for Arab Women's Training and Research (CAWTAR), in Tunis, and numerous other individuals for assistance in locating research informants; Sudip Mazumdar and Kalpana Sharma in India, for logistical support; Jill Gibbs, for her dedicated, thorough work on transcriptions; Takisha Watson and Lauren Vance for additional help with transcriptions; the anonymous reviewers of our manuscript for their helpful comments; and Geoffrey Palmer, Ken Provencher, and others at Blackwell for bringing the book to print. Finally, but not lastly, we offer thanks to Kay and Greta, Barry and Pearl (our partners and canine companions, respectively) for the daily encouragement that they have provided on the home front and their (almost) total lack of complaint.

Carolyn M. Byerly and Karen Ross

About the Authors

Carolyn M. Byerly, PhD, is Associate Professor in the Graduate Program of Mass Communication and Media Studies, Department of Journalism, Howard University, Washington DC (USA). She teaches seminars in mass communication theory, research methods, media effects, and political communication. Recent publications include *Women and Media: International Perspectives* (edited with Karen Ross, Blackwell, 2004), "After 9/11: Formation of an Oppositional Discourse" (*Feminist Media Studies*, Fall 2005), and "Women and the Concentration of Media Ownership" (in R. R. Rush, C. E. Oukrop, and P. J. Creedon, *Seeking Equity for Women in Journalism and Mass Communication Education*, Erlbaum, 2004).

Karen Ross PhD, is Professor of Mass Communication at Coventry University (UK). She teaches research methods, gender politics and media, and audience studies and has written extensively on issues of in/equality in communication and culture. Her previous books include *Gender and Newsroom Cultures: Identities at Work* (with Marjan de Bruin, 2004), *Women and Media: International Perspectives* (edited with Carolyn M. Byerly, Blackwell, 2004), and *Media and Audiences* (with Virginia Nightingale, 2003). She is currently working on two studies relating to press coverage of elections from a gender perspective.

1

Introduction

> *Groups of women manipulating and producing media constitute active and widespread movements at the community level. These groups use video, radio or theater for communicating among themselves for lobbying and rights advocacy, restoration of their group and personal history, or for promoting community organization.*
>
> Pilar Riaño (1991)

Scholarly developments reflect the wider world. The emergence of feminist scholarship during the 1970s was an academic response to women's liberation movements in both local and global contexts. After two world wars and a series of national liberation movements[1] in the first half of the century, women had begun to find their own voices and seek a more active role in public and academic life. Modern-day women's movements began to take shape during the early 1960s in both developed and developing nations, in part through the work of United Nations committees concerned with improving women's status. A network of women's independent non-governmental organizations – some of them growing out of women's peace-action and opposition to war – also provided entry points for women's cross-cultural collaboration. To be sure, women's impetus to become involved in movements for self-determination varied from place to place and person to person. In some cases, they had been inspired by national development in which women desired to participate more actively. In other cases, inspiration came from having had a taste of public life, and from the ability to develop a vision for their own and other women's

leadership. Feminist historians in a number of nations have chronicled and examined the events and personal motives that led to both local and global feminist movements by the early 1970s. For example, Amrita Basu's (1995) *The Challenge of Local Feminisms*, Elise Boulding's (1992) *The Underside of History*, and Maitrayee Chaudhuri's (2004) edited volume *Feminism in India* document the evolution of women's movements around the world, pointing out that activists from all cultures and social classes have been involved and that feminist progress is likely to endure, even as the backlash of patriarchy appears predictably everywhere to hold it back.

What is clear to us, as feminist media scholars, is that the media have played a central but not yet fully examined role in these events. The present text seeks to reveal more about the interconnections between the media and feminist movements, and, in turn, the ways in which women's communication through media extended beyond those movements into the larger societies. Thus, the title of this book, *Women and Media: A Critical Introduction*, signals the book's dual goals of taking stock of the existing (and expansive) literature on women and media while also moving beyond it. The title also conveys our intent to take a critical approach to our subject, examining gendered relations of power and both the hegemonic tendencies and emancipatory potentials of media structures. Feminist media scholarship to date has focused primarily on women's representation in the mainstream media; hence, much is known about how the portrayal of women in film, television, news, and other media has changed (or remained the same) within and across nations. Similarly, there is a growing body of work on how female audience members "read" and respond to messages and images of women. A smaller part of the literature includes feminist analyses of media structures, where men's ownership and creative control are still the norm everywhere, and where women have had a tough time gaining access to production, either as trained professionals or citizens.

Still only marginally represented in national and international feminist media studies, however, are analyses of women's own media enterprises, feminist campaigns to reform large-scale media industries, and feminist media networks. We situate our own contribution in the last (and least defined) of these inquiries, but draw heavily on the wider body of women-and-media literature to accomplish our goals. We have looked particularly to the experiences of feminist activists and media professionals for an understanding of women's agency in the use of (many kinds of) media, to develop and disperse social critiques and to spread ideas about women, from a feminist perspective. Women's media activism represents an histori-

cally significant but under-investigated and under-theorized aspect of women's relationship to contemporary media, both those media that are owned and operated by powerful men and those that women have established themselves. Also relatively under-scrutinized are the various support activities, such as community-level media monitoring, academic research, and advocacy groups that mobilize citizen action around specific women-and-media issues. We believe that these aspects of the women-and-media relationship begin to reveal the process of struggle that women have engaged in for use of media to gain a public voice, presence, and influence.

The vision for this project grew out of our respective work as feminist media scholars, whose projects through the years have sought to enlarge our realities as white academics, and to move beyond the borders of our respective Western nations, the United States and the United Kingdom. In both different and overlapping ways, we have tried to examine the perspectives, situations, challenges, and successes of women in both our own and other nations with respect to their media endeavors. In the process, we have gained a growing awareness of how much women have done in their struggles to use media to speak freely, publicly, and forcefully in their respective locales. The work of women media activists, among whom we include many who carry out their daily work in mainstream industries, is ongoing and compelling, and we believe it is central to reshaping societies everywhere. We have tried to provide a glimpse into some of these processes and outcomes in the pages to come.

Expanding Feminisms

The word *feminism* (and its derivative *feminist*), which appears throughout this book, has undergone considerable scrutiny, argument, and transformation in meaning over the years.[2] Third world women, women of color, working-class women, and others have debated the word for several decades, questioning whether a term associated with Western (white, bourgeois) origins can legitimately apply to women of other backgrounds and situations. In the process, the term has come to encompass a wide range of experiences and positionalities. We use the words feminist and feminism to refer to women's liberation movements since the 1970s that have been aimed at securing women's right to participate in their societies, including the ability to enter into public deliberation, institution building, and other processes associated with citizenship. We recognize that women's

movements have varied histories, shaped by culture, economics, political structures, and (in some cases) colonial relations. Maitrayee Chaudhuri (2004: xv–xvi) observes, for instance, that feminism in India has to be "located within the broader framework of an unequal international world," but she also asks whether hesitation to use the term might exclude women "from the feminist heritage." Such questions may arise even within a nation whose traditional feminism has been assumed to be white and European. African American feminist theorist Patricia Hill Collins (1990) has reminded us that the USA is not free from its own internal colonial history, and that that history has shaped black women's feminism:

> The dialectic of oppression and activism, the tension between the suppression of Black women's ideas and our intellectual activism in the race of that suppression, comprises the politics of Black feminist thought. More important, understanding this dialectical relationship is critical in assessing how Black feminist thought – its definitions, core themes, and epistemological significance – is fundamentally embedded in a political context that has challenged its very right to exist. (Hill Collins 1990: 5–6)

In addition, both white feminist scholars (e.g., Linda K. Kerber & Jane Sherron De Hart 2000) and black feminist scholars (e.g., Angela Y. Davis 1981) have explored American feminism's birth in the nineteenth-century anti-slavery movement, a moment that joined their activism in a common cause and that gives testimony to a complex multiracial US feminist history. Similarly, American feminist historian Sally Roesch Wagner (1996) has acknowledged her own cultural blindness in overlooking the deeply significant ways in which Native American women's experiences intertwine with modern US feminism. Wagner's collaborative research with women of the Iroquois nation, a confederacy of six Native American tribes in upstate New York, suggests that women's rights leaders who formed the nucleus of the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention[3] (and the work that grew out of it) took their vision for egalitarianism in male–female relationships, women's right to own property, and notions of freedom from men's violence from the Iroquois people who lived around them.

Chandra Talpade Mohanty (1991) sought to construct a definition of *third world feminism*, but she had to begin with questions such as: "What is the third world?" "Do third world women make up a real constituency?" and "Are women's political struggles in the third world necessarily 'feminist'?" She traced the term's meaning through a number of writers from

former colonial states who showed ways in which colonial histories, social class, race, and other signifiers of power become embedded in contemporary understandings of third world feminism. Mohanty's thoughtful, comprehensive book reminds us of what she calls "the urgency and necessity to rethink feminist praxis and theory within a cross-cultural, international framework and to discuss (a) the assumption of third world women as a social category in feminist work, and (b) definitions and contests over feminism among third world women" (Mohanty 1991: 39). Some African and African American women have preferred to call themselves *womanists* instead of feminists, adopting the term popularized by US author Alice Walker in the 1980s to signify a woman who is committed to the survival of her whole people, men and woman (Walker 1981). Cheryl Johnson-Odim (1991) acknowledges that the coining of new terms (such as "womanist") demonstrates a commitment to connect feminists' struggles to those of black and third world communities that are fighting racism, economic exploitation, and other oppression. At the same time, she acknowledges that some white radical women have also understood these connections and worked for broader liberation. Johnson-Odim, who adopts a feminist identity, believes that in the process of building an international feminist movement, third world women have wrestled with both the meaning of feminism and its agenda, thereby integrating class, race, and anti-imperialism concerns into its meaning structure.

Recent writings by third world women reveal the comprehensive understanding – that is, the overlap of gender and other concerns – that Johnson-Odim refers to. For example, South African scholars Amanda Kemp, Nozizwe Madlala, Asha Moodley, and Elaine Salo (1995) found that as women have sought to constitute themselves as participants in the emerging pluralistic South African society, since the 1990s, they shaped their understanding that "ideologies of womanhood had as much to do with race as they do with sex" (p. 133). These authors also factor in concerns about national development, which they assert is bound up with women's advancement and hence their work as social activists. Thus, in articulating a politics of equality and advancement for women, black South African feminists, they say, also must raise issues such as access to clean water and housing – things not specifically defined as "feminist" (ibid.).

In this book, we take the position that such consciousness and inclusivity must inform feminist theory and the research that flows from it, regardless of national boundaries. Therefore, we have tried to inform own our text with the knowledge and lessons shared by these and other feminist scholars,

realizing with some humility that that we are still evolving and that our work may still contain blind spots. Similarly, while we have tried to make spaces in the text for women of widely ranging cultural and national contexts to speak, we make no pretense at claiming that these informants speak for all women of their respective nations or cultures. Limitations of time and space constrained our investigation and writing. Thus, what we hope to offer is groundwork for others to build on in years to come. In addition, while we make the space for others to speak, we have tried to avoid speaking for them. Throughout the book, we try to distinguish our own voices from those of the participants in our cross-cultural research, reported in Chapters 7–10. Our analysis of those participants' information was undertaken with scholarly rigor and (we hope) fairness, although we recognize that scholarship is always fraught with certain risks of error in interpretation.

An Overview of the Chapters

The book is divided into two parts. Part I reviews the existing literature on women and media, emphasizing research and theoretical work undertaken since 1970. One goal of these chapters is to point out the dialectical nature of women's relationship to media industries over these decades. The term "dialectical process" is a Hegelian concept that Marx and later critical theorists borrowed to refer to patterns of upheaval by opposing forces within any hegemonic system such as capitalism.[4] Feminist applications have focused on seeing women's emergence from subjugation in patriarchal systems as such a process, drawing particularly on Marx and Engels's understanding of history as "a natural flux of action and reaction, of opposites yet inseparable and interpenetrating" (Firestone 1970: 2–3). In earlier work (Byerly 1999), we have explained women's relationship to media as uneven and contradictory, characterized by feminism becoming deeply embedded in media messages and the industries that produce them but, at the same time, women as subject remaining marginalized and misrepresented in media content, and women professionals remaining outside production apparatuses. A second goal of Part I is to consider the ways in which feminist media scholars from cultural and media studies and political-economy positions have theorized the women-and-media relationship.

Inasmuch as feminist media scholarship has (as previously noted) focused heavily on women's representation in popular media, we dedicate Chapters 2 and 3 to a synthesis of this work. As Part I reveals, most feminist

media scholarship has been framed by what we have characterized elsewhere as a paradigm of the misogynist media (Byerly 1999). The central concerns in this paradigm are women's exclusion and misrepresentation in media content, professions, and policies. Documenting and analyzing the historical patterns of exclusion and misrepresentation that women have endured in the larger print and broadcast media (in spite of active and enormously effective women's liberation movements) has been essential in order to reveal the causes of these problems and to advance strategies for change. Even research that brings to light the ways in which women have progressed – for example, advancing in media professions or increasing news attention for women's achievements – inevitably acknowledges the still overwhelming amount to be done in order to redress what Gallagher (1995) has deemed women's "unfinished story."

Chapter 2 focuses on women's representation in film and television, considering entertainment and fiction-based media, predominantly film and television. In this chapter, we take a genre approach, which includes crime, soaps, and fantasy narratives, to signal the primary issues that have concerned feminist media scholars. A significant amount of the work on representation has been done within a feminist cultural studies framework, focusing specifically on commercially made films, and foregrounding considerations of ways in which audiences negotiate meanings in texts. What we attempt to show in this chapter is the endurance of gendered stereotyping, even as more contemporary renditions of women and femininity are finally providing a little more diversity in the media landscape. There is no doubt that the roles available to women have changed considerably over the past few decades, and that images and plotlines that are now routine would simply have been inconceivable 30 years ago. To a large extent, this really is a case of art following life, since women's progress must eventually be mirrored on the large and small screen. While women's representation today is certainly "better," in many ways, than ever before, women still experience actual prejudice and discrimination in terms of unequal treatment, unequal pay, and unequal value in real life. So too do these themes continue to occur in media portraits.

Chapter 3 looks at the representation of women in fact-based programming, especially news, together with an analysis of women's magazines, discussing the ways in which feminist media scholars have endeavored to expose the patriarchal ideology lying beneath these texts. The first part of the chapter focuses on news media, and we explore the key tropes associated with women's subject positions in relation to journalistic narratives, as well

as the ways in which women's voices, both elite and public, are allowed (or not) to speak. The chapter considers women and/in advertising, in particular focusing on women's magazines. What our discussion demonstrates is that the media's framing (in every sense of the word) of women in highly restricted and mostly negative ways is not simply the consequence of the idiosyncrasies of this newspaper or that TV channel or that radio station but, rather, is a *global* phenomenon that has endured over time and media form, and continues to do so. The type of story that most frequently features woman as a victim, usually of male sexual violence, says something profound about the role of women in society. Where are the stories of women's success in business, in politics, in education, in science? What we hope to show in these two chapters is the uneven nature of women's progress on both the large and small screen. We argue here for women's greater control over the representations of their and our lives, so that the wonderful diversity of all our experiences becomes incorporated in the popular media landscape.

Chapter 4 explores the ways in which women as an audience have been addressed, and it begins with a sustained discussion of research on women audiences for soap opera, before moving on to consider research on other aspects of women's audiencehood, including film-going, crime genres, news, and magazines. The history of feminist engagement with the female audience is, in some ways, exemplified by the overdetermination of research studies on soaps which, as we will see later, is itself a product of feminist scholars' recognition of what women watched and enjoyed. The last section of the chapter concentrates on women's use of and relationship to new technologies, since the rise of technologies such as the Internet is forcing a new (re)consideration of the ways in which we function as an audience. Importantly, the level of interactivity that is enabled by technologies such as the Internet or digital television means that the viewer really can exert control over how she watches, listens, and reads popular media: finally, there is a reality to the rhetoric of audience power. In this chapter, we show the different ways in which women use, make sense of, understand, and interact with media products such as television, films, magazines, and the Internet. It is through the exploration of social context and women's lived experience, and the tensions between the two, that we can better comprehend how women negotiate their position as audience against the reality of their own lives.

Chapter 5 uses a feminist political-economy framework of analysis to consider the ways in which ownership of media industries by wealthy (mostly white) men have served to limit women's involvement in creative ranks, affecting women of color in particular. The chapter also critiques

media productions (particularly films) by women, questioning whether progress is really achieved when liberal feminist media producers work within the narrow confines of topics and messages intended for conventional audiences so as to maintain their profits.

The second part of the book discusses and analyzes the empirical data that we collected for this book, and thus provides an elaboration of the various ways in which women activists and media workers have contributed to en-gendering the media and the broader public sphere. From our own earlier research, as well as our connections to feminists engaged in various kinds of media activism in different nations, we knew that a parallel world of women's communicative action had long lived alongside the "common" discourse. Women's movements (both within and across nations) have placed media reform and support for women's alternative media high on their agendas and, as a result, there has been measurable progress as well as recalcitrance in relation to changes within media structures. An additional outcome has been an explosion of women's initiatives to establish book publishing, radio and television production, news, magazine, documentary film, Internet, and other enterprises, in order to create new channels for women to speak publicly about their lives and concerns about the world – in their own voices.

Part II presents new research on women's media activism, and poses the Model of Women's Media Action, toward gaining a more comprehensive understanding of how women have tried to use media in order to enter more fully into democratic processes. Chapter 6 explains how women's media activism has shaped a feminist public sphere that overlaps and spreads feminist discourse into the dominant public sphere. In Chapter 6, we offer a new Model of Women's Media Action, reframing the women-and-media relationship from the 1970s to the present and identifying the ways in which feminist agency has manifested itself through the work of women media activists. Succeeding chapters further develop the Model of Women's Media Action as we interpret our empirical research with feminist journalists, filmmakers, researchers, and a range of other women in 20 nations. Women's media activism, we show, can be organized into four main paths, or approaches, and in Chapters 7–10 we develop those four paths through the personal narratives of participants in the study. Chapter 7 is concerned with the work of women media activists who have learned to "do" media as a part of their feminist political work. Chapter 8 discusses the work of women media professionals who decided to take a feminist approach to their work after they began their careers. Chapter 9 discusses

the work of women who have worked outside media structures to conduct media monitoring and research, or to wage campaigns for media reform of some kind. Chapter 10 focuses on the work of women who have established a range of women's media enterprises. Chapter 11 summarizes what is known about women's treatment by and relationship to media industries, and identifies contributions that media activism has made in these last decades in advancing women's public participation and feminist movements' impact on their societies. In addition, we explore new strands of research that might grow out of our own project and the Model of Women's Media Action that it has produced.

Real Women, Real Lives

Central to this book is the work of women who have critiqued, monitored, shaped the content of, and otherwise sought to place media at the greater service of all women in gaining a bigger public voice and political role in their societies. The stories of 90 informants in 20 nations, who shared their experiences as women media activists with us in a two-year cross-cultural study, are at the heart of the book. Their work expands what we know of women's struggle to gain media access and to speak in their own voices, often against great odds, and two brief stories drawn from our interviews illustrate this well.

Preeti Mehra, journalist, New Delhi. January mornings are cold in New Delhi, India, when the fog settles in, sending dampness into unheated homes and chilling the bones of the inhabitants. Preeti Mehra, a veteran journalist in her forties, pulled her wool tunic closer around her to ward off the dampness and leaned back in her chair to talk about her years working for major English-language Indian newspapers in India. The autonomous women's movement, which had emerged in India by the mid-1970s, had drawn women such as Preeti Mehra, who saw close links between the movement's goals and her work as a reporter. She began to find ways to get women into news stories, both routine events and more dramatic coverage of riots, earthquakes, and disasters. "Women were so marginalized," she remembers, and helping them gain visibility became part of her daily challenge. In the late 1980s, she joined Women in the Media in Bombay, a group of about thirty women journalists. Members organized public events to focus on sexist media images and then strategized among themselves about how to overcome a lack of news coverage of women. They

also protested about discrimination against women journalists. Mehra was among those who joined *dharnas* (sit-ins) outside newspaper offices to protest against sexual harassment and other problems. She participated in filing a complaint with the Bombay police to stop publication of a Marathi-language magazine titled "How do you rape?" – a manual whose pseudo-medical language barely masked its titillating subtext. The legal case went on for years, she said, generating a public discussion about violence against women and helping to mobilize other women around media issues.

Although Women in the Media disbanded around 1993, several of its members – including some who had become high profile and powerful in the news business – would go on to found the national-level Network of Women in Media in India, in 2002. With 13 chapters, NWMI members continue to find ways to combat sexism in the profession at the local level, and they speak out on broader issues such as media globalization, which they believe affect women across India.

Ramesh Sepehrrad, political activist, Washington, DC. On another continent, on a humid June afternoon, 35-year-old Ramesh Sepehrrad pushed up her glasses and explained how she came to women's media activism through advocating for women's human rights in Iran. In the 1990s, Sepehrrad and a small group of Iranian feminist exiles living in the USA founded the National Committee of Women for a Democratic Iran (NCWDI), based in Washington, DC. The group immediately established an English-language website to raise general awareness about the widespread discrimination, official abuse, and murder of women in Iran under the Islamic fundamentalist regime that had ruled since 1979. The NCWDI posted articles containing details about women's imprisonment, hanging, and stoning to death, gathered from Farsi-language Iranian Internet sites, Amnesty International and other reports, and informants living in Iran. The goals were to mobilize opposition to women's treatment, but also "to make sure that the political voice of women was heard in the dialogue about democratization in Iran," Sepehrrad said. The website also had the effect of drawing interest among women living inside Iran, who provided additional details of day-to-day life for women under the regime. In 2004, the NCWDI merged with the Women's Forum Against Fundamentalism in Iran (WFAFI), a broad-based international organization, headquartered in Boston, which advocates for women's rights and religious pluralism in Iran and other nations with fundamentalist governments.

The WFAFI is affiliated with groups in Europe, such as the European Organization Against Fundamentalism, in Germany, and the Revolutionary

Association of Women in Afghanistan, based in Pakistan. The WFAFI represents an interesting study in women's media activism, through which it conducts nearly all of its work. The organization seeks both female and male followers within the Iranian diaspora (whose members live all over the world), as well as from feminist, human rights, religious-pluralist, and other communities through a sophisticated website (www.wfafi.org), a monthly electronic newsletter called *E-Zan* (the Farsi word for woman is *zan*), and, since late 2004, a weekly Farsi-language radio program called *Voice of Women*. VOW, a 30-minute program on women's rights, broadcasts into Iran via shortwave radio on Saturday evenings, when women's listenership is highest. VOW broadcasts are produced in the USA and transmitted through a network of booster systems located in Europe. Sepehrrad, a specialist in information technology who is pursuing a doctorate in political science, pointed out the amount of cooperation-building that took place among women's and other groups internationally to bring the details of this project together. Feminist media activism fits within a larger scope of political work for Sepehrrad, who hopes one day to return to Iran and live under a secular, democratic government.

These stories exemplify the complexity of women's media activism internationally. In each case, a feminist has worked individually and collectively using media to inform, motivate, and mobilize some kind of political action on women's behalf. Preeti Mehra has followed the second path associated with the integration of media activism into her career as a journalist. Ramesh Sepehrrad has followed a different path – that of an outside advocate using a multimedia approach on behalf of women's organizations concerned with women's human rights in Iran.

The Longer View of Women and Media

As we said at the beginning of this introduction, the feminist scholarship whose goal is to assess women's relationship to both mainstream and other media forms has a deep connection to women's status in the real world. No one has made this connection clearer than Noeleen Hayzer, executive director of the UN Fund for Women (UNIFEM), on International Women's Day, March 8, 2004:

> As a result of constant advocacy by women's rights groups over the last 20 years, more and more countries have some type of legislation concerning

violence against women. At least 45 nations have specific laws against domestic violence, 21 more are drafting new laws, and many others have amended criminal laws to include domestic violence. To make a real difference, we have to transform words into action and results. This requires governments and the international community at large to stand by their commitments and to allocate resources to translate them into action . . . I call on the world community to pay close attention to what women are telling us about the situation they live in – their needs, hopes and visions of a better future. It is our responsibility to amplify their voices and to use them to guide our work and policies. Only then can we hope to achieve a world in which both men and women are able to lead the best lives they can.[5]

Notes

1 The Indian freedom movement led to India's independence from Great Britain in 1947. Similar independence movements in African and Asian nations that were seeking independence from their European colonial rulers followed in the decades of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s.

2 Throughout the book, we use the term *feminism* interchangeably with *women's movement(s)* and *women's liberation movement(s).*

3 The Seneca Falls Convention, held in Seneca Falls, New York, in July 1948, marked the beginning of the nineteenth-century American women's rights movement. Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and other convention planners had been active in the anti-slavery movement. A year before, during their attendance at a world anti-slavery convention in England, they had been barred from sitting on the main floor of that meeting or speaking. They vowed to initiate their own movement to address women's status in American society upon their return. The Seneca Falls Convention was the result.

4 For a useful description of the development of dialectics, see Kellner (1989).

5 See www.unifem.org/speeches.php?f_page_pid=77&f_pritem_pid=161 (accessed October 17, 2004).

PART I

Research on Women and Media: A Short History

2

Women in/as Entertainment

In most action movies, women are in the way.
Arnold Schwarzenegger,
Playboy, January 1988

The ways in which women are routinely portrayed in mass media have been the focus of much feminist media scholarship over the past 30 years. Gaye Tuchman, Arlene Kaplan Daniels, and James Benet's (1978) foundational collection of empirical and theoretical articles in *Hearth and Home* was among the earliest to problematize women's media representations. The text cited not only women's routine omission – or symbolic annihilation – from mass media, but also the ways in which women were stereotyped. While Tuchman et al. focused mainly on the women-and-media problems in North America, its themes were by no means geographically unique. Mieke Ceulemans and Guido Fauconnier's (1979) UNESCO-funded cross-cultural study located women's representations within several sociopolitical and cultural contexts. Like Tuchman et al.'s work, they found that advertising, television, films, news, and other genres in Western nations, as well as those in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, disproportionately emphasized women's traditional domestic roles or treated them as sex objects. Similarly, Margaret Gallagher's (1979) UNESCO-funded study emphasized the underlying reason why women's image would continue to concern women for decades to come: "The . . . media are potentially powerful agents of socialization and social change – presenting models, conferring status, suggesting appropriate behaviors, encouraging stereotypes" (p. 3).

Media representations thus became a major front for both popular and academic feminist struggle, continuing up to the present time with contemporary concerns such as bride sites on the Internet and pornography downloads via cell phones. In fact, feminists could argue that the media's influence is even greater now than before, with 24/7 news channels, hundreds of satellite and digital services offering everything from natural history to hard-core pornography, and picture messaging via mobile phones. And popular media such as film, television, newspapers, and magazines continue to frame (in every sense of the word) women within a narrow repertoire of types that bear little or no relation to how real women live their real lives. However, the situation is not entirely gloomy and as feminist campaigns have demanded media reform over the representations of women, and as women and men with feminist consciences have made their way into media professions, there have been important changes almost everywhere in the world. What is important to emphasize at the outset of this discussion, then, is the dialectical nature of the process – progress inevitably occurs alongside recalcitrance, and backlash is a predictable part of these events.

In this chapter, then, we consider women's representation in entertainment and fiction-based media, predominantly film and television, and we take a genre approach that includes crime, soaps, and fantasy narratives as vehicles through which to signal the primary concerns of feminist media scholars. As women's status and social practices have shifted through women's movements worldwide, these have (and often have not) been reflected in changing patterns of gendered representation. This is an extremely broad field and our intention here is not to be exhaustive in our overview – which is, in any case, impossible – but, rather, to illustrate some of the key trends that have been exposed by feminist media scholars' interrogatations of popular media praxis over the past few decades. A significant amount of the work on representation has been done within a feminist cultural studies framework, focusing specifically on commercially made films, and foregrounding considerations of ways in which audiences negotiate meanings in texts.

The Early Days

Many of the early feminist analyses of mediated representations of women in fictional genres were focused on the medium of film. For Maggie Humm

(1997), the power of the feminist project was precisely its ability to demonstrate the ways in which the category "woman" was politically constructed and routinely oppressed. In an interesting analysis of four films spanning the 1930s to the 1970s – *Camille* (1936), *Blonde Venus* (1932), *Lady from Shanghai* (1946), and *Looking for Mr. Goodbar* (1977) – E. Ann Kaplan (1983) sets out to reveal the ways in which the male gaze operates from the vantage point of power and renders women silent and marginal. One of the crucial ways in which women's lives were implicitly regulated in cinematic portrayals was through the very device of appealing to them as women spectators via the invention of the "woman's film." This was, arguably, a marketing ploy established in the US studio era of the 1930s and 1940s as a way of targeting a niche (female) audience that had hitherto failed to be attracted to the cinema in large numbers, with the release of films such as *Leave Her to Heaven* (1945) and *The Reckless Moment* (1949).

Given the era in which they were made, these films contained an inherent contradiction, offering women the spectacle of a lifestyle outside the conventions of respectable femininity, but at the same time making clear the errors of that particular way (Basinger 1994). This temptation, though, is merely illusion, since the film industry at that time, and for at least two decades beyond, was circumscribed by a set of guidelines (the Production Code) that attempted to maintain standards of sexual and moral probity, although by the end of the 1960s both the Production Code and this kind of "woman's film" had all but disappeared (Neale 2000). Molly Haskell (1973) suggests that the genre was framed within an avowedly conservative aesthetic that encouraged the (woman) spectator to accept rather than reject her lot, whilst taking on a pitying stance toward the tragic heroine. Interestingly, the use of cinema as a tool of moral conscription was not a uniquely American phenomenon and, as Lant (1991) suggests, British wartime films trod a careful line between valorizing women's contribution to the war effort but also reassuring men of their continued femininity. Regulation of moral conduct through cinematic representations of women and women's role was also widely used in Spain during the same period. In her discussion of Spanish director Josefina Molina's success in subverting gender stereotypes in films such as *Función de Noche* (*Evening Performance*, 1981), María Suárez Lafuente (2003: 395) suggests that:

> Women's psyche had suffered the devastating effects of 40 years of a film industry dedicated to epic and local-color films, where women were the embodiment of discipline and self-sacrifice to the glory of God and country,

> or else cheap comedies where the female body was a mere sexual object for the male gaze. Spanish cinema was part of the state apparatus to keep men entertained and under control, and to provide women with the correct and incorrect models of national femininity. It is no exaggeration to say that during the 1950s and the 1960s women were educated in the official social morals and manners primarily through their Sunday visit to the cinema.

The Eyes of Laura Mulvey

Early explorations of the highly gendered nature of looking relations – the gaze – between the audience and the text are largely credited to Laura Mulvey, writing in the 1970s, and contemporary feminist media research and theorizing about media artifacts owes a rather large debt to her foundational work, *Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema*, published in 1975. In that essay, written 30 years ago, she theorized the relationship between the production of a film (i.e., its basic techniques, structure, and principal mode of address), the audience (spectator), and viewing pleasure. Mulvey's legacy in terms of her impact on the field and her enduring influence on contemporary work is her insistence that film is deliberately structured to produce a male gaze that makes voyeurs of us all, and it is this masculinized gaze that "is the main mechanism of filmic control" (Humm 1997: 14). For Mulvey, herself heavily influenced by psychoanalytic theory, the gaze is inherently eroticized (in Lacanian terms, "scopophilic"), since the principal players, in the form of the camera*man*, the audience, and the hero, are assumed to be male, and the principal object in the form of the film's co-star/love interest is assumed to be female.

What Mulvey did in that essay, for the very first time, was to argue that film was inexplicably bound up with sex, that men "do" and women "receive," thus perpetuating existing gendered relations. While Mulvey went on to refine her early ideas, it was that initial critique of film *per se* that was so bold and controversial, which signaled a fundamental shift in the ways in which spectatorship would thereafter be researched, discussed, and theorized. Although hers was not the only voice at this time expressing such views – for example, John Berger (1977) also underlined the gendered power relations between the object (woman) and the subject (man) as distinctive ways of seeing – hers was perhaps the most trenchant.

Much subsequent scholarship has challenged Mulvey's overdetermined and rather inflexible framing of the various subject positions that she allo-

cates to the constituent parties to the film experience, and her overdependence on psychoanalytic theory (see Gaines 1988; Gledhill 1988). These scholarly variations have often sought to problematize exactly that which Mulvey's early work tended to homogenize, in that they explore how women audiences find pleasure in female (and male) characters, and perhaps even desire those characters, as well as to distinguish other forms of identification between spectator and text/star, such as race, ethnicity, and sexuality. More contemporary scholarship takes into account the counter-narratives produced by women filmmakers, authors, and creative artists who themselves embody distinctive identity markers that manifest in their work, as well as identifying moments of textual rupture in classical film (see Brunsdon 1986; Penley 1988; Grosz 1995; Jayamanne 1995; Thornham 1999): some specific examples of such counter-narratives are provided in Chapter 5.

The Female Monster and Other Stories

One of the key Hollywood myths of femininity is what Barbara Creed (1993) describes as the monstrous-feminine. On the first page of her eponymous book, she lists the various faces of the female monster, including the amoral primeval mother (*Aliens*, 1986), the vampire (*The Hunger*, 1983), the witch (*Carrie*, 1976), woman as bleeding wound (*Dressed to Kill*, 1980), and woman as possessed (*The Exorcist*, 1973). To this list could be added any number of more contemporary horror movies with a female monster lead, such as *Species* (1995), *An American Vampire Story* (1997), the *Terminator* series, and *Alien Resurrection* (1997). For Creed, describing women in horror as monstrous-feminine rather than simply female monsters is a conscious act to signify the importance of gender (as a constructed category) in the reading of the female character as monstrous. In other words, women's sexuality is the reason why she horrifies.

If these are the ways in which women were represented historically in film, how have they been represented in more contemporary popular culture? Space precludes a full discussion, so we are restricting ourselves to a brief discussion of those genres that have attracted most scholarly attention, namely soaps, crime, action, and fantasy. We consider both film and TV shows together since what we are interested in exploring is the ways in which women are characterized in these cultural products rather than the particular medium through which they are circulated.

Considering Soaps

The soap opera, an enduring cross-generational and cross-cultural art form, has traditionally been regarded as the "woman's genre" par excellence, not simply because of its original location in the broadcast schedule, at a time when "mothers" would be at home and thus a captive audience, but because the melodramatic narrative style and structure, its preference for dialogue over action, and its focus on intimate family and community relations are regarded as particularly popular with women (McQuail 1994). In addition, the soap opera lends itself particularly well to the incorporation of familiar cultural themes and storylines. For this reason, soaps have commanded significant attention from feminist media scholars cross-culturally, with a number of important early studies setting the critical context for contemporary analyses, looking at both content and consumption (see particularly Ang 1985; Brown 1990; Hobson 1990; Geraghty 1991; Mankekar 1999). What those studies made clear was that soap opera as a genre had an important place in the lives of their women viewers, and that a significant part of the mainstream academy's disdain for the genre was rooted in both its gendered inflection and its functioning as a low-brow entertainment. Despite the clear popularity of soaps, which consistently top the ratings charts in both Western and non-Western nations, Charlotte Brunsdon (2000) is still compelled to argue, in her analysis of feminist scholarly engagements with the academic study of soaps, that there is a requirement for all of us engaged in work on popular culture to constantly defend our interests against claims of trivial pursuits.

The more popular British, American, and Australian soaps are very different in their framing of women and women's concerns, with the American serials often having rather glamorous, mostly affluent, and well-groomed actors, while Australians are a bit more homely but still mostly attractive, and British soaps are more avowedly rooted in working-class culture. However, they nonetheless narrate remarkably similar storylines about the human condition. While, as Geraghty (1991) points out, soaps do not homogenize women's experience, nor do they allow for overly transgressive renditions of femininity. The diversity of small-screen soap women and their life choices allow multiple identifications by the audience as we empathize with and rail against their good fortune and bad luck, their choice of partner, and their poor judgment. Crucially, soap characters (women and men) are portrayed as abidingly flawed individuals, who are

never wholly good or bad but, rather, struggle with the complexities of their impossible lives.

The paradox of soaps, then, is that women viewers are encouraged to empathize with soap characters who are rarely allowed to live a transgressive life outside the normative expectations of patriarchy. In the end, soap women seek fulfillment by achieving success in their personal lives, retreating into the private realm as their proper space and place. This is not to say that soaps have not dealt with important social issues or that soap women don't work outside the home, because they have and they do, but soap writers are seldom brave enough to seek structural answers to personal problems. Soap storylines *do* deal with incest, rape, racism, sexuality, teenage pregnancy, drug abuse, domestic violence, and so on, but the characters who work out these storylines are forced to solve their "problems" themselves, provoking a community response that is pathologized within the private sphere. Too often, the final resolution of, say, a whispering campaign about lesbian lovers ends with their departure from the soap rather than a straightforward confrontation with the issues, with a more informed outcome.

In India, Purnima Mankekar (1999) examined soap operas and popular Hindi-language films, as well as female viewers' responses to these, prior to the early 1990s, when commercial cable stations began to supplant state-sponsored programming under the government system, Doordarshan. Mankekar found that "like the audiences of American soaps, those of Indian serials deeply identified with characters on the screen" (p. 7). Mankekar said there was a kind of "metalanguage" in the types of sets, dialogue, costumes, and music used, and viewers formed relationships with the characters depicted in serialized stories (soaps). Representations of Indian womanhood as the embodiment of morality and tradition had been major sites of contention in colonial and anti-colonial discourses, and women often represented iconic portraits of these concepts. In addition, storylines emphasized new aspirations to what she calls "middle-classness" in a society in which "class and nation have been inextricably related from the outset" (ibid., p. 9). Middle-classness in this context refers especially to Western-style consumerism.

The Crime Genre

Other than TV soaps, perhaps the genre that has attracted most interest from feminist media scholars has been the crime genre, both film and TV,

principally because this is one of the few formats that has regularly featured women in strong lead roles. With the exception of the hypermasculine figure of James Bond, whose female colleagues were rarely more than simply beautiful foils to his male hero (Lisanti & Paul 2002), any number of crime shows have featured women as either lead or strong support. James Chapman (2002) suggests that, in the context of popular British television of the 1960s, the quirky series, *The Avengers* (ITV, 1961–9), was seen by some to be the first to provide roles for women in which they were the equal of their male co-stars (Andrae 1996). The series, which originally cast two male leads, adopted a male–female pairing in the third series, most famously through the characters of Cathy Gale (Honor Blackman) and then Emma Peel (Diana Rigg). It was arguably Blackman's highly eroticized performance as a secret agent who wore "kinky" black leather that boosted the show's popularity, and generated the suggestion of a feminist hero who literally kicked ass in black stiletto-heeled, thigh-high boots. This particular narrative device (of sexual equality) was groundbreaking in the 1960s. However, this emancipatory nod was often undermined by lingering close-ups of Blackman's leather-clad curves – made to order for the male gaze.

Decades and several iterations of the female detective later, one of the most researched women characters has been DCI Jane Tennison (Helen Mirren), in the extremely successful mini-series, *Prime Suspect* (ITV, 1991–2003). Although British-made, the series has been syndicated and broadcast in many other countries. Although placing strong women characters in male occupations and in the macho world of crime-solving has been quite an advance, producers have rarely done much to challenge sexism or politicize unequal gender relations through narrative development. Indeed, even while *Prime Suspect*'s Jane Tennison and (Christine) Cagney and (Mary Beth) Lacey display a number of hypermasculine traits, such as heavy drinking, smoking, and swearing, these behaviors only appear to subvert more traditional versions of acceptable femininity. In addition, the heterosexuality of the female hero in crime dramas is enforced from the first episode to the last, denying any space for sexual ambiguity or a lesbian identity. It is precisely these lost opportunities that have exercised a number of critics, where a series explicitly focused on sex discrimination with a potentially feminist address instead becomes just another tabloid show, rather than a vehicle for transformation (Brunsdon 1998).

The increasing visibility of women in lead roles in crime fiction shows has altered forever the terrain of the crime genre; if not quite arresting its macho image, then at least confounding some of the normative

assumptions of women's place in society and showing, discursively, the ways in which women negotiate a particular kind of male space (Nunn & Biressi 2003). In the interstices of these confusions and contradictions lie precisely the possibilities and practicalities of women's diverse lives and experiences.

Women and Action Movies

The cinematic parallel of the TV crime show that features strong women is the action movie, where the number of "tough girl" lead roles has risen exponentially over the past two or three decades (see Gough-Yates & Osgerby 2001), and with each generation, the toughness of the girls has increased. Although toughness has particularly permeated women's roles in Western films, we shall also see permutations on the theme in certain contemporary Asian films featuring female martial artists. An example of the Western tough girl is Sarah Connor (*Terminator*), who is more able to withstand physical and psychological difficulties than any of Charlie's Angels. Similarly, Xena is tougher than the Bionic Woman (Inness 1999). Yvonne Tasker (1993) argues that during the 1970s, film and TV companies responded to feminism's demands for less stereotypical images of women with films such as *Klute* (1971) and *Julia* (1977), made as vehicles for strong, independent women, in both cases the role being taken up by Jane Fonda.

On television, US-produced (and globally distributed) shows such as *Charlie's Angels* (ABC, 1976–81), *Policewoman* (NBC, 1974–8), and *Wonder Woman* (ABC/CBS, 1976–9), did showcase women in lead roles, although the women actors still conformed in very obvious ways to the stereotypes of normative femininity, being beautiful, slender, and white. While most critics who look at the moment of *Charlie's Angels* see the show as part of a misogynistic, anti-feminist backlash during the 1970s, others are a little more circumspect in their condemnation. Susan Douglas (1994: 215) probably speaks for many women growing up in the 1970s who saw Farah Fawcett and her crew as suitable role models for any number of "good" reasons, "It was watching . . . women working together to solve a problem and capture, and sometimes kill really awful, sadistic men, while having great hairdos and clothes – that engaged our desire." What Douglas signals is the reality of a reading position that is intuitive rather than "feminist," but nonetheless meaningful in its own terms, speaking to the kinds of

contradictory responses that many of us (women) feel when viewing images of women who are both assertive but also icons of male fantasy.

It is interesting to note that the two film versions of the TV show which came out recently, *Charlie's Angels* (2000) and *Charlie's Angels: Full Throttle* (2003), rework the original (white) lead actors into an ethnically diverse trio in the shape of Cameron Diaz, Lucy Liu, and Drew Barrymore. Unquestionably a marketing strategy, this move nonetheless also signals Hollywood's need to respond to a growing multicultural, global audience. The centrality of women of color in global culture has not escaped the notice of feminist postcolonial scholars such as Radhika Parameswaran (2002). She has critiqued what she calls the hegemonic packaging of ethnic culture for profit, particularly the "celebration of racial diversity as the discovery of unusual consumer experiences" (ibid., p. 229). Looking particularly at Malaysian actress Michelle Yeoh, star of the celebrated martial arts film *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* (2000), Parameswaran sees Yeoh's character as an orientalist construct – displaying fearless, athletic grace as a warrior woman while at the same time "subtly cocooned by the vestiges of patriarchal [Western] femininity" (ibid., p. 296).

So women's strength and their performance as tough women in the contemporary action genre cannot be read off simply as progress, art reflecting life. Rather, such performances may connote a deep ambivalence about the limitations of women's flight to equality. The tough woman is testament to a still male-dominant society's own contradictory responses to women's demands for equal treatment, equal pay, and equal status (see Inness 1999). In these examples, the tough girl is nearly always stripped down (often literally) to what lies at her core, her essential, biological womanliness, her essential subordinate position to man.

Women and the Fantasy Genre

Where women often feature as leads or sidekicks to the principal hero in action genres, the circumstances in which the woman is equal to her male co-stars (heroes or villains) are mostly those where she is either an enhanced human being such as the Bionic Woman, gifted with mystical powers, or else located in the future and therefore offering no threat to the here-and-now status quo. This isn't always and everywhere the case, but those contradictions and ambivalences are common enough to constitute a pattern of representation worthy of comment. There have been any number of

women in sci-fi movies, and we are too limited by space to consider these characterizations in detail, but a brief discussion of the film and the character credited with producing the first significant action hero within the science fiction genre, Ellen Ripley (Sigourney Weaver) in the *Alien* tetrology, is probably worthwhile. The aspect of Ripley's character in these films that has fascinated critics is the destabilizing effect of casting a woman hero within this particular genre, who is allowed autonomy, intelligence, and a strong survival instinct (Clover 1992) but who nonetheless performs a familiar ambiguity. Despite her considerable abilities to outwit the enemy and keep herself safe, Ripley is still made available for a voyeuristic gaze; she is still commodified as a sexual object. Discussing Ripley's role in the original *Alien* (1979), Ros Jennings (1995) articulates precisely the contradictions and tensions that are provoked by so many female hero figures, where the positive aspects of their characterizations are too easily undermined by the retreat into normative femininity. By showing Ripley's undressed body to the audience, her heroic status is neutralized:

> By rendering her available to male voyeurism, [Ridley] Scott's control of filming in the final scene ensures that in addition to the "so-called" masculine traits of bravery, technical ability and so on – all of which we have seen her demonstrate so well up to this point – she now signifies a wholly intelligible form of femininity. (Jennings 1995: 197)

Contemporary manifestations of the fantasy queen, such as *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* (Twentieth Century Fox, 1997–2003) are, physically at least, little different to their earlier 1960s sisters. The character of Buffy (Sarah Michelle Gellar) is a knowing and playful young woman, who combines the domesticated femininity of girl/witch with the kick-ass assertiveness of the action hero (Owen 1999). But Buffy provokes paradoxical readings. Her blonde, physical attractiveness and youth resonate well with male Lolita fantasies, while her skills in taking care of herself and always defeating the bad guy offer women audiences the prospect of differently powered gender relations. But is the kind of empowerment traded by Buffy merely another saleable commodity – girl-power as the latest must-have (see also Riordan 2002)? As Rachel Fudge (2001) points out, at the height of her popularity, Buffy merchandise was available from any number of US retail outlets and *Glamour* magazine did a feature on how to emulate Sarah Michelle's toned bottom.

Possibly the most discussed female figure in contemporary fantasy fiction is *Xena: Warrior Princess* (MCA Television Entertainment, 1996–

2001), who actually stands out in both the performance of her fantasy heroism as well as in her ability and expressed desire to live her life and engage in adventures without depending on men. Indeed, as Sherrie Inness (1999) points out, Xena (Lucy Lawless) has more attachment to her horse and certainly to Gabrielle (Renee O'Connor), than to any man who she encounters. The show was a spin-off from the adventures of the male hero Hercules, and one of *Xena*'s producers, Liz Friedman, makes clear the debt owed to Hercules but also the hope embodied by Xena: "Hercules is the hero we hope is out there. Xena is the hero we hope is inside us" (quoted in Weisbrot 1998: 161). But what is attractive about Xena-as-hero is her inherently flawed character: she is dark, selfish, and venally bloodthirsty. Even if the narrative insists that her triumphs are always over evil, so that she is always the force for good, there is also a clear moral ambiguity in her dealings with the world because of the way in which she arrogantly revels in parading her power and strength.

The so-called lesbian sub-text, which is often so overt as to constitute a main text (Gwenllian Jones 2000), also sets Xena apart from other fantasy heroes and adds an interesting dimension to her already complex character. But Xena is scarcely a feminist icon since, despite her clear ability to force a serious reconsideration of what a hero could and should be – that is, not necessarily *male* – she is still an immensely attractive white woman who performs arduous and dangerous feats without breaking sweat or disturbing her fringe. Her lack of need of a man is, perhaps, a step forward on the road to independence for women warriors, but she still draws the eye with her leather boots and brass bra. While one show cannot be expected to carry the burden of all women's expectations, it is precisely the scarcity of positive images of women that makes many women viewers continue to want exactly such a representation.

Beyond Straight White Lines

A careful analysis of the representation of women in the media, in both fiction and factual genres, reveals significant differences in the ways in which the object "woman" is constructed along highly codified lines in terms of ethnicity, age, sexuality, and disability. While the kinds of genre analyses in which we engage above might signal the various personal identifiers of, say, Buffy or Ripley or Sue Ellen, what a discussion of those characters does not necessarily also demonstrate is the *absence* of so many

women – women of color, lesbians, disabled women, older women. This is not to say that they do not feature in the popular media landscape, but it is to argue that they are often absent in circumstances when they would be present in real life (and soaps are a good example of realist genres that almost willfully refuse to include a realistic diversity of women – see Bourne 1998). Where they *do* feature, they often bear the burden of multiple stereotyping.

Comes in other colors

In response to the failure of mainstream feminism to address the interrelated themes of race and gender in representation, a number of feminist media researchers of color have worked hard to bring to light, in every sense of the word, the numerous (and different) ways in which the race–gender–culture nexus functions in film and television (see Bobo 1988; hooks 1991, 1992, 1996; Mankekar 1999; Malik 2002; Parameswaran 2002). In Lola Young's astutely titled book on this subject, *Fear of the Dark* (1996), she traces the provenance of contemporary African Caribbean women characters found in British cinema back to the much earlier slave period and the circulation of racist and sexist images of African Caribbean women. Those images have since informed the contemporary popular characterization of African Caribbean women as prostitutes, feckless single mothers, nurses, and other public-sector workers. As an actor, Young recalls being persistently typecast:

> After having several years experience as a professional actor in a children's television series, I was asked to play a bus conductor, a prostitute, a nurse. Later . . . I was asked to play a witch in Macbeth: I wanted to play Shakespeare, so I did. Eventually, I didn't enjoy these limited roles so I stopped acting. (1996: 1)

Through her work on race in mainstream (white-framed) texts, Young identifies the continued circulation and promotion of racist and sexist myths of African Caribbean women as manifest in "Empire" films such as *Sanders of the River* (1935) and their contemporary resonances in films such as *Mona Lisa* (1986). Carmen Gillespie (1999) undertakes a similar archaeological task when she maps Hattie McDaniels's portrayal of Mammy in *Gone With The Wind* (1939) against the contemporary figuring of Molly Abrams (Gina Ravera) in the soft-core porn movie, *Showgirls* (1995). For

Young (1996), such stereotypes (past and present) speak to the historical period in which they are elaborated, and African Caribbean women characters are often appropriated as mechanisms through which racialized differences between competing masculinities are played out, ciphers in the struggle for control (see also Manatu 2002; Smith-Shomade 2002). The shifting shape of African Caribbean characterizations can therefore be seen as indicators of a given society's feelings of ease about itself and a product of specific global sociopolitical moments and ideological positions in relation to notions of "us" and "them" (Malik 2002). Indeed, the African Caribbean or exoticized female "other" provides a benchmark against which white femininity under patriarchy can be better understood and the normative nature of whiteness itself, as an ethnic category rendered visible and problematized (Negra 2001).

However, in discussing the ways in which the cinematic representation of African Caribbean women have been inadequate, Young and others (see Ross 1996, 1997a) caution against the suggestion that "negative" stereotypes can be substituted with more positive ones that would have a wider currency amongst the communities from which such characterizations are drawn. Is it even possible to represent the "real" African Caribbean experience, even if everyone involved in any given production is part of that same community? Such questions of authenticity are always present when race is present, but that concern is more overt when screenplays are based on material written by minority ethnic authors. For example, there was considerable criticism generated against Steven Spielberg's screen adaptation of Alice Walker's novel, *The Color Purple*, made in 1985, and again when Terry McMillan's novel, *Waiting to Exhale*, was made into a film (1996).

A significant aspect of the critique of such films has been focused around how "real" they are in their depictions of African American life (Carstarphen 1999), even as such films often receive an enthusiastic reception by many members of African American communities. Once again, these different takes on the same text demonstrate how the possession of the gaze and the "reading off" of texts is highly personal and entirely subjective. This is not to say that individual analyses are not worth doing, but it is to offer a reminder that critiquing a text for its impact on real people, looking for a cause–effect outcome, is not as fixed or immutable as some commentators might suggest.

The great majority of studies that are published in English and undertaken on the image of women in entertainment media focus on women in Western cultures, and while problematizing the gender relations that often

attend plotlines, especially where women are lead characters, the category "woman" is often homogenized even though she is nearly always white. Such issues have been taken up by a number of postcolonial scholars such as Radhika Parameswaran (2002), who reveal the complex ways in which women's representation has been influenced by culture, class, colonial, and national processes. They are also concerned with showing how the oppression of men under colonial domination makes it essential to examine depictions of both male and female gender roles.

However, for balance, we should also include an example of a more positive response to a screen adaptation of a African American novel, in this case, *The Women of Brewster Place*, which was a two-part adaptation of Gloria Naylor's novel, first aired on ABC in 1989. It tells the story of a group of women living in a run-down neighborhood through their relationships with each other. It attained a certain amount of publicity partly because its primary character and executive producer was Oprah Winfrey, who used her own celebrity to urge ABC to broadcast the serial (Bobo & Seiter 1991). It was also the first time that a woman (Donna Deitch) had been hired to undertake a film adaptation of work by a black woman novelist. Although, as Bobo and Seiter argue, the serial contained the routine elements of melodrama and soap, it also discussed less common themes, such as the community to be found between African American women, the importance of their peer support, and issues around violence, racism, sexism, and homophobia. While a (small) screen adaptation of an important novel rarely does justice to the complexities and nuances of the latter, *The Women of Brewster Place* tried to remain faithful to the original book. The show symbolizes the enormous possibilities for honest, interesting representations of women in media when women are in control of scripts and production.

The brief discussion above looks at the critiques of the images of women of color in mainstream, Western entertainment media, but what about the representation of other women, other identities, other geographies? Sheena Malhotra and Everett Rogers's work (2000) shifts the Anglocentric gaze eastward in a study that explores the rapid development of private satellite television in India that occurred during the 1990s, analyzing the shifts in the representation of women which that technology ushered in. For these authors, new media developments transformed the routine and traditional image of woman as housewife and mother to images of women who existed as sexual beings, had adopted Western lifestyles, and often worked outside the home. However, as we have seen elsewhere, women's newly found

empowerment is severely compromised by their mediated construction within the boundaries of existing patriarchal relations. Thus the progressive potential of more modern images is too often defeated by a lack of progress in the real world.

Portrait of a lesbian

Issues of race and gender have received critical analysis in large part because of the efforts of feminist scholars of color insisting on identifying a clear politics of difference within mainstream feminist activity. Lesbian representation in fictional media has received rather less attention, although there is a growing literature on the topic. The inclusion of lesbian characters in soaps and drama has been a rather hit-and-miss affair, with efforts often foundering because storylines focus exclusively on sexuality rather than character development. Darlene Hantzis and Valerie Lehr (1994) suggest that early attempts to signal lesbian and gay sexuality in mainstream entertainment media often resulted in what they describe as one-off "featured" characters; that is, they featured *because* they were lesbian or gay, often introducing some kind of camp element into an otherwise mainstream comedy show, or a more murderous or psychotic element in many police dramas and mainstream films (Croteau & Hoynes 1997). As Young (1996) and others have identified, a very typical role for an African Caribbean female actor to play is as a prostitute, especially one who gets killed, and Cathy Tyson's portrayal of the African Caribbean lesbian prostitute, Simone, in *Mona Lisa* (1986) manages to score several stereotypical hits with one character. While the film attracted considerable acclaim, with some critics even suggesting that the teaming of Tyson and [Bob] Hoskins was "inspired" (Bourne 1998: 184), others were less positive. The film critic Louis Heaton comments that:

> Cathy Tyson's Simone, though competently acted, lacks both credibility and character. Despite their obvious best intentions, the filmmakers have given us yet another stereotyped "hard"; black woman whose hatred of men manifests itself in lesbianism. (Heaton, quoted in Bourne 1998: 186)

By the late 1980s, there was a small but visible push toward the inclusion of lesbian and gay characters as part of ensemble casts in serial dramas, as the hitherto taboo subject of homosexuality had been recognized for its commercial potential (Moritz 1994). In 1988, in the United States, ABC

began to broadcast a new show, *Heartbeat*, set in a women's medical center and featuring Marilyn McGrath (Gail Strickland) as a nurse practitioner who also happened to be a mother and lesbian. However, it folded after less than a season because of poor ratings (Moritz 1994). Another early example of a US mainstream show's efforts (which also ultimately failed) to incorporate a lesbian character is *L.A. Law*. The show had a bisexual female character in the early 1990s in the shape of C. J. Lamb (Amanda Donohoe) but she only appeared in season five and by the end of season six she had been erased from the show. The show has since attracted a lesbian cult following, despite the infrequent appearances of C. J., but such is the desire to identify with her amongst lesbian audiences that infrequency was still better than invisibility:

> Given the fact that so few lesbian and gay characters appear on television, it could be argued that *any* portrayals of lesbians and gays that are not clearly negative should be valued. (Hantzis & Lehr 1994: 118 – original emphasis)

When Jeanette Winterson's novel *Oranges Are Not the Only Fruit* was adapted for television and screened in the United Kingdom in 1990, it was scheduled in what Hilary Hinds describes as the controversy slot, a prime-time evening slot reserved for risky and adult material, most usually portraying sex scenes (Hinds 1992). With *Oranges*, the explicit sexual nature of the narrative was even riskier than usual, since scenes of lesbian sex were (and are still) rare on mainstream TV. However, Hinds argues that despite the author's explicit intention to subvert the normative assumptions around home, church, and sexuality in the piece, most critics' positive reception of the work was because they saw it as an allegory of the human condition – we are all seeking love – not because they understood the lesbian love story at its core. In particular, given the relatively circumscribed nature of lesbian characters in most mainstream shows, one-off screenings such as *Orange*s or the more overtly erotic *Tipping the Velvet* (BBC, 2002, adapted from the novel by Sarah Waters), provide more credible and complex characterizations than the 2-D women we more usually see, devoid of passion, tortured, dependent, passive.

While lesbian and gay characters can be safely domesticated and their potency neutralized by their framing as figures of (albeit witty) fun, as in the US programs *Will and Grace* (KoMut Entertainment, 1998–) or *Queer as Folk* (Channel 4, 2002–), or even the eponymous *Graham Norton* (So Television, 2001–), when the reality of sexual passion is played out in the

living room, there are often vociferous complaints. On Christmas Eve 1993, the UK's Channel 4 soap, *Brookside* (Mersey Television, 1982–2003), featured the first lesbian kiss on TV between Beth (Anna Friel) and Margaret (Nicola Stevenson), prompting a deluge of complaints from offended viewers. However, when Channel 4 cut the scene from the omnibus version screened later that week, there were corresponding complaints about their crass decision:[1] in 2002, "the kiss" featured at 59th place in Channel 4's viewer-determined top 100 sexiest moments.[2] Similarly, Larry Gross (1994) points to the furore surrounding the character of C. J. Lamb in *L.A. Law*, when she kissed another woman attorney in one episode in 1991.

On the face of it, all these efforts to include lesbians in the media landscape are laudable but, sadly, they have nearly always been extremely short-lived: lesbians come and go with unseemly haste. The fanfare that heralded Della and Binnie's arrival in *EastEnders* (BBC, 1985–) was quickly muted when they left to start a "new life" in Ibiza less than 12 months later. Clearly, there is a structural dynamic within soaps that requires regular upheaval and controversy, but the problem with lesbian characters is that they are never firmly integrated within the fabric of a particular soap or drama: once storylines focused on their sexuality have been exhausted, they are written out of the narrative rather than allowed to play an "ordinary" part in the life of their particular community.

Program-makers are mostly unwilling to "represent women's desires because [they are] unwilling to threaten heterosexuality and the heterosexist male role of definer and center of female relationships" (Hantzis & Lehr 1994: 119). However, the more routine lesbian characters that now occasionally populate US mainstream series such as *ER* (Warner Bros, 1994–), and even *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* (UPN, 1997–), suggest that lesbian lifestyles might eventually be "normalized" within the fictional worlds of entertainment media. And there continue to be "firsts" in television's relationship with sexuality: in October 2000, the long-running US soap, *All My Children* (ABC, 1970–) took a bold step when 16-year-old Bianca Montgomery (Eden Reigel) came out as lesbian and did so in a lesbian bar. As C. Lee Harrington (2003) remarks, both the outing and the venue were remarkable for their never-before-in-daytime-soap novelty.

However, there remains a tentativeness about *really* dealing with sexuality, so that even in the relatively progressive characterization of Bianca, she is not part of a lesbian group, her love affairs mostly take place off camera, and the community around her shows total and unrealistically unconditional support (Harrington 2003). Nonetheless, the more-rounded lesbian

characters exemplified by Bianca or Willow (*Buffy*) or Kerry Weaver (*ER*) are unarguably more appealing and more credible than the badly drawn psychopaths who populated the media landscape in the 1970s and 1980s. Part of this shift is due in no small part to the cynical recognition on the part of film- and program-makers, that the pink pound has considerable purchasing power (Becker 1998). The production appeal to the affluent middle-class, well-educated white lesbian does of course prompt concern over the simple substitution of one set of stereotypes for another, since many TV genres rely heavily on their audience's implicit understanding and recognition of particular stereotypes.

Conclusion

What we have attempted to show in this chapter are the various ways in which the subject "woman" has been portrayed in popular television and film, principally over the past 30 years. There is no doubt that the landscape for women has changed considerably over that period, and that images and plotlines that are now routine would simply have been inconceivable 30 years ago. To a large extent, this really is a case of art following life, since women's progress must eventually be mirrored on the large and small screen. Since at least 2000, *Law & Order* (Universal, 1990–) has had a woman chief, strong women have lead roles in the most popular soaps, lesbian doctors feature in *ER*, and Jessica Fletcher (Angela Lansbury) enjoyed repeat success on BBC in 2004 as the pensioner detective in *Murder She Wrote* (CBS, 1984–96). In other words, women's representation today is certainly "better," in many ways, than ever before. Sometimes, this has come about through women film- and program-makers subverting routine, stereotypical, and normative versions of their lives, by taking control of the camera and producing their own material. Sometimes, it has come about through working with men in alternative and mainstream production. But as women still experience actual prejudice and discrimination in terms of unequal treatment, unequal pay, and unequal value in real life, then so too do these themes continue to occur in media portraits. We hope that we have shown some of these contradictory impulses and the uneven nature of women's progress on both the large and small screens. We argue for women's greater control over the representations of their and our lives, so that the wonderful diversity of all our experiences becomes incorporated in the popular media landscape.

Notes

1 See www.bbc.co.uk/drama/tipping/article_1.shtml (accessed September 23, 2004).
2 See www.channel4.com/film/newsfeatures/microsites/S/sexy/nominees_b4.html (accessed September 23, 2004).

3

Images of Women in News and Magazines

What I find amazing is that, when a man is designated as prime minister, nobody asks the French if they think it is a good thing that it is a man.

Edith Cresson, 1995[1]

In the early years of the twenty-first century, the representation of women in news and other fact-based media presents a complex and mixed picture of women as subjects and actors in society. Women still face many of the same problems that were evident several decades ago, when feminists first raised their critiques of women's marginality and misrepresentation. On the other hand, news and feature articles about women's experiences have increased in range and scope over the past three decades. But there are worrying trends, especially in the commodification of women's bodies, where we are actually being reduced to less than the sum of our body parts. A number of studies show that this description, which appears in a proliferation of advertising that dominates the space of magazines and newspapers in much of the world, is quite literally apt: many of today's adverts display women's bodies in parts, "as buttocks, thighs, legs, breasts, facial skin" (Carter & Weaver 2003: 122), primed and ready to be fetishized (Caputi 1999; Kilbourne 1999). Despite the hyper-unreality of many of these mostly male-ordered constructions, the persistence and regularity of their (re)production provides easy passage into everyday discourse, subtly defining the contours and limits of the "proper" ways of looking and being female, thus maintaining gender inequalities without even being seen to do so (Smith 1990).

In spite of a global women's movement that has lasted more than three decades and made substantial gains on both legal and cultural fronts in

most nations of the world, there has been a stoic stability in sexist media representations everywhere. This is certainly not to argue that such imagery has gone unchallenged by feminist scholars, by pressure groups, by women media workers, and by ordinary women themselves. In the 1970s, feminists in Europe and the United States held annual Take Back the Night marches in major cities to demand an end to depictions of rape, battering, and sadistic portraits of women in film and other media. Since then, however, the underground nature of pornography industries has leached into the mainstream of many nations, with violent videos (featuring abuse and denigration of women) now available in the corner video store and numerous advertisements parading nude and near-nude figures of both women and men. Television programming in some nations – particularly in the late-night zone – features overtly sexual content, including graphic sexual assaults. Print and television news are similarly problematic, especially as they have shifted toward celebrity and lighter content.

Again, women have not stood idly by but, rather, have acted in a number of ways to improve coverage or to produce alternative news and other media structures. In addition, women working in media professions have made some gains through the years in terms of their own advancement in creative and decision-making ranks, as well as in increasing the amount of content about women.

This chapter, then, considers these issues as documented through the work of feminist media scholars who have examined media content over the past few decades in order to expose the patriarchal ideology lying beneath, looking specifically at images of women in news discourse, and exploring the key tropes associated with women's subject positions in relation to news narratives, as well as the ways in which women's voices, both elites and publics, are allowed (or not) to speak. The chapter then moves to a consideration of women and/in advertising, focusing in particular on women's magazines. Given the considerable volume of scholarship that has explored and critiqued the representation of women in both fiction- and fact-based media, this chapter can barely scratch the surface of that body of work. Instead, we aim here to provide an overview of some of the recurring themes that have emerged from a canon of work that spans several decades.

Objectifying Women in News Discourse

Although it is possible to think that the ways in which women are constructed and represented in entertainment genres is mere fantasy and

doesn't necessarily say much about women's place in the real world, the same comforting thought cannot be brought into play when considering women and/in news discourse. While program- and filmmakers might insist that they must be free to follow their creative muse wherever it takes them, even if that's into politically incorrect waters (see Ross 1996), news media workers on the other hand, insist that what they show us is indeed the real world. The lie of authenticity that sits behind this facile and pompous claim has been constantly challenged by any number of studies that seek to understand how news *really* works, how decisions about content are made, how sources are identified and used, who owns the media, and so on (Tunstall 1977; Jones 1996; Franklin 1997; Croteau & Hoynes 2001; Manning 2001; Sanders 2003; Cottle 2004). That news programs prescribe their own routinized functions and protocols in the same way that fictional formats have *their* own internal logics – for example, soaps need dramatic tension, changing relationships, disasters, and so on – is often not appreciated by the audiences for news. There is never any acknowledgment that what we see, read, and listen to in the news is the result of myriad selection decisions that follow journalistic conventions in terms of what constitutes a "good" news story (see Allan 1999).

But news programs are deeply contradictory in nature: on the one hand, they provide a regular update, at the macro-level, on the social, political, economic, and cultural order of the day (Bennett 1997). Thus the news performs an affirmatory and confirmatory function in (re)articulating the rules of the game to which we are all supposed to subscribe. But then, on the other hand, the news comes to us, the audience, in small, discrete units that are often free-floating in a contextual vacuum, lacking background and thus unable to offer us precisely the explanatory coherence that would enable sense to be made of the particular news event in question (Iyengar 1991). News stories are everything and nothing at once, providing "information" about the social world but often without the necessary context that would make the events described fully meaningful.

As Pippa Norris (1997a) argues, to understand news it is first necessary to understand the various "frames" within which news narratives are contextualized (see also Entman 1989). These frames provide an interpretive structure that enables a particular story to be described, but they are not value-free. They are, rather, ritualized ways to understand the world, of presenting a reality that excludes/includes, and that emphasizes/plays down certain facts. News frames constitute highly orchestrated ways of understanding social (including gendered) relations that encourage a commitment to share a

particular interpretation of and ways of seeing the world that are entirely partial and that preserve the male-ordered status quo.

The ways in which women are represented in news media send important messages to the viewing, listening, and reading publics about women's place, women's role, and women's lives. The media, and in particular television with its huge audience share, are arguably the primary definers and shapers of the news agenda and perform a crucial cultural function in their gendered framing of public issues and in the gendered discourses that they persistently promote. If news media fail to report the views of women judges, women parliamentarians, or women business leaders, but *always* report on violent crimes against women, then it is hardly surprising that the public fail to realize that women do in fact occupy significant roles in society or, equally, that men are much more likely to be victims of serious crime than women.

If it has become something of a homily to say that the media, both news and entertainment, perform an important affirmatory role in reinforcing dominant gendered norms, it is no less true for the repeating. The extreme sadness and frustration is that after decades of feminist media analysis of media and marginalization, so little progress has been made. This is absolutely not to undermine the efforts of women (and men) over the past decades who have worked assiduously toward the goal of greater equality, some of whose stories are captured in the following chapters. But it *is* to argue that the stereotypes of women that emerged from work such as Gaye Tuchman et al.'s foundational work on images of women in mass media (1978) or Jane Root's (1986) work on women and television are almost exactly the same ones that feminist media scholarship identifies in the contemporary context of the early twenty-first century.

Over the past decade, successive studies have attempted to map and analyze the ways in which women are portrayed in factual media, and that *her*story is not especially positive, showing as it does a pattern of marginal presence on the one hand and stereotyping on the other. For example, in 1995, the Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) organized a simultaneous monitoring of news media on one day across 71 countries, in order to explore patterns of gender representation in news. In that study, it was discovered that, globally, 19 per cent of individuals featured in news stories were women and that the most popular roles that they occupied were as victims, mothers, and wives (Media Watch 1995). Five years later, a second monitoring exercise, undertaken with more or less the same number of countries and over 50,000 separate news items, found that the focus of women-oriented stories was almost identical to the previous study and that

the proportion of women featured in news stories had actually gone down by 1 percent (World Association for Christian Communication 2000). Once again, the "woman-as-victim" trope was the most popular. In both of those studies, radio, television, and the press were monitored nationally, regionally, and locally, but there were few points of departure across these different parts of the news landscape.

Looking at the European scene, the European Commission (1999) conducted a pan-European analysis of gender and news representation, and the rather negative conclusion of the report cites the low volume of women's appearances in the media across all genres, and argues that women are overrepresented as victims, usually of violence and often sexual in nature. Women are also often subject to overly sensational reporting (Michielsens 1991; NOS Gender Portrayal Department 1995) and later studies provide yet further corroboration (see Carter & Weaver 2003; Kitzinger 2004) of this trend. The Commission's study also found that "old" forms of gender stereotype have recently been introduced as a consequence of political and economic upheaval, so that in the case of Germany, reunification has resulted in a new emphasis on women as mothers and housewives. In former Eastern European countries, demands for "Western" goods and services, including easy sex, have encouraged the reemergence of women as sex objects in popular media discourse in those already ravaged and now ravished countries (Lemish 2004). The Commission's gloomy conclusion was that "the most that can be said is that change in gender images is hesitant and contingent" (European Commission 1999: 13).

Elsewhere, a Southern African study was undertaken in 2003 using the GMMP model – the Gender and Media Baseline Study – and covering 12 countries.[2] That study found that women are "grossly under-represented and misrepresented both in the newsrooms and editorial content of Southern Africa [and that] there are still cases of blatantly sexist reporting that portrays women as objects and temptresses" (www.genderlinks.org.za). In her work on Israeli media's portrayal of Russian women immigrants, Dafna Lemish (2000) comes to similar conclusions, arguing that the "whore" motif was the one most frequently brought into play. In India, Shree Venkatram (c.2002) conducted a 50-year longitudinal analysis of Hindi and English-language newspapers to determine how they had covered political, health, and other issues of interest to women, and how women had figured in that coverage. She found that English dailies had increased woman-related news from 3.6 percent to 13 percent over those five decades, and Hindi dailies' coverage had increased from 5 percent to 11 percent. In

photographs, she found women's representation to be falling in both language dailies. She summed up the biases: failure to take note of women's concerns, negating women's achievements, and a disproportionate emphasis on women's beauty and how they should properly behave and dress.

Of course, there are always exceptions to every rule and a surprising example of this is to be found in Shahira Fahmy's analysis of Associated Press photographs in the period during and after the Taliban regime in Afghanistan (2004). In her work, Fahmy suggests that although there were enduring frames of women's subordination, most women in the sample studies were portrayed as more interactive, more involved, and symbolically equal to the viewer when considering photographic features such as point of view, social distance, and imaginary contact. She concludes that AP photographers appear to be reflecting the realities of a more complex set of social relations, as women wearing burquas nonetheless perform liberation in the context of a deeply traditional society.

Women as Victim: The Trope of Fear

As discussed above, one of the most frequent frames of women in news discourse is as victim, and the media's fascination with the fragile female form and her vulnerability to violation probably bears a little further scrutiny, since it says something very powerful about women's agency and women's role in society. Several studies that have used qualitative approaches to women and news have looked at the media's treatment of women and violence and, in particular, at the media's reporting of sex crimes (Soothill & Walby 1991; Kitzinger 1992, 2004; Lees 1995; Cuklanz 1996). Women who are the target of male violence are routinely described as "victims," placing them as eternally passive and dependent, their lives entirely circumscribed by the whim of men. Identikit pictures of assailants are captioned with "sex monster," "crazed animal," or "fiend" labels, which distance these men from the ordinary variety, implying that normal men do not do these things, only beasts and maniacs. In the United Kingdom, the law was changed in 1993 in order for a young man under the age of 14 to be convicted of rape, and the media carried reports that suggested that "the public" was concerned at legislation that would criminalize children, as if adolescents are not capable of criminal and violent acts.

The framing of sexual assaults as "unusual occurrences" carried out by "unnatural men" encourages the view that such crimes are both rare and

the result of individual pathology that requires a law-and-order response, rather than constituting a serious social problem that requires a social reform solution. And the fast turnaround for news in the contemporary just-in-time newsroom environment, as well as a lack of interest in providing context for any story, means that each time a rape case is reported, it is as if for the first time. This results, once again, in the framing of such items as isolated and random events rather than the consequence of patriarchal power relations that structure all personal relations, including sexual ones (Myers 1997; Berns 1999; Cuklanz 2000). But using the frame of rapist-as-sex-fiend flies in the face of the considerable evidence from even a cursory look at sex crime statistics all over the world, that the majority of convicted rapists are friends or acquaintances of the (mostly) women they attack. So why does the orientation and language of most news reports on sexual violence still perpetuate the "sex beast" or "stranger-danger" myths despite the facts relating to intimately acquainted violence? Is it because to acknowledge that hard and shocking reality is to acknowledge the thin and perhaps imaginary line that separates the thought from the act, the shouting from the slapping, the tongue from the knife?

Helen Benedict's (1992) study of sex crime reporting found that women were often blamed for their "provocative" behavior but that not all victims were framed in exactly the same way. White, middle-class women tended to get more favorable coverage than either black women or working-class women. Thus, as with other kinds of crime reporting, issues of gender are further complicated by issues of race. Exactly the same kinds of value judgments are, of course, also made about the perpetrator, so that the good husband must have been provoked but the social isolate is truly monstrous. Mostly, the media message is clear: men just can't help their biological urges and women must dress modestly if they are to avoid provoking a sexual assault. It is thus women who have to bear the burden, in every sense of the word, of men's inadequacies, women who must modify and change their behaviors, women who are the guilty ones.

Women thus appear to be at their most interesting when they are in most pain, when they experience most suffering. Lisa Vetten (1998: 8), at the Center for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation in South Africa, argues that ". . . as a general point, of course men accused of rape are entitled to present their version of events, as are the women concerned. But when women are not given this opportunity, then coverage of rape rapidly degenerates into a media trial by innuendo and speculation." But the ways in which rape cases are dealt with by the media are not always

the same, and the contradictory rhetorics surrounding particular incidents could as easily encourage as discourage more women to come forward to report a sexual assault. Using the example of Nombonis Gasa, who was raped in 1997 on Robben Island, Lisa Vetten (1998: 5) suggests that:

> The assault was widely and schizophrenically reported on, with Ms Gasa being portrayed at various times as a liar, a survivor/heroine, an indulged government favorite, or MP Raymond Suttner's wife. One Afrikaans newspaper, along with some members of the SAPS [South African Police Service] denounced Ms Gasa as a liar who concocted a false rape allegation; simultaneously, *Femina* [a woman's] magazine, honored her as a woman of courage.

The contradictory approaches that journalists use to report on sex crimes continue to inform the tense debate over the precise role that the media plays in, on the one hand, trivializing sexual violence against women and routinely discrediting women's testimony and, on the other, helping to highlight what has become an almost endemic problem and thus encouraging more women to report such crimes to the police. Of course, as Vetten (1998) and others have pointed out, the media probably does both simultaneously.

News Media and Women Decision-Makers

While women-as-victim stories are by far the most frequent type of gender framing in mainstream news, the slow but steady progress of women decision-makers, as parliamentarians, local council members, and occasionally CEOs or other senior professional women, has prompted an interest in studying the ways in which such elite women, especially politicians, are portrayed in news media (Fowler 1991; Liran-Alper 1994; Kahn & Goldenberg 1997; Norris 1997a,b; Lemish & Drob 2002). In an extended study of the relationship between women, politics, and media across continents, Karen Ross has looked at both content issues (1995a), as well as how women politicians themselves think about their media-ted image (2002, 2004c). In all of these studies, Ross (and others) argue that women parliamentarians are rarely treated by the media in the same way as their male counterparts, they are always rather less than the sum of their body parts. They are persistently trivialized by media speculation over their private

lives, domestic arrangements, and sartorial style: they might be allowed to speak about policy, but their potency as change agents or even as serious politicians is casually undermined by the media's use of extraneous detail such as their age, their shoes, or their latest haircut.

Journalists' differential treatment of women and men politicians is thrown into particularly sharp relief in studies that make direct comparisons between the sexes. For example, in a study undertaken by the British Women in Journalism group (1996), the media's treatment of two political "defectors," Emma Nicholson and Alan Howarth, both Conservative MPs who joined other parties, was compared. A selection of quotes from the newspapers at the time of their defections (adapted from Women in Journalism 1996: 15) illustrates well the differences in reporting style and language.

On Nicholson:

> [P]rostitutes her views around the House for some months (John Carlisle MP, in *The Observer*)
>
> She and her husband, who was married to someone else at the time, "fell in love at a lunch party (*The Daily Mail*)
>
> [H]as been known for years in right-wing Tory circles as the Wicked Witch of the West (an anonymous Tory MP, quoted in *The Observer*)
>
> Emma Nicholson is an admirable woman but not a serious politician. Her defection is a dramatic gesture, gratifying to her personal opinions and fulfilling a psychic need but it will have the opposite effect from the one she wants to make. (*The Guardian*)

On Howarth:

> [U]nquestionably one of the most thoughtful, intelligent and independent-minded people in the whole House (*The Observer*)
>
> The Howarth testament insinuates itself into the party bloodstream and will dominate its body politic at Blackpool. (*The Guardian*)
>
> [D]isillusioned (*The Daily Mail*)
>
> [A]n extraordinary man in extraordinary times (*The Guardian*)

This kind of negative–positive framing when matching women and men across story types was also very clear in another comparative study, in

which Karen Ross explored the ways in which the press reported on the main contenders for the Labour Party leadership in 1994. In that coverage, Tony Blair was framed as upstanding family man, whilst the only woman in the contest, Margaret Beckett, was described in universally unflattering and grossly personal terms (Ross 1995a: 502):

> Mr Blair is a man of rare ability. Rarer still in modern politics, he has an unblemished reputation for honesty and integrity that commands the respect even of his most committed opponents . . . he is happily married to fellow-barrister Cherie Booth . . . and they have three children . . . Blair is a devoted and active father . . . committed to family values. (*Daily Mail*, May 13, 1994)

> Deputy leader Margaret Beckett, 51, has the task of leading Labour through the European elections [although] most Labour MPs admit she has been a disaster . . . and has even been ridiculed for her lack of fashion sense . . . Smith didn't look like the man to lead Britain . . . particularly with that gargoyle Margaret Beckett in tow . . . (*The Sun*, May 13, 1994)

Confounding the limits of "normal" female aspirations and role-types carries with it specific penalties that speak in the register of hysteria and aberration. The women politicians interviewed in Karen Ross's more recent work (2002: 98) identified a number of language strategies that were routinely employed by the media to describe themselves and their activities. Carmen Lawrence (Labor, Australia), commenting on the time when she was Premier of Western Australia, suggests that, as Australia's first ever female State Premier, the media were constantly finding new ways in which to signal her gender and her novelty, mostly because they simply didn't know how to cover this unique situation. She is well aware of the ways in which the use of first names is always a mixed blessing.

If some of the more powerful women in any given society have problems with being taken seriously by their nation's news media, there is little reason to be hopeful for the rest of us, although this generally dismal picture of women's struggle to voice is occasionally ruptured by studies that show less negative tendencies. For example, in Francis Lee's (2004) study of women officials in the Hong Kong press, he found that they were mostly portrayed positively and indeed were often constructed as the "perfect" woman, embodying the best of feminine and masculine traits and enjoying successful careers. However, even here, the construction of the perfect women masks the difficulties that those women will almost certainly have faced as they progressed through their careers, rendering work–life balance issues entirely invisible. In this way, gender inequalities in society can actually be

seen to be reproduced by such "positive" reports, since, by implication, if some women can make it, then all women can, and if they don't, then it's their own fault.

The Gendered Source

When challenged, journalists will often say that they don't cover stories focused on women politicians because there are relatively few women in positions of authority, either in government or in opposition parties. Although this is becoming less true, it is nonetheless seen as a legitimate excuse for marginalizing women's voices. However, what is less excusable is the ways in which journalists, either through laziness or tight deadlines, or any other of the reasons they put forward, tend to use the same (non-political) sources as expert commentators. Given what has become conventional wisdom about sourcing more generally – that is, that journalists will tend to use people like themselves who share the same opinions and will not select quotes with which they disagree in their own reports (Manning 2001) – source selection (meaning, choosing men) begins to become a little more explicable. As most journalists are men and most politicians and/or leaders and/or senior executives are also men, then a male-ordered circle is repeated endlessly in this buddy–buddy world. The journalistic predilection for using mostly "official" sources means that the kind of news that we then receive is the sanitized and official version (Gans 1980). How journalists gather news, who they use as sources, and then which quotes from those sources they actually incorporate into their stories all combine to produce a constructed version of "reality," both of the particular story or event in question but, more broadly, of a type of society.

Feminist media research focusing specifically on the use of women and men as sources for news reports provides predictable but still disheartening conclusions (Leibler & Smith 1997; Zoch & VanSlyke Turk 1998). In the latter study, the researchers set out to explore, among other things, the gender variable in sourcing, analyzing a sample of stories over the decade from 1986 to 1996. Of the 1,126 stories that were coded, the researchers found that only 20 percent of named sources were women. Similarly, in a large-scale study of women and television in Europe in the mid-1980s (25 channels in 10 countries), 1,236 news stories were analyzed over a composite week, and of the individuals interviewed in all those items, a mere 16 percent were women (Gallagher 1988). Venkatram (c.2002) found that Indian dailies (both English and Hindi-language) seldom quoted women and included very few

letters by women in the "letters to the editor" sections. Little progress appears to have been made, then, over the past decade. In Lynn Zoch and Judy VanSlyke Turk's study, they also found that articles featuring women tended to be shorter overall, and that the length of the female source's actual attribution was also significantly shorter than for male commentators:

> Since length is one cue journalists give to importance in a story (longer is more important), it appears, then, that men were quoted more frequently in the longer, more important stories, and were more trusted than women to give the longer, more in-depth quote. (Zoch & VanSlyke Turk 1998: 769–70)

Listening to "Ordinary" Jane (and Joe) Public

If there are relatively few women nuclear scientists and the current news debate is around nuclear testing, mostly sourcing men as experts has a logic, but what about when the views of the ordinary woman and man on the street are being canvassed? Surely here there is absolutely no reason why similar numbers of women and men should not be asked to comment on an issue of the day, especially at times when opinion poll results are constantly quoted in the media, such as during general elections. In studies that focus specifically on the incorporation of the public into news and political discourse, those that look at the gender dimension of who is asked to speak show that men are much more likely to be invited than women (Hernandez 1995; Ross 1995c). In a study of the radio phone-in show, *Election Call*, in 2001, around one-third of the callers were women (Ross 2004a) and a much larger study of British citizens and public access programming showed an even lower percentage of women contributing to such shows (McNair et al. 2003). However, it should be said that overall, the views of "ordinary" people are not routinely sought in news reports: in a study of "the public's voice" during the 1997 UK General Election (Ross 1997b), only 18 out of the 136 news items studied during the monitoring period (13 percent) used vox pops at all.

Magazines and the Same Old Story

If women are vulnerable to gender stereotyping across all media, nowhere is this more obvious than in the shaping of an entirely unreal construction of

passive female beauty in women's magazines, women whose broad characteristics are (mostly) white-skinned,[3] thin, and young, and which is manifested every day in every way, from advertising billboards for the Wonder Bra, to Jennifer Aniston's girlie lunches, to the manicured women who read the news. Over the past three decades, feminist media scholarship has shown, incontrovertibly, that advertising addresses us along clear gender lines (see Wolf 1992; Williamson 1994; Kilbourne 1999) and, within the category "woman," in ever narrower definitions. But the circulation of images of those perfect women with their perfect teeth and their perfect lives is nothing new. While most work on women's and teen magazines has focused on materials produced over the past 30 years or so, magazines, periodicals, and journals aimed at female audiences have been in circulation for more than 200 years (Waller-Zuckerman 1998) and were particularly abundant in the Victorian era (Damon-Moore 1994; Beetham 2001). In Erin Mackie's (1997) study of fashion and commodity in two magazines – *The Tatler* and *The Spectator* – she suggests that the eighteenth-century reader in England would have learnt about changing tastes and the latest fashion through such lifestyle magazines. But those publications also provided class-based analyses of taste hierarchies and, through their editorials and content, translated style into prescription. Mackie argues that these publications promoted more than just a lifestyle but, rather, functioned as key definers of women's lives more generally, fixing their place firmly within the realm of the private.

Exactly the same point is made by Jennifer Phegley (2004), commenting on Victorian family magazines in which the woman reader was encouraged into thinking and doing things "properly." But Amy Beth Aronson (2002) has a much more positive take on eighteenth-century magazines published in the United States, which were more often described as "periodical miscellany," and which were driven much more overtly by the contributions and perspectives of their readers rather than their editors. She suggests that these magazines were able to accommodate diverse views and opinions, and in fact encouraged lively debate within the pages of the publications so that (educated) women who read and contributed to such magazines were afforded an unique opportunity for open debate and discussion.

Of course, political–economic concerns and particular ideologies are usually found together when commodification and exploitation are constituent of particular cultural products such as magazines and indeed other popular media. Over the span of the twentieth century, and into the opening years of this current one, it would seem that women's and girls' magazines are still pushing the same agenda. The fundamental difference between

then and now is that the straitjacketing of women's lives and aspirations now masquerades as girl power. As much as the rhetoric of empowerment gives women so-called control, the question is, of what? How empowering is it, really, for a woman to wear a French Connection T-shirt with the legend, "Fit Chick, Unbelievable Knockers" written across her breasts? Or to mimic the bad-boy behaviors of her male counterparts, such as excessive drinking, fighting, and swearing, and rationalize it as sexual equality?

It is ironic that, in the early years of the twenty-first century, amid frantic debates over the global (for which read "Western") problem of obesity, women in advertising are getting skinnier, if only through the expert use of image management software. And for many girls and women, the impossible bodies that ripple through their favorite magazines provoke anxiety and disgust with their own "imperfect" legs, arms, buttocks, and thighs (Edut 1998; Edut & Walker 2000; Arnold 2001). The potential influence of magazine-reading on the development of women's sense of self has thus preoccupied any number of researchers, because women's and teen magazines have long been seen as exemplars of hyperfeminized images that provide highly satisfactory sites for the mining of meaning (see Wykes & Gunter 2004). An important component of the feminist media project has been to understand the development of the genre and the role that magazines play in "defining" woman and femininity.

What successive studies of women's and teen magazines (McRobbie 1978, 2000; Winship 1980, 1987, 1990; Ballaster et al. 1991; McCracken 1992; Kilbourne 1999; Gough-Yates 2002) have shown are patterns of stereotypical gender images that have been remarkably consistent over the past three decades, promoting highly restricted (for which read patriarchal) versions of "acceptable" femininity, of what women are, and what they could and should be. As Meenakshi Gigi Durham (1998) argues, girls' magazines are involved in the circulation of a dominant and patriarchal ideology that privileges the male subject as an authority icon, whose desires are realized by the beautiful but subordinate female. By ensuring a regular diet of bad hair days, zit control, slimming tips, and helpful articles on catching and keeping a boyfriend, a heterosexual and self-obsessed lifestyle is blithely passed on as "normal," so that the maintenance of hegemony is achieved without even a hint of coercion (McRobbie 1991).

While many magazine studies have concentrated on semiotic analyses of the fashion pages and sometimes on the responses of readers to those airbrushed and digitally enhanced images, a handful of studies have looked at other content, in an attempt to identify what other messages are being

conveyed about the social world and women's place in it. In a study spanning 40 years of women's magazines, Kathryn Keller (1994) charts the changing justifications that those magazines promoted for the maintenance of a gendered division of labor, both in the home and in the workplace. Similarly, looking at the very popular magazine aimed at adolescent women, *Seventeen*, Kelley Massoni (2004) argues that the broad social landscape mapped in the magazine promotes a highly gender-stratified world in which men are routinely assigned the role of "worker" and wield all the power, whereas women, when they are given license to work, are encouraged to consider the entertainment industry as a good place to be. Importantly, in an arguably self-serving process of professional "grooming," Massoni argues that her analysis shows that fashion work, especially modeling, is promoted as the occupation of choice, the pinnacle of a women's career aspirations.

Some commentators, including workers in the magazine industry itself (see Milkie 2002), suggest that teen magazines are "just" entertainment and should be regarded as dream-schemes rather than reality-based artifacts, but that is surely a naïve and disingenuous reading. Teen magazines are structured in ways that actively encourage their audiences to identity with content, giving advice about real problems allegedly sent in by readers, tips on make-up and various kinds of sartorial advice, and of course endless articles on how to find the perfect man: this is not the stuff of dreams but of teen readers' real concerns, no matter how unrealistic.

Maybe It's Not All Bad . . .

While women's magazines are routinely and roundly criticized for their perpetuation of normative and impossible renditions of perfect femininity, occasionally, as is the case with Kazue Sakamoto's work on Japanese women's magazines (1999), they are applauded for their groundbreaking and different approach. In her work, three magazines aimed variously at teenagers and the twenty-something market, and published in the 1970s, were scrutinized for content. Sakamoto argues that these magazines – *An'an*, *Non'no*, and *More*! – constituted transgressive vehicles for the circulation of extremely subversive ideas, such as finding ways to avoid parental surveillance (the first two) and strategies for avoiding a traditional life centered around husband and children (*More!*). Importantly, what these magazines promised was not an impossible fantasy, but real knowledge and

information about how to obtain this different life. Sadly, the counterculture signaled by these magazines did not develop into a full-blown assault on traditional (and thus patriarchal) values within Japanese society, and as Catherine Luther and Nancy Nentl (2001) show in their work on young contemporary Japanese women, the desire to be married is still a dominant aspiration. Nonetheless, the hopeful moment of the 1970s did seem to provide a catalyst for change, however short-lived, and even the global product *Cosmopolitan* has been vaunted as championing sexual and economic freedom in its content during that decade (Ouellette 1999).

The promise shown by the magazines considered in Sakamoto's work is further advanced by David Gauntlett (n.d.) in his analysis of some of the newer British young women's magazines such as *More*! He suggests that such magazines promote a girl-power message that is strong, assertive, and insists that women can do whatever they want, dress how they want, and be whoever they want to be.Whilst he acknowledges the overt heteronormativity of the magazine, and that the magazine has mostly replaced men behaving badly with their female counterparts, and that the advertising perpetuates the same thin white models as the rest of the industry, he nonetheless feels able to conclude that this is still acceptable. The ex-journalist Brian McNair (2002) makes a very similar, anything-goes, point, arguing that the pervasive use of sex and sexual imagery throughout popular media should be seen as the democratization of desire and a positive expression of postwar liberalism rather than as a decline in social morality. Elsewhere, evaluations of the impact of the erotic in advertising have received a rather more critical treatment (see Reichert & Lambiase 2003). But Gauntlett (2002) still insists that contemporary teen women's magazines are so varied that they should not be condemned *en masse* for peddling the same stereotyped message, but his very identification of their shared and largely negative (for women readers, at any rate) characteristics somewhat undermines his diversity argument.

To be sure, the content of many women's magazines *is* varied, but is often also contradictory, and it is precisely these kinds of mixed messages that can create such problems for readers (McCracken 1992). For every article on girl power and career planning, there's another one on attracting a boyfriend and honeymoon destinations. For every agony aunt who insists that the reader should be happy with herself, there's a real-life story of finding love with Weight Watchers. As Laura Compton (2001) notes wryly, whilst *Bridget Jones's Diary* was an instant success for its American writer, Helen Fielding, because of "ordinary" women's easy identification with the

eponymous hero, when the film was released, the only aspect that critics wanted to discuss was Renée Zellweger's decision to gain 20 pounds to play the lead role more convincingly.[4] It is precisely this issue of weight and body image, and the promotion of the thin white fashion model, that continues to cause considerable concern, especially the possible cause–effect relationship between teen readers, magazines, and the prevalence of eating disorders (Bordo 1995; Hesse-Biber 1997).

Worryingly, the staff who work on teen magazines are only too aware of the fantasies being peddled through their own endeavors. In Melissa Milkie's (2002) interview-based work with editors of two teen magazines aimed at young women, her respondents express ambivalence toward the demands by audiences and researchers that magazines should portray "real" women within their covers and their own ambivalent feelings about the contradictions that they face in their daily lives. Milkie suggests that although editors mostly agree with the repeated criticism from teen readers (and others) that they rarely use "real" women in their content, they offered two kinds of reason for maintaining the status quo. One set of reasons related to exogenous factors such as not wanting to challenge photographers' choices of models, as they had a better sense of the right kind of aesthetic, being at the mercy of the advertisers who wanted gorgeous models to sell their products, or simply the requirement to reflect the wider media landscape, which valued youth and beauty. The other set of reasons related to readers' misunderstanding of the content of the magazine, including that they didn't know how to "read" the images as fantasy, that they wouldn't *really* want to see real people, since reality was synonymous with fat and ugly, and that readers should look beyond one or two images and understand that the total message of girls' magazines is about empowerment. The outcome of both forms of rhetorical strategy is to de-legitimize young women's demands for more authentic representations of themselves and instead contribute to the maintenance of a tightly controlled rendition of correct femininity via editors' cultural gate-keeping role.

Efforts to try to challenge the damaging and stereotypical images that teen and women's magazines persistently circulate through both their texts and their images have been at the center of much practical feminist work, including through self-help books, films, and media literacy programs. In Mary-Lou Galician's exploration of the themes of sex, love, and romance in popular culture (2003), she offers not only a critique but also a set of media literacy strategies to empower readers to challenge the myths of romance. The work of filmmakers such as Jean Kilbourne has also helped

to provide accessible analyses of advertising and the beauty myth through documentaries such as *Slim Hopes: Advertising and the Obsession with Thinness* (1995) and her Killing Us Softly series – see *Killing Us Softly 3: Advertising's Image of Women* (2000) – and also written texts such as *Can't Buy My Love: How Advertising Changes the Way We Think and Feel* (2000).

Conclusion

What a discussion of feminist media analyses of women's representation in news and magazines demonstrates, incontrovertibly, is that the media's framing (in every sense of the word) of women in highly restricted and mostly negative ways is not simply the consequence of the idiosyncrasies of this newspaper, that TV channel, or that radio station but, rather, is a *global* phenomenon that has endured over time and media form, and continues to do so. The fruits of all the various research studies briefly discussed above have interesting but ultimately depressing things to say about women's role and function in modern societies, not least that the most common way for women to feature as subjects for news stories is as victim, especially of sex crimes. The news media are primary contributors to public debate on violence and play a crucial cultural function in their use of explicitly gendered frames in news reportage. As Allan points out, "reports of male violence being perpetrated against women have appeared in the news on a routine basis since the emergence of popular newspapers in the nineteenth century" (Allan 1999: 149). And the way in which the media continue to contribute to this circulation of passive and victimized femininity is through the repetitive framing of woman as victim, woman as object, woman as body. This particular frame is routinized and normalized, endlessly recycled to protect the status quo – men on top, again, and women underneath, in every sense. Women remain always less than the sum of their body parts. The blatant sexism of some of the tabloid press – for example, the British tabloid *Sunday Sport's* regular pull-out of almost-nude women with its attendant slogan "Ave it!" – provides an apposite comment on the place of women in the news: we are there to be *had*.

Furthermore, as any number of studies show, the scene is remarkably similar across developed and developing nations. Venkatram (c.2002) found that Indian newspapers in the 1970s gave more attention to women's serious participation as leaders and doers when there was a vibrant women's movement. By contrast, today, she said:

> And then, emerged the global stereotype. Beautiful and sexy, in a world of her own where nothing matters except good clothes and make-up, five star food and exercises in the gym. Propelled by the advertisers, the media trained its lenses on this creature, making her into an icon, and lost sight of the carriage carrying the real women. (p. 62)

However, we would be remiss if we did not acknowledge – as we will throughout the book – that change happens alongside recalcitrance, as feminists address media bias, discrimination, and exclusion in systematic ways and push the agenda forward. For example, as a consequence of the publication of the Gender and Media Baseline Study in 2003, the South African News Editors' Forum (SANEF) agreed, at their AGM that same year, that they would make renewed efforts to improve the representation of women in their media, and thus far, workshops and discussions have taken place in several key newsrooms across South Africa.[5] The impact of the news industry itself waking up to its responsibilities will not be felt for some years to come but, as we stated at the beginning of this chapter, part of the purpose of feminist media scholarship is to be in for the long haul, to monitor the media closely, and to provide longitudinal findings against which the rhetoric of the industry can be measured, challenged, and hopefully made more real.

Notes

1 Edith Cresson interviewed by Laura Liswood (1995: 65).
2 See www.genderlinks.org.za
3 Although there are a few nods toward the global village through the industry's use of minority ethnic models such as Naomi Campbell or Iman, few nonwhite women (with the exception of Campbell) have been able to sustain a commercially viable presence in the sector when compared to women such as Kate Moss, Claudia Schiffer, or Christie Brinkley.
4 On the British release of the sequel, *Bridget Jones: The Edge of Reason*, in 2004, these comments resurfaced.
5 Interview with Judy Sandison, SABC, June 8, 2003; email correspondence with Judy Sandison, May 10, 2004.

4

Women as Audience[1]

With women it's "pardon me while I bake a cake or have a child," they're pulled 60 ways from Sunday. It's hard to know what's woman and what's custom. I find a woman's point of view much grander and finer than a man's.

Katharine Hepburn, *Newsweek*, January 10, 1969

The ways in which an audience interacts with a text have been the object of much feminist media research over the past decades. While the concept of "the audience" has itself moved through an arc from passive to active to interactive, so the embodied audience has become fragmented as the media industry tries to deliver niche audiences to particular advertisers. It is of interest, then, to try to understand the contours of particular audiences, including women, for different cultural products, including film, television, radio, print media, and, more recently, new technologies.

While there remains a relatively modest literature on women as audiences – in general, there are significantly more text-based than audience-based studies, largely for reasons of cost – much of the research that does exist concerns women's relationship with popular genres such as television soap opera. It is for this reason that the chapter begins with a sustained discussion of feminist media scholarship on women audiences for soaps, before moving on to consider research on other aspects of women's audiencehood, including film-going, crime genres, news, and magazines. To date, most of this work has taken a cultural studies approach; therefore, this will be the main literature that we cover. However, because feminist political economists have raised important structural critiques of the

media–audience relationship, we will also highlight that debate and its work. The history of feminist engagement with the female audience is, in some ways, exemplified by the overdetermination of research studies on soaps which, as we will see later, is itself a product of feminist scholars' recognition of what women watched and enjoyed. The last section of the chapter concentrates on women's use of and relationship to new technologies; the rise of the Internet, in particular, is forcing a new (re)consideration of the ways in which we function as an audience. Importantly, the level of interactivity that is enabled by technologies such as the Internet or digital television means that the viewer really can exert influence over how she watches, listens to, and reads popular media: finally, there is a reality to the rhetoric of audience power.

Soap Opera as the Ultimate Female Genre

Research on the gendered audience spans more than half a century, although even 50 years ago there were contradictory views on what kind of women were consuming popular cultural products such as soap opera. For example, while some studies (Arnheim 1944; Warner & Henry 1948) identified the "typical" consumer of radio soaps as working-class women with little education and limited possibilities for advancement, others in the same period (Herzog 1944) suggested that women across *all* social classes enjoyed soaps. However, there was a little more agreement about some of the other (imagined) characteristics of the typical female audience, including that she was usually married and between the ages of 18 and 35, with some education (Brown 1994). Herzog's analysis of soap consumers was more "positive" than other studies because she argued that audiences used soap opera to learn about aspirational middle-class values and behaviors. Later studies (see, e.g., Compesi 1980) began to conceptualize soap audiences as being more educated than previous studies had suggested, but still characterized them (women) as being socially lacking or isolated, watching soaps to escape the tedium of their dull lives.

By the 1980s, much "mainstream" work on soap audiences still maintained that there was a correlation between social interaction and sociability in the real world and the extent of soap-watching (Rubin 1985). This reinforced the idea that soaps function as a surrogate friend for social inadequates. But what was often absent from these somewhat positivist and generally harsh analyses of the soap audience was any real sense of the

discursive and pleasurable possibilities for social interaction based on a shared enthusiasm for particular shows. This analytic gap was puzzling, since there was often an acknowledgment running through such studies that viewers *did* talk about shows with other people, and that they derived pleasure both from individual consumption and the post-broadcast discussion with friends, family, and/or workmates.

However, one study that finally identified the social glue of soap-watching that held groups of people, or more precisely groups of women, together was the groundbreaking work of Dorothy Hobson (1982) on the British soap *Crossroads* (see below). Arguably, it was the interest of (women) researchers who wanted to explore the genre of soap as a specifically gendered practice, aimed at women and enjoyed by women, that marked a shift in the way in which the audience for soaps began to be perceived during the late 1970s and early 1980s (see Brunsdon 1981; Geraghty 1981; Hobson 1982; Ang 1985). It thus became possible and even desirable to think about "popular" texts as foci for serious scholarly analysis, and with that shift came an understanding of the significance of popular culture in the lives of "ordinary" people. It is ironic that up until that point, mass communication theorists had mostly concentrated on researching those genres.

Dorothy Hobson's (1982) ethnographic research on the British series *Crossroads* made a significant departure from the more usual research mode. Hobson went to women's homes and recorded the conversations that she had with them about their viewing experiences of and responses to the show. A significant component of the research was the relationship of the researcher to the research community: in this case, Hobson specifically aligned herself with her participants as a sister *fan*, and was thus able to provoke candid discussions as a consequence of a shared and knowing interest. What Hobson found were viewers who enjoyed the show but were often embarrassed to admit that they watched, or defensive about their guilty pleasure, expressing an internalized disdain for the series, which they had "learned" from cultural critics. Her more recent theorizing on the value of soaps to women's lives has lost none of its potency:

> The use of events within fiction to explore experiences which were too personal, too painful, to talk about . . . is beneficial and a creative way of extending the value of the soap into their own lives. (Hobson 2002: 183–4)

Focusing on the same genre but using a different approach, Ien Ang's important study (1985) of the US program *Dallas* found, rather surpris-

ingly, that most viewers who participated in her study believed the show to be "realistic" and congruent with their own lives and experiences. Ang sought to give credibility to a show and a genre, which, at least in her home country of the Netherlands, was often dismissed as low-grade entertainment, despite its huge global popularity and, she would argue, its social and cultural importance. The moment of *Dallas* crystallized feelings, especially among the European cultural elite, about the dangers of the global American trash aesthetic invading national (and therefore better) culture and degrading it forever (Ang 1985). While *Dallas* was a conventional soap opera in terms of its genre mechanics, it wasn't intended to be a show that appealed exclusively to women. Still, Ang's work made very clear that women and men derived different pleasures from their watching and were interested in different aspects of the narrative.

Given that Ang's informants were Dutch women who had responded to her request, in *Viva* magazine, to write to her with their reactions to the show, the likely mismatch between viewers' own lives in mainstream Dutch society and the glamorous lifestyles of the *Dallas* families was likely to provoke interesting responses. How then could Ang account for audience perceptions of realism and experiential congruence in those narratives? While the female audiences for other soaps, such as Hobson's *Crossroads* viewers, also comment on the realistic storylines and identify with the personal problems and predicaments of characters, such forms of identification in *Crossroads* were more understandable, since viewers and characters could conceivably share a similar social milieu. With the *Dallas* viewers, though, this was clearly not the case. Ang's answer to this apparent conundrum was to theorize a notion of "emotional realism," so that the pleasures of affect for audiences were derived from a shared sense of personal tragedy, allowing them to empathize at an emotional level with the pain associated with familiar renditions of domestic dysfunction.

As with much earlier examples of gendered representation discussed in Chapter 2, the ways in which soap "problems" are resolved is often through an appeal to familiar renditions of "acceptable" (read "traditional") behavior. The pregnant schoolgirl, or the woman who leaves her cheating partner, or the daughter who kills her abusive father are not celebrated in soap texts but, rather, become the focus for a hegemonic discourse that inevitably positions them as deviant. Although some soap texts have taken a rather more considered approach in their elaboration of less "conventional" lifestyles and choices, such as gay relationships or teenage motherhood, there remains an underlying normative subtext that relegates those subject

positions to the very limits of "acceptability." In part, this is a consequence of the conventions of the genre itself, with its need for twists and turns and poor decisions, but it is also partly a product of moral convention. As Dorothy Hobson (2002) makes clear, the success of soaps is in large part due to their enviable ability to make the mundane interesting, to make the domestic dramatic – to make us, the viewers, believe in the characters even as we sometimes ridicule the storylines:

> The characters in soap operas are the key to why audiences watch the programs. The chemistry of a soap opera and its audience is one which involves a considerable commitment on the part of the viewers. (Hobson 2002: 105)

Recognizing these paradoxes is a significant aspect of better understanding the ways in which women find both pleasure but also create resistance to soap texts. Indeed, in Vicki Mayer's work with Mexican American women in Texas and their use of telenovelas,[2] she found that her participants believe that the narratives and storylines of their favorite telenovelas reflect "*some* of the national, ethnic, gender and class tensions"(2003: 479 – our emphasis) that shape their identities as young, working-class Mexican American women. Thomas Tufte's work (2000) on the same genre, but with audiences in Brazil, makes similar observations, including the suggestion that telenovelas make explicit social commentary on the culture and society of Brazil, made more overt by the title of his book, *Living with the Rubbish Queen*, which is also the name of a popular Brazilian telenovela.

Contemporary work on women and soaps has thus both continued the ethnographic turn as well as reviving more structured research modes. As with earlier studies, researchers have been keen to credit audiences with sophisticated deconstruction and interpretive skills, trying to understand their viewing behaviors and pleasures as forms of active engagement rather than passive dislocation. In her work on women soap opera audiences, Mary Ellen Brown (1994) insists that fan networks have the potential (and reality) of providing sites of resistance for women to engage in critical discourses about sex-role stereotyping and expectations. By doing this, she further develops Hobson's argument that the process of discussing plotlines and character development in their favorite soap can actually enable women to use those narrative themes as a springboard for much wider debates about their own lives and those of other women they know. The potential of a safe rehearsal of one's own life choices through the discussion of soap characters' circumstances is an important function for audiences, where

the shared experience of bad luck or poor outcome provides strong identifications between audience and character. Viewers thus "use television's narratives to comment upon and come to understand events in their lives, thereby providing themselves with a certain pleasure and perhaps relief . . ." (Wilson 1993: 86).

Lyn Thomas (2002) detects a layering of pleasure in taste, this time viewers' identification with a high-end as opposed to a trash show. Thomas shows that viewers and listeners of "quality" programs, such as the British productions *Inspector Morse* (ITV, 1987–2000) or *The Archers* (BBC Radio 4, 1950–), will often identify precisely with the values in such a way that the texts become part of audiences' own personal narratives. She argues that in this postmodern era, it is possible for women viewers to display conventional feminine attitudes toward the heroic male lead – "I *love* Morse" – while at the same time espousing a feminist politics. This apparent paradox is enabled because of the "distancing powers of ironic humor and camp exaggeration" (2002: 174) to be found in such texts. In this way, it is acceptable to find pleasure in viewing superficially traditional renditions of masculinity and femininity, because they have an inherent "quality," which means that consuming them is an acceptable cultural practice.

It is the narrative produced by audiences that constitutes the primary site of resistance, not the primary text itself, which is more usually encoded in line with the dominant conventions of a patriarchal status quo. However, some scholars have argued that soap opera itself is a subversive genre, since its staple ingredients of broken marriages, casual sex, unintended pregnancies, domestic violence, and petty crime are directly antithetical to the socially acceptable norms of romantic love contained within the domesticated marriage arrangement (Lovell 1981) and good citizenship. Martha Nochimson (1992: 121) suggests that at a very fundamental level, soap's interest in and thus portrayal of women's lives, because of the assumed female audience, provides useful gender role correctives to the more normative renditions of femininity and masculinity found in the archetypal Hollywood film: "There is good reason to believe that daytime serial audiences . . . respond to soap opera with joy and devotion because they are relieved to have an alternative to the dominance–subordination film narratives." Similarly, they might be relieved to see, in the case of strong female characters who also happen to be lesbian or old or black, a reflection of their own reality rarely glimpsed on TV, and thus grateful for the opportunity for identification, no matter how flawed the character may be (see also Bobo 1988).

C. Lee Harrington and Denise Bielby (1995) suggest that, unlike viewers who attempt to subvert mainstream narratives through, say, writing alternative storylines, the women in their soap study derived genuine pleasures from the original texts as they were broadcast. Far from wanting to construct alternative stories and characters in order to subvert sex-role stereotyping, soap fans' principal enjoyment was precisely in experiencing the affect and emotion provoked by the storylines. Crucially, Harrington and Bielby's work with women audiences reveals the importance of personal agency and autonomy. It allows that women do not necessarily watch their favorite shows in guilty disgrace, but in fact that they derive an additional enjoyment from the act of watching itself, a time-out-of-time when they *should* be doing any number of *other* things, but they *choose* to watch TV.

Perhaps we need to follow Julie D'Acci's (1994) advice, which is for feminist scholars to be a little less certain about soaps' aspirations and effects, given the highly contradictory ways in which the industry's figuring of women works both with and against real women's understanding of themselves and their representation in popular entertainment genres. In the end, according to Ang, soaps "do not function as role models but are symbolic realizations of feminine subject positions with which viewers can identify *in fantasy*" (see Ang 1990: 86 – original emphasis).

On the matter of resistance, feminist (and other) political economists have found it difficult to connect audience agency to any real democratic participation by women from that audience in their own behalf to either form or reform policies and practices. Lisa McLaughlin (2002: 38–9) cites Radway and others who contend that reader (audience) agency "often acts on a different terrain" than traditional politics, allowing women to resist something in their personal life rather than at the social level. McLaughlin expresses her skepticism, looking to Ang's assessment that ethnographic approaches to audience study (which have given us the notion of audience resistance through texts) perhaps only "promise to offer us vocabularies that can rob television audiencehood of its static muteness" (Ang 1991: 104). In fact, some international studies using a feminist political economy approach have found similar results to those framed within the cultural studies paradigm. Divya McMillin's (2003: 509–10) research with women factory workers in Bangalore, India, for example, found that women were able to critically assess the messages in television soap operas and the adverts they contained, and to make rational decisions about buying products and other aspects of their lives. She said that "these laborers achieved critical agency through their economic productivity" and their ability to

use television soaps (and adverts) as useful information. However, she acknowledges the reality of power structures that limit these women's autonomy – the low safety standards that they experience on the job, low wages, and the high cost of living. She advocates for media literacy workshops to help them develop a critical consciousness for "long-lasting policy and social action" (p. 510).

Women and Film

The principal focus for much academic study of women and film has been textual analysis (see Modleski 1982; Kaplan 1983; Kuhn 1984; Brunsdon 1986). Part of the development of "seeing" film through a gendered frame has pushed some feminist media scholars to look beyond the text and their own interpretation and toward the views of the audiences (see, e.g., Gamman & Marshment 1988; Pribham 1988). Helen Taylor's (1989) work in the late 1980s sought precisely to rupture the firm hold that "the text" had on film researchers, and the dangers inherent in theories that irrevocably situate women and men in fixed subject positions based on identifiable sex characteristics. In her work with women viewers of the 1930s film, *Gone With The Wind* (dir. Victor Fleming, 1939), she showed the multiplicity of readings that audiences could bring to a single cultural product, let alone a genre in terms of the "woman's film." She also identified the importance of historical specificity in understanding changing responses to texts, since the women who she interviewed in the late 1980s had seen the film when it was first made and brought a critical distance of at least 40 years to their readings of the film, then and now.

Similarly, Jacqueline Bobo (1988) set out to explicitly problematize the position of women and men as audience by focusing on black women's reactions to Steven Spielberg's (1985) adaptation of Alice Walker's novel, *The Color Purple*. In her work, she found that, contrary to the mostly critical tenor of (white) feminist analyses of the film, many black women found pleasures in the film. This was not only because Walker's narrative was an authentic and resonant one for them, but because they really wanted to identify with strong black women characters and such opportunities for positive identification were rare.

Such studies, although relatively infrequent, have been significant. They have placed the female spectator at the center of the analysis in ways that have given her importance in her own right, as possessing agency, rather

than being simply "positioned" by the text. Jackie Stacey's (1994) work also has a women-watching-women focus. In her research, she analyzed hundreds of letters and questionnaire responses from British women who had been regular cinema-goers during World War II and in the postwar period (the late 1940s and the 1950s). She was able to identify the pleasures that her subjects derived from Hollywood films of that era, particularly the pleasures that women experienced in looking at female actors who were intended to appeal to male viewers.

Women Watching Crime and Violence

One of the genres that we discussed in Chapter 2 as a vehicle for gendered representations was crime, and given the popularity of TV shows and films on this theme, the female audience for such material has become of interest to feminist researchers. In her work on horror movies, Carol Clover (1992) found more than she expected when she discovered the diversity of audiences for this particular genre both in class and gender terms, and the various pleasures that viewers derive from horror texts:

> One of the surprises of this project has been the number of what I once thought of as unlikely people – middle-aged, middle-class people of both sexes – who have "come out" to me about their secrete appetite for so-called exploitation horror, and I have developed a great respect . . . for the variety and richness of people's relationship to such texts. (Clover 1992: 7)

Through her work, Clover (1992) provides a gentle challenge to Laura Mulvey's insistence on the male voyeuristic gaze being always and everywhere dominant and directed toward the female figure in a fetishized and misogynistic appeal. Instead, Clover suggests that when looking at a genre that is well known for portraying women victims – the horror or rape–revenge movie – the viewer is often invited to identify with the female victim-turned-victor rather than with the male perpetrator objectifying the victim. Moreover, given the mostly male audience for these films, Clover makes the very postmodern suggestion that much in the genre encourages male identification with the female victim–protagonist–hero, which is an aspect of cinematic pleasure that is rarely discussed.

This way of seeing different things, and especially of giving value to what is considered a "trash" form of entertainment, is part of how audiences

justify their "low-grade" viewing behaviors. For example, an appreciation of the fighting skills of the martial artist is a seductive pull for some of the participants in Tiina Vares's (2002) study of women and "killer women films," giving them an "acceptable" reason to enjoy watching what would otherwise simply be a kick-ass movie. As the audience intellectualizes aspects of the content, the text is transformed into an object of aesthetic appreciation, giving the viewer a high-culture "defense" for her enjoyment. Such are the ways in which women's position and "required" behavior in society is constrained by prescribed norms of femininity, it is little wonder that women have had to invent strategies that allow them to breathe. In her study of women audiences for so-called "new brutalist" films, Annette Hill (2001: 146) found that women said they liked the ways in which films such as *Reservoir Dogs* (1992) and *Pulp Fiction* (1994) were "more" than just violent movies, because their focus on narrative complexity and characterization made them into "good" films:

> Female fans challenged the traditional perception of women as either non-viewers or squeamish views of violent cinema and in the process, tested personal, social and cultural boundaries. For this community of moviegoers, women enjoyed watching violent movies on their own terms.

Hill's discovery reflects, to some extent, Janice Radway's (1984) work on women readers of romantic novels, where she recuperates the importance of a familiar women's cultural activity. Radway's ethnographic work with women readers, discussed earlier, suggests that although women's consumption of romantic fiction could be seen as an internalization of patriarchal norms, it is the act of reading *itself* that is a resistant practice. It is precisely the time spent indulging in romance reading instead of doing chores that allows women the thrill of doing something for themselves rather than something for other people. Thus, Radway concludes, whether it's watching soaps, reading novels, or watching action films, women's engagement in these kinds of trivial pursuit are undertaken both for their own intrinsic pleasure but also, for some women at least, as acts of subversion.

The Gendered Audience for News

If soaps are regarded as the archetypal "women's" genre, then news and current affairs are seen as of almost exclusive interest to men. It is often taken almost as read that women are not interested in news and that, as a

genre, it is very much the domain of men. Consequently, although there have been any number of studies that have focused on how audiences understand news discourse, both print and broadcast, few of those studies disaggregate findings in terms of gender. However, in one early British study that did describe findings in gender terms (Wober 1981), women appeared to be less interested in national news programs than men, but more interested in local news. Also, in that same study, women and men were asked to describe women and men in real life and, perhaps not surprisingly, women were more likely to say that they and other women were more interested in careers and politics than men thought they were.

Women's actual interest in politics is rarely reflected in their on-screen characterizations or as a thematic in either fiction or fact-based programs, which ignore the very real interest that "ordinary" women have in the political process and the policies that affect all our lives. However, we would argue that women's views about news media have rarely been specifically canvassed and that when they are, they demonstrate at least as much interest in the world outside their own direct experience as men, but more often they believe that their interests and enthusiasms are not reflected in the diet provided by mainstream news media. In a country such as South Africa, with high rates of illiteracy, it is not surprising to find that the consumption of news media by women is far lower than that for men, and in at least one recent study – the 1992 *All Media Products Survey* – men are twice as likely to read a daily newspaper than women (Gillwald 1994). But this does not demonstrate that women are less interested in regional, national, and international events than male counterparts, since it could just as easily be interpreted as the news media's failure to engage with the agenda of more than half of its potential audience.

Karen Ross (1995c), one of only a few feminist scholars to conduct empirical research on women and news, was specifically interested in exploring the ways in which British women viewers engage with the images of themselves that are routinely portrayed in news media, and the extent to which they negotiate or challenge traditional gender orthodoxies (see Hall 1980; Morley 1980). Ross's participants fully understood the existence of specific slants and foci in news reporting. Sometimes the issue was political – for example, that programs are too politically biased – and sometimes the concern was expressed as news being too male-oriented. Yet other women suggested that news stories simply don't talk about women enough. Some viewers suggested that the news reflected different opinions and priorities to their own, and that too much content has nothing to do with

their everyday lives and concerns. Some opinions directly contradicted others: the opinion that there was not enough local news was matched by another opinion that suggested that the news was too wrapped up in parochial issues, and a number of women suggested that the news was not international enough, and was biased in favor of Western European concerns. Elsewhere, the style of news coverage was criticized for being too oppositional or involving too many word battles between politicians. Indeed, one response could have been culled directly from a media textbook: "Television quickly loses interest in subjects and 'drops' them with no follow-up. News coverage is concentrated on certain aspects of society and certain countries" (anonymous respondent, quoted in Ross 1995c: 12). What that study showed very clearly was that, contrary to popular opinion, women *do* watch news and current affairs programs, and when asked specifically about their consumption, the great majority of respondents reported that they always watched or listened to at least one news program every day and most read a newspaper regularly.

Women and Magazines

The ways in which advertising influences girls' and women's sense of self-worth through the representation of women and women's bodies in magazines have received considerable and enduring scrutiny over the past few decades in a number of nations. Some studies with magazine readers have produced ambivalent findings that cause us to question the uniformity of textual analyses. For example, Joke Hermes's (1995) study of women and men magazine readers in the Netherlands explored the ways in which readers comprehend the media product through their own interpretive frameworks. She found that readers used women's magazines as a recreational activity to while away time, but quickly discarded them when more pressing demands arose.

While much audience research is situated within a white Western paradigm, a number of important studies look beyond the Anglophone world. Some of these studies show that, irrespective of the traditional norms of "sanctioned" femininity associated with a particular country, young women may still aspire to the version of white bodily perfection promoted by global (fashion) advertising: they still want to be the wispy Kate Moss. For example, although the young Japanese women in Catherine Luther and Nancy Nentl's (2001) study felt that it was important to have a career, they

also wanted to be married. But what they craved above all else was social approval, looking outward rather than inward, and judging attractiveness to be important both for a successful career but also in order to perform the homemaker role. For these young readers, a belief that ugly women (that is, women who don't fit the mold) don't find partners and, therefore, are not "successful" was the ultimate disgrace.

In an interesting cross-cultural study of fashion advertising, Prabu David et al. (2002) interviewed women about how images of black and white women in advertising affected themselves and other people. Their study found that although all the participants thought that women who shared the same ethnic marker as the model would be more highly influenced by a particular "look," they had different views about their own likelihood of being influenced. While black women identified closely with black models, white women did not display the same affinity and the researchers suggest that this might be because black women were more likely to promote positive, community-based, self-esteem than their white sisters.

Erynn Masi de Casanova's (2004) interviews with young Ecuadoran women sought to determine the extent to which they "bought in" to Western norms of beauty. The researcher argues that although young women did adhere to Eurocentric beauty ideals, they also identified with an idealized Latina beauty image, suggesting that some young women have a more sophisticated, multicultural understanding of the concept of beauty than is usually appreciated.

One study emphatically in support of women's magazines – at least, teen magazines such as the UK-distributed *More!* (aimed at teens and twenty-something women) – is that conducted by David Gauntlett.[3] Gauntlett insists that these magazines encourage women to take control of their lives, to become sexually ambitious (although still avowedly heterosexual), and that such empowerment messages constitute a feminist progress. He justifies his claim by suggesting that research with the target audience, undertaken via online discussions, found that young women like the content of teen magazines, as they feel that discussions about sex and condoms, say, constitute contemporary rejections of the stuffy morality of previous decades.

The Interactive Woman

The vast majority of feminist media scholarship on women as audience has tended to focus on women's appreciation and understanding of particular

"female-oriented" texts, what they mean to them and their lives, and how they work with content both on their own and with others. However, these studies have generally assumed the audience as passive, in the sense of simply "watching" or "reading" material. More recently, though, the rapid developments in information and communication technologies mean that we have to rethink what it means to be an audience and consider the (potential, at least) shifts in power between the audience and the artifact. In 2005, if women like watching *Xena: Warrior Princess* but want to see Xena and Gabrielle in a more explicit embrace, they can watch or even create alternative storylines on any number of Xena fan sites. If women want to read news that resonates with their own interests and lifestyle, they can access any number of online newspapers and magazines on both mainstream and women-focused websites (see Harcourt 1999). If women want to watch a film but don't want to go to the cinema on their own, they can rent a DVD and watch it at home, including star interviews and outtakes.

The more active, discerning audience has not escaped the notice of media owners and advertisers, who now recognize the active audience in new ways as they seek to keep their attention and loyalty. For example, the producers of reality TV shows such as *Big Brother* (Bazal/Endemol, USA 2000– /UK 2001–) let audiences play an active part in how the show develops over a period of weeks by voting off contestants. The relative power of the audience seems to have grown, and although these innovations impact on women as well as men, how women and men actually experience being interactive is often quite different. These differences (and similarities) offer new sites for interrogation for feminist cultural studies scholars keen to understand these new practices of audiencehood, and to identify the extent to which traditional discriminations are being maintained or challenged in this brave new world. Feminist political economists are also interested in questions about whether these new interactive arrangements between women audience members really change either women's relationship to the media industries or their social status. Meehan's (2002) work, which considers gender in the commodity audience, offers a foundation. Among other things, she asks whether one can understand women's true power as a commodity audience without also examining women's economic status, their wages, and their ability to render meaningful institutional decisions made within media industries.

To be sure, for some time now, the emancipatory potential of a technology such as the Internet *has* been both celebrated and challenged by feminist and other scholars. In particular, there has been anxiety not to

over-romanticize the Internet as always and everywhere a force for "good." Early supporters of the Web celebrated its facility to offer not only a quasi-community in which to affirm membership but also a safe space in which to "try out" different identities (see Spender 1995; Turkle 1995). But other scholars (e.g., Scodari 1998; Sterne & Stabile 2003) have been much more cautious about the Web's allure. In particular, the overt and covert "rules" that limit and delimit user involvement continue to cause concern, as does the increasing availability of pornographic material and images (Arnaldo 2001; Taylor & Quayle 2003).

Interestingly, the same gender skews that exist in relation to audience involvement and participation in older forms of media are also found in new technologies. In other words, "old" forms of differential access based on personal characteristics such as gender and age, as well as geography (the North–South divide) are replicated in this new medium, as any number of studies on the "digital divide" have found (Norris 2001; Katz & Rice 2002; Warschauer 2003). For example, Liesbet van Zoonen (2001) argues that, with the exception of the United States, many more men than women use the Internet, and that women are more usually conceptualized as consumers (i.e., online shoppers) rather than active users, further reinforcing traditional dichotomies of woman-passive and man-active. The male-dominated development of new technologies is thus conceptualized as being yet another way in which to entrench gender divisions. Several studies in both the developing world (Misu Na in Korea, 2001; Priya Kurian and Debashish Munshi in India, 2003) and the developed world (Gillian Youngs 2001; Mei-Po Kwan 2003; Michelle Rodino 2003) show that women's use of the Internet is often squeezed in between discharging their other domestic and family responsibilities. In their work with rural women in India, Kurian and Munshi (2003: 353) precisely demonstrate the hollow reality of the gender/empowerment/technology discourse:

> In a conversation with some rural women in an "e-village" in southern India, a complex picture emerged where although they "ran" the village computer centre, the actual directives on the "who, what, when, where and how" of the data downloaded came from an urban-based administrative structure that was not only overwhelmingly male, but highly bureaucratized as well.

Most gender-focused work on ICTs has tended to look at the ways in which women audiences and users are marginalized and even excluded from the

marvels of the World Wide Web. However, a few more recent studies have explored the active relationship that women have as consumers and users of new technologies, both in general terms (see Lee 1999; Lægran & Stewart 2003; van Zoonen 2002; Wakeford 2003) and also in terms of sites aimed specifically at them as niche audiences.

For example, in her work on webcams, Michelle White (2003) considers the ways in which women's webcams differ from those produced by men, arguing that the traditional figuration of the gaze as exclusively male is being challenged by women's use and production of webcams. Similarly, in Frances Cresser et al.'s study of e-zines (2001), the authors found that women writing for and producing e-zines believe that they are doing something useful in their work for women consumers, including the establishment of online networks to enable like-minded women to communicate. However, the authors argue that what became clear in their work was that the Internet neither marginalizes nor liberates traditionally under-represented groups such as women, but rather replicates the unequal social relations that exist in real time.

From Liesbet van Zoonen's (2002) interview-based work with young couples in the Netherlands, she suggests that whilst there was a sense in which the home-based PC (and Internet use) was regarded by both women and men as constituting an extension to male territory, women didn't necessarily feel excluded from the technology. Rather, van Zoonen suggests that instead of thinking of technology as inherently gendered, its use or status is much more situation-specific. But given that women are less likely to be using new technologies than men, an interesting and innovative national response to this problem (both of representation and consumption) has been the development, by Norwegian designers, to produce CD-ROMs and Web services that appeal to girls and young women, in order to improve their ICT skills and make them more employable (Spilker & Sørensen 2000). When designing those technologies, aspects such as architecture, navigation, and learning styles have been important considerations.

Looking at the ways in which women and men use the Internet differently, Supriya Singh (2001) suggests that, contrary to the view of women as consummate gossips who are only interested in being entertained, their use of the Internet is much more deterministic and oriented toward information-gathering, where they regard the Internet as a useful tool rather than a technology to be "mastered." There are also class-based dimensions to Internet activities, and in his study of users in Switzerland, Heinz Bonfadelli (2002) found that highly educated users tended to use the

Internet more actively to seek out information, whereas less-educated consumers were more likely to use the Internet for entertainment. The parallels with Singh's gender-based work are interesting, and at the very least suggest that audience-based studies of Internet use must take account of a range of different demographic factors if such research is to be able to say anything meaningful. Even where women appear to confound gender expectations in relation to technology, as in the case of adolescent girls and young women enjoying so-called "male" computer games, they are quickly put back in their sex-box. Heather Gilmour (2004 [1999]) argues that Nintendo insisted that girls only enjoyed playing *Tetris* – a game without characters[4] – because they like to bring order to the world.

A fast-moving technology such as the Internet forces a regular reconsideration of how technology advantages and disadvantages certain communities or groups, and as notions of the digital divide become more complex (see Selwyn 2004), so the debate moves beyond the simple binary of North–South[5] into a more sophisticated and layered analysis of exactly who does have access, and where and in what ways, how use differs, and so on. Even in the prosperous North, the divide between those who do and those who do not have access to the Internet is widening in some countries, as Heinz Bonfadelli's work in Switzerland discovered (2002). And if Africa and Asia now boast tens of millions of users, prompting the claim that there is no digital divide, the differential take-up by women and men nonetheless mirrors not only the social relations that characterize different African and Asian countries but also the gendered bias of the technology itself, *pace* the Norwegian example above. Melinda Robins's (2002) work on African women and online services makes an important point about the fiscal realities of ICT development. She makes clear that as governments and NGOs establish ICT-based projects throughout the developing world, there are any number of strings attached to their progress and process because of the involvement, both overtly and covertly, of private investors. Where the users fit into this model is often not as comfortably or equally as the proponents of the Internet suggest, with compromise being a much more common outcome than needs-led provision.

However, the Internet *can* be a force for change in developing areas (and elsewhere), as Priya Kapoor (2003) shows in her exploration of a specific site, the Global Reproductive Health Forum South Asia. This site emerged in the mid-1990s, facilitated by Harvard University and managed and maintained by the Centre for Women's Development Studies (New Delhi) and the SNDT Women's University (Mumbai). Kapoor suggests that the

GRHF South Asia site is "inclusive of multiple perspectives, well managed, and participatory in that it shows coordination and collaboration with many different institutions within South Asia" (Kapoor 2003: 370). Because of its prominent position – unlike many activist websites, GRHF is often included in search engine hits – the site disseminates information that is otherwise very difficult to access, providing a counter-narrative to the state-sponsored rhetoric that is otherwise the only source of "information." Similarly, Ananda Mitra's (2004) study of a woman-focused website, SAWnet (South Asian Women's Network),[6] suggests that some of the strategies that women adopt in SAWnet, such as distancing authorship (where personal stories are posted but authorship remains invisible), could show a different future trajectory for the Internet. For Mitra, the "voicing" of women without sourcing of those voices encourages trust and authenticity, subverting power dynamics and leading to a "hypervoice" being created by the website itself. However, there are always different perspectives in play with any artifact, and Radhika Gajjala (2002) describes the ways in which her own effort to construct an ethnographic account of SAWnet were thwarted as debates about whether the group should be studied at all overtook their initial agreement to allow her access.

Conclusion

What we have tried to show in this chapter are the different ways in which women use, make sense of, understand, and interact with media products such as television, films, magazines, and the Internet. What seems clear is that the academic pursuit of the interrelationship between women audiences and the "text" is the ultimate unfinished story, and that in order to understand the phenomenon of *EastEnders* or *Xena: Warrior Princes*s, or the online version of *The New York Times*, we need to explore both the particular historical moments that produced those artifacts and also the time in which they continue to exist in their contemporary manifestations. It is through the exploration of social context and women's lived experience, and the tensions between the two, that we can better comprehend how women negotiate their position as audience against the reality of their own lives. At the same time, we have tried to introduce the critiques of feminist political economists who have challenged the notion that one can study women's relationship to the text without also examining women's relationship to the deeper structures that produce those texts. These

scholars also question the matter of women's ability to act in any kind of oppositional way to resist patriarchy simply in the act of "reading" the text, without entering into some form of democratic (political) action.

Crucially, we want to insist that it is not possible to position "woman" as a part of an archetypal female audience but, rather, that women bring their own particular *her*stories, experiences, and lifestyles to the viewing, listening, watching, and interactive context. This is not to say that members of audiences do not sometimes think of themselves as sharing something in common with others, such as women fans of particular soaps, but it *is* to argue that being in an audience can be both an individual and a group activity, and can mean different things for different people. Women audiences use cultural products for particular gratifications and pleasures, including being unruly in their viewing behaviors by watching trash when they "should" be doing something more "useful." Their media habits are therefore hard to generalize, which suggests that future research should continue to examine trends and shifts in female audience attitudes and behaviors.

Notes

1 Some material in this chapter has been reprinted from Karen Ross and Virginia Nightingale (2003, ch. 6), with the kind permission of the Open University Press/McGraw-Hill Publishing Company.
2 The more popular description for Latin American soaps.
3 See http://theoryhead.com/gender/more.htm
4 In the sex-typed world of computer games, girls are supposed to like games that have lots of characters and relationships, whereas boys are alleged to prefer games that have fast action.
5 However, this discourse of inequality is still a crucially important one in the context of a global knowledge economy that increasingly relies on involvement in the wired world.
6 See www.umiacs.umd.edu/users/sawweb/SAWNET/

5

Women and Production: Gender and the Political Economy of Media Industries[1]

In the name of freedom of speech, the media claim the right to represent women as they wish.

Margaret Gallagher, *Gender Setting* (2001: 18)

The ways in which media represent the female subject and the experiences of women working in media organizations themselves are the product of a world system of patriarchal capitalism whose globalizing tentacles currently threaten to strangle the fragile flower of change. This chapter, then, is concerned with exploring the ways in which the relationship between women and media industries is played out. We begin by looking at the highly problematic issue of media ownership and, in particular, the implications of a global industry controlled by increasingly fewer (male) players. We then discuss the location of women, as media workers, within different parts of the media industry, looking at patterns of women's employment over time. We go on to consider the experiences that women have had and continue to face in the media workplace, including issues such as acculturation in an avowedly male-ordered newsroom, the "normalization" of routines that are actually male-defined, harassment, and the denial of promotion to decision-making jobs, otherwise known as the "glass ceiling." The second part of the chapter looks at the strategies that women have employed to bring about change, including the production of alternative magazines and women's filmmaking practices. The chapter concludes with a discussion on moving from theory to action, and calls for a synergy between feminist media scholars and feminist media activists to push the change agenda.

The Problem with Media Ownership

Most analyses of the increasingly conglomeratized nature of the media industry have considered the phenomenon largely through a gender-neutral lens, making it difficult to see how women and women's interests are implicated in this trend. Carolyn M. Byerly (1998, 2004b) has argued, somewhat despairingly, that what has been missing from these critiques has been a sustained critical political economic analysis of women's position in media industries themselves, which recognizes the relationship between who owns media organizations and what is produced by them. Large commercial news companies today are more or less inseparable from entertainment, educational, and other media enterprises, which, since the mid-1980s, have merged into six huge multinational corporations – AOL Time Warner, Disney, Viacom, News Corporation, Bertelsmann, and Vivendi, the first three of which are headquartered in the United States. These corporations own the majority of newspapers; network and cable television and radio stations; both conventional and cellular telephone companies; and Internet news sites that form the backbone of today's capitalist global economy, both in terms of the massive resources that they command and the essential functions that they perform. Media conglomerates have been increasingly influential in economic, political, and cultural forums that constitute the public sphere and, if for no other reason, we must better understand how they work.

Issues of gender are a deeply embedded but invisible aspect of the restructuring that has been taking place in news and other media industries in today's global media scene. Canadian communications scholar Michèle Martin (2002) reasons that contemporary media systems serve as the instruments through which modern capitalism both produces and reproduces wealth, with the owners of those systems having greater control and access to revenues than ever before (p. 53). Theorizing women's location in this process requires that we consider how women are implicated in the macro-, meso-, and micro-level realms of media conglomerates.[2] The macro-level is associated with finance and investment, and the meso-level with relations of production, including the day-to-day decision-making concerned with policy-making and creation of products.[3] The micro-level is associated with media content, particularly the representation of women as subjects and the coverage of issues relevant to women's lives. Ellen Riordan (2002) has challenged feminist scholars to venture into studies of media economics in order to examine how matters of resources, labor, and content are never gender-

neutral. Riordan's own recent work on interrogating a so-called "woman-positive" text (*Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*, dir. Ang Lee, 2000) for its cynical capitalist intent, makes precisely this kind of intervention (Riordan 2004). Similarly, Alison Beale and Annette van den Bosch (1998), Carolyn M. Byerly (2001), and Sumati Nagrath (2001) agree that feminist scholarship must begin to involve women more actively both in the analysis of media structures and in the development of media policy. They recognize that the structures of men's financial and political power have not been constructed accidentally or at random. Nagrath also emphasizes that alternatives must be found to funding news operations: until they are independent of commercial interests, she says, they will not have the autonomy to represent women. As will be clear from the discussions in Chapters 2 and 3, the work that has been undertaken on issues of representation paints a very gloomy picture. The extent to which that picture would be different if more women worked in the media is discussed later, where we make clear that an outcome of difference is by no means guaranteed.

Women in/and Media Industries

The tiny proportion of women working in senior positions in the media, including in film, satellite, and even new media, makes clear that the problem is not "just" with news media, but also with the media industry more generally. Although changes in media and communications technology and the increasingly global nature of mass media are forcing a reconsideration of the relationship of media to gender, it is nonetheless clear from those studies that focus on women's involvement in new media that "despite their egalitarian image, *new* media industries – like *old* media and other creative industries – are marred by the persistence of gender inequalities" (Pitt 2003: 378 – original emphasis).

During the 1990s, a number of studies from around the world attempted to map women's employment within media organizations. The trend revealed by such statistical analyses shows that in Western media generally, women experience the glass ceiling effect when they make steady progress as entrants into the sector but then do not go on to achieve senior positions. In Finland, for example, the number of women in media industries far outstrips men (Zilliacus-Tikkanen 1997), although their progression to decision-making positions continues to be blocked. In Margaret Lünenborg's (1996) study of nine European countries, women accounted

for more than one-quarter of all reporter, sub-editor, and editor posts, but occupied a mere 12 percent of editorial executive positions. In the USA and Canada, the volume indicators are broadly the same (see Norris 1997a,b; Carter et al. 1998a; Robinson 2005).

When considering the status that women *do* achieve, it is clear that their involvement in the decision-making tier of media organizations has been extremely modest. At the turn of the twenty-first century in the USA, women comprised only 24 percent of television news directors and 20 percent of radio news directors, according to the 2001 Women and Minorities Survey conducted by the US-based Radio-Television News Directors Association and Foundation (cited in Lauer 2002). Similarly, a study published by the Annenberg Public Policy Center (2002) found that across telecommunications and electronic commerce (e-comm) industries, women make up only 13 percent of the top executives, and only 9 percent of individuals on boards of directors. Women make up only 26 percent of local TV news directors, 17 percent of local TV general managers, and 13 percent of the general managers at radio stations. Carolyn M. Byerly's (2004b) analysis of the six major media corporations revealed only seven women at board level and seven women occupying chief executive office positions. In her review of research on women in media decision-making from the 1970s to the 1990s, Ramona Rush (2001) found support for a phenomenon that she calls the "ratio of recurrent and reinforced residuum hypothesis," which predicts that the ratio of women to men in journalism and mass communication fields has remained more or less stable, moving slightly, from 1 : 4 to 1 : 3, over time.

On the creative side, Martha Lauzen (2002) suggests that 80 percent of situation comedies and dramas aired during the 2001–2 prime-team season on US network television were written by men: Lauzen also found that, overall, women comprised 23 percent of all creators – that is, executive producers, producers, directors, writers, editors, and directors of photography – in the same season. This percentage has remained almost unchanged for the past three seasons. However, the numbers of women writers hired to shows has declined, dipping dramatically from 27 percent in 2000–1 to 19 percent in 2001–2, although the reasons are unclear.

Unmasking the "Macho" Newsroom

The incorporation of women journalists into a traditionally male profession has the effect of "normalizing" what are essentially male-identified

concerns and a male-directed agenda. Thus, acceptance of journalistic practice and convention made on the basis of routinization allows male perspectives to be constructed as unproblematic, uncontested, and – most importantly – to appear as value-free (Komter 1991). In work undertaken with women working on metropolitan newspapers in South Africa, Alison Gillwald found that "few journalists, even those dissatisfied with discriminatory allocation of news stories, were aware of the 'male-centricity' of what they saw as standard journalistic practice – newsworthiness, readability, public interest" (1994: 27). Some women in Gillwald's study were not only apparently gender blind, but used the convenient example of their own success as a means by which to refute the suggestion of sexism in the industry. This strategy of self-deception – or, at best, a refusal to empathize with the real experiences of other women – was mirrored in the responses of some of the women journalists who took part in Karen Ross's (2001) study, responses that neatly exemplify an internalized sexism that places the blame for women's subordination squarely back in their own hands.

Newsroom culture that masquerades as a neutral "professional journalism ethos" is, for all practical (and ideological) purposes, actually organized around a man-as-norm and woman-as-interloper structure. And what feminist scholarship shows, when applied to a range of national contexts, is that these structures are remarkably similar and remarkably stable over temporal and geographical dimensions, as ample empirical and anecdotal evidence shows. For example, the experiences of women journalists in Aida Opoku-Mensah's (2004) study of African newsrooms was broadly comparable to those discussed in Ammu Joseph's (2004d) study of women in Indian newsrooms, and those examined in Louise C. North's (2004) critique of the newsroom in Tasmania (Australia). The consequences for women who choose to work in the male-ordered domain, which is the newsroom, are to develop strategies that involve either beating the boys at their own game or else developing alternative ways of practicing journalism. This latter is often achieved by working in concert with other professionals who are also on the "outside" of the "inner" circle by dint of the same or different reasons for exclusion; for example, journalists of color, self-identified gay and lesbian journalists, and so on (see also Byerly 2004a).[4] How women deal with the "typical" newsroom culture will of course depend on any number of personal, professional, and experiential factors, and such strategies can include (following Margareta Melin-Higgins & Monika Djerf-Pierre 1998): *incorporation* (one of the boys), which requires women to take on so-called masculine styles, values, and reporting behaviors such as "objectivity";

feminist, where journalists make a conscious decision to provide an alternative voice – for example, writing on health in order to expose child abuse and rape; and *retreat*, where women choose to work as freelancers rather than continue to fight battles in the workplace. Interestingly, although Melin-Higgins and Djerf-Pierre regard women's exit from mainstream media as a "retreat," many women media workers see their decision to quit as assertive and empowering, as will be clear from the narratives contained in subsequent chapters. For these women, stepping into the light of alternative media production is an exciting and liberating escape, even though the uncertain future of such work provokes a range of different anxieties.

The macho newsroom remains the focus of considerable feminist critique, as well as a site of political activism the world over, as Chapter 8 explores in considerable depth through the experiences of those engaged in efforts to make newsrooms and the news more egalitarian. These struggles are often quite public, as demonstrated, for example, in early 2005, when feminist lawyer Susan Estrich took *The Los Angeles Times* editor Michael Kinsey to task for *The Times*'s decidedly male-oriented editorial pages. Her argument gave rise to a series of articles, letters to editors, and editorials in the nation's media, calling into question the persistent lack of women journalists in US newspapers' editorial pages and, in some cases, the pigeonholing of women editorial writers into narrow topics typically thought of as "women's issues." In a letter to the editor of *The Washington Post*, political consultant Kirsten A. Powers (2005) asked why women shouldn't be able to comment on all matters of public importance, and then pointed out the obvious issue:

> It is 2005, not 1905. Seeking more than 10 to 20 percent representation on the nation's top opinion pages shouldn't be considered a radical feminist agenda. (p. A13)

Harassment in the Media Workplace

The few studies that have focused specifically on overt sexist and discriminatory behavior have found overwhelming evidence of both subtle and overt harassment against women staff. Research by David Weaver (1992) in the USA revealed that between 40 and 60 percent of female journalists who took part in his study had had direct experience of harassment. More than half the women and just over a quarter of men who took part in

Mary-Ann Sieghart & Georgina Henry's study of British journalists said that they had either experienced and/or witnessed discrimination against women, with newspaper environments being more likely to produce discriminatory behaviors than magazine publishing (Sieghart & Henry 1998). In yet another study, 60 out of 227 participating journalists believe that sexual harassment is a problem for women in the industry, with 10 percent also stating that they had personal experience of harassment (Walsh Childers et al. 1996). The kinds of harassment described in that study varied from degrading comments to sexual assault, and approximately 17 percent of the study's participants reported having experienced physical sexual harassment at least "sometimes." Byerly and Warren's (1996) study cites the experience of one woman reporter who was considered to have an aggressive reporting style, and who was given a jock strap as a leaving present by her male colleagues, with the words "sniff this for luck" written on the band. In a study of women journalists undertaken by Karen Ross (2001), a majority of her informants reported experiencing discrimination in the newsroom, viewing such behaviors as the price they had to pay to work in a male-ordered environment.

More subtle but equally pernicious examples of harassment are not hard to find. In interviews that we carried out with women journalists in South Africa for the cross-cultural study reported in this book, there were clear anxieties about how women's internal promotion would be viewed by their colleagues, precisely because a woman's advancement was routinely characterized as the fruits of her sexual labors:

> You find that if a woman gets a job they will say, something else was going on. They don't even look at your work, the first thing that comes to their mind is no, there has to be something else like you've been sleeping with somebody, you're involved in one way or another with somebody and sometimes you really feel, well, OK, I'll do this [go for promotion] but what is going to be the perception of other people? Will they think that I got this because of my own work or will they start talking around and saying all the nasty things that they can say. (Thandazo[5])

But women newsworkers have fought back against unfair practices in the newsroom, especially in the USA, where a number of high-profile court cases have served to keep the disgrace of gender discrimination in the public arena. One of the best-known cases involved Christine Craft, who fought a long drawn out campaign against her employer, the Kansas City

television station KMBC.[6] In the end, Craft lost, but her successor at the station, Brenda Williams, also filed a discrimination case against the station and settled for $100,000. One of the largest ever suits was won by Janet Peckinpaugh ($8.3 million), against WFSB-TV in Hartford, Connecticut, but as Deborah Chambers, Linda Steiner, and Carole Fleming (2004) point out, such wins have served as little deterrent for stations that continue to fire women staff once they reach their thirties.

Activism in the Newsroom

Despite the gloominess of much feminist media scholarship, which documents the unfair practices that occur within media industries, the abidingly macho culture of too many newsrooms, and women's struggles to achieve decision-making positions, there is a long history to women's efforts to change the picture, both for themselves and for other women. In their work on women and journalism, Chambers et al. (2004) discuss the development of such efforts, from the first wave of suffrage publications in the early part of the twentieth century to the second and third waves, which mapped onto the political "waves" of feminism throughout the past century. As the authors point out, although this early history has been almost entirely neglected by historians, "reform and activist groups invested heavily in periodicals to disseminate their ideas, especially when access to existing mainstream publications was blocked" (ibid., p.168). During the 1970s and 1980s, hundreds of feminist publications were published in the United Kingdom and the United States, albeit that many were very short-lived and addressed a highly specialized audience (Chambers et al. 2004). Similarly, one directory listing lesbian and gay periodicals published over the entire twentieth century cites 2,678 publications (Miller 1991). In particular, one immediate impact of the Stonewall Riots in New York City in 1969, an event that ushered in the gay liberation movement, was the blossoming of a number of local and regional publications aimed at lesbian and gay audiences, with titles such as *Amazon*, *Dyke*, and *Lesbian Feminists* (Chambers et al. 2004).

One magazine that enjoyed a relatively long shelf-life for an alternative publication was the British *Spare Rib*, set up in 1972 and enjoying 21 years of often controversial but never dull publication until its final liquidation in 1993. As with many magazines produced by collectives, *Spare Rib* was often beset by internal struggles over ideology and meaning, and what was

legitimate content for a feminist magazine. A newer magazine that exploits the significant developments in e-zine publishing is *Bitch!*, founded in 1996

> . . . on the impulse to give a voice to the vast numbers of us who know in our hearts that these images are false, and want something to replace them. We want to see images of women as smart and capable as we know we are. We want to find those women out there who are articulating with things like writing, film, art, music, and feminist t-shirt businesses, the experiences that Hollywood and Madison Avenue refuse to admit exist. (*Bitch!*, premiere issue 1, vol. 1, Winter[7])

Fightback in the Movie Industry

In the same way that feminist media scholarship is rediscovering the history of women's involvement in alternative print media production, there is a similarly long history of women working creatively behind the camera. Although the concept of women's cinema is a relatively new one (see below) and women filmmakers are seen as a rather contemporary phenomenon, women have been producing and directing films for over 100 years. Alice Guy is credited as being the first woman director of a fiction film in 1896, and she directed hundreds of films during her long career, as well as owning and running a film studio, Solax (Butler 2002). And Alice Guy kept company with a number of other women who emerged in the silent film era (Slide 1996), although by the beginning of the "talkies," women's involvement in film had all but disappeared. It is not entirely clear why this happened, although possibly the expense involved in converting from silent to sound might have resulted in financial stringencies that adversely affected women's employment. Whilst women continued to direct in the early decades of the twentieth century, the numbers were not great and only two women – Dorothy Arzner and Ida Lupino – are credited with significant bodies of work (Butler 2002).

Although not as prolific or as popular as mainstream cinema, feminist filmmaking arguably began in the late 1960s as part of second-wave feminism; early examples of this "genre" were documentaries such as *The Life and Times of Rosie the Riveter* and *Not a Love Story*. In her exploration of the provenance of the genre of the feminist documentary film, Julie Lesage (1984) suggests that feminist politics underpinned the desire to create

alternative images of themselves by women, some of whom were professional filmmakers but many of whom were "ordinary," if politicized, women who were keen to contribute to history in the making. Assuming a primarily female audience for their work, pioneers such as Julia Reichert/Jim Klein, Kate Millet, and Donna Deitch made films with relatively simple aesthetics and structures, where the audience was intimately engaged through direct-to-camera dialogue in an effort to privilege women's own versions of their own stories. As Lesage (1984: 21) argues, the use of a realist structure in these early films was the consequence of both aesthetic and political decisions, since women were motivated to press their creative outputs into the service of awareness-raising, film as both art and education: in the act of hearing women's experiences, and their thoughts on how things could be, lies the material for political struggle.

Feminist film, like black or queer cinema, is an ambiguous and slippery term. Butler (2002) points out that this loose term is neither a genre nor a moment in film history; nor is it aligned with a particular aesthetic. In other words, it can be whatever we want it to be – everything and nothing. In their attempt to "refocus" the terrain of women's filmmaking, Jacqueline Levitin, Judith Plessis, and Valerie Raoul (2003) alert us to fundamental questions of representation, appropriation, and authority that continue to inflect women's cinema. The contributors to the 1999 conference[8] that produced their anthology reveal "different trends, either towards or away from the mainstream, and varying levels of commitment to or rejection of the label 'feminist'" (p. 10). But those different voices are gathered together under the broad term "women filmmakers," implying that despite the differences within their practice, there are enough similarities to be considered as a particular form of praxis. At the very least, as Levitin et al. point out, women acknowledge that their experiences of filmmaking *as women* have influenced their practice, even if those experiences do not always find their way into politicizing their creative outputs.

Arguably, feminist filmmaking (as opposed to films made by women without a feminist political agenda) emerged as a concept during the late 1960s and early 1970s, as part of the wider debates brought about by second-wave feminism but, like feminism itself, the concept became a battleground of contestation, with two clear sight-lines emerging. One was film culture as political feminist project, countering gender stereotypes with alternative figurations and providing a vehicle for self-expression, while the other focused on deconstructing the medium itself in order to expose the ideological (patriarchal) apparatus beneath (de Lauretis 1987).

In several books on film theory and analysis from feminist perspectives – for example, Charlotte Brunsdon's collection of essays, *Films for Women* (1986), Constance Penley's edited collection, *Feminism and Film Theory* (1988), and E. Ann Kaplan's anthology, *Feminism and Film* (2000) – editorial decisions that were made about criteria for inclusion of articles were rooted in personal political standpoints. In Brunsdon's introduction, she suggests that she had chosen articles and sequenced them in ways that made sense to her but would not necessarily be endorsed by the authors of the texts and, in addition, that she chose to focus on films tht seemed to her to address a female audience, even if the filmmaker was male. In Penley's text, she has a specifically political project in mind and a desire to make available texts with a similar intent in terms of their relationship with formal film theory, so that essays

> . . . were chosen because they represent one distinct and insistently polemical strain of feminist film criticism, one that directly takes up the major issues of film theory as they were formulated in the theoretical ferment of the 1970s, generated and sustained by the interest in semiology, psychoanalysis, textual analysis and theories of ideology. (1988: 1)

In the preface to Kaplan's compilation, she states that choosing which articles to include from the "abundance of excellent essays" (2000: v) was difficult, but in the end, she decided, in similar fashion to Penley, to focus on texts that responded to – in one or another, either challenging or confirming – Laura Mulvey's critical perspectives elaborated in her essay "Visual pleasure and narrative cinema" (1975). Kaplan made this decision on the basis that Mulvey's contribution to the field of feminist media enquiry has been so profound (and still continues) that it was worth trying to bring together a set of essays that debated this theme. We make this point about editorial orientation here to signal the importance of understanding different feminisms and different ways of viewing and looking, and the particular idiosyncrasies of individual authors.

Black and Ethnic Minority Women Filmmakers

While the provenance of racist and sexist stereotypes cannot be unlearned, black women filmmakers have been mounting a challenge to the repetitive circulation of their mirrored image since they found their filmmaking voice.

As more women secured a toehold in the highly competitive film industry, it became possible to think and write about an emerging genre of filmmaking that was determinedly political and overtly feminist and, importantly, was created from *within* an Anglocentric geopolitics but *outside* the dominant hegemony. Although the moment of black women's mainstream debut was probably in the early 1990s, Sarita Malik (1994) points out that a black and Asian filmmaking culture had existed in the UK since at least the 1970s (for example, Horace Ove's *Pressure* (1975) has become a cult classic), but the outputs from most minority filmmakers (women and men) had been largely ignored or relegated to small theaters with very modest distribution runs. Even today, filmmakers of color are still considered to be "minority artists" (Malik 2002). But in the early 1980s UK, the trumpeted launch of the Channel 4 TV station in 1981 and the Workshop Declaration signed in the same year, which pledged funding for the nascent independent film and video industry, heralded – in principle, at least – a new vibrancy to filmmaking in the UK, but that particular funding was only available for the production of noncommercial films (Ross 1996). Companies therefore had to work extremely hard to establish themselves as serious players before bigger studios would finance larger and more mainstream projects.

For black British women filmmakers, then, the late 1980s was a turning point for their creative enterprises, a time when some of them, including Martine Attile, Maureen Blackwood, and Ngozi Unwurah, struck out on their own and became solo filmmakers. As Karen Alexander (1993) argues, film had been particularly resistant to black women's participation, but with the establishment of "third cinema," one-off productions such as *Dreaming Rivers* (dir. Martine Attile, 1988), *A Perfect Image?* (dir. Maureen Blackwood, 1988), *Coffee-Coloured Children* (dir. Ngozi Unwurah, 1988), and *I'm British But . . .* (dir. Gurinder Chadha, 1989) finally pushed their directors onto the art-house circuit, if not quite into the mainstream. For all these women, filmmaking was both a political as well as a creative pursuit, where content continually challenged the particular circumstances of their lives as women living and working in the UK but experiencing a very different place to their white neighbors. For many black and minority ethnic women filmmakers, issues around cultural identity are often in flux, deterritorialized by colonialism and migration, by patriarchal marginalization, and by the unreflexive incorporation of their own lives and stories in an homogenized "women's cinema." Thus, much of the output of black women filmmakers in the 1980s was produced as oppositional texts that countered both women's marginalization from discourses of the post-

colonial as well as feminism itself (Shohat 1997). What these films also brought into play were exciting blends of narrative and poetry, music, and rhythms, as well as a refusal to engage with the race relations dialectic of oppression and victimhood (Mercer 1988):

> What I've tried to do with all my work is to open up all that stuff – what it is to be British. What I'm doing is making a claim, as well as documenting a history of British Asian people . . . What I'm saying is that there is no such thing as ours and theirs. There is no part of Britain or England that I can't lay claim to. (Chadha, quoted in Stuart 1994: 26)

But the real moment when it became possible to consider those few non-white, female-led interventions as an emerging genre was in the early 1990s, when women working predominantly in the USA and the UK achieved both art-house and mainstream success with films such as *Mississippi Masala* (dir. Mira Nair, 1991), *Daughters of the Dust* (dir. Julie Dash, 1992), *Bhaji on the Beach* (dir. Gurinder Chadha, 1993), and *Just Another Girl on the IRT* (dir. Leslie Harris, 1993).[9] What these early films did, in their treatment of human relations, was not simply to replace "negative" images with positive ones, but rather to develop and extend the more routinized stories about black people's lives, offering compelling alternative perspectives on both the familiar and the unknown. Of particular interest to filmmakers such as Mira Nair and Gurinder Chadha have been the ways in which diaspora communities make sense of living in an often hostile, so-called multicultural society.

The early work of African American women filmmakers was similarly varied, dealing with the problems of living an impoverished existence through to an exploration of a disappearing culture, subverting the tropes of crime and violence that characterized much of the output of African American men during the early 1990s, although women's films during this period did not enjoy the same level of commercial success. As filmmaker Mario Van Peebles pointed out at the time, "I hope to see black filmmakers move outta the 'hood and I think it's the sisters that will take us there" (Peebles, quoted in Ross 1993: 18). But Julie Dash's debut full-length feature film, *Daughters of the Dust* (1992), was 15 years in the making and, on completion, stayed in limbo for another 12 months waiting for a distributor. If it had incorporated the more saleable ingredients of sex, drugs, and violence, it would have had a ready market. As it is, the story, set at the turn of the twentieth century in the distinctive Gullah culture of the rural Sea

Islands off the South Carolina–Georgia coast, did not seem to be instantly commercial, but at a time when most "black" films focused on gangs, crime, and drugs, the textured portrait of a unique and largely unknown society found an interested audience (Turan 1992). British-based but Indian-born filmmaker Pratibha Parmar (2000 [1993]: 377–8) argues powerfully for a filmmaking practice that recognizes multiple negotiations and multiple positionalities:

> I do not speak from a position of marginalization but more crucially from the resistance to that marginalization . . . the reason I make the films and videos that I do is because they are the kinds of films and videos I would like to see; films and videos that engage with the creation of images of ourselves as women, as people of color and as lesbians and gays; images that evoke passionate stirrings and that enable us to construct ourselves in our complexities.[10]

In the years since that early black feminist filmmaking moment, South Asian feminist filmmakers such as Gurinder Chadha in the UK and Mira Nair in the USA have continued to find crossover success in their work, as they have attempted to remain true to their cultural identity and politics but to move debates around hybridity and belonging forward. In particular, both have been keen to enable white audiences to learn something new through a mainstream treatment of social issues such as racism, sexism, and homophobia, both within and between different communities. An excellent contemporary example of political filmmaking engaged with a specifically gendered and controversial subject is Deepa Mehta's film trilogy, *Fire* (1996), *Earth* (1998), and *Water*,[11] which looks at the historical and social position of women in Indian society. Each film is focused around events and themes, *Fire* looking at arranged marriage, *Earth* at sectarian violence against the background of partition, and *Water* at the plight of widows. The first two films met with considerable hostility and condemnation, especially amongst Hindu groups, when they were screened in India, including the vandalizing of cinemas and the burning of film posters. The day before filming for *Water* was due to begin in the holy city of Varanasi, 2,000 protesters stormed the area and destroyed the main film set, burning it and throwing it into the holy river. They also burnt effigies of Deepa Mehta and death threats began to circulate (Yuen Carrucan 2000). A spokesperson for one of the leading protest groups, the KSRSS (Kashi Sanskrit Raksha Sangharsh Samiti), a party formed overnight from the RSS

(Raksha Sangharsh Samiti) specifically to target the filmmaker, issued the following statement:

> Breaking up the sets was far too mild an act, the people involved with the film should have been beaten black and blue. They come with foreign money to make a film which shows India in poor light because that is what sells in the west. The west refuses to acknowledge our achievements in any sphere, but is only interested in our snake charmers and child brides. And people like Deepa Mehta pander to them. (*The Week*, February 13, 2000, cited in Yuen Carrucan 2000)

Sujata Moorti (2000) suggests that the response to Mehta's films can be understood as a clash between global modernity and local tradition, with some critics pointing to the films' lack of authenticity due to the expatriate status of Mehta (who lives in Canada).

Feminist Critiques of Women's Media Production

No genre is beyond criticism and feminist commentators must be able to bring a critical lens to works that are produced out of a feminist consciousness. For example, some of the early polemical works, which targeted issues such as pornography, as in Bonnie Klein's *Not a Love Story* (1983), have been the focus of considerable criticism. In B. Ruby Rich's (1986 [1983]) biting commentary on this film, whose subtitle is *A Film Against Pornography*, Rich's principal complaints are that the film focuses on the wrong thing, in the wrong way at the wrong time. Her criticism is not that pornography is acceptable but, rather, that the way in which it is discussed and analyzed in the film positions the audience as voyeur (albeit framed as repulsed), since the points-of-view shots in, say, the strip joint, are always from the spectator to the stage, thus continuing to objectify the woman on stage: how much more interesting it might have been for the camera to stand behind the stripper looking out into the audience, and how much more discomfiting. For Rich, the anti-porn movie becomes a licensed proxy for the real thing. But such criticism is a sign of the necessary debate over the politics of naming: there are, and must be allowed, different perspectives and different experiences of social phenomena such as definitions of feminism, or women's film, or even feminist filmmaking. Interestingly, the films and other expressions of artistic creation worked by women of color

have been the subject of particular scrutiny, especially by women from the filmmaker's own cultural communities.

Jigna Desai (2004) explores the work of South Asian filmmakers such as Gurinder Chadha, Mira Nair, and Deepa Mehta, whose work focuses on difference within a diasporic framework that privileges the hybrid nature of the cross-cultural life, both British *and* Asian, both American *and* Chinese, both within and without. Through an extended exploration of these filmmakers and, in particular, the threads of gender and sexual politics that are woven into their narratives, she argues that part of the crossover appeal of films such as *Monsoon Wedding* (dir. Mira Nair, 2001) and *Bend It Like Beckham* (dir. Gurinder Chadha, 2002) is the explicit challenge that they raise in relation to women's agency, both sexual and cultural. Such a challenge resonates readily with a "liberal" audience keen to applaud efforts to subvert the stereotypes of women as passive victims of a fiercely patriarchal culture. However, the success of such subversion in these texts has been won at the cost of *not* dealing with more difficult and controversial issues such as "Asian queerness" (Desai 2004: 214); and, for Jigna at least, the disavowal of same-sex desire in, say, *Bend It Like Beckham*, if not a cop-out, is then certainly a deliberately missed opportunity, made in order to be more appealing to more people. While it is easy to argue the opposite politics – that surely it's better for more Westerners to understand Asian communities a little better through an entertaining mainstream film that subtly engages with prejudice than *not* to make such a film – there remains a niggling worry that the easier route has been taken rather too readily.

Part of the problem of representation, not just of women but of any group of peoples or communities, is the unbearable and impossible burden that we impose, as consumers of those images, for them to be representative of those wider bodies of humanity. As Jigna Desai (2004: 210) argues, there is an almost irresistible desire to identify the failure of "authentic" representation in South Asian diaspora films: "What I mean here is not the failure of inaccurate or negative representation, but the impossibility of completing or 'getting right' the project of representation at all . . ." What Jigna signals here is that even as we celebrate the emergence of more (rather than less) diverse images of women, we still scrutinize them in ways that necessarily result in dissatisfaction with what we see, because they can never be everything we want them to be because they cannot represent each and every "us." While supporters of Indian director Deepa Mehta's controversial films might defend her right to choose topics that show the difficulties of negotiating the global–local, traditional–modern dialectics, concern over the treatment of a particular politico-cultural identity – for example, her

appropriation of lesbian sexuality in *Fire* (1996) for aesthetic rather than political purposes – is an inevitable and perhaps necessary criticism (Moorti 2000). What we see is never enough.

On the other hand, and equally problematic, representations of particular groups by members of those groups should not be sanctified or defended from criticism just because of their authorship or just because they purport to represent the authentic community from which they speak. Cultural works that put themselves into the public domain must expect to be critiqued, for their content, their aesthetic, their politics. For the black producer Keenan Wayans (producer of *In Living Color*, 1990s) to insist that he "knows" the boundaries of "bad taste" in, say, his parody of Nelson Mandela simply on grounds of *being* black is highly questionable:

> Now for the first time, you have black creators behind works that represent black people. So when it's coming from the source, you don't have to worry about the criticisms and uproars from the community. I know what's offensive. I know how far to go . . . I have the pulse of the folks that I'm having fun with. (Wayans, quoted in Rense 1991: 33)

From Theory to Action

Women's limited access to the public sphere, as newsworkers, filmmakers or e-zine producers, requires strategies for changing gender relations in ownership, control, and funding of media organizations. So, is part of the answer to recruit more women into the media? Well, not necessarily. As Jane Arthurs argues, "more women in the [televisual] industry is not enough: there need to be more women with a politicized understanding of the ways in which women's subordination is currently reproduced and with the will to change it" (1994: 100). And the logic of Arthurs's argument can be seen with a quick example. Let us consider what changes, if any, took place at the British tabloid, *The Sun*, after Rebekah Wade took over as editor in 2003. None were immediately apparent in terms of content, style, or orientation, and it certainly did not become more women- or family-friendly; nor was the notorious "page 3 girl" pensioned off. So Wade's sex is no guarantee of a different mode of being, thinking, working. This is not to say that women *never* make a difference and some studies that look at, say, the extent to which women journalists are more likely to seek out women sources for stories argue that women media practitioners can have this positive effect in terms of extending the range of voices that are heard

(see, e.g., Liebler & Smith 1997; Zoch & VanSlyke Turk 1998; Lavie & Lehman-Wilzig 2003) and the breadth of stories told. Women *are* working to change the picture, both from inside mainstream media as well as through the establishment of alternatives, both by their own practice and through active campaigning.

For example, in late March 2002, more than 60 feminists demonstrated outside the offices of the Federal Communications Commission, in Washington, DC, to protest the further dismantling of regulations against media mergers and acquisitions in the cable and television industries. The demonstration was organized by a grassroots coalition that included Jennifer Pozner, a long-time US media activist who recently formed Women In Media and News (WIMN); members of Media Tank and American Resurrection, and Terry O'Neill, vice president of the National Organization for Women (NOW). The coalition intends to grow its membership by including human rights advocates, feminist organizations, and other groups pushing social justice agendas. O'Neill regards the media as more than just a business, but rather as an entity with "a responsibility to serve the public interest and ensure that all voices are heard" (Bennett 2002: 13; Byerly 2004b: 258).

In the UK, the Women in Journalism group, which was formed in 1997, grew out of a bottom-up demand for women to be more effectively represented at senior level in newspapers and magazines, and has since evolved into a forum for women journalists at all levels across all media. Since it began, its regular seminars and meetings have offered opportunities for women to discuss career issues with their peers, as well as providing occasions for networking, and have become major events in the media calendar. Seminar topics have included "Making a Difference (How Words Can Change Lives)," "Writing the Big Book," "The Internet for Journalists," and "The Art of the Real Life Interview."[12]

In India, the Network of Women in Media in India held its second national conference in January 2004 in Mumbai (Joseph 2004b), and one of the issues that members discussed was the necessity of networking among themselves, both in local chapters and nationally. Out of that conference came a series of recommendations for action, including the setting up of an NWMI listserv/Egroup to facilitate communication across the country, supplementing the role of the existing website. The suggestion of a printed newsletter for the benefit of those with limited access to the Internet was also considered and a decision taken to explore the idea further, starting with a one-off publication providing information about the network(s), which could be translated into different languages by local groups.

Feminist engagement with media reform in the USA has been slowly emerging alongside a media reform movement begun in the 1980s. Led mostly by progressive men from groups including Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR), the Institute for Public Accuracy, the Media Access Group and, more recently, the Media Education Foundation, the movement proposes both broad and specific goals. These include applying existing anti-monopoly laws to the media; passing new laws curtailing ownership; conducting research; holding public hearings; establishing low-power, non-commercial radio and television stations; and reinvigorating the existing public broadcasting system to eliminate commercial pressures. In addition, the movement proposes economic changes that include taxpayer credits for donations to media, eliminating political candidate adverts as a condition of broadcast licensing; reducing or eliminating TV advertising targeted at children under 12; and adopting regulations that require local TV stations to grant journalists an hour of commercial-free news each day (McChesney & Nichols 2002). All of these proposals would serve to de-commercialize and broaden the democratic potential of the media, and women would clearly benefit from them, as would all citizens. But the absence of gender-specific language and specifically gendered concerns signals an underlying problem in the "traditional" media reform movement, and provides a compelling reason for a parallel feminist movement to articulate what women need from a more democratic media system.

Conclusion

This chapter makes clear some of the obstacles that women face in advancing their careers within media industries, and provides some examples of the kinds of strategizing that women are using to take control of their professional lives, including finding strength in solidarity and working for change. But even as women are achieving very senior positions within media organizations, their skills and abilities are still routinely undermined, if sometimes unintentionally. When BBC Radio 4 was named as Station of the Year in the Sony Radio Awards 2004, *The Independent* newspaper ran a serious interview with the station controller, Helen Boaden. Boaden has had a career of "firsts," having been the first ever woman to be appointed as Head of Current Affairs at the BBC (in 1998) and the first woman controller at BBC Radio 4 (in 2000) since Monica Sims in 1978. Given her experience, why then is the otherwise serious interview

headlined "Radio's golden girl" (Burrell 2004)? Perhaps the copy-editor was simply casting around for a suitably celebratory phrase, and inadvertently slipped into cliché, but then again, perhaps not.

There is already a theoretical and political base on which feminists are building local, national, and international challenges to media conglomeratization and to persistent patterns of exclusion and misrepresentation. As early as 1968, US feminist economist and civil rights activist Donna Allen was raising the alarm about the dangers of conglomeratized media systems. She argued that the level of concentrated media ownership constituted not a free press but, rather, a press controlled by a handful of very wealthy individuals. Until her death in 1999, Allen articulated a vision of journalism that would provide essential news for and about women with regard to health and safety, economics, politics, global issues, and the media (cited in Nagrath 2001). Similarly, women in India, various nations of Latin America, and elsewhere are beginning to question structural sexism and to develop strategies for change. The problem, then, is not a lack of vision but about finding ways to join feminist media scholarship and popular political activism in order for it to be realized.

In succeeding chapters, we examine the experiences of women on the front lines of making changes to media, including their assessment of what has been accomplished. In addition, we revisit many of the endeavors briefly touched upon in the preceding discussion. We conceptualize feminist challenges to media as "women's media activism" and we examine its myriad forms within the framework that we have named the Model of Women's Media Action. We believe that women's efforts to gain greater access to media represent much more than a disconnected group of events, strung out over several decades and continents. Rather, we will show how these nonlinear, nonchronological, seemingly disconnected events can be viewed as aspects of a unified phenomenon that symbolizes women's struggle to speak and act within both local and global contexts. The phenomenon has had a shared purpose, shared tenets, and shared strategies, which we have identified as paths.

Notes

1 Some material in this chapter has been reprinted from Karen Ross (2005), with the kind permission of the Open University Press/McGraw-Hill Publishing Company.

2 The essays in Eileen R. Meehan and Ellen Riordan's (2002) book, *Sex and Money: Feminism and Political Economy in the Media*, begin to provide precisely these kinds of analyses.
3 For longer discussions of women's location in these levels of production, see Diane Elson (1994), Carolyn M. Byerly (2004b), and Ellen Riordan (2002).
4 For explorations of women newsworkers' experiences in different national contexts and the kinds of strategies that they adopt to cope, see Marjan de Bruin and Karen Ross (2004).
5 Personal telephone interview with Thandazo (not her real name), a black woman journalist who works for a major newspaper, June 18, 2003.
6 Craft was hired by the station in 1981, and within six months she was reassigned away from news on the grounds that focus group research on her performance suggested that she was "too old, too unattractive, and not sufficiently deferential to men" (cited in Chambers et al. 2004: 140). Craft took out an action, and although the trial jury awarded her $500,000 on the basis that there had been sex discrimination and hiring fraud, an appellate judge reversed the decision. Despite numerous further efforts to have the case re-heard, Craft was ultimately unsuccessful.
7 See www.bitchmagazine.com (accessed October 11, 2004).
8 Women Filmmakers: Refocusing conference, Vancouver, March 1999.
9 For an extended discussion of these films, see Karen Ross (1996).
10 Space and focus preclude any longer discussion of a specifically queer filmmaking practice, but for a useful edited collection on this topic, see Michele Aaron (2004).
11 At the time of writing, December 2004, this film remains unfinished.
12 See www.leisurejobs.net/wij/index.cfm (accessed February 13, 2004).

PART II

Women, Media, and the Public Sphere: Shifting the Agenda

6

Toward a Model of Women's Media Action

> *[E]verything thought to be the most difficult to say, everything forbidden, rooted in the personal, private sphere, becomes, once confessed, public, political, and knowable. Feminism . . . contributes to this movement of exposure to and transparency in the public sphere but equally in the broadening of democracy . . .*
>
> Nilufer Gole (1997)

Previous chapters have surveyed women's relationship to media industries and the products that they create, revealing that progress has often taken its place uneasily alongside persistent problems of omission, stereotyping, and trivialization of women's lives in media content. Such problems have historically contributed to women's invisibility and lack of access to social spaces where ideas are posed, exchanged, and debated, and where agendas for cultural and public policy changes take shape. In the modern world, it's commonly understood that participation in such spaces – often referred to as the public sphere – is a prerequisite for social advancement and power. Communication scholars recognize that participation in the public sphere occurs increasingly through the news and other communications media, including those representing entertainment genres. But what is the public sphere, and what is women's relationship to it? More important, how has women's relationship to media affected their participation, and what have they done to utilize media to increase their participation?

Here, we shift the focus from women's problems with (and scholarly critiques of) the media to the realm of action. Our concern in the remaining chapters is with how women have worked against constraints to try to

gain greater access to and reform mainstream industries, as well as transcend the structural limitations of large industries by using a range of other media forms in order to speak publicly, both among themselves and to broader publics.

This and succeeding chapters are based on research that we conducted in 2003 and 2004 in order to learn more about the varied ways in which women had entered into media activism across the world during the years of global feminism, roughly from the 1970s to the present. The findings from this research enabled us to see patterns in women's media activism and to discern the role of such activism in women's larger struggle for social advancement. The new Model of Women's Media Action that we propose here, which is based on this research, serves as an analytic framework for interpreting the responses of those in our study, as well as explaining the role of that activism in feminist political work. The model illustrates how women manifested their agency in creating both a feminist public sphere and a feminist component within the dominant public sphere in which men are still ceded the greater authority. Subsequent chapters explore aspects of women's media activism through the patterned paths that participants in our study followed in their creation of that sphere. We argue that their work contributed to the political task of the women's movement and can be understood as instrumental to women's advancement. These chapters, which draw extensively from the responses of the 90 women from 20 different nations in our study, also reveal more about the nature of gendered struggle cross-culturally through the self-determination women have shown to speak publicly through various forms of media in order to participate meaningfully in their societies.

Women's Media Activism

Women's media activism has been the vehicle through which women's agency has worked to create both a feminist public sphere and a feminist component within the dominant public sphere – concepts that we will explore at length in the next section of this chapter. As explained at length in Chapter 1, the term "feminism" (and its derivative "feminist") is used in reference to social movements through which women in various times and places have sought not only to obtain their equal rights with men, but also the ability to enter into public deliberation, institution-building, and other processes associated with citizenship in their societies. Women's media activism, which has been integrally linked to feminist movements, may be

defined as any organized effort on women's part to make changes in established media enterprises or to create new media structures with the goal of expanding women's voice in society and enabling their social advancement. Examples might include: increasing the number of women hired and promoted; making media content (e.g., programs, news stories, films, etc.) more representative of women's highly diverse experiences; eliminating media stereotypes of women; changing public policy governing media operations; increasing the amount and/or quality of news coverage or other media about women; establishing women-owned (or controlled) media; and organizing women (and men) to take some kind of action in relation to the above issues.

Also included in women's media activism is women's establishment of their own media enterprises, such as broadcast production companies, news agencies, film companies, or book publishing firms. In still other cases, women's media activism has been carried out through media monitoring projects or through advocacy campaigns to address specific media issues, such as sexist advertisements. Media interventions such as these will be explored in subsequent chapters. Women have also sometimes used the legal system to challenge media policies, and have lobbied elected officials to adopt new laws to assure that media will represent women's interests. Feminist media scholarship, which examines and critiques media practices, has also been integral to women's media activism through research and analyses that have produced useful data and other information for use in women's grassroots media campaigns. What binds these varied activities together into one collectivity – or, in academic terms, a social phenomenon – is their shared goal of advancing women's status through public, mediated communication.

Women's media activism is rooted in early women's rights campaigns in the nineteenth century in Europe, the United States, Latin America, and other parts of the world. However, it may be best understood as a modern phenomenon that grew out of women's liberation movements that emerged throughout the world during the 1960s and 1970s. The phenomenon of women's media activism is not only modern but it must be recognized as a cross-cultural phenomenon by virtue of its place both within individual nations and as a global feminist movement that sought an expanded communications infrastructure for the routine sharing of ideas, the mobilization of new members, and the dissemination of information about advancements that women were beginning to achieve (see Gallagher 1981; Boulding 1992; Byerly 1995). We believe that these activities are both under-investigated and under-theorized in feminist and media scholarship.

The Need for Theory

Feminist communication scholarship has developed along two main lines. The most common has been the adaptation or extension of existing critical or cultural studies in ways that allow women's experience or concerns to be addressed within existing theoretical frameworks. This approach has fused feminist analysis to a range of theoretical approaches, including Marxism, political economy, race, cultural studies, and postcolonial theory, reworking these theories with a feminist inflection. For example, Eileen Meehan and Ellen Riordan (2002), H. Leslie Steeves and Janet Wasko (2002), and Lisa McLaughlin (2002) are among those who extend general political economy theory into a theory of feminist political economy to enable structural analyses of women's relationship and media and other communication processes. Riordan (2002) identifies her own specific goal as being to produce a feminist political economy that "looks to the meso- and macro-levels of capitalism as they shape women's day-to-day interactions" (p. 8). Divya McMillin (2003) fuses postcolonial analysis with feminist political economy theory to examine the ways in which female factory workers in Bangalore, India, interpret and use messages from television advertisements.

A second and less common line for feminist communication scholars has been the building – and naming – of new theories to enable some specific communication phenomenon associated with women's experience to be analyzed. This building of new theory has been pursued by scholars such as Cheris Kramarae (1981), whose muted group theory identifies women's (and other subordinate groups') lesser power than that of men (or other dominant groups) to control language and speech-making in society. Nancy Hartsock's (1983) standpoint theory, which emerged from the political science discipline, provides a feminist theory of historical materialism that has been used by a number of feminist communication scholars around the world, including Sandra Berkowitz (2003) in her examination of the Women in Black movement in Israel, Patrice M. Buzzanell (2003) in her analysis of women's discourse about maternity leave, and Sharmila Rege (2004) in her effort to create an emancipatory position for Dalit women in Indian society. Sara Mills's (1999) discourse competence theory enabled her to identify and describe speech that is both assertive (i.e., concerned with speaker needs) and cooperative (i.e., concerned with group needs). Mills developed this theory in order to examine strong women's

speech outside a system of masculine–feminine opposition in the UK, but the theory has broad cross-cultural appeal.

While feminist scholars have long recognized women's media activism, very few have viewed the various activities collectively as a communicative phenomenon, or begun to theorize them in terms of function, structure, or contributions to popular feminist movements in the social change process. Nor has women's agency in media activism been conceptualized and examined. Like Sara Mills, who wanted to recognize and theorize the phenomenon of strong women's speech by getting inside her subjects' daily interactions, we wanted to recognize and theorize modern feminists' determined struggles to communicate publicly using media by getting inside their motives and practices. Our research sought to discover whether there existed patterns in their goals; their strategies and activities; their perceived accomplishments; and what they believe remains to be done. We were informed by the substantial research that had already problematized and documented women's invisibility, misrepresentation, and lack of employment in media industries – research summarized in previous chapters. Similarly, we were aware that women's efforts to remedy these problems had produced varying levels of progress alongside well-entrenched status quo practices – a situation that characterizes any dialectical process (see Byerly 1999). But we saw little scholarly effort to understand the nature of women's communicative struggles as a distinct part of the self-determination process that would lead to greater participation in society.

Where earlier feminist media scholarship focused disproportionately on women's problems with the media and, to a lesser extent, on the ways in which the larger-scale media have changed, we wanted to focus on the process of communicative struggle itself, considering the work of change agents (i.e., feminist media activists) and the activities that they conducted on multiple fronts where they worked, not only in traditional mainstream media, but also in community organizations, nongovernmental organizations, and a range of independent women's media enterprises. The 1970s and 1980s had seen a blossoming of feminist political activity throughout the world, inspired by events that included both grassroots mobilization among women in many nations as well as the establishment of governmental, nongovernmental, and cultural working relationships cross-culturally.

Women had been involved in national independence movements in India, a number of African nations, and elsewhere, between the early 1900s and the 1970s, thereby freeing their voices and giving them political experience. In addition, women's increased participation in international

gatherings gave growing numbers of educated women a larger vision of the world and their role in it. *The United Nations and the Advancement of Women 1945–1995* (United Nations 1995) chronicles the ways in which the UN body provided an international space for women's rights to be advanced over a course of decades. In 1946, the UN Commission on the Status of Women was established, with its original 15 (now 45) members reporting to the Economic and Social Council to the General Assembly (p. 13). In more recent decades, the General Assembly has adopted dozens of conventions, treaties, and declarations; passed resolutions; and commissioned hundreds of studies that resulted in reports about women's status. However, Boulding (c.1980) said that it was the face-to-face contact that women were beginning to have at events such as the International Year of Cooperation (1965) and the Conference on the Environment in Stockholm (1972) that suggested there should be a sustained dialogue focused specifically on women's advancement:

> Each time they came in larger numbers, and with better documentation to show how the conference subject impinged on women. Each time they also saw how blind most of their male colleagues were to the importance of women's roles in economic production and social welfare. (Boulding c.1980: 27)

International Women's Year in 1975 and the Decade for Women that would follow (from 1976 to 1985) were born out of this mounting frustration. To be sure, women's problems and status varied considerably from nation to nation, and women were stratified by economics, religion, and other factors in many nations, even within their own gender. However, many women also recognized that they shared a *de facto* secondary status in relation to men, and that they would benefit through cooperation in their universal desire for equality and full participation (*World Plan of Action*, quoted in Boulding c.1980: 29–30).

Regional preparatory meetings in Africa, the Middle East, North America, Latin America, Europe, and other areas preceding the IWY meetings in Mexico City allowed participants to identify the barriers to women's advancement in the respective geographical areas and set forth goals to address them. Media concerns arose immediately in every region, emphasizing women's invisibility, misrepresentation and stereotyping in major media, as well as their inability to enter and advance in media professions. The official UN (i.e., governmental) Conferences, held in Mexico City (1975), Copenhagen (1980), and Nairobi (1985), served to build working

relationships among women of diverse language, national, religious, and other backgrounds, and helped to spawn agendas for women's advancement. Formal documents, such as the *World Plan of Action*, adopted by UN Conference delegates, subsequently became road maps for women to use in advocating for national-level policy both internationally and within individual nations. Of equal importance were the nongovernmental forums that met at the same time (and in the same cities) as the UN Conferences, and which attracted thousands of women from around the world. The forum gatherings allowed women working in a range of independent organizations around the world to hold open exchanges with each other in order to identify distinct problems within nations, but also commonalities and shared visions around issues. High on the list was a desire to expand women's communication through media. Women's media activism had taken center stage in global feminism.

Women-and-media dialogues that erupted and became central to both the UN and NGO meetings in the 1970s and 1980s manifested themselves in many concrete ways. Jane Cottingham (1989) tells of how in 1976, after receiving poor news coverage of a Tribunal on Crimes Against Women, in Brussels, Belgium – an event that had been planned by Cottingham and others during the NGO forum in Mexico City the previous year – a small number of feminists launched a women's international newspaper called the *Isis International Bulletin*. The Tribunal, attended by more than 1,500 women from 40 nations, had made a space for women to share their stories of discrimination and abuse that they had suffered from men. After the organizers voted (by a narrow margin) to exclude male reporters from entry, Cottingham said, many major news organizations withdrew their correspondents altogether. Cottingham said that this experience "emphasized more than ever how much women needed their own vehicles, where they could talk about their own realities" (p. 239). *Isis International Bulletin*, initially headquartered in Geneva, Switzerland, and Rome, Italy, published 29 issues in four languages – English, Italian, French, and Spanish – over the next seven years, each focused on a theme of concern to women; for example, health, prostitution, migration, religion, feminist theory, motherhood, and peace. In order to further what it calls "South–South cooperation and South–North linkages," Isis relocated from Europe to Manila, Philippines, in 1991, with additional (independent) offices in Kampala, Uganda, and Santiago, Chile. Today, the organization carries on a range of media (and other) advocacy and education.[1]

Fempress/mujer magazine and news service, headquartered in Mexico City (and later Santiago, Chile), *Media Report to Women* bulletin,

headquartered in Washington DC, and Agence Femmes Information (AFI), based in France, are additional examples of new feminist print media established in the mid-1970s that specifically sought an international women's audience (Allen 1989; Cottingham 1989). Feminists in India, Jamaica, and many other nations were also launching publications for their national women's audiences, with many of these in the local vernacular. Examples include *Manushi* (in English and Hindi), *Feminist Network* (English), *Baiza* (Marathi), *Ahalya*, *Sabala Sachetana*, *Pratibadi Chetana* (Bengali), *Women's Voice* (English), and *Stree Sangharsh* (Hindi) magazines, in India; and *Woman Speak!*, published by the Women and Development (WAND) unit of the University of West Indies, in Jamaica (Cuthbert 1989: 157; I. Sen 2004: 197).

It might be argued that, together, these publications, along with their counterparts in radio and film, formed both regional and global feminist communications infrastructures that functioned initially and over the years to shape a feminist public sphere both within and across nations. Although the nature and purpose of that sphere will be explored at greater length momentarily, we note that its presence is evidenced today by the extensive and global reach of women's media. The *Directory of Women's Media* (Martha Leslie Allen 2002), compiled by the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, in Washington, DC, identifies 250 print periodicals, more than 50 Internet periodicals, more than 40 publishing houses, 50 media organizations (which support and advocate for women's advancement in media professions), five women's news services, 12 women's film and video groups, and nearly 20 women's music groups and websites, in 48 different nations. This list, which is surely incomplete, is impressive. Still, it represents only part of the story. The feminist communication infrastructure, which played a vital and central role in creating a feminist public sphere, was not just composed of women-initiated and/or -owned enterprises designed for a women's audience. Indeed, a range of additional media were involved in reaching mainstream audiences with feminist-oriented information. Included here are media that we believe have contributed to the formation of a feminist public sphere that overlaps significantly with that larger public sphere in which men's voices and power still prevail. Women do belong to the larger social and political world in any given society, of course, and in nations where women vote and serve in elective office, they are afforded meaningful opportunity to represent women's interests in policy-making. Yet, research shows that men dominate in government and other social institutions in all nations, as well as in the decision-making structures of mainstream media (whether

commercial or noncommercial). Historically, therefore, women have found mediated ways of communicating among themselves; that is, of forming their own public sphere, which has functioned to circulate new ideas about and by women, to allow women to speak to broader issues and broader audiences, and to embed feminist values in the mainstream social fabric. These forms of media have included published feminist academic research on women, feminist news agencies with mainstream distribution, book publishing houses, radio and television production companies, feminist magazines and newspapers, and, more recently, Internet websites, databases, and listservs. Feminists working on the inside of mainstream industries have also contributed to the greater circulation of feminist-oriented content, thereby amplifying women's presence and diverse voices amongst the general public comprising the dominant public sphere.

Our research allowed us to move toward a theory that would begin to explain the structure and function of such women's media activism in women's social participation and advancement. We have called this a Model of Women's Media Action. While close to a theory, which functions to understand or explain a phenomenon, a model serves more as a general structural representation of different sets of elements that work together to constitute a greater whole. O'Sullivan et al. (1994: 185) note that a model is less stable than a theory, and therefore not fully reliable as an overarching explanation for a phenomenon. Therefore, we offer the Model of Women's Media Action as an intermediate step toward a more fully defined theory on the subject that we or other scholars might elaborate at some future point.

Before we take up an explication of the concepts and tenets central to the Model of Women's Media Action, we will review the study on which this model is based.

Cross-Cultural Study on Women's Media Activism

Research goals and questions

The goals of the research were to document, analyze, and begin to theorize media activism that had been conducted by women in different nations between the 1970s and 2004 – years that coincide with the global feminist movement. We were interested in learning about participants' own: (1) roles in media activism; (2) personal (and/or organizational goals); (3) views of what had been accomplished through their own work (or generally by media activism collectively); (4) current involvement (if any) in media

activism; (5) views of what remained to be done; and (6) advice for other women engaged in media activism.

Method

We sought participants with a feminist orientation and who understood their work regarding media as being activist (i.e., social-change oriented). A feminist[2] can be understood as someone who takes an active part in social movements through which women in various times and places seek not only to obtain their equal rights with men, but also the ability to enter into public deliberation, institution-building, and other processes associated with citizenship. We selected participants who were well known for their media activism as well as those who were newer to their work, or who had operated out of the public spotlight using a screening process to assure that they met these criteria. Most of the participants contacted us in response to a "call for participation" that we circulated on several international feminist listservs; others came to us by way of contacts we had through our previous international research. Since our sample was intentionally constructed, it can be characterized as purposive. A full list of participants and their affiliations by nation appears in the Appendix; they may be summarized geographically as follows:

Table 6.1 Participation by geographical region.

Region	*Number of participants*
Africa	15
Cameroon 1, Ghana 1, South Africa 10, Sudan 2, Zambia 1	
Americas	30
Canada 2, Colombia 1, the Dominican Republic 1, Jamaica 4, the United States 22	
Europe	11
Belgium 1, France 2, Germany 1, the Netherlands 2, the United Kingdom 5	
South Asia, Middle East, and Australia	34
Australia 1, India 29, Iran 1, Israel 1, Malaysia 1, Philippines 1	
TOTAL	90

We conducted approximately half of the interviews online, and the remainder face-to-face in India, South Africa, the USA, and the UK, and a few by telephone. In all instances, participants were first provided with a statement explaining the goals of the research and their rights as research subjects. This statement told them of our intent to publish their names and organizations in any publications resulting from the study. Ultimately, we obtained permission to quote from all 90 interviewees, although a few requested that we use a pseudonym when quoting them, to which we agreed. Both in-person and telephone interviews were transcribed. Transcriptions and written responses were then subjected to both qualitative and systematic quantitative analysis. The latter entailed use of a coding tool designed to derive descriptive statistical data about participants' roles, goals, perceived contributions of their work, and other topical areas suggested by the questions.

Quantitative findings

As Table 6.1 shows, informants came from nearly all regions of the world, with relatively more participation from the nations of India, the USA, and South Africa. India and the USA have experienced extremely active feminist movements since the 1970s, including women's media activism. South Africa has experienced these developments since the end of apartheid in the late 1980s, with the emergence of a newly democratic South Africa. We aggregated data in order to discern trends across nations. Greater detail about the specific work undertaken by women media activists in their individual nations emerges more clearly within the chapters, where we cite these frequencies again but in relation to qualitative data and excerpts from interviews.

While we did not ask informants to specify their ages or to provide other personal details, many did so voluntarily in the course of their interviews. Thus, we were able to abstract a profile of them. All participants appeared to be college educated, with many holding postgraduate degrees. About a third referred to their backgrounds as "privileged," in relation to socioeconomic class and the educational and other advantages that this had brought them. Many, including those specifying privileged backgrounds, said that their involvement in feminist and other social justice work was the result of having grown up in progressive, politically active families. Others came to their activism through varying routes, such as gaining a better analysis of women's status through something they had encountered at work, or

through events that had convinced them to get politically involved. Since social class specifically emerged time and time again in the course of interviews as a motivating factor in women's media activism, we have explored this facet in more detail throughout the chapters. Women freely offered a variety of personal details about themselves. In terms of religion, participants included those of Jewish, Protestant, Catholic, and Muslim backgrounds. In terms of sexuality, they included both heterosexual and lesbian women. Political philosophies that participants expressed ranged from what has been called liberal (i.e., reformist) to Marxist or other radical-leftist (i.e., interested in major structural transformations). We draw clearer similarities and differences among participants in greater depth in the chapters, making efforts, where possible, to situate their media activism within the national and cultural contexts in which the work took place.

Forms and goals of media activism

Two-thirds of the respondents indicated that their media activism involved using print or broadcast media in some way. Print media included both traditional (mainstream, commercial) and nontraditional (audience-specific, often nonprofit) newspapers, magazines, and journals. Broadcast media included radio and television, both within traditional enterprises and in alternative ones. The remaining third of respondents was split between those who were engaged with film, video, Internet, and book publishing, and those who were involved in some other form of media activism, such as media monitoring and advocacy. About one-quarter (26 percent) of the respondents identified their first goal to be increasing information about women in the media. Sixteen percent said that their main goal was to inform women about their rights or to stop media stereotypes of women. Another 15 percent said that they wanted to inform women about their legal rights or about some issue specifically related to women's status and well-being. A smaller number (11 percent) said that they wanted to use their media activism to help connect feminist issues to other broader concerns (e.g., housing, war, health, environment). The most frequently mentioned secondary goals were to mobilize activism around women's issues (26 percent) and increasing coverage about women (22 percent). Very few (10 percent) cited some form of personal satisfaction as either a primary or secondary goal for engaging in women's media activism. Preceding chapters show how responses to the matter of goals relate to activists' paths, cultural contexts, and other variables.

Current involvement

Because the timeframe that we were considering in the study involved a three-decade period, it was useful to inquire about what participants were currently doing. Among other things, this allowed us to determine whether those who had made contributions in the 1970s and 1980s were still involved in some way. Nearly all participants indicated they are still active (though not necessarily in the same way that marked their earlier years). For example, just over a quarter (27 percent) said that they remain active through their professions in the media, with many being print or broadcast journalists who are able to find ways of incorporating a gender angle into their stories, or undertake longer investigative stories about women on a regular basis. Others said that they work as feminist media advocates (17 percent), teach or train others to be media activists (17 percent), or serve on media monitoring projects (10 percent). The remaining 29 percent said that they engage in some other activity; for example, working for women's advancement in media through unions, participating in nongovernmental organizations, working through traditional political activities with the aim of expanding women's voice in the media, developing Internet websites, or running a women's book publishing house, among others.

Perceived accomplishments and future work

From their vantage point as activists, the women who we interviewed saw a range of outcomes from their (and in many cases, their organizations') work. A third (33 percent) said that there is more women-focused content in the media today because of women's media activism. A fifth (20 percent) said that they believe there exists a stronger public consciousness about feminism because of their media activism. Slightly fewer participants believed that women's media activism has enabled women's ability to enter and advance in media professions (18 percent), to mobilize followers into women's rights work (12 percent), or to improve the image of women in mainstream media (less than 10 percent). The remainder believed that their work had contributed to changing legislation relating to media or shifting public policies, or had served to legitimize feminism among broader audiences. Participants believed that the need for women's media activism was far from over. The most frequently mentioned challenges were the need to secure greater coverage of women's lives and concerns in the news media (25 percent) and continuing to advance women into decision-making roles

within media industries (25 percent). Some participants believed that feminists needed to build political alliances with other political movements to engage in media activism together (13 percent). Still others (12 percent) believed that sexist or inaccurate portrayals of women in advertising, television, news, and other mainstream media remain compelling problems to be addressed. The remainder said that women's media activism should focus on lobbying for better public policies governing media content, or developing and circulating updated feminist critiques of media.

Advice for other women on media activism

A third (32 percent) of the respondents would encourage other women to engage in women's media activism as a way of spreading and reinforcing feminist goals and values. Another fifth (19 percent) said that women's media activism was needed to amplify women voices. Fewer numbers wanted women media activists in media careers to strive for excellence so that they could advance and do more for coverage of women's lives (14 percent) or to continue monitoring changes in the media, thereby tracking progress from their efforts or to spot new problems requiring feminist attention (less than 10 percent). Several veteran activists of many years wanted younger women engaged in media activism to remember who had helped to lay the groundwork for them.

Limitations of the quantitative data

The study was designed within a critical and interpretive theoretical framework that made use of the ethnographic method of interviews and narrative reports, rather than social science methods; for example, the survey questionnaire. Therefore, the quantitative data summarized here should be understood as descriptive of this particular sample of 90 participants, but not necessarily generalizable to all women media activists. We hope that the study, and the Model of Women's Media Action derived from it, will encourage others to extend and refine both our qualitative and quantitative work in order to develop clearer understandings of the role of women's media activism in social change both within and across nations.

Women's Right to Communicate

The principle of women's right to communicate is embedded in their media activism, and in turn in the Model of Women's Media Action that

we pose here. Although the use of media has been central to social change movements since the nineteenth century (see, e.g., Kielbowicz & Scherer 1986), the discourse about the centrality of communication to citizenship (and the social participation that flows from it) was not debated until the twentieth century. The right to communicate was officially established as a basic human right in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948 and is celebrated annually around the world on December 1 (the date of passage). That article asserts that:

> Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers. (United Nations 1948)

Although not binding by the member states that adopt it – as are UN conventions – the Declaration's various articles have served as guideposts for human rights advocates in years since. Women gave a gender-specific designation to the "right to communicate" concept in 1975, during the first UN-sponsored International Women's Year meeting in Mexico City, when delegates adopted a *World Plan of Action* that included provisions recognizing the mass media's power to shape popular perceptions of the role of women in society and establishing specific programs that would strengthen women's access to those media (Byerly 1995; United Nations 1995: 36). Although these official governmental documents did not contain an analysis of women's historic denial to the channels of communication across the world, UN-funded research that emerged through implementation of the *World Plan of Action* laid a foundation of both academic and independent research documenting women's relationship to media industries, and calling for greater and fairer representation and participation in the production aspects of media messages and images. Some UN funds were also directed toward establishing women's alternative media, such as several women's feature services, in the developing regions of Africa, the Caribbean, Latin America, and the Middle East (Gallagher 1981; Byerly 1995). The era of women's media activism dates from this period of the 1970s, when women in larger numbers at the local community level, as well as at national and international levels, sought to circulate new ideas about women's condition, status, and contributions. Global feminism, as represented both by the UN Decade for Women, as well as a proliferation of nongovernmental organizations, placed mass and specialized media central to women's advancement (Boulding c.1980; Byerly 1990).

Women's right to communicate was dealt with more specifically in the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action in 1995. Delegates who attended the official UN meeting, which met to assess what had happened in the 10 years since the UN Decade for Women ended, set as their goal the removal of "all obstacles to women's active participation in all spheres of public and private life through a full and equal share in economic, social, cultural and political decision-making."[3] Leslie Regan Shade (1999) notes that the platform focused most of its attention on women and media in addressing women's right to communicate. For example, Strategic Objective J.1 sought specifically to increase "the participation and access of women to expression and decision-making in and through the media and new technologies of communication." In 2002, gender and communication burst forth again as a global concern in Pôrto Alegre, Brazil, at the World Social Forum conference. Under the banner of "Communication and Citizenship," participants representing a range of nongovernmental organizations located barriers to open and free communication within the power structures of corporate-dominated media systems the world over (Burch 2002). The significance of this event for feminists is that women's right to communicate had now become formally raised by a broadly based constituency composed of both men and women working in concert on a range of international issues. The WSF was designed to provide a new democratic framework for those from labor, indigenous, environmental, human rights, feminist, and other groups to organize against what they saw to be corporate hegemony manifested through globalization (see J. Sen et al. 2004). A seminar on communication and citizenship at the Pôrto Alegre event identified a central barrier to communication in the form of megacorporations controlled by a small elite of predominantly white, Northern, and male entrepreneurs. Instead, participants said that they favored:

> . . . building an information society built on the principles of transparency, diversity, participation and solidarity inspired by equitable gender, cultural and regional perspectives, a democratic information society, in which all people can exercise the right to communicate, to be full actors in the public arena. (quoted in Burch 2002)

In 2002, feminists took their demands for women's right to communicate to international governmental forums through what they called a Campaign for Communication Rights in the Information Society (CRIS). Rep-

resentatives of CRIS participated in the UN-sponsored World Summits on the Information Society, in Geneva, Switzerland, in 2003, and in Tunis, Tunisia, in November 2005. Women working in grassroots movements around the world have joined in solidarity with those pushing media rights in the WSIS. For example, participants at the World Social Forum in Pôrto Alegre, Brazil, in 2005, adopted a statement calling on social movements to work on building an international communication rights movement from the bottom up. Communications was a core theme at the 2005 World Social Forum, calling attention to what participants called "the growing communications divide between one third of the world's population with the power to communicate globally, instantaneously and the other two thirds who barely have access to electricity and for whom the Internet is an unknown world."[4]

Women's media activism, manifested in these and other ways, represents women's sustained efforts to exercise their right to communicate in order to participate in public life. The gendered struggle for control over the making and distribution of messages and images, intended for varied audiences, has occurred both within a feminist public sphere, as well as the dominant public sphere. Message- and image-making occur at such sites of production, with the struggle aimed at changing the balance of power in relations between men and women in society. Even women's initiatives to establish their own media enterprises must be viewed within the framework of struggle, since the goal of women's initiatives has been to communicate their experience in their own voices within public spaces, or spheres. The underlying concerns with power relations, structures that produce them, and social change (i.e., emancipation) places the Model of Women's Media Action most obviously within the critical theoretical paradigm. Critical theories assume the goal of enabling social change – in this case, women's advancement through the use of media. The MWMA follows the structure of a critical theory: it problematizes and then situates a phenomenon historically, reveals the structures of power (in this case, in gendered social relations) inherent in the phenomenon, and poses alternatives for change (i.e., employment of media to create a women's public sphere, etc.). However, the MWMA also incorporates elements of the interpretive paradigm through its goal to understand the ways that women have gone about engaging in their activism. We pursued the research through the intersubjective (interpretive) method of interviewing, in which we asked participants to tell us about their experiences, how they had come to their activism, and what they had learned. Interviews revealed that women had

pursued their work along four main paths, or strategies, each embodying similar goals and methods. These will be revealed in succeeding chapters.

The Public Sphere and Communicative Action

Central to the Model of Women's Media Action is the concept of a women's public sphere, which may be defined as a feminist communicative space in which women articulate their experiences in their own voices, critique gender inequality, advocate for women's advancement, and identify related social concerns that are often inseparable from gender (e.g., race, class, and ethnic) inequality. Our use of the term "feminist public sphere" follows from Rita Felski's (1989: 9) conceptualization of a "feminist counter-public sphere" as "an oppositional discursive arena within the society of late capitalism, structured around an ideal of a communal gendered identity." A feminist public sphere is also a space within which women bring their perspectives to issues and problems of the day – issues and problems that are not necessarily identified as "women's issues." We agree with Felski (1989) that such a sphere should also allow for tensions and contradictions within women's movements to be addressed. Therefore, it should not be assumed that by participating in the creation of a feminist public sphere, women are acting as a unified interpretive community governed by a single set of norms and values (p. 10). In fact, a feminist public sphere is ideally one that honors and encourages diversity of thinking in the creation of social policies. The notion of a feminist public sphere also assumes that this sphere will take on its own national and regional identity as women from nation to nation use media and public gatherings to identify the specific things that they care about.

The importance of media to the construction of feminist spaces has long been understood. Journalism historian Linda Steiner (1983) found that nineteenth-century suffrage newspapers helped US women's rights advocates achieve a sense of community and common purpose, even while they actively disagreed in those same pages about approaches to obtaining the vote and other issues. A similar example can be found in South Africa's alternative presses during the early twentieth century, when feminists such as *The Guardian*'s Ruth First used her journalism to try to build an identity for African women during mobilization against the government's expanded use of passes for black citizens outside their own townships (Pinnock 1997: 318). In 1975, women's rights leaders from around the world recognized the key role of both mass media and specialized women-controlled media.

The mass media, they said, could "exercise a significant influence in helping to remove prejudices and stereotypes, accelerating the acceptance of women's new and expanding roles in society" (*World Plan of Action* 1975, paras 161–2, cited in United Nations 1976). The recognition of mass media's centrality to women's advancement was reaffirmed in the platform of the UN's Fourth Conference on Women, held in Beijing, China, in 1995, in which delegates called again for the "increased participation and access of women to expression and decision-making in and through the media and new technologies of communication" and laid out more than a dozen specific recommendations to governments to enable such access.

So far, we have referred to Jürgen Habermas's (1984, 1987, 1993) concept of an ideal public sphere without a full explanation of it, or of the problems that it has posed for feminists. Habermas's notion of an ideal public sphere – an imagined space separate from the state or the economic marketplace, where citizens could deliberate their common affairs – was derived from the historical context of British, French, and German developments in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Habermas 1993: 422–3). In Habermas's original formulation, participants in the emerging public sphere were part of a new educated elite (i.e., a bourgeoisie) who would mediate between society and governmental, economic, and other structures. He saw the bourgeoisie's role as crucial in the evolution of modern democratic processes. Habermas's (1987) ideal public sphere concept is part of his theory of communicative action, which he set forth in two volumes whose content ranges from critiques of previous theoretical understandings of the roles of communication in social evolution to a positing of new theory for the way in which society progresses. Of particular relevance to our own discussion is his treatment of media, which he saw serving as a "coordinating mechanism for reaching understanding" (p. 390) among participants in the public sphere. Especially appealing to critical theorists has been his recognition that mass media permeate our modern world and daily life, and these media serve generally to reinforce existing hierarchies. He said, "there is a counterweight of emancipatory potential built into communication structures themselves . . . abstracted and clustered as they are, these communications cannot be reliably shielded from the possibility of opposition by responsible actors" (Habermas 1987: 390).

Feminist scholars have debated Habermas's value for their own work, criticizing him for not addressing gender, race, and class more explicitly in the original formulation of the ideal public sphere. Nancy Fraser (1993) recognized that the general idea of a public sphere is indispensable to

critical social theory and democratic political practice, but she has been among the most vocal in calling Habermas's lack of a gender and class consciousness into question (pp. 112–18). Lisa McLaughlin (1993) agrees that the emancipatory nature of the public sphere is attractive to feminists. Citing Mary Ryan (1992), McLaughlin points out that despite exclusion from the dominant public sphere historically, women across classes and ethnicities did (and do) gain access to public life and public arenas. Habermas has responded to feminists (and other critics) by making a number of revisions to his original theory. Among these is a recognition that some aspects of his original formulation were too simplistic and, from the beginning, that the early democracies were characterized by competing (counter) publics. Regarding this last point, he has said:

> An analysis of the exclusionary aspects of established public spheres is particularly revealing in the respect, the critique of that which has been excluded from the public sphere and from my analysis of it too: gender, ethnicity, class, popular culture. (Habermas 1993: 466)

This understanding has led to a general acceptance of the existence of multiple public spheres, also referred to as counter spheres (Habermas's own term). Envisioning a multiplicity of public spheres offers a clearer picture of communicative practices in the real world, and it allows for an explanation of how ideas move from the private sphere of personal life and home into public discourse. The notion of a feminist public sphere that intersects others, including the dominant sphere – in which men's power prevails – allows for a clearer explanation of how women have articulated personal and political views and concerns both among themselves and within a wider public forum. What Habermas called the dominant public sphere – and which we refer to as the dominant masculine public sphere from time to time – has also been called the "official public sphere," designating it as the place where power elites shape discourse that leads to official policy (see Lisa McLaughlin 1993: 602). Key here is that there appears to be consensus among scholars today, including the originator of the concept and theory surrounding it, that there are multiple public spheres competing with a dominant one in a dialectical process over time – and, we would add, space.

In showing one way in which women in recent times negotiated that dominant sphere, Nancy Fraser (1993: 123) noted that "feminist women have invented new terms for describing social reality, including 'sexism', 'the double shift', 'sexual harassment', and 'marital, date and acquaintance rape',

thereby reducing, although not eliminating, the extent of our disadvantage in official public spheres." Fraser's useful example shows how feminists' articulation of a language of experience moved first from the private sphere to a feminist-created women's public sphere, and then on into the dominant sphere and presumably also other counter public spheres. The new language and analysis associated with violence against women initially circulated through feminist publications in the 1970s, but through the force of public speak-outs (which mainstream news often covered), and strategic public relations (carried on by women's organizations such as the National Organization for Women in the USA and Isis International, based in Europe), the terms gradually reached audiences occupying other public spheres.[5] Both mass and alternative media provided the means for circulating these terms (and the ideas that they embodied), both within and among the respective public spheres (Byerly 1994, 1999).

Jean L. Cohen (1995: 81) argues that Habermas's later work on, for example, facticity and validity, which further corrected for his earlier gender blindness, makes his theory an extremely important contribution to the "equality/difference" debate, animating feminist legal theory in the USA. She argues that these advancements, together with his elaborations on social theory on the civil society, make Habermas's work indispensable to feminists. We would agree with Cohen's assessment. We see substantial potential for subaltern (following Spivak 1988) theories deriving from feminist, intercultural, lesbian and gay, and postcolonial scholarship to expand on the ways in which marginalized groups entered into a dialectical process through their use of media. Our own task here is to consider feminists' experience in this regard.

The notion that multiple public spheres operate and that women have a relationship to them has caught feminist imaginations around the world. Feminist scholars, writing from diverse national and cultural perspectives, have added complexity to an understanding of the public sphere by showing how factors such as race, ethnicity, social class, and nationality are involved. Nilufer Gole (1997) recognized the inherent gendered nature of the public sphere, and she considered the ways in which feminist leaders have helped to place women's issues related to culture and religion central to modern political debate in Muslim countries such as Turkey. Amanda Kemp, Nozizwe Madlala, Asha Moodley, and Elaine Salo (1995) demonstrated the extent to which an understanding of the public sphere has been reformulated in talking about the dramatic growth of gender consciousness in South Africa since 1990. Women's efforts to constitute themselves as

participants in the emerging pluralistic South African society, they said, have shaped their movement's understanding that "ideologies of womanhood had as much to do with race as they do with sex" (p. 133). These authors also factored in concerns about national development, which feminists in developing nations have long recognized to be bound up with women's advancement and hence their work as social activists. Thus, in articulating a politics of equality and advancement for women, black South African feminists, they said, also must raise issues such as access to clean water and housing – things not specifically defined as "feminist" (ibid.).

At the conceptual level, we can imagine that these spheres exist as individual communicative spaces, as well as interlocking spaces, in the form of a Venn diagram (see Figure 6.1). The salient question now is: How have media been utilized in this negotiation process? McLaughlin (1993: 600) found that "feminist work on the Habermasian public sphere gives the media scant attention, despite the necessity to account for the feminist movement's

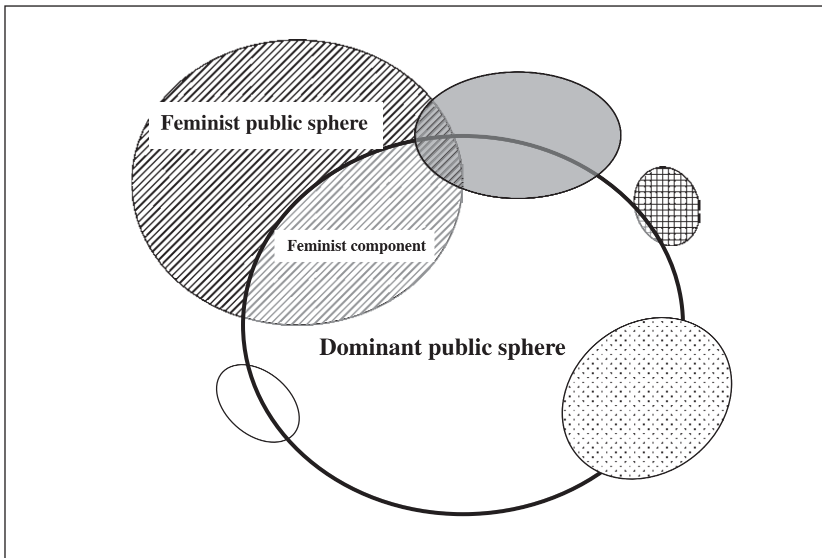

Figure 6.1 The relationship of the feminist public sphere to the dominant public sphere. Conceptualizations of multiple public spheres recognize that marginal groups vie for influence with a dominant public sphere. In this model, the feminist public sphere exists as its own entity, as well as being a formation within the dominant public sphere.

publicist orientation." She argued that a theory of the public sphere "demands a sustained consideration of publicity and media's role in it," something she admitted is "no simple task, since reconceptualization need address feminists' production of hegemonic discourses, feminist discourse's insinuation with hegemonic discourse, and feminism's marginalization, cooptation and dilution by media institutions" (McLaughlin 1993: 612).

Emerging feminist scholarship is considering ways in which women are engaging hegemonic discourse through media activism. One example emerges from a study by Ananda Mitra (2004), who examined the ways in which women in South Asia are beginning to use the Internet to express shared concerns about their roles and marginalization, and to discuss ways of taking action. Mitra observes that historically, women in South Asia have used protests – rallies, strikes, and demonstrations – to voice their concerns. This began to change in the 1980s, as women in India worked to get socially conscious programming about gender onto the state-owned television network Doordarshan. Today, South Asian women are using Internet resources such as the website and listserv of SAWnet – the South Asian Women's Network. Mitra argues that SAWnet provides authority and legitimacy to the participants who are in the process of creating a South Asian women's public sphere.

As we move toward creating a Model of Women's Media Action, we will adopt these basic understandings of what public spheres are and how they function in democratic processes. More specifically, we will show how feminists have used a range of media in order to construct both a feminist public sphere as well as open entryways for women to the dominant masculine public sphere, thereby bringing women more fully into democratic participation in their societies.

Structural Constraints and Feminist Interventions

An essential starting point considering the relationship of media to women's and dominant public spheres is the question of who controls media. Lance Bennett et al. (2004) acknowledge that Habermas can be read as both an indictment of modern media as instruments of elite control and as a collection of gate-keepers who manage interactions among elites and broader publics. Making a specific connection between gender and media ownership, feminist historian Linda Kerber (1997) reminded us that the characteristic site of the emerging public sphere in eighteenth-century Europe was the political newspaper, which served as a mediator of public

discussion. While men controlled the press and used it "to explain to each other how good republicans could retain their manhood while eschewing the patriarchal order," Kerber recognized that women of that time and place actively sought the means to achieve a "female public sphere" and participate in institution-building (1997: 189). Women's involvement at decision-making levels of larger media enterprises has always been miniscule in nearly every society, and ample research shows that such lack of access and control help to explain the dominance of men's values and interests, and women's enduring problems of invisibility and misrepresentation in media content the world over (Gallagher 1995; Byerly 2004b).

There has never been a time when ownership and control of large media organizations were more significant to democracy – or to women. As noted in Chapter 5, six enormous mixed conglomerates control the majority of publishing, film, and music companies, cable stations, television and radio networks, and other telecommunication industries in the world. Byerly (2004b) has observed that women have almost no place in either the ownership or top management levels of these corporations or their individual enterprises. The global reach of these media conglomerates means that audiences the world over can watch more ESPN sports, CNN and Fox/Sky news, and Hollywood movies than they can access in their own language and culture. They can also see advertisements for everything from luxury cars and perfumes to household cleansers. All media products emanating from "big" media have been accused of carrying a particular ideology – hyper-commercial, strongly Western and male, as earlier chapters explain at greater length. How should this highly significant gendered structural problem in large media industries be conceptualized in the light of women and the public sphere, and our search for a Model of Women's Media Action?

Pilar Riaño (1994) put forward the argument that if the connections between the media and women's participation in public arenas are to be understood, feminist media scholarship must go beyond consideration of problems in the content and structures of mainstream industries and instead (or at least as well as) consider women-generated media. She said that:

> . . . excessive emphasis placed on issues of access and equity of representation has silenced a more central structural question regarding the absence of voice of subordinated groups in the media. Participatory practices of media production have placed this issue at the center, defining themselves as spaces for grassroots communication, for the building of representations that foster communication of the others (of women, ethnic immigrants, minorities, and

> homosexuals). These practices, therefore, challenge dominant representations and forms of communication. (Riaño 1994: 122)

Riaño's work is located within a small but significant literature emerging from Latin American and other feminist activists who make a case for women-created media as a means of giving women a voice and creating a feminist public sphere. Marta Lamas (1992) explains the ways in which the Mexican magazine *Debate Feminista* (Feminist Debate) connects feminist activists with the development of feminist theory in academia. Zoila Hernandez (1992) identifies the feminist strategy of gaining placement of feminist magazine supplements in large circulating mainstream dailies. Typically published monthly, these supplements are variously named *Mujer y Sociedad* (Peru), *La Doble Jornada* (Mexico), and *Nosotras* and *Lawray* (Bolivia). In India, Shabnam Virmani (2001) recounts the efforts of the Drishti Media Collective, of which she is a member, to use video as a networking tool so that women in small Indian villages can learn to use the technology to speak to each other, share experiences, and form self-help groups to deal with discrimination and other daily problems.

Another approach to women's media activism has been for women to establish their own media enterprises that are designed to increase women's access to the dominant public sphere. Byerly (1995) examined one such feminist-controlled media enterprise, the Women's Feature Service (WFS), based in New Delhi, pointing out the service's goals of increasing news flow from a progressive women's perspective in mainstream magazines, newspapers, and other media. WFS follows the format of development journalism by reporting on women's problems in developing nations within an historical context, foregrounding the solutions that women have developed to address those problems, and allowing both elite (educated, official) and nonelite (working-class, rural) women the space to voice their views and experiences.

Since the 1970s, women have undertaken a range of other activities intended to expand women's access to mainstream media, or to encourage women-controlled media programs. Among these is a range of evaluative activities aimed at revealing the way in which mainstream media represent women's experiences and concerns. These include projects sponsored by nongovernmental organizations such as the Global Media Monitoring Project, sponsored by the progressive group the World Association for Christian Communication. The WACC launched the GMMP in 1995, with the goal of monitoring and changing media around the world to improve

gender representation (Ross 2004b). Published reports provide women media activists with the data that they need to lobby for changes in public and media industry policy, as well as to work with media managers who are open to improving their gender coverage (Gallagher 2001).

A Model of Women's Media Action

While the contours and objective details of women's media activism can be described by the literature reviewed above, we sought to obtain a subjective history of that activism through the work of those who engaged in it, so as to begin to analyze and theorize it. The Model of Women's Media Action (MWMA) posed here takes us a step closer to a well-developed theory of how this particular form of women's agency has functioned to advance feminist principles in effecting social change. The model, which begins to consider the range and purpose of these activities in an organized way, is based on the research that we described earlier. In analyzing the interviews and written answers of respondents in our study, we found that their activities had followed four distinct patterns that we have called paths. The metaphor of the path suits the present research on women's media activism well. A path connotes direction, purpose, and movement. It embodies the notion of a journey that begins in one place and ends in another. These characteristics reflect all or major parts of what participants in the study told us about their experiences, knowledge, and lessons from working as feminist media activists.

Four paths – described below – suggest the organizing mechanism for women's media activism. These allow us to show how specific kind of activities helped women to gain access to the mainstream media or to reach smaller groups of other like-minded women over a period of some three decades. These activities, collectively, we argue, formed feminist public spheres both within and across nations that can be understood as extending women's democratic participation. Although the four paths are distinct one from another, as the discussion will show, it is important to keep several things in mind. The first is that while most women in our study indicated that they followed a particular path more than another, those who engaged in media activism for many years tended to have followed several. We categorized them by the path that they most emphasized in their information to us. Second, we have designated paths as first, second, third, and fourth arbitrarily, to denote one from another rather than to suggest a linear development, or a hierarchy of importance. We assume that all are of equal

and complementary importance in advancing women's ability to communicate publicly. Third, nor is any chronology of development suggested among the four paths. In fact, all appear to have operated simultaneously over several decades of time.

The first path – which we call "politics to media" – is represented by feminists' decision to begin to use media as some part of their feminist political work. In other words, these women moved from simply being "feminist activists" to producing media products of some kind. Motivation to learn how to "do media" included a desire to publicly articulate a stand on a specific woman-related issue, to help other women to speak, or to mobilize a constituency (women or both women and men). For still others, it was a desire to celebrate or reinforce women's experience and culture. Women following the first path were not trained as media professionals, but they acquired skills that enabled them to publish newsletters, produce radio or television programs, construct Internet websites, or "do" some other form of media. Some who pursued this path were working with feminist groups as well as other politically oriented groups whose goals they saw to intersect with those of feminism.

For example, peacemaking motivated several respondents to obtain media skills. In the Netherlands, Janne Poort-van Eeden serves as the education officer for a pilot program, Women Peacemakers and the Media, at the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, an inter-faith organization. Poort-Van Eeden[6] has produced several video films for the project, depicting women in India, Hungary, Zimbabwe, and elsewhere engaged in peacemaking activities expressing their views about society and goals for peace. In Colombia, Angela Cuevas de Dolmetsch, an attorney and a member of Consensus of Women of the Peace Boat, wanted to bring women formally into negotiations between the government and guerrillas toward ending the two-decade-old Colombian civil war. Cuevas decided to host a weekly women's public affairs television and radio program called *Looking at the World through Women's Eyes*, to help break the silence about women's reality and to help women enter public life. She also encourages women journalists to "show gender solidarity to other women" so that women's opinions can begin to change society through the media.

The second path – "media profession to politics" – describes the strategy followed by women employed in media industries who decided to use their vantage point as insiders to expand women-related content, or to reform the industry's policies to improve women's professional status. Women who followed this path are media professionals. They were

formally trained in a media profession – in news reporting, radio or television production, film or video production, or some other kind of media work. At some point in their career paths, they developed a strong identity (and perhaps involvement) with feminism and began to explore ways of increasing information about women in media content. Some also sought ways of making company policies more egalitarian. For example, Lubna Yousif Ali, in Sudan, who has been a newspaper and magazine journalist since 1978, said that her goals are "always to keep women informed about their rights." As the editor of a women's page for many years, and later a writer for the *Azza* monthly women's magazine, she has published articles on voting laws (enacted in the 1970s), women's illiteracy and educational programs to meet them, female genital mutilation, divorce, economics, and what other women in the world are doing politically. Yousif Ali is active in two journalism unions (one of them for women) and the Arabs Union. She also takes on independent projects to expand women's understanding of media, such as coordinating a major media workshop for women in December 2003.

Women who follow the third path – "advocate change agent" – used a strategy of pressuring media to improve treatment of women in one or more ways. The outside advocate's path often entails research and analysis about women and media, including publication of reports or articles, or it may mobilize a constituency to write letters or take some other action. For at least 20 years, Margaret Gallagher, an independent media researcher based in Paris and London, said that she has been "driven by two broad preoccupations" as an outside advocate. She identified the first as the growing commercialization in the media and its subsequent influence on audiences. For this, she has tried to bring about changes in national and international policy that expand citizens' (including women's) rights to communicate. She identified the second preoccupation as an unequal distribution of resources (economic, political, and informational) among social groups, including women. She sees the unequal gender balance of power as "primordial – something embedded in all other inequalities (e.g., ethnic and political)." Gallagher's media activist work is too extensive to chronicle here, but it can be exemplified by her recent work overseeing the third round of the Global Media Monitoring Project (described earlier), in 2005. Gallagher's role is to compile the data as it comes in from all over the world and publish it for use by women in their efforts to make changes in media. Another woman who follows the third path is Colleen Lowe Morna, director of Gender Links, a nongovernmental organization in South Africa,

that conducted the first Gender and Media Baseline Study in her nation in 2003. The study revealed (among other things) that black women journalists were substantially underrepresented in the profession, while white females had done well. Lowe Morna's group now works through mainstream editors and journalists' groups to raise hiring and representational issues. The group has also begun to conduct trainings on race and gender issues for media organizations' (still mostly) white male members.

The fourth path – "women's media enterprises" – allows women the maximum control over message production and distribution. Enterprises illustrated by this path include book and magazine publishing, syndicated radio programming, women's news agencies, and independent film and video companies. In India, for example, Shree Venkatram left a high-ranking editorial position with an English daily newspaper in 1996 after she became weary of what she saw to be a drift toward celebrity and superficiality in news. With funds from the USA-based MacArthur Foundation, she established Unnati Features, a women's news agency specializing in stories on environment, health, development, nutrition, and other stories of interest to women. Venkatram says that she and her pool of writers share the goal of serving the popular press with these stories, thereby reaching mainstream audiences. Believing that all journalists should understand how to see gender in their assignments, Unnati Features also sponsors an annual competition on a gender-related news theme for high-school-aged students, encouraging both boys and girls to enter. By contrast, Women's eNews, a nonprofit Internet-based international news service headquartered in the USA, sees women as its main audience. Veteran journalist Rita Henley Jensen created the service in 2000, under sponsorship of the National Organization for Women. Two years later, she went independent and remains the company's president, editor-in-chief, and publisher. The service operates by using feminist news correspondents around the world. Jensen says that Women's eNews was born out of her realization that women could no longer rely on newspapers to report on women's success, that "we had to measure our success by our own performance." She believes that "the white male hierarchy has to be told – in no uncertain terms – that their gender and race bias is destroying the institution they love [because these] fail to promote and retain women and do not include women in their news columns; they ignore issues of concern to women and that is reflected in low readership among women." She adds that this same hierarchy fails to see that "black and Latino Americans, as well as other people of color, know full well how they treat minority employees and therefore have little to no

confidence in the accuracy of the news published. And, if they do not reach women and minorities, they will eventually go out of business."

Jensen's words are a fitting transition to the succeeding chapters and a fuller exploration of these four paths and the experiences of those who follow them. Women's media activism has typically not operated narrowly as only a gendered project but, rather, as one that embraces a comprehensive sense of liberation. In the real world, gender is always aligned with other signifiers of power, and media activism carried on by the women who we interviewed illustrated this time and time again.

Notes

1 See the Isis International website (www.isiswomen.org/advocacy/media/index.html).
2 For a longer discussion of the meaning of "feminism" and "feminist," see Chapter 1.
3 See www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/, (accessed August 18, 2004).
4 See www.reclaimthemedia.org/stories.php?story=05/02/01/8735312 (accessed April 1, 2005).
5 A number of feminist scholars have examined the communicative routes by which a new language (and analysis) of violence against women emerged and traveled. See, for example, Patricia L. N. Donat and John D'Emilio's "A feminist redefinition of rape" (1992); Carolyn M. Byerly's "An agenda for teaching the news coverage of rape" (1994), and Diana E. H. Russell and Roberta A. Harmes's edited volume, *Femicide in Global Perspective* (2001).
6 The women media activists quoted in this and other chapters participated in our study between March 2003 and June 2004.

7

First Path: Politics to Media

> *This has largely been my work, which is to show my and other people's films. We have worked a lot with films by women, for women, trying to create the women's space . . . We also work with Dalits*[1] *and tribal communities. In India, all three need that creation of space.*
>
> Gargi Sen,[2] Magic Lantern Foundation, New Delhi, India

All women who engage in media activism are politically motivated; that is, they want their work to contribute to a world in which women's influence shapes everything from culture to social policy. How activists go about securing a larger space for women's voices using media depends on the strategy (i.e., approach) that they adopt in their work. As discussed in Chapter 6, we have conceptualized these strategies as "paths." In this and succeeding chapters, we use a system of four paths to organize the findings from our study, whose goal was to reveal the nature of women's media activism through the experiences of those who have practiced it. The Model of Women's Media Action, comprising feminist tenets associated with women's right to communicate and participate in their societies, enables us to analyze one form of women's agency in social transformation.

As described at the end of Chapter 6, we discerned four main paths in the information provided to us by women who participated in the study. We have numbered these paths for easier reference; however, we reiterate that no hierarchy of importance is intended. Nor do the paths' numbers signify a linear order in their evolution. Indeed, all four paths have

coexisted and served to mutually reinforce each other during the three decades under consideration, from the 1970s to 2004. In addition, a number of feminists whom we interviewed indicated that they had pursued more than one path, particularly in cases where their media activism took place over a continuous period of time and/or if they moved from one organization to another. In analyzing the various forms of activism that our participants pursued, we have situated each woman (and her work) on the path that she most emphasized in responses to our research questions. While this will not provide a comprehensive picture of a given woman's work, it should provide a clearer analysis of one trajectory of that work and allow her work to be compared and contrasted with that of others who pursued the same path.

The goals of this chapter and the three that follow are, therefore, to explicate these four paths – "politics to media," "media profession to politics," "advocate change agent," and "women's media enterprises" – through an analysis of the work of those who have traveled them. Throughout the chapters, we use participants' own descriptions of their work to reveal how they contributed to the construction of a feminist public sphere and/or to the construction of a feminist component in the dominant public sphere. We attempt to locate participants' media activism in the historical, national, and cultural contexts in which it occurred. The literature on global feminism has shown that feminists share many of the same goals, regardless of national contexts, because many categorical problems – for example, secondary legal status, poverty, rape and incest, wife beating, and lack of access to education and health care – are experienced by women everywhere. The particular ways in which these problems manifest themselves, however, may differ considerably depending on local customs, religious beliefs, family relationships, socioeconomic (class) relations, historical, and other factors. Women's political responses to their problems, and the media activism growing out of those responses, have also varied accordingly.

Characteristics of the First Path

This chapter is concerned with what we call the first path: "politics to media." This path is has been followed by women who were not trained as media professionals but who learned how to "do" some kind of media in order to communicate about specific issues related to women. Women

following the first path acquired the skills to write news stories, publish newsletters, produce radio or television programs, make films, construct Internet websites, or "do" some other form of media. There are a number of other shared characteristics among the 18 women from eight different nations in our study associated with this path. First, as mentioned, their media skills were self-taught or gained through other informal means, rather than through formal training in media professions. Second, their motivation to engage in media activism was a specific outgrowth of their feminist political work, which they believed needed a wider audience. Specific motivation differed from woman to woman. In some cases, this was a desire to help women (themselves and others) talk publicly about a specific issue; in other cases, motivation was in wanting to use media as an organizing tool; for example, reflecting back upon women's political gains in order to mobilize for additional ones. For still others, it was a desire to celebrate or reinforce women's identity and culture. Third, in most cases, women following this path carried on their media activism through independent or alternative (i.e., noncommercial, nonmainstream) media.

Fourth, all 18 of the women we interviewed described doing media activism as only one component of a larger collection of feminist-oriented activities that they carried on in their lives. In other words, they also continued work such as lobbying for new laws, raising money for services or facilities beneficial to women, or organizing public events to educate others about women's issues. Most women following the first path whom we interviewed, from both developed and developing nations, said that they tried in their media activism to show how women's oppression related to other oppressions, such as poverty and class, race, war (and the making of peace), or gay and lesbian identity. We found the goal of using media to generate a more complex understanding of overlapping oppressions to be shared by all our women informants (as each chapter will show), particularly with respect to shaping a feminist component in the dominant public sphere. In fact, the ability to bring overlapping concerns into a common discourse was often made possible through women holding membership in more than one organization, or through conducting their feminist media activism within the context of a multi-issue organization, some including both male and female members.

In other ways, women following the first path varied considerably in characteristics. They reported using a range of media – film, radio, television, the Internet, newspapers – in their work. They were multigenerational, ranging in age from the early twenties to the sixties, and they

came from all over the globe (as indicated by the eight nations that these 18 women represent). Some women had conducted their media activism through women-only organizations, while others conducted it in organizations that included both women and men. Women who worked in collaboration with male colleagues reported doing their work in multiple-issue organizations that integrated an analysis of sexism with other forms of oppression. Quantitative data from the study showed that women who followed the first path had the widest range of goals for their work.

The following 18 women (listed alphabetically) followed the first path, "politics to media":

Red Chidgey, UK	Anjali Mathur, India
Angela Cuevas de Dolmetsch, Colombia	Laxmi Murthy, India
Dorothy Dean, USA	Janne Poort-van Eeden, the Netherlands
Deepa Dhanraj, India	Moira Rankin, USA
Jay Hartling, Canada	Chelsia Rice, USA
Ulrike Helwerth, Germany	Boden Sandstrom, USA
Katherine (K. T.) Jarmul, USA	Sanjana, India
Jill Lawrence, USA	Gargi Sen, India
Anne Lewis, USA	Claudia Wulz, Belgium

Women who followed the first path emerged from feminist political circles that were instrumental in defining new issues in women's lives, or that were bringing a new perspective to an issue that had been around for years. These include issues particularly seeking a dialogue – perhaps even a debate – among women. Study participants described their work as wanting to reach women with their message, and some sought media specifically targeting a female audience. These kinds of statements reveal the central role of media activism in creating a space for women to share, analyze, and otherwise address their everyday experiences. In some cases, the goals would be information sharing and the building of community; in others, some kind of action. Women following the first path stated the widest divergence of goals for their work. In other words, they were fairly evenly distributed around purposes such as increasing media content about women, mobilizing feminist activism, helping to connect feminist issues to

others, and informing women about their rights. By contrast, they were strongly united in their belief that their work had helped to expand media content around women's lives and feminist issues. There was also strong agreement that their media activism had helped to raise public consciousness about women, from a feminist perspective.

Starting Women's Media[3]

As feminism emerged in the United States in the early 1970s – a period that has been called second-wave feminism[4] – **Dorothy Dean**[5] was one of many feminist media activists using small-scale publications and women's music as organizing tools. Dean worked initially with the Milwaukee (Wisconsin) Women's Coalition, to publish the newsletter *Amazon*, which told women how to do things for themselves (such as take care of their own cars). The newsletter published sporadically as members found the money, and it ended when they could no longer afford it, Dean said. She and her friend Debbie St. Charles then started a women's music production company, bringing in feminist singers such as Chris Williamson, Margie Adam, and Meg Christian to give concerts in the Milwaukee area. They did all of the work required to put on the concerts: scheduling the groups, publicizing the appearances, and managing the sound systems and lights during performances. Dorothy Dean saw a central role for women's music in helping women to gain a feminist conscience and to bond politically. Olivia Records, a national feminist recording company, was forming, and Dean wanted to help promote it. The list of women's musicians that she began to compile expanded into a magazine called *Paid My Dues*, which Dean composed using an IBM typewriter and an old-fashioned waxer. She said the magazine published "as many interviews as I could get" with women musicians and other others who had something to say to a feminist audience. In 1973, Dean met and suggested to a founder of the Daughters Press that it would be useful to call a conference on feminist publishing. At that event, Dean had a flash of insight:

> It struck me that there were two major categories into which just about everyone there fit. For some, feminist publishing was a way to come out as a feminist or as a feminist lesbian. The other group was women who were publishing out of a need to communicate. I fell into the second category.

Dorothy Dean left women's media activism a few years later to enter electoral politics and today is the Milwaukee County Treasurer; but she assesses the media activism carried on by herself and others in early second-wave feminism as essential to creating "a climate that legitimized and helped open doors – not for ourselves because we were too radical, but for other women to get into the media."

Feminist media activist Donna Allen, who founded Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press in Washington, DC, in 1972, wrote extensively about the role of grassroots women's media – such as that in which Dean and possibly thousands of other women engaged during the 1970s in the USA – in women's liberation before her death in 1999. "A radical feminist analysis of mass media," a treatise written by Donna Allen and her daughter Dana Densmore (reprinted 2002), locates women's ability to mobilize politically in having their own media. The authors argue that women's media are the only mechanisms by which women can speak to their own interests, arouse righteous anger in other women, and mobilize them to action. In addition, they offered one of the earliest feminist political economy critiques of mass media, pointing out that men's ownership and control had cut women's lives and experiences out of important dialogues necessary for women to enter into their own self-governance. The establishment of larger-scale women-owned media enterprises as a response to the limits of male-owned mainstream media will be explored in depth in Chapter 10; here we emphasize the important parallel role played by the small-scale publications such as Dean and her allies created to develop feminist dialogues among women, and that women today continue to use in varied settings.

For example, **Chelsia Rice**,[6] chair of the Women's Resource Center at Portland Community College, in Portland, Oregon, USA, said that in 2002, she launched a newsletter called *The F-Word* to write about water conservation and other current issues from a feminist perspective. Rice believes that "the voice of feminist media needs to be amplified" because women's rights the world over are being lost." Rice has a clear vision for the role of feminist media activism, and she sees its connection to other liberation movements.

> Clearly, media activism has perpetuated many of the rights that women have today, including the right to choose [i.e., abortion rights], which is in such jeopardy today . . . Feminist media activism ties in closely with the civil rights movement [for racial equality] and the human rights agenda.

Taking Women's Movements into News

Rice's commitment to the politics of women's media activism finds its counterpart in other nations. **Ulrike Helwerth**,[7] in Berlin, Germany, today an information officer for the National Council of German Women's Organizations and chair of a German network of women journalists, said she is a "sociologist who became a journalist by chance" when she was in Latin America studying some years ago. Becoming involved with Latin American feminists, she found herself writing about her activities for German media. "I felt a clear mission," she said. "I wanted to give women and their discrimination and suffering a voice and a platform, but also articulate their demands, successes, and power." Helwerth says that media activism (her own and others') helped to get former taboo subjects into the mainstream, especially domestic and sexual violence, and homosexuality. She sees the increased public visibility for these issues, created by media activism, as something that has contributed to better laws; for example, against marital rape. Another impact of women's media activism for women in Germany, she believes, has been women's advancement in the journalistic workforce, where today women are nearly at par (45 percent) with men. Helwerth recognizes that there's more to do: demand a bigger space in the news, an end to stereotypic portrayals that persist, and more women in decision-making roles in media industries. The League of Women Journalists, which she chairs, has tackled some of these, moving toward the goal of what she calls greater "gender democracy." The League sponsors a training program on gender issues for young journalists, a mentoring project that pairs entry-level and veteran female journalists, and an annual award that goes to young journalists for gender-sensitive reporting.

Working in the genres of both print journalism and documentary film, a number of Indian feminists since the 1970s have sought to use their work in the service of social change.[8] Their work exemplifies a shared commitment to connect gender oppression to other signifiers of power, including social class, race, ethnicity, and sexual identity, and to use their journalism and films to raise consciousness, promote public dialogues, and organize constituencies to demand new social policies or other changes. **Anjali Mathur**,[9] in New Mumbai, and **Laxmi Murthy**,[10] in New Delhi, both sought writing careers in response to their political activism. Mathur says that she became a militant feminist in the mid-1970s, after she joined the Communist Party of India, a party that follows a Marxist–Leninist philosophy.

In that capacity, she set up organizations of working women in Bombay and of Dalit women in nearby Pune. When Mathur was facing arrest in 1976, after Prime Minister Indira Gandhi declared a state of emergency – one aspect being to curtail leftist activities – she went underground and assumed a new identity. When she reemerged a few years later, she decided to pursue journalism, working first as a freelancer for *The Indian Express*, a national mainstream daily, where she moved up into editorial positions.

In 1983, Mathur became part of a core group of feminist journalists in Bombay to form the Women and Media Group in order to discuss issues relating to gender in the profession, and, later, to act as a political pressure group. Mathur and her colleagues – many of whose stories are told in the course of this book[11] – had a range of successes, including getting a television program called "It's a Women's World" withdrawn from the government channel Doordarshan, after protests and letters led by Women in Media argued that the prime-time program reinforced stereotypes of women. Mathur and the remnants of Women and Media would reemerge in 2002 to form the national activist organization Network of Women in Media in India (NWMI), a group composed of 13 chapters that address labor issues related to women (e.g., wages, the shift to contract employment working conditions) but also larger concerns such as the adverse impact of globalization processes on women. With funds from UNESCO,[12] Mathur's own contribution has been to establish a website for the organization (www.nwmindia.org), and she has been successful in knitting the network together, reaching out to a wide international audience, and providing a resource for women journalists. A similar initiative was undertaken a few years ago by Mathur and her journalist husband, Kiron Kasbekar, who formed an online media organization, the Information Company, Ltd., to promote issues and groups that they have spent their lives advancing.

Laxmi Murthy was working as a full time volunteer at the Women's Centre, in Mumbai, in the mid-1980s, assisting women in crisis, when she became involved with campaigns to protest what she calls "obscene representations of women in advertising." She and her colleagues painted "Women Not for Sale" slogans over objectionable posters or tore them down. This work continued with the group Saheli after she moved to Delhi a few years later through similar campaigns against "indecent representations of women." Saheli members explored and debated various understandings for obscenity and indecency,[13] focusing particularly on beauty pageants and other ways in which women's bodies were exploited (typically for the financial gain of men's industries) – topics still under discussion by

Saheli members, she said. Murthy began to write about these and other feminist issues as a freelancer in the late 1980s, and in 2000 she joined the Women's Feature Service, an international women-owned news agency in New Delhi, as an editor. The WFS, which is discussed at greater length in Chapter 8, gave Murthy a chance to promote the circulation of women's issues to mainstream media. Today, Murthy writes for several groups and media, including the activist India Resource Centre and www.infochangeindia.org, an online daily news outlet that specializes in development news.

Generating Dialogue through Film: An Indian Story

Deepa Dhanraj,[14] **Gargi Sen**,[15] and **Sanjana**,[16] whose stories are recounted here, have all worked in male–female film collectives with strong political orientations. They represent three generations of women with a common purpose in their use of film. All came from educated, privileged backgrounds, have traveled, speak several languages, and have chosen lives that seek to benefit those in lower classes or across classes. India has a distinctive, complex class system, the legacy of a caste system that was legally abolished in the 1950s, but which continues informally through kinship and entrenched customary practices, especially in rural India. Feminists once again became involved in the public debate about the plight of the former untouchable caste members (who had assumed the name Dalit, meaning "oppressed") and other lower classes reemerged in public debate in 1989 after a government decision to provide a "reservation system" of representation in government for "backward classes." Anupama Rao (2003: 5), who has chronicled women's relationship to the caste system, reminds us that "the symbolic economies of gender and sexuality and the material reality of the economic dispossession of dalit women" need to be viewed together in order to understand the complexities of today's Indian society. Evidence of this complexity in women's narratives included a strong self-consciousness of class-belonging, together with a desire to transcend class and be useful in the advancement of less advantaged groups.

Bangalore-based filmmaker Deepa Dhanraj can't talk about her own work in feminist media activism without placing it strategically inside Indian history. The 1970s have been characterized as a watershed in the history of the women's movement in India (I. Sen 2004). Women's disillusion with government policies that had failed – failed to bring greater

equality to women in employment, family and other institutions; to address family violence, women's health, and sexuality; or to distribute resources more equitably for rural women – was further fueled by environmental destruction (especially deforestation) and abuse of women by authorities (as described below). Deforestation had mobilized women in what became known as the Chipko Movement – the term "chipko" derived from the Hindi word for tree-hugging, which formed the central strategy that women employed *en masse* in order to prevent indiscriminate forest felling by commercial interests (I. Sen 2004: 193–5). However, the autonomous Indian women's movement[17] would be ignited by two high-profile rape cases in the late 1970s, one in Mathura and the other in Maya Tyagi, where women were raped by police while in custody.[18] These became what Dhanraj called "flash points" for her and many others. Deepa Dhanraj had completed studies in English literature and become interested in the possibilities of using film to document the feminist movements that were erupting around her. Teaching herself the fundamentals of using projectors, cutting, and editing, Dhanraj, her husband Navroze Contractor, and two female friends, Abha Bhaiya and Meera Rao, formed a small production collective that they called Yugantan. They turned their cameras toward the labor organizing that was occurring among women domestic workers, in the tobacco industry and elsewhere, with the support of women from more privileged backgrounds. She said:

> The idea was to capture this stuff on film and demonstrate really what made it happen. What was women's agency about in those situations? These films could then feed back into the movement as tools for further mobilization, organization or discussion. We saw our role in '79 and '80 really as handmaidens to the movement, if you like. We were going to be the communication foot soldiers.

They made a series of five documentaries in various local Indian languages, using funds from a German donor. Today, Dhanraj particularly remembers the tobacco workers' film, *Tambaku Chakila Oob Aali* (whose title refers to the spontaneous combustion that occurs when heat builds up in stacked leaves), in which women in the factory assisted in the filmmaking process. She describes the working conditions that these laborers experienced as "hellholes," as there were no regulations on safety, hours, or wages. Thousands of women each day pounded dirty, pesticide-covered tobacco leaves by hand, with dust rising in thick clouds that they breathed in. When a

worker was hired, she was given unlimited amounts of free chewing tobacco to develop her immunity to nicotine. In addition, some managers demanded sexual favors in return for employment. Finally, ill health and anger, fueled by consciousness-raising sessions, convinced the women tobacco workers to unionize and demand contracts that specified better wages and a better working environment. Dhanraj's film captured the story in stark detail, in the voices of the women themselves. Once the film was finished, she and her collaborators held a screening one night for the tobacco workers in order to show them their own history:

> When we brought it back, we had to hold the screening on the highway, because 3,500 women showed up. We took that 16 mm projector and showed it, as women sat all around the screen. It was fantastic.

Several things were accomplished in this and similar projects, she believes. First, was the ability of those involved (and other audiences later) to see the process of their unionization struggle. Second, was the "business of [affirming] women saying no" to abuse, to sexual favors, to exploitation. Third, women were able to see a different role for themselves as citizens. "What the union activity did was give them a whole different persona, a whole different identity, a political identity, really."

In the years since, Dhanraj has created a series of training films, under government contract, to promote girls' education and other aspects of women's status. One far-reaching project has encouraged Indian women's emerging role in local government. The state of Karnataka had initiated legal reforms in the 1980s, and then adopted a "reservation" system whereby 25 percent of the local council (panchayat) seats were set aside for women. The Indian Parliament expanded that reservation to 33 percent for all of India's local councils with passage of the Panchayat Raj Act in 1993 (Jain 1996). The "reservation system," as it is described, had brought 330,000 women into office by January 1994, and millions more since then. Feminist scholar Devaki Jain (1996) found that the sheer number of women involved in these councils has begun to transform local governance. Slower to emerge, however, has been a feminist consciousness among most of these newly elected officials, few of whom have had previous political experience.[19] Dhanraj's film *Taking Office* tells the stories of five women looking back after their first term in office and assessing how the experience changed their lives. These and other training films have recently been used in conjunctions with high-tech, multimedia sessions beamed via satellite

from studios out into villages to hundreds of women at a time. Sessions combine a screening followed by a studio panel comprising government, political, and feminist leaders, who receive phone-in questions from village audiences. The questions that women ask are pointed and probing, and the experience has energized women's interest in government:

> The response from the women was so electric . . . I started to think that this was a more efficient way to work because you know who your target groups are. You're working with a very particular agenda. At the end of that time, you know [nearly] a thousand women have seen it.

Gargi Sen and two friends formed the Magic Lantern Foundation in 1989 to promote cultural diversity and human rights through films. Based in New Delhi, the Foundation's work encompasses the production of their members' own films (including Sen's), as well as films from their network and the distribution of films by other Indian filmmakers. Produced in English, Hindi, and other Indian languages, films take up subjects aimed at provoking public dialogue about rights, gender, sexuality, and a range of other issues. The quote that opens this chapter, drawn from Sen's interview, captures the clarity of understanding that she (and her colleagues) are contributing to public discourse through their work The Foundation specifically connects women's experience within larger campaigns for human rights, particularly in indigenous communities; for example, the forest rights movement in the Himalayan region of Saharanpur, in the state of Uttar Pradesh; and the Dalit movement for an end to discrimination against the former untouchable caste. Working in documentary format, the Foundation's members initially produced one film each year, showing them all over India in conjunction with discussions about the issues involved:

> We are very serious at Magic Lantern that you don't just show a film. You make a dossier of information which you must have in order to reply to questions. You introduce the films and present the context [for their issues]. Otherwise film has no meaning and is just like television.

Sen reflects on her personal breakthroughs that led her to political work through media activism. It all began with her dissatisfaction with the options:

> In India, we live a life, traditionally, from the upper castes and upper classes which teaches us that we are superior and there are inferior beings. For

> instance, most of us have servants at home who do not eat on the same plates, on the same tables, don't use the same space. It has always bothered me, even in my own home.

Though privileged, her liberal mother and socialist father had also been politically active and provided a model for her own drive to transcend class and be "useful." She went "idealistically" into rural villages through service organizations and began to understand the problems of rural India through its people who, to her surprise, accepted her – her smoking, her manner of dressing, even her upper-class background. "That's India," she says, "Everyone knows the caste you come from. The names give it all away." Sen began to incorporate the issues and lessons learned from India's rural poor into her films:

> You really have to look at diversities, what are the different voices, what are our strengths . . . As feminists we've talked a lot about creating spaces. We create spaces [with our films] . . . The next challenge is what do we do with the space?

Particularly "in the women's sphere some very interesting things have happened," she says. Indian feminist documentary filmmakers, whose work Magic Lantern Foundation now distributes, include politically taboo subjects, such as the rights of women sex workers to organize. *Tales of the Nightfairies*, by Shohini Ghosh, treats their organizing as a human rights issue, confronting issues of morality around sex work. Sen says:

> This film is a celebration of life. These women talk about pleasure. This is the first time I was confronted with the discourse of pleasure. These women [sex workers] refuse to be victims. They said they have fun and enjoy sex. They said, "Okay, my mother used to sleep with one man and he took care of the family. I sleep with many and I take care of my family." The filmmaker is very much a part of the film, the way she's constructed it.

Sanjana belongs to a media collective called Pedestrian Pictures, a group of women and men in their twenties, with membership ranging between five to seven individuals at any given time. Based in Bangalore, the group formed in 2001 in response to several national and international crises, including the religious-based rioting in the state of Gujarat (India), the US invasion of Iraq, the continued impact of economic and cultural

globalization on India, India's emerging alliance with Israel, and an increase in the numbers of acid attacks on women. She and her colleagues had several goals. First, they wanted to expand cross-gender public dialogues, through which men could speak to women's issues and women could speak to economic and political issues: "There is a consciousness of women's issues that is important, but there is a very limited consciousness that women also have things to say about globalization, for example. Their views are no less inferior to men's." Second, they wanted to use media to let women and indigenous groups working in political and human rights campaigns speak publicly for themselves. Lastly, they wanted to begin to connect the issues and actors among movements. For example:

> We went into about 16 villages in the north of Karnataka [State] with our projection equipment and films. The idea was really to start to get women to acknowledge that violence is an everyday part of their lives. And we saw the impact that made . . . More recently, we've being using film media to connect movements. We screened films about the Adivasi[20] movements [around different parts of India]. We felt they were able to catch on, that language wasn't an issue. They were able to say yes . . . here is a movement, which is very similar to ours, and we need to network. Networking is something that we never expected to be this positive or this strong. So, that is something Pedestrian Pictures has been able to do.

Short documentaries on specific issues "let the people talk for themselves": "There is a key person in the movement who articulates the positions well, and that interview forms the backbone of the film. A lot of the content is also developing understanding about what the group is doing." Like the community "screenings" that Deepa Dhanraj and Gargi Sen described for their respective groups, Sanjana and her colleagues show a film and then stay to hold discussions with the audience. Sanjana received what she calls a "crash course" in a college program in mass media, but her skills in digital videography have been honed through her work with Pedestrian Pictures. She and her colleagues rent out their equipment to other community groups for a small fee, but most of their activities are funded through their own income from full- or part-time jobs.

In summer 2004, the documentary *Burnt but not Destroyed*, directed by Sanjana and her colleague Deepu, was completed and screened around India in order to mobilize public response to the failure of government to respond to acid attacks against women. The film focuses on the strength of acid attack survivors who want their assailants brought to justice. The

film was developed in collaboration with the Campaign and Struggle Against Acid Attacks on Women (CSAAAW), a Bangalore-based group, which has petitioned the state of Karnataka's Minister for Women and Child Development for action (see *The Hindu* 2003). In addition, this and other groups are seeking greater regulation of corrosive acid to limit its availability.[21]

Leading Peace and Social Justice

Moving across continents, peace activist and educator **Janne Poort-van Eeden**,[22] based in Alkmaar in the Netherlands, both produces videos on women and peace and trains women in developing nations to create their own media in the service of peace-action, through her work with the International Fellowship of Reconciliation (IFOR). Poort-van Eeden, a former teacher, learned to produce radio programs as a freelancer when her children were young. Several organizations and grants later, she found herself producing materials and radio programs for children on consumer boycotts targeted at nations at war or committing human rights violations (e.g., the apartheid government of South Africa, the Angola government). She turned her freelance work toward global issues and peace education before joining IFOR in 1997 as the education officer for the Women Peacemakers Program. A self-taught videographer, Poort-van Eeeden's 20-minute, English-language videos emphasize the work that women are doing to build peace in Europe, Asia, and Africa through nonviolence education. For example, her 60-minute documentary *Asian Women Speak Out* shows the ways in which women in Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, India, and Nepal are confronting violence against women. The 20-minute documentary *Building the Decade for a Culture of Peace and Nonviolence* allows participants in the Asian Girls Peace Camp, in Nepal, to talk about peace. And, most recently, she completed work on *Nonviolence for the Brave*, a half-hour educational video on how to organize what she calls a "gender-sensitive training program." In addition, Poort-van Eeden gives workshops to teach women the basics of developing their own grassroots training materials on nonviolence, as well as how to gain greater access to mainstream media with their messages.

Poort-van Eeden believes that media activism helps to circulate "values often considered to be female, like caring, nonviolence, being of service, loving" to counter prevalent values focused on gaining power, economic

strength, and saving face. She advocates developing "indicators for a culture of nonviolence and promoting those through the media."

Several themes related to women and social justice have occupied the work of award-winning independent documentary filmmaker **Anne Lewis**,[23] of Austin, Texas (USA). During her two-decade long association with the Appalshop arts and educational center in Whitesburg, Kentucky, Lewis says that she tried to make films that "respect the dignity and power of women." Lewis's films show complex relationships between gender and issues of violence, labor, economics, and environmental degradation, as well as the social movements that address these. They have been shown on the PBS program *Point of View* (POV), and are used in college classrooms to educate, and by labor unions and community organizations throughout the USA to mobilize citizen action. The 1991 film *Fast Food Women* looked at women's struggles to raise families on minimum wage jobs with no benefits. *Belinda* (1992) was a story about an AIDS advocate who advocated a collective response to the disease unfettered by homophobia, racism, fear, or ignorance. Lewis's years of living in the coal-mining regions of Kentucky and Southwest Virginia enabled her to develop working relationships with local residents and to tell their stories in her films. The 1995 feature-length film *Justice in the Coal Fields* explored the impact on the local community of the United Mine Workers's strike against the Pittston Coal Company, and *Evelyn Williams* (1995) related the story of a coal-miner's daughter and wife, mother of nine children, domestic worker and community organizer, whose awareness of race and class oppression led her to a lifetime of activism. Lewis's recent 60-minute film *Shelter* tells the story of the US women's shelter movement against domestic violence through the experiences of five families who sought safety and new lives in their local women's shelter.

Presently a lecturer at the University of Texas, Lewis belongs to a local labor union and, in her creative life, is affiliated with the Women's Film Association, Reel Women, and the Austin Film Society. The last of these was her sponsor for two recent Texas-based films, *Ya Basta,* about Texas women's labor history, and *High Stakes,* about the high stakes testing of elementary-school children. Lewis says that she turned to documentary filmmaking in order to "tell the truth" about social justice in relation to class, race, gender, the environment, health, education, and other issues. She sees a long future for women's media activism to expand funding and distribution of independent media, open more doors for women in media, and try to improve what she calls the "truly pitiful" coverage of working-class, African American, and Latino women.

Feminists' use of independent documentary film is complemented by their media activism in radio. British feminist media scholar Caroline Mitchell (2004: 158) describes radio as a "medium that is particularly accessible and pertinent to women," as it has long been a companion to them in their work at home, driving in their cars, and other daily routines. In addition, she says, women who have worked in radio have long been aware that it is a more sympathetic medium because it allows the voice (rather than the appearance) to dominate. Thus, Mitchell chronicles the long list of ways in which feminists since the 1960s have formed relationships with radio – on the air, as producers, as writers, and even as owners – in order to take feminism onto the public airwaves and, ironically, back into women's private sphere of the personal (Mitchell 2004: 161). Citing Lisa McLaughlin (1993), she calls for women-made media to be grounded in a feminist theory of the public sphere, including the introduction of oppositional discourses.

The research on which this book is based has shown that feminists' affinity for radio has been international. These next examples show various ways in which several generations of feminists in their respective nations of Colombia, Canada, Belgium, and the USA have used radio to advance women's culture and political visions. In the process, they have tried to stir public awareness and discourse not only about gender, but also race, culture, lesbianism, and other issues.

War is a form of violence that has moved women to media activism, as we saw earlier in the example of Janne Poort-van Eeden's work in video. Using community radio (and television) to bring women into peace negotiations has also motivated **Angela Cuevas de Dolmetsch**,[24] an attorney and peace activist in Cali, Colombia. Cuevas was president of the International Federation of Women Lawyers from 1990 to 1992, during which time she began to publish and edit the *Abogada Newsletter* (*A Women Lawyer's Newsletter*) in order to raise legal issues related to women's lives. She has stayed on as editor of the newsletter since her presidency ended, and she has also made forays into broadcast journalism. In 1995, she began to produce *Looking at the World through Women's Eyes*, a public affairs program broadcast daily on radio and weekly on television, in order to "make women's voices heard" in civic affairs. Cuevas uses an interview format to "discuss subjects with a gender perspective," and she tries to project a positive image of women in the very media that she believes otherwise treat women as sex objects, or leave them silent and invisible. Cuevas sees the potential for media to reshape society, but her most

immediate goal is to empower women first to speak up, then to run for public office. Women in office would "bring a maternal way of thinking, an ethic of care, up to now neglected in western patriarchal societies." Otherwise, "We will continue to elect governments whose main platform is to engage in wars."

Cuevas's involvement with the international, nongovernmental Peace Boat has also motivated her media activism. One aspect of that work has been trying to bring women into peace negotiations aimed at convincing "the government and the guerrilla that dialogue should be the best way out of the conflict" that has plagued Colombia internally since the 1960s. The violence, spawned by a complex civil war that has pitted the nation's security forces and army-backed paramilitaries against guerrilla groups in a struggle for territory and economic resources, has also been particularly brutal toward women. In 2004, Amnesty International reported that the armed actors, in order to terrorize particular communities, or to inflict humiliation on the enemy, routinely target women with rape, mutilation, torture, kidnapping, murder, and disappearance. In 2003, more than 220 women were killed for sociopolitical "reasons" outside combat, and more than 20 "disappeared" (see Amnesty International 2004). Cuevas also advocates legislation prohibiting the "exploitation of a woman's body as a sex symbol," which might include fines for advertisers, newspapers, and other publications that violate this standard. In 2002, the Colombian military dropped thousands of calendars from a helicopter over guerrilla-occupied land. The calendars contained a sexual photograph of a woman with a message for combatants to rejoin civil life: protests by women's groups forced the government to stop these practices.

Shaping Multiple Public Spheres

Canadian feminist **Jay Hartling**[25] has been involved with a Vancouver-based (British Columbia) cooperative radio station since 1995, serving in various roles as board member, membership and outreach worker, and, presently, producer and host of *America Latina Al Dia* (ALAD, translated as *Latin America Today*). Hartling's station is made up of a broad, multicultural, multilingual coalition of people and organizations working to open up a radio space to political discussion, poetry, music, panel discussions, live drama, and other content. The ALAD collective also participates in Latin American festivals and community events to promote the

use of alternative media. *Americana Latina Al Dia* has an overriding political goal of encouraging Latin American and Canadian groups to work together:

> . . . to build solidarity with communities of other alternative media in the South, to provide critical analysis of stories that either don't get covered in mainstream media . . . or are manipulated by corporate-controlled media. This includes a feminist perspective – all our producers are women! We ensure that female voices are heard.

For example, one recent program focused on women's poverty and education in towns along the Mexican border. But distant Mexican populations aren't her group's only concern. Hartling and her colleagues carry on important grassroots work in a city that has undergone rapid, dramatic demographic changes since the 1980s. Recent census figures show that Latin Americans, who number around 30,000, constitute the smallest "visible minority" in Vancouver, an increasingly ethnically diverse city of 1.2 million. People of Chinese heritage number nearly half a million, and those of South Asian, Filipino, Japanese, Southeast Asian, Arab, Korean, Native American, and African make up another quarter of a million, in addition to the dominant European-based population of 1.2 million (GVRD 1998). University of British Columbia anthropologist Pilar Riaño found Latin American immigrant women living in Vancouver to be particularly disadvantaged by low incomes, poor health, and lack of access to basic services (see Pilar Riaño-Alcalá, Marta Colorado, & Berta Alicia Perez 2001). Thus, the ALAD program brings an informational resource to raise public awareness of gender and other concerns in the community, and it serves as a bridge between the Latino and dominant (white) populations. Hartling sees herself doing community radio in some form or another "for the rest of my life." After all, there is so much more to be done to provide a voice for women – something she believes mainstream radio is lagging behind in: "If women control the agenda, the image and the level of participation will change."

K. T. Jarmul[26] has used radio and other alternative media to put into circulation what Caroline Mitchell (2004) has referred to as oppositional discourses about women. Jarmul came to women's media activism by way of the punk-rock scene in California, where she grew up. She first learned to express her ideas about life and punk-rock music through zines,[27] because these offered a nonhierarchical way of publishing. When she enrolled at

the University of California – Santa Barbara in 2001, she turned to the campus radio station KCSB-FM, where she was "one of only two womyn (sic) playing my type of music – hardcore, metal, punk rock" – and artists such as Sleater-Kinney, The Butchies, Wage of Sin, 7-year Bitch, and singer–songwriters Ani DiFranco, Tori Amos, and Michelle Shocked. She says she met other womyn-identified womyn at the station and gained the confidence to state her feminist beliefs on her own program, which emphasized womyn artists and ideas. By her second year, Jarmul says she had moved into news, striving to give coverage to those less visible on campus:

> I have attempted to continue a focus on underrepresented groups and on womyn's issues in our news coverage. I have done this by trying to make formal relationships with some of the amazing groups (Mujer, the Hispanic womyn group; womyn's commission; queer commission; black student union; and many others).

Jarmul's goals are to "create a tomorrow that is drastically different from today." Included in this is the making of connections between feminism and racism, homophobia, and related oppression. But she also wants to help other young people and womyn to "form their own channels of power and to feel their voices *are* valid." She does not believe media need to mimic "hierarchical male designs," or be "testosterone-driven," but that they can be egalitarian in approach.

Affirming Lesbian Experiences

Building their own work on values and goals similar to those of K. T. Jarmul, **Claudia Wulz**[28] and two female colleagues founded their own lesbian-feminist radio program on a community radio station in Brussels, Belgium, in 2001. Their two-hour weekly program, which they finance themselves, follows a mixed format of news, information, and interviews. The content is lesbian-feminist in its orientation, which challenges the heterosexual male standard for "normality." Wulz and her colleagues invite guests onto the program who can talk about lesbian-feminist events and issues in Belgium and the surrounding European nations. In addition, they have presented three-day practical workshops for other lesbian-feminists to learn how to use digital and other new technology in radio production. Wulz wonders why only her own and one other program are produced by

women at the noncommercial station where she's affiliated. At least in Belgium, she does not believe that much has happened to change the gender imbalance in radio over the past 20 years, in spite of a growing feminist movement.

The use of radio to circulate feminist and lesbian-feminist issues, information, and music to a mainstream audience began in 1972 for the Sophie's Parlor Radio Collective, in Washington, DC. **Jill Lawrence**,[29] **Moira Rankin**, and **Boden Sandstrom** were three among a group of about 10 women calling themselves the Feminist Radio Network, who would launch Sophie's Parlor as a weekly program on WGTB-FM, at Georgetown University[30] during the heady days of second-wave feminism. The group's members ranged in political perspectives – Marxist–Leninist, Socialist Worker, lesbian-feminist, radical feminist, and liberal feminist – and all were self-taught in their broadcast and journalism skills. The program was overtly political, featuring news, interviews, and poetry, with a main core of recorded music by women musicians such as Meg Christian, Chris Williamson, Margie Adam, and other lesbian singers and songwriters involved in founding Olivia Records in the mid-1970s.

Lawrence, who today runs her own consulting business, says she believed that "every woman who had put her heart and soul into writing a lyric or playing a song ought to be heard, and we shouldn't let our own tastes interfere . . . we were there to showcase these women for the world." In spite of its radical orientation, however, Rankin says that Sophie's was aimed at a general audience:

> I was very interested in getting information to a general audience about radical feminist ideas, and radio was a really inexpensive way to do that. One of the things that I really loved was when strangers called up the studio and wanted to talk about something. I was thrilled that we could be out [as lesbians] on the air.

Sophie's Parlor, which became a model for other feminist radio programs across the country, was born in the nation's capital at a time when feminist political life and culture were converging. Sandstrom, today a university lecturer in ethnomusicology, remembers:

> We had an amazing network, and it all related to media in some way. We had Lamas Bookstore, *Quest* (feminist quarterly magazine), Rising Women's Coffee House, *off our backs* (feminist newspaper), women's concerts. And,

> then I started Women's Sound (concert sound systems). We all fed each other, and once the concerts started, we promoted them on Sophie's Parlor.

Rankin, today the executive producer of a public radio series called Soundprint, emphasizes that the program also brought feminist perspectives to mainstream current events, such as an increasingly unpopular war in Vietnam, the Watergate scandal, and Richard Nixon's resignation in 1974. The listening audience was responsive and the program developed a following. Although the women who have produced Sophie's Parlor have come and gone through the years and the character of the programming has changed, Sophie's Parlor continues to broadcast regularly on WGTB. Rankin, Sandstrom, and Lawrence view this as a feminist legacy. Rankin muses that the show also influenced the men with whom they interacted at the station. Sophie's encouraged everyone to find a women's angle in news, music, and other programming. At first, some of the men thought it was a joke, Rankin says, but after a while, they began to take the approach seriously, incorporating feminist principles into their own work and lives.

Creating a Virtual Feminist Public Sphere

Red Chidgey,[31] in Essex, England, has also used media activism to move women's sexuality and a range of mainstream issues from a feminist perspective into the public sphere, this time through the Internet. Chidgey, a postgraduate student and activist, says that her principal contribution has been to establish "a distribution network of young women's feminist, personal, political and artistic zines, pamphlets and books." The name of her website, which advertises the availability of low-cost zines on different topics, is FingerBang distro – a reference to female masturbation. Examples of zine titles include "Radical menstruation and healthcare," "Sex and sexuality," "Naming and overcoming racism," and "Environmental awareness," among others. Located online at www.geocities.com/fingerbangdistro, FingerBang distro also advertises Ladyfests, or women's film festivals, and films of Ladyfest gatherings. Chidgey's venture demonstrates a convergence of media forms (printed material, musical performances, commentary) through a single communication technology, employed in the service of feminism. Such an enterprise represents a contemporary means of achieving what Sophie's Parlor managed, in developing a close-knit network of

feminists working in similar varied media forms in Washington, DC, some 30 years earlier.

Feminist scholar Gillian Youngs (2004) refers to the kind of work that Chidgey is doing as cyberfeminism, or the use of virtual space by women who want a low-budget, high-visibility means of communicating with other women. Youngs notes that feminist scholars have studied the Internet as a mechanism that transgresses both patriarchal boundaries (that work through social institutions to silence and limit women) and national/ international boundaries. She says that:

> [V]irtual space has particular significance for women and feminist work. The transgressive potential of the Internet with regard to these boundaries and their significance in maintaining different forms of patriarchal power and social structure, has implications for women's capacities both to relate to one another, and to make political, economic and cultural contributions to their own and other societies and to local, national and international issues and processes, as individuals or collectively. (Youngs 2004: 189)

Nor should Chidgey's (and Jarmul's) commitment to zine culture as a form of media activism be underestimated. Chidgey says that the goal of zine-making is "about empowerment, dialogue, creativity and taboo-breaking," a way to "speak in public" about her own survival of domestic violence and sexual abuse and other "secrets that pass in the mail, pass between strangers and friends . . . affecting you in incendiary ways." Chidgey looks to the radical feminist magazines of her generation with respect – *Bitch!* and *Bust*, for example – which came out of zine culture. Zines, published in quantities of 200–300 copies, would be easily lost in time, but Chidgey voices "a commitment to preserving the histories of women's activism, art, and politics by contributing to national zine archives at feminist libraries."

Conclusion

Pilar Riaño (1994) has recognized the range of ways in which women working in various forms of grassroots communication around the world contribute to social change. Her "Typology of women, participation and communication" identifies these types as "development, participatory, alternative, and feminist, each with related goals of mobilizing citizen action toward some kind of particular development-oriented change"

(Riaño 1994: 6–7). The last of these is specifically concerned with advancing women's leadership in and control over media in order to articulate public dialogues on gender, race, and class. Marita Mata (1994: 196–7) cites the work of Peruvian scholar R. Alfaro (1988), who has recognized that "private speech is social silence, and liberation demands" that women convert the lessons of their daily lived experience into "social speech," an act that Mata believes takes women into the "territory of new speech."

In this chapter, we have reported and analyzed the work of women media activists who pursued similar political goals following the first path in our own communications model, which has taken them from radical political activity into media work. In various ways, their agency, commitment, and enthusiasm helped to place (and keep) gender-specific issues of violence against women (sexual harassment, rape, torture, disappearance), sexuality (health care, prostitution, reproductive rights, lesbian identity), and labor exploitation (low wages, dangerous workplace conditions) on the public and political agenda. In addition, their support for women-oriented cultural product such as film, video, poetry and music, through women-focused distribution channels such as radio and film cooperatives, provides public airings for such creative endeavors, expanding audience exposure and understanding. The various enterprises discussed in this chapter, women's narratives of their own experiences and their own goals for their practice, should give us considerable hope for the future of women's media-making and the sustained nature of women's interventions in the public, political, and cultural spheres of contemporary society. The next chapter considers women who conducted their media activism within the context of their careers as trained media professionals, thereby helping to give women a public voice in the news of 10 different nations.

Notes

1 Dalit, which means "oppressed," is the name assumed by members of the former untouchables caste. Dalit communities include feminists working to advance the awareness and status of Dalit women; in addition, a number of non-Dalit feminists have also worked actively to promote the rights of Dalit people. For a longer discussion, see Anupama Rao (2003) and Sharmila Rege (2004).

2 Gargi Sen and other women's media activists quoted in this chapter participated in the study in 2003 or 2004, via interviews or in writing.

3 Names of informants who participated in the study are bold faced.

4 US feminist historians refer to "first-wave feminism" as synonymous with the nineteenth-century women's rights movement, dated from the Seneca Falls Convention in July 1848. First-wave feminism focused primarily on gaining suffrage, with secondary campaigns for women's right to own property, adopt anti-alcohol laws (temperance), reform divorce laws, create educational access, and so on. Second-wave feminism, which many date from the founding of National Organization for Women in 1966, focused on securing abortion rights; prohibiting discrimination in employment, education and other institutions; and reforming (or introducing) laws on rape, incest, battering, and other violence against women, among other things. For a comprehensive analysis of US women's history, see Linda K. Kerber and Jane Sherron De Hart (2000).

5 Dorothy Dean submitted answers on August 20, 2003.

6 Chelsia Rice submitted answers on October 7, 2003.

7 Ulrike Helwerth submitted answers on October 14, 2003.

8 The information that we introduce here about Indian society and the desire of middle- and upper-class Indian women filmmakers to work in politically radical ways (through media activism) to address a wide range of oppressions experienced by women and those of lower classes will be applicable to the stories of Indian women that we speak about throughout the book.

9 Anjali Mathur submitted answers on March 20, 2004.

10 Laxmi Murthy submitted answers on March 14, 2004.

11 See the stories of Preeti Mehra in the Introduction and Chapter 8, as well as those of Ammu Joseph and Kalpana Sharma in Chapter 8.

12 UNESCO stands for United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, an agency that promotes international cooperation on matters identified by the parts of its name. Various UNESCO programs provide seed money and other grants to promote communications, particularly in developing nations.

13 As we saw in Chapter 5, disagreements within feminist organizations and amongst feminist activists, over what is a legitimate target for action, or legitimate content for a feminist publication, is a necessary part of feminisms' engagement with itself, even though it can be painful to negotiate at the time.

14 Deepa Dhanraj was interviewed on January 8, 2004, in Bangalore, India.

15 Gargi Sen was interviewed on January 6, 2004, in New Delhi, India.

16 Sanjana was interviewed on January 11, 2004, in Bangalore, India.

17 The designation "autonomous women's movement" distinguishes modern grassroots women's liberation from women's rights activities carried on by Gandhi and his followers both during the Indian independence movement

and in the new state after independence in 1947. For an overview of Indian feminism, see Maitrayee Chaudhuri (2004).

18 For an account of the importance of these rape cases to modern Indian feminism, see Ilina Sen (2004).

19 Several women from India interviewed in our study mentioned focusing their media activism on promotion of feminist consciousness among women in the panchayat system, and among women who might consider standing election. For example, see quotes from Nupur Basu and Preehi Mehra in Chapter 8.

20 The Adivasi are indigenous tribal peoples. Adivasi throughout India have been dislocated by government decisions to allow the building of dams (thereby displacing them from their ancestral villages), the granting of permits for commercial forest harvesting, and so on. Adivasi have responded by protesting and seeking legal intervention. Their campaigns have drawn support from middle- and upper-class political activists, including some of the women interviewed for this study.

21 Human rights groups have reported that hundreds of women have been attacked in India, Bangladesh, and Pakistan, many hundreds of those attacks resulting in death. Incidence in those countries appears to be increasing by 40–50 percent per year. While there are no comparable figures for India, anecdotal evidence suggests that the most populous nation of South Asia also has a high prevalence (see Ammu Joseph 2004a).

22 Janne Poort-van Eeden submitted answers on November 1, 2003.

23 Anne Lewis submitted answers on October 31, 2003.

24 Angela Cuevas de Dolmetsch submitted answers on October 6, 2003.

25 Jay Hartling submitted answers on October 5, 2003.

26 K. T. Jarmul submitted answers on September 28, 2003.

27 A “zine” is a noncommercial, self-published pamphlet, newsletter, or other small-scale publication intended for a particular audience, often a subculture. The concept of zines is most closely associated with the punk-rock movement in the United Kingdom and the United States in the 1970s. Today, e-zines (on the Internet) circulate zine material electronically.

28 Claudia Wulz submitted answers on March 23, 2004.

29 Jill Lawrence, Moira Rankin, and Boden Sandstrom were interviewed in Hyattsville, Maryland, on July 8, 2003.

30 Georgetown University, a Jesuit institution in downtown Washington, DC, gave its station manager and self-taught volunteer producers free reign to develop programming of interest to both college and community listeners. Rankin, Lawrence, and Sandstrom said that Sophie’s Parlor was one of several leftist politically oriented programs, but the only one specifically feminist in the early 1970s. WGTB is a noncommercial, community-supported station.

31 Red Chidgey submitted answers on March 31, 2004.

8

Second Path: Media Profession to Politics

> *I want women's lives to be made real, as opposed to the plastic celebrity consciousness in so much of the media . . . Feminism did influence many of the pieces I did, for example, two long radio pieces in 1989 on the Michigan Women's music festival – possibly one of the first times the L-word [lesbian] got mentioned on public radio.*
>
> Margot Adler,[1] reporter, National Public Radio (USA)

The chapters comprising Part I of this book paint less than a rosy picture of the media's treatment of women around the world. As we have observed elsewhere, one could look at this situation and come away with a sense that women either don't work in these industries, or that they do work there but have succeeded little in turning around the persistent patterns of sexism (Byerly 2004a). Neither assumption would be accurate, of course. In fact, women inside media enterprises have been the torchbearers of feminist-oriented changes that have come about within both mainstream commercial and noncommercial media enterprises the world over during the past three decades. Women with a feminist consciousness, sometimes assisted by enlightened male supervisors and allies, have worked both individually and through unions or other pressure groups to reverse patterns of workplace discrimination, to train both women and men in the industries to be more gender sensitive in their work, to expand content about women – and feminism – in both news and entertainment, and to otherwise put media in the greater service of women. In the process, women have sometimes risked (and lost) their jobs. Some have been threatened physically or in other ways,

and many have been stigmatized by labels or shunned by their colleagues. Some of the most overt cases have resulted in legal complaints that challenged unfair practices, and many of these challenges have been successful. Informants in our cross-cultural research shared these problematic experiences with us, but they also gave examples that might be characterized as positive steps forward for women through their media careers.

It will be important in the ensuing discussion to bring out the full range of experiences and actions in which women have been involved when trying to bring feminist-oriented content into public discourse through their work as media professionals. We should keep in mind that while the feminist public sphere (and the feminist component in the dominant sphere) is formed through the circulation of ideas and information, women in media professions have frequently had to first confront or negotiate the structural constraints in their own newsrooms that prevented the development and circulation of such content. Overall, advances for women in media professions have been incremental rather than quantum, and the level, number, and kind of advances have varied from nation to nation and situation to situation. Similarly, the number and kinds of stories, films, and other products that they were able to create reflect these internal organizational dynamics.

The goal of this chapter is to examine the work of women's media activism within professional media settings through the experiences of women professionals who have served as agents of change. Thirty-eight (41 percent) of the 90 respondents in our cross-cultural study have followed what we have called the second path. In the early stages of our research, when we sought participants in the study, it was media professionals who emerged first and most frequently to talk about their activist work. Like those who followed the other paths, they were eager to share the ways in which they had developed a feminist consciousness, their problems and victories in making a wider space for women in news or newsrooms, and their opinions of what remained to be done. Women following the second path represent 12 different nations, located in all regions of the world. While certainly not a complete picture, the findings here provide something of a global snapshot of the leadership exerted by women within media professions to bring women and feminism into the public sphere through their work. As in Chapters 7, 9, and 10, we note that the goal here is not to evaluate the success of these efforts – such evaluation is needed, but it is the work of empirical researchers who can hopefully discern useful cues from our work for their own investigations. Instead, the intent here is to better understand

the nature, structure, and process of women's media activism, conducted within mostly conventional (male) media environments, which sought to secure women's right to communicate. We demonstrate in this chapter, as throughout the book, the ways in which women's agency has created a feminist public sphere and a feminist component in the dominant public sphere, by carrying feminist thinking about women into society via the media – a vehicle that Habermas and many others have recognized as the major communicative force in creating contemporary public spheres in which issues are constructed and addressed, and where citizens otherwise engage in the democratic process.

Characteristics of the Second Path

Women following the second path – "media profession to politics" – have employed an activist agenda as part of their professional careers in media. They were formally trained in one or more media fields such as print or broadcast journalism, or documentary film or video production. They came to their activist path sometime during their chosen careers, typically through a particular experience (or an accumulation of experiences) that heightened their understanding of gender imbalance, discrimination, or marginalization. Such experiences may have included denial of a job or a promotion, experience of sexual harassment by a colleague or supervisor, being denied the more substantial story assignments (reserved for men), or witnessing these events committed against other women. Sometimes it was witnessing the exclusion of women's views and voices from routine news coverage by male supervisors – exclusion that was both routine and normalized, as well as targeted because women's angles were deemed unimportant. For many of these women, a feminist consciousness was further honed by the daily barrage of sexist portrayals of women in advertising, films, and magazine photographs. Gaining a feminist political consciousness came to have specific consequences for their work, as they began to view their profession as an opportunity to advance women's views and status. A number of women also expressed their motivation as a feeling of responsibility toward other women. In some cases, getting women's stories or issues into the news (or other media content) occurred quietly as they went about their tasks, typically as journalists going out on assignment. In other cases, they would have to develop elaborate strategies to convince a male supervisor that such a story was worth covering.

The logic of examining the experiences of women media professionals in more depth and across nations was suggested by an emergence of first-person books in the 1980s and 1990s by women who had come through traditional media careers and, in the process, found themselves as advocates for gender-related changes in the media. US broadcast journalists Marlene Sanders and Marcia Rock's *Waiting for Prime Time: The Women of Television News* (1988) reported their insider stories of negotiating with producers to cover second-wave feminism, as well as bringing a feminist frame to political stories. Day-to-day struggles like those in which Sanders and Rock engaged fall into what Diane Elson (1994) has described as the meso-level of economic relations in social institutions. Their (and certainly many other women media professionals) experiences of challenging the norms of news definitions, assignments, and production codes suggest the basis for a gender analysis in this realm of production. Similarly, Nan Robertson's *The Girls in the Balcony: Women, Men and The New York Times* (1992) chronicles the events associated with the decision by members of the Women's Caucus to file a sex-discrimination suit against their powerful employer in 1974, which resulted in a number of changes including promotional policies and pay increases for female journalists, and more enlightened coverage of rape and other women's experiences. Robertson says that there were also other lessons:

> First, from beginning to end, it was the women of the *Times* that pushed and prodded the paper and its most powerful editors to account and insisted upon action. They received their staunchest support from younger male staff members . . . and Anna Quindlen's emerging voice on the Op-Ed page is unmistakably the voice of a woman. (Robertson 1992: 245–6)

Indian journalists Ammu Joseph and Kalpana Sharma's *Whose News: The Media and Women's Issues* (1994) similarly snapped into focus both their own and their women colleagues' struggles to bring widespread but largely ignored problems of dowry deaths, rape, female feticide, and sati (widow-burning) into front-page news coverage, beginning in the 1970s and 1980s. These authors' collaborative work to break this and other ground in their field is discussed at length later in this chapter. Here we preview it with this reminder, from the preface to their book, of why women's leadership in the field has mattered:

> The advent of women reporters and the presence of some senior women journalists in positions of responsibility have made a significant, if limited,

> difference to the coverage of women's issues by the press. The most important factor, perhaps, is the opening up of communication channels between the press and women's groups. This has come about through the involvement of journalists (including a few male) in the women's movement as participants or sympathizers. (Joseph & Sharma 1994: 20)

Joseph and Sharma acknowledge that women's groups in India had not experienced the kind of media silence, hostility, or overt sexism, racism, and pornography evident in British tabloids. Instead, Indian women journalists faced the challenge of finding ways to rise above the superficial coverage paid to women and to overcome the sense that women are "the other" as far as the press is concerned (Joseph & Sharma 1994: 21).

The agency of women's media activists who followed the second path helped to redefine news organizations' policies, news definitions, and other aspects of news production, and through their stories and other media products, they placed women's experiences and social analyses into public discourse. We have conceptualized this process as one of shaping a feminist public sphere that intersected the dominant public sphere in significant ways. The Model of Women's Media Action, which provides the analytic framework throughout the discussion of study findings, suggests that this (second) and other paths that women media activists followed served as the foundation for women's greater public presence and political influence.

Informants (listed alphabetically) who followed the second path include:

Margot Adler, USA	Patricia Gaston, USA
Virginie Barré, France	Nomusa Gaxa, South Africa
Nupur Basu, India	Vasanthi Hariprakash, India
Suzanne Francis Brown, Jamaica	Natacha Henry, France
Jo Campbell, USA	Ammu Joseph, India
Agenda Collective, South Africa	Sonal Kellogg, India
Stacey Cone, USA	Trella Laughlin, USA
Patience (Patti) Dapaah, Ghana	Dalia Liran-Alper, Israel
Rajashri Dasgupta, India	Preeti Mehra, India
Nombuso Dlamini, South Africa	Madeleine Memb, Cameroon
Tanushree Gangpadhyay, India	Kristie Miller, USA

Continued

Mildred Mulenga, Zambia
Sakuntala Narasimhan, India
Louise North, Australia
Crystal Oderson, South Africa
Radhika M., India
Howedia Saleem, Sudan
Judy Sandison, South Africa
Geeta Seshu, India
Kalpana Sharma, India
Gretchen Luchsinger Sidhu, USA
Surekha Sule, India
Sandhya Taksale, India
Thandazo, South Africa
Sue Valentine, South Africa
Sylvia Vollenhoven, South Africa
Lubna Yousif Ali, Sudan

Considering Context

Women's media activism that leads to greater egalitarianism in commercial and noncommercial media always occurs within a larger social context. One interesting example can be seen in Israel, where, in the early 1990s, Israeli feminism was mobilizing at the same time as the Israeli telecommunications industry was undergoing a major restructuring that would result in a shift from state-run television to cable and commercial networks. **Dalia Liran-Alper**,[2] a broadcast journalist who chaired the Women's Status Committee of the Israeli Broadcasting Authority from 1993 to 1998, said that the committee strived to disseminate feminist values by increasing women's visibility in broadcast media, limiting sexist portrayals, and expanding the number of women in the profession. The committee, a governmental body composed of representatives from the media, women's organizations, and the academy, undertook a number of specific campaigns to bring these about, with mixed success. The latter brought cable television (including foreign programming), an event that she said drew a "thick and stormy communication map . . . into the blue skies of Israel, which until the '90s had been dominated indisputably by the Public Broadcasting Authority." She said that women's organizations of the period, even those that had previously served a social function, made their focus sociopolitical issues that affected women, such as unemployment, discrimination, sexual harassment in the workplace, family violence, and strategies for helping women's way into politics (e.g., setting aside seats for women).

In the same era, Israeli universities were introducing programs to train women for management and other leadership positions, and women's studies programs were emerging. In spite of a strong feminist atmosphere, the committee that Liran-Alper chaired met resistance to its initiatives. The

first of these aimed to replace the image of a bikini-clad woman, contained in the introductory clip used each week to open the popular public affairs program *Yoman* on Channel One, with an image of a professional woman. Demands by the committee and other women's groups put the station managers on the defensive, and while the station took seven years to make the replacement, feigning financial restrictions, the process also opened up a dialogue between management and feminists. Another committee initiative aimed to encourage original programming to reflect contemporary Israeli women's interests and real-life experiences. The legal advisor to the Israeli Broadcasting Authority responded that "Drama cannot be recruited, drama is art," and he rejected the notion that women viewers would identify with women in nontraditional roles, such as judges.

The committee persisted, developing a data bank of women experts in different fields who could serve as news sources, drafting a statement of equality between the sexes for use by stations in both hiring and representation in content, and an "Equalizing Language" recommendation to overcome differential references to males and females. Although the committee based its recommendations on sound research, Liran-Alper argues that some of them resulted in "harsh disputes" between members of the committee and station managers, and a refusal by stations to adopt some of the recommendations. In addition, Liran-Alper observed that the number of women employed by the Israeli Broadcasting Authority during the 1990s was very low; for example, only 20 percent in senior roles. While wage levels for journalists were at parity between the sexes, women earned substantially less than male colleagues in management posts. Israeli feminist scholar Dafna Lemish (2004) cites a growing body of research – including her own – that shows a persistent exclusion and marginality of women in the Israeli media, as well as the widespread use of traditional stereotypes such as the virgin, the good mother (or caretaker), the victim (especially of war), and the bad girl (whore). Some research has shown the tendency of Israeli television to treat young, pretty women as decoration, dressing up news coverage of political campaigns or other events (Lemish 2004).

The timetable for similar challenges to media treatment of women has varied between nations. Journalism historians Deborah Chambers, Linda Steiner, and Carole Fleming (2004) note that Britain adopted the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act in 1919, which prohibited discrimination on the basis of sex or marital status in employment, but it wasn't until the Sex Discrimination Act of 1975 that women had a sound statutory basis for mounting legal challenges against employers for lower pay, unfair dismissal,

and sexual harassment (p. 134). The authors suggest that British citizens in general are less litigious than those in the USA, and even now, women in British media are less inclined to take up such challenges. Margaret Gallagher's (1995) report on gender patterns in media employment around the world showed that women accounted for only 34 per cent of the British journalistic workforce in 1990, and still only around 41 percent of the entire media workforce by 1995. Moreover, women's image in advertising and other media became increasingly violent and sexualized during the 1990s, as participants in our study indicated when recounting their challenges to these images (see quotes by Rakoff, Drew, and Lewis in Chapter 9).

In the United States, feminists mobilized against the media in various ways, beginning in the early 1970s. US journalism historians Maureen Beasley and Sheila Gibbons (2003) note that the passage of Title VII in 1972, modifying the 1964 Civil Rights Act to include sex as a category forbidden in employment discrimination, provided women media professionals with their basis for litigation. And file lawsuits they did! The 1970s, 1980s, and even 1990s are replete with cases, brought by groups of women at large agenda-setting American media enterprises, as well as smaller ones. A number of these, filed jointly by female and black employees, were won with the support of unions and feminist and civil rights groups. For example, a landmark 10-year discrimination case against Associated Press news service, finally settled in 1983, brought equal assignments and salary to women and minorities on a par with their white colleagues, as well as back pay and other compensation (p. 187). A similar case against *The Washington Post*, brought by women, had been settled in 1974, requiring the newspaper to improve its record in hiring and promoting women (Beasley & Gibbons 2003: 188). Recent data, however, show minimal advancement for women within the field, either at management or worker levels. For example, women across telecommunication industries comprise only 13 percent of the top executives, 9 percent of boards of directors, and 26 percent of local TV directors (Annenberg Public Policy Center 2002).

US feminists also challenged media content in a number of ways. Elayne Rapping (1994) argues that feminism placed violence against women issues on the nation's public – and policy – agendas through made-for-TV films such as *Something About Amelia* (incest), the *Burning Bed* (wife battering), and *When He's Not a Stranger* (date rape). Anti-pornography campaigns, beginning in the 1970s, helped to emphasize connections between graphic images of sexual violence and the real-life experiences of so many women. In relation to news, feminists protested (and eventually stopped) the seg-

regation of classified job listings by "women's" and "men's" categories, the designation of women's marital status through the use of "Miss" and "Mrs." in news stories, and the use of "he" as the standard pronoun (regardless of the sex of the person being referred to). With varying success, they also campaigned against stereotypical portrayals and omissions of women from serious media content in the 1970s and 1980s. Byerly and Warren's (1996) study – quoted more extensively in earlier chapters – also showed that feminist activism remained alive and busy even during the conservative (Reagan and Bush presidential) years of the 1980s through women's caucuses that found many male allies.

Stucture and Agency: Making Change

However, it was the years *before* such challenges began that print journalist **Jo Campbell**[3] remembers. She said that it was hard to think of herself as a feminist in the early 1970s, when she entered one federal agency press conference and was given a badge identifying her as a "Newsman." In the mid-1970s, one assignment editor refused to send her to cover the first international UN Decade for Women meetings in Mexico City, because, he said, as a "known feminist" she would be biased in her reporting. On her own time and money, Campbell covered one of the preparatory conferences for the Mexico City meetings, held at Harvard University, and her editor used some of her stories, because "they quoted such powerful women in their own countries that my news agency did not dare ignore them." Today, Campbell is editor of the online magazine *Ecotopics International News Service* (www.ecotopics.com), where she integrates feminist concerns with those of the environment, human rights, and international affairs.

Historical shifts relating to women's professional standing can also be seen in the US broadcasting scene. **Margot Adler**,[4] a broadcast journalist and author of *Drawing Down the Moon*,[5] characterizes her long-time workplace, National Public Radio, as a gender-friendly place to work. Indeed, its celebrated political reporters include Nina Tottenberg, Cokie Roberts, Linda Wertheimer, and others whose journalism has dominated the station for at least two decades. But in the early 1970s, US radio was a different scene. One East Coast radio program director told Adler that women "didn't do news" because their voices were "too high." At the same time, he was playing footsie with her under the table. At another station, she escaped being fondled by a male colleague one night by running from the building.

Today, NPR creates the space for Adler's feminist approach to reporting, including interviews with high-profile feminist leaders such as Gloria Steinem; stories that include a feminist angle, such as one on ways in which drug laws oppress poor women; and those stories on the Michigan Women's Music Festival, described in the opening quote to this chapter.

Radio has also been a shifting scene for women in Ghana, where broadcast journalist **Patience (Patti) Dapaah**[6] became producer of her own radio program in 1994. Dapaah said that that the government's monopoly was giving way to private entrepreneurship in the early 1990s, and she wanted to find ways to raise women's interests in relation to the national budget, economics, religion, and other issues that were seen as men's preserve. In 1997, she became the first woman among 13 men at the commercial FM station Kapital Radio, where she continued to expand the station's gender content. She noted that "as a matter of interest, Kapital Radio was, and still is, headed by a woman CEO, the first in the country." Dapaah's contribution has been not only to expand gender in content but also women's place in journalism. She is presently working through a not-for-profit organization to develop the structure for a women's radio station and a women's weekly newspaper in her nation.

In nearby Cameroon, **Madeleine Memb**[7] – whose male colleagues call her "the feminist" – began producing women's television programs in the same timeframe of the mid-1990s. *Au Nom de la Femme* (In the Name of the Woman), which broadcasts weekly in French over the parastatal station Cameroon Radio-Television, has been advocating for women and giving them a voice since 1995. Like Dapaah, Memb also takes her media activism into the community. Through involvement in the International Association of Women in Radio and Television, she has organized one regional meeting, "Empowering Women through Rural and Community Radio," and participated in a regional seminar in Guinea on how to increase women's participation in media, particularly at decision-making levels.

Consciousness-Raising as Change Agent

Informants who followed the second path frequently said that entering feminist activism in the media followed a consciousness-raising that grew out of discrimination – both others' and their own. For **Trella Laughlin**,[8] the journey began early in life, by shaking off what she calls her family's "fundamentalist white racist indoctrination." Laughlin, who worked both

for newspapers and as a freelancer for a number of media, found journalism a way to do that. For example, in 1980, she began her 18-year running weekly public-access television program *Let the People Speak!* in Austin, Texas, as a forum for white people to speak out against racism. The program, which won numerous awards, integrated feminist perspectives into its format.

Founded in 1987, in South Africa, the magazine *Agenda* focuses specifically on issues of women and the media. Published by a diverse group of feminist activists, the **Agenda Magazine Collective**[9] wanted to overcome perceptions that the journal was predominantly white and too academic in its orientation. Project manager Amanda Trotter and other collective members said that they "began to push for ways to let black women's voices shine through." During the 1990s, the group initiated writing workshops, broadened the magazine's call for submissions, and matched inexperienced writers with mentors to gradually increase its articles by both black and young writers. In 2003, Agenda worked with 26 local community radio stations across South Africa, providing copy in the form of five or six articles at a time, for journalists to use in broadcasts. Most recently, the collective has sought a way to open up channels for men with a feminist consciousness to speak out.

After writing for *Femina*, a prominent women's magazine in India, **Sakuntala Narasimhan**,[10] of Bangalore, said she was invited by the *Deccan Herald* newspaper to write a column "On women, for women." The column, which ran for 21 years, gave her a voice for the feminist consciousness that she was building through her involvement in the women's movement. In those years, she also pursued a doctoral degree, a three-decade-long process that she eventually wrote about in one column. She said that a particular piece that she wrote provoked a flood of calls and letters from middle-aged women saying that she had given them the courage to enroll for degrees, despite their "housewife" roles. Narasimhan began covering women's rights marches and conferences, as well as women's court cases and experiences with police officers in the 1980s. These experiences made her feel the need to shift toward greater activism in her journalism, something she insists has brought greater public awareness about the discriminatory practices that are ingrained into society. The royalties from her book *Born Unfree*, a compilation from her *Deccan Herald* column, on policies and practices affecting women in India, including legal, medical, social, and cultural issues, go to a women's activist group called Vimochana, in Bangalore. The group helps to fight dowry harassment cases.

Stacey Cone,[11] a former producer for CNN, the all-news cable TV network based in Atlanta, Georgia, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, had her consciousness raised by enduring what she terms a "highly sexist environment" that included a period of sexual harassment by a male colleague. As a result, Cone became "quietly pro-active," pushing for more coverage of women's and minorities' issues and volunteering for projects that focused on the treatment of women. One project investigated a secret government experiment performed on impoverished pregnant women in Tennessee, where it was discovered that, decades earlier, scientists had injected the women with plutonium to see what would happen to their unborn children. There were also documentaries about women's issues such as the glass ceiling and overpopulation (associated with gender inequality), as well as a five-part series on women who go to prison for killing their abusive partners. In this last project, Cone followed the court case of a woman on trial for murdering her abusive common-law husband in his sleep. The camera captured the woman's testimony on the stand and the subsequent jury acquittal. Cone said that the number of phone calls she received after the show aired indicated that the program had raised public awareness of – and empathy for – the psychological impact that long-term abuse has on victims.

But these projects, some of which won awards, were few and far between, and many had to be developed on "shoe-string budgets." Getting approval took careful planning before the pitch to management, and still only about one story out of five had any direct relevance to women or minorities. Cone argues that among the painful lessons was learning that women co-workers weren't necessarily her allies. "They will sometimes but not always, speak out against harassment or discrimination they see others endure," and many still find it easier to go along with rules of a male-dominated workplace because "it's easier," she said.

Negotiating Complicity

Stacey Cone's experience with unsupportive female colleagues who reinforce male norms (and power) in the work environment demonstrates women's complicity in patriarchy, something that can be a major stumbling block to those trying to challenge androcentric practices. The effect of such complicity is the perpetuation of women's secondary status in the journalism field and, by extension, in society through the content that flows

from such gendered relations of production. This problem, which is by no means confined to a single nation or workplace, arose in a number of our interviews with women media professionals. As we explore some of their situations to illustrate the problem, we want to suggest that complicity may be best understood within the framework of masculine hegemony.

Italian intellectual Antonio Gramsci's (1971) employment of the concept *hegemony* was fairly sketchy, but in the 1970s, British cultural studies scholars frequently used it to mean noncoercive ways by which the dominant class obtained the consent of the less powerful. They placed the media and other cultural products central to the manufacture of consent. Making specific application to gender relations, Sonya Andermahr, Terry Lovell, and Karol Wolkowitz (2000) observe that a dominant ideology of gender is passed down through culture and carries with it certain punishments and rewards for adherence (or not) to that ideology. Their explanation of hegemony is useful here as we try to bring an analysis to the question: Why would one woman not stand up for another? In addition, we hope to reveal, where possible, how informants in our study negotiated women's complicity as they sought to bring feminist principles to their reporting and other newsroom behavior.

Australian print journalist **Louise North**[12] said that she was nine years into her 15-year career when she enrolled in gender studies courses at the University of Tasmania. There she found "the tools to articulate what I saw in practice every day and to allow myself to believe I could be part of a process for change for women." As a sub-editor, North had had certain advantages of promotion and status, but she saw that for most women in journalism, the glass ceiling was firmly intact. The masculine newsroom, as she calls it, was characterized by men who never talked about needing to increase coverage of women, and who reminisced about the old days before women intruded on their turf. Women who complained were singled out as "whingers," and their "whinging" resulted in a failure to win the support of (male) section editors who directly influenced women's career advancement. North found that younger women coming up through the ranks were not generally helped by seniors who may have feared that their jobs would be taken by these junior female colleagues. She added:

> But surely if those women had a politicized understanding of the ways in which women's subordination is currently and historically reproduced and have the will to change, then some shifts could occur.

North negotiated this situation indirectly by trying to bring feminist content to news where she could, such as writing book reviews for her (Tasmania's only) metropolitan daily. In 2001, she initiated the annual Women Tasmania Media Award to encourage progressive reporting on women, and she gives workshops to women's nongovernmental organizations on how to gain access to news media.

Women's complicity in sexist practices can be subtle, as **Preeti Mehra**,[13] a print journalist in New Delhi whose feminist media activism was profiled in the Introduction to this book, has been troubled by a tendency in her junior female colleagues to accept media employers' shifts from permanent employment to that of contract labor. A trend in the last decade, contracts often bring better benefits and higher wages, but without the job security that Mehra's generation fought for. She believes that a lack of gender and class consciousness is involved here, as "a lot of newspapers began taking people who were more from the upper classes or people who they gauged would not be so political," as her own generation had been. Mehra recognizes that women are particularly vulnerable to contract agreements, but she argues that these "take away their voice completely." She adds, "You can't freely be involved in movements or things you would like to because you are being watched somewhere," and she fears that journalists are losing their social change missions.

Veteran print journalist **Tanushree Gangopadhyay**,[14] in Bangalore, India, also wonders whether gender inequality can be addressed when some female colleagues exploit their femininity to "go up the ladder." Like Preeti Mehra, she agreed that younger women in the profession are less likely to challenge inequality than women of her own generation. Gangopadhyay, who entered the field in 1976, has spent her career challenging sexism and unfair practices on the job, including what she believed was unfair termination. Backed by her union, Gangopadhyay's challenge to that termination would go on for 13 years. The minute she went to court, she said, her employer approached her about going through conciliation. "I said 'No, I can find a job tomorrow if you don't take me back,' but the interesting thing is that as journalists we are not aware of our rights."

Sonal Kellogg,[15] who works for Gujarati-language newspapers in the northwest Indian state of Gujarat, strives to put a women's voice in all of her stories, but sometimes that has been difficult. The women she has sought to include in stories have not always understood the benefits of such coverage and some have turned on her. When Kellogg was covering the Gujarat riots of 2002,[16] for example, she tried to interview Muslim women

to get their response to seven shootings of Muslims by Indian police that day. The women refused and turned on her, resulting in drawing attention from nearby male police officers. Kellogg and a male journalist colleague retreated after they were pursued and beaten by those police officers. She has persisted in other ways, seeking out angles that highlight gender and, when interviewing a male politician, always asking him how he is going to address women's concerns so she can report his answers. Kellogg believes that both men and women need to be sensitized to ways in which they can promote gender angles in stories; for example, considering how women are affected by a policy, an issue, or an event.

Women's complicity in patriarchy is at the heart of women's lack of status in journalism, according to **Mildred Mulenga**,[17] bureau chief for the Southern Africa Pan African News Agency (PANA). Mulenga, who moved to South Africa from Zambia, believes that "women's traditional behavior is partly to blame for their marginalization in the newsroom," a place in which she has spent more than two decades. She said:

> Back home in Lusaka you find that the challenging [reporting] assignments are given to men, and the women are given the lesser assignments . . . I think that women must change their attitudes towards each other before they can be treated equally.

Mulenga observed that women sometimes buy into the myths of male superiority, and accept their marginalization. Like Sonal Kellogg in India, Mulenga has also encountered problems in dealing with female news sources, who sometimes denied her interviews because they said that "women should not be seen to be social agitators or commentators," on issues of human rights or politics – these roles "should be left to the menfolk." Mulenga has found that survival and advancement for a black feminist journalist such as herself have been aided by very hard work and by establishing supportive feminist professional networks, because "women must support each other." She has found such support through the International Women's Media Foundation, a group based in Washington, DC, that promotes women in media fields internationally and, through its annual Courage Awards, recognizes the substantial contributions that women make to political reporting around the world.

We found varied experiences on the question of whether and how race and ethnicity influences women's ability to support each other on the job. **Crystal Oderson**,[18] a broadcast journalist, said that she embarked on a

study of black women's experiences at South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), where she believes black women have had to fight much harder than white women to gain advancement. White women colleagues could not be counted on as black women's allies, she suggests, as they have had the historical advantage of a better education and social position, which sometimes makes it hard for them to empathize with the experiences of black women. But even black female colleagues were encouraged to align with "the white camp" – something that was easier if they had lighter skin and straighter hair – if they wanted to progress. Over the past four years, a number of black women journalists have left mainstream broadcasting, including SABC. Although Oderson acknowledges that others have since come into the industry, "they have taken on a particular identity, having straight hair, speaking with a very English accent" – traits of assimilation into the dominant (white British) system, a legacy of colonialism and apartheid. The new kind of female journalist being sought, she believes, is one with a white consciousness who will not bring with her an opinionated black women's voice. When Oderson saw that she could not progress in that system – she has "quite curly hair" and offers her opinions – and after an argument with a male colleague over her lack of conformity in 2002, she said, "Hell no, I'm a reporter who can work as hard as you can." It was a turning point that took her into international reporting and to developing programs for women in journalism through Gender Links and Women's Media Watch, two advocacy groups for feminist journalists profiled in Chapter 9.

Similarly, **Sylvia Vollenhoven**,[19] a South African print journalist, has sometimes found support from colleagues hard to come by. Noting that she "came from a family of extremely strong black women who were very aware of their roots and own identity," Vollenhoven said that she has expected more than the chauvinism she sometimes experienced from her "black male comrades," and that "the kind of sisterhood and solidarity that women shared when they were fighting apartheid was a lot more intense than it is now." She believes that the limited numbers of top jobs in her profession cause greater competition, particularly for women.

Crystal Oderson's white colleague **Judy Sandison**[20] is the editor of new media for SABC news – a different division of the organization than the one in which Oderson worked. After Sandison became one of the first women regional editors in the anti-apartheid era of the early 1990s, Sandison said that she set about intentionally to become "an agent of change" in moving the newsroom toward a new, more professional kind of

journalism and a better balance along gender and race lines. She was able to bring in more women, more professional journalists, and achieve a staff that was "around 80 percent Zuli-speaking or black journalists." Sandison's commitment to advance women and African journalists had been deepened while working for what she called the "old" (apartheid-era) SABC, which she characterizes as both sexist and racist, and which she had earlier sued for unfair labor practices. As she sought to make changes in that system, she said she "had a lot of support, especially from black journalists." Sandison believes that newsrooms need to have champions for equality, and that the equality in newsrooms is reflected in the information it provides to the outer world. In her view, the media are "the building block of our democracy," and as a white woman, she felt not only a responsibility but also in a position to do her part.

Professional Change Organizations

In order to open spaces in their stories or documentaries to women's voices and experiences, women media activists, as we have seen, often first had to confront entrenched organizational and journalistic practices. Such challenges occur in what feminist economist Diane Elson (1994: 40–1) calls the meso- and micro-levels of capitalist society that relies on its institutions for survival. In a neoclassical perspective of capitalism, meso-level refers to the realm in which norms and networks are needed for the economic system to carry on. Both commercial and public service institutions, argues Elson, are "bearers of gender." It is the norms that favor men (and also white authority, in some cases) that women media activists around the world have sought to change, and their networks have helped them to do that by providing the structural means to develop strategies and support systems. Making change at the macro-level enables changes to more easily occur at the micro-level, where day-to-day decisions are made with respect to the running of institutions. Elson said that gender has most often come into play at the micro-level within institutional structures. Indeed, most informants in our study talked about their routine, often individual, ways of negotiating sexist barriers to workplace practices. In this and the following section, we consider the interface between these two levels and the ways in which women's media activism fits into it. Along the way, we try to illustrate the ways in which the formulation and circulation of women's experience and ideas through media is always reliant on these forces.

Journalism historian Elizabeth V. Burt (2000: xxvii) found that whereas women's early press clubs in the USA had served to enlist women into the profession of journalism, those that sprang up after 1970 tended "to be fueled by the passions of strong leaders with the feminist goal of erasing continuing gender inequities." This also describes what we see when looking globally at the emerging phenomenon of women's journalistic organizations since 1970. We glimpse several of them here in order to demonstrate why these groups must be viewed as an essential component of a larger communicative infrastructure that enabled feminist discourse to emerge publicly. We begin in 1981, in France, where women journalists formed l'Association des Femmes Journalistes to promote women's status in the profession and to improve women's image in the media. **Virginie Barré**[21] and **Natacha Henry**,[22] who have been officers in that organization, said that the group has been particularly concerned about younger women in the field who are less confident in dealing with male bosses. With governmental grants and corporate sponsorship, AFJ awards annual prizes honoring outstanding journalism, books, documentary films, and public relations. AFJ also conducts and disseminates research, and produces reports and films on women in journalism fields. The last of these include Henry's short documentary *Où sont les femmes*? (*Where are the Women?*), in 2000, as well as a book on media sexism, written by Henry, Barré, and two other AFJ members.

The early 1980s also saw the formation of a particularly cohesive group of Indian feminist journalists, who have managed to create an enduring political, professional, and personal relationship lasting two decades. **Kalpana Sharma**,[23] **Ammu Joseph**,[24] **Anjali Mathur**,[25] and a number of others from various publications started the Women and Media Group (WMG) in Mumbai in 1984, which Sharma describes as "an informal group that met every fortnight." Initially a forum for discussing media portrayal, news coverage, and workplace conditions of/for women, the group made its first serious foray into media activism in 1985 by sending a four-member team to Ahmedabad, in the neighboring state of Gujarat, to cover the impact of the communal (caste-related) riots there on women. While members filed individual stories for their respective publications, they collaborated in publishing a joint report that included detailed accounts of some of the high-profile cases involving women – stories that had only been partially covered in the press, according to Joseph.[26] They found, for instance, that thousands of poor Muslim women (on whom the events had fallen the hardest) had protested on several occasions against police brutal-

ity and killings, and against extended curfews that prevented them from leaving their homes to buy food for their families.[27] WMG members increased their media activism by sponsoring public events (e.g., a festival of women's films) and by holding discussions with media professionals on gender issues in advertising and film. In 1987, when 17-year-old Roop Kanwar was burned alive on her husband's funeral pyre in Deorala, Rajasthan, WMG sent a team to investigate. Their stories and an analysis of the media coverage of this high-profile case of widow-burning, or sati, a practice outlawed more than a century ago, were published in the report *Trial by Fire*. The report, one of the first independent accounts, questioned the mainstream media's assertion that Kanwar had gone willingly to the funeral pyre. Basing its questions on eyewitness accounts of villagers, including many women, the report was a precursor of feminist monitoring of Indian media.

The formative role that these and other Indian women journalists played in shaping a public feminist discourse in India during the 1980s cannot be over-emphasized. Indian women were not only examining their own situation and history, but many were doing it within the complex circumstances formed by a colonial past. Issues involving traditional gender practices were central to these public discussions. Feminist scholar Lata Mani (1992) acknowledges the conflict that has existed around issues such as *sati*, primarily a high-caste practice in some parts of India of burning women on the funeral pyres of their husbands, something the British outlawed in the 1800s, but which Indian social reformers had also campaigned against. Even afterward, some Hindu fundamentalists continued to claim their right to the ritual, which was typically committed through force by first starving, drugging, or otherwise compelling women to death by burning. Contemporary Indian feminists wanted to reframe the emerging public debate after Roop Kanwar's death by focusing on the violence done to women, even though, as Mani acknowledged, "Indian feminists have always engaged the broader notions of women's self-negation and fidelity to husbands that are part and parcel of the ideology of *sati* though hardly restricted to it" (p. 406). Roop Kanwar had made *sati* a "live issue" for Indian feminists, she said, not only because of the violence but also because feminists had come to understand that colonial (and other Western) onlookers had romanticized the practice.

In 1988, WMG merged with the Women and Media Committee of the Bombay[28] Union of Journalists, but its members maintained their personal and collegial ties, and individually they continued to find ways to make

women's issues public through their journalism. Still, women had hit the glass ceiling in Indian print journalism. In January 2002, Joseph, Sharma, Mathur, and others called 100 women in media professions across India to New Delhi for a three-day workshop. The event was an outgrowth of Joseph's book *Making News* (2000), which reported women's generally low status in media professions across India. After three days, participants gave birth to the Network of Women in Media in India (NWMI), a nonhierarchical collective of women in media fields who wanted to address a wide range of broad and specific issues in their profession. More than a dozen local chapters, covering all regions of India, would respond to local women's concerns within the broad framework of the charter, which identifies both structural problems (e.g., globalization of Indian media industries) and specific professional concerns (e.g., implementation of a Supreme Court directive that all media establish Complaint Committees to hear sexual harassment cases).

The mechanics of NWMI, as well as its substantive support for women media professionals, can be seen in the operation and work of its chapters. **Rajashri Dasgupta**,[29] a veteran print journalist in Kolkata, India, is a co-chair of the West Bengal chapter of Women in Media in India (NWMI). In February 2003, that chapter's members assumed an advocacy role for Rina Mukherjee, a reporter at *The Statesman* newspaper, who complained of sexual harassment by a senior editor. A letter from chapter members to the newspaper led to *The Statesman*'s notification to its employees of a committee to hear grievances in its Delhi and Kolkata offices. Rina Mukherjee's willingness to come forward "created a stir, a debate on the issue of sexual harassment, which became a talking point in media houses across the country," Dasgupta said.[30] A believer in collective action to change unfair practices, Dasgupta also served on the six-woman team that, in late 2003, conducted a study on media workplace policies, ethics, and the status of women journalists. The Press Institute of India sponsored the study, which was released in July 2004. Among other things, the report said that women journalists are pressing their workplaces to establish Complaint Committees to investigate cases of sexual harassment, something rampant in both English and regional-language dailies. Twenty-two percent of the study's 410 female respondents said that they had been sexually harassed at some point in time, but only 15 percent had filed complaints (quoted in Malvika Kaul 2004).

Dasgupta's colleague **Surekha Sule**,[31] a freelance print journalist and a member of the Mumbai chapter of NWMI, was a second team member on

the Press Institute of India's survey. Sule was sent into the smaller towns in the west Indian states of Maharashtra, Gujarat, Rajasthan, and Goa, where regional languages (not English) dominate in journalism. Sule viewed this activity as a way of organizing rural women journalists, who have less confidence in themselves than their urban colleagues. Sule found no formal mechanisms in the smaller rural papers to "handle gender issues"; thus women who experience discrimination or harassment are left to pursue whatever informal procedures are available, if any. Sule encouraged her rural colleagues (who are in small numbers at their workplaces) to establish listservs in order to share problems that they experience and to seek ways of supporting each other to resolve them. Sule's experience organizing across the profession began in the 1980s, when she belonged to the Bombay Union of Journalists. Junior members of the Bangalore chapter of the NWMI, such as **Vasanthi Hariprakash** and **Radhika M.**,[32] said that they have come to feel more powerful through their involvement in the group. Interaction with older members has helped them to find the courage to speak up and make decisions about their careers, as well as the encouragement to pursue stories with a specific women's angle. For example, Radhika M. has written stories about dowry, sexual harassment at work, and women's health issues for her daily newspaper, while Hariprakash has emphasized women's longstanding leadership in music and other cultural forms.

Using the Power of Position

Feminist journalists we interviewed who had risen to take up decision-making roles in their news organizations explained ways in which they had helped to shape the content of reporting. Violence against women in its many forms was on the mind of **Patricia Gaston**[33] and her three male editorial colleagues at *The Dallas Morning News* when they hatched plans in 1992 to move women's human rights onto the front page of their newspaper. The series of stories, which would run from January through June 1993 and bring the editors and their reporting team a Pulitzer Prize for international reporting, had begun with a local problem, the rape of several Dallas women by on-duty policemen. Gaston said that she and her colleagues believed the story had a bigger context that was important to explore. The Bosnian war had recently revealed the systematic rape and torture of women, and stories about female genital mutilation, dowry deaths, and other forms of violence against women, which feminists had

spent two decades putting on both national and international public agendas were routinely surfacing in the news. In addition, global feminist leaders had finally succeeded in getting the United Nations Conference on Human Rights, to be held in Geneva in June 1993, to add women's human rights to its conference agenda.

Gaston, a black woman, and her three white male colleagues, also believed that the story series offered them a chance to mentor veteran and junior reporters alike on how to reveal the universality of men's violence against women, as well as women's challenges to it. The series of more than a dozen stories would be striking in both its geographical reach and its diversity in subject matter. One story from Norway focused on government grants for women to buy door locks, mace, and other items in order to feel safer. A story from Kenya examined the effects of female circumcision on women. A story from Mexico probed the contradictions in a society in which women are symbolically esteemed but still often beaten by their husbands. A goal of the series was not just to show women's victimization, but also how they had organized to change laws, establish services, and demand that societies change. Gaston, today the national weekend editor at *The Washington Post* in Washington, DC, says that "doing a project of that magnitude really, really hits you deep, and you find ways of keeping the issues out there." She asks reporters to probe problems of violence in particular contexts, such as war.

Kristie Miller[34] has a rare perspective on being a woman serving at the top of the corporate news ladder. Miller was the lone female on the board of the Chicago-based Tribune Company[35] from 1981 to 2001, a time period during which she advocated for the recruitment of women into upper management – something she says "increased markedly" in those years. She also worked successfully to have gay and lesbian employees awarded domestic partner benefits and monitored the coverage of women in the media. She carried on the last of these informally, personally complimenting reporters who had done a good job. Today, Miller writes a weekly column on women and politics for her hometown newspaper in LaSalle, Illinois. But her years in US newsrooms and boardrooms have allowed her to see "dramatic changes" since the 1970s. She believes that:

> The work environment is less hostile, there are more opportunities for women in management and in boards, coverage is more extensive and less stereotyped . . . [But] women are still vastly underrepresented on media

> boards and in upper management of media companies, along with the rest of corporate America . . .

The last three decades – years in which feminism emerged as a social force globally – have brought changes to newsrooms in many nations. **Sandhya Taksale's**[36] present post as an editor at a weekly Marathi-language news magazine, *The Sukal Papers*, in Pune, India, allows her to build gender angles into news assignments and work with reporters to learn how to discern the gender dimension in their writing. It was her years working on women's magazines that let her understand the women's angle, she said, but she believes, "You have to say to people that it is not only a women's point of view but one that is socially important." For example, she asks that economic stories include the ways in which women will be affected, and she insists that women in sports be covered as well as men.

Confronting a Culture of Discrimination

Some nations have taken longer to see progress. While gender relations in African media remain an under-researched area, Aida Opoku-Mensah (2004: 106) has found anecdotal data that suggest women operate in a "culture of discrimination and bias, characterized by inequity and inequality in all aspects of media work." One small-scale study that Opoku-Mensah conducted verified the general perception within the journalism field that "women often work in hostile work environments," and many newsrooms have few or no women at all (p. 108). Women told her that they were confronted with patriarchal attitudes that assume women's inferiority to men. The lack of women-oriented reporting in Africa has led women practitioners to address these issues. For example, the Tanzania Media Women's Association (TAMWA) has produced radio programs for women that Opoku-Mensah said drew "instant popularity."

Women in the southern region have also formed the Gender and Media Network Southern Africa (GEMSA) to promote gender equity in the media through regional strategies that will address everything from election coverage to HIV/AIDS and other health issues. GEMSA grew out of a meeting in September 2004, in Johannesburg, where, interestingly, a third of the 184 participants were men – a possible sign that enlightened men are trying to address the gender gap. We saw earlier that journalists such as Patience

Dapaah and Madeleine Memb are among the African feminist journalists who use their vantage points on the inside of newsrooms and women's news advocacy groups to try to get women's experiences and gender analyses into the news. **Howedia Saleem**,[37] a reporter for the English-language *Khartoum Monitor*, in Sudan, looks for ways to bring a women's rights angle to many of her topics. She has written about many women's opposition to female genital mutilation, which is practiced in her nation, and about exercising women's right to select their own husbands. Saleem seeks support for her journalistic work through organizations such as the Tunisia-based Center for Arab Women's Training and Research (CAWTAR), which promotes women's economic and political advancement, and ENGED, which promotes information infrastructures for women.

Lubna Yousif Ali,[38] in Sudan, who has been a newspaper and magazine journalist since 1978, said her goals are "always to keep women informed about their rights." As the editor of a women's page for many years, and a writer for *Azza* monthly women's magazine in the 1990s, she has published articles on voting laws (enacted in the 1970s), women's illiteracy and educational programs to meet it, female genital mutilation, divorce, economics, and what other women in the world are doing politically. Yousif Ali notes that she feels supported through active participation in two journalism unions (one of them for women), as well as the Arabs Union. Today, she works for the Umma Party, Sudan's largest political party, as a media information officer, and she takes on independent projects to expand women's understanding of media, such as the media workshop that she coordinated for women in December 2003. She sees the difference that reporting on and about women has made in Sudan over these last decades. For example, women's rise to high places in government has been covered by the news, reinforcing the expansion of women into professions. But she laments the continued practice of female genital mutilation, which needs more news coverage. Though positive in her own experiences to open spaces for women in the news, Yousif Ali works in a larger context in which her female counterparts generally face great difficulties in their workplaces.

South African feminist journalists have been integral to bringing both gender and racial equality into the democratic changes that swept South Africa after 1991, when the nation transitioned from a white minority government to one ruled by Africans. **Thandazo**,[39] a Tanzanian who has worked in South African broadcasting for many years, sees part of her reporting job to be showing that "the role of women is not that traditional

anymore." Women hold many of the same jobs as men and keep the same long hours, she said. She's had to struggle with male editors who wanted to change her stories because they didn't like her efforts to gender balance them, and she believes that there is some way to go before such challenges stop. **Nombuso Dlamini**,[40] a reporter for the program *Soul Beat Africa*, has had similar experiences with editors, particularly in "very white" newsrooms. Being black was a particular problem when working with Afrikaans-speaking people, who tended to run things by the "old rules" that propped up apartheid. With South Africa's new constitution that "enshrines" gender equality, she said that she sees newsrooms now moving in that direction. Broadcast journalist **Sue Valentine**[41] left mainstream reporting "as a principle of self-preservation," even though she found her work to be generally fulfilling. Valentine found it essential for women in the newsroom to support each other "in their work as women" as much as for their shared goals of black consciousness. But she also believes that "it shouldn't always be the woman arguing for women's issues [in news] – men can also be feminists – and for a more progressive and inclusive agenda, expecting the same for everyone across the board."

Refocusing the Routine Assignment

Following Elson's (1994) observation that the micro-level of institutions tends to be the most convenient – and common – realm for gender to surface and for women to challenge it, we may look to how the daily events and decisions, including production decisions, that govern and result in content, are located in this level of media institutions. Indeed, as we have seen throughout this chapter, it is in this realm in which the women activists whom we interviewed said they had often tried to have an impact. One common change was to expand the narrow definition of news, which typically covers the events and issues associated with institutions that involve men as central (news-making) figures.

Trained as a print journalist, **Nupur Basu**,[42] of Bangalore, turned to documentary film for television in the early 1990s when Indian television opened up to satellite broadcasts and commercially supported programming. Basu, presently employed by the NDTV all-news station, based in New Delhi, brought her specialty reporting on civil rights movements and environmental and women's rights issues with her. Her first television documentary examined the impact of government liquor sales on poor

rural people, particularly women whose husbands squander their meager incomes on drink and then go home to abuse their wives and children. She argues that "A village with 200 people needs a potable drinking water source, not five liquor shops," which lead to addiction. Her film contributed to a short-lived ban on liquor sales in one state. Subsequent films have focused on problems common to poor Indian women, including malnourishment, lack of education, and even the relationship between global corporations and large urban slums. Basu puts 80 percent of her work in the category of "development" topics, because that is where her passion lies. She explained:

> You come from a privileged background, you've been to a good college, but that is because your circumstances were that. Once in the newspaper, you are going to be writing about people who can't even read that newspaper. Your whole agenda then is about social change, improving your country, strengthening your democracy, and insuring this beautiful document – the constitution – which we have in this country [is applied].

Basu's latest work has focused on acid attacks on women and other violence resulting in death. In Bangalore, 90 women die every month, many of these being dowry deaths. An acid attack, something on the rise in India and Bangladesh, can result in two dozen operations and permanent disfigurement. While bringing a feminist perspective, she insists that her work stays "firmly with the principles of journalism – fact checking and counter-checking – and true to ethics." But women are not the only victims of injustice: their stories, too, are the responsibility of reporters. She noted that:

> We in India would be judged for joining with the bold, the beautiful and the stock market while our poor farmers are committing suicide. Twenty-five thousand farmers have committed suicide in South India alone, many because their crops have failed, they have nothing to eat and cannot repay their loans. These are the stories that have to be told again and again.

Print journalists **Gretchen Luchsinger Sidhu**[43] and **Suzanne Francis Brown**[44] found that their mainstream media careers, together with interests in national development, turned into positions with the Women's Feature Service, a women-owned international news agency headquartered in New Delhi, India (the WFS is profiled in Chapter 10). Sidhu, who served initially as an editor for WFS in India, coordinated WFS operations for North America during the 1990s, and Brown for the Caribbean area, positions

that allowed them to write stories about women and also to assign such coverage to others. Sidhu's experience transferred directly into her present freelance writing, based in New York, one part of which involves publishing a regular newsletter for the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF), which has 7,000 staff members in 150 nations. Sidhu said that bringing gender balance into stories now comes naturally to her. She also works for other forms of balance; for example, perspectives of workers from different geographical regions and occupations within the agency. Brown said that her training through WFS has enabled her to develop a curriculum on gender and development for the Caribbean Institute for Media and Development (CARIMAC) in Jamaica, where she teaches, and to represent development issues on the board of Women's Media Watch, a monitoring group (see Chapter 9).

Embedding Women in the Sphere

Women journalists the world over have led the way for women's experiences and perspectives to embed themselves in routine news reporting, both in print and broadcast media. This chapter has explored specific ways in which this has occurred through the work of 38 informants in a dozen different nations over these past 30 years. Their work, complemented by male journalists who have taken their lead, may be understood as women's agency in the creation of a feminist public sphere, which intersects dominant public spheres from nation to nation. Issues of women's legal rights, public leadership, and men's violence against women are among women's experiences that women media activists following the second path have helped to bring into public discussion through the media. Still, much remains to be done, particularly with regard to the last of these.

The under-reporting and incomplete reporting of violent crimes against women became the focus of a global feminist campaign called "16 Days of Activism Against Gender Violence" that began on November 25, 2004, in a lead-up to the annual celebration of Human Rights Day on December 10. At issue in the campaign are stories such as the following, which appeared in India's largest circulating daily newspaper, *The Times of India*, on January 4, 2004:

> **New Delhi:** A 25-year-old woman committed suicide by dousing herself with kerosene and then setting herself afire in the bathroom, at her Shahpur Jat residence on Tuesday. / The victim's husband, Rajesh, works with a private

> company in Gurgaon. / The couple have a five-month-old daughter. / She was reportedly taken to Safdarjung Hospital but died before she could receive any medical aid. (*The Times of India* 2004)

Ammu Joseph (2004e) noted that incomplete stories are disturbing in their reminiscence of the news that was seen in the late 1970s, when, as discussed earlier, Indian feminists challenged reporting of such women's deaths as accidents rather than suicides or murders of young married women by their relatives. It was clear, Joseph said, that police accounts were being printed without a deeper questioning of the crime involved or an analysis of its frequency. In the 25 years since feminists in India and throughout the world opened the lid on domestic abuse, sexual assault, and other forms of violence against women, reporting in many nations remains little changed, particularly with regard to either the underlying causes of such violence or its consequences for women. Joseph notes that many world organizations have issued alerts. The World Health Organization has called violence against women a "global pandemic that needs urgent attention." Amnesty International identified violence against women as "the most pervasive human rights challenge in the world." The US National Advisory Council on Violence Against Women and the Violence Against Women Office call on "the responsible voice of the mass media" to refrain from glorifying or romanticizing such violence, and to show that such violence is unacceptable (quoted in Joseph 2004e).

The more specific ways in which feminist organizations have challenged media to take up these (and other concerns) are at the heart of Chapter 9, where we analyze the work of women media activists working as advocate change agents.

Notes

1 Margot Adler submitted answers on August 12, 2003.
2 Dalia Liran-Alper submitted answers on July 22, 2003.
3 Jo Campbell submitted answers on October 4, 2003.
4 Margot Adler submitted answers on August 12, 2003.
5 Margot Adler's *Drawing Down the Moon* (1979) is about paganism in America, with a particular focus on ancient women's and modern feminist spiritual rituals.
6 Patience Dapaah submitted answers on October 2, 2003.
7 Madeleine Memb submitted answers on September 29, 2003.

8 Trella Laughlin submitted answers on October 5, 2003.
9 The Agenda Magazine Collective was interviewed in Durban on September 10, 2003.
10 Sakuntala Narasimhan submitted answers on December 7, 2003.
11 Stacey Cone submitted answers on August 18, 2003.
12 Louise North submitted answers on July 7, 2003.
13 Preeti Mehra was interviewed in New Delhi, India, on January 6, 2004.
14 Tanushree Gangopadhyay was interviewed on January 11, 2004, in Bangalore, India.
15 Sonal Kellogg was interviewed on January 13, 2004, in Bandra, India.
16 A month's violence committed against Muslims in the state of Gujarat by Hindu fundamentalists, some of whom were policemen, occurred in February 2002. Muslim women were particularly singled out for mutilation and brutality, and the events brought an outpouring of feminist journalism and analysis. For a fuller account, see Martha C. Nussbaum (2003).
17 Mildred Mulenga was interviewed by telephone on July 31, 2003.
18 Crystal Oderson was interviewed by telephone on July 28, 2003.
19 Sylvia Vollenhoven was interviewed by telephone on October 17, 2003.
20 Judy Sandison was interviewed by telephone on July 27, 2003.
21 Virginie Barré submitted answers on April 2, 2004.
22 Natacha Henry submitted answers on August 26, 2003.
23 Kalpana Sharma submitted answers on March 9, 2004.
24 Ammu Joseph was interviewed in Arlington, Virginia, on March 23, 2003.
25 For additional information about Anjali Mathur's role in the Women in Media Group, see Chapter 7.
26 Ammu Joseph, personal communication, December 7, 2004.
27 For a fuller account of the WMG report, see Ammu Joseph and Kalpana Sharma (1994a).
28 The Indian government changed the name of Bombay to Mumbai in the mid-1990s.
29 Rajashri Dasgupta submitted answers on March 15, 2004, and comments on December 8, 2004.
30 The website of the Network of Women in Media in India, www.nwindia.org (accessed November 22, 2004).
31 Surekha Sule submitted answers on March 8, 2004, and comments on December 6, 2004.
32 Vasanthi Hariprekesh and Radhika M., both of Bangalore, were interviewed at the second NWMI meeting, in Bandra, India, on January 14, 2004.
33 Patricia Gaston was interviewed in College Park, Maryland, on August 4, 2003.
34 Kristie Miller submitted her answers on August 16, 2003.

35 The Tribune Company owns *The Chicago Tribune*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *The Baltimore Sun*, and nearly 50 other newspapers, television and radio stations, and online news services (including several in the Spanish language). See www.tribune.com.

36 Sandhya Taksale was interviewed at the NWMI meeting, in Bandra, India, on January 12, 2004.

37 Howedia Saleem submitted answers on July 2, 2003.

38 Lubna Yusif Ali submitted answers on July 12, 2003.

39 Thandazo (a pseudonym) was interviewed by telephone on July 29, 2003.

40 Nombuso Dlamini was interviewed by telephone on July 28, 2003.

41 Sue Valentine was interviewed in Cape Town, South Africa, on September 8, 2003.

42 Nupur Basu was interviewed in Bangalore, India, on January 10, 2004.

43 Gretchen Sidhu, of Jersey City, New Jersey, was interviewed in Hyattsville, Maryland, June 14, 2003.

44 Suzanne Francis Brown submitted answers on May 4, 2004.

9

Third Path: Advocate Change Agent

[M]ostly disadvantaged grassroots women who were the voiceless now have a voice. They have submitted articles that have been published in the mainstream media; they have helped us write policies, so they . . . know what the score is, and they can go back to their organizations and advocate, whether it is the Sexual Offenses Bill or the Anti-Terrorism Bill. Women can now go on the radio because the whole technology has been demystified. They can sit there in the studio and speak.

Judith Smith, Women's Media Watch, South Africa, 2003

Judith Smith's[1] words bring to life both the spirit and work of women activists engaged in change agency through nonprofit organizations that have specifically targeted media reform since the 1970s. Such work has been addressed by Margaret Gallagher (2001: 8–9) in her groundbreaking book *Gender Setting: New Agendas for Media Monitoring and Advocacy*, where she noted that while organizations of female media workers date back to the 1970s, it was not until the 1980s that networks and associations of media women really began to flourish in all regions of the world. Their shared concerns were to strengthen the position of women within media industries and to address what they saw to be inadequate representations of women in media content. Our cross-cultural research suggests two additional ways in which women's media advocacy groups, as well as independent advocates, have pursued change. One has been to open direct channels for women's voices to be heard both in mainstream and alternative media outlets. Another has been to bring about public policy changes (including regulatory mechanisms) that would make the media more egalitarian.

These concerns and goals are articulated in one or more ways by the women who followed the third path in our Model of Women's Media Action, that of the "advocate change agent." In the process of tracking and analyzing their work, this chapter both draws on and extends the recent work of Gallagher, whose own media research and advocacy over the past quarter of a century has done much to shape and spotlight feminist efforts to change women's structural relations to media industries throughout the world. Gallagher is one of 24 informants from 10 nations whose work as advocate change agents is examined in the discussion below.

The specific goals of this chapter are to reveal how women's agency has been organized in its aim to modify existing media structures, to create new baselines of knowledge through their research, and to develop strategies for mobilizing constituencies to further participate in this important work. We emphasize that advocate change agents have worked actively at both meso- and micro-levels to develop local, national, and international strategies and networks for media change. Such networking has been achieved through international meetings where they have met face-to-face, explored common interests and goals, and formalized collaborative working arrangements among themselves and their organizations. Networking has also been achieved more informally through regular electronic exchanges of information and correspondence. Significantly, such developments have been intentional and strategic, driven by the understanding that strong, concerted efforts were the best way to confront increasingly global male-dominated systems that continue to marginalize women and many others outside their halls of power.

Twenty-four of our 90 informants (27 percent), representing 10 different nations, followed the third path as advocate change agents (alphabetically):

Martha Leslie Allen, USA
Sashwati Banerjee, India
Libay Cantor, Philippines
Inja Coates, USA
Bishakha Datta, India
Aliza Dichter, USA
Margaret Gallagher, France/UK
Abhilasha Kumari, India
Margaret Lewis, UK
Colleen Lowe Morna, South Africa
Jeroo Mulla, India
Hilary Nicholson, Jamaica
Seeta Peña Gangadharan, USA
Jennifer Pozner, USA
Sasha Rakoff, UK
Sandhya Rao, India
Joan Ross-Frankson, Jamaica/UK

Vicki Semler, USA	Patricia Solano, Dominican Republic
Ramesh Sepehrrad, Iran/USA	A. E. Tijhoff, the Netherlands
Akhila Sivadas, India	
Judith Smith, South Africa	

Characteristics of the Third Path

Women who followed the path of advocate change agent have used a range of strategies to expand women's communicative infrastructures, both within and across nations. Advocate change agents have typically carried on their work through organizations with specific goals of pressuring the media to improve the treatment of women in one or more ways, to disseminate information with a feminist perspective, and/or to expand direct access for women. In most cases, their activities have included conducting some kind of research on women and media, with those research findings then serving to advance their media advocacy work. In relation to the Model of Women's Media Action – the analytic framework for the present research – the third path holds particular potential to alter women's structural relations to both media and other social institutions. As an examination of the narratives of the 24 informants below will illustrate, those who follow this path engage in the creation of a feminist communicative infrastructure whose cumulative impact can be determined in a number of ways.

Such an infrastructure has been formed through both formal and informal networks of feminist individuals and organizations engaged in changing governmental policies, corporate media policies, production routines concerned with shaping content, and other structural aspects of the media in order to put them at the fuller service of women. In Chapter 8 we explored the importance of women's media activism at the meso-level, where norms and networks are needed for the capitalist system to survive: the micro-level is where day-to-day (routine) decisions are made with respect to the running of institutions. Because mass media around the world are increasingly commercial – thereby fitting squarely within the capitalist system to which Diane Elson (1994: 40–1) refers – we might view both meso-level and micro-level as strategically opportune points for feminist intervention. Elson reminds us that both of these levels of capitalist society are "the bearers of gender," thereby enabling us to situate the systematic work of advocate change agents within the realm of feminist political economy.

To strengthen our theoretical understanding of how change agents and their work have operated in relation to media systems, we might also look to the work of sociologist Anthony Giddens, whose structuration theory has had far-ranging effects on communication studies. Giddens laid out the components of his theory in a series of works during the 1970s and 1980s, explicating them as a whole in works such as *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration* (1984). Central to Giddens's theory is the concept of the *duality of structure*, something imagined as both medium and outcome of the practices that comprise social systems (p. 25). The duality of structure embraces the notion that action relies on agents' knowledge of their own social and cultural practices, and their relationship to these. Agents' self-knowledge is achieved through a process of *reflexivity*; that is, a self-assessment of one's biography within a political, economic, and social context.[2] Giddens's theory also emphasizes the importance of active agents working against structural constraints (e.g., outmoded rules and laws) in order to change systems and move societies forward. Of particular appeal to feminists is another of Giddens's concepts, the *dialectic of control*, where he argues that reflexive agents (e.g., women media activists) always have the capacity to make a difference. Applying Giddens's theory to the situation of powerful, androcentric media systems, we argue that women media activists must be understood as having acted in accordance with their knowledge of women's marginalized social status and the media's role in reinforcing and reproducing it. As the findings from our research illustrate, women media activists have undertaken a range of strategies and tasks with the shared goal of revealing and reducing these systems' tendency to reproduce the gendered status quo at policy, employment, and content levels of media.[3]

Change through Monitoring and Training

It might be said that advocate change agents (like other women media activists) proceed from the belief that mass media ought to serve the public interest – in this case, women's interest – by ensuring women's right to communicate, and to be represented appropriately in media content. "Public interest" has varying definitions, which generally coincide with that posed by mass media scholar Denis McQuail (1992: 3), as the complex "informational, cultural and social benefits to the wider society." Mass media industries, which are mostly commercial enterprises supported

through advertising, exist first and foremost to generate profits for their (male) owners rather than to serve the (more pluralistic) public interest. Media monitoring has thus emerged as part of a process for making the media more accountable to the public. The media – and by this we refer to broadcasting, print, and electronic enterprises – may be monitored and assessed along a number of axes, including production/professional goals, content, audience reception, and even structural elements such as the background and composition of owners, boards, and employees. For media activists who have been monitoring media and publishing reports for several decades, the goal of transformation has inevitably come to include training, both for citizens and for those inside the industry.

The Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP)

In 2001, there were feminist organizations with media monitoring projects in more than 20 nations (Gallagher 2001). The largest and most comprehensive program is the Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP), which has been conducted in more than 70 countries every five years since 1995. The GMMP is sponsored and coordinated by the Women's Program Division of the World Association for Christian Communication, a progressive nongovernmental organization based in London, and administered by project consultant **Margaret Gallagher**,[4] who is based in the United Kingdom and France. Gallagher says that her personal goals are to "use research and analysis in the pursuit of practical change." These are also reflected in the goals and structure of the GMMP: a national coordinator in each participating nation collects the data from citizen researchers who have used a set of common tools to measure certain content, with respect to gender, in broadcast and print news stories on a given day. The idea behind the project, Gallagher says, "is to give people who are not necessarily trained researchers simple, reliable monitoring tools that can produce data useful in media advocacy and activism." Over time, the project has built up what Gallagher calls "the capacity of citizens' groups to critically analyze their media and to take action for change."

Several hundred women teachers, activists, community leaders, and trained researchers in 70 nations took part in the second round of the GMMP, which was held on February 2, 2000, and whose findings are reported in Gallagher's book *Gender Setting* (2001). Gallagher's work as an advocate change agent has spanned more than 20 years and has been driven by two preoccupations, she said:

> First, is the increasing influence of the media on values and beliefs, in a situation of growing commercialization and concentration of media ownership. So, I believe that at the policy level, we must fight for the recognition and realization of communication rights worldwide. For instance, I am a member of the International Organizing Committee of the CRIS Campaign [Communication Rights in the Information Society]. Meanwhile, at the practical level, we need to build citizen awareness and give people the skills, tools and arguments with which to interact with media institutions, policy-makers and practitioners. The second preoccupation has to do with the unequal distribution of resources – whether economic, information, political – as between different social groups. And, of course, my particular concern is with gender imbalances within these spheres.

Gallagher regards the unequal gender balance of power and resources as "primordial, something that is embedded in all other inequalities (for example, ethnic, political)." She believes that policies must be put into place to assure that the media meet their responsibility to redress these imbalances. Gallagher's work has also included a more hands-on role with media enterprises striving to change. She conducts workshops in Europe and elsewhere to teach journalists and producers to examine their own practices in order to see how the choices they make both "reflect and reproduce patterns of inequality" in relation to gender, ethnicity, age, and so on.

Gender Links

Whereas Gallagher's work has focused on trying to effect change at both grassroots and global levels, the efforts of others have been regional and national. The 2002 Southern Africa Gender and Media Baseline Study, produced by members of Gender Links and the Media Institute for Southern Africa (MISA), was a regional monitoring and advocacy project that examined women's employment, as well as women's representation in media content, at print and broadcast media in the nations of Southern Africa. The study showed that women comprised only 17 percent of the sources in news stories (just under the 18 percent figure for all world news, as found in the GMMP), and their portrayals were typically limited to sex symbols or victims of violence.[5] Gender Links Director **Colleen Lowe Morna**[6] said that women in journalism had tried for years to get the South African News Editors' Forum (SANEF) to address women's marginalization in both newsrooms and news content. The data from the baseline survey, together with marketing research showing that women are the news media's

largest market, convinced managing editors to pay attention. In 2003, the group devoted its entire annual general meeting to gender in the media, she said. Gender Links now provides training to both management and working journalists on how to address gender in their newsrooms and coverage, but she believes that this training can only work if the organization makes a deep commitment to change:

> You can take a journalist off to Stellanbosch and run a training course and they love it and they are all fired up, but then they go back into an institution that is not transformed: the managers and everybody else won't take them seriously . . . So, we have been trying to move towards a much more dynamic model which is, how do you link institutional change and transformation and training, and how do you do this holistically? Also, as we have been developing our training materials and testing them, we have been looking at how to take these into the micro-level so that you start to integrate gender in all areas of work.

In summer 2003, Gender Links launched four pilot projects at newspapers that had established internal transformation committees. Lowe Morna said that the project moves forward slowly, driven by four or five women in SANEF who are "strategically positioned and pushing the agenda." Gender Links is also expanding its resources to include a directory of women sources to assist reporters to locate such for their stories. She thus sees the process of transformation as an incremental one, not an avalanche:

> You build on successes. You find your entry points, very strategic. Get key people on board. Now we engage and engage and engage, and we've had a little success here and there.

Media Watch – South Africa and Jamaica

Judith Smith,[7] director of Women's Media Watch in South Africa – whose quote opened this chapter – said that her organization is hoping to set up Media Watches in each nation of the Southern Africa region to support the efforts of sister groups such as Gender Links. Smith said that she also has a general goal of bringing about awareness of the issues that women face on a daily basis, and the multiple roles they are required to play in their communities and at home. Awareness building is aimed at women's empowerment, she said, including the recognition that in the new South Africa they

are guaranteed full rights by the Constitution. Media literacy training teaches women how to write press releases and how to develop and produce radio programs for broadcast on community stations (such as those referred to in the opening quote to this chapter). For example, media training with the Violence Against Women coalition led to a radio campaign in which women spoke out about the abuse they experienced from their husbands, something that brought wide public support. The group's training for journalists includes a focus on gender-sensitive language, something that has resulted in some participant-journalists helping WMW with their media training for other journalists. In addition, the monitoring of gender on television and other media has led to an annual report, which Media Watch members use as the basis for face-to-face dialogues with media managers and producers. Developing a nonconfrontational approach, Smith said, is a new direction for the organization and has been productive. Most recently, the organization has been able to suggest changes in media policy relating to public broadcasting, such as one calling for the elimination of racist content in advertising.

Similarly, Women's Media Watch – Jamaica was founded in 1987 by **Hilary Nicholson**[8] and a small group of other women who wanted to conduct public education around gender and media issues, including violence in the media. Over the years, Nicholson said, WMW has held symposia on gender and media; offered hundreds of workshops on how to conduct what she calls "gender-sensitive media analysis" for community groups, youth clubs, teachers, trainee journalists at the Caribbean Institute for Media and Communications (CARIMAC), and media professionals; and conducted media monitoring that has led to published reports. WMW's media monitoring has had both local and global foci, the second of these through their participation in the Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP). Nicholson, WMW's program coordinator, emphasized the importance of her organization's collaboration with similar organizations, locally and internationally, including the Women and Development (WAND) organization in Barbados, the Women's Centre of Jamaica Foundation, the Caribbean Association for Feminist Research and Action (CAFRA), the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), the Caribbean Gender Equity Fund, and others.

Nicholson joins a growing chorus of women media activists who advocate for gender-specific policies and codes of ethics governing media operations, something they believe is essential if gender sensitivity is to be mainstreamed. Such policies, they say, are essential to free speech.

Challenging Media Norms

Among those making a connection between media regulations and women's free speech is **Martha Leslie Allen**,[9] who first became involved with free speech advocacy in connection with racial justice work in Louisville, Kentucky, in the late 1960s. In 1973, she incorporated gender justice into that work by founding and leading the Women's Media Project in Memphis, Tennessee. The group successfully negotiated with three local broadcasters for improved coverage of women, as well as expanding women's employment at all organizational levels. Allen has also advocated for local women's radio programs and the establishment of a women's cable TV channel. Allen's early work had a national context in the early 1970s, an era when the National Organization for Women (NOW) and other women's rights groups in the United States were pursuing a strategy of petitioning the Federal Communications Commission to deny broadcast licenses to television and radio stations that failed (1) to ascertain women's opinions on community issues, (2) to provide programming about women's issues, and (3) employ women. In the USA, broadcasting media are subject to federal regulation under the principle that the public owns the airwaves. However, the FCC has shown little inclination historically to insure that broadcasting truly serves the public interest. While the challenge to license renewals was rejected in a 1975 FCC opinion, there were a number of positive outcomes for women, the most lasting probably being the increased employment of women within the industry (Beasley & Gibbons 2003: 200–1).

Martha Allen would go on to form a working partnership with her mother, the late Donna Allen, who had founded the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, in Washington, DC (USA), in 1972, specifically to advocate for a more democratic media system. One stated goal of the Institute has been to "enable all people – rich and poor, male and female – to have the equal opportunity to speak directly to the whole public," on the basis that "access to the public constitutes political power in a democracy and must be equal." Such a right, the Institute asserts, "is a citizen right of democracy," not one "based on wealth" (Allen 2002: iv). Allen said that the Institute also challenges corporate mass media myths; for example, that journalists are "objective" and that the corporate media put out what the public wants. Allen argues that 1 percent of the population (the wealthy media barons) "do not speak for the rest of the people – women, the labor movement, people of color, children, anyone who's left out." In 2002, the

Institute joined in a protest against FCC rulings that further deregulated the rapidly consolidating broadcast industry.

Inja Coates,[10] of Media Tank, an advocacy group based in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, said she is "heartened by the number of women who are involved in the emerging policy struggles and are challenging the old(boy) frameworks." Young women's involvement is particularly significant, she said, since they bring a different vision and model for change. Coates has been working on what she calls "democracy access issues" since 1997, through both alternative and mainstream groups. The latter includes the National Organization for Women, where she has helped to move communication policy issues onto the group's working platform.

Young media activists such as Coates are increasingly visible in the USA today. That protest targeting the FCC in 2002 was orchestrated by a small, savvy group of women from around the USA, mostly in their twenties and thirties, who were (and remain) determined to change public policy governing media operations. Among them are **Seeta Peña Gangadharan**[11] and **Aliza Dichter**,[12] co-founders of the Center for International Media Action (CIMA), in San Francisco, California, a nonprofit group that places changing federal policies on media ownership (and related reforms in the public interest) at the top of its agenda. In 2002, they joined with the National Organization for Women, the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, Women In Media and News, and other women's groups to mobilize opposition to FCC rules that further relaxed the number of media outlets that a single company could own. Peña Gangadharan wrote a reporter's guide to the media ownership debate, which was widely used by the independent press covering the debate at the time.

Not all of the women whom we interviewed believed that government policy aimed at gender inclusion in media was the most effective route in gaining access for women. **Abhilasha Kumari**,[13] a sociologist on the faculty of a New Delhi (India) university, specializes in women's involvement in political process. In her recent work, she has assisted women serving in panchayats (local governing councils), helping them to be more aware of gender issues and ways to address these through their elected roles.[14] Kumari has also been involved with media issues, both through her academic work and in feminist activism. She takes the position that control over broadcast media should lie with civil society, not governmental agencies. In India, she said that she has asked people what would happen if a right-wing government were elected: "Do you want those politics to determine what women should and should not do?" She added:

> People tended to think they would always have a liberal government. But that's wrong. Things have changed to the extent that now women realize (as all minorities) that media should not be controlled by government – it should be in the hands of civil society to build pressure groups and raise issues with media people.

She believes that while corporations are firmly in control of media operations and content today, they realize that "they have to meet certain needs and requirements of their market – which is civil society." To that extent, she said, "they are responsive to the concerns of what people are saying, in some sense."

Genderizing Global Media Policy

As members of a younger generation, Aliza Dichter and Seeta Peña Gangadharan embody an emerging multicultural global network that is taking shape among feminist media activists. Dichter stresses CIMA's desire to connect gender concerns with those of other marginalized groups denied a voice through today's mainstream media. Thus, CIMA collaborates with youth groups such as ACME (Action Coalition for Media Education) and Y_FEN (the Youth Free Expression Network), as well as seniors, gay and lesbian, indigenous, and racial justice groups in order to organize a new generation of media activists. Peña Gangadharan also emphasizes her overlapping roles with CIMA and the World Forum on Communication Rights where, as the group's press officer, she helps to interface US-oriented reforms with international strategies for changing media policy.

Women media activists increasingly opt to push for greater media regulation in order to gain the communication rights of women and others at the social margins. Far from being a new thing, media regulation has long existed under all forms of government, the common purpose being to shape both the nature of media systems and the general guidelines for their operation within national boundaries. Conflicts have typically arisen around which kind of media models would exist: the market (commercial) model, the public interest model, the state-run model, or some combination of these. Celia Aldana (2004: 12), from the NGO Calandria, in Peru, who addressed a gathering in Piran, Slovenia, in April 2004, argues that the role of regulation is to establish the basic rules for communication so that democracy can function properly. Laws, she said, can promote the creation

of channels of dialogue between media and their audiences. At the international level, the situation has been trickier, as was discovered in the 1970s and 1980s during the New World Information and Communication Order debates. Those debates grew out of discontent among many leaders in the nonaligned (developing) nations, who recognized a growing disparity between communication resources in their own nations as compared to those of the industrial world. Communication systems had by then become recognized as something central to both development and maintenance of modern societies. Thus, policies governing everything from the allocation of the electromagnetic spectrum to the treatment of reporters came under scrutiny in the decade-long course of the debates (Gerbner, Mowlana & Nordenstreng 1993).

Two aspects of these debates are relevant to the present discussion. The first is that the global media debates of earlier decades excluded women's participation almost entirely, as feminist scholars such as Colleen Roach (1990) have pointed out. Second, the problems of communication disparities between the more powerful and less powerful societies were unresolved during the 1970s and 1980s debates, and were thus destined to reappear in new forums and formats during the 1990s and since that time. As issues have indeed resurfaced, women media activists have sought to intervene, pushing gender to the forefront of discussions, and connecting it to related issues of social class, race, and ethnicity.

Libay (Olivia Linsangan) Cantor[15] found her route to Isis-Manila, the prominent international feminist media activist organization, through both professional media work and gay and lesbian media activism. For the first, Cantor said, she let her feminist consciousness guide her work in writing and editing, such as writing columns that critiqued the way in which media presented images of women, lesbians, and gay men. For the second, gay and lesbian activism, she engaged in letter-writing campaigns through Task Force Pride, a Manila-based network of lesbian–gay–bisexual–transgendered organizations in the Philippines, and, earlier, through the university-based Philippines Sappho Society. In her work at Isis, Cantor serves as a project team member on activities related to developing an international media network among and on behalf of women.

Isis International began in Rome and Geneva in 1974, but moved headquarters to Manila in 1991. Since then, independent Isis offices have also been established in Kampala and Santiago, reflecting what the organization calls "a commitment to South–South cooperation and South–North linkages" (www.isiswomen.org). Isis staff have actively participated in events

associated with the first World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS) meeting, held in Geneva in December 2003, with plans to also participate in the second meeting scheduled for Tunis in November 2005. Isis's active involvement has included helping to define and advocate for the CRIS campaign (Communication Rights in the Information Society) and the WSIS Gender Caucus. The Gender Caucus emerged from WSIS preparatory meetings in Mali (Africa), in 2002, in order to better assure that women-specific language would be part of any recommendations for policy that might arise from the second WSIS process. The Gender Caucus's website (www.genderwsis.org) identifies additional goals as facilitating projects that will track women's access to and use of information communication technologies (ICTs), and to support campaigns that include a wide range of media, such as radio, television, computers, and others.

The International Women's Tribune Center ("the Tribune Center"), based in New York City, was also a participant in the WSIS Gender Caucus. Tribune Center Director **Vicki Semler**[16] emphasizes the importance of women at the community level gaining a stake in the outcome of the WSIS proceedings. Toward that end, she said, "we are trying to create an electronic toolkit which would support women at national and community levels in their ability to provide gender perspectives on the new media and information technology policies that are being formed." The greatest obstacle to women's involvement, she believes, is that "those in charge of structural power don't want to open their minds." The Tribune Center, which was established in 1976 to make feminist ideas available to women at the community level across the world, has played a major role developing and disseminating materials for use by community activists, particularly in low-income communities, both rural and urban. In addition, Semler and other Tribune Center staff try to represent the interests of those communities through extensive and global women's and other networks.

Global media activism has also affected women and social policy in other ways. **Joan Ross-Frankson**[17] is communications director for the Women's Environmental and Development Organization (WEDO), a nongovernmental organization founded by former US Congresswoman Bella Abzug and activist journalist Mim Kelber in 1992. Based in New York City, WEDO collaborates with women's organizations throughout the world to place women's concerns related to human rights, governance, social justice, economics, and sustainable development into recommendation sections of documents considered by the UN and other policy-making groups. Their influence is achieved by what Ross-Frankson calls the creation of the

"shadow document" – an advance copy of proposed policy that bears the comments and suggestions made by WEDO based on suggestions from its partner feminist organizations.

WEDO has had substantial success using the shadow document strategy. At the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, women's groups were able to get an entire chapter on women inserted into the document that was eventually adopted by delegates. Ross-Frankson said, "For the first time in global policy, we had them write in that women were central to the health of the planet and to poverty eradication. That is literally what WEDO does in this phase of implementation, building on the fact that we do have this network [whose membership] shifts and changes obviously." She also points to meetings of the UN Fund for Population Development, held in Cairo, and the UN Commission on Human Rights, held in Geneva, both in the 1990s, when WEDO played a similar coordinating role. A crucial follow-up aspect of WEDO's work is monitoring to see what all 192 member nations of the UN do to take action on those policies with gender conditions specified, and then publishing the findings in an annual report circulated to women's organizations and the world media. Joan Ross-Frankson's work at WEDO brings together her years of using video and other media in grassroots women's development, as well as her professional life as a broadcast journalist in Jamaica, her nation of origin.

Cultural Criticism as Advocacy

Using a different approach in advocating for responsible media policy, **Jennifer Pozner**[18] uses the power of her pen to engage public dialogue. Pozner is founder and executive director of WIMN (Women In Media and News), a nonprofit group, based in New York City, with a three-pronged vision for media reform that includes media analysis and critique, media education in the form of skills-building training for women's advocacy groups, and the creation of new resources for media professionals, such as a database of female news sources. Pozner said that she developed the skill of blending serious scholarly arguments and in-depth research with a sardonic writing voice while critiquing pop culture for the "Media Watch" column in the now defunct feminist newspaper *Sojourner* in the mid-1990s. She went on to head the Women's Desk at the media watchdog group FAIR (Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting), writing critiques of corporate media content as well as of women's unequal position in media industries, includ-

ing in the boardroom. As a writer, Pozner said, she has tried to "explode and critique myths and inaccuracies, both ideological and factual, around gender in news and pop culture." Her most recent work, published by *Ms.* magazine and other outlets, has criticized the mainstream news media's trivialization of female political leaders, the misogynistic tendencies of "reality TV" shows, and the sidelining of women's perspectives in war news.

Campaigning to eradicate sexist media portrayals of women has served to mobilize women around the world, as earlier chapters have shown. Whereas earlier discussions have looked particularly at individual efforts, in this section we consider the work of advocacy groups whose media activism focuses primarily on those portrayals and, in some cases, on the real-life violence against women that is believed to be associated with them. Some of the informants who shared their experiences with us indicated that they wanted not just to stop media victimization of women, but also to replace these problematic images with more diverse ones. This suggests a complex advocacy approach involving multiple roles for feminist agents in bringing about intervention, dialogue, education, and finally change.

Several organizations in the UK have addressed a range of concerns about media sexism and what they see to be related real-life sexual exploitation of women. **Sasha Rakoff**[19] and **Jennifer Drew**,[20] co-chairs of the London-based group Object, use community education to develop what Rakoff calls "a groundswell of public support" to pressure decision-makers to end mainstream media's sexualization of women, as well as to address what Object believes is sexual exploitation by strip clubs. One principal campaign issue, for example, has been the use of images of naked women in advertisements on bus side panels and other public places, the long-standing practice of British tabloids to feature pictures of nude and semi-naked women on their pages,[21] and the recent proliferation of lap dancing clubs, which include both pole-dancing and women performing against men's bodies. On the last of these, Drew said she has conducted some research for Object to determine whether the behavior that takes place at strip clubs is related to an increase in reported incidents of rape in the small geographical area in which many of those clubs are situated. Object plans to make these findings known. Object also addresses other forms of media sexism, pursuing an interventionist approach by filing letters of complaint, for example, with television networks when programs stereotype women or omit them altogether. The group also has a concern that serious realities for women – the feminization of poverty, low pay, and racism experienced by nonwhite women – remain largely ignored by mainstream media. Public

awareness that results in mobilizing others to complain, they say, is a major step in gaining media attention for women's real-life experience.

Jennifer Drew's own activism in relation to media sexism began in the 1990s with London3rdWave, another media advocacy organization that campaigns to remove sexually violent advertising featuring women's images from buses and other sites. One recent image featured the torso of a woman with very large breasts wearing a tight dress, with the caption "Weapons of Mass Destruction." Drew filed an official complaint on behalf of London3rdWave with the Advertising Standards Authority, asking that the advertisement's parent company be forced to remove the adverts.When the ASA refused to take action, saying that their members found it light-hearted, she appealed to an Independent Adjudicator. Although he upheld the ASA's determination, Drew said, London3rdWave members have continued to use this complaint process on other adverts, with more success. **Margaret Lewis's**[22] advocacy work with the Sheffield Women's Media Action Forum's Media Action Group closely parallels that of Object and London3rdWave in trying to get the ASA to be more responsive to advertising that sexualizes women. Lewis says that the group is in the process of finding alternative strategies to combat what they see to be the mainstreaming of soft-core pornography, both live and image-based (e.g., video games and music videos), targeted at young women and girls. Lewis believes that women should "feel comfortable about objecting" to soft-core pornographic imagery. To measure these attitudes and feelings, the Sheffield Forum is planning to conduct research among women about their views on soft-core pornography. Lewis believes that the strategic collaboration among the Sheffield Forum and sister organizations (such as Object and London3rdWave) in the UK will better enable them to be effective.

When socially sanctioned complaint processes either don't exist or seem unresponsive, women media activists have been known to take matters into their own hands. **A. E. Tijhoff**,[23] a university student in Groningen, the Netherlands, helped found a women's media action group called *de Natte Vinger* (The Wet Finger), which destroys images of women that they find objectionable. Members paint over bus advertisements, billboards, and other public images that they believe to be sexist. Like Margaret Lewis, Tijhoff said she believes that women are entitled to feel disturbed about sexist commercials and to "show the people that there is problem and that you can do something about it." She would advise people working in the media to consider what they are giving the public, to take responsibility for it, and to educate themselves about gender issues.

Generating Diversity in Content

In the Dominican Republic, **Patricia Solano**[24] has spent a decade trying to encourage media to portray what she calls "the diversity of women" and to put women's problems on the public agenda. She began her work in communications in the mid-1990s, at the nation's oldest nongovernmental organization for women, Centro de Investigación para la Acción Feminina (CIPAF). Eventually taking her feminist knowledge into full-time media work, Solano presently works as a television producer who strives to bring gender balance to news and other programming. Topics such as health, economics, violence, and inequality of opportunity are among these.

Although media monitoring and research have been companion activities for **Akhila Sivadas**[25] at the Centre for Advocacy and Research, in New Delhi, India, the trained social scientist and former journalist says that her real goal is to bring about change in media content. Television is particularly subject to influence, she believes. The market is challenged by the cultural kaleidoscope of India, but any group that wants to make a difference has to be "knowledgeable and understanding of the whole dynamics." The social groups that she helps seek a bigger voice in TV and other media are urban and rural poor women, young people, and disabled people (including those with HIV/AIDS). Although her political activism was inspired by the aftermath of India's liberation movement and her days as a student activist in the 1960s, Sivadas's attitudes about opening up the media were radicalized during a period of strict censorship imposed by President Indira Gandhi in the 1970s. Living through that era deeply affected her, producing a dedication to critical teaching that relies on a process of self-discovery – a process that she now tries to use with the community groups to whom she speaks about media. Sivadas brings views about media gathered in these grassroots encounters back to reporters and producers, with the goal of shaping news and program content. She also relies on research that she and her staff conduct about both social issues and media trends. Calling herself the old one in the organization, she takes heart that her young staff can carry on media advocacy for the next generation.

Little explored in media change work is the role of activist feminist college professors who intentionally train new generations of media professionals to put gender at the core of their work. In Mumbai, **Jeroo Mulla**[26] is head of the Social Communications Media Department at Sophia

Polytechnic, a women's college run by the nuns of the Order of the Sacred Heart. Mulla's professional background in television and documentary film prepared her to teach graduate courses in film appreciation, basic techniques of film and photography, and fundamentals of communication. In all of these, she builds in ways to help students to critique media treatment of women and to try to expand content on women once they enter the profession. Mulla said that her approach has the complete endorsement of her institution, which was established to educate women in order to empower them and make them economically independent through securing professional careers. This means that her work is "supported by the prevalent ideology of the institute."

For the past 24 years, Jeroo Mulla has sent students into both urban and rural areas to interview women in their everyday lives, to make documentary films and news stories on issues such as the state of the female child in India, women and cancer, rape, domestic violence, the portrayal of women in advertising, gender discrimination and property rights, women and health, domestic workers, girl street children, women and HIV/AIDS, and others. Mulla believes that the spread of information about the women's movement at all levels of college education has "made the students much more self aware, confident and not willing to be as passive as an earlier generation," and she believes that young women from elite backgrounds have particularly benefited from "discovering the inequities among those in other socio-economic groups and even in their own upper classes!"

Media Advocacy for Mobilization

Point of View

In 1997, the 50th year of India's independence, **Bishakha Datta**, **Sashwati (Sash) Banerjee**,[27] and several other women with professional media backgrounds questioned what independence had meant for the women of India. Their questions led to the formation of Point of View (POV), a nonprofit organization, and their first project, "Black and White," a photographic exhibition that "questioned the whole paradigm of independence and its meaning for the Indian woman." The exhibition, which traveled throughout India and to selected cities in the USA, featured the work of 42 world-class photographers who depicted women of varied backgrounds and social status, together with their statements about Indian society. Datta, a former

journalist and documentary filmmaker, and Banerjee, an international advertising professional, said that POV's mission is to use media to promote the points of view of women and men from across India's social classes in such a way as to empower them.

In 2000, they saw opportunities for reaching a broad public through India's nascent television industry, and produced a 40-second public service announcement that breaks gender stereotypes and encourages girl children to pursue their dreams, whether traditional or nontraditional. The announcement begins with a young girl whose father has just bought her a doll, but the girl is already dreaming of becoming a pilot. She's next seen trying to make paper airplanes fly, but they keep falling down. Her father comes to help her fly them (a metaphor for giving her support). In the last frame, the adult woman is a pilot, stepping from the planes she has just landed. Her father comes up and gives her a hug. The announcement became part of "Color Your Dreams," a multimedia campaign sponsored by nine women's organizations that also included newspaper adverts, post-cards, and outdoor billboards. In a recent campaign designed to engage the most marginalized, the "Shootback" project teaches young women and men from slum communities to use a camera to document their daily lives for a photographic exhibition and book. The "Beyond the Cuckoo's Nest" campaign documents human rights abuses in mental institutions and emphasizes the need for respect – and hope – in treatment.

Datta said the idea is to use media to "widen the understanding of feminism," which is really about giving everyone choices and helping people to connect gender issues to broader concerns of human rights. POV's goals are to mainstream those concerns – for example, female feticide, violence, prostitution, agricultural labor, and mental health – and "reposition them in the public domain," said Data. Ultimately, the group wants to help marginalized groups to use media to represent themselves.

Hengasara Hakkina Sangha

The formation of a women's public sphere is strongly embedded in the work of a Bangalore-based women's organization named Hengasara Hakkina Sangha, which began in the mid-1990s to empower women to understand and use their legal rights. Founder and recently retired director **Sandhya Rao**[28] said that pamphlets and flyers are the primary media that the group uses to get the word out about what women should to do if sexually harassed at work, raped, or battered by a husband. Materials are

written in both English and the local language, Kannada, using very simple vocabulary so that women of varied literacy levels and ethnicities can understand them. Rao said that women are encouraged to report abuse "even if it's not very violent," because "we're trying to encourage women that there can be a remedy in law." In a very long-term way, she said, "we are bringing about policy changes." Rao argues, "the time has come for us, even without being asked, to form policy. We need to get our act together and decide what vision we want reflected in the policies." To mobilize women at the community level to talk about such issues in order to participate in the political process, Rao has worked with Bangalore producer **Shamantha**[29] to develop a series of dramatic programs for radio that address issues of women's rights. The story format, she said, lends itself to a short discussion afterward. The idea, Rao said, is both to broadcast these programs and to obtain government funds for purchase of tapes of the programs. These could be circulated to women in villages, to listen to and afterward discuss the issues among themselves.

The Women's Forum Against Fundamentalism in Iran

Internet websites have recently enabled marginalized women separated geographically to find each other and develop dialogues, creating online feminist public spheres. Communication scholar Ananda Mitra (2004) studied the dialogues among members of one such group, SAWnet (the South Asian Women's Network).The website features places to post messages restricted to members, links to other websites, and a listserv. Mitra noted that SAWnet creators were among the first to bring issues relating to women of South Asia to cyberspace (p. 500). While Mitra's focus was on the communicative strategies, voice, and development of trust among SAWnet members, he recognized that the Internet has broad possibilities to serve the needs of the voiceless.

The diaspora of Iranian women living in the USA, Europe, and elsewhere in the world engage in their own dialogue and information-sharing through the website of the Women's Forum Against Fundamentalism in Iran – WFAFI (www.wfafi.org). As discussed in Chapter 1, WFAFI is a broad-based international group, headquartered in Boston, Massachusetts, that advocates for women's rights and religious pluralism in Iran and other nations with fundamentalist governments. The website houses up-to-date news about women's political situation in Iran, individual legal cases, and a range of other information, links to other groups, and contact

information. In Fall 2004, the organization launched two new media services – a monthly electronic newsletter called *E-Zan* (the Farsi word for woman is *zan*), and a weekly Farsi-language radio program called *Voice of Women*. VOW, a 30-minute program on women's rights, broadcasts into Iran via shortwave radio on Saturday evenings, when women's listenership is at its highest. VOW broadcasts are produced in the USA and transmitted through a network of booster systems located in Europe. **Ramesh Sepehrrad**,[30] an active WFAFI member living in Washington, DC, first used websites to mobilize Iranian women through the National Committee of Women for a Democratic Iran, a group that merged with WFAFI in 2004. Sepehrrad's website for NCWDI posted articles containing details about women's imprisonment, hanging, and stoning to death from Farsi-language Iranian Internet sites, Amnesty International, and other reports, and informants living in Iran, in order to mobilize opposition to women's treatment but also "to make sure that the political voice of women was heard in the dialogue about democratization in Iran." The website also had the effect of drawing interest among women living inside Iran, who provided additional details of day-to-day life for women under the regime.

The Role of NGOs

Women who followed the third path of the Model of Women's Media Action, that of the advocate change agent, have typically worked through nonprofit, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) to strengthen women's relationship to media industries, to stop sexist and inaccurate representations, to reshape media policies, or to amplify the voices of grassroots women through mediated communication. As the discussion has shown, they have used a range of techniques to accomplish these goals, including monitoring the media, training (or assisting) working journalists and other media professionals, developing alternative media forms, and striving to place gender-specific language in policy documents related to media operations. More recently, some women's organizations have used the Internet to mobilize constituencies through political websites containing news, activist campaigns, and other information. Because advocate change agents have understood the essential strength of well-organized, cohesive working relationships in opening new spaces for women to communicate, they have also established networks among themselves, both within and across

nations. Such communicative spaces represent women's public sphere and the expansion of women's political participation.

Notes

1 Judith Smith was interviewed on September 9, 2003, in South Africa.
2 Giddens's explanation of reflexivity closely parallels Marx's original concept of consciousness. Feminists in the 1970s applied consciousness specifically in relation to gaining an understanding of gender oppression through a process of consciousness-raising. This process engaged women's dialogues in both private and public settings.
3 A particularly good digest of Giddens's structuration theory can be found in several chapters of Katherine Miller's *Communication Theories: Perspectives, Processes and Contexts* (2005).
4 Margaret Gallagher submitted answers on September 1, 2003.
5 A detailed report of the study can be found on the Gender Links website: www.genderlinks.org
6 Colleen Lowe Morna was interviewed on September 12, 2003.
7 Judith Smith was interviewed on September 8, 2003.
8 Hilary Nicholson submitted answers on April 5, 2004.
9 Martha Allen was interviewed in Washington, DC, on June 6, 2003.
10 Inja Coates submitted answers on March 31, 2004.
11 Seeta Peña Gangadharan submitted answers on May 6, 2004.
12 Aliza Dichter submitted answers on May 3, 2004.
13 Abhilasha Kumari was interviewed in New Delhi, India, on January 6, 2004.
14 For a discussion about the Panchayat Raj Act, which created the reservation system for women in local councils, see Chapter 6.
15 Libay Cantor submitted answers on March 19, 2004.
16 Vicki Semler was interviewed in New York City on April 22, 2004.
17 Joan Ross-Frankson was interviewed in New York City on April 23, 2004.
18 Jennifer Pozner was interviewed in New York City on April 22, 2004.
19 Sasha Rakoff submitted answers on September 25, 2003, and was later interviewed in London on December 29, 2003.
20 Jennifer Drew submitted answers on October 5, 2003, and was later interviewed in London on December 29, 2003.
21 *The Sun* newspaper is most strongly associated with the "page 3 girl," a feature that did not change when a woman, Rebekah Wade, took over as editor.
22 Margaret Lewis submitted answers on September 25, 2003.
23 A. E. Tijhoff submitted answers on March 15, 2004.
24 Patricia Solano submitted answers on September 29, 2003.

25 Akhila Sivadas was interviewed in New Delhi, India, on January 6, 2004.
26 Jeroo Mulla submitted answers on December 7, 2003, and was subsequently interviewed in Mumbai, India, on January 12, 2004.
27 Bishakha Datta and Sash Banerjee were interviewed in Bandra, India, on January 19, 2004.
28 Sandhya Rao was interviewed in Bangalore, India, on January 11, 2004.
29 Shamantha's work is examined in Chapter 10.
30 Ramesh Sepehrrad was interviewed on June 8, 2004, in Washington, DC. Note that Sepehrrad's work was also profiled in Chapter 1.

10

Fourth Path: Women's Media Enterprises

So it seems clear: We need a separate women's media. We need it because without it, women will never be able to speak for themselves in public discourse. We need it because without it, women's issues will continue to seem peripheral. We need it because in order to fight this inequality of the media, we must acknowledge that it is gendered and that therefore our strategies must also be based on gender. An independent women's media, dedicated to serving the needs of women that are not met by the mainstream press, is the ideal tool to equalize this gendered imbalance of power. Thus, we turn to women's media to rectify the injustice of the male-oriented mainstream press.

Joanne Lipson, Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press (2002)

In *A History of Their Own*, Bonnie S. Anderson and Judith P. Zinsser (1988) reported that women's newspapers and journals were among the ways in which feminists in Europe and the United States began to find each other in the 1960s and 1970s. Earlier chapters in this text have made similar observations about the critical connective role played by women-owned publications and electronic media in the formation of consciousness and the building of women's movements in India, South Africa, the USA, and elsewhere. In Chapter 6, we also noted that the broader structural implication of the proliferation of women's media has been the formation of both local and global feminist communication infrastructures. These publications, film and video, radio programs, and Internet sites connect women who share a vision for more egalitarian societies, allowing them to exchange ideas and information but also to develop strategies and working

relationships. More explicitly, women's media include print and broadcast news, broadcast programming (both public affairs and dramatic), book publishing, journals and magazines, and film and video companies. The *Directory of Women's Media* (Allen & Densmore 2002), compiled by the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, in Washington, DC, identifies 250 print periodicals, more than 50 Internet periodicals, more than 40 publishing houses, 50 media organizations (which support and advocate for women's advancement in media professions), five women's news services, 12 women's film and video groups, and nearly 20 women's music groups and websites, in 48 different nations. These are miniscule numbers, of course, given the numbers of women-owned and -operated media enterprises worldwide, as a random search of the Internet will show.

Women's Global Reach

Women across the globe have clearly shown a determination to speak in their own voices, languages, and formats through media that they control. This chapter demonstrates that such determination is not only widespread but is also long-lived, spanning three decades of modern feminism. Thus, the following discussion examines the work and lessons of women media activists who followed the fourth path in our emergent Model of Women's Media Activism, that of establishing women's media enterprises. Included here is the work of 10 activists representing nine different women-operated (and nearly all women-owned) media enterprises in four different nations. Their enterprises include both national and international news services, film and video production and distribution companies, and radio and television production companies. Their narratives offer insight into a number of important facets of women's media activism. We see, for example, the intentional ways in which most of these enterprises have sought to move feminist ideas both to primary women's audiences as well as into mainstream discourse. These dual tendencies shaped the feminist public sphere that made a space for women's voices in the dominant public sphere where their access was otherwise limited. In addition, we glimpse the professional skill and considerable creativity that have been involved in establishing and maintaining women-owned media companies in the face of scarce resources and within societies whose prevailing gender values often guaranteed slow progress. What we identify as a women's communication system with global reach and highly important consequences is not an

original conceptualization. The late Donna Allen (1989: 64), who founded the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, in Washington, DC, and its primary communicative arm, the *Media Report to Women* bulletin, in 1972, was early to recognize that "for the first time in history women have constructed an extensive and worldwide communication system through which their contributions can now be heard." Allen, who traveled both throughout the USA and internationally to discover (and report) the range of women and media issues and activities, contended that a women's communication system began to develop in the 1970s, as women started to establish newspapers, radio programs, film, video and book publishing houses, and other media in response to mass media's exclusion of their lives and ideas. Allen also saw women-owned media as a response to what she called imposed periods of silence – for example, during and after wars, and during years of conservative national leadership – when "huge problems [arose] on which the public had received no information and thus could not address." Among these problems were unequal educational systems, workplaces, and the exclusion of women from positions of authority, including dwindling numbers in elective office. "With mass media closed to them and silent on these subjects, women sought new ways to bring their needed information to the public" (ibid., p. 65).

Allen recognized that while these forms of women-controlled media constitute the essential mechanisms for discussion and formulation of ideas and positions on issues among themselves (what she deemed the "first level" of communication), they also needed simultaneous outreach to the broad general public (what she considered a "second level"). Allen's understanding of the role that women's media play in creating first and second levels of communication parallels our own claim that women's media activism, more generally, has served to form a feminist public sphere and a feminist component of the dominant public sphere.

Characteristics of the Fourth Path

Owning their own media has allowed women the maximum control over content and image production and the distribution of media products.[1] However, such ownership has also come with demands and responsibilities with which those who followed the first three paths typically did not have to grapple. Ownership, for example, requires financial skill, including the location of sufficient initial capital to establish the organization and a

steady revenue stream to hire staff, install required technology, and maintain day-to-day operations. These economic considerations are ongoing and represent the greatest survival concern of the organization. In addition, there are the marketing issues – how to define the audience(s), package the materials to be sold, and physically get them into the hands of users. Management skill requirements are also considerable, including the ability to maintain a long-term vision and plan, to handle finances, to work with partners and collaborators, and to manage staff.

As Joanne Lipson's opening quote suggests, women who followed the fourth path of media ownership shared a common understanding that because the mainstream media were gendered in their composition and products, so would women's strategies for speaking have to be gendered: women would have to establish and run their own media. Those whose experiences we examine here did not go blithely down the fourth path – nearly all had worked in one or more professional capacities within the media beforehand and brought their professional skill and knowledge with them. As their narratives reveal, they have adapted to changing times and kept their enterprises intact. We have organized the chapter by media form.

The 10 women whom we interviewed comprise 11 percent of the 90 informants in our cross-cultural study on women's media activism. They are (alphabetically):

Anita Anand, India
Sheila Gibbons, USA
Rita Henley Jensen, USA
Shamantha Mani, India
Ritu Menon, India
Angana Parekh, India
Grace Poore, Malaysia/USA
Shree Venkatram, India
Frieda Werden, Canada
Debra Zimmerman, USA

Macro-Interventions: Women's News Agencies

The Women's Feature Service

The Women's Feature Service Project represented the first global strategy to expand news by and about women. The project emerged on the heels of the first UN Decade for Women meetings in Mexico City, in 1975, in response to feminist calls for more news and information on women's lives

from the perspective of women's liberation movements (Byerly 1995). The project, which was funded by the UN Fund for Population and administered by the UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), ran from 1978 to 1983, supporting Women's Feature Service programs in five regions of the world – Africa, the Caribbean, Latin America, the Middle East, and Asia. Each program was initially envisioned to be a sponsored operation – a completely woman-run project housed within an existing (male-run) regional development news organization – that would, after its first five years of UN funding, secure its own revenues to become independent. The vision for the original WFS project thus represented a macro-level structural intervention by feminists, one concerned with giving women eventual control over the financing, management, and production of their own news messages on a global scale.

While this was the goal, the project would only partially fulfill its potential. The politics and economics of different regions represented a significant barrier that these programs would encounter – and not the only one. Sexism and resistance from male colleagues and authorities marked the experiences of WFS correspondents for the Middle Eastern WFS project, based in Beirut, Lebanon. This same project experienced the effects of a civil war that included the bombing of its Beirut office. In addition, Western news organizations were resistant to supporting the WFS project, as some argued that it mirrored the anti-West, anti-capitalist, and anti-free-press tenets they saw wrapped up in developing nations' calls for a New International Economic Order and a New World Information and Communication Order (Byerly 1995: 112–13). Economics, along with the lack of political will on the part of those in donor agencies, however, also contributed to an untimely end for the project, according to some who watched its demise.[2] The Middle Eastern and Caribbean WFS programs would end with the termination of UNESCO funding in 1983, and a third, Depthnews Women's Service, in Manila, the Philippines, would continue only with minimal staffing at the Press Foundation of Asia (Byerly 1990, 1995).[3]

Lack of financial and other support also affected the WFS programs in Africa, as well as in Latin America,[4] both sponsored by Inter Press Service (IPS), a third world oriented news organization in Rome. IPS integrated the coverage of women's news under a single WFS coordinator at its Rome headquarters, but the service operated at minimal levels from 1983 to 1986, due to budget problems within the parent organization and the lack of staff. In 1986, IPS hired development consultant and writer **Anita Anand**,[5] an

Indian national, to oversee a regeneration of the WFS program under new funding. Anand says that she understood from the beginning that her job was one of establishing a strong internal structure for WFS so that it could "move away from IPS" to independence. Thus, she spent the next few years establishing a series of regional bureaus, training a new corps of bureau staff and correspondents, and identifying funding from a range of European development and other organizations. By the late 1980s, WFS was producing nearly 600 stories a year for worldwide distribution, with a solid use rate by both mainstream and women's publications. Stories, written in both English and Spanish, were translated into other local languages by many periodicals (Byerly 1990). As these changes occurred, IPS managers began to resist the departure of WFS, which had become a popular asset with IPS supporters.

Anand reflects today on the lessons learned from the painful conflict between herself and former IPS director Roberto Savio as she moved WFS to its new headquarters in New Delhi, India, in 1990. Among other things, she admits, she had not understood the extent to which IPS's own identity had become fused with that of WFS over the years, and the ways in which Savio and others who had supported the service might feel personally affected. Separating the mother from the child – a metaphor she used often in those days to explain the move toward independence – engendered hard feelings that would not be resolved for years to come. Anand began WFS in New Delhi with the promise of funding from a European development agency. She had an organization and 20 people (including correspondents around the world) to support, together with the cloud of separation from IPS hanging over the future success of the enterprise. Working initially from a desk at her sister's office, she asked her WFS colleagues to give her three months to get WFS on its feet. The staff who had followed her from Rome remained loyal – and on the job – and while the start-up funds that IPS had promised were never delivered, those from the European development agency came through as agreed: WFS had made a difficult transition and would survive.

The hallmarks of WFS stories under Anand's tenure (1986–2000) were the inclusion and reconceptualization of gender in development journalism. Believing that there is no such thing as a "woman's issue" – indeed, that all issues relevant to national development were women's issues – she set about bringing out gender politics in relation to national development; that is, the ways in which nations were addressing fundamental human concerns such as housing, adequate food, clean water and sanitation,

education, security, war, and peace, among others. Development journalism is a genre dedicated to such coverage, presented in a news format that is issue- (rather than event-) oriented, and that situates problems central to the story in their historical, economic, and political contexts. In addition, development journalism focuses on the ways in which these issues affect people across socioeconomic lines, giving a voice to the least as well as the more powerful.[6] Looking back, Anand believes that WFS allowed women reporters, for the first time, to ask women and men across the spectrum – prime ministers, policy-makers, housewives, teachers, lawyers, teenagers – what they thought about issues that affected women. The agency, Anand says, also "analyzed the contribution of women to society by actually writing about what women do." Anand laughs as she emphasizes that "in truth, women keep the world going – from their reproductive function to their most productive functions they provide nutrition, love, care and families," and they enter into economic realms in so many ways, pointing to a 1995 UN figure that women's labor contributed some $11 trillion a year globally. She argues that women are not invisible, only under-reported, something that WFS has helped to change.

In Fall 2000, **Angana Parekh**,[7] a seasoned, traditional journalist, assumed the directorship of WFS, by then an established organization with a clientele primarily in South Asia – India, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bangladesh, and the Philippines – but also the USA, parts of Europe, and, most recently, Afghanistan (Women's Feature Service 2003). Parekh's emphasis has been on mainstreaming the notion of women's news, seeking to reach an increasingly general audience and to train mainstream journalists to see the gender angle in *all* issues. The first has been accomplished in part through commissioned features, such as a 12-story, one-essay series on the work of the America–India Foundation support of earthquake-affected families in Kutch, India, in 2002. For the Population Council, WFS produced a series of 10 articles and a 30-minute radio program (the latter in Hindi) on adolescent reproductive and sexual health for mainstream English and local Indian-language media. One aspect of reaching mainstream audiences has been to develop stories in both print and electronic formats. The second activity, putting on journalists' workshops, has been accomplished through a series of day-and-a-half-long training workshops for 12–15 print and broadcasting professionals per session, on identifying the gender angle in development news (Women's Feature Service 2003). However, Parekh argues that "it's not enough just to sensitize journalists or women journalists –actually, it's editors and decision makers that need these insights." Nor

is it enough, she says, "just to have a critical mass of women journalists – you have to have women journalists *in decision making positions*."

Believing that the agency needs a more secure future, Parekh has expanded the organization's funding, thereby covering the salaries of WFS headquarters personnel and correspondents whose scope extends to more than 30 countries in a given year. She acknowledges that establishing a secure financial base is her biggest challenge.

Unnati Features

While WFS has sought an international mainstream audience, Unnati Features, also located in New Delhi, has aimed for a bilingual (English and Hindi) mainstream audience within the Indian market. Unnati Features emerged in 1996 after veteran journalist **Shree Venkatram** became disillusioned with the shift to soft news and celebrity that she saw occurring across mainstream Indian news media. Her career of some 15 years had taken her through various dailies over more than a decade in Mumbai, Bangalore and finally New Delhi, her home city. There, she had risen to the post of features editor of *The Pioneer*, one of India's oldest English-language dailies, and participated in conceptualizing and bringing to publication a Sunday section called *Pulse*. Venkatram said she felt good about her journalistic contributions, which she said, "had a strong woman focus." *Pulse* ran cover stories on women's sports – weightlifters, wrestlers, and marathon runners – and a range of other issues. It was in connection with the annual Children's Day event in the mid-1990s, when the advertising manager chastised her for running a cover story about a 10-year-old boy and his sister who picked through a garbage heap that she walked past every day on her way to work to help support their sick parents, that she decided it was time to move on. Unconcerned with the fact that she was trying to highlight child poverty, the manager wanted to know why his (middle- and upper-class) readers would want to see a picture of children on a garbage heap. She remembers:

> The hypocrisy of it all really sickened me. We did not mind living with the garbage or seeing the emaciated children all around us, but we did not want them on our paper for they would spoil the Sunday morning. It was at this time that I looked to move on, to do something else.

She applied for a fellowship from the MacArthur Foundation, which was investigating the issue of population and health, out of which she created

Unnati Features. *Unnati* is a Sanskrit word meaning progress – something she believed symbolized what she sought to do in producing stories on women's rights, gender equality, nutrition and health, population, and the environment in the popular media. Unnati Features works on the premise that the media are effective tools for social change, and Unnati, which is a not-for-profit organization, strives to help media achieve that by providing articles on gender and other issues. While Unnati uses a pool of women journalists and development specialists, Venkatram (like Angana Parekh) contends that men and women journalists both must commit themselves to finding gender angles in stories and then to write knowledgeably about them. The organization receives fees for specific services, and receives project funds from United Nations and other agencies for projects such as annual competition for high-school students, in which entrants submit stories on a gender-related news theme. Venkatram emphasizes that both boys and girls are encouraged to enter.

In 2000, the group added research to its services, with Venkatram conducting a 50-year systematic longitudinal study (1950–2000) of English and Hindi-language newspaper coverage of women's portrayal. That study, funded by UNIFEM and reported in *Women in Print* (Venkatram n.d.), revealed that women receive only 13 percent of space in English-language and only 11 percent in Hindi dailies in 2000 – figures that have risen by a tiny 1.35 percent and 2.3 percent, respectively, per decade since the 1950s. In both categories of newspapers, front pages were men's preserves, and when women *were* mentioned it was typically as victims of sensational crimes. The study found that women figured most prominently in crime news, fashion, and beauty news. Beauty queens, models, and actresses constituted the most visible image of women in both English and Hindi papers, in both news and photographs. The study ends with a call for concerted action to assure, among other things, that women dying in childbirth get the same coverage as men killed by speeding vehicles (both rampant problems in India) and for "the fact that 80 percent of Indian women are anemic will merit a banner headline on the front page" (Venkatram n.d.: 63).

Women's eNews

Women's eNews, based in New York City, shifted from its focus from national to international reporting after founder **Rita Henley Jensen**[8] realized that "international news was so compelling." Additionally, she said, "If

the well-being of women across the globe was to ever improve, US women would most likely have to assume an important role." Jensen had created and launched the Internet-based news service in June 2000, under the sponsorship of the National Organization for Women's Legal Defense and Education Fund, based in Washington, DC. NOW saw mainstream newspapers as its major audience, and had the goal of changing the face of feminism and feminist issues in those papers. Jensen, an experienced print journalist and editor, decided to spin the service as an independent operation in Fall 2001, after NOW found difficulty funding it. But there were also differences in goals, Jensen says. She believed that Women's eNews was its own medium (rather than a provider of information to other media) with a primary audience of women and men who wanted information about women.

Women's eNews (www.womensenews.org) circulates stories through the Internet daily to a list of subscribers who receive the service through a voluntary system of payment. Jensen, who as editor-in-chief, president, and publisher oversees every aspect of the business from story assignment and production to fundraising, has managed to keep the nonprofit organization solvent. Its writers are a mix of experienced journalists and feminist leaders, whose stories and commentaries examine current issues about women. A sample from late 2004 found:

- A story from Sofiya, Bulgaria, about the adoption of spouse abuse laws in a nation with changing gender mores.
- A story about what class-action discrimination lawsuits against large corporations have won for women in the USA with respect to back pay, compensation, advancement, and the setting of legal precedents.
- A story about a three-year interdisciplinary study at the University of Michigan, to understand why women of color are three times more likely than white women to die during pregnancy and why their children are twice as likely as white children to die before their first birthday.
- A story about the refusal of staff at women's shelters to surrender client information, in compliance with new federal reporting requirements for funding. Women's advocacy groups say turning over the information would place their clients at risk.

Women's eNews fills a gender gap in daily news. Jensen recognizes that while mainstream news has made some strides – for example, adopting

more gender-neutral language, covering violence against women, and giving space to the occasional female newsmaker – she believes that newsrooms are still hostile to women's success, ideas, and concerns:

> The white male hierarchy has to be told – in no uncertain terms – that their gender and race bias is destroying the institution they love. That they fail to promote and retain women and do not include women in their news columns and ignore issues of concern to women is reflected in low readership among women. That black and Latino Americans, as well as other people of color, know full well how they treat minority employees and therefore have little to no confidence in the accuracy of the news published. And, if they cannot reach women and minority audiences, they will eventually go out of business.

Jensen points to enduring problems in mainstream news that many have challenged, analyzed, and sought to change. As noted earlier, Donna Allen was among those in the vanguard of that struggle.

Feminist Watchdog Journalism

Donna Allen understood that women would never be able to change their exclusion and misrepresentation by the media until they had a bigger window on media events. She established the watchdog periodical *Media Report to Women* in order to provide women with information about media issues, challenges, and other activities both in the USA and around the world. The periodical, which was published bimonthly until 1992 (when it became quarterly), emerged from Allen's conviction that women should be informed about media issues and activities that intersected women's interests. In addition, she advocated women's intervention in public policy that allowed men's control of media industries through concentrated ownership. In its early days, the pages of *Media Report* were crammed with news in 10-point type about everything from feminist media critiques to research findings on women and media, to announcements of new women's films and other media, to updates on discrimination lawsuits being filed (and won) by women at major media firms. *Media Report* was a activist tool that Donna Allen, her daughters, and her activist friends published from Allen's home office, even before the days of computers, to make sure that nothing media-related would escape the notice of the feminist US and global women's movements.

Since 1987, *Media Report* has continued under the editorial leadership of **Sheila Gibbons**,[9] a professional journalist with a background in reporting, editing, journalism education, and corporate communication, who says that gender imbalances in the news and stereotypical media depictions of women and girls first began to interest her in graduate school, when she turned her master's research to the subject. She incorporated those concerns into her journalism, editing a women's magazine for military families, co-authoring several books on women and media, and assuming editorship of *Media Report to Women*, beginning in 1987. Most recently, she has also begun writing a monthly column for the online news service Women's eNews. Gibbons believes that:

> Young journalists need to be mentored so they avoid making those mistakes [i.e., gender stereotyping and women's omission in news] as well. I don't think it's getting enough attention either in journalism school or at the newsroom orientation level.

Under Gibbons's direction, *Media Report* has taken on a contemporary look, with more graphics and a better balance of national and international stories, but stories still cover the range of research, analysis, and announcements characteristic of its early days. In 2003, *Media Report* began to publish full-length research papers on women and media, along with news of industry trends and commentaries. The *Media Report* website (www.mediareporttowomen.com) includes an archive, industry statistics, and other links.

Feminists Speaking through Radio

Throughout this cross-cultural study, we have seen various ways in which women media activists have used radio programming as a means of circulating feminist and lesbian-feminist ideas, analyses, music, poetry, and announcements of current events. Our own findings coincide with those of Caroline Mitchell (2004: 157), who found that all over the world, women "have used radio to campaign, entertain, inform, shock, and celebrate women's lives." She observes that radio is a particularly friendly medium for women because of its companionability and intimacy. She also argues that radio has been particularly accessible to women in terms of learning production and programming skills – something brought to life by a

number of our own informants, including members of the Sophie's Parlor Radio Collective (USA), Jay Hartling (Canada), Ulrike Helwerth (Germany), K. T. Jarmul (USA), and others. The academic literature on women's radio since the 1970s forms a significant branch of feminist media studies, chronicling the advances that women throughout the world have used to place this particular medium in their service. Mitchell reminds us that underlying feminist radio practice is "the principle that women have a right to broadcast on their own terms: use their voices, articulate their concerns, and tell their stories in order to represent their lives, their struggles, and their achievements" (p. 176). She illustrates what we see to be a central tenet of the Model of Women's Media Action: women's right to communicate.

Frieda Werden[10] had been a media activist for 15 years when she and Katherine Davenport founded WINGS – Women's International News-gathering Service – in 1985. In the 1970s in Texas, she had organized with other feminists at a university press, been active in the small press movement, co-edited a feminist magazine, and produced syndicated radio projects (mainly about women). Moving to the East Coast, she worked on projects for National Public Radio but also volunteered for the women's departments at Pacifica community stations at WBAI and KPFK. She became operations manager for Western Public Radio, in San Francisco, in 1985, where she, Katherine Davenport, and others created WINGS – a project that would become independent a year later. Werden has relocated WINGS headquarters several times in the years since, remaining its administrative head and retaining the project's dedication to international women's activism and views on world events. The weekly half-hour current affairs and news programs are produced and distributed by Werden (now living in Vancouver, Canada), with the assistance of other women reporters, editors, and associate producers in the USA and around the world. Literally hundreds of such individuals have worked with WINGS during the two decades of its existence. Programs are available on CD, via satellite, and on the Internet. The University of South Florida Women's Studies Department has provided streaming audio of recent programs online (www.cas.usf.edu/womens_studies/wings.html).

WINGS is financed through a combination of station subscriptions, CD sales, and donations. Reporters and editors for WINGS are paid, but Werden volunteers most of her own time and works part-time for a campus radio station. She would like to see feminists becoming much more financially supportive of women's media, noting that other sources

are "almost nil." Like FIRE and WATER (discussed below), WINGS has received much of its donations base over the years through the assistance of Genevieve Vaughan, founder of Feminists for the Gift Economy.

But the story of WINGS is only a portion of what the organization has allowed Werden and her collaborators to do in fulfilling WINGS's slogan, "Raising women's voices through radio worldwide." Space precludes a full accounting of these accomplishments, but a few of Werden's own include the following:

- Participating in laying the groundwork in 1991 for FIRE (the Feminist International Radio Endeavor), based in Costa Rica. Formerly a short-wave program, FIRE is now an Internet radio alternative that mixes audio, print, and pictures to cover women's human rights issues around the world.
- Providing training for women in using radio technology and doing production (e.g., for the Women's Access to Electronic Resources, WATER, in Texas, and for many WINGS correspondents).
- Pioneering sending audio files that cover women's events via the Internet.
- Advising Dorothy Abbott in creating the Women's Radio Fund (now administered by the Global Fund for Women).
- Being active in media diplomacy internationally; for example, serving as the North American representative to the Women's International Network of AMARC from 1997 to 2002, and on the board of the International Association of Women in Radio and Television since 2003, promoting the implementation of the media plank of the Beijing Platform for Action (adopted 1995), and of the women's right to freedom of expression as laid out in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Politicizing Dramatic Broadcasts

The Saarathi Resource Center, in Bangalore, India, began to experiment with innovative formats for broadcast several years ago in order to better reach mainstream audiences with information about women's rights, human rights, health care, and other social issues. The word *saarathi*, which means guiding friend in the Kannada language, signifies the

nongovernmental organization's objectives of working with mainstream media by serving as a documentation center on development issues; helping to create communication experts who are knowledgeable on issues of health, education, and human rights, water issues, and other health issues such as HIV and AIDS; and building a network of media professionals whose work can contribute to reshaping public policies on these issues (www.saarathi.org). **Shamantha**,[11] an experienced development journalist and consultant, has developed several series for radio that integrate basic information and critical questioning about women's lives into short dramatic programs using familiar Indian themes and stories. Some of these, profiled in Chapter 9 in connection with Sandhya Rao's advocacy center Hengasara Hakkina Sangha, lend themselves to a short structured discussion among listeners afterwards with the guidance of a local women's leader. The idea is to expand the use of the programs, recorded in the Kannada language, among poor women in both urban and rural areas of the state of Karnataka, for use as consciousness-raising tool by women's groups. One program series, concerned with the gross violation of human rights from women's points of view, was titled "Janaki," a Hindi word derived from Hindu mythology. She says while these were "gender programs with special emphasis on women," she wanted to break the stereotype of a women's program by including men as actors and narrators. Another program series featured interviews about gender-related government policies and their implementation.

The receipt of fellowships and grants from international groups such as Panos, the UK's Ford Foundation Project, and the Population Communication Institute of New York; regional groups such as the K. K. Birla Foundation (*Hindustan Times*, New Delhi) and the Karnataka Sahitya Academy; and contracts from All-India Radio, in Bangalore, have allowed her and others at Saarathi to develop both issue-related research and broadcast programming and seminars for media and governmental professionals since the mid-1980s. Her media activism through Saarathi and, more recently, as a consultant to the Karnataka State Women's Commission coincides with her personal life, she said. As a yoga practitioner and through constant interaction with marginalized people, Shamantha has become more philosophical and someone who wants "to be more simple and helpful." Her persistence as a media professional dedicated to women's advancement demonstrates that she also advocates all women standing up for themselves.

Through Women's Eyes: Feminist Films

The women's film organization Women Make Movies, based in New York, arose like a phoenix from the fires of Reaganomics in the early 1980s. The organization, which had trained women in independent filmmaking and distributed their films, had gone from a staff of six to none, and its operating space was reduced to one small room with no windows. When **Debra Zimmerman**[12] was hired as the director in 1983, she had to put on the answering machine to go to the bathroom. Zimmerman explains that the demise, under President Reagan, of various programs that had kept this and many other small community organizations afloat in earlier years, suddenly came to an end. Among these were the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act and segments of National Endowments for the Arts. After a series of community meetings, the board of directors decided to focus WMM's future on its income-generating activity: distribution. Since then, WMM's annual budget has grown from $30,000 to $1.4 million, and its employees have expanded from one to 15. Zimmerman emphasizes that a portion of the income from film sales and rentals is returned to the filmmakers who live around the world. Revenue also supports many other activities aimed at both promoting women's films and generating public dialogues – activities that are particularly relevant to our study of women's media activism.

WMM has two primary activities. The first is the renting and marketing of women's documentary and dramatic films, primarily to university libraries but also to museums, community groups, governmental offices, and schools. The second activity is production assistance to about 200 women, for whom WMM serves as an umbrella nonprofit sponsor through which filmmakers can fundraise. The organization also runs technical assistance seminars and workshops in marketing, production management, budgeting, and other activities associated with making and distributing their work. The list of notables is long and still growing, including the Academy award-winning film *Boys Don't Cry* (about transgender love and violence) by Kimberly Pearce, the nominated short *Asylum* (about female genital mutilation) by Natalie Reuss and Deborah Schaffer, and, most recently, the film *Maggie Growls* (about Maggie Kuhn, founder of the elder advocacy group Gray Panthers) by Barbara Attie and Janet Goldwater, which received the Henry Hampton Media Award for media activism. The organization

often sponsors film festivals at international women's gatherings, but its local community activism is something that particularly satisfies Zimmerman. WMM, only a few blocks from the former World Trade Center, was deeply affected by the attacks of September 11, and the aftermath of anti-Muslim sentiments. Zimmerman said that:

> Muslim women in Brooklyn were afraid to go to the grocery store. Taxicab drivers were getting attacked. We realized that we had this extraordinary collection that was already in place at Women Make Movies, films that were by women from Egypt, Lebanon, Pakistan, Morocco, and elsewhere in the Islamic community.

WMM launched a campaign called "Response to Hate," offering all of the films in that collection without charge for three months to any group that wanted to use them for educational purposes. In wishing to ignite community dialogues, Zimmerman said WMM staff also wanted to give Muslim women a voice and presence. The campaign, advertised solely on the Internet, had more than 600 requests for films. Similarly, WMM has distributed the award-winning film by Lourdes Portillo, *Señorita Extraviada*, documenting the murder of hundreds of young women along the border in northern Mexico. Zimmerman says that the public response has been incredible, with the film grossing more than $100,000 in just over two years – highly unusual for an independent film.

As the largest distributor and promoter of women's films in North America, the work of Women Make Movies represents a structural intervention in institutional discrimination against women in the filmmaking business. Hollywood, Zimmerman says, represents the confluence of art and commerce (the second including financing), and a lot of money is required to make mainstream feature films: women are typically shut out from the big money. In addition, women often have diverse career profiles and have often moved through various creative positions (e.g., making commercials, B-grade films, and pornographic films) that can preclude them from getting the same breaks as men. Zimmerman cited research showing that Hollywood films with a woman producer are much more likely to have women in other key production positions; for example, as director, editor, cinematographer, and so on. However, once women do become filmmakers and raise sufficient funds to make their films, they often have difficulty gaining access to film festivals and other places where films are seen, judged, and awarded. Panels of judges are typically male,

Zimmerman argues, and they prefer to watch films by and about men: "So, the truth is that women do bring other women along." And WMM's production assistance program provides the infrastructure that women need to get experience, secure financing, gain visibility for their work, and then distribute it – both to specialized and mainstream audiences.

By now, we have seen a consistency of thinking behind the creation of women's media enterprises, most of which have sought both specialized and mainstream audiences as a deliberate strategy for circulating feminist ideas, and, often, related ideas concerned with broader issues of national development. We have also connected the search for both women-focused and mainstream audiences to the formation of both a feminist public sphere and a feminist component in the dominant (male) public sphere. By examining the work of women involved in the development of specifically women-oriented media enterprises, we have been able to track such developments in a number of nations over years since the 1970s. And, as these last two examples show, once again, the owners of women's media enterprises tend to bring a shared understanding to their activism that women's concerns span international boundaries.

The work of **Grace Poore**[13] and SHaKTI Productions aims to confront the invisibility of South Asian female victims of violence – and their perpetrators – living in South Asia and North America. Malaysian by background, Poore lives in Silver Spring, Maryland (near Washington, DC) and works with women from India, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Indonesia, and other nations to provide what she calls a "South Asian perspective" on issues of rape, incest, and domestic violence. SHaKTI Productions develops documentary videos and accompanying training materials for use in workshops with agencies and organizations that serve South Asian female victims of violence and their perpetrators. Poore says she started this all-women independent video production and research team in 1989 to:

- document women's lives and struggles within and outside the USA;
- use art as advocacy to confront public and private violence against women; and
- challenge the power of hierarchies between image-makers and those who are "imaged."

Videos tell the stories of trauma victims, such as South Asian incest survivors and battered women who are lesbians, undocumented immigrants, disabled or deaf, prostitutes, or living with HIV/AIDS. This, she says, is

accomplished by screening the videos as part of workshops or events associated with sexual assault and domestic violence awareness. For example, *The Children We Sacrifice*, released in 2000, is a 61-minute documentary about incest in South Asian communities, which was shot in India, Sri Lanka, Canada, and the USA. *Voices Heard, Sisters Unseen,* released in 1995, is a 76-minute documentary about the victimization of battered women living on the social margins.

Poore's work is driven by deeper political concerns that she believes need improvement. One is discrimination against marginalized women by staff in service and legal agencies. Another is the need to mobilize South Asian women victimized by domestic and sexual abuse into support networks. The first concern has been addressed through professional trainings, as described above. The second has been addressed through community events and the formation of a Network of South Asian Incest Interventionists in the USA. The network sponsors dialogue sessions and training, with the ultimate goal of early intervention and empowerment of victims. SHaKTI Productions functions internationally, showing videos at gatherings such as the 4th International NGO Forum for Women, held in Beijing in 1995. Poore believes that media activism, such as her own, has increased the visibility of women media professionals and the representation of women in media production, both male-dominated areas. She recognizes that:

> Feminist influence and media activism have markedly increased the body of work by women that is available to the public – be it documentaries, news coverage, news commentary, political analysis, media theory, etc.

Like so many other informants, Poore laments the fact that funding is still very limited for women – particularly women of color – to undertake media production. This is part of a larger problem associated with women's lack of access to media. In almost all countries, she says, in both government-controlled and mainstream (commercial) media, "the women's voices that predominate are rarely feminist, and certainly not radical feminist." In the USA, in particular, even within alternative media, "precedence is given to white feminist heterosexual perspectives," something that marginalizes "feminists of color across sexuality, culture and class." When women of color are sought, she observes, it is typically "meant to fill in the colored or cultural perspective to the white discourse." Young feminists from a variety of political, racial, cultural, and racial backgrounds, she believes, can address these through media activism.

Publishing Women: Kali and its Successors

Burgeoning intellectual developments among feminist Indian writers, academics, and community activists in the 1970s and 1980s were captured in books and disseminated by Kali for Women, a feminist book publisher founded by **Urvashi Butalia**[14] and **Ritu Menon**[15] in New Delhi, in 1984. Butalia and Menon had ideal backgrounds for founding what would become India's premier feminist press. They had both gained valuable professional experience by working for established mainstream publishing houses – Butalia with Oxford University Press in India and Zed Books in the United Kingdom, and Menon with Doubleday in the United States. Both also had solid ties with feminist movements, both in India and other nations. Butalia reflects that inspiration for starting Kali came in recognition that the women's movement in India was raising important issues that were not being represented in books. Mainstream Indian publishers at that time were unwilling to take books by and about women, and internationally, nearly all books referring to Indian feminism were being written by Western scholars who had limited experience in India. Menon believes that Kali's formula for success through the years has rested in its diverse offerings – the press has published theoretical and academic, fiction, biographies, memoirs, politics, and children's books, as well as posters and pamphlets. Butalia adds that Kali's growth was measured, expanding cautiously to assure stable revenues.

For more than two decades, Kali has provided a forum for Indian women's voices to be given legitimacy and to be given a supportive environment. The latter has come through Kali's continued close links with the women's movement, something Butalia says has enabled its survival. Kali's titles bristle with the issues that have formed central dialogues, political efforts, and academic research in Indian feminism, including works by Vandana Shiva, Radha Kumar, Anupama Rao, Brinda Bose, and Maitrayee Chaudhuri, among many others. Kali's publications retained a political edge, something Menon says "demonstrates that the personal is political." She argues that women's ownership of their own media is essential:

> One of the things that I think is critical to women's empowerment in the media is to control not just the message but also the medium. It is all very well to have a message, but if you don't have control over the medium, that message will go out of your hands.

Many women's presses have failed to succeed in recent years, allowing themselves to be bought by larger corporate conglomerates that have promised women some degree of autonomy. But Menon has observed that even sympathetic, progressive conglomerates may pull their support for feminist ideas if that women's enterprise fails to be profitable. The problem of corporate takeover of media on a grand scale, she says, is international, and one outcome, both in print and electronic media, has been the emergence of what she calls a pseudo-emancipated image of women: a portrayal of womanhood that has the superficial trappings of emancipation but that underneath has the conservative mindset of a traditional (dominated) woman.

While this situation has spelled an uncertain future for all women's publishing houses, Urvashi Butalia believes that feminist publishers have to be more forward-thinking. There are changing realities for feminist publishing, and she questions the value of taking the "pure" position and saying "we will never join hands with the biggies." There may be times to find ways to travel some of the distance with larger companies, and make other adjustments to maintain survival. By diversifying itself, she believes that Zubaan, the new publishing company that she heads, has reckoned with the realities of today's publishing world and created a model for other women's media.

During 2003 and 2004, Kali underwent a transformation when two new associate entities, Women Unlimited and Zubaan, were created, with Menon and Butalia as their respective heads. The new organizations, both established as nonprofit trusts, will continue to market Kali titles but will otherwise take new, independent directions. Women Unlimited (WU) is associated with a network called Women's World India, the South Asia chapter of Women's World International, which is a global free-speech organization. In addition to its publishing of women's books, WU will take on additional projects; for example, a study of violence against women in India, and workshops with adolescent girls. Zubaan, which means voice, speech language, in Hindustani, will continue to publish some 20 titles a year, including general academic, fiction, and other books with a focus on women, including some in Hindi. Zubaan also sponsors monthly conversations with women writers (with programs being taped for publication in a book), as well as workshops with young men and women and with school children, among other projects. Zubaan works closely with the NGO Pratham to produce books for children in numerous Indian languages, and has plans to co-sponsor an international conference in 2006 on gender and history.

Economics and Women's Media

Feminist economist Isabella Bakker (1994) has observed that the struggle to transform women's place in society has moved into the economic realm, with women of both the global South and North recognizing that global economic policies have affected men and women differently. The foregoing discussion of women's media enterprises finds its own context in this bigger picture, with most feminist media enterprises operating on thin financial ground and often on a small scale to hold their own. That the nine enterprises profiled here – and their counterparts around the world – *do* continue is of critical importance in the continuing battle for women to speak publicly in their own voices. As we have observed throughout this text, women's right to communicate is central to women's ability to enter into meaningful dialogues and deliberations in and across societies in order to address matters of concern to themselves and others. Women's media enterprises provide the strongest assurance that women will speak in their own voices when such matters arise.

Notes

1 All of the media included in this chapter are owned by women except *Media Report to Women*, which, since 1987, has been owned by Communication Research Associates, whose principal owner is Ray E. Hiebert, the husband of Sheila Gibbons. They serve as publisher and editor, respectively. The foundational role that *Media Report* served in supporting women's media enterprises during the 1970s and 1980s, and its continued leadership under a feminist editor, suggested its inclusion in this chapter. The publication retains its global focus on women and media.
2 Anita Anand, personal communication, December 26, 2004.
3 For a fuller history of the Women's Feature Service Project, see Margaret Gallagher (1981), Paula Kassell and Susan J. Kaufman (1989), and Carolyn M. Byerly (1995).
4 The WFS program located in San José, Costa Rica, was called Oficina de Noticias de la Mujer (OIM), and served all of Latin America. OIM became a completely independent operation in the late 1990s.
5 Anita Anand was interviewed in New Delhi, India, on January 5, 2004.
6 This definition includes information from Shree Venkatram, personal communication, March 20, 2004.
7 Angana Parekh was interviewed in New Delhi, India, on January 7, 2004.

8 Rita Henley Jensen submitted answers on August 20, 2003.
9 Sheila Gibbons submitted answers on August 18, 2003.
10 Frieda Werden submitted answers on September 12, 2003.
11 Shamantha D. S. Mani was interviewed in Bangalore, India, on January 9, 2004.
12 Debra Zimmerman was interviewed in New York City, on April 23, 2004.
13 Grace Poore submitted answers on June 5, 2003.
14 Urvashi Butalia, personal communication, April 5, 2004.
15 Ritu Menon was interviewed in New Delhi, India, on January 6, 2004.

11

Conclusion

> *To bring women's issues to the front pages, women's organizations will have to work closely with journalists covering these issues. Just a chat on the phone every second day would do: this should give the journalist an idea of what women's organizations are involved with currently and, by the same token, give the women's organization an idea of what the journalist considers news.*
>
> Usha Rai (1999: 171)

Our examination of women and media began with an extensive, critical probing of what feminist media scholars have revealed to date about women's historical and contemporary relationship to mainstream media industries. We presented our review of this international body of work by recognizing the enduring trend of male-owned media to omit, marginalize, trivialize, and even pathologize women in content and to limit their numbers and power within the industries. But we also tried to show that women – as media audiences and as citizens – have not stood idly by in the face of these conditions, but that progress *has* been made. Women's active challenges to marginalization by mainstream media have resulted in specific advancements in numerous industries and nations; for example, more women hired and promoted into decision-making, stronger women's representations in some television programs and news stories, and so on. We have acknowledged that progress and constraint are longstanding, uneasy companions in the process of change. In addition, we have explored the ways in which women have circumvented these limitations by establishing alternative media enterprises. With the dialectical nature of women's

relationship to media in mind, we have tried to chart new directions for feminist media scholarship, building on the work of others who have sought to better understand not only the losses and gains that mark this relationship, but also the struggle by which men's dominance has been challenged so that women's public voice and presence could be more forcefully heard and seen in order to reshape their societies. In shining a spotlight on the locus of struggle, we have moved inside the work and experiences of women media activists, learning more about their range of goals, activities, and accomplishments.

We are now ready to ask two questions. First, how does women's communicative action, represented by this struggle to speak about matters in their world, function in the process of feminist social change? We want to address this question because women's media activism is always conducted within the context of women's liberation movements whose shared goals are to advance women's rights and status. Formulating an answer will require us to consider the ground we covered in Part II, in order to locate some of the specific ways in which women's activism has served its desired ends. Our second question is: What should be the direction of future feminist media scholarship that seeks to extend itself beyond what we offer here? We therefore suggest new research avenues to pursue, recognizing that other scholars will envision their own projects aimed at correcting, revising, and otherwise building on some of the theoretical and empirical work related to women's media activism that we have provided.

Functions of Women's Media Action

In Chapter 7, we observed that all women who engage in media activism are politically motivated; that is, they want their work to contribute to a world in which women's influence shapes everything from culture to social policy, advancing women in the process. While they have diverged considerably in the strategies that they have adopted in setting about their task – as revealed most clearly in the four paths they have followed in their work – they have used communicative action as their shared method, and some kind of media as their vehicle in shaping what we have called a women's public sphere. That public sphere is understood to be feminist in its orientation, in that it seeks to bring women into fuller social participation in every way. Based on the narratives of our 90 informants, we suggest that women's media activism functions in at least five important ways within

feminist movements. Because other feminist scholarship also alludes to these functions in some way, we cite instances in which our findings find broader support.

The ritualistic *function*

First, women's media activism serves a ritualistic function, announcing women's commitment to self-determination in the wider world. Self-determination connotes a publicly stated desire to be free from that which oppresses (e.g., patriarchal constraints in the form of laws that limit women's mobility, marriage and property rights, education or participation in the economic sphere) and the intent to create new laws, customs, opportunities, and possibilities that enable women to be free and to advance. The ritualistic function would obviously be strong in the early stages of a women's movement, when energy is particularly high and leaders may be more militant and outspoken in their messages. In fact, however, we found evidence of this function in both early and continuing stages in several nations.

An excellent example can be seen in relation to issues. Take, for instance, the matter of women's media enterprises – which allows women the maximum control over their messages and images. Donna Allen and her daughter Dana Densmore wrote their treatise "A radical feminist analysis of mass media" in 1972 (reprinted in 2002), at the beginning of the US second-wave feminist movement, announcing women's need to establish their own media. Today, three decades later, that same position is advanced by the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press (WIFP), based in Washington, DC – which Allen founded and her daughter Martha now directs – in its publications. WIFP bases its assessment on a proliferation of women-owned (and -controlled) media around the world – presently manifest in both traditional media such as books, magazines, and film and music companies, as well as in Internet sites. But, in fact, that same position is advocated by a number of other informants across nations and generations.

In Portland, Oregon, college student Chelsia Rice launched a newsletter in 2002 called *The F-Word*, to write about water conservation and other current issues from a feminist perspective, believing that "the voice of feminist media needs to be amplified because women's rights the world over are being lost." A number of young feminists use radio and alternative magazines (zines) to promote what they see to be their generation's

oppositional discourse on women. For example, Californian K. T. Jarmul turned to her campus radio station to play her type of music – women-identified hardcore, metal, and punk rock – and feminist artists such as Sleater-Kinney, The Butchies, Wage of Sin, 7-year Bitch, and singer–song-writers Ani DiFranco, Tori Amos, and Michelle Shocked use their music as their politics. In Belgium, Claudia Wulz and two female colleagues produce their own weekly lesbian-feminist radio program to challenge the hetero-sexual male standard for "normality."

The connective *function*

Second, women's media activism serves to connect women with a feminist perspective across space and time. Such connectivity has been the subject of considerable feminist work exploring the role and significance of feminist media (Steiner 1983; Anderson & Zinsser 1988; Pinnock 1997; Beasley & Gibbons 2003). Our study emphasized the activism involved in creating women's media enterprises, although we also discerned the possibilities for this role to be fulfilled by mainstream media via informants who intentionally sought a broader public of women in/for their work.

Steiner's (1983) research emphasized the community building that took place in the United States during the nineteenth century through suffrage-era magazines and journals. These publications allowed women in varied locations and of various ages to feel united in a common cause of getting the vote and expanding women's other legal rights. We would argue such connectivity can also be seen in larger timeframes, as when women of the twenty-first century read or watch documentaries about women of earlier eras to develop historical knowledge of feminism and its goals. The connective function of women's media activism was seen in a number of young feminists, such as Red Chidgey in the United Kingdom who, through her Internet website called FingerBang distro, creates "a distribution network of young women's feminist, personal, political and artistic zines, pamphlets and books." The name of her website, a reference to female masturbation, attracts other like-minded young sisters, a contemporary means of achieving what the Sophie's Parlor Radio Collective, based in Washington, DC, managed through their weekly radio program three decades earlier. Feminist scholar Gillian Youngs (2004) refers to the kind of work that Chidgey is doing as cyberfeminism, or the use of virtual space by women who want a low-budget, high-visibility means of communicating with other women. Youngs notes that the Internet transgresses both

patriarchal boundaries (that work through social institutions to silence and limit women) and national/international boundaries to achieve its goal.

The educational *function*

Third, women's media activism serves an educational function, pushing new feminist-oriented ideas, analyses, and language into a public sphere that otherwise would have been silent, invisible, or marginal. A number of our informants said that they sought specifically to inform women about something; for example, about their legal rights, health and well-being, or how to stop media stereotypes of women. This educational function can be seen in the media activism of Cameroonian Madeleine Memb's weekly broadcast *Au Nom de la Femme* (*In the Name of the Woman*), which aims to empower women by educating them, as well as in the work of her broadcast journalism colleague Patti Dapaah in nearby Ghana. Canadian feminist Jay Hartling's work in a bilingual Vancouver radio program since 1995 uses her media activism to educate the community about Latin American issues and to build working relationships among Canadians and Latin Americans living in her region.

Elayne Rapping (1994) has argued that feminism placed violence against women on the nation's public – and policy – agendas through made-for-TV films such as *Something About Amelia* (incest), the *Burning Bed* (wife battering), and *When He's Not a Stranger* (date rape). Anti-pornography campaigns, beginning in the 1970s, helped to emphasize connections between graphic images of sexual violence and the real-life experiences of so many women. In relation to news, feminists protested (and eventually stopped) the segregation of classified job listings by "women's" and "men's" categories, the designation of women's marital status through the use of "Miss" and "Mrs." in news stories, and the use of "he" as the standard pronoun (regardless of the sex of the person being referred to).

The social alignment *function*

Fourth, women's media activism has brought gender issues into closer alignment with socioeconomic ones such as class, race, ethnicity, and sexuality; that is, related social characteristics that have long served as the basis for exclusion and marginalization. We found that informants in our study repeatedly talked about how their own work as media activists integrated these elements. The presence of this function was seen in the work of a

number of documentary filmmakers. One of these was Anne Lewis, of Austin, Texas, whose films show complex relationships between gender and issues of violence, labor, economics, and environmental degradation, as well as the social movements that address these. Lewis's award-winning films appear on public television and are used widely in classrooms, giving her a broad, diverse audience.

Another example is found in the work of several Indian media activists who transcended their own privileged backgrounds to make documentary films to raise contemporary issues across race, caste, and gender lines. As we saw, Gargi Sen both makes and distributes others' films to bring greater understanding of the rights sought by women, Dalit, and tribal communities, prostitutes, and other groups; Deepa Dhanraj's most recent films have pushed village women's participation in local councils (panchayats); and Sanjana's films have sought to let women and indigenous groups working in political and human rights campaigns speak publicly for themselves, and also to begin to connect the issues and actors among various movements in India – land rights, assaults on women, poverty, globalization, the environment, and other issues. As the lead member of a male–female editorial team, US journalist Patricia Gaston was able to help oversee the production of a series of stories in the early 1990s that connected and analyzed not only many forms violence against women in distinct cultural contexts around the world, but also women's cross-cultural campaign to categorize these crimes as human rights violations. In the process, she said, it was also possible to illustrate that the global was local, happening right in the Dallas – Forth Worth neighborhoods.

The regulatory *function*

Fifth, women's media activism serves a regulatory function, helping to increase the flow of information from the inner workings of women's movements into the wider world. The most commonly cited primary and secondary goal among informants in our study was to increase the amount of information about women to the general public. Women working in media careers saw this as a particularly strong motive for their activism, finding both routine and nonroutine ways of doing this. Journalist Preeti Mehra, based in New Delhi, told us that, by the 1980s, she began to find ways to get women into news stories, both routine events and more dramatic coverage of riots, earthquakes, and disasters. "Women were so marginalized," she remembers, and helping them gain visibility became part of

her daily challenge. Former CNN television producer Stacey Cone convinced her managers to let her cover violence against women through documentaries including topics such as court cases in which women had killed their abusive husbands. And former Israeli radio journalist Dalia Liran-Alper, who went on to chair the Women's Status Committee of the Israeli Broadcasting Authority from 1993 to 1998, thereby creating better national broadcasting policy on gender issues, said that the committee's first goal was to disseminate feminist values to the public. The means by which they sought to accomplish this were by increasing women's visibility in broadcast media, limiting sexist portrayals, and expanding the number of women in the profession.

Research by Byerly (1995) found that women pushing for the establishment of the Women's Feature Service project in the mid-1970s identified a major goal to increase news flow about women internationally – in women's own voice. The WFS project, which included five separate programs in developing regions of the world, is carried on today by the surviving Women's Feature Service, based in New Delhi, which is still a woman-owned and -managed international news agency. WFS is not the only such group sharing this goal, as we saw in Shree Venkatram's Unnati Features organization (also in New Delhi), and Rita Henley Jensen's US-based Women's eNews daily online news service.

Future Research

Women's agency through media activism defines the lines and means of struggle over women's right to communicate. As many have observed, the right to communicate is bound up with meaningful democratic participation in the civil society, to which women already belong but do not always have the means to readily enter, because of historical barriers based on sex discrimination. But very little is actually known about the specific ways in which women have challenged such restrictions on their communication in their day-to-day worlds. Such explorations have broad possibilities within and across nations, as our own study sought to identify. Significantly, women's struggles to be heard in their societies on a wide range of matters that concern them, their families, and their world have not been confined to a single nation or region but, rather, seem to be universal in their geographical reach. We have viewed these efforts collectively as a communicative phenomenon and we have posited women's media activism as

a phenomenon whose patterns and contours are ready for more extensive description, definition, and theoretical analysis.

We encourage an expansion of theory-building in relation to women's media action. When, some might ask, is the time right for the creation of new feminist theory? Citing Elaine Marks and Isabelle de Courtivron (1980), Teresa de Lauretis (1988b: 138) suggests that:

> [A] new feminist theory begins when the feminist critique of ideologies becomes conscious of itself and turns to question its own body of writing and critical interpretations, its basic assumptions and terms, and the practices which they enable and from which they emerge.

We began this project as precisely such critics of our own field's scholarly practices. We recognized that feminist media research to date had focused disproportionately on women's portrayal and representation, and paid rather less attention to structural and other considerations. It was also clear that much of the published research on women and media is written from a Western (albeit feminist) perspective, and is thus overly preoccupied with issues and events in that region. In addition, little attention has been given to the range of strategies that women use in pursuing their ambitions to discipline and reform existing media or to create their own. Nor has there been a sufficient accounting of the many individuals – both the sung and unsung – who have engaged in media reform or alternative media practice over past decades.

In seeking to move toward a theoretical analysis of what women's media activism has comprised and meant, we have offered an emergent framework, the Model of Women's Media Action. Models are often a starting point for the establishment of theory that emerges through the scholarly process of application, critique, and refinement. The Model of Women's Media Action, which takes account of the tenets and motives that have underpinned women's media activism, has allowed us to organize the strategies and approaches that women have used not only in a single nation or period, but within several nations and within a timeframe of three decades of modern feminism. These approaches, or paths, have explicated the ways in which women's agency, through their activism, has created the spaces to speak both within women's communities and to larger audiences. We see in these paths the embodiment of Jürgen Habermas's model of the democratic public sphere, and its further development through the notion of multiple public spheres that operate both alongside and in overlapping

relations to each other. In future research, we hope to see an expanded interest in a wide range of media through which women seek to enter into public debate within those public spheres, and community building that grows out of it. Pilar Riaño (1994) made the argument that if the connections between the media and women's participation in public arenas are to be understood, feminist media scholarship must go beyond consideration of problems in the content and structures of mainstream industries and instead (or at least as well as) also consider women-generated media. She said that:

> . . . excessive emphasis placed on issues of access and equity of representation has silenced a more central structural question regarding the absence of voice of subordinated groups in the media. Participatory practices of media production have placed this issue at the center, defining themselves as spaces for grassroots communication, for the building of representations that foster communication of the others (of women, ethnic immigrants, minorities, and homosexuals). These practices, therefore, challenge dominant representations and forms of communication. (Riaño 1994: 122)

Riaño referred to a range of activities intended to give women and other marginalized groups a voice through their own grassroots media, thereby developing what we have earlier referred to as women's, feminist, and other public spheres. The obvious value in strengthening a sense of community within distinct public spheres at the local level is that the members of these spheres gain strength and skills to participate in their own spheres, and, simultaneously, challenge men's control in what is imagined as that larger (dominant) public sphere. Women's media activism, thus, will be further understood for the central role that it plays in women's liberation and the transformation of societies.

Bibliography

Aaron, Michele 2004: *New Queer Cinema: A Critical Reader*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Adler, Margot 1979: *Drawing Down the Moon*. Malden, MA: Beacon Press.

Akhavan-Majid, Roya and Ramaprasad, Jyotika 2000: Framing Beijing: dominant ideological influences on the American press coverage of the Fourth UN conference on women and the NGO forum. *Gazette*, 62(1), 45–59.

Aldana, Celia 2004: Can media regulation help in the search for equality? *Media and Gender Monitor* issue 15, 12.

Alexander, Karen 1993: *Daughters of the Dust* (film review). *Sight & Sound*, 3(9), 20–2.

Alfaro, R. 1988: Producers of communication: What is the proposition? *Group Media Journal*, 7(2), 10–15.

Allan, Stuart 1999: *News Culture*. Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.

Allen, Donna 1968: Up against the media. *The Liberated Voice*, July 10.

——1989: From opportunity to strategy: women contribute to the communication future. In Ramona R. Rush and Donna Allen (eds.), *Communication at the Crossroads: The Gender Gap Connection*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 59–82.

——and Densmore, Dana 2002: A radical feminist analysis of mass media. In Martha Leslie Allen (ed.), *Directory of Women's Media*. Washington, DC: Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, 11–17.

Allen, Martha Leslie (ed.) 2002: *Directory of Women's Media*. Washington, DC: Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press.

Allen, R. 1985: *Speaking of Soap Operas*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Amnesty International 2004: Colombia: scarred bodies, hidden crimes: sexual violence against women in the armed conflict – facts and figures. October 13;

http://amnestyusa.org/countries/colombia/document.do?id=80 (accessed October 31, 2004).

Ananda, Mitra 2004: Voices of the marginalized on the Internet: examples from a website for women of South Asia. *Journal of Communication*, 54(3), 492–510.

Andermahr, Sonya, Lovell, Terry and Wolkowitz, Carol 2000: *Feminist Counter-Public Sphere*. London: Arnold, 94–5.

Anderson, Bonnie S. and Zinsser, Judith P. 1988: *A History of Their Own*, vol. II. New York: Harper & Row.

Andrae, Thomas 1996: Television's first feminist: *The Avengers* and female spectatorship. *Discourse: Theoretical Studies in Media and Culture*, 18(3), 112–36.

Ang, Ien 1985: *Watching Dallas: Soap Opera and the Melodramatic Imagination*. London: Methuen.

—— 1990: Melodramatic identifications: television fiction and women's fantasy. In Mary Ellen Brown (ed.), *Television and Women's Culture: the Politics of the Popular*. London: Sage, 75–88.

—— 1991: *Desperately Seeking the Audience*. London: Routledge.

Annenberg Public Policy Center 2002: *No Room at the Top?* Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania.

Anon. 1996: Media must advance the cause of women. *Media Development*, 43(1), 47–8.

Armstrong, Leila 1998: The zeal for Xena: appropriation, discursive elaboration and identity production in lesbian fan fiction. *Whoosh!* 25 (October); http://whoosh.org/issue25/arm1.html (accessed September 7, 2004).

Arnaldo, Carlos A. (ed.) 2001: *Child Abuse on the Internet: Ending the Silence*. New York: Berghahn Books.

Arnheim, Rudolph 1944: The world of the daytime serial. In Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Frank N. Stanton (eds.), *Radio Research: 1942–1943*. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 34–107.

Arnold, Rebecca 2001: *Fashion, Desire and Anxiety: Image and Morality in the Twentieth Century*. Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Aronson, Amy Beth 2002: *Taking Liberties: Early American Women's Magazines and Their Readers*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Arthurs, Jane 1994: Women and television. In Stuart Hood (ed.), *Behind the Screens*. London: Lawrence & Wishart, 82–101.

Attile, Martine 1988: The passion of remembrance: background. In Kobena Mercer (ed.), *Black Film: British Cinema*. ICA paper #7. London: British Film Institute/ICA, 53–4.

Baehr, Helen and Dyer, Gillian (eds.) 1987: *Boxed In: Women and Television*. New York: Pandora Press.

Baistow, Tom 1985: *Fourth-Rate Estate: An Anatomy of Fleet Street*. London: Comedia.

Bakker, Isabella 1994: *The Strategic Silence: Gender and Economic Policy*. London: Zed Books.

Ballaster, Ros, Beetham, Margaret, Frazer, Elizabeth and Hebron, Sandra 1991: *Women's Worlds: Ideology, Femininity and Women's Magazines*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bam, B. 1994: Women, communication and socio-cultural identity: creating a common vision. *Media Development*, 41(2), 15–17.

Bambara, Toni Cade 1993: Reading the signs, empowering the eye: *Daughters of the Dust* and the black independent cinema movement. In Manthia Diawara (ed.), *Black American Cinema*. London: Routledge, 118–44.

Baron, Larry and Strauss, Murray A. 1989: *Four Theories of Rape in American Society: A State-Level Analysis*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Basinger, Jeanne 1994: *A Woman's View: How Hollywood Spoke to Women, 1930–1960*. London: Chatto and Windus.

Basu, Amrita (ed.) 1995: *The Challenge of Local Feminisms: Women's Movements in Global Perspective*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Beale, Alison and van den Bosch, Annette (eds.) 1998: *Ghosts in the Machine: Women and Cultural Policy in Canada and Australia*. Toronto, Canada: Garamond Press.

Beasley, Maureen H. 1993: Is there a new majority defining the news? In Pamela J. Creedon (ed.), *Women in Mass Communication*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 18–33.

——— and Gibbons, Sheila J. 2003: *Taking Their Place: A Documentary History of Women and Journalism*. State College, PA: Strata Publishing, Inc.

Becker, Ron 1998: Primetime TV in the gay nineties: network television, quality audiences and gay politics. *The Velvet Light Trap*, 42, 36–47.

Beetham, Margaret 2001: *Victorian Women's Magazines: An Anthology*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Benedict, Helen 1992: *Virgin or Vamp: How the Press Covers Sex Crimes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bennett, W. Lance 1997: Cracking the news code: some rules that journalists live by. In Shanto Iyengar and Richard Reeves (eds.), *Do the Media Govern? Politicians, Voters and Reporters in America*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 103–17.

Bennett, W. Lance 2002: Feminists must speak out against loss of media diversity. *National NOW Times*, 34(2), 13.

Bennett, W. Lance, Pickard, Victor W., Iozzi, David P., Schroeder, Carl L., Lagos, Taso and Caswell, C. Evans 2004: Managing the public sphere: journalistic construction of the great globalization debate. *Journal of Communication*, 54(3), 437–55.

Berger, John 1977: *Ways of Seeing*. New York: Penguin.

Berkowitz, Sandra 2003: Can we stand with you? Lessons from women in black for global feminist activism. *Women & Language*, XXVI(1), 94–9.

Berns, Nancy 1999: My problem and how I solved it: domestic violence in women's magazines. *Sociological Quarterly*, 40(1), 85–108.

Bird, S. Elizabeth and Dardenne, Robert W. 1988: Myth, chronicle and story: exploring the narrative qualities of news. In James Carey (ed.), *Media, Myths and Narrative*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 67–86.

Bobo, Jacqueline 1988: *The Color Purple*: black women as cultural readers. In E. Deirdre Pribham (ed.), *Female Spectators: Looking at Film and Television*. London: Verso, 90–109.

——and Seiter, Ellen 1991: Black feminism and media criticism: *The Women of Brewster Place*. *Screen*, 32(3), 286–302.

Bonfadelli, Heinz 2002: The Internet and knowledge gaps: a theoretical and empirical investigation. *European Journal of Communication*, 17(1), 65–84.

Bordo, Susan 1995: *Unbearable Weight: Feminism, Western Culture and the Body*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Boulding, Elise c.1980: *Women: The Fifth World*. New York: Foreign Policy Association, Inc.

——1992: *The Underside of History: A View of Women Through Time*, vol. 2, rev. edn. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Bourdieu, Pierre 1984 [1979]: *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Bourne, Stephen 1998: *Black in the British Frame: Black People in British Film and Television 1896–1996*. London: Cassell.

Brennan, Zoe 2004: *The Older Woman in Recent Fiction*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland.

Brown, Mary Ellen 1994: *Soap Opera and Women's Talk: The Pleasure of Resistance*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

——1990: Motley moments: soap opera, carnival, gossip and the power of the utterance. In Mary Ellen Brown (ed.), *Television and Women's Culture: The Politics of the Popular*. London: Sage, 183–98.

Brunsdon, Charlotte 1981: *Crossroads*: notes on a soap opera. *Screen*, 22, 32–7.

——(ed.) 1986: *Films for Women*. London: British Film Institute.

——1998: Structure of anxiety: recent British television crime fiction. *Screen*, 39 (Autumn), 223–43.

——2000: *The Feminist, the Housewife and the Soap Opera*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.

——, D'Acci, Julie and Spigel, Lynn (eds.) 1997: *Feminist Television Criticism: A Reader*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Buckingham, David 1987: *Public Secrets:* EastEnders *and its Audience*. London: British Film Institute.

Burch, Sally 2002: The right to communicate: new challenges for the Women's Movement. *Women in Action*; Isis International website www.isiswomen.org/pub/wia/wia202/right2com.htm (accessed August 2, 2004).

Burrell, Ian 2004: Radio's golden girl. *The Independent Review*, June 1.

Burt, Elizabeth V. 2000: Preface. In Elizabeth V. Burt (ed.), *Women's Press Organizations, 1881–1999*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, xi–xv.

Butler, Alison 2002: *Women's Cinema: The Contested Screen*. London: Wallflower Press.

Buzzanell, Patrice M. 2003: A feminist standpoint analysis of maternity and maternity leave for women with disabilities. *Women & Language*, XXVI(2), 53–65.

Byerly, Carolyn M. 1990: The Women's Feature Service and the making of world news. Unpublished dissertation, School of Communication, University of Washington, Seattle, WA.

——1994: An agenda for teaching news coverage of rape. *Journalism Educator*, 49(1), 59–69.

——1995: News, consciousness and social participation. In Angharad N. Valdivia (ed.), *Feminism, Multiculturalism and the Media*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 105–22.

——1998: Women, media and structure: feminist research in an era of globalization. Paper presented to the International Association of Media and Communciation Research annual conference, Glasgow, July.

——1999: News, feminism and the dialectics of gender relations. in Marian Myers (ed.), *Mediated Women: Representations in Popular Culture*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, 383–403.

——2001: The deeper structures of storytelling: women, media corporations and the task of communication researchers. *Intersections*, 1(2), 63–8.

——2004a: Feminist interventions in newsrooms. In Carolyn M. Byerly and Karen Ross (eds.), *Women and Media: International Perspectives*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 109–31.

——2004b: Women and the concentration of media ownership. In Ramona R. Rush, Carol E. Oukrup, and Pamela J. Creedon (eds.), *Seeking Equity for Women in Journalism and Mass Communication Education*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 245–73.

——and Warren, Catherine A. 1996: At the margins of center: organized protest in the newsroom. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 13(1), 1–23.

Calhoun, Craig 1992: Introduction: Habermas and the public sphere. In Craig Calhoun (ed.), *Habermas and the Public Sphere*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1–48.

Cann, D. and Mohr, P. B. 2001: *Journalist and source gender in Australian television news. Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 45(1), 162–74.

Caputi, J. 1999: Pornography of everyday life. In Marian Myers (ed.), *Mediated Women: Representations in Popular Culture*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, 57–80.

Carstarphen, Meta G. 1999: Getting real love: *Waiting to Exhale* and film represen-

tations of womanist identity. In Marian Myers (ed.), *Mediated Women: Representations in Popular Culture*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, 369–82.

Carter, Cynthia 1998: When the extraordinary becomes ordinary: everyday news of sexual violence. In Cynthia Carter, Gill Branston, and Stuart Allan (eds.), *News, Gender and Power*. London: Routledge, 219–32.

—— and Weaver, C. Kay 2003: *Violence and the Media*. Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.

——, Branston, Gill and Allan, Stuart (eds.) 1998a: *News, Gender and Power*. London: Routledge.

——, —— and —— 1998b: Setting new(s) agendas: an introduction. In Cynthia Carter, Gill Branston, and Stuart Allan (eds.), *News, Gender and Power*. London: Routledge, 1–12.

Ceulemans, Mieke and Fauconnier, Guido 1979: *Mass Media: The Image, Role and Social conditions of Women – a Collection and Analysis of Research Materials*. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

Chambers, Deborah, Steiner, Linda and Fleming, Carole 2004: *Women and Journalism.* London: Routledge.

Chapman, James 2002: *Saints and Avengers: British adventure series of the 1960s*. London: I. B. Taurus.

Chaudhuri, Maitrayee (ed.) 2004: *Feminism in India*. New Delhi: Kali for Women & Women Unlimited.

Christian, Barbara 1985: Trajectories of self-definition: placing contemporary Afro-American women's fiction. In Marjorie Pryse and Hortense J. Spillers (eds.), *Conjuring: Black Women, Fiction and Literary Tradition*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 233–48.

Christmas, Linda 1997: *Chaps of Both Sexes? Women Decision-Makers in Newspapers: Do They Make a Difference?* London: Women in Journalism.

Clark, Danae 1990: Cagney and Lacey: feminist strategies of detection. In Mary Ellen Brown (ed.), *Television and Women's Culture: The Politics of the Popular*. London: Sage, 117–34.

—— 1996 [1990]: *Cagney and Lacey*: feminist strategies of detection. In Paul Marris and Sue Thornham (eds.), *Media Studies: A Reader*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 211–20.

Clover, Carol J. 1992: *Men, Women and Chainsaws: Gender in the Modern Horror Film*. London: British Film Institute.

Cohen, Jean L. 1995: Critical social theory and feminist critiques: the debate with Jürgen Habermas. In Johanna Meehan (ed.), *Feminists Read Habermas*. New York: Routledge, 57–90.

Coles, Joanna 1997: Boy zone story. *The Guardian*, 28 April.

Compesi, R. J. 1980: Gratifications of daytime TV serial viewers. *Journalism Quarterly*, 57, 155–85.

Compton, Laura 2001: Bridgeting the gap: if we can't have a true heroine, an anti-Ally will have to do. *Bitch! Magazine* issue 8; available at www.bitchmagazine.com/archives/08_01bridget/bridget.shtml (accessed September 9, 2004).

Cooke, Kaz 1996: *Real Gorgeous: the Truth about Body and Beauty*. New York: W. W. Norton.

Corner, John 1991: Meaning, genre and context: the problematics of "public knowledge" in the new audience studies. In James Curran and Michael Gurevitch (eds.), *Mass Media and Society*. London: Edward Arnold, 267–306.

Cottingham, Jane 1989: Isis: A Decade of International Networking. In Ramona R. Rush and Donna Allen (eds.), *Communication at the Crossroads: The Gender Gap Connection*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 238–50.

Cottle, Simon (ed.) 2004: *News, Public Relations and Power*. London: Sage.

Creeber, Glen 2001: Cigarettes and alcohol: investigating gender, genre and gratification in *Prime Suspect*. *Television and New Media*, 2(2), 149–66.

Creed, Barbara 1993: *The Monstrous Feminine: Film, Feminism, Psychoanalysis*. London: Routledge.

Creedon, Pamela J. 1993: The challenge of re-visioning gender values. In Pamela J. Creedon (ed.), *Women in Mass Communication*, 2nd edn. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 3–23.

Cresser, Frances, Gunn, Lesley and Balme, Helen 2001: Women's experiences of online e-zine publication. *Media, Culture and Society*, 23(4), 457–73.

Croteau, David and Hoynes, William 1997: *Media/Society: Industries, Images and Audiences*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.

—— and —— 2001: *The Business of Media: Corporate Media and the Public Interest*. London: Sage.

Cuklanz, Lisa M. 1996: *Rape on Trial. How the Mass Media Construct Legal Reform and Social Change*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

—— 2000: *Rape on Prime Time: Television, Masculinity and Sexual Violence*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Curphey, Shauna 2003: Women push for media coverage in southern Africa. Women's eNews; www.womensenews.org (accessed September 15, 2003).

Cuthbert, Marlene 1989: "Woman day a come": women and communication channels in the Caribbean. In Ramona R. Rush and Donna Allen (eds.), *Communication at the Crossroads: The Gender Gap Connection*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 149–59.

D'Acci, Julie 1987: The case of *Cagney and Lacey*. In Helen Baehr and Gillian Dyer (eds.), *Boxed In: Women and Television*. London: Pandora, 203–25.

—— 1994: *Defining Women: Television and the Case of Cagney and Lacey*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Damon-Moore, Helen 1994: *Magazines for the Millions: Gender and Commerce in the "Ladies' Home Journal" and the "Saturday Evening Post", 1880–1910*. New York: State University of New York Press.

Daniels, Therese and Gerson, Jane (eds.) 1989: *The Colour Black: Black Images in British Television*. London: British Film Institute.

Darling-Wolf, Fabienne 2004: Virtually multicultural: trans-Asian identity and gender in an international fan community of a Japanese star. *New Media and Society*, 6(4), 507–28.

David, Prabu, Morrison, Glenda, Johnson, Melissa A. and Ross, Felecia 2002: Body image, race and fashion models: social distance and social identification in third-person effects. *Communication Research*, 29(3), 270–94.

Davis, Angela Y. 1981: *Women, Race and Class*. New York: Vintage Books.

Day, Gary and Bloom, Clive (eds.) 1988: *Perspectives on Pornography: Sexuality in Film and Literature*. Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan Press.

de Bruin, Marjan 1998: Gender in Caribbean media: beyond the body count. Paper presented to the 21st General Assembly and Scientific Conference of the International Association for Media and Communication Research, Glasgow, July.

——— and Ross, Karen (eds.) 2004: *Gender and Newsroom Cultures: Identities at Work*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

de Lauretis, Teresa 1987: Rethinking women's cinema: aesthetics and feminist theory. In Teresa de Lauretis (ed.), *Technologies of Gender: Essays on Theory, Film and Fiction*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 127–48.

——— 1988a: Displacing hegemonic discourses: reflections on feminist theory in the 1980s. *Inscriptions*, 3–4, 127–44.

——— (ed.) 1988b: *Feminist Studies/Critical Studies*. London: Macmillan.

Desai, Jigna 2004: *Beyond Bollywood: The Cultural Politics of South Asian Diasporic Film*. New York: Routledge.

DiCenzo, Maria 2000: Militant distribution: votes for women and the public sphere. *Media History*, 6(2), 115–28.

Dines, Gail 1997: *Pornography: The Consumption of Inequality*. London: Routledge.

——— and Humez, Jean M. (eds.) 1995: *Gender, Race and Class in Media*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

——— and ——— (eds.) 2003: *Gender, Race, and Class in Media: A Text Reader*, 2nd edn. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

———, Jensen, Robert and Russo, Ann 1998: *Pornography: The Production and Consumption of Inequality*. New York: Routledge.

Donat, Patricia L. N. and D'Emilio, John 1992: A feminist redefinition of rape and sexual assault: historical foundations and change. *Journal of Social Issues*, 48(1), 9–22.

Dougary, Ginny 1994: *The Executive Tart and Other Myths: Media Women Talk Back*. London: Virago.

Douglas, Susan 1994: *Where the Girls Are: Growing Up Female with the Mass Media*. London: Penguin.

Durham, Meenakshi Gigi 1998: Dilemmas of desire: representations of adolescent sexuality in two teen magazines. *Youth and Society*, 29(3), 369–89.

Dworkin, Andrea 1997: *Life and Death: Unapologetic Writings on the Continuing War Against Women*. London: Virago.

——2000: Pornography and grief. In Drucilla Cornell (ed.), *Feminism and Pornography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 39–44.

Edut, Ophira (ed.) 1998: *Adios Barbie: Young Women Write About Body Image and Identity*. Berkeley, CA: Publishers Group West.

——and Walker, Rebecca (eds.) 2000: *Body Outlaws: Young Women Write about Body Image and Identity*. Seattle: Seal Press.

Eldridge, John (ed.) 1995: *News Content, Language and Visuals: Glasgow Media Group Reader*, vol. 1. London: Routledge.

Eliasoph, Nina 1988: Routines and the making of oppositional news. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 5, 313–34.

Elson, Diane 1994: Micro, meso, macro: gender and economic analysis in the context of policy reform. In Isabella Bakker (ed.), *The Strategic Silence: Gender and Economic Policy*. London: Zed Books, 33–45.

Entman, Robert M. 1989: How the media affect what people think: an information processing approach. *Journal of Politics*, 51, 347–70.

European Commission 1999: *Images of Women in the Media*. Brussels: Commission of the European Communities.

Fahmy, Shahira 2004: Picturing Afghan women: a content analysis of AP wire photographs during the Taliban regime and after the fall of the Taliban regime. *Gazette*, 66(2), 91–112.

Fejes, Fred and Petrich, Kevin 1993: Invisibility, homophobia and heterosexism: lesbians, gays and the media. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 20(6), 396–422.

Felski, Rita 1989: *Beyond Feminist Aesthetics: Feminist Literature and Social Change*. London: Hutchinson Radius, 9–10.

Firestone, Shulamith 1970: *The Dialectic of Sex*. New York: William Morrow.

Fiske, John 1987: *Television Culture*. London: Methuen.

Foss, Karen and Foss, Sonja 1989: Incorporating the feminist perspective in communication scholarship: a research commentary. In Katherine Carter and Carol Spitzack (eds.), *Doing Research on Women's Communication: Perspectives on Theory and Method*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 65–91.

Fowler, Roger 1991: *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press*. London: Routledge.

Franklin, Bob 1997: *Newszak & News Medi*a. London: Arnold.

Fraser, Nancy 1993: Rethinking the public sphere: a contribution to the critique of actually existing democracy. In Craig Calhoun (ed.), *Habermas and the Public Sphere*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 109–42.

Fudge, Rachel 2001: The Buffy effect or, a tale of cleavage and marketing. *Bitch!*

Magazine issue 10 (August); www.bitchmagazine.com/archives/08–01buffy/buffy3.shtml (accessed September 19, 2004).

Gaines, Jane 1988: White privilege and looking relations: race and gender in feminist film theory. *Screen*, 29(4), 12–27.

Gajjala, Radhika 2002: An interrupted postcolonial/feminist cyberethnography: complicity and resistance in the "cyberfield." *Feminist Media Studies*, 2(2), 177–93.

Galician, Mary-Lou 2003: *Sex, Love and Romance in the Mass Media: Analysis and Criticism of Unrealistic Portrayals and Their Influence*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Gallagher, Margaret 1979: *The Portrayal and Participation of Women in the Media*. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

——1981: *Unequal Opportunities: The Case of Women and the Media*. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

——1988: *Women and Television in Europe*. Brussels: Commission of the European Communities.

——1995: *An Unfinished Story: Gender Patterns in Media Employment*. Reports and Papers on Mass Communication, No. 110. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

——2001: *Gender Setting: New Agendas for Media Monitoring and Advocacy*. London: Zed Books.

Gamman, Lorraine and Marshment, Margaret (eds.) 1988: *The Female Gaze: Women as Viewers of Popular Culture*. London: The Women's Press.

Gandy, Oscar H., Jr. 1998: *Communication and Race: A Structural Perspective*. London: Hodder.

Gans, Herbert J. 1980: *Deciding What's News: A study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek*. London: Constable.

Gauntlett, David 2002: *Media, Gender and Identity: An Introduction*. London: Routledge.

——n.d.: More about *More!* The sexual language of young women's magazines; http://theoryhead.com/gender/more.htm (accessed September 23, 2004).

Geraghty, Christine 1981: The continuous serial: a definition. In Richard Dyer, Christine Geraghty, Marion Jordan, Terry Lovell, Richard Paterson, and James Stewart (eds.), *Coronation Street*. London: British Film Institute.

——1991: *Women and Soap Opera: A Study of Prime Time Soaps*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

——2000: Post-war choices and feminine possibilities. In Ulrike Sieglohr (ed.), *Heroines Without Heroes: Reconstructing Female and National Identities in European Cinema 1945–1951*. London: Cassell, 15–32.

Gerbner, George, Mowlana, Hamid and Nordenstreng, Kaarle 1993: *The Global Media Debate: Its Rise, Fall and Renewal*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Giddens, Anthony 1984: *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Giffard, C. Anthony 1999: The Beijing Conference on Women as seen by three international news agencies. *Gazette*, 61(3–4), 327–41.

Gilbert, Sandra M. and Gubar, Susan 1979: *The Madwoman in the Attic: the Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Gillespie, Carmen R. 1999: Mammy goes to Las Vegas: showgirls and the constancy of African-American female stereotypes. In Marian Myers (ed.), *Mediated Women: Representations in Popular Culture*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, 81–90.

Gillwald, Alison 1994: Women, democracy and media in South Africa. *Media Development*, 2, 27–32.

Gilmour, Heather 2004 [1999]: What girls want: the intersections of leisure and power in female computer game play. In Cynthia Carter and Linda Steiner (eds.), *Critical Readings: Media and Gender*. Maidenhead, UK: Open University Press, 328–44.

Gilroy, Paul 1990: It ain't where you're from, it's where you're at. *Third Text*, 13, 3–16.

Giroux, Henry 2002: Public intellectuals, race, and public space. In David Theo Goldberg and John Solomos (eds.), *A Companion to Racial and Ethnic Studies*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 383–404.

Gledhill, Christine 1988: Pleasurable negotiations. In E. Deirdre Pribham (ed.), *Female Spectators: Looking at Film and Television*. London: Verso, 64–77.

Golden, Catherine J. 2003: *Images of the Woman Reader in Victorian British and American Fiction*. Florida: University of Florida Press.

Gole, Nilufer 1997: The gendered nature of the public sphere. *Public Culture*, 10(1), 61–81.

Gordon, Bette 1984: Variety: the pleasure in looking. In Carole S. Vance (ed.), *Pleasure and Danger: Exploring Female Sexuality*. Boston, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 189–203.

Gough-Yates, Anna 2002: *Understanding Women's Magazines*: *Publishing, Markets and Readerships*. London: Routledge.

——— and Osgerby, Bill (eds.) 2001: *Action TV: Tough-Guys, Smooth Operators and Foxy Chicks*. London: Routledge.

Gramsci, Antonio 1971: *The Prison Notebooks*, trans. and ed. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith. New York: International Publishers.

Gross, Larry 1994: What is wrong with this picture? Lesbian women and gay men on television. In R. Jeffrey Ringer (ed.), *Queer Words, Queer Images: Communication and the Construction of Homosexuality*. New York: New York University Press, 143–56.

Grosz, Elizabeth 1995: *Space, Time and Perversion*. New York: Routledge.

Gui, Shugin 2003: *Women Through the Lens: Gender and Nation in a Century of Chinese Cinema*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

GVRD 1998: *Greater Vancouver's "Roots": Defining Our Ethnic Origins*. Report, Greater Vancouver Regional Development, Strategic Planning Department, Vancouver; http://www.gvrd.bc.ca (accessed November 1, 2004).

Gwenllian Jones, Sara 2000: Histories, fictions and *Xena: Warrior Princess*. *Television & New Media*, 1(4), 403–18.

Habermas, Jürgen 1984: *The Theory of Communicative Action, Volume Two: Lifeworld and System: A Critique of Functionalist Reason*, trans. Thomas McCarthy. Malden, MA: Beacon Press.

——1987: *The Theory of Communicative Action, Volume One: Reason and the Rationalization of Society*, trans. Thomas McCarthy. Malden, MA: Beacon Press.

——1993: Further reflections on the public sphere. In Craig Calhoun (ed.), *Habermas and the Public Sphere*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 421–61.

Hall, Stuart 1980: Coding and encoding in television discourse. In Stuart Hall/Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (eds.), *Culture, Media, Language*. London: Hutchinson, in association with CCCS, Birmingham, 197–208.

——1988: New ethnicities. In Kobena Mercer (ed.), *Black Film: British Cinema*. ICA paper #7. London: British Film Institute/ICA, 27–31.

Hallam, Julia 2000: Power play: gender, genre and Lynda La Plant. In Jonathan Bignell, Stephen Lacey and Madeleine Macmurraugh-Kavanagh (eds.), *British Television Drama: Past, Present and Future*. London: Palgrave, 140–9.

Hantzis, Darlene M. and Lehr, Valerie 1994: Whose desire? Lesbian (non)sexuality and television's perpetuation of hetero/sexism. In R. Jeffrey Ringer (ed.), *Queer Words, Queer Images: Communication and the Construction of Homosexuality*. New York: New York University Press, 107–21.

Harcourt, Wendy (ed.) 1999: *Women@Internet: Creating New Cultures in Cyberspace*. London: Zed Books.

Harrington, C. Lee 2003: Lesbian(s) on daytime television: the Bianca narrative on *All My Children*. *Feminist Media Studies*, 3(2), 207–28.

——and Bielby, Denise D. 1995: *Soap Fans: Pursuing Pleasure and Making Meaning in Everyday Life*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Hartley, John 1996: *Popular Reality: Journalism, Modernity, Popular Culture*. London: Edward Arnold.

Hartsock, Nancy C. M. 1983: *Money, Sex and Power: Toward a Feminist Historical Materialism*. Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press.

Haskell, Molly 1973: *From Reverence to Rape: The Treatment of Women in the Movies*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Hayward, Anthony and Rennert, Amy (eds.) 1996: Prime Suspect*: The Official Book of the Award-Winning Series*. London: Carlton Books.

Herman, Edward and McChesney, Robert 1997: *The Global Media*. London: Cassell.

Hermes, Joke 1995: *Reading Women's Magazines: An Analysis of Everyday Media Use*. London: Polity Press.

Hernandez, Debra Gersh 1995: Are women being annihilated by the media? *Editor & Publisher*, July 1.

Hernandez, Zoila 1992: Mujer y Sociedad: writing for a mass audience. In Gaby Kuppers (ed.), *Companeras: Voices from the Latin American Women's Liberation Movement*. London: The Latin American Bureau, 146–52.

Herzog, Hannah 1944: What do we really know about daytime serial listeners? In Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Frank N. Stanton (eds.), *Radio Research: 1942–1943*. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce.

Hesse-Biber, Sharlene 1997: *Am I Thin Enough Yet?: The Cult of Thinness and the Commercialization of Identity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hill, Annette 2001: "Looks like it hurts": women's responses to shocking entertainment. In Martin Barker and Julian Petley (eds.), *Ill Effects: The Media/Violence Debate*, 2nd edn. London: Routledge, 135–49.

Hill Collins, Patricia 1990: *Black Feminist Thought*. New York: Routledge.

——1995: Pornography and black women's bodies. In Gail Dines and Jean M. Humez (eds), *Gender, Race and Class in Media (A Text Reader)*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 279–86.

Hinds, Hilary 1992: Fruitful investigations: the case of the successful lesbian text. In Sally Munt (ed.), *New Lesbian Criticism: Literary and Cultural Readings*. New York: Columbia University Press, 153–82.

Hiriart, Berta 1992: Mujer/fempress: Latin American women's news agency. In Gaby Kuppers (ed.), *Companeras: Voices from the Latin American Women's Liberation Movement*. London: The Latin American Bureau, 163–6.

Hobson, Dorothy 1982: *Crossroads: The Drama of a Soap Opera*. London: Methuen.

——1990: Women audiences and the workplace. In Mary Ellen Brown (ed.), *Television and Women's Culture*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 61–71.

——2002: *Soap Opera*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Holland, Patricia 1987: When a woman reads the news. In Helen Baehr and Gillian Dyer (eds.), *Boxed In: Women and Television*. New York: Pandora, 133–49.

——1998: The politics of the smile: "soft news" and the sexualisation of the popular press. In Cynthia Carter, Gill Branston, and Stuart Allan (eds.), *News, Gender and Power*. London: Routledge, 17–32.

Holmlund, Chris 2002: *Impossible Bodies: Femininity and Masculinity at the Movies*. London: Routledge.

hooks, bell 1991: *Yearnings: Race, Gender and Cultural Politics*. London: Turnaround.

——1992: *Black Looks: Race, Representation*. London: Turnaround.

——1996: *Reel to Reel: Race, Sex and Class at the Movies*. New York: Routledge.
——2000: *Feminism Is For Everybody: Passionate Politics*. London: Pluto Press.
Humm, Maggie 1988: Is the gaze feminist? Pornography, film and feminism. In Gary Day and Clive Bloom (eds.), *Perspectives on Pornography: Sexuality in Film and Literature*. Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan Press, 83–100.
——1997: *Feminism and Film*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
Inness, Sherrie A. 1999: *Tough Girls: Women Warriors and Wonder Women in Popular Culture*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
International Institute of Communications 1996: *Media Ownership and Control in the Age of Convergenc*e. Luton, UK: University of Luton Press.
Isis International – Manila; www.isiswomen.org/organization/index.html (accessed September 10, 2004).
Islam, Needeya 1995: "I wanted to shoot people" – genre, gender and action in the films of Kathryn Bigelow. In Laleen Jayamanne (ed.), *Kiss Me Deadly: Feminism & Cinema for the Moment*. Sydney: Power Institute of Fine Arts, 91–125.
Iyengar, Shanto 1991: *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Public Issues*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
Jagger, Alison M. 2004: Arenas of citizenship: civil society, state and the global order. In Barbara S. Andrew, Jean Keller, and Lisa H. Schwartzman (eds.), *Feminist Interventions in Ethics and Politics*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
Jain, Devaki 1996: Panchayat Raj: Women changing governance.Gender in Development website; www.sdnp.undp.org/gender/resources/mono5.html (accessed February 4, 2004).
Jayamanne, Laleen (ed.) 1995: *Kiss Me Deadly: Feminism & Cinema for the Moment*. Sydney: Power Institute of Fine Arts.
Jenkins, Henry 1992: *Textual Poachers: Television Fans and Participatory Culture*. New York: Routledge.
Jenkins, Philip 2003: *Beyond Tolerance: Child Pornography on the Internet*. New York: New York University Press.
Jigna, Desai 2004: *Beyond Bollywood: The Cultural Politics of South Asian Diasporic Film*. New York: Routledge.
Jennings, Ros 1995: Design and design: Ripley undressed. In Tamsin Wilton (ed.), *Immortal, Invisible: Lesbians and the Moving Image*. London: Routledge, 193–206.
Johnson-Odim, Cheryl 1991: Common themes, different contexts. In Chandra Mohanty Talpede, Ann Russo, and Lourdes Torres (eds.), *Third Women and the Politics of Feminism*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 314–27.
Jones, Nicholas 1996: *Soundbites & Spin Doctors: How Politicians Manipulate the Media and Vice Versa*. London: Indigo.
Joseph, Ammu 2000: *Women in Journalism Making News*. Delhi, India: Konark Publishers.
——2004a: Another face of violence. *The Hindu*, August 15, 2004; www.thehindu.

com/thehindu/mag/2004/08/15/stories/2004081500460200.htm (accessed October 31, 2004).

——2004b: NWMI's (Network of Women in Media in India) second national meeting; www.nwmindia.org/ (accessed February 9, 2004).

——2004c: Southern Africa strikes a blow for gender equality at the Gender and Media Summit. *Media Report to Women*, 32(4), 1–3.

——2004d: The gender (dis)advantage in Indian print media. In Marjan de Bruin and Karen Ross (eds.), *Gender and Newsroom Cultures: Identities at Work*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, 145–62.

——2004e: When violence is not news. Indiatogether.org newsletter; www.indiatogether.org/2004/dec/ajo-medviol.htm (accessed December 5, 2004).

——and Sharma, Kalpana 1994a: Appendix D: lessons from Ahmedabad. In *Whose News: The Media and Women's Issues*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 318–22.

——and ——1994b: *Whose News: The Media and Women's Issues*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Juffer, Jane 1998: *At Home With Pornography: Women, Sex and Everyday Life*. New York: New York University Press.

Kahn, Kim Fridkin and Goldenberg, Edie N. 1991: Women candidates in the news: an examination of gender differences in US Senate campaign coverage. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 55, 180–99.

——and ——1997: The media: obstacle or ally of feminists? In Shanto Iyengar and Richard Reeves (eds.), *Do the Media Govern? Politicians, Voters and Reporters in America*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 156–64.

Kaplan, E. Ann (ed.) 1983: *Women and Film: Both Sides of the Camera*. New York: Methuen.

——(ed.) 2000: *Feminism and Film*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kapoor, Priya 2003: Gendered sites of conflict: Internet activism in reproductive health. *Feminist Media Studies*, 3(3), 368–71.

Kassell, Paula and Kaufman, Susan J. 1989: Planning an international communications system for women. In Ramona R. Rush and Donna Allen (eds.), *Communication at the Crossroads: The Gender Gap Connection*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 222–37.

Katz, James E. and Rice, Ronald E. 2002: *Social Consequences of Internet Use: Access, Involvement and Interaction*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Kaul, Malvika 2004 (July): Raw deal for women journalists; http://indiatogether.org/2004/jul/wom.rawdeal.htm (accessed November 12, 2004).

Keane, John 1991: *The Media and Democracy*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Keller, Kathryn 1994: *Mothers and Work in Popular American Magazines*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Kellner, Douglas 1989: *Critical Theory, Marxism and Modernity*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Kemp, Amanda, Madlala, Nozizwe, Moodley, Asha and Salo, Elaine 1995: The dawn of a new day: redefining South African feminism. In Amrita Basu (ed.), *The Challenge of Local Feminisms: Women's Movements in Global Perspective*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 131–62.

Kendall, Lori 2000: "Oh no! I'm a nerd!" Hegemonic masculinity on an online forum. *Gender & Society*, 14(3), 256–74.

Kerber, Linda K. 1997: *Toward an Intellectual History of Women*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

——and Sherron De Hart, Jane (eds.) 2000: *Women's America: Refocusing the Past*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kern-Foxworth, Marilyn 2004: Women of color on the frontline in the mass communication professions. In Ramona R. Rush, Carol E. Oukrup, and Pamela J. Creedon (eds.), *Seeking Equity for Women in Journalism and Mass Communication: A 30-Year Update*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 205–22.

Kielbowicz, Richard and Scherer, Clifford 1986: The role of the press in the dynamics of social movements. *Research in Social Movements, Conflict and Change*, 9, 71–96.

Kilbourne, Jean 1999: *Deadly Persuasion: Why Women and Girls Must Fight the Addictive Power of Advertising*. New York: The Free Press.

——2000: *Can't Buy My Love: How Advertising Changes the Way We Think and Feel*. New York: Touchstone.

Kitzinger, Jenny 1992: Sexual violence and compulsory heterosexuality. *Feminism and Psychology*, 2(3), 399–418.

——2004: Media coverage of sexual violence against women and children. In Karen Ross and Carolyn M. Byerly (eds.), *Women and Media: International Perspectives*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 13–38.

Komter, Aafke 1991: Gender power and feminist theory. In Kathy Davis, Monique Leigenaar, and Jantine Oldersma (eds.), *The Gender of Power*. London: Sage, 42–64.

Kramarae, Cheris 1981: *Women and Men Speaking: Frameworks for Analysis*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

——1995: A backstage critique of virtual reality. In Steven G. Jones (ed.), *Cybersociety: Computer-Mediated Communication and Community*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 36–56.

Krishnan, Prabha and Dighe, Anita 1900: *Affirmation and Denial: Constructions of Femininity on Indian Television*. New Delhi: Sage.

Kuhn, Annette 1975: Women's cinema and feminist film criticism. *Screen*, 16(3), 107–12.

——1984: Women's genres: melodrama, soap opera and theory. *Screen*, 25(1), 18–28.

Kuppers, Gaby (ed.) 1992: *Companeras: Voices from the Latin American Women's Liberation Movement*. London: The Latin American Bureau.

Kurian, Priya A. and Munshi, Debashish 2003: Terms of empowerment: gender, ecology and ICTs for development. *Feminist Media Studies*, 3(3), 352–5.

Kwan, Mei-Po 2003: Gender troubles in the Internet era. *Feminist Media Studies*, 3(3), 371–4.

Lægran, Anne Sofie and Stewart, James 2003: Nerdy, trendy or healthy? Configuring the Internet café. *New Media and Society*, 5(3), 357–77.

Lafky, Sue 1991: Women journalists. In David Weaver and G. Cleveland Wilhoit (eds.), *The American Journalist: A Portrait of US News People and Their Work*, 2nd edn. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 160–81.

——1993: The progress of women and people of color in the US journalistic workforce: a long, slow journey. In Pamela J. Creedon (ed.), *Women in Mass Communication*, 2nd edn. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 87–103.

Lafuente, María Suárez 2003: Women in pieces: the filmic re/constructions of Josefina Molina. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 10(4), 395–407.

Lamas, Marta 1992: Debate Feminista: a bridge between academia and activism. In Gaby Kuppers (ed.), *Companeras: Voices from the Latin American Women's Liberation Movement*. London: The Latin American Bureau, 160–2.

Lane, Christina 2000: *Feminist Hollywood: From* Born in Flames *to* Point Break. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

Lant, Antonia 1991: *Blackout: Reinventing Women for Wartime British Cinema*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Lauer, Nancy Cook 2002: Studies show women's role in media shrinking. Women's eNews; www.womensenews.org/article.cfm/dyn/aid/915/context/archive (accessed May 5, 2004).

Lauzen, Martha D. 2000: *Status of Women in the Industry: the Real Story on Reel Women: Behind the Scenes Employment in the Top 250 Films of 1999*. New York: New York Women in Film and Television; http://nywift.org/resources/status_lauzen.html (accessed September 29, 2004).

——2002: *Boxed In: Women On Screen and Behind the Scenes in the 2001–2002 Prime-time Season* (Executive Summary); http://moviesbywomen.com/stats2002.html (accessed November 6, 2004).

Lavie, Aliza and Lehman-Wilzig, S. 2003: Whose news? Does gender determine the editorial product? *European Journal of Communication*, 18(1), 5–29.

Lee, Francis L. F. 2004: Constructing perfect women: the portrayal of female officials in Hong Kong newspapers. *Media, Culture and Society*, 26(2), 207–25.

Lee, Sarah 1999: Private uses in public spaces: a study of an Internet café. *New Media and Society*, 1(3), 331–50.

Lees, Sue 1995: Media reporting of rape: the 1993 British "date rape" controversy. In David Kidd-Hewitt and Richard Osborne (eds.), *Crime and Media: The Post-Modern Spectacle*. London: Pluto Press, 107–30.

Lemish, Dafna 2000: The whore and the "other": Israeli images of female immigrants from the former USSR. *Gender & Society*, 14(2), 339–49.

——2004: Exclusion and marginality: portrayals of women in Israeli media. In Karen Ross and Carolyn M. Byerly (eds.), *Women and Media: International Perspectives*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 39–59.

——and Drob, Gil 2002: "All the time his wife": portrayals of first ladies in the Israeli press. *Parliamentary Affairs*, 55(1), 129–42.

Lerner, Gerda 1986: *The Creation of Patriarchy*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Lesage, Julie 1984: Political aesthetics of the feminist documentary film. In Thomas Waugh (ed.), *"Show Us Life": Toward a History and Aesthetic of the Committed Documentary*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press; reprinted in Charlotte Brunsdon (ed.), *Films for Women*. London: British Film Institute, 14–23.

Levitin, Jacqueline, Plessis, Judith and Raoul, Valerie 2003: *Women Filmmakers Refocusing*. New York: Routledge.

Liebes, Tamar and Livingstone, Sonia 1994: The structure of family and romantic ties in the soap opera: an ethnographic approach to the cultural framing of primordiality. *Communication Research*, 21, 717–41.

——and ——1998: European soap opera: the diversification of a genre. *European Journal of Communication*, 13(2), 147–80.

Liebler, Carol and Smith, Susan J. 1997: Tracking gender differences: a comparative analysis of network correspondents and their sources. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, 41 (Winter), 58–68.

Lipson, Joanne 2002: Equality and difference in women's media: in fighting a past of inequality do we envision a future of division? In Julia Beizer, Ann Keller, and Joanne Lipson (eds.), *Media Democracy: Past, Present and Future*. Washington, DC: Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, 57.

Liran-Alper, Dalia 1994: Media representation of women in politics – are they still "domineering dowagers and scheming concubines"? Paper presented to the International Association of Media Communication Research annual conference, Seoul, July.

——1999: The future of media in the hands of women? The Women Status Committee at the Israeli Broadcasting Authority. Paper presented at International Association for Media and Communication Research, Leipzig, Germany.

Lisanti, Tom and Paul, Louis 2002: *Film Fatales: Women in Espionage Films and Television 1963–1973*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland.

Liswood, Laura A. 1995: *Women World Leaders: Fifteen Great Politicians Tell Their Stories*. London: Pandora.

Lotz, Amanda 2001: Postfeminist television criticism: rehabilitating critical terms and identifying postfeminist attributes. *Feminist Media Studies*, 1(1), 105–21.

Lovell, Terry 1981: Ideology and "Coronation Street," In Richard Dyer, Christine Geraghty, Marion Jordan, Terry Lovell, Richard Paterson, and James Stewart (eds.), *Coronation Street*. London: British Film Institute.

Lünenborg, Margaret 1996: *Journalists in Europe: an International Comparative Study* (transl.). Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag.

Luther, Catherine A. and Nentl, Nancy J. 2001: Japanese teenage girls: their ad-inspired social comparison behaviour and perceptions of women's roles. G*azette*, 63(1), 25–40.

Mackie, Erin 1997: *Market à la Mode: Fashion, Commodity and Gender in the "Tatler" and the "Spectator."* Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

MacKinnon, Catherine A. 2000: Only words. In Drucilla Cornell (ed.), *Feminism and Pornography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Malhotra, Sheena and Rogers, Everett 2000: Satellite television and the new Indian woman. *Gazette*, 62(5), 401–29.

Malik, Sarita 1994: Beyond identity: British Asian film. *Black Film Bulletin*, 2(3), 12–13.

——2002: *Representing Black Britain: Black and Asian Images on Television*. London: Routledge.

Manatu, Norma 2002: *African American Women and Sexuality in the Cinema*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland.

Mani, Lata 1992: Cultural theory, colonial texts: reading eyewitness accounts of widow burning. In Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson, and Paula Treichler (eds.), *Cultural Studies*. New York: Routledge, 392–408.

Mankekar, Purnima 1999: *Screening Culture, Viewing Politics: Television, Womanhood and Nation in Modern India*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Manning, Paul 2001: *News and News Sources: A Critical Introduction*. London: Sage.

Marks, Dorrit K. (ed.) 1996: *Women and Grass Roots Democracy in the Americas: Sustaining the Initiative*. Miami, FL: North–South Center Press (University of Miami).

Marks, Elaine and de Courtivron, Isabelle 1980: *New French Feminisms: An Anthology*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

Martin, Michèle 2002: An unsuitable technology for a woman? Communication as circulation. In Eileen R. Meehan and Ellen Riordan (eds.), *Sex and Money: Feminism and Political Economy in the Media*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 49–59.

Martin, Stana 2002: The political economy of women's employment in the information section. In Eileen R. Meehan and Ellen Riordan (eds.), *Sex and Money: Feminism and Political Economy in the Media*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 75–87.

Masi de Casanova, Erynn 2004: "No ugly women": concepts of race and beauty among adolescent women in Ecuador. *Gender & Society*, 18(3), 287–308.

Massoni, Kelley 2004: Modeling work: occupational messages in *Seventeen* magazine. *Gender & Society*, 18(1), 47–65.

Mata, Marita 1994: Being women in the popular radio. In Pilar Riaño (ed.), *Women in Grassroots Communication: Furthering Social Change*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 192–212.

Mathew, George 2004: The silent revolution. Women's Feature Service (e-wire), ref: OPID412, April 19.

Mattelart, Michèle 1986: *Women, Media and Crisis: Femininity and Disorder*. London: Comedia; reprinted in Charlotte Brunsdon, Julie D'Acci, and Lynn Spigel (eds.) 1997: *Feminist Television Criticism: A Reader*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mayer, Vicki 2003: Living televovelas/telenovelizing life: Mexican American girls' identities and transnational televnovelas. *Journal of Communication*, 53(3), 479–95.

Mayne, Judith 1988: *L.A. Law* and prime-time feminism. *Discourse*, 10(2), 30–47.

Mazierska, Ewa 2001: Wanda Jakubowska's cinema of commitment. *European Journal of Women Studies*, 8(2), 221–38.

McChesney, Robert W. and Nichols, John 2002 (January 7): Making of a movement; www.thenation.com/doc.mhtml?l=20020107&s=mcchesney (accessed November 7, 2004).

McCracken, Ellen 1992: *Decoding Women's Magazines: From "Mademoiselle" to "Ms."* Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

McDonald, Myra 1995: *Representing Women: Myths of Femininity in the Popular Media*. London: Hodder Arnold.

McLaughlin, Lisa 1993: Feminism, the public sphere, media and democracy. *Media, Culture and Society*, 15(4), 599–620.

—— 1998: Gender, privacy and publicity in "media event space." In Cynthia Carter, Gill Branston, and Stuart Allan (eds.), *News, Gender and Power*. London: Routledge, 71–90.

—— 1999: Beyond "separate spheres": feminism and the cultural studies/political economy debate. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 23(4), 327–54.

—— 2002: Something old, something new: lingering moments in the unhappy marriage of Marxism and feminism. In Eileen R. Meehan and Ellen Riordan (eds.), *Sex and Money: Feminism and Political Economy in the Media*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 30–48.

McMillin, Divya 2003: Television, gender, and labor in the global city. *Journal of Communication*, 53(3), 496–511.

McNair, Brian 2002: *Striptease Culture: Sex, Media and the Democratisation of Desire*. London: Routledge.

——, Hibberd, Matthew and Schlesinger, Phillip 2003: *Mediated Access: Broadcasting and Democratic Participation in the Age of Mediated Politics*. Luton, UK: University of Luton Press.

McQuail, Denis 1992: *Media Performance: Mass Communication and the Public Interest*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

——1994: *Mass Communication Theory: An Introduction*, 3rd edn. London: Sage.

McRobbie, Angela 1978: Jackie*: Ideology of Adolescent Femininity*. Birmingham: University of Birmingham.

——1991: *Feminism and Youth Culture: from* Jackie *to* Just Seventeen. Boston: Unwin Hyman.

——2000: *Feminism and Youth Culture*, 2nd edn. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Media Watch 1995: *Global Media Monitoring Project: Women's Participation in the News*. Ontario: National Watch on Images of Women/Media Watch.

Meehan, Eileen R. 2002: Gendering the commodity audience: critical media research, feminism and political economy. In Eileen R. Meehan and Ellen Riordan (eds.), *Sex and Money: Feminism and Political Economy in the Media*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 209–22.

——and Riordan, Ellen (eds.) 2002: *Sex and Money: Feminism and Political Economy in the Media*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Meister, Melissa 1998: The importance of Sapphic subtext in *Xena: Warrior Princess*; available at www.whoosh.org (accessed September 19, 2004).

Melin-Higgins, Margareta 2004: Coping with journalism: gendered newsroom culture in Britain. In Marjan de Bruin and Karen Ross (eds.), *Gender and Newsroom Cultures: Identities at Work*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, 197–222.

——and Djerf-Pierre, Madeline 1998: Networking in newsrooms: journalist and gender cultures. Paper presented to the International Association of Media and Communication Research annual conference, Glasgow, July.

Mercer, Kobena 1988: Recoding narratives of race and nation. In Kobena Mercer (ed.), *Black Film: British Cinema*. ICA paper #7. London: British Film Institute/ ICA, 4–14.

Merck, Mandy 1986: Lianna and the lesbians of art cinema. In Charlotte Brunsdon (ed.), *Films for Women*. London: British Film Institute, 166–75.

Michielsens, Magda 1991: *Women in View: How Does BRTN Portray Women? An Audience Survey*. Brussels, BRTN/Commission of the European Communities.

Milkie, Melissa A. 2002: Contested images of feminity: an analysis of cultural gatekeepers' struggles with the "real girl" critique. *Gender & Society*, 16(6), 839–50.

Miller, Alan V. (compiler) 1991: *Our Own Voices: A Directory of Lesbian and Gay Periodicals, 1890s–1990s.* Toronto: Canadian Gay and Lesbian Archives.

Miller, Katherine 2005: *Communication Theories: Perspectives, Processes and Contexts*, 2nd edn. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Mills, Kay 1990: *A Place in the News: From the Women's Pages to the Front Page*. New York: Columbia University Press.

——1997: What difference do women journalists make? In Pippa Norris (ed.), *Women, Media and Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press, 41–56.

Mills, Sara 1999: Discourse competence: or how to theorize strong women speakers. In Christina Hendricks and Kelly Oliver (eds.), *Language and Liberation: Feminism, Philosophy and Language*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 81–127.

Mitchell, Caroline 2004: Dangerously feminine? Theory and praxis of women's alternative discourse. In Karen Ross and Carolyn M. Byerly (eds.), *Women and Media: International Perspectives*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 157–84.

Mitra, Ananda 2004: Voices of the marginalized on the Internet: examples from a website for women of South Asia. *Journal of Communication*, 54(3), 492–510.

Modleski, Tania 1979: The search for tomorrow in today's soap operas: notes on a feminine narrative form. *Film Quarterly*, 33(1), 12–21.

—— 1982: *Loving With a Vengeance: Mass-Produced Fantasies for Women*. London: Methuen.

Mohanty, Chandra Talpade 1991: Introduction: cartographies of struggle: Third World women and the politics of feminism. In Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Ann Russo, and Lourdes Torres (eds.), *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1–50.

——, Russo, Ann and Torres, Lourdes (eds.) 1991: *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Moorti, Sujata 2000: Inflamed passions. Fire, the woman question and the policing of cultural borders. *Genders Online Journal*, 32; www.gendersorg/g32/g32_moorti.html (accessed September 20, 2004).

—— 2002: *The Color of Rape: Gender and Race in Television's Public Spheres*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Moritz, Marguerite J. 1994: Old strategies for new texts: how American television is creating and treating lesbian characters. In R. Jeffrey Ringer (ed.), *Queer Words, Queer Images: Communication and the Construction of Homosexuality*. New York: New York University Press, 122–42.

Morley, David 1980: *The "Nationwide" Audience: Structure and Decoding*. London: British Film Institute.

Mufune, Jennifer 2003: Women: gender and media baseline study: monitoring the media in southern Africa. World Association of Christian Communication (WACC) website; www.wacc.org.uk/modules.php?name=News&file&sid=190 (accessed October 18, 2003).

Mulvey, Laura 1975: Visual pleasure and narrative cinema. *Screen*, 16(3), 6–19.

—— 1989: *Visual and Other Pleasures*. Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan Press.

Myers, Marian 1997: *News Accounts of Violence against Women: Engendering Blame*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Na, Misu 2001: The home computer in Korea: gender, technology and the family. *Feminist Media Studies*, 1(3), 291–306.

Nagrath, Sumati 2001: The bottom line: keeping the women out. *Intersections*, 1(2), 69–73.

Nassanga, L. G. 1997: Women, development and the media: the case for Uganda. *Media, Culture and Society*, 19(3), 471–6.

National Institute of Mental Health 1994: *Eating Disorders*. Rockville, MD: NIH Publication no 94–3477.

National Telecommunications and Information Administration 1999: Falling through the net: defining the digital divide; www.ntia.doc.gov/ntiahome/digitaldivide/ (accessed November 11, 2002).

Neale, Stephen 2000: *Genre and Hollywood*. London: Routledge.

Negra, Diane 2001: *Off-White Hollywood: American Culture and Ethnic Female Stardom*. London: Routledge.

Negrine, Ralph 1998: *Parliament and the Media*. London: Cassell.

Neves, Helena 1994: Speech to the *Prix Niki* conference. Lisbon, March.

Newcomb, Horace and Alley, Robert S. 1983: *The Producer's Medium*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Nightingale, Virginia 1996: *Studying Audiences: The Shock of the Real*. London: Routledge.

Nochimson, Martha 1992: *No End to Her: Soap Opera and the Female Subject*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Norris, Pippa 1997a: Women leaders worldwide: a splash of color in the photo op. In Pippa Norris (ed.), *Women, Media and Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 149–65.

—— (ed.) 1997b: *Women, Media and Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press.

—— 2001: *Digitial Divide, Civic Engagement, Information Poverty and the Internet Worldwide*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

North, Louise C. 2004: Naked women, feminism, and newsroom culture. *Australian Journal of Communication*, 31(2), 53–67.

NOS Gender Portrayal Department 1995: Interviewtechnieken in acualiteitenprogramma's (Interview techniques on male and female guests in Dutch current affairs features). Hilversum: NOS.

Nunn, Heather and Biressi, Anita 2003: *Silent Witness*: detection, femininity and the post-mortem body. *Feminist Media Studies*, 3(2), 193–204.

Nussbaum, Martha C. 2003: Genocide in Gujarat: the international community looks away. *Dissent* magazine (online edition), Summer; www.dissentmagazine.org/menutest/articles/su03/nussbaum.htm (accessed December 10, 2003).

Opoku-Mensah, Aida 2004: Hanging in there: women, gender and newsroom culture. In Marjan de Bruin and Karen Ross (eds.), *Gender and Newsroom Cultures: Identities at Work*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, 107–20.

Organ, Christine L., Brown, Charlene J. and Weaver, David 1979: Characteristics of managers of selected US daily newspapers. *Journalism Quarterly*, 56(4), 803–9.

O'Sullivan, Tim, Hartley, John, Saunders, Danny, Montgomery, Martin and Fiske, John 1994: Model (entry). In *Key Concepts in Communication and Cultural Studies*, New York: Routledge, 185.

Ouellette, Laurie 1999: Inventing the Cosmo girl: class identity and girl-style American dreams. *Media, Culture and Society*, 21(3), 359–83.

Owen, Sarah A. 1999: Vampires, post modernity and post feminism: *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*. *Journal of Popular Film and Television*, 27 (Summer), 24–31.

Parameswaran, Radhika 2002: Local culture in global media: excavating colonial and material discourses in *National Geographic*. *Communication Theory*, 12(3), 287–314.

Parmar, Pratibha 2000 [1993]: That moment of emergence. In E. Ann Kaplan (ed.), *Feminism and Film*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 375–83.

Penley, Constance (ed.) 1988: *Feminism and Film Theory*. London: Routledge.

—— 1991: *Brownian Motion: Women, Tactics and Technology*. In Constance Penley and Andrew Ross (eds.), *Technoculture*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 135–61.

Phegley, Jennifer 2004: *Educating the Proper Woman Reader: Victorian Family Literary Magazines and the Cultural Health of the Nation*. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press.

Phillips, Anne 1991: *Engendering Democracy*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Pingree, Suzanne and Hawkins, Rosemary P. 1978: News definitions and their effects on women. In Laurily Keir Epstein (ed.), *Women and the News*. Mamaroneak, NY, Hasting House.

Pinnock, Don 1997: Writing Left: the journalism of Ruth First and *The Guardian* in the 1950s. In Les Switzer (ed.), *South Africa's Alternative Press: Voices of Protest and Resistance, 1880–1960*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 308–30.

Pitt, Lisa 2003: Masculinities@work: gender inequality and the new media industries. *Feminist Media Studies*, 3(3), 378–82.

Plou, Dafne 2004 (June 5): Women: the right to communicate: women in the information society. World Association of Christian Communication (WACC) website; www.wacc.org (accessed August 14, 2004).

Pollock, Griselda 1977: What's wrong with images of women? *Screen Education*, 24, 25–34.

Powers, Kirsten A. 2005: More women on Op-Ed, please. *The Washington Post*, Saturday, March 26, p. A13.

Press, Andrea L. 1990: Class, gender and the female viewer: women's responses to *Dynasty*. In Mary Ellen Brown (ed.), *Television and Women's Culture: The Politics of the Popular*. London: Sage, 158–82.

Pribham, E. Deirdre 1988: *Female Spectators: Looking at Film and Television*. London: Verso.

Radway, Janice 1984: *Reading the Romance: Women, Patriarchy and Popular Literature*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Rai, Usha 1999: Women media practitioners. In *Changing Lenses: Women's Perspectives on Media*. Manila, the Philippines: Isis International – Manila.

——2004: Women in journalism – then and now. *Media and Gender*, the Hoot website; www.thehoot.org (accessed August 2, 2004).

Rao, Anupama (ed.) 2003: *Gender & Caste*. New Delhi: Kali for Women.

Rapping, Elayne 1994: *Media-tions: Forays into the Culture and Gender Wars*. Boston, MA: South End Press.

——1995: Daytime enquiries. In Gail Dines and Jean M. Humez (eds.), *Gender, Race and Class in Media*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 377–82.

Reese, Stephen D. 1990: The news paradigm and the ideology of objectivity: a socialist at *The Wall Street Journal*. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 7, 390–409.

Rege, Sharmila 2004: Dalit women talk differently: a critique of "difference" and towards a dalit feminist standpoint position. In Maitrayee Chaudhuri (ed.), *Feminism in India*. New Delhi: Kali for Women & Women Unlimited, 211–27.

Reichert, Tom and Lambiase, Jacqueline (eds.) 2003: *Sex in Advertising: Perspectives on the Erotic Appeal*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Rense, Rip 1991: Color blind. *Emmy*, 13(1), 33–7.

Riaño, Pilar 1991: Myths of the silenced: women and grassroots communication. *Media Development*, 2, 20–2.

——(ed.) 1994: *Women in Grassroots Communication: Furthering Social Change*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Riaño-Alcalá, Pilar, Colorado, Marta and Perez, Berta Alicia 2001: Four Latin American women in the downtown Eastside of Vancouver: health, housing and immigration. Report; www.sfu.ca/~fisls/four_latin_american_women.doc (accessed November 1, 2004).

Rich, B. Ruby 1986 [1983]: Anti-porn: soft issue, hard world. In Charlotte Brunsdon (ed.), *Films for Women*. London: British Film Institute, 31–43.

——1992: In the eyes of the beholder. *The Voice*, January 28.

Right to Communicate Overview n.d.: Right to Communicate website; www.righttocommunicate.org/printContent.atm (accessed August 2, 2004).

Riordan, Ellen 2002: Intersections and new directions: on feminism and political economy. In Eileen R. Meehan and Ellen Riordan (eds.), *Sex and Money: Feminism and Political Economy in the Media*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 3–15.

——2004: The woman warrior: a feminist political economic analysis of *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*. In Karen Ross and Carolyn M. Byerly (eds.), *Women and Media: International Perspectives*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 81–103.

Roach, Colleen 1990: The movement for a New World Information and Communication Order: a second wave? *Media, Culture and Society*, 12, 283–307.

Robertson, Nan 1992: *The Girls in the Balcony: Women, Men and the New York Times*. New York: Fawcett Columbine.
Robins, Melinda 2002: Are African women online just ICT consumers? *Gazette*, 64(3), 235–49.
Robinson, Gertrude J. 2005: *Gender, Journalism and Equity: Canadian, US and European Perspectives*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
——and Saint-Jean, Armande 1997: *Women's Participation in the Canadian News Media: Progress Since the 1970s*. Unpublished report, McGill University, Montreal.
Rodgerson, Gillian and Wilson, Elizabeth (eds.) 1991: *Pornography and Feminism: The Case Against Censorship*. London: Lawrence & Wishart.
Rodino, Michelle 2003: Mobilizing mother. *Feminist Media Studies*, 3(3), 375–8.
Rommes, Els 2002: Creating places for women on the Internet: the design of a "women's square" in a digital city. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 9(4), 400–29.
Root, Jane 1986: *Open the Box: About Television*. London: Channel 4 and Comedia series no. 34.
Ross, Karen 1995a: Gender and party politics – how the press reported the Labour leadership campaign, 1994. *Media, Culture and Society*, 17(3), 499–509.
——1995b: Skirting the issue: political women and the media. *Everywoman*, 199, 16–17.
——1995c: Women and the news agenda: media-ted reality and Jane Public. Discussion Papers in Mass Communication. Leicester, UK: University of Leicester.
——1996: *Black and White Media: Black Images in Popular Film and Television*. London: Polity Press.
——1997a: Two-tone telly: black British audiences and television. *Communications: the European Journal of Communication Research*, 22(1), 93–108.
——1997b: *Watching Women: Election '97*. London: Fawcett Society.
——1998: Making race matter: an overview. In Bob Franklin and David Murphy (eds.), *Making the Local News: Local Journalism in Context*. London: Routledge, 228–40.
——2000: *Women at the Top 2000: Cracking the Public Sector Glass Ceiling*. King-Hall Paper no. 9. London: Hansard Society.
——2001: Women at work: journalism as en-gendered practice. *Journalism Studies*, 2(4), 531–44.
——2002: *Women, Politics, Media: Uneasy Relations in Comparative Perspective*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
——2004a: Political talk radio and democratic participation: caller perspectives on *Election Call*. *Media, Culture and Society*, 26(6), 785–801.
——2004b: The Global Media Monitoring Project. *Media and Gender Monitor 14*, February 14, 2–3.

——2004c: Women framed: the gendered turn in mediated politics. In Karen Ross and Carolyn M. Byerly (eds.), *Women and Media: International Perspectives*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 60–80.

——2005: Women in the boyzone: gender, news and herstory. In Stuart Allan (ed.), *Journalism: Critical Issues*. Buckingham, UK: Open University Press, ch. 21.

——and Nightingale, Virginia 2003: *Media and Audiences: New Perspectives*. Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.

——and Sreberny, Annabelle 2000: Women in the House: media representations of British politicians. In Annabelle Sreberny and Liesbet van Zoonen (eds.), *Gender, Politics and Communication*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, 79–110.

——and Sreberny-Mohammadi, Annabelle 1997: Playing house – gender, politics and the news media in Britain. *Media, Culture and Society*, 19(1), 101–9.

Ross, Leone 1993: Home boy rides into town. *The Voice*, November 23.

Rowe, Kathleen K. 1990: *Roseanne*: unruly woman as domestic goddess. *Screen*, 31(4), 408–19.

Rubin, A. W. 1985: The uses of daytime television serials by college students: an examination of viewing motives. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, 29, 241–58.

Rush, Ramona R. 2001: Three decades of women and mass communications research: the ratio of recurrent and reinforced residuum hypothesis (R^3) revisited. Paper presented at Donna Allen Memorial Symposium, Freedom Forum, Roslyn, VA.

Russell, Diana E. H. 1998: *Dangerous Relationships: Pornography, Misogyny and Rape*. London: Sage.

——and Harmes, Roberta A. (eds.) 2001: *Femicide in Global Perspective*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Ryan, Mary P. 1992: Gender and public access: women's politics in nineteenth century America. In Craig Calhoun (ed.), *Habermas and the Public Sphere*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 259–88.

Sakamoto, Kazue 1999: Reading Japanese women's magazines: the construction of new identities in the 1970s and 1980s. *Media, Culture and Society*, 21(2), 173–93.

Salmon, Catherine and Symons, Donald 2001: *Warrior Lovers: Erotic Fiction, Evolution and Female Sexuality*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Sancho-Aldridge, Jane 1997: *Election '97*. London: Independent Television Commission.

Sanders, Karen 2003: *Ethics and Journalism*. London: Sage.

Sanders, Marlene and Rock, Marcia 1988: *Waiting for Prime Time: The Women of Television News*. New York: Harper & Row.

Santa Cruz, Adriana 1989: Alternative communication and Latin American women.

In Ramona R. Rush and Donna Allen (eds.), *Communication at the Crossroads: The Gender Gap Connection*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 251–64.

Sassen, Saskia 1998: *Globalization and its Discontents*. New York: The New Press.

Scodari, Christine 1998: No politics here: age and gender in soap opera cyber-fandom. *Women's Studies in Communication*, 21(2), 168–87.

——2004: *Serial Monogamy: Soap Opera, Lifespan and the Gendered Politics of Fantasy*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Selwyn, Neil 2004: Reconsidering political and popular understandings of the digital divide. *New Media and Society*, 6(3), 341–62.

Sen, Ashish 2004: Media reform in India: legitimising community media. World Association of Christian Communication (WACC) website; www.wacc.org.uk/modulesphp?name=News&file=print&sid=1491 (accessed February 26, 2004).

Sen, Ilina 2004: Women's politics in India. In Maitrayee Chaudhuri (ed.), *Feminism in India*. New Delhi: Kali for Women & Women Unlimited, 187–210.

Sen, Jai, Anand, Anita, Escobar, Arturo and Waterman, Peter 2004: *World Social Forum: Challenging Empires*. New Delhi: The Viveka Foundation.

Shade, Leslie Regan 1999: Whose right to communicate? Conference paper presented at Citizens at the Crossroads: Whose Information Society, London, Canada, October 21–24, 1999; available at http://courseweb.edteched.uottawa.ca/cmn2180/rightspaper.htm (accessed August 18, 2004).

Shohat, Ella 1997: Framing post-third-worldist culture: gender and nation in Middle Eastern/North African film and video. *Jouvert*, 1(1); http://social.chass.ncsu.edu/jouvert/viii/shohat.htm (accessed September 10, 2004).

Sieghart, Mary Anne and Henry, Georgina 1998: *The Cheaper Sex: How Women Lose Out in Journalism*. London: Women In Journalism.

Singh, Supriya 2001: Gender and the use of the Internet at home. *New Media and Society*, 3(4), 395–416.

Siochrú, Seán Ó. and Girard, Bruce, with Mahan, A. 2002: *Global Media Governance: A Beginner's Guide*. Lanham, MD: Rowan & Littlefield.

Skidmore, Paula 1995: Telling tales: media power, ideology and the reporting of child sexual abuse. In David Kidd-Hewitt and Richard Osborne (eds.), *Crime and Media: The Postmodern Spectacle*. London: Pluto Press, 78–106.

——1998: Gender and the agenda: news reporting of child sexual abuse. In Cynthia Carter, Gill Branston, and Stuart Allan (eds.), *News, Gender and Power*. London: Routledge, 204–19.

Slide, Anthony 1996: *The Silent Feminists: America's First Woman Directors*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press.

Smith, Conrad, Fredin, Eric S. and Nardone, Carroll Ann Ferguson 1993: Television: the nature of sex discrimination in local television news shops. In Pamela J. Creedon (ed.), *Women in Mass Communication*, 2nd edn. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 171–82.

Smith, Dorothy 1990: *Texts, Facts, and Femininity: Exploring the Relations of Ruling*. London: Routledge.

Smith-Shomade, Beretta E. 2002: *Shaded Lives: African-American Women and Television*. Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Soothill, Keith and Walby, Sylvia 1991: *Sex Crime in the News*. London: Routledge.

Sparks, Colin 2002: Empowering women and men through participatory structures. *Media Development*, 49(1), 3–6.

Spears, G. and Seydergaart, K., with Gallagher, M. 2000: *Who Makes the News? Global Media Monitoring Project 2000*. London: World Association for Christian Communication.

Spender, Dale 1995: *Nattering on the Net: Women, Power, and Cyberspace*. North Melbourne, Australia: Spinifex Press.

Spilker, Hendrik and Sørensen, Knut H. 2000: A ROM of one's own or a home for sharing? Designing the inclusion of women in multimedia. *New Media and Society*, 2(3), 268–85.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty 1988: Can the subaltern speak? In Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (eds.), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. London: Macmillan, 271–313.

Squire, Corrine 1994: Empowering women? *The Oprah Winfrey Show*. *Feminism and Psychology*, 4(1), 63–79.

Sreberny-Mohammadi, Annabelle 1994: Women talking politics. In *Perspectives on Women in Television*. Research Working Paper 9. London: Broadcasting Standards Council, 60–79.

——and Ross, Karen 1996: Women MPs and the media: representing the body politic. In Joni Lovenduski and Pippa Norris (eds.), *Women in Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 105–17.

Stacey, Jackie 1994: *Star Gazing: Hollywood Cinema and Female Spectatorship*. New York: Routledge.

Stafford, Nikki 1998: *Lucy Lawless: Warrior Star of* Xena. Toronto: ECW Press.

Staiger, Janet 2000: *Perverse Spectators: The Practices of Film Reception.* New York: New York Press.

Steeves, H. Leslie 1987: Feminist theories and media studies. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 4(2), 95–135.

——2004: Trends in feminist scholarship in journalism and communication: finding common ground between scholars and activists globally. In Ramona R. Rush, Carol E. Oukrup, and Pamela J. Creedon (eds.), *Seeking Equity for Women in Journalism and Mass Communication*. Mahway, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 289–312.

——and Wasko, Janet 2002: Feminist theory and political economy: toward a friendly alliance. In Eileen R. Meehan and Ellen Riordan (eds.), *Sex and Money:*

Feminism and Political Economy in the Media. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 16–29.

Steiner, Linda 1983: Finding community in nineteenth century suffrage periodicals. *American Journalism*, 1 (Summer), 3–4, 7, 9.

—— 1998: Newsroom accounts of power at work. In Cynthia Carter, Gill Branston, and Stuart Allan (eds.), *News, Gender and Power*. London: Routledge, 145–59.

Stephenson, Mary-Anne 1998: *The Glass Trapdoor: Women, Politics and the Media During the 1997 General Election*. London: Fawcett Society.

Sterne, Jonathan and Stabile, Carol 2003: Using women as middle men: the real promise of ICTs. *Feminist Media Studies*, 3(3), 364–8.

Streitmatter, Rodger 1994: *Raising Her Voice: African-American Women Journalists Who Changed History*. Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky.

Stuart, Andrea 1994: Blackpool illumination. *Sight & Sound*, 4(2), 26–7.

Sylvester, Judith and Huffman, Suzanne 2002: *Women Journalists at Ground Zero: Covering Crisis*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Tasker, Yvonne 1993: *Spectacular Bodies: Gender, Genre and the Action Cinema*. London: Comedia/Routledge.

—— 1998: *Working Girls: Gender and Sexuality in Popular Cinema*. London: Routledge

Tavris, Carol 1992: *The Mismeasure of Woman*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Taylor, Helen 1989: *Scarlett's Women:* Gone with the Wind *and its Female Fans*. London: Virago.

Taylor, M. and Quayle, E. 2003: *Child Pornography: An Internet Crime*. London: Brunner-Routledge.

The Hindu 2003: Campaign for relief to acid attack victims. December 28; www.thehindu.com/2003122812130300.htm (accessed October 31, 2004).

The Times of India 2004: 25-year-old woman commits suicide. January 7, p. 3.

Thomas, Lyn 2002: *Fans, Feminisms and "Quality" Media*. London: Routledge.

Thomas, Richard 1996: Blair's bad hair day. *The Guardian*, November 7.

Thornham, Sue (ed.) 1999: *Feminist Film Theory: A Reader*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Tinkler, Penny 1995: *Constructing Girlhood: Popular Magazines for Girls Growing Up in England, 1920–50*. London: Taylor & Francis.

Tuchman, Gaye 1978a: Introduction: the symbolic annihilation of women by the mass media. In Gaye Tuchman, Arlene Kaplan Daniels, and James Benet (eds.), *Hearth and Home: Images of Women in the Mass Media*. New York: Oxford University Press.

—— 1978b: *Making the News*. New York: The Free Press.

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

Tufte, Thomas 2000: *Living with the Rubbish Queen: Telenovelas, Culture and Modernity in Brazil*. Luton, UK: University of Luton Press.

Tunstall, Jeremy 1977: *The Media are American*. London: Constable.

Turan, Kenneth 1992: *Daughters* recaptures power of Gullah past. *The Los Angeles Times*, March 6.

Turkle, Sherry 1995: *Life on the Screen: Identity in the Age of the Internet*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Turow, Joseph 1994: Hidden conflicts and journalistic norms: the case of self-coverage. *Journal of Communication*, 44(2), 29–46.

UNESCO 1980: *Women in the Media*. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

United Nations 1948: Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights website; www.unhchr.ch/udhr/lang/eng.htm, Article 19 (accessed August 2, 2004).

—— 1976: Project Request, July 1. New York: UN Fund for Population Agency (UNFPA).

—— 1995: *United Nations and the Advancement of Women 1945–1995*. New York: UN Department of Public Information.

—— 1996: *World Investment Report on Transnational Corporations and Competitiveness, 1995*. New York: UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), Division on Transnational Corporations and Investment.

University of Loughborough 1992: *Election Study for* The Guardian. Loughborough, UK: University of Loughborough.

—— 1997: Election study for *The Guardian*, post election review. *The Guardian*, May 2.

Urban, D. 1996: Uses of local media in consolidation of democracy. In Dorrit K. Marks (ed.), *Women and Grass Roots Democracy in the Americas: Sustaining the Initiative*. Miami, FL: North–South Center Press (University of Miami), 119–24.

van Zoonen, Liesbet 1989: Professional socialization of feminist journalists in the Netherlands. *Women's Studies in Communication*, 12(3), 1–23.

—— 1998: One of the girls? The changing gender of journalism. In Cynthia Carter, Gill Branston, and Stuart Allan (eds.), *News, Gender and Power*. London: Routledge, 33–46.

—— 2001: Feminist Internet studies. *Feminist Media Studies*, 1(1), 67–72.

—— 2002: Gendering the net: claims, controversies and cultures. *European Journal of Communication*, 17(1), 5–23.

Vares, Tiina 2002: Framing "killer" women films: audience use of genre. *Feminist Media Studies*, 2(2), 213–29.

Vetten, Lisa 1998: Reporting on rape in South Africa. *Women's Media Watch Newsletter*, 3, 5–8.

Venkatram, Shree c.2002: *Women in Print*. New Delhi: Unnati Features.

Virmani, Shabnam 2001: Women making meaning: telling stories about reality in India. *Feminist Media Studies*, 1(2), 233–43.
Wagner, Sally Roesch 1996: *The Untold Story of the Iroquois Influence on Early Feminists*. Aberdeen, SD: Sky Carrier Press.
Wakeford, Nina 2003: The embedding of local culture in global communication: independent Internet cafés in London. *New Media and Society*, 5(3), 379–99.
Walker, Alice 1981: Coming apart. In *You Can't Keep a Good Woman Down*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 41–53.
Walker, Nancy A. 2000: *Shaping Our Mothers' World: American Women's Magazines*. Mississippi: University Press of Mississippi.
——(ed.) 1998: *Women's Magazines, 1940–1960*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
Wallace, Michelle 1970: *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman*. New York: Dial Press.
Waller-Zuckerman, Mary-Ellen 1998: *A History of Popular Women's Magazines in the United States, 1792–1995*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
Walsh Childers, Kim, Chance, Jean and Herzog, Kristin 1996: Sexual harassment of women journalists. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 73(3), 559–81.
Warner, W. L. and Henry, S. E. 1948: The radio day time serial: a symbolic analysis. *Genetic Psychology* Monographs, 37, 71.
Warschauer, M. 2003: *Technology and Social Inclusion: Rethinking the Digital Divide*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
Weaver, David H. 1992: A secret no more. *Washington Journalism Review*, September, 23–7.
——1997: Women as journalists. In Pippa Norris (ed.), *Women, Media and Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press, 21–40.
Weibel, Kathryn 1977: *Mirror Mirror: Images of Women Reflected in Popular Culture*. New York: Anchor Books.
Weisbrot, Robert 1998: Xena: Warrior Princess*: The Official Guide to the Xenaverse*. London: Bantam Books.
White, Michelle 2003: Too close to see: men, women and webcams. *New Media and Society*, 5(1), 7–28.
Williamson, Judith 1994: *Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising*. New York: Marion Boyars.
Wilson, T. 1993: *Watching Television: Hermeneutics, Reception and Popular Culture*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
Winship, Janice 1980: *Advertising in Women's Magazines*. Birmingham: University of Birmingham.
——1987: *Inside Women's Magazines*. London: Oram Press/Pandora List.
——1990: *Women's Magazines*. Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.

Wober, Mallory 1981: *Television and Women: Viewing Patterns and Perceptions of Ideal Actual and Portrayed Women's Roles*. Report.

Wolf, Naomi 1992: *The Beauty Myth: How Images of Beauty are Used against Women*. New York: Anchor/Doubleday.

Women's Feature Service 2003: *Annual Report for the Period October 16, 2002 to October 15, 2003*. New Delhi: Women's Feature Service.

Women in Journalism 1996: *Women in the News: Does Sex Change the Way a Newspaper Thinks?* London: Women in Journalism.

Women's Broadcasting Committee 1993: *Her Point of View*. London: WBC and Bectu.

Women's Communication Centre 1996: *What Women Want*. London: WCC.

World Association for Christian Communication 2000: *Global Media Monitoring Project 2000*. London: WACC.

Wykes, Maggie 1998: A family affair: the British press, sex and the Wests. In Cynthia Carter, Gill Branston, and Stuart Allan (eds.), *News, Gender and Power*. London: Routledge, 233–47.

——— and Gunter, Barrie 2004: *The Media and Body Image: If Looks Could Kill*. London: Sage.

Yearwood, Gladstone 1992: Towards a theory of a black cinema aesthetic. In Gladstone Yearwood (ed.), *Black Cinema Aesthetics: Issues in Black Filmmaking*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 9–18.

Young, Lola 1996: *Fear of the Dark: "Race", Gender and Sexuality in the Cinema*. London: Routledge.

Youngs, Gillian 2001: The political economy of time in the Internet era: feminist perspectives and challenges. *Information, Communication and Society*, 4(1), 14–33.

——— 2004: Cyberspace: the new feminist frontier? In Karen Ross and Carolyn M. Byerly (eds.), *Women and Media: International Perspectives*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 157–84.

Yuen Carrucan, Jasmine 2000: The politics of Deepa Mehta's *Water*. *Bright Lights Film Journal*, 28 (April); www.brightlightsfilm.com/28/water.html (accessed July 3, 2005).

Zeilizer, Barbie 1993: Journalists as interpretive communities. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 10(2), 219–37.

Zilliacus-Tikkanen, Henrika 1997: *The Essence of Journalism from a Gender Perspective* (transl.). Helsinki: Ylesradio Publications A1.

Zoch, Lynn M. and VanSlyke Turk, Judy 1998: Women making news: gender as a variable in source selection and use. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 75(4), 762–75.

Appendix: Research Participants

The following people took part in the cross-cultural study on women's media activism:

Margot Adler, broadcast journalist, National Public Radio, USA
Agenda (Magazine) Collective, South Africa
Lubna Yousif Ali, print journalist and proofreader, Sudan
Martha Allen, director, Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, USA
Anita Anand, therapist in private practice (former director, Women's Feature Service), India
Sash Banerjee, board member, Point of View, India
Virginie Barré, freelance journalist and member, l'Association des Femmes Journalistes, France
Nupur Basu, broadcast journalist and documentary filmmaker, NDTV, India
Suzanne Francis Brown, freelance print journalist, and teacher at the Caribbean Institute of Media and Development, Jamaica
Jo Campbell, print journalist and editor, Ecotopics International News Service, USA
Libay Linsangan Cantor, media campaigns associate, Isis International – Manila, the Philippines
Red Chidgey, FingerBang distro, UK
Inja Coates, Media Tank, USA
Stacey Cone, faculty member, University of Iowa (former producer with CNN), USA

Angela Cuevas de Dolmetsch, attorney, Women's Peace Boat, and radio and television producer, "Looking at the World Through Women's Eyes," Colombia

Patience (Patti) Dapaah, development journalist, Ghana

Rajashri Dasgupta, print journalist and co-founder of Network of Women in Media, India

Bishakha Datta, program director and filmmaker, Point of View, India

Dorothy Dean, elected official (formerly with women's music productions and newsletters), USA

Deepa Dhanraj, documentary filmmaker, India

Aliza Dichter, director of programs, Center for International Media Action, USA (formerly with Media Channel)

Nombuso Dlamini, Soul Beat Africa, South Africa

Jennifer Drew, co-chair of Object and member of London3rdWave, UK

Margaret Gallagher, independent researcher and author, UK

Tanushree Gangopadhyay, print journalist, India

Patricia Gaston, national desk editor, *The Washington Post*, USA (formerly with *The Dallas Morning News*)

Nomusa Gaxa, print journalist, South Africa

Sheila Gibbons, editor, *Media Report to Women*, USA

Vasanthi Hariprakash, freelance print journalist, India

Jay Hartling, producer, *America Latina al Dia* radio program, USA

Ulrike Helwerth, Deutscher Fraunet (National Council of German Women's Organizations), Germany

Natacha Henry, print journalist and member of l'Association de Femmes Journalistes, France

Katharine (K. T.) Jarmul, broadcast journalist, KCSB-FM radio station, USA

Rita Henley Jensen, print journalist and founder and director of Women's eNews, USA

Ammu Joseph, freelance journalist, author, and co-founder of Network of Women in Media, India

Sonal Kellogg, print journalist, India

Abhilasha Kumari, sociologist and academic researcher, India

Trella Laughlin, creator and producer of the *Let the People Speak!*" television program, USA

Jill Lawrence, co-originator and former member, Sophie's Parlor Radio Collective, USA

Anne Lewis, documentary filmmaker, USA

Margaret Lewis, Sheffield Women's Forum Media Action Group, UK

Dalia Liran-Alper, former chair, Women's Status Committee, Israeli Broadcasting Authority, Israel

Anjali Mathur, print journalist and co-founder of Network of Women in Media, Bombay [Mumbai] chapter, India

Preeti Mehra, print journalist, The Hindu Business Line, India (formerly with Women in Media in Bombay [Mumbai])

Madeleine Memb, producer of the *Au Nom de la Femme*radio program and member of the International Association of Women in Radio and TV, Cameroon

Ritu Menon, Women Unlimited and co-founder of Kali for Women Press, India

Kristie Miller, print journalist, USA (former board member, Chicago Tribune board of directors)

Colleen Lowe Morna, director, Gender Links, South Africa

Mildred Mulenga, print journalist, Pan African News Agency, Zambia

Jeroo Mulla, head, Social Communications Media Department, Sophia Polytechnic Institute, India

Laxmi Murthy, Saheli Women's Group, Editor for India Resource Center, and member of the International Federation of Journalists, India

Sakuntala Narasimhan, *Femina* magazine and columnist for Women's Feature Service, India

Hilary Nicholson, program coordinator, Women's Media Watch, Jamaica

Louise North, print journalist and workshop leader on women and media issues, Australia

Crystal Oderson, senior political writer, South African Broadcasting Corporation, South Africa

Anghana Parekh, print journalist and director of Women's Feature Service, India

Seeta Pena Gangadharan, co-founder, Center for International Media Action, USA

Grace Poore, documentary filmmaker and director, Shakti Productions, LLC, Malaysia and USA

Janne Poort-van Eeden, videomaker and Women Peacemakers Program, Education Office, International Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Netherlands

Jennifer Pozner, print journalist and founder of Women in Media and News, USA (former writer for *Sojourners* and Fairness and Accuracy in Media Newsletter)

M. Radhika, print journalist and chair of the Network of Women in Media in India, Bangalore chapter, India

Sasha Rakoff, founder and director, Object, UK

Moira Rankin, co-originator and former member, Sophie's Parlor Radio Collective, USA

Sandhya Rao, former director, Hengasara Hakkina Sangha women's rights organization, India

Chelsia Rice, chair and editor for the Women's Resource Center, Portland Community College, and writer for *The Alliance* newspaper, USA

Joan Ross-Frankson, Women's Environmental Development Organization, USA (formerly with Sistren, Jamaica)

Howedia Saleem Jabir, print journalist with the *Khartoum Monitor* (English), and member of the Center for Arab Women's Training and Research and ENGEAD Center, Sudan

Judy Sandison, editor of new media (Special News Services), South African Broadcasting Corporation, South Africa

Boden Sandstrom, former member of the Sophie's Parlor Radio Collective, and president of City Sound Productions, USA

Sanjana, member of Pedestrian Pictures collective and documentary filmmaker, India

Vicki Semler, director, International Women's Tribune Center, USA

Gargi Sen, member, Magic Lantern Foundation film collective, India

Ramesh Sepehrrad, president, National Committee of Women for a Democratic Iran, Iran and USA

Geeta Seshu, officer in the Bombay [Mumbai] Union of Journalists and member of the BUJ's Women's Committee; and lecturer, Research Centre for Women's Studies, SNDT University, India

D. S. Shamantha Mani, freelance development media professional and project director of the Saarathi Resource Center for Communications, India

Kalpana Sharma, Bombay [Mumbai] bureau chief of *The Hindu* newspaper, and co-founder of Network of Women in Media, India

Gretchen Luchsinger Sidhu, development communications consultant, and former reporter and editor for Women's Feature Service, USA

Akhila Sivadas, director, Center for Advocacy and Research, India

Judith Smith, director, Women's Media Watch, South Africa

Patricia Solano, editor, *Quehaceres* newspaper, Centro de Investigación para la Acción Femenina, Dominican Republic

Sureka Sule, print journalist and fellow at the Ministry of Water Resources, and member of Women in Media, India

Sandhya Taksale, print journalist and member of Women in Media, India

A. E. Tijhoff, member, *de Natte Vinger* (The Wet Finger), the Netherlands

Sue Valentine, Internet journalist, South Africa

Shree Venkatram, print journalist, and founder and director of Unnati Features, India

Sylvia Vollenhoven, print journalist, South Africa

Frieda Werden, co-founder and producer, Women's International News-gathering Service (WINGS), Canada

Claudia Wulz, co-producer of lesbian-feminist radio programs, the Netherlands

Debra Zimmerman, executive director, Women Make Movies, USA

Jane Zondo, journalist and producer, Channel Africa, South Africa

Name Index

Abbott, Dorothy 221
Abzug, Bella 197
Adler, Margot 155, 159, 163–4
Aldana, Celia 195–6
Alexander, Karen 86
Alfaro, R. 152
Allan, Stuart 39, 54
Allen, Donna 94, 106, 134, 193, 209, 210, 218, 233
Allen, Martha Leslie 106, 186, 193–4, 233
Anand, Anita 114, 211, 212–14
Ananda, Mitra 204
Andermahr, Sonya 167
Anderson, Bonnie S. 208, 234
Andrae, Thomas 24
Ang, Ien 22, 58–9, 62
Arnaldo, Carlos A. 70
Arnheim, Rudolph 57
Arnold, Rebecca 50
Aronson, Amy Beth 49
Arthurs, Jane 91
Attile, Martine 86

Bakker, Isabella 229
Ballaster, Ros 50
Balme, Helen 71
Basinger, Jeanne 19
Basu, Amrita 2
Beale, Alison 77
Beasley, Maureen H. 162, 193, 234
Becker, Ron 35
Beckett, Margaret 46
Beetham, Margaret 49
Benedict, Helen 43
Benet, James 17, 40
Bennett, W. Lance 39, 92, 121
Berger, John 20
Berkowitz, Sandra 102
Berns, Nancy 43
Bhaiya, Abha 138
Bielby, Denise D. 62
Biressi, Anita 25
Blackwood, Maureen 86
Boaden, Helen 93
Bobo, Jacqueline 29, 31, 61, 63
Bonfadelli, Heinz 71–2
Bordo, Susan 53
Bose, Brinda 227
Boulding, Elise 2, 101, 104, 113
Bourne, Stephen 29, 32

Branston, Gill 78
Brown, Mary Ellen 22, 57, 60
Brunsdon, Charlotte 21, 22, 24, 58, 63, 85
Burch, Sally 114
Burrell, Ian 94
Burt, Elizabeth V. 172
Butalia, Urvashi 227–8
Butler, Alison 83, 84
Buzzanell, Patrice M. 102
Byerly, Carolyn M. 6, 7, 76, 77, 78, 79, 81, 92, 101, 103, 113, 119, 122, 123, 155, 163, 212, 213, 237

Caputi, J. 37
Carstarphen, Meta G. 30
Carter, Cynthia 37, 41, 78
Caswell, C. Evans 121
Ceulemans, Mieke 17
Chadha, Gurinder 86, 87, 88, 90
Chambers, Deborah 82, 161
Chance, Jean 81
Chapman, James 24
Chaudhuri, Maitrayee 2, 4, 227
Clover, Carol J. 27, 64
Cohen, Jean L. 119
Colorado, Marta 147
Compesi, R. J. 57
Compton, Laura 52
Cottingham, Jane 105, 106
Cottle, Simon 39
Craft, Christine 81–2
Creed, Barbara 21
Cresser, Frances 71
Cresson, Edith 37
Croteau, David 32, 39
Cuklanz, Lisa M. 42, 43
Cuthbert, Marlene 106

D'Acci, Julie 62
Damon-Moore, Helen 49
Daniels, Arlene Kaplan 17, 40
Dash, Julie 87–8
Davenport, Katherine 220
David, Prabu 68
Davis, Angela Y. 4
de Courtivron, Isabelle 238
de Lauretis, Teresa 84, 238
Densmore, Dana 134, 209, 233
Desai, Jigna 90
Djerf-Pierre, Madeline 79, 80
Douglas, Susan 25
Drob, Gil 44
Durham, Meenakshi Gigi 50

Edut, Ophira 50
Elson, Diane 158, 171, 179, 187
Engels, Friedrich 6
Entman, Robert M. 39
Escobar, Arturo 114
Estrich, Susan 80

Fahmy, Shahira 42
Fauconnier, Guido 17
Felski, Rita 116
Fielding, Helen 52–3
Firestone, Shulamith 6
First, Ruth 116
Fiske, John 107
Fleming, Carole 82, 161
Fowler, Roger 44
Franklin, Bob 39
Fraser, Nancy 117, 118–19
Frazer, Elizabeth 50
Fudge, Rachel 27

Gaines, Jane 21
Gajjala, Radhika 73
Galician, Mary-Lou 53
Gallagher, Margaret 7, 17, 47, 75, 101, 113, 122, 124, 126, 162, 185, 186, 189–90
Gamman, Lorraine 63
Gans, Herbert J. 47

Gauntlett, David 52, 68
Geraghty, Christine 22–3, 58
Gerbner, George 196
Gibbons, Sheila J. 162, 193, 211, 219, 234
Giddens, Anthony 188
Gillespie, Carmen R. 29
Gillwald, Alison 66, 79
Gilmour, Heather 72
Gledhill, Christine 21
Goldenberg, Edie N. 44
Gole, Nilufer 99, 119
Gough-Yates, Anna 25, 50
Gramsci, Antonio 167
Gross, Larry 34
Grosz, Elizabeth 21
Gunn, Lesley 71
Gunter, Barrie 50
Guy, Alice 83
Gwenllian Jones, Sara 28

Habermas, Jürgen 117–21, 238–9
Hall, Stuart 66
Hantzis, Darlene M. 32, 33, 34
Harcourt, Wendy 69
Harrington, C. Lee 34, 62
Harris, Leslie 87
Hartley, John 107
Hartsock, Nancy C. M. 102
Haskell, Molly 19
Hayzer, Noeleen 12–13
Heaton, Louis 32
Hebron, Sandra 50
Hegel, Georg 6
Henry, Georgina 81
Henry, S. E. 57
Hepburn, Katharine 56
Hermes, Joke 67
Hernandez, Debra Gersh 48
Hernandez, Zoila 123
Herzog, Hannah 57
Herzog, Kristin 81
Hesse-Biber, Sharlene 53
Hibberd, Matthew 48
Hill Collins, Patricia 4
Hill, Annette 65
Hinds, Hilary 33
Hobson, Dorothy 22, 58, 59, 60
hooks, bell 29
Hoynes, William 32, 39
Humm, Maggie 18–19, 20

Inness, Sherrie A. 25, 26, 28
Iozzi, David P. 121
Iyengar, Shanto 39

Jain, Devaki 139
Jayamanne, Laleen 21
Jennings, Ros 27
Johnson, Melissa A. 68
Johnson-Odim, Cheryl 5
Jones, Nicholas 39
Joseph, Ammu 79, 92, 158, 159, 172, 174, 182

Kahn, Kim Fridkin 44
Kanwar, Roop 173
Kaplan, E. Ann 19, 63, 85
Kapoor, Priya 72–3
Kasbekar, Kiron 136
Katz, James E. 70
Kaul, Malvika 174
Kelber, Mim 197
Keller, Kathryn 51
Kemp, Amanda 5, 119
Kerber, Linda K. 4, 121–2
Kielbowicz, Richard 113
Kilbourne, Jean 37, 49, 50, 53–4
Kinsey, Michael 80
Kitzinger, Jenny 41, 42
Komter, Aafke 79
Kramarae, Cheris 102
Kuhn, Annette 63
Kuhn, Maggie 223

Kumar, Radha 227
Kurian, Priya A. 70
Kwan, Mei-Po 70

Lægran, Anne Sofie 71
Lafuente, María Suárez 19–20
Lagos, Taso 121
Lamas, Marta 123
Lambiase, Jacqueline 52
Lant, Antonia 19
Lauer, Nancy Cook 78
Lauzen, Martha D. 78
Lavie, Aliza 92
Lawrence, Carmen 46
Lee, Ang 77
Lee, Francis L. F. 46
Lee, Sarah 71
Lees, Sue 42
Lehman-Wilzig, S. 92
Lehr, Valerie 32, 33, 34
Lemish, Dafna 41, 44, 161
Lesage, Julie 83–4
Levitin, Jacqueline 84
Liebler, Carol 47, 92
Lipson, Joanne 208
Liran-Alper, Dalia 44, 159, 160–1, 237
Lisanti, Tom 24
Lovell, Terry 61, 167
Lünenborg, Margaret 77
Luther, Catherine A. 52, 67

Mackie, Erin 49
Madlala, Nozizwe 5, 119
Malhotra, Sheena 31
Malik, Sarita 29, 30, 86
Manatu, Norma 30
Mani, Lata 173
Mankekar, Purnima 22, 23, 29
Manning, Paul 39, 47
Marks, Elaine 238
Marshment, Margaret 63
Martin, Michèle 76
Marx, Karl 6
Masi de Casanova, Erynn 68
Massoni, Kelley 51
Mata, Marita 152
Mayer, Vicki 60
McChesney, Robert W. 93
McCracken, Ellen 50, 52
McLaughlin, Lisa 62, 102, 118, 120, 121, 145
McMillan, Terry 30
McMillin, Divya 62, 102
McNair, Brian 48, 52
McQuail, Denis 22, 188
McRobbie, Angela 50
Meehan, Eileen R. 69, 102
Mehra, Preeti 10–11, 12, 159, 168, 236–7
Melin-Higgins, Margareta 79, 80
Mercer, Kobena 87
Michielsens, Magda 41
Milkie, Melissa A. 51, 53
Miller, Alan V. 82
Mills, Sara 102–3
Mitchell, Caroline 145, 219–20
Mitra, Ananda 73, 121
Modleski, Tania 63
Mohanty, Chandra Talpade 4–5
Montgomery, Martin 107
Moodley, Asha 5, 119
Moorti, Sujata 89, 91
Moritz, Marguerite J. 32, 33
Morley, David 66
Morrison, Glenda 68
Mowlana, Hamid 196
Mukherjee, Rina 174
Mulvey, Laura 20–1, 64, 85
Munshi, Debashish 70
Myers, Marian 43

Na, Misu 70
Nagrath, Sumati 77, 94

Naylor, Gloria 31
Neale, Stephen 19
Negra, Diane 30
Nentl, Nancy J. 52, 67
Nichols, John 93
Nochimson, Martha 61
Nordenstreng, Kaarle 196
Norris, Pippa 39, 44, 70, 78
North, Louise C. 79, 160, 167–8
Nunn, Heather 25

O'Neill, Terry 92
O'Sullivan, Tim 107
Opoku-Mensah, Aida 79, 177
Osgerby, Bill 25
Ouellette, Laurie 52
Ove, Horace 86
Owen, Sarah A. 27

Parameswaran, Radhika 26, 29, 30
Parmar, Pratibha 88
Paul, Louis 24
Penley, Constance 21, 85
Perez, Berta Alicia 147
Phegley, Jennifer 49
Pickard, Victor W. 121
Pinnock, Don 116, 234
Pitt, Lisa 77
Plessis, Judith 84
Powers, Kirsten A. 80
Pozner, Jennifer 92, 186, 198–9
Pribham, E. Deirdre 63

Quayle, E. 70

Radway, Janice 65
Rai, Usha 231
Rao, Anupama 137, 227
Rao, Meera 138
Raoul, Valerie 84
Rapping, Elayne 162, 235
Rege, Sharmila 102
Reichert, Tom 52
Rense, Rip 91
Riaño, Pilar 1, 122–3, 147, 151–2, 239
Rice, Ronald E. 70
Rich, B. Ruby 89
Riordan, Ellen 76–7, 102
Roach, Colleen 196
Roberts, Cokie 163
Robertson, Nan 158
Robins, Melinda 72
Robinson, Gertrude J. 78
Rock, Marcia 158
Rodino, Michelle 70
Rogers, Everett 31
Root, Jane 40
Ross, Felecia 68
Ross, Karen 30, 39, 44, 46, 48, 66, 67, 79, 81, 86, 124
Ross, Leone 87
Rubin, A. W. 57
Rush, Ramona R. 78
Ryan, Mary P. 118

Sakamoto, Kazue 51, 52
Salo, Elaine 5, 119
Sanders, Karen 39
Sanders, Marlene 158
Saunders, Danny 107
Savio, Roberto 213
Scherer, Clifford 113
Schlesinger, Phillip 48
Schroeder, Carl L. 121
Scodari, Christine 70
Seiter, Ellen 31
Selwyn, Neil 72
Sen, Gargi 129, 132, 137, 140–1, 142, 236
Sen, Ilina 106, 137, 138
Sen, Jai 114
Sepehrrad, Ramesh 11–12, 187, 205
Shade, Leslie Regan 114
Sharma, Kalpana 158, 160, 172, 174
Sherron De Hart, Jane 4

Shiva, Vandana 227
Shohat, Ella 87
Sieghart, Mary Anne 81
Sims, Monica 93
Singh, Supriya 71, 72
Smith, Dorothy 37
Smith, Judith 185, 187, 191–2
Smith, Susan J. 47, 92
Smith-Shomade, Beretta E. 30
Soothill, Keith 42
Sørensen, Knut H. 71
Spender, Dale 70
Spilker, Hendrik 71
Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty 119
Stabile, Carol 70
Stacey, Jackie 64
Steeves, H. Leslie 102
Steinem, Gloria 164
Steiner, Linda 82, 116, 161, 234
Sterne, Jonathan 70
Stewart, James 71
Stuart, Andrea 87

Tasker, Yvonne 25
Taylor, Helen 63
Taylor, M. 70
Thomas, Lyn 61
Thornham, Sue 21
Tottenberg, Nina 163
Trotter, Amanda 165
Tuchman, Gaye 17, 40
Tufte, Thomas 60
Tunstall, Jeremy 39
Turan, Kenneth 88
Turkle, Sherry 70

Unwurah, Ngozi 86

van den Bosch, Annette 77
Van Peebles, Mario 87
van Zoonen, Liesbet 70, 71
VanSlyke Turk, Judy 47, 48, 92
Vares, Tiina 65
Vaughan, Genevieve 221
Venkatram, Shree 41, 47–8, 54–5, 127, 211, 215–16, 237
Vetten, Lisa 43, 44
Virmani, Shabnam 123

Wade, Rebekah 91
Wagner, Sally Roesch 4
Wakeford, Nina 71
Walby, Sylvia 42
Walker, Alice 5, 30, 63
Walker, Rebecca 50
Waller-Zuckerman, Mary-Ellen 49
Walsh Childers, Kim 81
Warner, W. L. 57
Warren, Catherine A. 81, 163
Warschauer, M. 70
Wasko, Janet 102
Waterman, Peter 114
Waters, Sarah 33
Weaver, C. Kay 37, 41
Weaver, David H. 80
Weisbrot, Robert 28
Wertheimer, Linda 163
White, Michelle 71
Williams, Brenda 82
Williamson, Judith 49
Wilson, T. 61
Winship, Janice 50
Winterson, Jeanette 33
Wober, Mallory 66
Wolf, Naomi 49
Wolkowitz, Carol 167
Wykes, Maggie 50

Young, Lola 29–30, 32
Youngs, Gillian 70, 151, 234–5
Yuen Carrucan, Jasmine 88–9

Zilliacus-Tikkanen, Henrika 77
Zinsser, Judith P. 208, 234
Zoch, Lynn M. 47, 48, 92

Subject Index

"16 Days of Activism Against Gender Violence" campaign 181

abortion 134
abuse *see* incest; violence
acid attacks *see* violence
advertising 17, 38, 49, 50, 52, 53, 67, 93, 101, 102, 112, 122, 136–7, 146, 157, 162, 189, 192, 199, 200, 202, 235
Afghanistan 214
  Taliban regime 42
Africa 17, 41, 72, 79, 103, 104, 108, 113, 177, 212
ageism 28, 29, 61
agency, personal 62–3
agency, of women 163–4, 188, 237
AIDS *see* HIV/AIDS
Amnesty International 11, 146, 182, 205
AOL Time Warner 76
apartheid 109, 116, 143, 170, 179
Arabs Union 126, 178
Asia 17, 72, 86, 212
Associated Press news service 42, 162
Australia 22, 79, 108, 159
  Labor Party 46

backlash, anti-feminist 25
Bangladesh 143, 180, 214
Barbados 106, 192
beauty 68, 216
Belgium 108, 132, 145, 148–9, 234
  Tribunal on Crimes against Women, Brussels 105
Bertelsmann 76
Bolivia 123
book publishing 9, 101, 110, 111, 209, 210, 227–8, 233
Bosnia 175–6
Brazil 60, 114, 115
Britain *see* United Kingdom
Bulgaria 217

Cameroon 108, 159, 164, 235
Campaign for Communication Rights in the Information Society (CRIS) 114–15, 190, 197
Canada 89, 108, 132, 145, 211, 226, 235
capitalism 75, 76, 102, 116, 171, 187
career advancement 75, 104, 111, 157, 162, 209, 224–5
  "glass ceiling" 75, 77, 167
  media training 188–92, 198

see also discrimination; marginalization
Caribbean Association for Feminist Research and Action (CAFRA) 192
Caribbean Gender Equity Fund 192
Caribbean Institute for Media and Communications (CARIMAC) 181, 192
Caribbean, the 113, 180, 181, 212
Chile 196
Fempress/mujer magazine/news service 105–6
China 117
4th International NGO Forum for Women, Beijing, 1995 226
Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, 1995 114
Beijing Platform for Action 221
civil rights movement 134, 179
class, socioeconomic 131, 144, 152, 235
Colombia 108, 132, 145
civil war 125, 146
colonialism 86, 170, 173
commodity audience 69
communicative action 116–21, 232
theory of 117–18
Cosmopolitan magazine 52
Costa Rica 221
counter spheres 118, 119
crime reporting 216
culture, high/low 64–5
cyberfeminism 151, 234

Decade for Women (UN) *see* United Nations Decade for Women
democracy 157, 171, 180, 195, 237
Denmark 104
development journalism 214, 222
dialectical process 6
discourse competence theory 102–3
discrimination 11, 157, 160, 164
culture of 177–9
in employment 161–2, 202
lawsuits 81–2, 217, 218
Disney Corporation 76
Dominican Republic 108, 187, 201

Earth Summit, Rio de Janeiro, 1992 198
economics 144, 201, 236
Ecuador 68
education 130, 144, 147, 165, 180, 214, 222
Egypt 198, 224
empowerment, women's 53, 68, 151, 202, 203, 226, 235
ethnicity 21, 28, 119, 135, 196, 235
ethnographic research 58, 60, 62, 65, 73, 112
Europe 38, 101, 104, 108, 208, 214
European Commission 41
e-zine 71, 83, 91, 147–8, 150–1, 233, 234

fandom 58, 60, 74
fashion 50–1, 53, 68, 216
female feticide 158, 203
female genital mutilation 175–6, 178, 223
feminism, second-wave 83, 84, 133, 149, 158
Feminist International Radio Endeavor (FIRE), Costa Rica 221
feminist, definition of 3, 100, 108
film, documentary 157, 179–80
film, woman's 19, 63
film, women and 63–4
Finland 77
France 108, 126, 159, 160, 186, 189
Agence Femmes Information (AFI) 106
l'Association des Femmes Journalistes (AFJ) 172

gay and lesbian issues 82, 131, 176, 195, 196
Gender and Media Baseline Study, Southern Africa, 2003 41, 55, 127, 190–1
Gender and Media Network Southern Africa (GEMSA) 177
gender inequality/imbalance 77–8, 157, 168, 190, 219
Germany 41, 108, 132, 135
  European Organization Against Fundamentalism 11
  National Council of German Women's Organizations 135
Ghana 108, 159, 164, 235
"glass ceiling" *see* career advancement
Global Fund for Women 221
Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) 40–1, 123–4, 126, 189–90, 192
globalization 136, 142, 180, 236
Guinea 164

harassment *see* violence
health care 110, 130, 138, 144, 152, 165, 175, 177, 201, 235
Hindu fundamentalism 173
historical materialism, feminist theory of 102
HIV/AIDS 144, 177, 201, 202, 222, 225
homophobia 31, 88, 144, 148
Hong Kong 46
horror movies 64
human rights 134, 141, 142, 143, 163, 175, 182, 222, 236
Hungary 125

incest 23, 130, 162, 225, 226, 235
India 4, 31–2, 54–5, 62, 70, 72–3, 79, 88–9, 94, 102, 106, 108, 109, 123, 125, 132, 135–43, 158–9, 160, 165, 168–9, 173, 174, 177, 179–82, 186, 201–4, 208, 214, 215, 216, 222, 225, 226, 228
All-India Radio, Bangalore 222
Bombay Union of Journalists 173–4, 175
Campaign and Struggle Against Acid Attacks on Women (CSAAAW) 143
caste system 137, 172–3, 236
Chipko Movement 138
Dalit movement 102, 129, 136, 137, 140, 236
Doordarshan state-owned television network 23, 121, 136
English-language newspapers 41–2, 47–8
Gujarat 141, 168–9, 172–3
Hengasara Hakkina Sangha 203–4, 222
Hindi-language newspapers 41–2, 47–8
Kali for Women book publishers 227–8
Karnataka 139, 142, 143, 222
Kashi Sanskrit Raksha Sangharsh Samiti (KSRSS) Party 88–9
Magic Lantern Foundation, New Delhi 129, 140–1
Network of Women in Media in India (NWMI) 11, 92, 136, 174–5
panchayat (local council) 139, 194, 236
Panchayat Raj Act 1993 139
Pedestrian Pictures, Bangalore 141–3
Point of View (POV) 202–3
Press Institute of India 174, 175
Saarathi Resource Center, Bangalore 221–2
sati (widow-burning) 158, 173

tribal communities 129, 236
Unnati Features 127, 215–16, 237
Women and Media Group (WMG) 136, 172–3
Women in the Media, Bombay/ Mumbai 10–11
Women Unlimited (WU) 228
Women's Feature Service (WFS) 123, 137, 180–1, 211–15, 237
women's movement 137–8
Yugantan collective 138
Zubaan publishing company 228
Indonesia 225
information communication technologies (ICTs) 197
Inter Press Service (IPS) 212–13
International Association of Women in Radio and Television 164, 221
International Fellowship of Reconciliation (IFOR) 143
International Women's Day, March 8, 2004 12
International Women's Tribune Center 197
International Women's Year, 1975 104, 113
Internet 8, 9, 11, 18, 57, 69–71, 73, 107, 110, 111, 121, 125, 127, 131, 150–1, 204, 208, 209, 220–1, 233, 234–5
Iran 11–12, 108, 186, 204
Isis International 105, 119, 196–7
Islamic community 119, 224
Israel 41, 108, 142
Israeli Broadcasting Authority 160–1, 237
Women in Black 102
Italy 105, 196, 212

Jamaica 106, 108, 159, 181, 186, 191–2
Woman Speak! magazine 106
Women's Media Watch (WMW) 181
Japan 51–2, 67–8

Kenya 104, 176

labor issues 51, 144, 152, 160, 168, 171, 199, 203, 236
Ladyfest women's film festivals 150
Latin America 17, 94, 101, 104, 113, 123, 135, 212
lawsuits 156, 158, 161–2, 168
Lebanon 212, 224
Leninism 135, 149
lesbian identity 29, 32–5, 61, 91, 131, 133, 145, 148–50, 152, 225
see also gay and lesbian issues
lesbian-feminism 149
liberal feminism 149

magazine publishing 48–55, 56, 67–8, 73, 81, 110, 157, 209, 233
Victorian women's 7–8, 9, 49
Malaysia 108, 211, 225
Mali 197
marginalization, of minority groups 119–20, 195, 203, 235, 239
marginalization, of women 19, 37, 40, 47, 70–1, 86–7, 88, 157, 161, 186, 188, 204, 226, 231, 236
in the newsroom 169, 190–1
marriage, arranged 88, 178
martial arts 25, 26, 65
Marxism 102, 135, 149
mass communication theory 58
mass media, globalization of 77
media advocacy 3, 101, 110, 111, 187, 190, 198–200, 201, 202–5, 217, 222
media conglomerates 76–7, 94, 122, 228

media economics 76–7
media education 198
media enterprises, women-owned
see women's media enterprises
media globalization 11
media industries 75–94
media monitoring 3, 10, 110, 188–92
media ownership 8–9, 39, 69, 75, 76–7, 91, 93, 94, 122, 189, 210–11
media reform 2, 10, 18, 62, 93, 100, 198
media structure 2, 9, 101, 163–4
melodrama 31
mergers and acquisitions 92
Mexico 104, 105–6, 113, 123, 176, 211, 224
Middle East 104, 108, 113, 212
middle-classness 23, 57, 64
Model of Women's Media Action (MWMA) 9, 10, 94, 99–128, 238
  advocate change agent 126–7, 130, 185–206
  media profession to politics 125–6, 155–82, 130
  politics to media 125, 129–52
  women's media enterprises 127–8, 130, 208–29
Morocco 224
movements, feminist 100–1
music 122, 133, 147–8, 149, 152, 209, 233, 234

national development 213, 225
Nepal 214
Nepal, Asian Girls Peace Camp 143
Netherlands, the 67, 71, 108, 132, 187
  de Natte Vinger 200
  International Fellowship of Reconciliation (IFOR) 125, 143
  Viva magazine 59
  Women Peacemakers and the Media 125
New International Economic Order 212
new technology 56, 68–73, 139–40, 148
New World Information and Communication Order 196, 212
news agency, women's 211–18
News Corporation 76
news media 2, 7–8, 9, 17–18, 39, 47–8, 56, 66, 93, 111–12, 209
  and gender 39–41, 65–7
  as men's domain 65–6
newspaper journalism 10–11, 37–48, 78–80, 81, 91, 110, 131, 135, 163, 179–81, 190, 210
newsroom, activism in 82–3
newsroom, masculine/macho 78–80, 167–8
nonaligned (developing) nations 196
North America 17, 104, 180, 225
North–South divide 70, 72, 105, 114, 115, 147, 196, 229
Norway 71, 72, 176
NOS Gender Portrayal Department 41

Pakistan 224
  Revolutionary Association of Women in Afghanistan 11–12
Pan African News Agency (PANA), Southern Africa 169
patriarchy 23, 38, 43, 47, 50, 61, 75, 84, 90, 122, 146, 151, 233, 234–5
  women's complicity in 166–71
peacemaking 125, 131, 143–6, 214
Peru 152
  Mujer y Sociedad supplement 123
  NGO Calandria 195
Philippines, the 105, 108, 186, 196, 214

Depthnews Women's Service 212
Sappho Society 196
Task Force Pride 196
political activism 11–12
political economy 75–94, 102
feminist 134, 187
pornography 18, 38, 70, 89, 159, 162, 200, 224, 235
postcolonial theory 102
poverty 130, 131, 147, 166, 199, 201, 215, 236
power relations 2, 20, 43, 99, 102, 115, 128, 135
Press Foundation of Asia 212
professional change organizations 171–5
property rights 202
prostitution 29, 32, 152, 203, 225, 236
psychoanalysis 20–1, 85
public broadcasting system 93
public policy 101, 111, 222
public sphere
dominant 91, 118, 120, 130, 131, 181, 209, 210, 225, 235, 239
feminist 9, 116, 118, 120, 130, 150–1, 157, 181, 209, 210, 225, 239
Habermas's formulation 117–18, 119
official 118
public spheres, multiple 118, 119, 146–8, 238–9

race 119, 131, 135, 144, 145, 152, 195, 196, 235, 236
race studies 102
racial equality 134
racism 23, 31, 88, 144, 148, 150, 159, 164, 165, 171, 192, 199
radical feminism 149, 151
radio stations, noncommercial 93
radio, lesbian-feminist 234
Radio-Television News Directors Association and Foundation 78
rape 23, 38, 42, 43, 80, 118, 130, 138, 152, 158, 175–6, 202, 203, 225
date rape 118, 162, 235
see also violence

SAWnet *see* South Asian Women's Network
self-determination 103, 233
sexism 31, 54, 88, 118, 159, 171
sexist media imagery 10, 38, 52, 101, 112, 136–7, 146, 157, 160, 162, 199, 200
sexist practices, women's complicity in 168
sexuality 21, 28, 150, 152, 235
Slovenia 195
soap opera 8, 18, 21, 22–3, 29, 31, 39, 56, 57–63
social class 119, 135, 196
social justice 143–6
South Africa 5, 44, 66, 79, 81, 108, 109, 116, 119–20, 143, 160, 169–70, 178–9, 187, 208
Agenda magazine collective 159, 165
Center for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation 43
Femina magazine 44
Gender Links 126–7, 170, 190–1
Media Institute for Southern Africa (MISA) 190
South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) 170–1
South African News Editors' Forum (SANEF) 55, 190
South African Police Service (SAPS) 44
Violence Against Women coalition 192

South Africa (*cont'd*)
Women's Media Watch (WMW) 170, 185, 191–2
South Asia 88, 90, 108, 121, 214, 225–6
Global Reproductive Health Forum (GRHF) 72–3
South Asian Women's Network (SAWnet) 73, 121, 204
Spain 19–20
Sri Lanka 143, 214, 225, 226
stereotyping 7, 29, 30, 32, 35, 40, 48–9, 50, 52, 53, 60, 62, 84, 85, 90, 99, 101, 104, 161, 163, 219, 235
structuration theory 188
subaltern theories 119
Sudan 108, 159, 160
Azza magazine 126, 178
Khartoum Monitor 178
Umma Party 178
suffrage publications 82, 116, 234
Sweden 104
Switzerland 71–2, 105, 115, 176, 196, 197, 198

Tanzania Media Women's Association (TAMWA) 177
Tasmania 79, 167
Women Tasmania Media Award 168
telecommunication industries 122
television, drama 78
television, news 38
television, noncommercial 93
television, situation comedy 78
textual analysis 63–4, 73–4, 85
theory, feminist 238
theory, need for 102–7
"third cinema" 86
Tunisia 115, 178, 197
Center for Arab Women's Training and Research (CAWTAR) 178
Turkey 119

Uganda 105, 196
UNESCO *see* United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNIFEM *see* United Nations Fund for Women
United Kingdom 3, 22, 33–4, 42, 45, 46, 49, 51–2, 54, 68, 81, 82–3, 86–7, 88, 91, 103, 108, 109, 116, 126, 132, 159, 186, 199
Advertising Standards Authority (ASA) 200
British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) 93–4
Channel 4 television 34, 86
Conservative Party 45
FingerBang distro 150–1, 234
London3rdWave 200
Object 199, 200
Sex Discrimination Act 1975 161–2
Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act 1919 161–2
Sheffield Women's Media Action Forum 200
Women in Journalism 45, 92
Workshop Declaration, 1981 86
United Nations (UN) 1, 104, 216
UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) 181
UN Commission on Human Rights 198
UN Commission on the Status of Women 104
UN Conference on Human Rights 176
UN Decade for Women, 1976–85 104, 113, 114, 163, 211–12
UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) 192
UN Economic and Social Council 104

UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) 17, 136, 212
UN Fourth Conference on Women, Beijing, China, 1995 117
UN Fund for Population 212
UN Fund for Population Development 198
UN Fund for Women (UNIFEM) 12, 216
UN General Assembly 104, 113
Universal Declaration of Human Rights 113, 221
United States 3, 4, 19, 22, 32–3, 38, 49, 58–9, 70, 72–3, 76, 78, 80, 82, 87–8, 101, 108, 109, 116, 119, 132, 133, 134, 141, 144, 145, 148, 149, 150, 159, 160, 163, 166, 169, 172, 175–7, 181, 186, 193, 198, 211, 214, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 233–4, 236
Amazon magazine 82, 133
American Resurrection 92
Annenberg Public Policy Center 78, 162
Bitch! magazine 83, 151
Center for International Media Action (CIMA) 194–5
Civil Rights Act 1964 162
CNN news network 122, 166, 237
Ecotopics International News Service online magazine 163
E-Zan electronic newsletter 12, 205
Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR) 93, 198
Federal Communications Commission (FCC) 92, 193
Feminist Radio Network 149
Hollywood 21, 26, 61, 64, 122
KCSB-FM radio station, California 148
KMBC radio station, Kansas City 81–2
KPFK community radio station 220
MacArthur Foundation 127, 215–16
Media Access Group 93
Media Education Foundation 93
Media Report to Women bulletin 105–6, 210, 218–19
Media Tank 92, 194
Michigan Women's Music Festival 164
Ms. magazine 199
National Advisory Council on Violence Against Women 182
National Committee of Women for a Democratic Iran (NCWDI) 11–12, 205
National Organization for Women 92, 119, 127, 193, 194, 217
National Public Radio 155, 163, 220
Network of South Asian Incest Interventionists 226
Olivia Records 133, 149
Paid My Dues magazine 133
Seneca Falls Convention, 1848 4
September 11, 2001, attacks 224
SHaKTI Productions 225–6
Sophie's Parlor Radio Collective 149–50, 220, 234
The Dallas Morning News 175
The New York Times 73, 158
The Washington Post 80, 162, 176
Women In Media and News (WIMN) 92, 194, 198
Women Make Movies (WMM), New York 223–5
Women's eNews 127, 216–18, 219, 237

United States (*cont'd*)
Women's Environmental and Development Organization (WEDO) 197–8
Women's Forum Against Fundamentalism in Iran (WFAFI) 11–12, 204–5
Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press (WIFP) 106, 134, 193–4, 208, 209, 210, 233
Women's Resource Center, Portland, Oregon 134
women's shelter movement 144

Viacom 76
Vietnam 150
violence 31, 38, 40, 42, 54, 143, 144, 145–6, 152, 175–6, 181–2, 199, 218, 201, 203, 225, 235, 236, 237
acid attacks 142–3, 180
child abuse 59, 80
disappearance of women 152
domestic 23, 135, 144, 151, 182, 202, 225–6
dowry deaths 158, 175–6, 180
family 138, 160
harassment 75, 80–82, 165
maltreatment of women in Iran 205
sadism 38
sex crimes 42–4, 54
sexual harassment 11, 81, 118, 152, 157, 160, 162, 163, 166, 174, 175, 203
sexual violence 8, 44, 135, 151, 162, 182, 226, 235
torture 152, 175–6
and transgender love 223
widow-burning *see* India, sati
wife battering/beating 130, 162, 176, 203, 225, 226, 235
women watching 64–5
see also female feticide; female genital mutilation; incest; rape; war
Vivendi 76

war 110, 131, 145–6, 161, 214
woman, as audience/spectator 19, 56–74
woman, as bad girl (whore) 41, 161
woman, as decision-maker 44–7
woman, as good mother (or caretaker) 161
woman, as sex object/symbol 17, 41, 145, 146, 190
woman, as victim 8, 41, 42–4, 54, 64, 161, 190, 199, 225–6
woman, as victor 64
woman, as virgin 161
woman, traditional domestic role 17
Women and Development (WAND) organization, Barbados 106, 192
women, African American 87
women, African Caribbean 29–30, 32
women, commodification of 37, 49–50
women, ethnic minority filmmakers 85–9
women, in movie industry 83–5
women, in politics 44–6, 160
women, in public office 146
women, media professionals 9, 125–6
women, Mexican American 60
women, news coverage about 10, 101
women, objectifying, in news discourse 38–42
women, of color 3, 8, 26, 28, 31, 43, 61, 63, 68, 85–90, 127–8, 148, 165, 170, 179, 199, 217, 226

women, pseudo-emancipated image of 228
women, third world 3, 4–5
women, watching crime 64–5
women, working-class 43, 57, 144
Women's International Network of AMARC 221
Women's International Newsgathering Service (WINGS) 220–1
women's liberation 1, 3, 7, 101, 212, 232
women's lived experience 73–4, 101, 130, 132, 152, 158, 161, 162, 235
women's media activism 94, 100–1, 235, 237–9
  cross-cultural study on 107–12
  functions of 232–7
women's media enterprises 2, 10, 101, 103, 106, 115, 134, 231, 233, 234
women's media production, feminist critiques of 89–91
women's movements 1–2, 9, 37–8
women's rights 34, 111, 116, 133, 134, 165, 179, 221, 233
  to communicate 112–16
women-owned media *see* women's media enterprises
World Association for Christian Communication (WACC) 41, 123–4, 189
World Forum on Communication Rights 195
World Plan of Action, 1975 104, 105, 113, 117
World Social Forum (WSF), 2002 114, 115
World Summits on the Information Society (WSIS), 2003, 2005 115, 197
WSIS Gender Caucus 197

Zambia 108, 159, 169
Zimbabwe 125
zine *see* e-zine