

An Unfinished Story: Gender Patterns In Media Employment



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**An Unfinished Story:
Gender Patterns
In Media Employment**

By Margaret Gallagher

in collaboration with
My von Euler

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Preface

Today, more women are working in the mass media than ever before. More women are also appearing as news presenters on television, often providing different perspectives to the understanding of news events. Even in learning institutions in many countries, more women are enrolled in academic and professional courses for journalism and communication, accounting in the majority of countries surveyed in this study for at least 50% of student enrollment; in some cases, more. It may be asked, then, whether the perception of women as portrayed in the media might be changing, whether film and television might be reflecting the image of woman more truthfully, and whether this is because women themselves are gradually taking up more dynamic positions in media industries and thereby directly affecting production decisions on how women are to be portrayed and how women can portray events. Or is the access of women to decision-making still to be satisfactorily resolved? This study shows that, in many countries, we are still far from answering these questions positively.

But these same questions also prompted UNESCO to reinforce its 1994-1995 programme with special workshops for women editors and journalists in Africa and support for organizing community radio run by women in Zimbabwe. UNESCO also organized seven regional workshops on women and the media in order to bring out all aspects of this issue, particularly from regional vantage points. These meetings were held in 1994 and 1995 in Africa (Harare), Asia (Kuala Lumpur), the Pacific (Apia), Latin America

(Quito), the Caribbean (Santiago de Cuba), West Africa and the Maghreb (Tunis), and Europe and North America (Tirnov).

The results of these regional fora were then brought to the international seminar in Toronto in February-March 1995, organized on the theme *Women and the Media: access to expression and decision-making*. The Toronto participants prepared a platform of action and set an agenda of immediate measures to be taken up by governments and professional media organizations; these include the promotion of equal opportunity programmes to ensure equal access for women, the preparation of guidelines on non-sexist reporting, the monitoring and denunciation of attacks on media professionals or users who expose or speak out against extremists. The Toronto participants also positively influenced the long process of preparing the Platform of Action to be presented at the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women to be held in Beijing in September 1995.

The significance of these fora and of the Beijing conference is that the issue of women has become an important topic on the international agenda. In support of this international dialogue, *An Unfinished Story: gender patterns in media employment* is perhaps one of the first reports to treat the issue of gender in media employment on a global scale and with comparative gender-differentiated statistics across regions. For this reason it is important as a trail-blazing effort to contribute to a broader and more profound understanding of the challenges facing women in modern society.

Preface

The very title of this work is characteristic of the nature of research in this field, because even as more reliable and more complete statistical information becomes available, the very problem of women in the media and the portrayal of women through the media is advancing to a new stage and confronting new challenges.

The narration of this story may never finish, but with more reliable research data, it can now be told with increasing accuracy.

The ideas and opinions expressed in this publication are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the views of UNESCO.

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data on the print media in the member states of the European Union. My own studies of employment in broadcasting in the European Union provided the methodology for the work presented here, and made clear to me the difficulty of collecting detailed statistical data on media employment patterns. So I am particularly grateful to all these colleagues, who went to enormous efforts to ensure both the delivery of the information and its reliability.

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I

Women in the Media: Visible but Vulnerable

'It has taken me years to understand the culture and power of the media, and the extent to which I was socialised by them. Like many feminists I came to realise that we not only perpetuated ridiculous stereotypes of women but were incapable of accurately and fairly reporting the feminist movement itself. (Webber, 1993, p. 33)

In 1968 Allison Webber began her career in journalism in New Zealand. It was a time when there were so few women working in the media that, she recalls, *'our main agenda was to get in, survive, and avoid being relegated to the women's pages'* (Webber, 1992, p. 182). In the years since then, many countries around the world have seen a dramatic increase in women's employment in media organisations. In New Zealand between 1972 and 1994 the percentage of female journalists rose from 18% to 45% (McGregor, 1992; Lealand, 1994). In the Nordic States (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden) the proportion of women journalists has doubled since the 1970s so that, for example, by 1993 49% of all Finnish journalists were women (Nordic Council of Ministers, 1994). Although increases in other countries are not always so striking, the general trend is widespread. In Tunisia the number of women journalists doubled between 1983 and 1991, at which point they accounted for 22% of the total (Association des Journalistes Tunisiens, 1991). In Japan although women were only 8% of newspaper reporters in 1991, their share ten years earlier was less than 6% (NSK Bulletin, 1992). The list could go on. Whether the pace of change is fast or slow, gender patterns in media employment are shifting.

The implications of this shift, however, are not at all clear. The so-called 'feminisation of the media' – and of journalism in particular – has begun to cause concern in certain countries. For instance, in the United States studies have tried to show – so far unsuccessfully – that women's increased entry into the media has resulted in a general lowering of salary levels (see Cline and Toth, 1993). By the late 1980s the upsurge in numbers of female reporters appearing on Canadian television is said to have prompted company executives to plan new programme series which would 'discriminate in favour of men' (Pelletier et al., 1989, p. 93). But how real is this 'feminisation'? Even if the lower ranks of media organisations accommodate a growing number of women, there is no evidence that the upper echelons of the media have become 'feminised'. 1992 figures produced by the National Federation of Press Women (USA) show that women have been increasing their share of management posts by only 1% per year since 1977. If that rate continues, it will be another 30 years before there is gender balance in top newspaper jobs in the United States (NFPW, 1993).

Perceptions do not necessarily correspond with material facts. In a study of senior management in Indian television, S.R. Joshi found a wide gap between beliefs and reality. Most of the men surveyed believed that women were well-represented at senior levels, and that the proportion of women being recruited and promoted to senior posts was steadily increasing. However this impression was simply not

borne out by the data, which showed that women were only 6% of senior television staff in two of the largest broadcasting centres (Delhi and Madras), and that there were no women at all in the very top positions (Joshi, 1987). Impressions can certainly be misleading. Noting that just 35% of the staff in Romanian television are women, and that the upper management levels are very much a male preserve, Daniela Roventa-Frumusani comments that *'the perception of the professionals (insiders) is surprisingly distorted: most of them, both male and female, see television as being dominated by women'* (1994, p. 10).

Among the reasons for this gulf between perceptions and reality may be the fact that, in many parts of the world, women are now a significant on-screen and on-air presence in the broadcast media – as presenters, reporters, and news-readers. In her analysis of the ascent of the woman reporter over the past century, Anne Sebba points out that it is no coincidence that a high proportion of the women journalists who covered the Gulf War in 1991 worked for television. Sebba argues that the danger of war, incongruously beamed into comfortable living-rooms by television, is given added drama when it is reported by a woman; but that at the same time the presence of the female journalist is a pleasant distraction from the horror of the events themselves. This phenomenon – described as 'the soap opera syndrome' by the London *Times* – provides new, though not necessarily propitious, opportunities for women: *'The world's war zones are chock-a-block with would-be Kate Adie's risking their lives for minor stations in the hope of landing the big story because they know that what the major networks want is a front-line account from a (preferably pretty) woman in a flakjacket'* (see Sebba, 1994, p. 277)¹.

Canadian journalists interviewed in 1989 by Francine Pelletier were well aware of this paradox. As one newsreader put it: *'Women are welcome on-screen because they look good and they present things well. ... Our visibility has something to do with the entertainment side of television'* (Pelletier et al., op. cit., p. 91). A 1995 report by the Center for Media and Public Affairs found that women have doubled their visibility on network evening newscasts in the USA since 1990. In 1994 the two most 'visible' reporters (those reporting most news stories) were both female. But women's increased presence

on the screen in certain countries should not blind us to the fact that, behind the scenes, it is proving hard to break down entrenched barriers that still confront women hoping for a successful career in the media. In reality the range of media jobs occupied by women is still extremely limited. A deeply rooted gender division of labour means that women are almost entirely absent from certain crucial categories of media employment. By way of example, the situation of women in European radio and television in the 1990s could be summarised as follows:

'Walk into any broadcasting organisation ... and the first person you will meet is likely to be a woman: the receptionist, the personal assistant. If your appointment is with a manager in sales, personnel or public relations, this person may also be a woman. But if you are heading for the technical department, you will probably walk past fifteen or twenty men before seeing a single female face. If the object of your visit is to discuss a programme proposal with a senior executive, the person behind the desk is five or six times more likely to be male than female. And if you have come to see the Director General, your chances of meeting a woman are minimal: throughout all the major broadcasting companies (in the European Union), there is only one female chief executive' (Gallagher, 1990, p. 1; updated 1995).

In most parts of the globe, the world of the media is still very much a man's world. With little decision-making power either inside the media organisations themselves, or in the political and economic institutions with which the media must interface, women media workers are highly vulnerable – even when they are in a majority within the profession. For example, in Germany between 1989 and 1992 the rationalisations coinciding with reunification resulted in the loss of about 30% of all jobs in journalism in the eastern part of the country. But women were the main losers: their share of jobs dropped from about 60% to 38% of the total. In the space of three years a 'feminised' occupation had become a male-dominated profession (see Lünenborg, 1993).

But lack of power within the media has also made female professionals vulnerable in attempts to challenge or change the 'ridiculous stereotypes of women' which Allison Webber acknowledges have sometimes been perpetuated by women themselves. This is not a matter for reproach or blame. Webber's retrospective assessment is a telling statement about the strength of the values which historically have dominated media output. The alternative to 'relegation to the women's pages' has been, until quite

¹ Kate Adie is among the best-known women journalists in the United Kingdom; she has reported from many of the world's war zones over the past decade.

recently, to become 'one of the boys' – an option that involves accepting a particular set of priorities about who and what is important, priorities which traditionally have been determined by men.

It is here – in the area of priorities and values – that women's increasing numerical strength in the media could be expected to make an impact. For the concern to improve women's participation in the communication industries springs not just from a preoccupation with equal rights in employment. The overarching assumption is that the presence of more women – particularly in creative and decision-making positions – should introduce new perspectives and interpretations within media output, and should lead to greater diversification of images and messages. While this assumption remains to be proven, there is some reason to believe – or at least to hope – that a 'critical mass' of women will have some success in changing the long-established media practices, routines and priorities which individual female professionals have been powerless to shift. Kay Mills, reviewing 30 years of women's journalism in the United States, concludes that *'these shifts are underway. A story conference changes when half the participants are female. ... There is indeed security in numbers. Women become more willing*

to speak up in page-one meetings about a story they know concerns many readers, to assert their own ideas on who might make a good sports reporter or foreign correspondent, or to raise a question that elicits a new line of thought. The shift is underway but hardly complete' (Mills, 1990, p. 349).

There may well be 'security in numbers', and this study sets out to establish just what those numbers are. It will demonstrate that women are still far from being 'half the participants' in the media in general, not to mention in key editorial and decision-making areas. But the conclusion is not a pessimistic one. Fifteen years ago an exhaustive search to identify organisations of media women around the world resulted in a rather short inventory, in which the vast majority of groups were North American or European (see Gallagher, 1981, p. 188-190). The present monograph concludes with a listing of more than 60 associations, spanning every world region, which are actively working to improve women's participation and representation in the media. That alone is an indication of the enormous changes which have taken place over the past decade. Inside and outside the media, women have understood the importance of organisation and lobbying to ensure that the shifts which have already begun will continue and spread.

2

Women's Training for Media Employment

UNESCO data covering 83 countries show that in the majority (53) of these women now account for at least 50% of third-level students in journalism and mass communication (Figure 1). Over the past fifteen years ever-increasing numbers of women have been pursuing higher-level studies in this field. In fact the predominance of female students in mass communication stretches back to at least 1980 in most of the so-called developed countries, and to at least 1986 in Egypt, Tunisia, Chile, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Lebanon, and Papua New Guinea. Though still a minority in many African and some Asian countries, in almost all cases the percentage of women in journalism and mass communication schools is on the rise. The data provide strong evidence that women are attracted to the mass media as a field of study, and it is reasonable to presume that they seek employment in media organisations in rough proportion to their share of training. How can this – and in particular the fact that female communication students have outnumbered males in many countries for the past decade or more – be reconciled with women's minority presence in media organisations?

The Discrepancy Between Training and Employment Opportunities

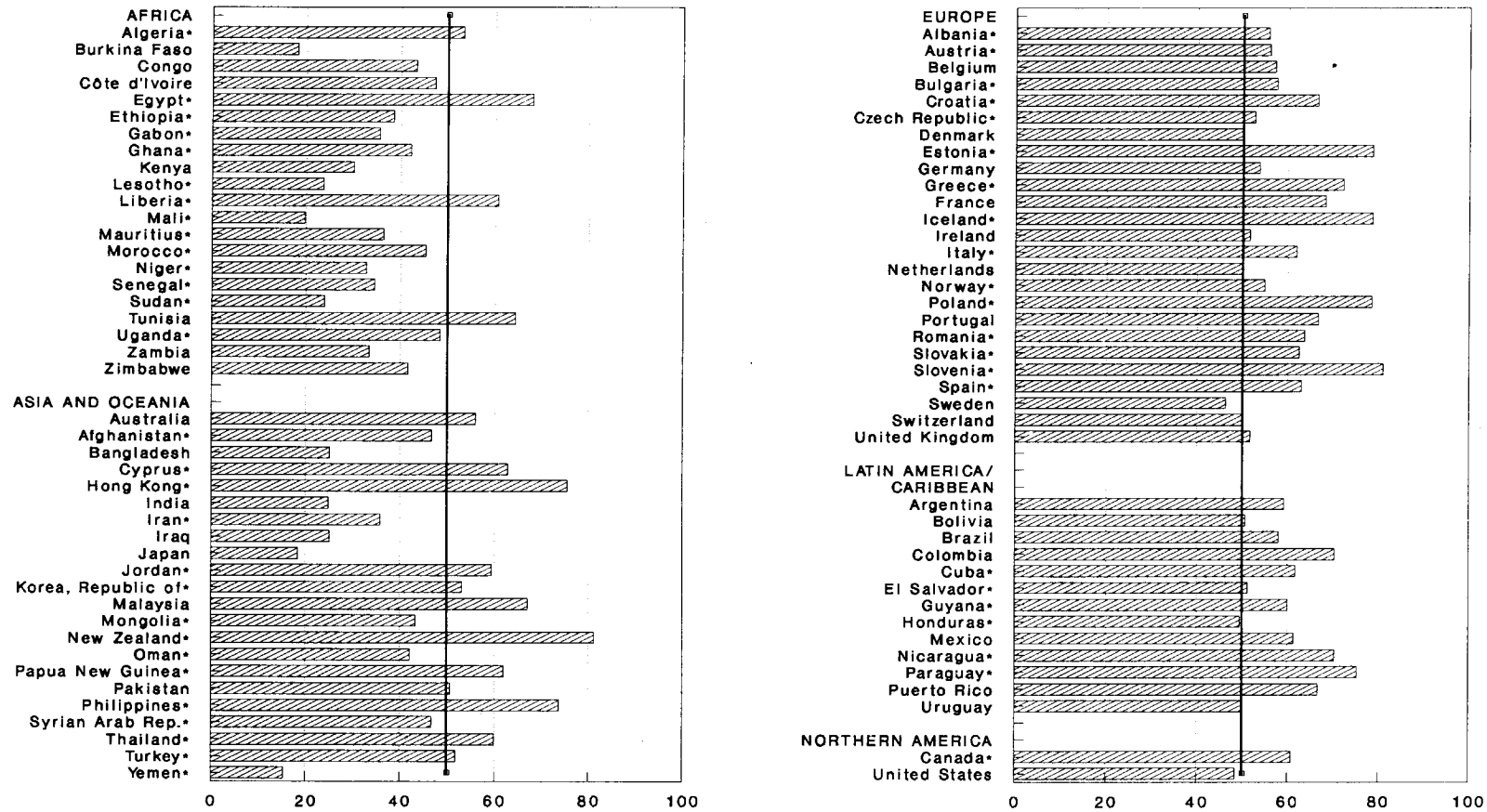
The proportion of women finding employment in the mass media is by no means commensurate with their share of training. A six-country study coordinated by the Asian Mass

Communication Research and Information Centre (AMIC) found that in all six – Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Sri Lanka – there is a gap between the number of women who receive communication education, and the number working in the media (Lock, 1990). Although part of the explanation lies in the fact that not all women actually seek entry into the labour market after training, other factors play a role. For example Shima Moslem points out that in Bangladesh '*educational qualification is often not the main criterion for joining a profession*' (1989, p. 150). It seems that men are more likely than women to enter the media through other doors than those opened by education and training. Indeed studies in many countries have shown that male media professionals tend to be less well qualified in educational terms than their female counterparts. For example, a survey of Finnish journalists found that women were much better equipped in terms of formal educational qualifications: nearly half as many more men than women had received their training 'on the job' (Kuusava et al., 1993). Among Spanish journalists surveyed by Joan Gallego, 81% of the women had higher-level or post-graduate university degrees, compared with 68% of the men; and men were almost twice as likely as women to have completed their formal education at pre-university level (Gallego, 1993).

Among equally qualified graduates, women are less likely than men to find employment in the media. An early study in the United States (the Dow Jones Newspaper Fund/Gallup

Figure 1. Percent Female Students in Journalism and Mass Communication

83 countries: 1992 or latest available data



* includes documentation students

Sources: Database on Journalism and Communication Training Institutions, UNESCO, 1992
UNESCO Statistical Yearbook, 1994

Survey of 1983 journalism students) found that while 14.6% of all graduates found jobs in news-editorial areas, only 11.8% of female graduates did so (see Beasley, 1993). A similar, more recent study in the Netherlands found that 94% of male graduates of the Utrecht School of Journalism subsequently obtained jobs in journalism, but only 65% of the women were successful (Diekerhof et al., 1986).

There seems little doubt that in many instances women are discriminated against at the stage of recruitment, simply because they are women. For example in a survey of the heads of 30 communication organisations in Malaysia, 30% said they preferred to employ males – because they are able to work long hours, or at night, or because they have more mobility (Adnan et al., 1989). The findings of this study indicate that in many cases female candidates are unlikely to be given serious consideration for *any* kind of work in the media. Other research has shown that women will tend to be channelled into certain *kinds* of work. For instance in a 1991 survey, broadcast managers in the Philippines were asked the question 'for which jobs/functions are females preferred?'. Only a quarter of the managers replied 'any', but 41% mentioned traditionally female-dominated jobs such as assistants, accountants, administrators, writers, sales, announcers and secretaries. The study reports that '*all those who wrote these "female" positions were male respondents*' (Valbuena, 1992, p. 5). Attitudes and beliefs about women's 'natural' inclinations and aptitudes certainly play a role in excluding them from media employment. The discrepancy between women's share of training and their share of media jobs is at least partly attributable to factors of this sort.

The Role of Gender in Journalism and Communication Training

Although journalism and communication training institutions have a high enrolment of female students, women play a relatively minor role in defining the curriculum of these courses. Research carried out for the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC) in the United States, estimates that women accounted for just 28% of faculty staff in journalism and communication departments in 1992 (up from 7%-8% in 1972), and that only 11% of the female faculty staff were full professors (see Viswanath et al., 1993). In Germany, the figures are similar: in 1994 women held 29% of teaching

posts in communication schools (Fröhlich and Holtz-Bacha, 1995). In Nigeria in 1988, across ten universities and polytechnics only 6.5% of teaching staff in departments of communication were female (Okunna, 1992).

The media curriculum is not gender-neutral. Like other branches of education it incorporates quite specific values and choices. In her review of training curricula in Nigeria, Stella Chinyere Okunna points to the implications of this. It is not simply that most mass communication courses fail to consider issues such as gender portrayal in the media, but that the course assignments themselves stereotype journalism students into traditional gender roles. Exercises and role plays in which the 'editorial team' is composed of females with responsibility for 'soft' news and features, and males who are the 'hard' news reporters and editors, give aspirant journalists a clear message about what they can expect in real newsrooms. In their 1995 study of German communication and journalism departments, Romy Fröhlich and Christina Holtz-Bacha discovered that only 1% of all lectures in the winter semester of 1994/95 dealt with gender-related issues, and all of these were offered by female staff. The enterprise of introducing gender issues into the media training curriculum seems as hazardous as that of injecting a gender perspective into media output itself. One study of journalism schools in the Netherlands concluded that attempts by female staff members to establish a niche within the curriculum which would allow analysis of gender issues, tended to be greeted with depressing lack of interest by other faculty staff (van Zoonen, 1989).

The pronounced imbalance in the gender composition of communication training faculties, and the difficulty of introducing new perspectives into the curriculum, surely affects the orientation of media practitioners who have passed through this training process. In fact, in a 1989 survey of 1500 journalists in Sweden Margareta Melin found that female journalists who had attended journalism training colleges held different values from those who had not. Although most women in the study had begun their training with professional ideals related to the journalist as 'educator' (i.e. providing new ideas and explanations for the public), by the time they left college the majority had been socialised into accepting a different professional ideal – that of the 'bloodhound' or 'investigative' journalist, who is '*tough, unafraid and rather ruthless in his (it is often a man) search for the Truth*' (Melin, 1994, p. 6). As a result, she concludes: '*Both journalism colleges and journalist professional*

ideals could be seen as male "tools", i.e. a value system' (p. 18). These particular professional ideals would not necessarily apply in every country. However the universal lesson of

communication training seems to prepare students for a male-dominated media milieu, in which male-defined values and priorities prevail.

3

Women's Employment in the Media: Why it Matters

The issue of women's employment in the media goes well beyond the question of women's right to expect equal access to all spheres of work. Of course it is integral to this basic right. But even more is at stake. The mass media are by now among the major socialising agents in modern society. In countries with highly developed media systems, certain social groups now spend a greater part of their lives attending to the media (watching television, listening to the radio, reading magazines and newspapers) than they do in the schoolroom. People spend at least four hours a day watching television in countries as different as the United States, Japan and Portugal². In other countries daily viewing averages of between two and four hours are common. Women may not always be free to watch or listen to their preferred programmes. Research in quite disparate countries such as Germany, India, Mozambique, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Zambia shows that, in family viewing and listening situations, the decisions of the adult male in the household tend to prevail (see Mytton, 1993; Lull, 1988).

Nevertheless, these and other studies show that women are enthusiastic media users, although their preferences are different from those of men. All over the world, this pattern of preferences is similar: men prefer sports,

action-oriented programmes and information (especially news); women prefer popular drama, music/dance and other entertainment programmes (see Sepstrup and Goonasekera, 1994; Lull, op. cit., Bonder and Zurutuza, 1994). This configuration of choices is most easily explained in terms of the extent to which women and men are able to identify with various types of media content. Numerous studies worldwide have established that by far the favourite television genre among women is serialised drama, soap opera and *telenovelas*, and that one of the reasons for this preference is the exceptionally high proportion of female characters in such programmes (see Brown, 1990; Seiter et al., 1989; Bustos Romero, 1989; Lull op. cit.). Nor is it surprising that media content which features powerful, dynamic male characters and in which women play decorative, supportive roles (as in action drama), or which revolve almost exclusively around male figures (as in most sports and news programming) appeals primarily to men.

Leaving to one side the difficult question of what effect these repetitive patterns of gender representation may have on people's real lives and aspirations, it is legitimate to ask whether the female audience is satisfied with the way in which the media depict women and their lives. This is a surprisingly under-researched question, but recent studies in Germany and the United Kingdom show that many women believe they are badly served by the media. In particular, they express the view that if there were more women journalists and female experts voicing opinions in

² Sources. For the United States: Saatchi and Saatchi, New York/Zenith Media Worldwide, 1994; for Japan: SRG Singapore/Zenith Media Worldwide, 1993; for Portugal: Eurodata TV, 1993

the media this could '*act as significant role models for other women, stimulate female interest in public issues, and – perhaps – sometimes speak in the interests of and for women*' (Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1994, p. 75; see also Röser and Kroll, 1995). We shall return later to the question of whether the presence of more women in the media can actually help to bring about the kinds of change which the female audience would like to see in media content. The power of individuals within the media is limited by a wide range of regulatory, financial and professional controls. Nevertheless, media content *is* produced by individuals who – within certain limits – have some scope to influence what is seen, heard and read by millions. Clearly it is important that women should be in a position to shape those media messages.

Statistics on Women's Employment in the Media

Relatively little systematic study has been made of women's employment status in media organisations around the world. The data are difficult to obtain, requiring access to internal information which many employers regard as confidential. The first European-wide survey of women in broadcasting was carried out in 1984 (and has been up-dated regularly since), but another decade was to pass before a similar study of the European print media was launched (see Gallagher, 1984; Lünenborg, forthcoming). Organisations such as the Australian Broadcasting Corporation and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation – both of which actively pursue equal opportunities policies – routinely monitor the situation of women within their workforces. But in general there is an acute lack of reliable empirical information on women's employment in the media. As Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi has pointed out, the data which do exist are seldom comparable, definitions of employment categories vary, some figures include only 'professional' staff while others include all employees, and so on (Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1995). In particular, no study has ever attempted to establish comparative employment patterns across world regions.

It is this gap that the present project sets out to fill, at least in a preliminary way. The research has spanned several years. With the help of local research groups a standard questionnaire – based on a format developed in a series of European studies during the 1980s – was distributed in

1993 and 1994 to all national broadcasting organisations, national daily and weekly newspapers – and, in some cases, national news agencies – in nine countries in Southern Africa (Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe), and six in Latin America (Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, Peru, Venezuela). No central financing was available for research in Asia but colleagues in India, Japan and Malaysia nonetheless agreed to carry out the studies, in some cases finding local funds to support the data collection. In 1995 the project was extended on a more limited basis to South Africa, Argentina, Estonia, Lithuania, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, the Russian Federation, Australia and Canada. Comparable data were available from studies in the twelve Member States of the European Union, so that the project finally spanned 43 countries and 239 media organisations around the world.

The questionnaire requested figures on the number of women in the overall workforce, as well as in senior management and in decision-making bodies. Organisations were asked to provide a complete staff listing, showing specific job titles for all employees. These raw data were later categorised by the central research coordinator, to ensure that reliable comparisons could be made across organisations and countries. Compilation of this information placed a heavy burden on the media organisations, and their initial response was not always enthusiastic. In many cases local researchers visited the companies concerned to encourage cooperation, to check information and, in some instances, to help assemble it. The entire process was arduous, and the challenges it presented help to explain why research of this kind is so rarely undertaken. Nevertheless, the picture which has emerged is clear. It provides detailed evidence of the importance of gender in determining the distribution of work in the media. Whether considered in terms of the occupations typically dominated by women and men, or in terms of their situation within the hierarchy, the pattern is very similar in all 43 countries studied. The few exceptions which emerge, although intriguing, in the final analysis also confirm the most important – if hardly surprising – conclusion of the study. Women's overall share of jobs may be increasing, and they may have achieved greater visibility in certain high-profile roles. But decision-making power in the media is still almost exclusively in the hands of men.

4

Gender Patterns in Media Employment

The principal statistical data from our specially conducted studies are presented towards the end of this monograph in Table 1, which also lists the individual media organisations covered for each of the 43 countries included in the project. The data include all employees: permanent full-time workers and, where such categories exist, part-time staff and people engaged on temporary contracts. The information refers to staff in all occupational groups – not just those in production or editorial positions, but also employees in administrative, technical and creative jobs as well as those in general and specialised services. Table 2 lists additional data which, although not strictly comparable with our own figures, broaden the range of countries covered. In the body of the text we present the information in graphic form and on a national, rather than an organisational basis. Tabulated organisational data for the key aspects of the study can be found in Table 1³.

The Overall Picture

Women's overall share of jobs is low in all media (see Figure 2). Of the 43 countries covered in our study (and

encompassing 239 organisations), women reach 50% of the media workforce in only two cases – Estonia and Lithuania. At the other end of the scale is Japan, where just 8% of the media employees are female. The data show reasonable coherence within certain regions. For example the average across the six Latin American countries is 25%, with Colombia showing a 'high' of 31%. However, in Southern Africa there is considerably more variation. The overall average for these ten countries is 27%, but women's share of jobs reaches more than 40% in both Botswana and Lesotho and plummets to well below 20% in Malawi and Mozambique⁴. The data for Europe show coherence within sub-regions, but also a 'hierarchy' in which the Baltic States are at the top, followed by Central and Eastern Europe (average 45% women), the Nordic States (41%), with Western Europe at the bottom (35%). Our study's sample of countries from Asia and Oceania cannot be considered as a region, or even a sub-region. As would be expected, they are very different one from the other.

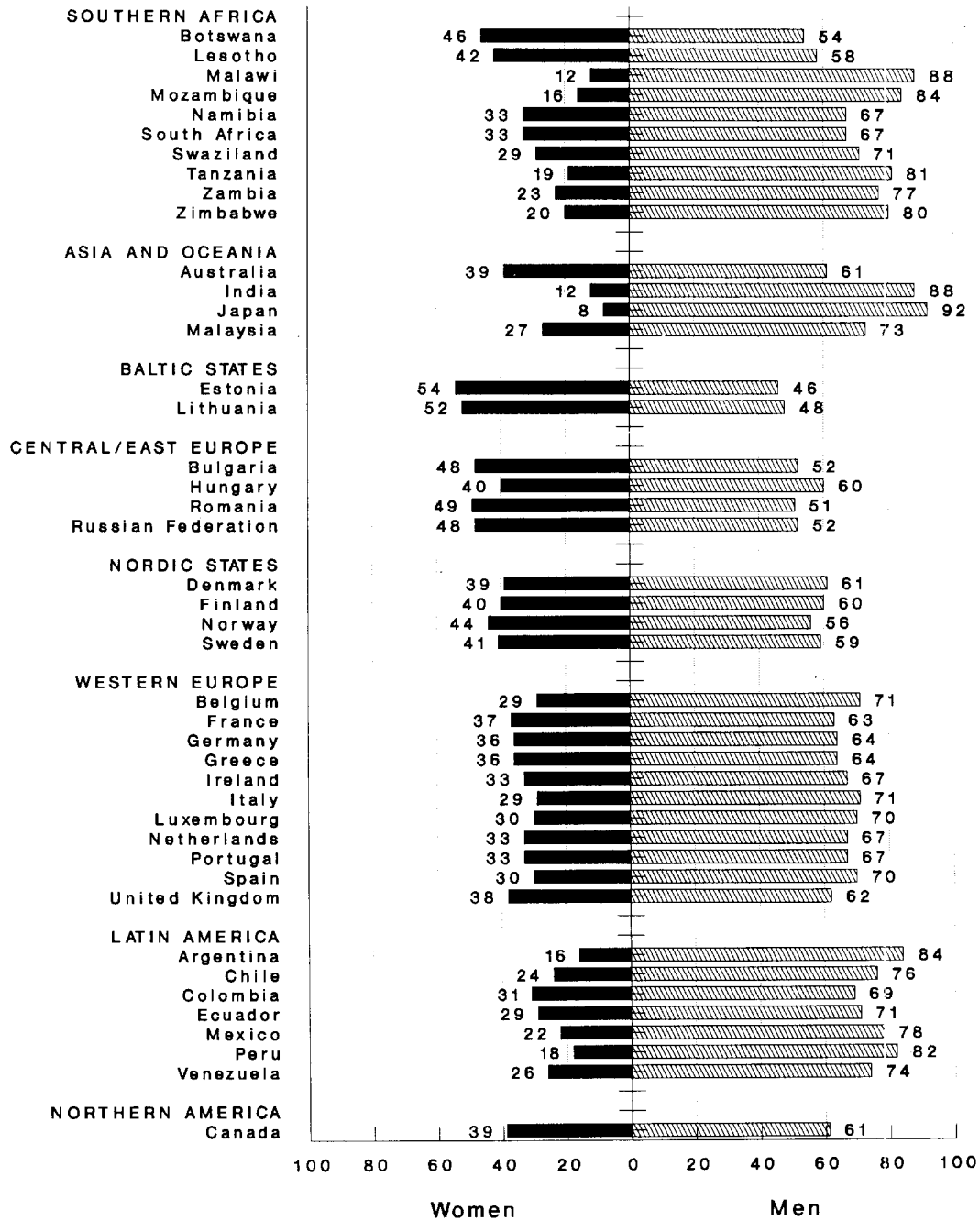
These data on media employment should not, however, be considered isolation from other statistical data on women's position within the total national labour force

³ Table 1 is the basic reference source for all national data presented in the graphs which follow. The number of organisations covered varies considerably from one country to another. To comprehend the scope and limitations of these national data, analysis of the graphs must be complemented by careful study of Table 1.

⁴ The media workforce in Lesotho is very small (see Table 1) and all percentages for the country must be interpreted in that light. Nonetheless, the figures do include almost all those working in the media at the time of the study (1993).

Gender Patterns in Media Employment

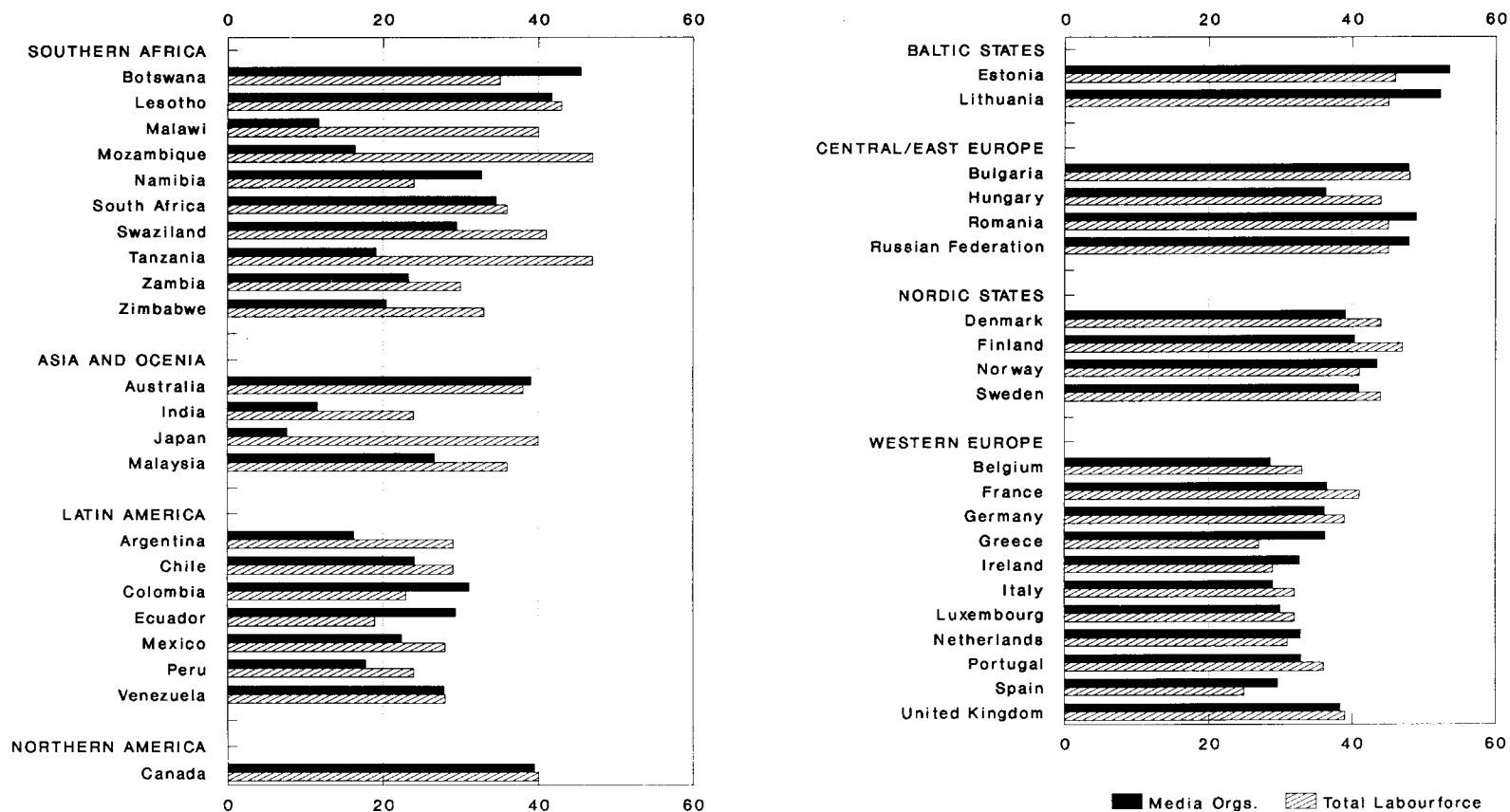
Figure 2. Women's and Men's Share of Media Employment
239 organisations in 43 countries, 1990-95.



Source: Unless otherwise stated, data in this and subsequent graphs are based on specially conducted studies. See Table 1 for complete list of organisations included.

Figure 3. Women's Share of Employment in Selected Media Organisations and in Total Labour Force

43 countries: 1990-95

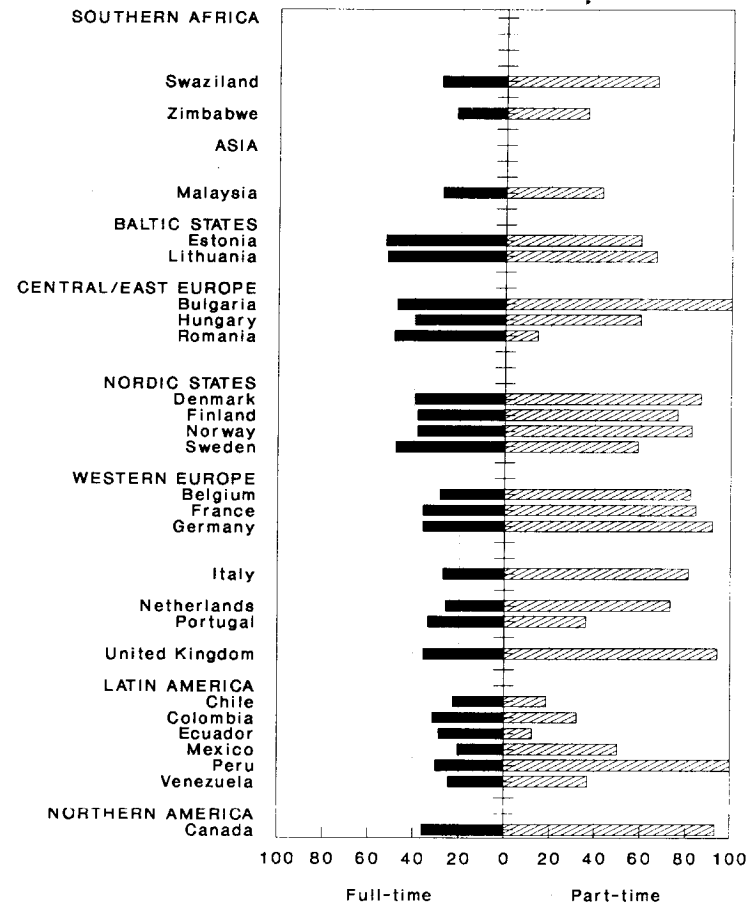
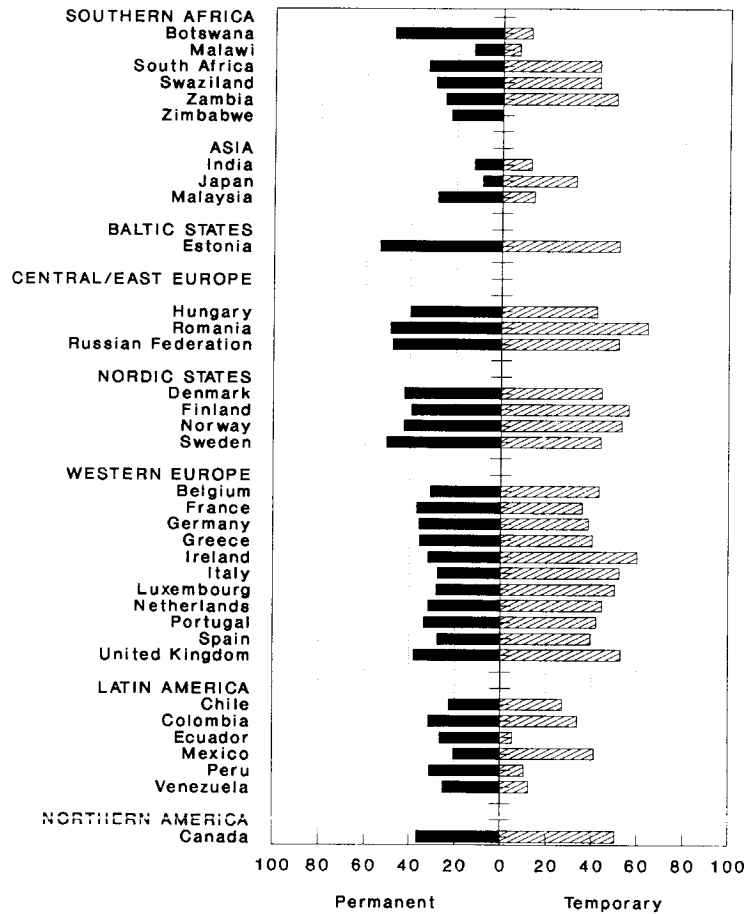


Sources: Media Organisations - specially conducted studies (see Table 1)
 Labour Force - *The World's Women 1995: Trends and Statistics* (United Nations, 1995)

Figure 4. Employment Status of Women in Broadcasting

All Staff: Women's Share Permanent vs Temporary Jobs
35 countries: 1990-95

Permanent Staff: Women's Share Full-time vs Part-time Jobs
26 countries: 1990-95



(see Figure 3). If women account for only a small proportion of the labour force within a given country, it would be unreasonable to expect the media in that country to be dominated by women. Looked at in these terms, the comparative data provide some further insights. In most of the 43 countries women's share of jobs in the media organisations in our study is lower than in the total labour force. In just fourteen cases the reverse is true, though in most of these cases the difference is negligible. The Baltic States (Estonia and Lithuania), Botswana, Namibia, Colombia, Ecuador and Greece are countries which stand out: in each of these women account for a relatively high proportion of media employees in comparison with their overall participation in the labour force. Conversely, women's employment in the media seems disproportionately low in a number of the countries in Southern Africa (Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zimbabwe), as well as in India and Japan. Again, Japan stands out as a 'worst case' in this analysis: Japanese women's participation in the labour force is four times higher than in the media organisations covered by our project. These differences appear to suggest that in certain countries entry into the media presents very special difficulties for women.

Cultural barriers and traditional beliefs may well play a role here. For instance in a survey of women's employment in member organisations of the Commonwealth Broadcasting Association, the report from Tanzania cited cultural prejudices and stereotyped beliefs as one of the main reasons for the low percentage of women in Tanzanian radio. The prevailing image of the media world as a tough, male, hard-drinking environment is an obstacle for many women. One third of the female journalists interviewed in a study in Senegal had encountered family opposition to their choice of career. The main reason was the image of women journalists. As one of the interviewees put it: *'They say that journalists are bad wives ... that they smoke and drink and, even worse, they think that journalists neglect their husbands and their children'* (van den Wijngaard, 1992, p. 54). Of course, cultural attitudes are by no means the only obstacle confronting women hoping for a career in the media, but they can be an important first hurdle which some women are simply unable to surmount.

Differences in Employment Status

Not all media employees are engaged on a permanent, full-time basis. Some staff work part-time, while others are hired on temporary contracts – perhaps for the duration of an assignment or a particular production. The relative proportions of these different categories vary between organisations and indeed from one country to another. For example, part-time work seems to be almost unknown in most media organisations in Southern Africa, in India and Japan, and in a number of European countries. Where it exists, part-time work is concentrated in two broad areas: the administrative and clerical field, and general services such as catering and cleaning. Temporary contracts, on the other hand, are relatively widely used in the media – although here again organisations in Southern Africa are less likely to engage staff on a temporary basis. Most of these temporary jobs are in the production and editorial areas – producers, directors, scriptwriters, journalists and so on, though in Southern Africa other categories (notably service staff) are sometimes engaged on temporary contract.

Figure 4 shows how women's share of jobs in the broadcast media varies according to the type of employment contract. Although not presented here, an almost identical pattern can be found in the print media. The distribution is a telling illustration of the fact that, in most cases, women's employment status tends to be much more precarious than that of men. Across all the countries studied, women are 26% of the permanent, full-time media workforce; 79% of the permanent, part-time media workforce; and 44% of the temporary media workforce. In all regions women are more likely to be found in part-time and temporary work than in full-time employment. In the Southern African countries where women's share of temporary jobs is relatively low (Botswana, Malawi, Zimbabwe), this tends to be related to the categories of staff employed on temporary contract in those organisations – security guards, gardeners, drivers, and so on. It is actually only in a few of the Latin American countries (Ecuador, Peru, Venezuela) that a notably larger proportion of men than women is employed on a temporary basis in professional occupational categories (producers, sound technicians, editors etc.). With just two exceptions, part-time work in the media covered by our study is dominated by women.

In Romania the total number of part-time employees (in Radiodifuziunea Romana) is extremely small (a total of eight). In Ecuador, however, the explanation cannot be found in numbers alone. Of the more than 60 part-time staff (across thirteen organisations) – which include producers, reporters, announcers and other professional categories – only 7 (12%) are female. But overall, in Latin America as elsewhere, women's share of part-time jobs clearly exceeds their representation in the full-time workforce.

This pattern – in which women form a much higher proportion of temporary, free-lance and part-time staff than of permanent media employees – is confirmed by other studies (Gallego, 1993; Holman and Ortiz, 1992). In most cases women do not choose these precarious employment arrangements, but accept them because they have no alternative. However, employment in the temporary, part-time media workforce very rarely provides access to promotion paths or decision-making posts.

5

The Gender Division of Labour in the Media

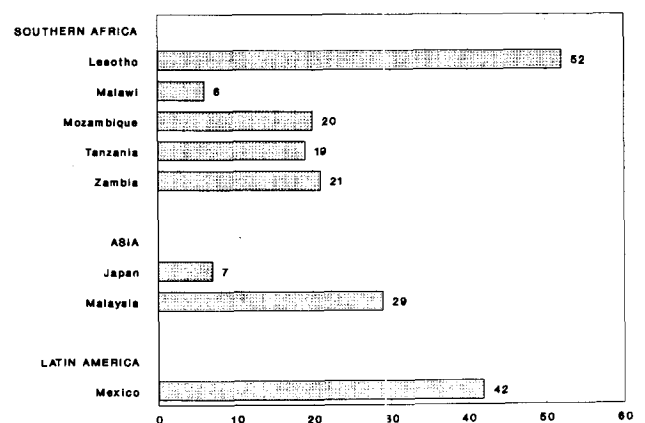
There are important differences in the gender distribution of labour within and across media organisations. Women tend to be concentrated in certain kinds of occupation, at certain levels of the hierarchy, and indeed are more likely to be employed in certain media than others. In most cases for which the comparison can be made, our study found a higher proportion of women in broadcasting (radio and television) than in the press (Figure 6).

This tendency is particularly marked in the European countries where the only exception is Luxembourg, which has a very small media workforce. In Southern Africa a major exception is Namibia, where women account for almost half of the staff in the newspapers covered in our project⁵. In Ecuador and Venezuela the press is a larger employer of women than the broadcast media are, though the differences are not particularly great.

The regional averages included in Figure 6 show some important variations across the countries studied. In Southern Africa Malawi is clearly as a country where there are very few women indeed in the media – whether in broadcasting, press, or the national news agency (see Figure 5). On the other hand, women’s employment in all media in Botswana and Lesotho is well above average for the region.

The picture in Latin America is fairly cohesive, though Colombia stands out as having a relatively substantial female workforce in both broadcast and print media. Within Europe, it is clearly the western European countries – in particular Belgium, Italy, Portugal and Spain – which are still falling behind in terms of equal employment opportunities for women in radio, television and the press.

Figure 5. Women's Share of Jobs in News Agencies, 1993-94



⁵ The pattern also seems different in Mozambique, but the number of staff employed in the print media covered is very small (see Table 1). More press data would be needed before reaching a conclusion about the overall tendency in Mozambique

Although the data for news agencies cover only a small number of countries, women’s share of jobs in these is generally at least on a par with that in the other national media

Figure 6. Women's Share of Jobs in Media, 1990-95

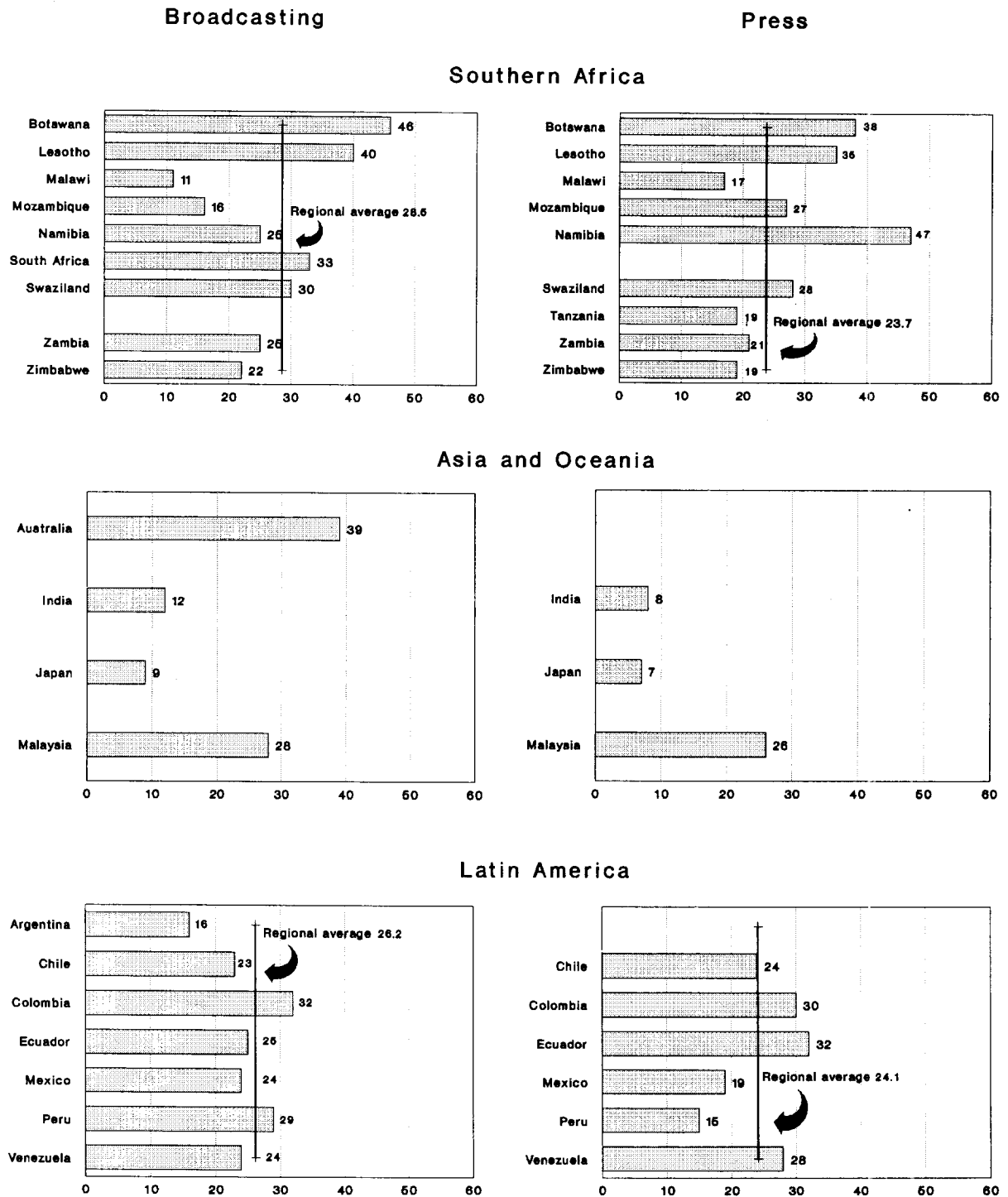
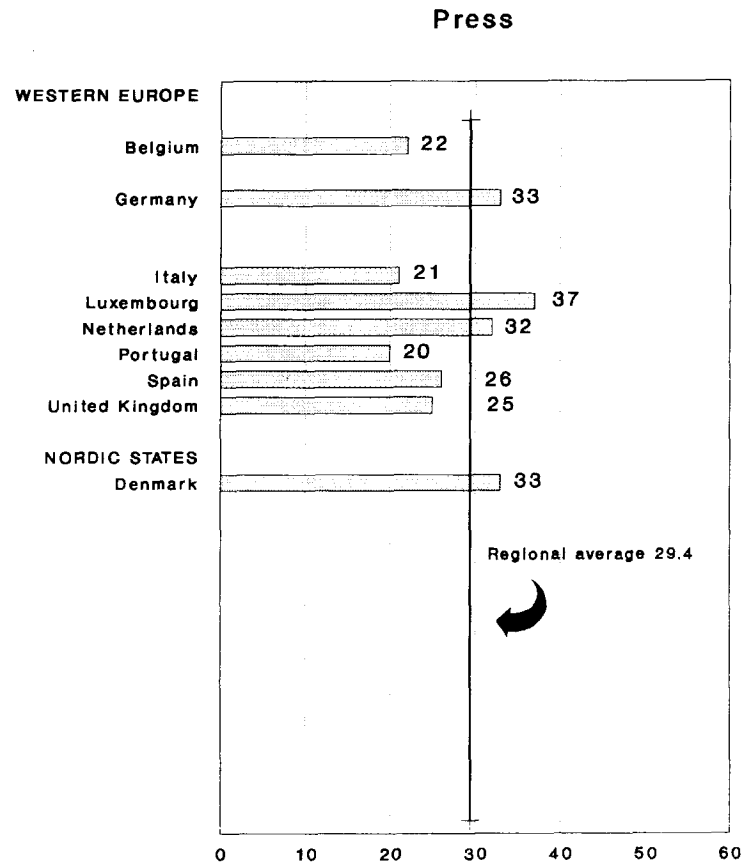
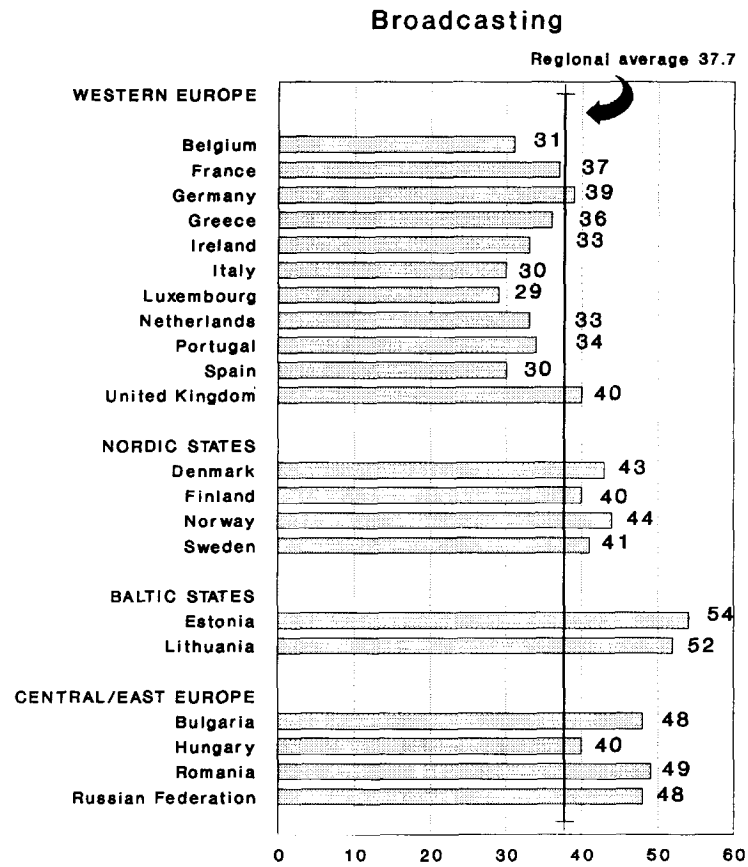


Fig. 6 cont.

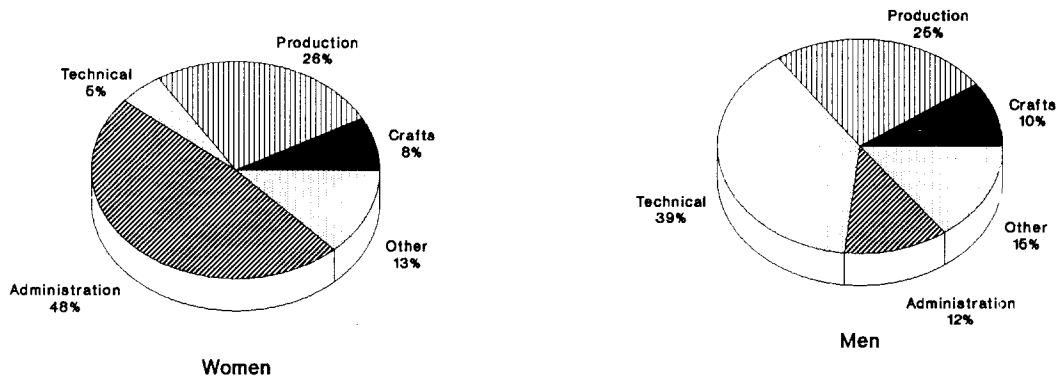
Europe



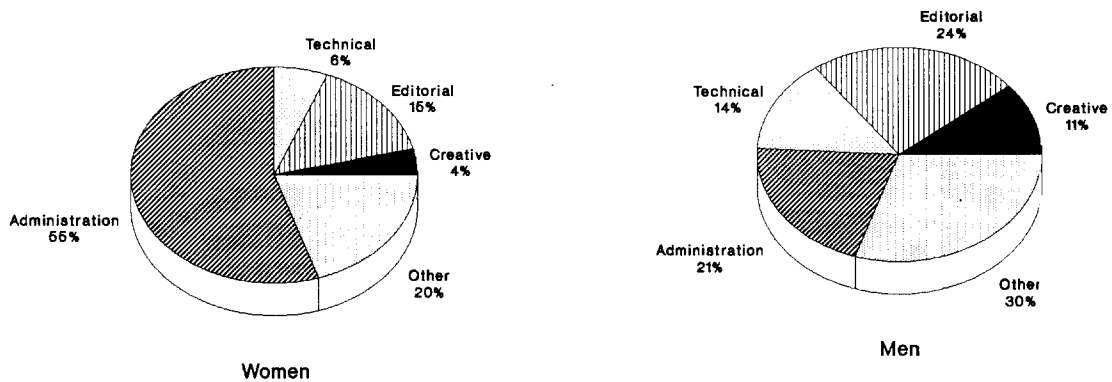
The Gender Division of Labour in the Media

Figure 7. Percentage Distribution of Staff Over Main Occupational Categories

Example 1: Broadcasting, Western Europe
70 Organisations in 11 countries: 1990



Example 2: Press, Southern Africa
14 organisations in 9 countries: 1993-95



Example 3: News Agencies, Asia
Kyodo News Service, Japan: 1993

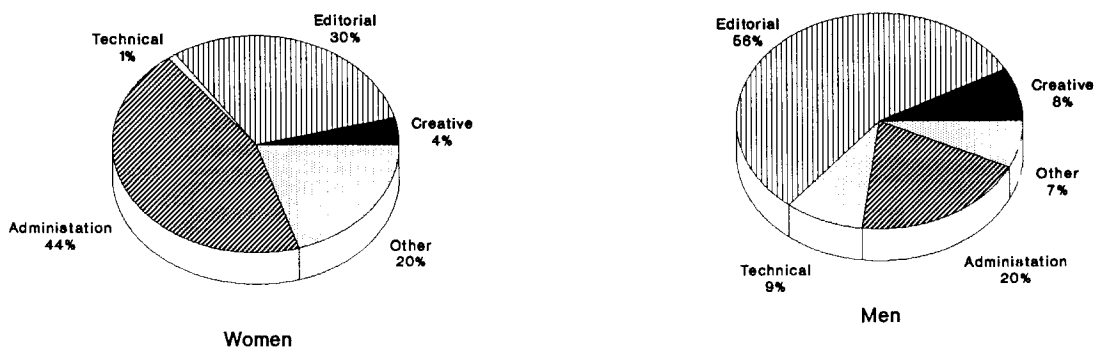
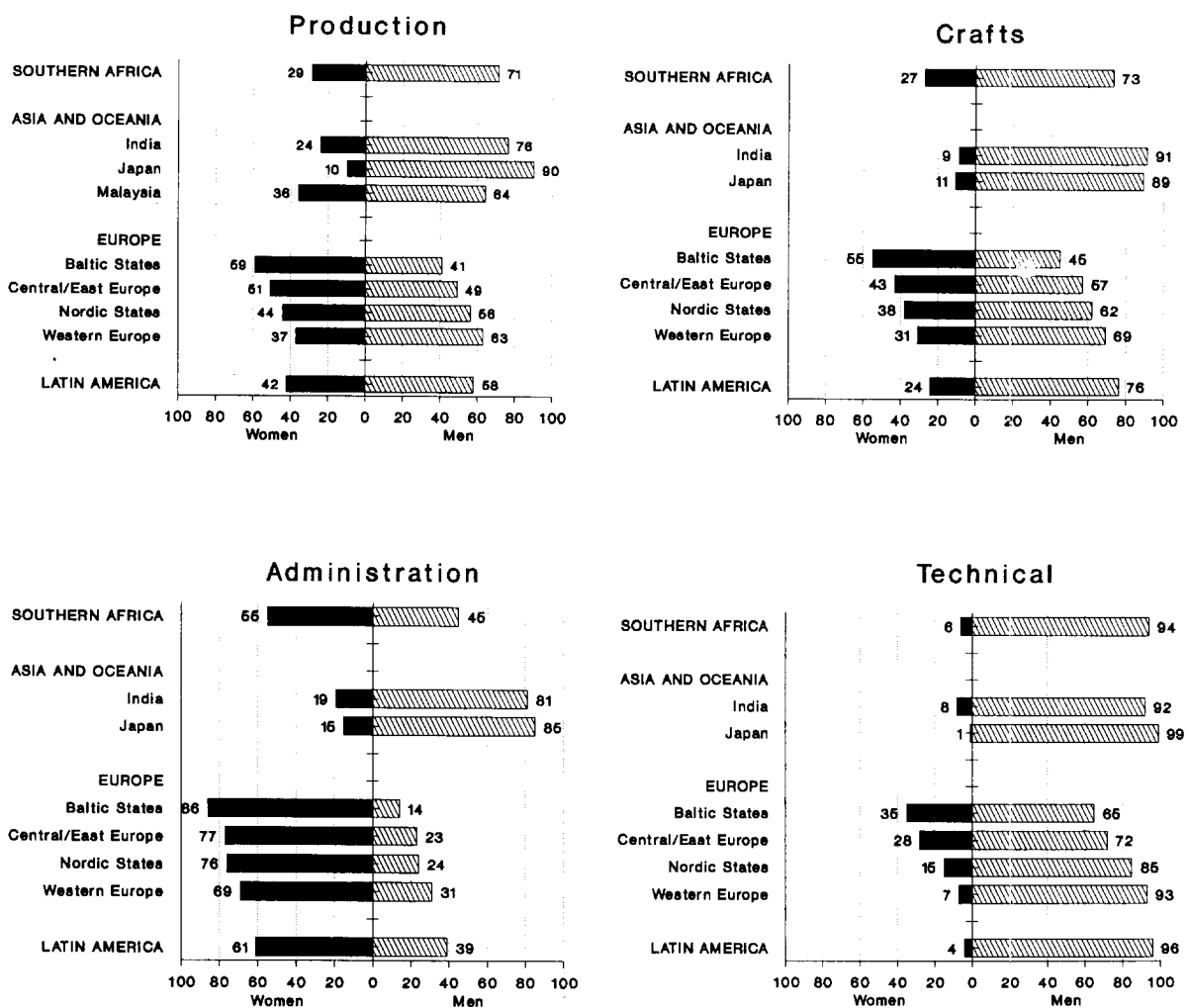


Figure 8. Women's and Men's Share of Jobs in Main Occupational Categories, Broadcasting

139 organisations in 38 countries: 1990-95



(although Malawi is again an exception: there are even fewer women in the news agency than in broadcasting or the press). In two cases – Lesotho and Mexico – women account for a particularly high proportion of employees in the national news agencies. However, these women are all on the lower rungs of the professional ladder, mainly working as junior reporters or editorial assistants. As we shall see, executive editorial work in the news agencies studied is a male domain.

Women's Work, Men's Work

Whether in broadcasting, the press or news agencies, there are striking differences in the kinds of job typically done by women and men. Media employees fall into six broad groups: administration, production/editorial, technical, crafts/creative, general services, and specialised services. The data provided by the participating organisations were classified by us into these six occupational categories, of which the following four are the most important⁶:

- *Production/Editorial*: producers, directors, journalists, reporters, announcers and presenters, editors and sub-editors, script-writers, programme researchers, floor managers, production and editorial assistants; also senior production and editorial management executives.
- *Crafts/Creative*: in broadcasting – design, graphics, wardrobe, make-up, scenery construction, property buying and setting, general studio assistants, caption generators, animators, film and video editors; in print media – photographers, lay-out designers, illustrators; also senior management in these categories.
- *Administration*: planning, finance, accounts, personnel, public relations, sales and marketing, general facilities and other central services, secretarial and clerical jobs; the category also covers the most senior managerial posts (directors general, controllers, executive directors).
- *Technical*: in broadcasting – camera and sound operators, lighting, electricians, engineers, transmission control staff, vision mixers, general technical assistants; in print media – laboratory staff, type-setters, printing technicians; also senior technical management.

⁶ In Figure 7, staff in the general services and specialised services are categorised as 'other'. These categories are *not* included in Table 1.

Already a minority within the media workforce in most countries, most women who *are* employed in broadcasting, the press and news agencies are not in the production and editorial jobs most closely associated with media output. In fact, women in media organisations are much more likely to be found in administration than in any of the other occupational categories. Figure 7 shows some typical distributions of female and male media staff in broadcasting, the press and news agencies. Two areas of particular disequilibrium immediately stand out.

Technical work in the media is almost exclusively a male preserve. Only about 5% of women in Western European broadcasting organisations are to be found in technical jobs (although, as we shall see, the proportion is higher in the Baltic States and in Central and Eastern Europe). Administration, on the other hand, is a female-dominated sphere. Of all women working in the media, up to 50% are employed in administrative jobs (in the press organisations in Southern Africa 55% of female staff are in administration). Moreover, within the administrative hierarchy women tend to be concentrated in low-level secretarial and junior management posts. For instance, across the broadcasting organisations in Western Europe, 48% of female employees are in administration and – as shown in Figure 8 – 69% of *all* administrative jobs in these companies are occupied by women. However, at the top rung of the administrative ladder (divided into eight hierarchical bands according to salary), women fill only 12% of posts.

The secretarial and clerical jobs in which women are concentrated do not offer reasonable career prospects in the media. In some countries highly qualified women – often university graduates – accept this kind of work in the belief that, once inside the organisation, they will move on to more creative work. In fact, this rarely happens. In a report for the BBC (United Kingdom) Monica Simms reviewed the career progress of 589 women in secretarial and clerical grades (17% of whom were graduates). She found that, over a five-year period, only sixteen (2.7%) had moved out of these grades (Simms, 1985).

The result of this is that many women lose their self-esteem and come to believe that – despite their early ambitions – they 'deserve' nothing more than a secretarial job. As one senior secretary in a British television company says: '*When I came here I'd got a degree and good secretarial qualifications, but I got to thinking that I would never be capable*

of doing anything, or managing anything. I suppose I just didn't have a great deal of confidence in anything I did' (see Coyle, 1988, p. 69).

For most women, jobs in the administrative category do not lead to real careers in the media. Moreover, if these jobs are excluded from the statistical analysis, women's

overall share of media employment falls substantially – in the press to below 20% (in all regions); in broadcasting to around 20% in Southern Africa and Latin America, and about 25% in Europe. The scope – or lack of scope – of women's influence within the media comes into clearer perspective with this initial analysis.

6

Gender Employment Patterns in Radio and Television

Women's and men's share of the four main occupational categories in broadcasting is shown on a regional basis in Figure 8. The administrative-technical imbalance is clear. In all cases women's share of jobs is greatest in the administrative area – even in countries such as India and Japan, where women's overall share of jobs is very low. Conversely, their share of jobs is lowest in the technical area – even in the Baltic States and Central and Eastern Europe, where the proportion of female technicians is well above the average for other regions. Jobs in production and crafts are more evenly distributed between women and men. However, in each of these areas there are important differences in the specific occupations typical of women and men.

Programme Production Jobs

Four key production jobs have been selected for analysis: presenters/announcers, journalists, producers/directors and production assistants. Figures 9 to 12 show how women and men fare in each of these occupations across the 38 countries (and 139 broadcasting organisations) from which this detailed information was obtained. Looking across the

regions, two particular findings stand out. Firstly, women are very visible as presenters and announcers⁷. Even in Japan, where women account for only 9% of the broadcasting employees, 19% of announcers and presenters are female. In fact 20% of *all* women working in production in Japanese broadcasting are employed in on-air occupations (compared with 10% of all men in production). In India 43% of all women in radio production are announcers, and female radio announcers are 37% of the total. Across the European organisations, women are 47% of television presenters; for radio the figure is 33%. The Latin American data are similar: women are 46% of television presenters and 21% of radio presenters. The fact that female announcers and presenters are more likely to be found on television than radio is a concrete example of the issue of 'visibility' discussed earlier, suggesting that perhaps the media do indeed value women's presence on the screen as a mechanism to attract audiences.

The second striking finding to emerge from Figures 9 to 12 is women's very high share of jobs in the production assistant category in most countries. The average is 62% in Latin America⁸, and reaches a staggering 92% across the European organisations (accounting for a third of *all* women

⁷ This analysis includes *only* occupations such as 'announcer', 'presenter', 'newscaster' etc. which clearly entail responsibility for programme presentation. Journalists and reporters – many of whom may appear regularly on-air – are not included.

⁸ Ecuador is an exception. Of the ten organisations included, only one listed any staff in the category. This very small company has just two production assistants, both of whom are women.

Figure 9. Women's and Men's Share Selected Production Jobs, Broadcasting - Southern Africa

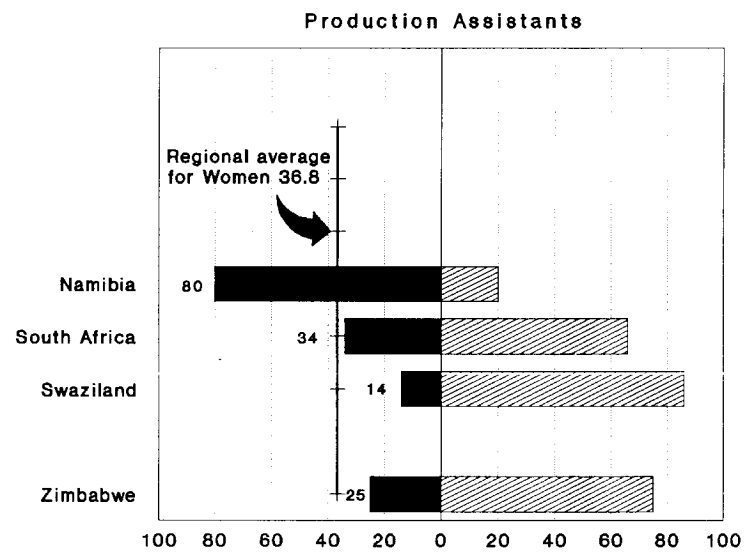
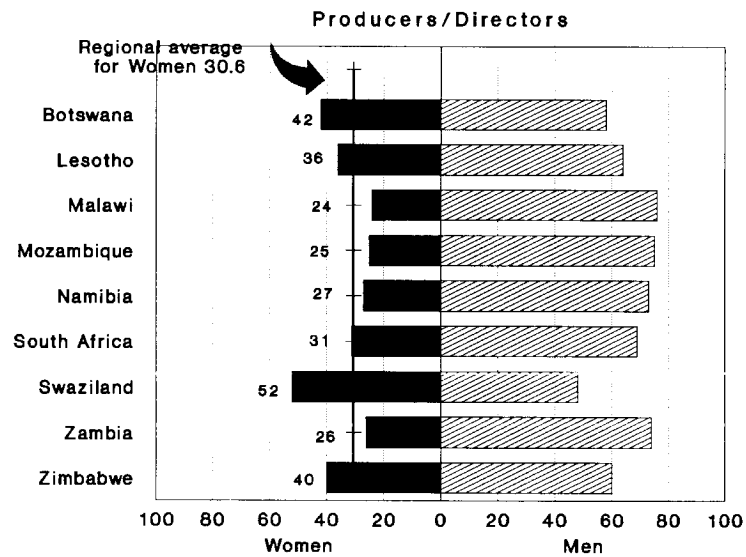
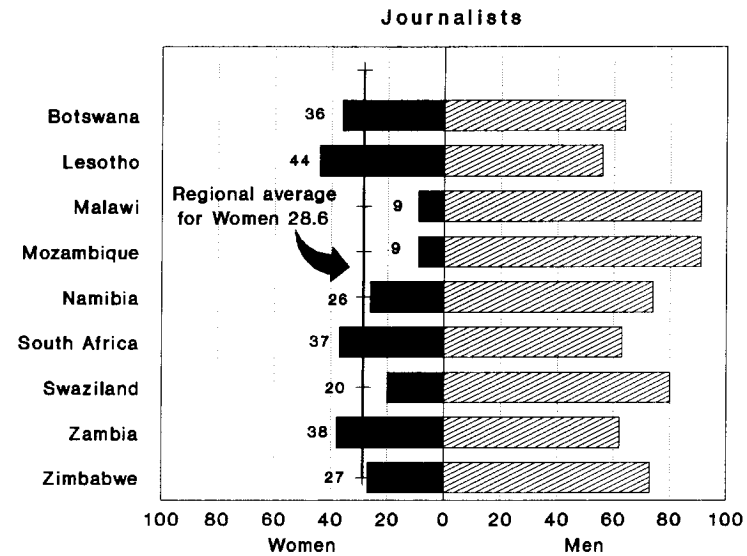
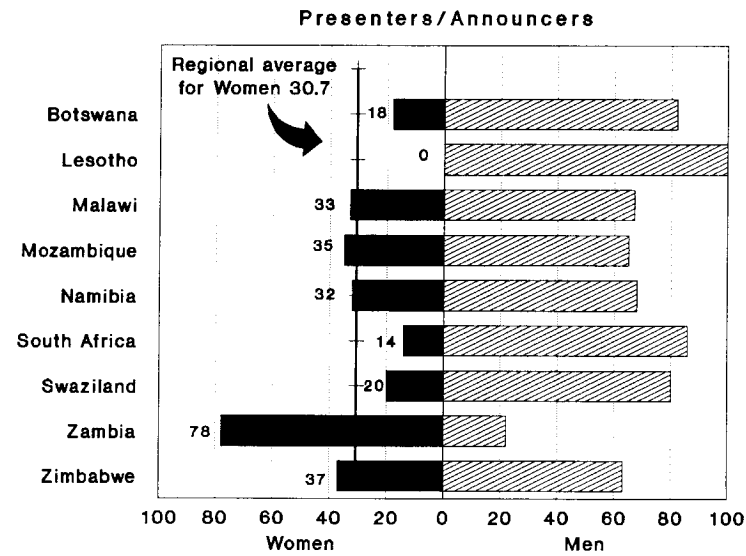


Figure 10. Women's and Men's Share Selected Production Jobs Broadcasting - Europe

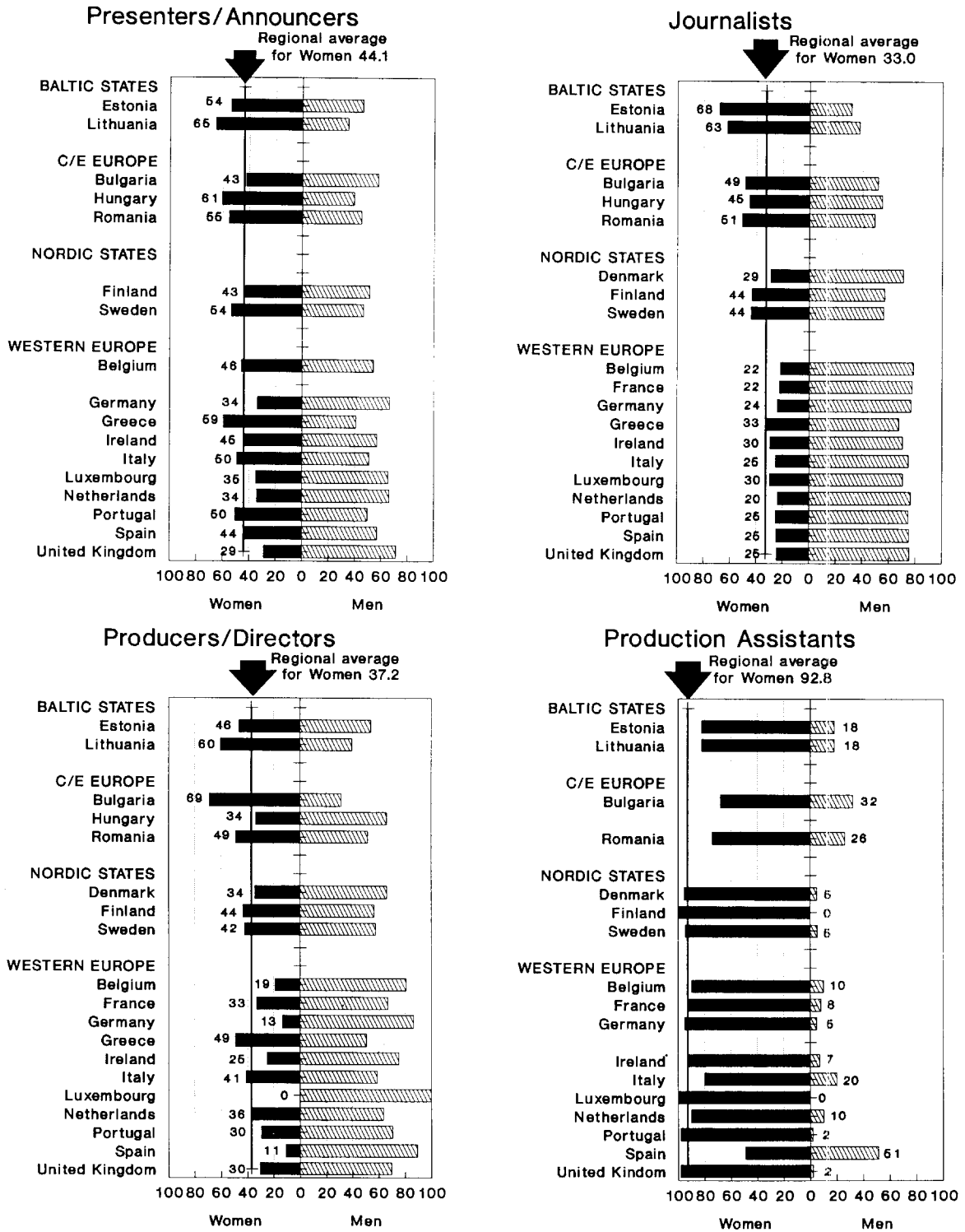


Figure 11. Women's and Men's Share Selected Production Jobs Broadcasting - Latin and Northern America

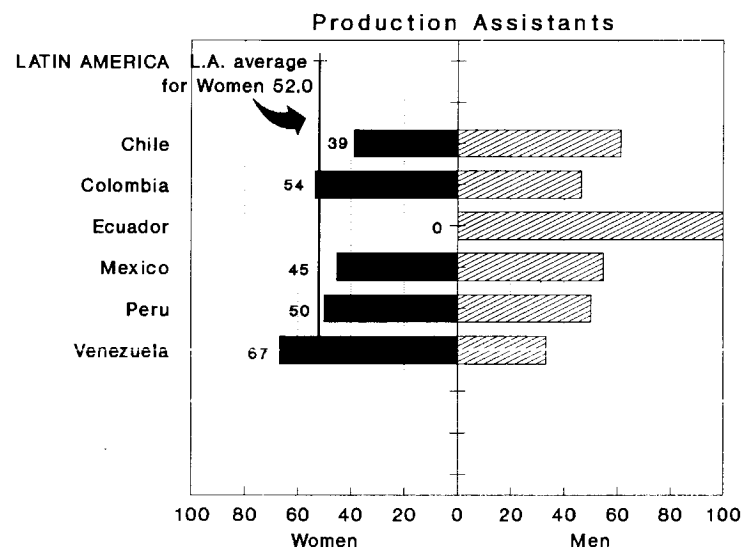
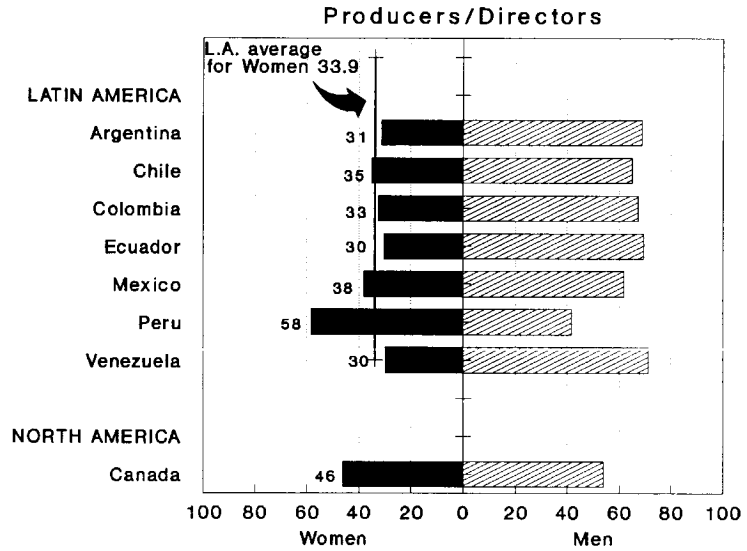
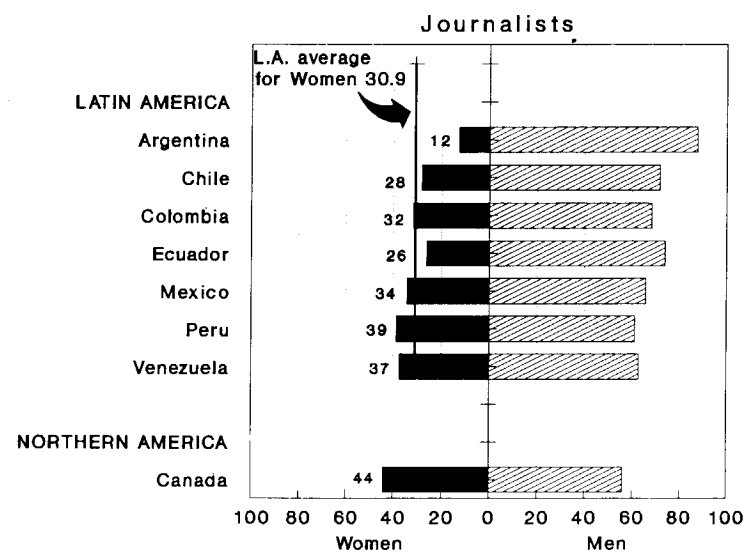
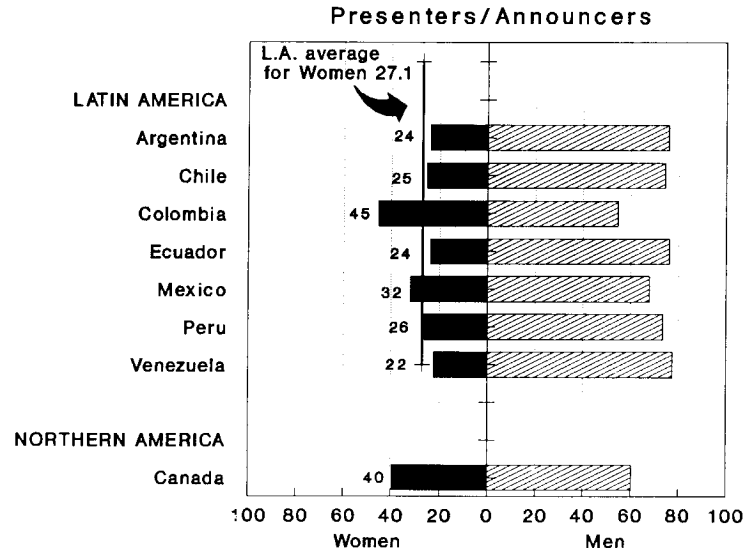
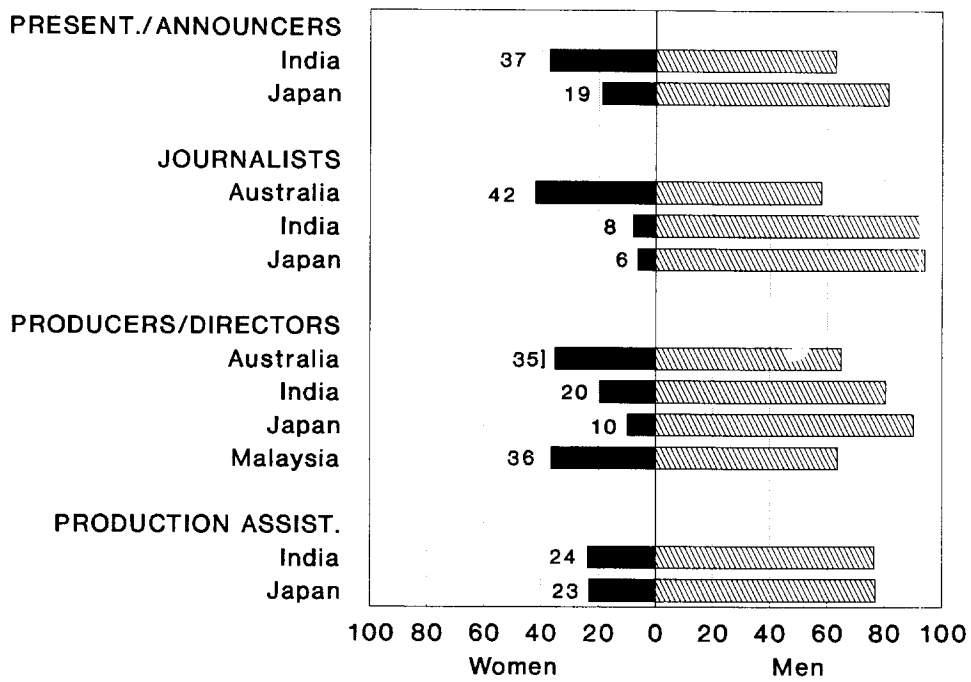
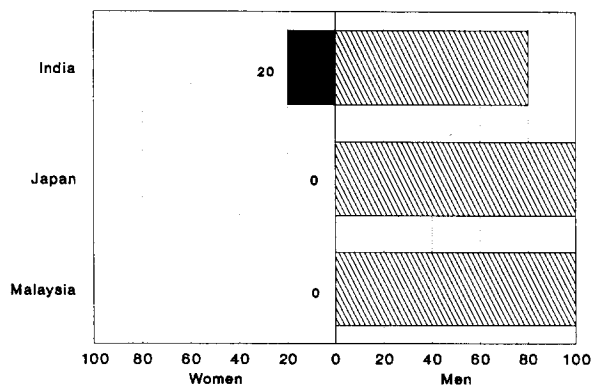


Figure 12. Women and Men in Production Broadcasting - Asia and Oceania

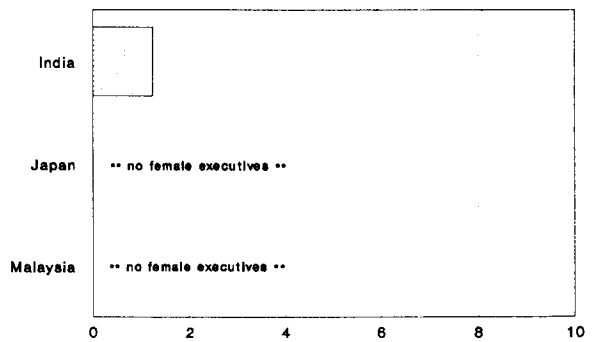
Women's and Men's Share Selected Production Jobs



Women and Men's Share Executive Production Jobs



Executives as Percentage All Production Staff, Ratio of Males to Females



working in production in these organisations). India and Japan – despite the small numbers of women working in broadcasting – also have relatively high proportions of women in the production assistant role: 24% and 23% respectively. The production assistant category provides a good illustration of the effect of real ‘feminisation’ within the media. It is an extremely difficult occupation from which to make an upward career move although, as Angela Coyle argues, *‘there is no real reason for this, since production assistants require considerable production skills and knowledge, and the grade could be an important step in a career path in television production (for both women and men). However, because the job is entirely female, it is invariably dismissed as women’s work, as “just glorified secretaries”, and is not integrated into any career ladder’* (Coyle, 1988, p. 67-8).

The data for producers and directors (Figures 9 to 12) provide quite an encouraging picture for women in certain countries, particularly in Latin America and, to a somewhat lesser extent, in Southern Africa. In some of the European countries the percentage of female producers/directors is disappointingly small: Belgium, Germany, Ireland and Spain are all well below average for the region. Relatively speaking, the figures for the Asian countries also show a fair number of women in the producer/director role – especially in Malaysia but also in India, where women’s share of producer/director posts (20%) is surprisingly high in relation to their overall share (12%) of jobs in radio and television.

The Asian data in Figure 12 also include information on senior executive jobs in production. These are the heads of department, programme controllers and so on who are right at the top of the production hierarchy. Of the three Asian countries only India has any female production executives and, again, the proportion is surprisingly high at 20% of the total. The absence of women at this level in Malaysia is especially discouraging, given the fact that more than a third of producers/directors in radio and television are female. Similar data for production executives in the remaining regions are presented in Figures 13 and 14, which show very clearly the relative lack of decision-making power enjoyed by women in broadcast production.

Averaging 14% in Latin America and Europe, and 11% in Southern Africa, women’s share of senior production jobs is disturbingly small. Apart from Lesotho where (as noted) the numbers are too small to enable firm conclusions to be drawn, there are only four countries in which women constitute more than a quarter of top production executives in

radio and television: Estonia, Romania, Bulgaria and Lithuania. As the ratio of male to female production executives shows, men working in broadcast production are very much more likely than women to be found at the top of the ladder. One of the most extreme cases is Germany. If one looks at the total number of staff employed in any capacity within production, one finds that there are *eight times more men than women* in executive production jobs in German radio and television. However, the male-female disparity is considerable in many countries – even those in which women’s *share* of these top production jobs is high. For example in Lithuania, with 29% of female production executives in broadcasting, the male-female ratio is still almost four to one: that is to say, men working in production are almost four times more likely than women to be in the top jobs.

The power to develop programme policy, and to determine the nature and shape of programme content, is therefore still very much concentrated in the hands of the men who work in radio and television organisations around the world.

Crafts and Technical Work

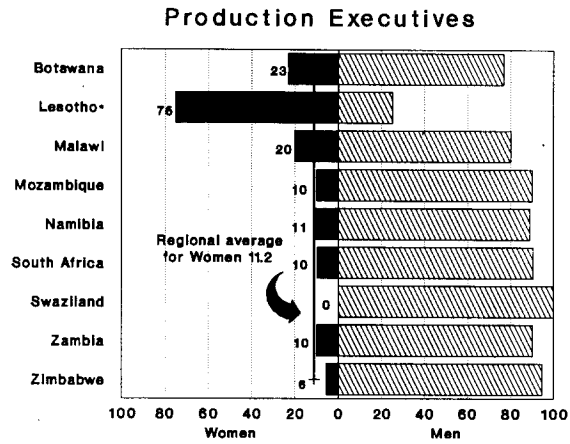
Of the work directly concerned with the shaping of media content, the crafts or creative area accounts for a relatively small proportion of jobs in broadcasting. Nevertheless much of this work – for example, graphic and scenic design, film and video editing – has an important impact on the shape of the media product. Women’s share of jobs in this category is highly variable (see Figure 8 for the overall averages), and tends to be concentrated in certain types of work. Figure 15 shows the distribution in four types of occupation in the crafts area.

On the positive side, graphic design attracts a high proportion of women. Even in Japan 14% of jobs in this category are held by women. The percentage rises to an average of 16% across the Southern African countries (though Zambia is an exception), 18% in India, and reaches an average of 30% in Latin America and Europe (the exceptions here being Ecuador and Luxembourg). Scenic design is also reasonably well-staffed by women in Latin America (average 31%), though women hold only 20% of such jobs in European broadcasting organisations. On the other hand, film and video editing is apparently attracts few women in Latin America: only Ecuador has any female editors. In

Gender Employment Patterns in Radio and Television

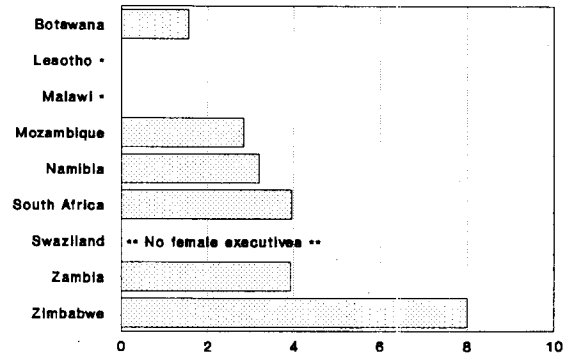
Figure 13. Women's and Men's Share of Executive Production Jobs, Broadcasting

Southern Africa



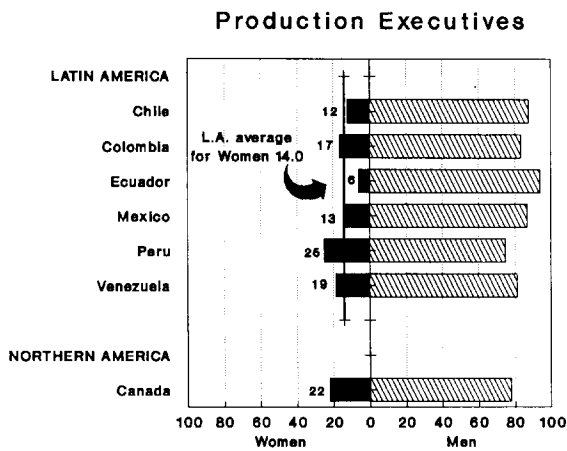
* 4 executives of which 3 women

Executives as Percentage of All Production Staff
Ratio of Males to Females



* Insufficient data

Latin America and Northern America



Executives as Percentage of All Production Staff
Ratio of Males to Females

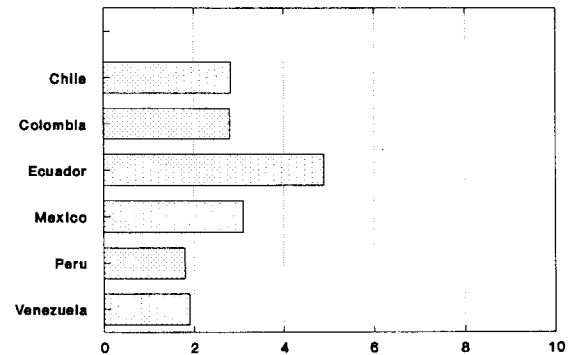


Figure 14. Women's and Men's Share of Executive Production Jobs, Broadcasting - Europe

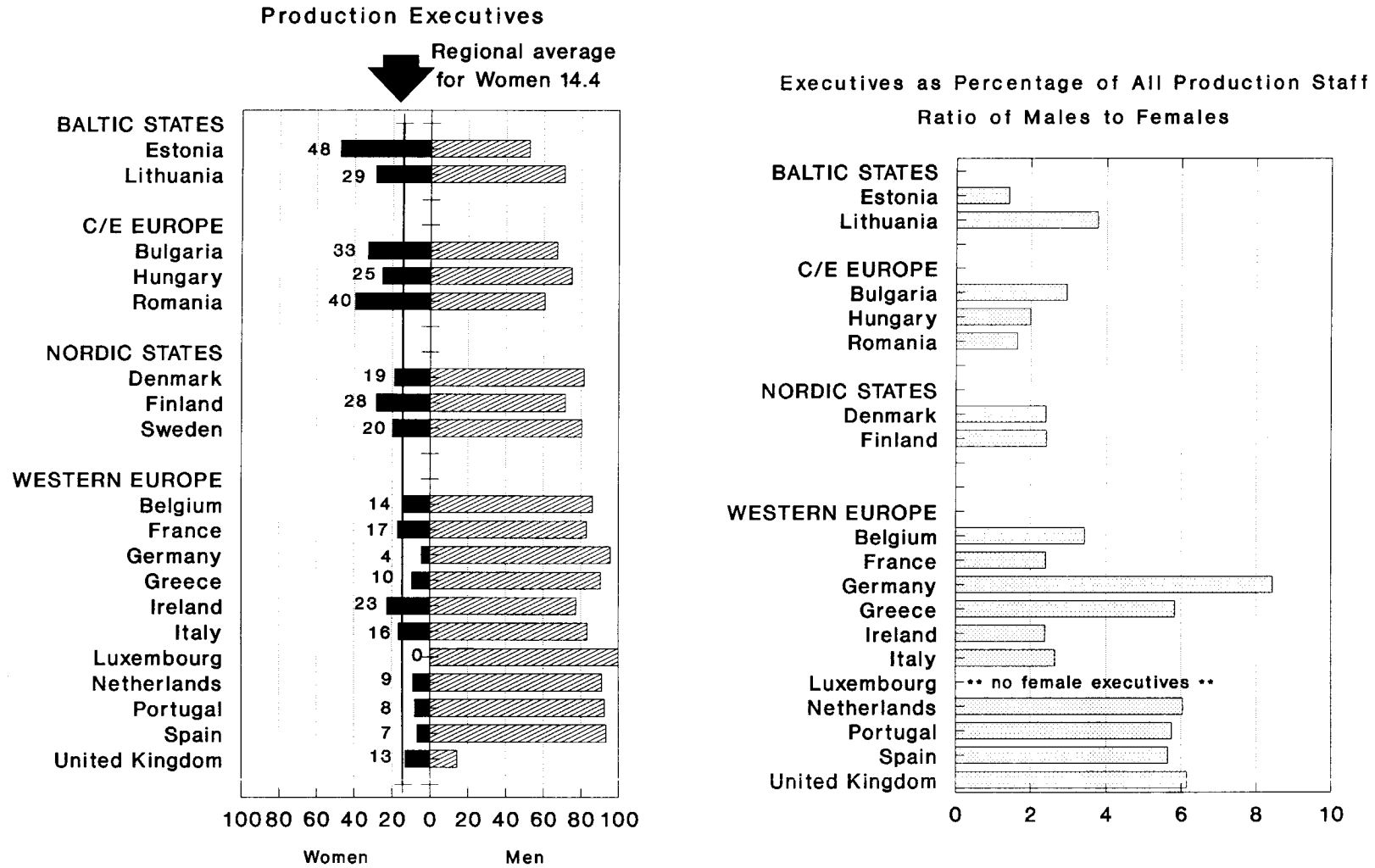


Figure 15. Women's and Men's Share of Selected Crafts Jobs in Broadcasting

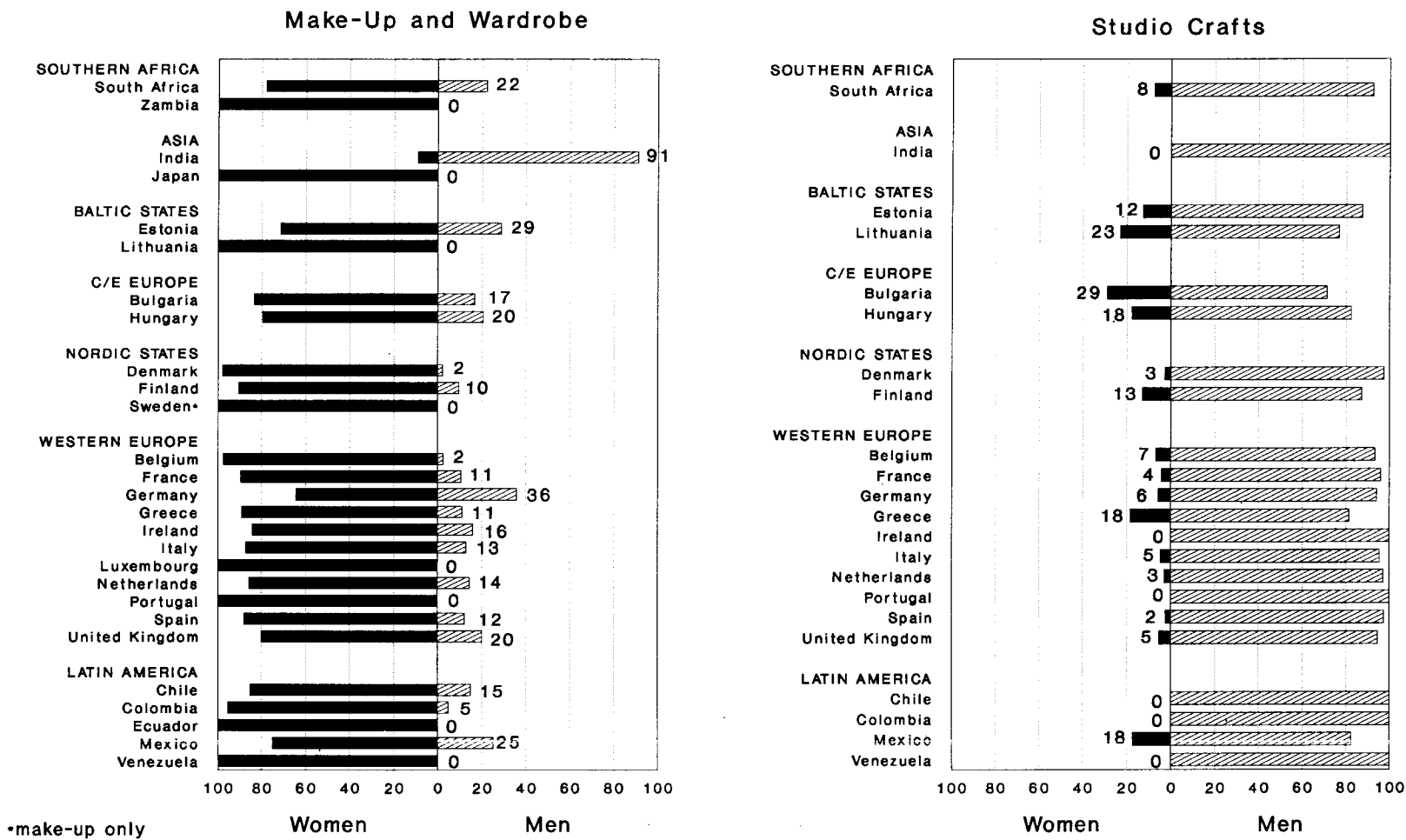
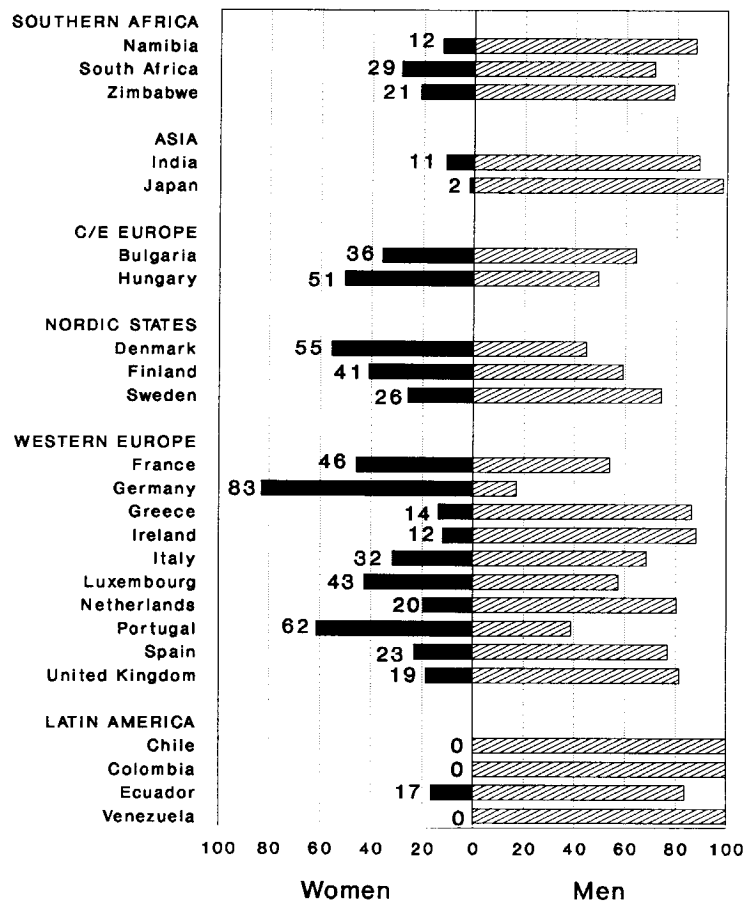
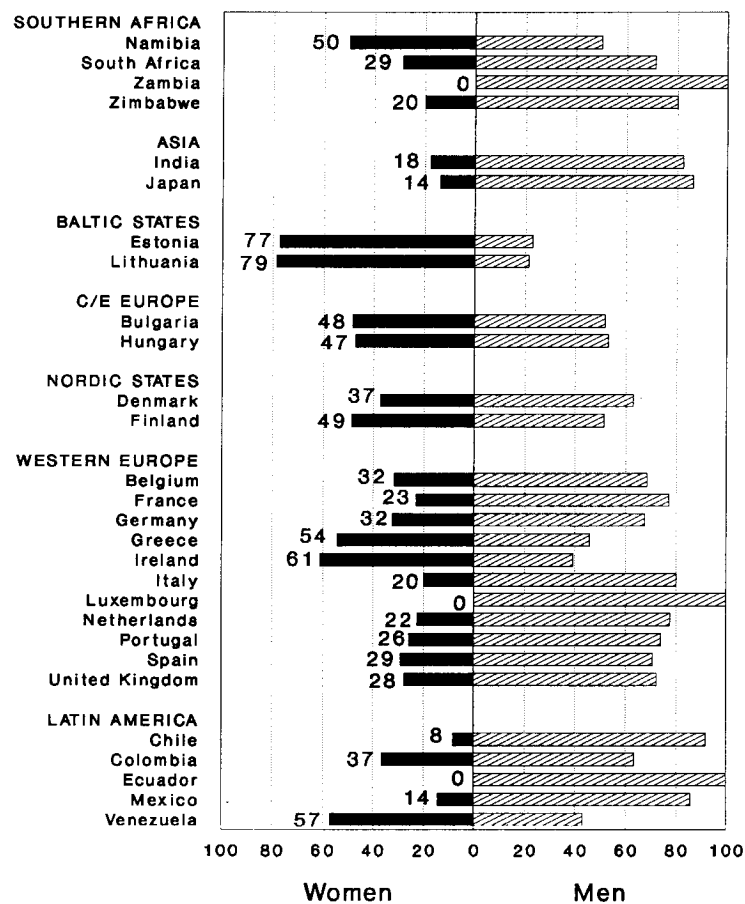


Fig. 15 cont.

Film and Video Editing



Graphic and Scenic Design



Southern Africa female editors are not such a rare breed: across the three countries which included editors in their staff listings, on average 26% are female. In Europe, on average 36% of editors are women, though the variations are considerable – from 83% in Germany, where the job is poorly paid and is popularly known as ‘the housewives’ shift’, to 12% in Ireland where editing carries much more prestige and is relatively well-paid.

Other crafts jobs are characterised by a striking gender division of labour, which is most extreme in the category of wardrobe and make-up. Almost everywhere this is dominated by women. The one exception – India – listed few staff in this category, but the reasons for the high proportion of men in these jobs in Indian television are not clear. Elsewhere the pattern is quite dramatic: eight of the 27 countries for which data are available have no men at all in make-up and wardrobe.

In studio crafts the situation is almost reversed. These are the jobs concerned with scenic construction and decoration, property buying and setting, special effects and so on. Of the 22 countries listed, six have no women at all working in studio crafts. In Latin America only Mexico has any women in this category – all working in special effects generation in television. The large number of women in crafts in Bulgaria are all concerned with ‘props’ – the objects and artefacts used to create and decorate sets in the television studio. Set construction is almost entirely male-dominated, with just 3% of these jobs occupied by women – all of them in the European organisations.

The effects of rigid gender segregation of this magnitude are considerable. Most importantly, the jobs dominated by women – wardrobe and make-up – are almost universally poorly paid. Although this project did not examine salary differentials, data from an earlier study of European broadcasting show that the median salary for people working in wardrobe and make-up is only about 75% of that for people working in other craft occupations such as graphics, design and studio crafts. As a result, *‘while the crafts area does provide work opportunities which many women undoubtedly find attractive, the extreme gender segregation in most of the occupations within it – and the relative evaluations which attach to jobs dominated by women and men – means that few of the women in this area have senior executive power within their organisations’* (Gallagher, 1995, p. 30).

Technical jobs in radio and television are – as we have seen – overwhelmingly dominated by men (Figure 8).

Technical work accounts for between a quarter and a third of all jobs in most broadcasting organisations. A great deal of this work is highly skilled and highly paid. Certain technical jobs – such as camera operation – can lead on to work in programme production and direction. Moreover many of those in the senior echelons of broadcast management reach the top via the technical route. For these reasons alone, the gender imbalance in the technical area is a matter of concern. Averaging 11% across the European organisations, 6% in Southern Africa and 4% in Latin America – and falling as low as 1% or less in individual countries such as Chile, Japan, Luxembourg, Mozambique, Venezuela and Peru (where there is not a single female technician to be found across six radio organisations studied), women are practically invisible in technical jobs in broadcasting. Even the European average of 11% is inflated by the high proportions of female technicians in the Baltic States and Central and Eastern Europe. Across the broadcasting organisations of Western Europe no more than 7% of technical staff are women.

The gender distribution of labour in four technical occupations is shown in Figure 16. Not all organisations specify the precise functions performed by their technical staff and in some cases technicians are expected to be multi-skilled (i.e. to operate a range of technical equipment – camera, sound, vision mixer and so on). The lack of precision in some of the data makes it impossible to provide an absolutely accurate picture of women’s work in the technical area. However, certain overall conclusions can be drawn. The single technical job in which women are to be found in significant numbers is television vision mixing. Although data are available for only seven countries, they all point in the same direction. In Western Europe this is actually a female-dominated occupation, though Mexico and South Africa also follow the same pattern. Gender segregation in the media seems to ignore national and cultural distinctions.

Of the key technical jobs – camera and sound – women are more likely to be employed in sound: 18% across the European organisations (compared with 4% for camera operators). This difference is also clear for India and Japan, and for several of the Southern African countries. In fact nine of the 28 countries for which data are available have no female camera operators at all. Out of more than 500 camera operators listed from the Latin American countries only two (both in Mexico) are women. Of the companies

Figure 16. Women's and Men's Share of Selected Technical Jobs in Broadcasting

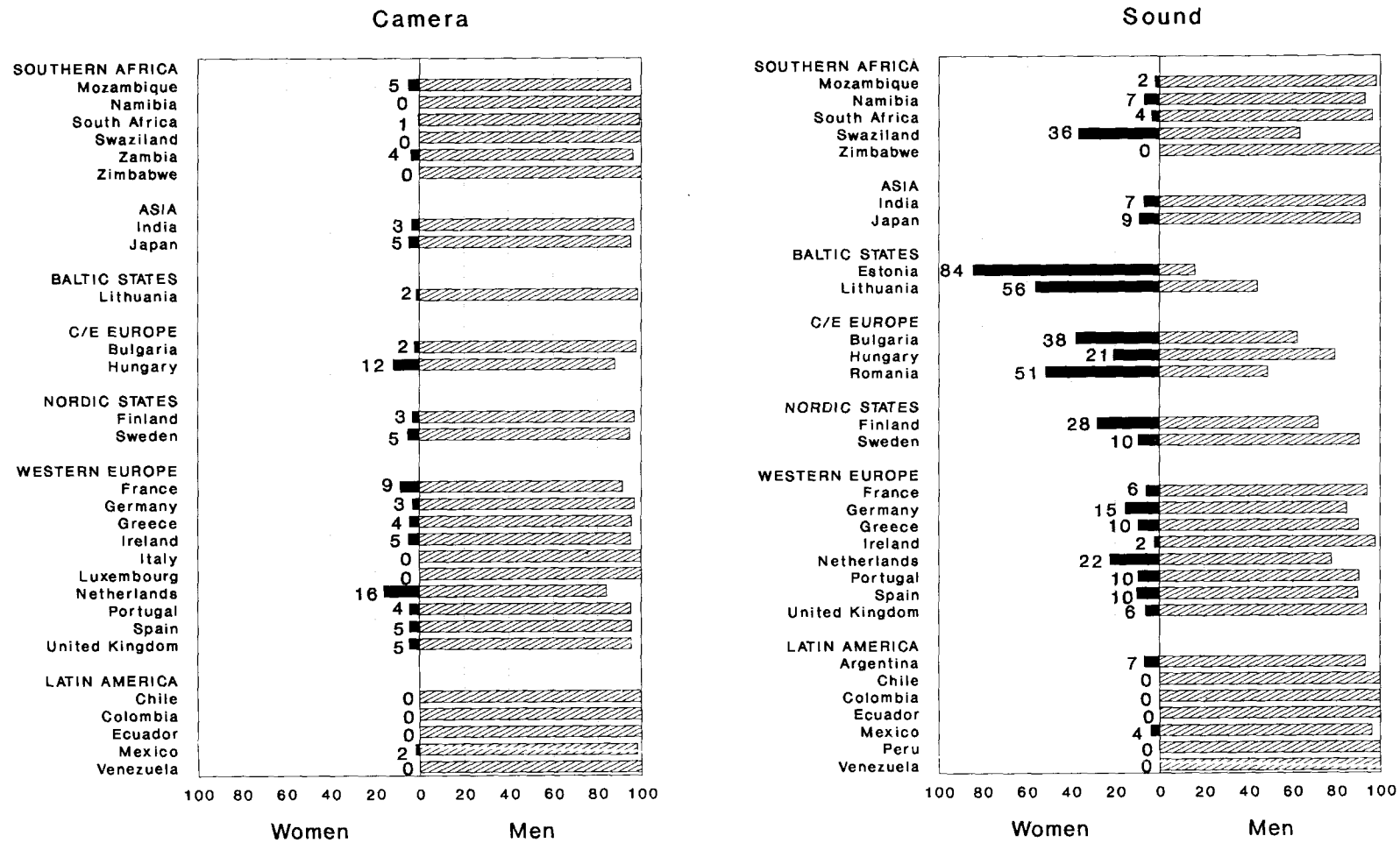
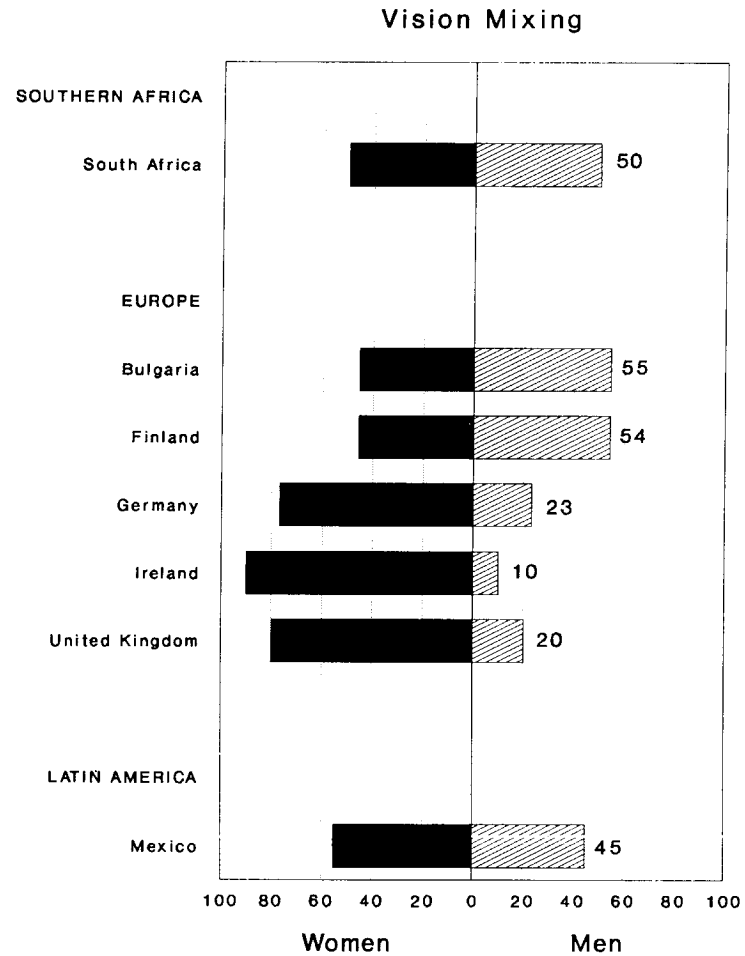
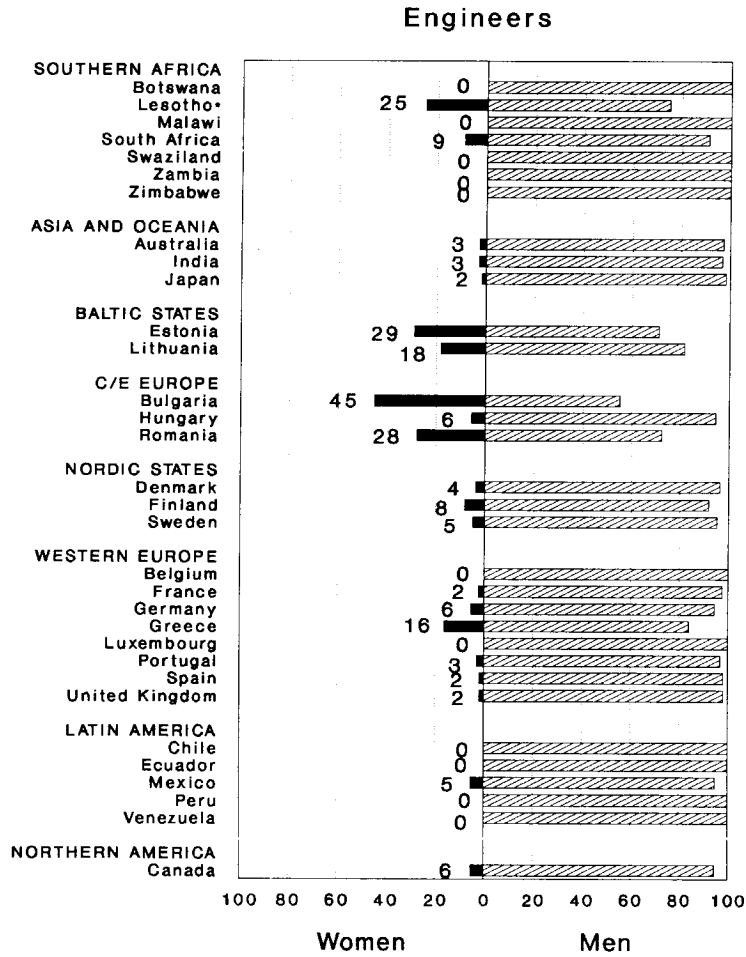


Fig. 16 cont.



* 4 engineers of which one woman

in the Baltics and Central and Eastern Europe, only three provided the necessary details, but here too camera operation appears to be a very male-dominated occupation.

The gender balance in broadcast engineering is even more skewed. In eleven of the 32 countries for which data are available, there is not a single female engineer in the media organisations. Apart from Lesotho (see note within Figure 16), women's share of engineering jobs reaches 10% in only five countries. These are, in ascending order, Greece, Lithuania, Romania, Estonia, and Bulgaria – where almost 45% of engineers in television and radio are female. The fact that the number of female engineers is high in these particular countries is telling, for in most of them the absence of a 'traditional' male-female divide within the educational system – science and technology for boys, humanities and arts for girls – has meant that technical careers are a real option for women. Elsewhere, lack of appropriate training is a severe handicap for women.

In a 1993 survey of member organisations of the Commonwealth Broadcasting Association, Karen Anderson questioned managers about the reasons for the low numbers of women in technical and engineering jobs. Training was the main explanation offered, but not the only one.

Traditional attitudes were also cited, not simply in terms of how they affect the educational and career choices of young women, but also in relation to the recruitment process. Fran Cutler, manager of employment equity at the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, lucidly describes the circular process by which women are discouraged from entering this area of work: *'Technical schools do not encourage women applicants to enter such fields of study, because they think employers in the broadcasting industry are reluctant to hire women in technical jobs. The people who decide on admissions are aware that this is a male-dominated field, the working environment can be uncomfortable for women ...'* (see Anderson, 1993, p. 59). Empirical research on recruitment patterns in European broadcasting organisations confirms this observation, finding that the number of women recruited to technical jobs is disproportionately low in relation to their share of job applications – even when they have the necessary formal qualifications (Gallagher, 1995). Given the significance of technical work in the media – both in terms of its direct influence on the shape of media content, and its potential to assist career development – a greater emphasis on the development of equal opportunities in the technical and engineering fields is long overdue.

7

Gender Employment Patterns in the Press and News Agencies

The structure of employment in the press and in news agencies is quite different from that in broadcasting (see Figure 17). Administrative work is somewhat less important in terms of the number of jobs it provides, although women still dominate in administrative, secretarial and clerical posts in the print media of most countries.

Technical and Creative Jobs

Technical work in the press is mainly concerned with the operations involved in printing. Not all newspapers operate their own printing presses: in the Southern African countries in particular, smaller papers use external publishing houses. Consequently the technical area accounts for a very varied proportion of all jobs in the print media. However, in general women are poorly represented. In cases where there is a relatively high proportion of female technical workers (for example, Namibia, Swaziland, Colombia, Peru), most of these women are employed in type-setting and photocomposition. Only in Colombia do women appear to penetrate the more truly technical jobs – such as operation of the printing press – in reasonable numbers.

As for creative jobs in the press, women's overall share is relatively low. Only a tiny proportion of photographers in the print media is female: 3% in Japan, 4% in Malaysia, 3% across the Southern African countries. In Latin America the picture is very varied. For instance only one out of 77 press photographers in the Mexican sample is female.

But women are 12% of photographers in the Chilean sample, and 23% in Colombia. In general, women in the creative area of the print media are most likely to work as artists, illustrators and graphic designers: 22% across the Latin American countries, 21% in Malaysia and 7% on average in Southern Africa. Even jobs in newspaper lay-out and paste-up – though not particularly influential – do not attract many women: 4% in Japan and Malaysia, 10% across Latin America. In Southern Africa, Swaziland is the only country with women in this category. Altogether then, there is little evidence that female creative staff in the press are in a position to have a significant impact.

Journalists and Editorial Executives

An overview of four broad occupational categories in journalism – reporter, sub-editor, editor, editorial executive – is provided in Figures 18 to 20⁹. The European data (see Figure 20) are not strictly comparable with the rest, except in the editorial executive category. Even a glance at the charts shows that – in overall terms – it is in the Latin

⁹ As Table 1 shows, the overall numbers of staff in the press organisations covered by the study are relatively smaller than those for broadcasting companies. Except for the countries in Southern Africa there is no case in which the national total is less than 500. However, the data in Figures 18 to 20 sometimes represent small units of staff and must be interpreted in that light, particularly in the case of Southern Africa.

Figure 17. Women's and Men's Share of Jobs in Main Occupational Categories, Press

74 organisations in 27 countries: 1993-95

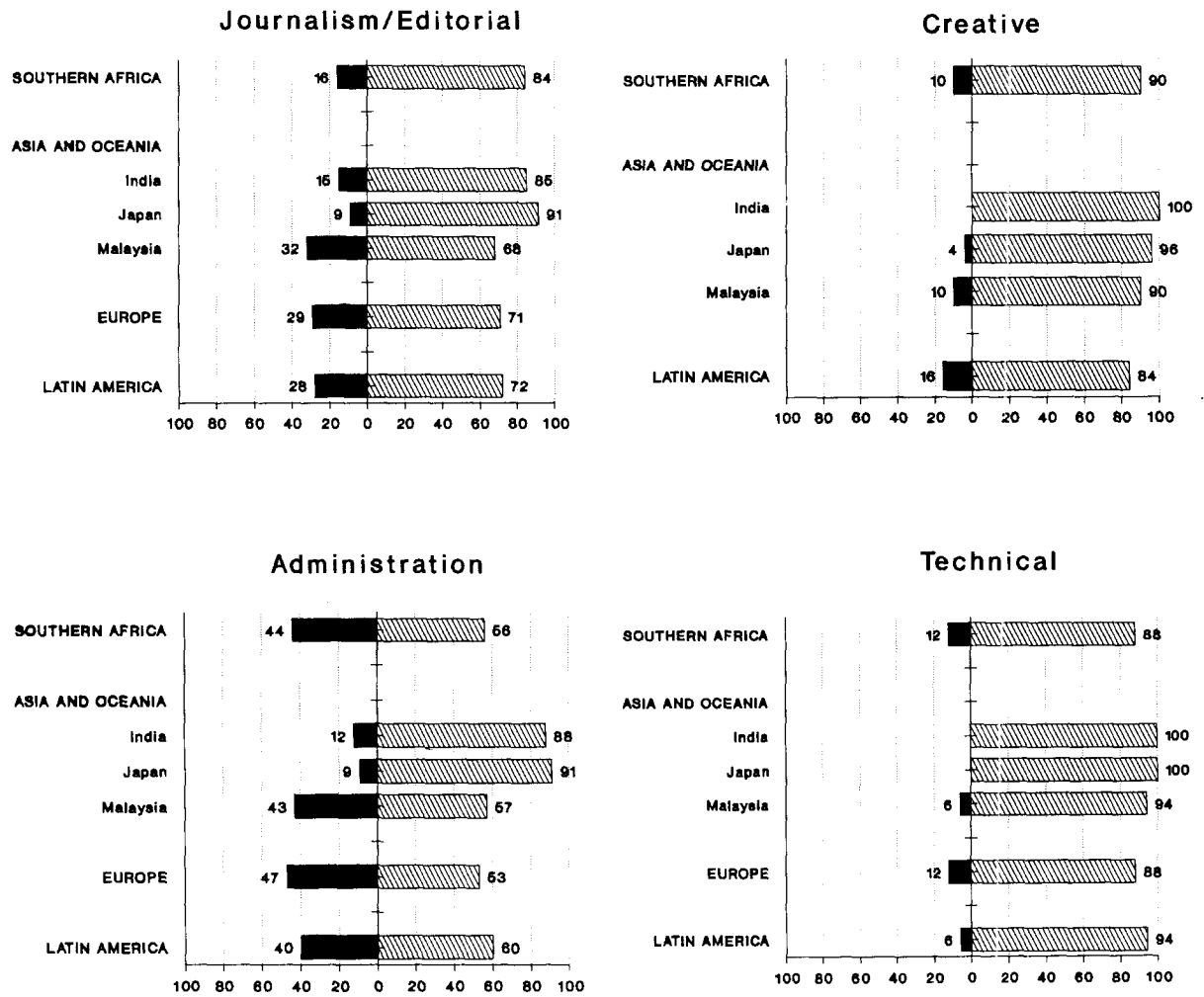
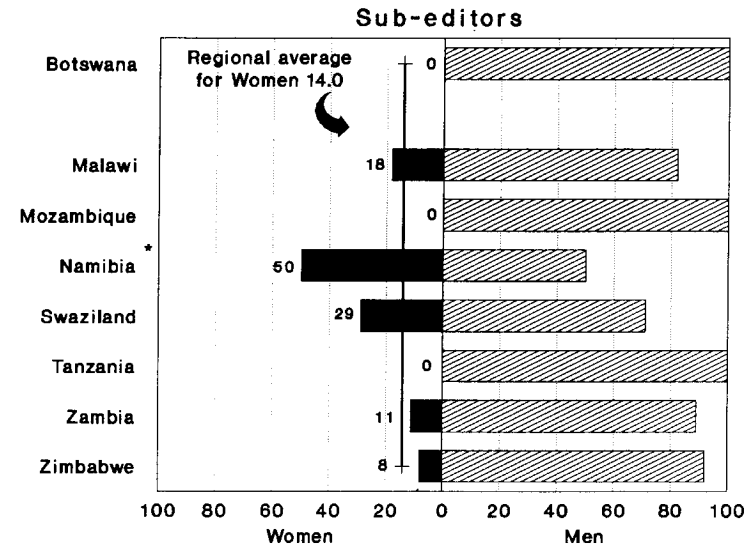
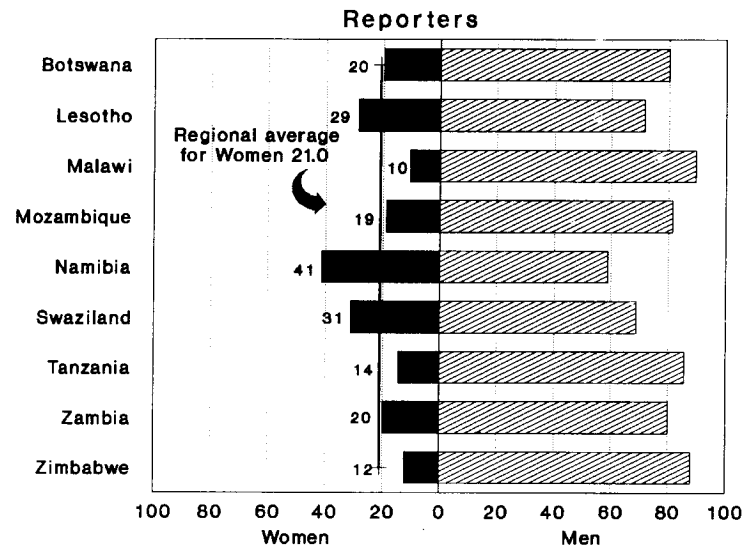


Figure 18. Women's and Men's Share Selected Journalism/Editorial Jobs, Press - Southern Africa



* 4 sub-editors, of which 2 women

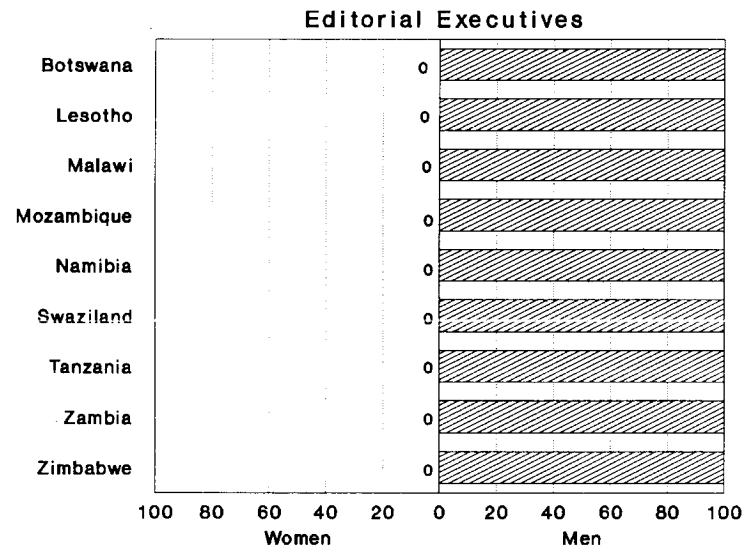
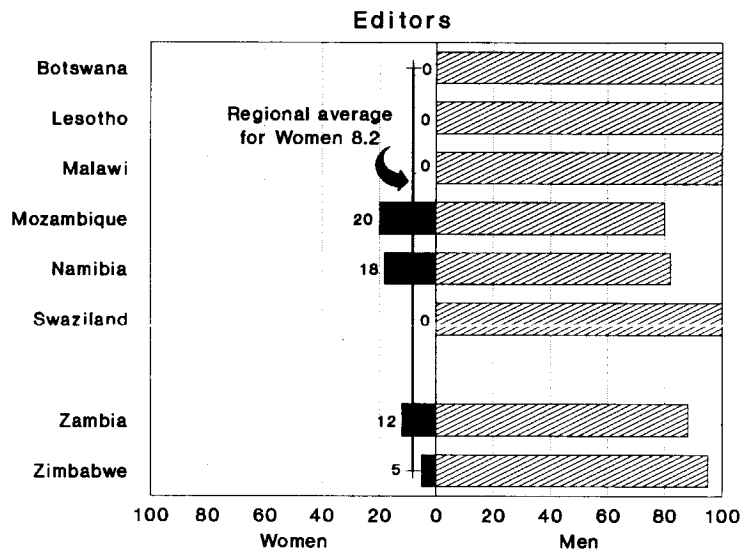
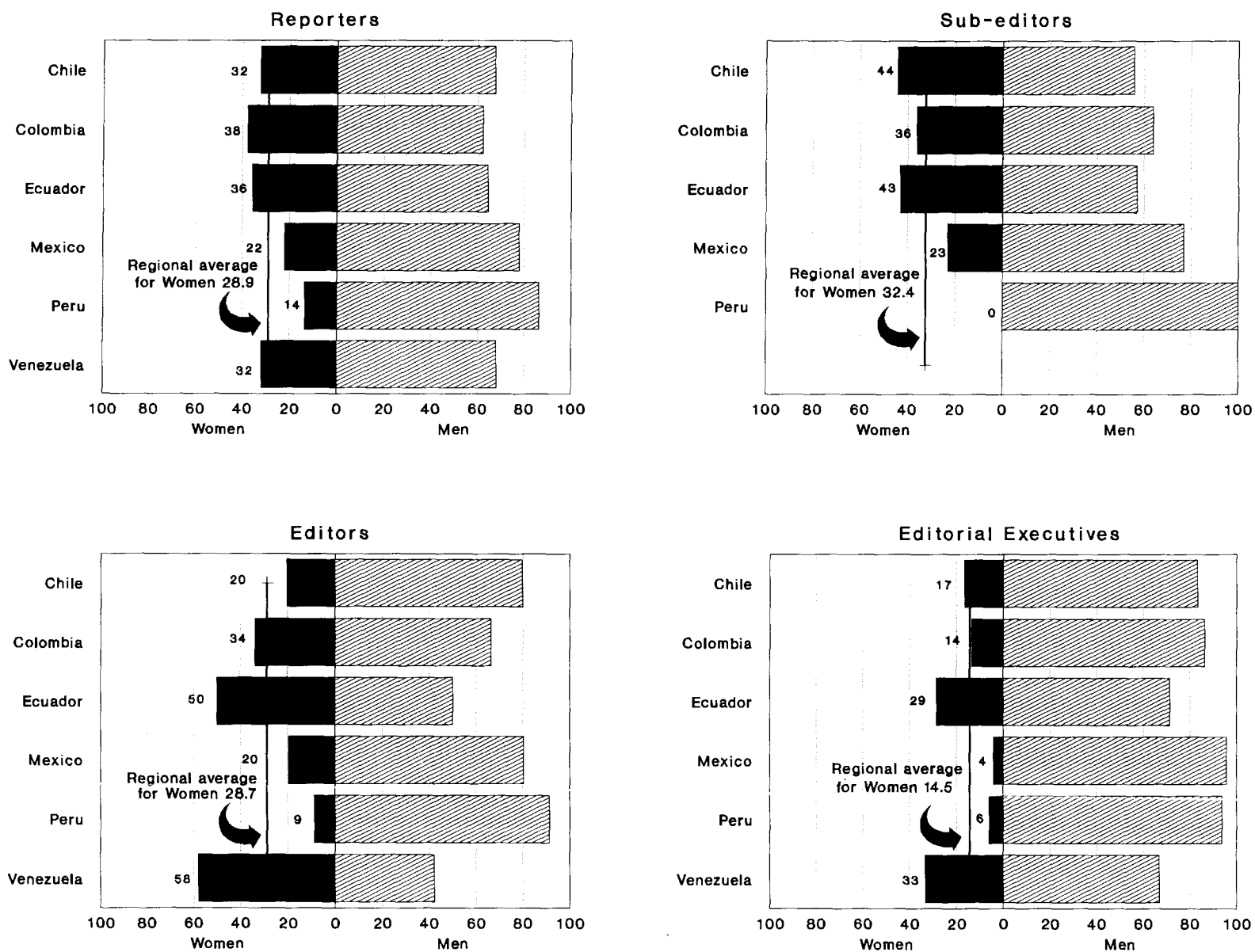


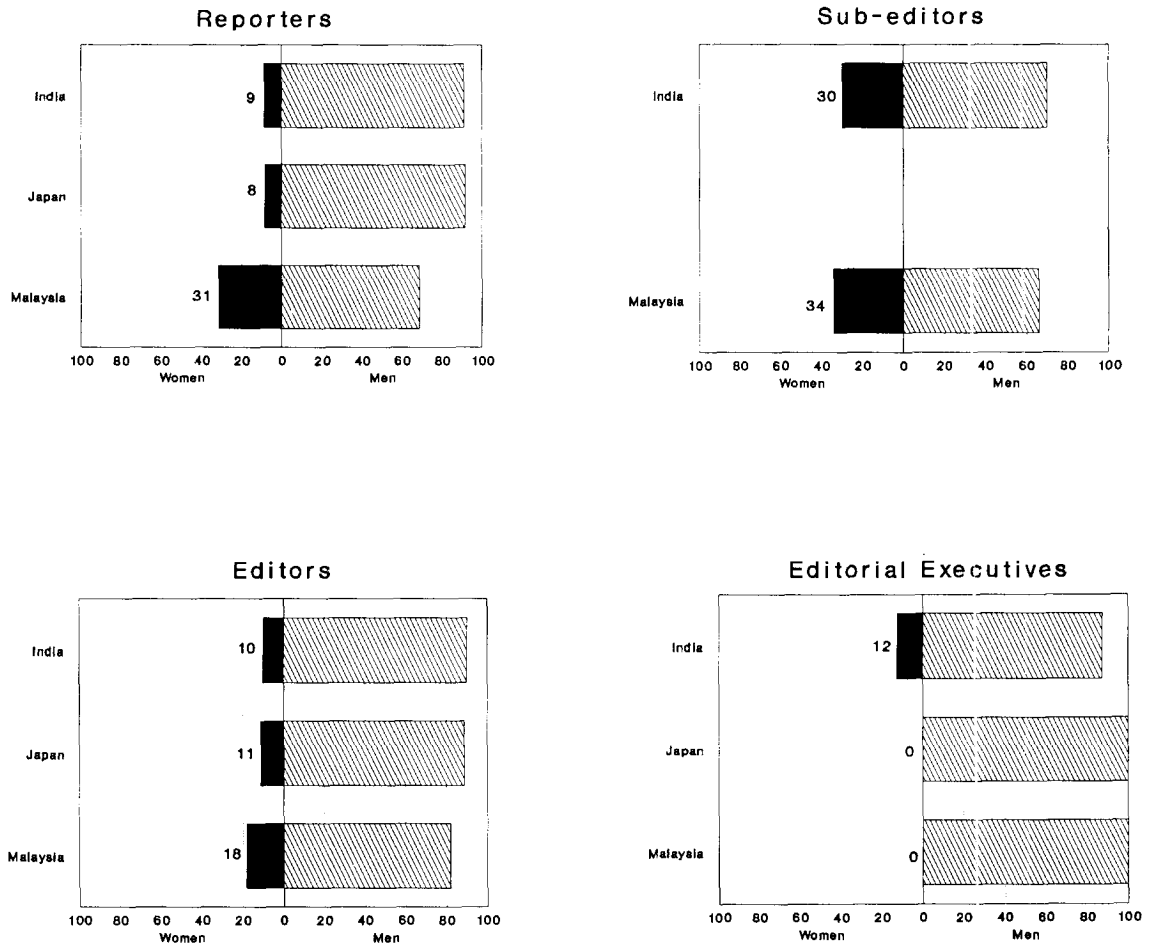
Figure 19. Women's and Men's Share Selected Journalism/Editorial Jobs, Press - Latin America



Gender Employment Patterns in the Press and News Agencies

Figure 20. Women's and Men's Share Selected Journalism/Editorial Jobs, Press

Asia



Europe

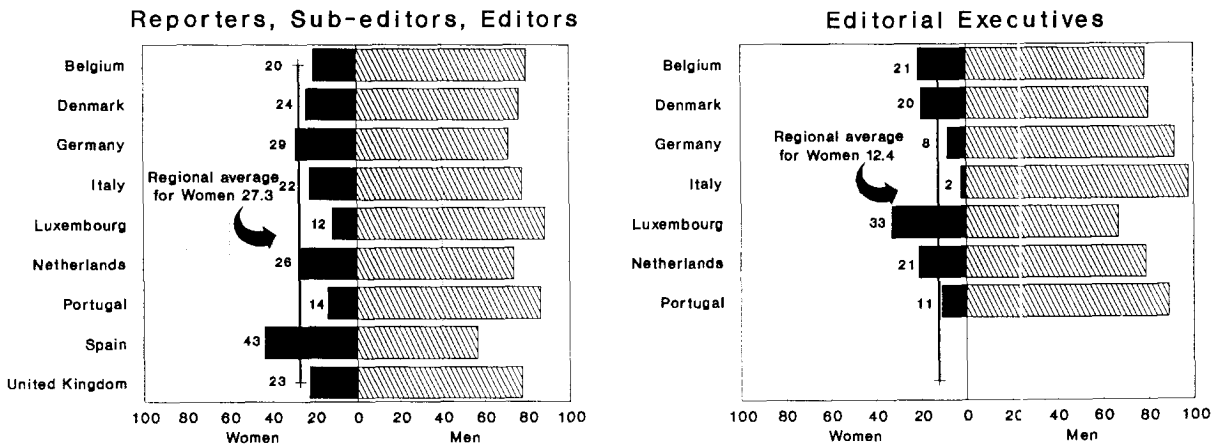
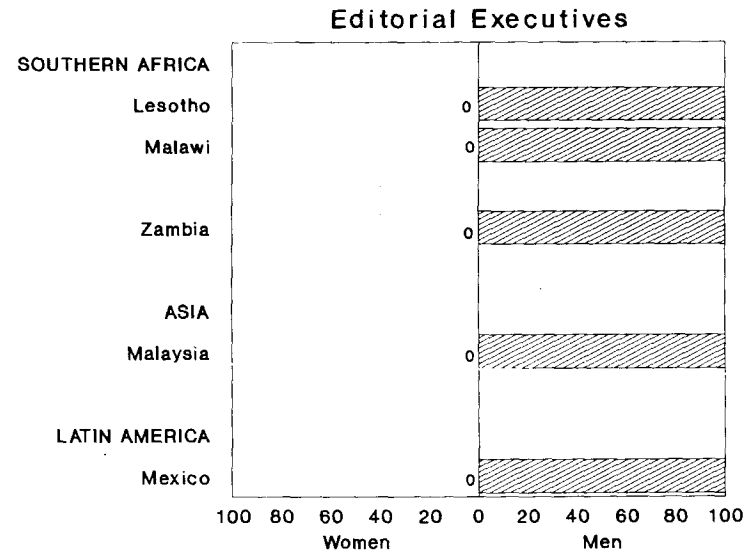
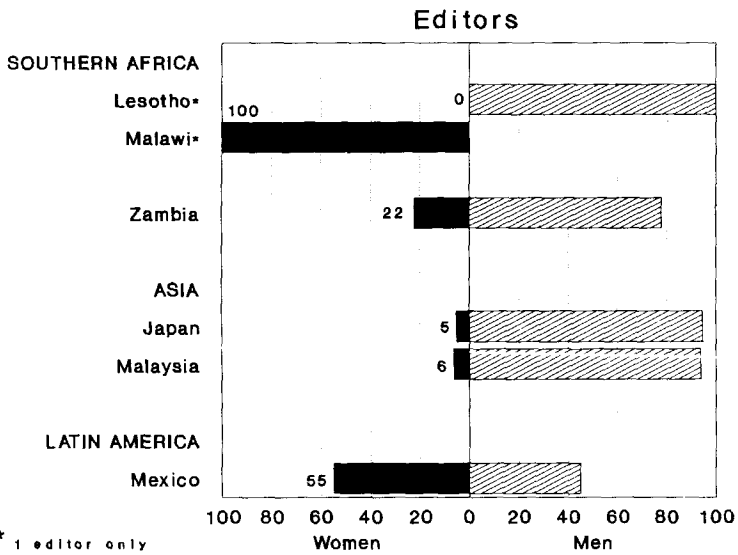
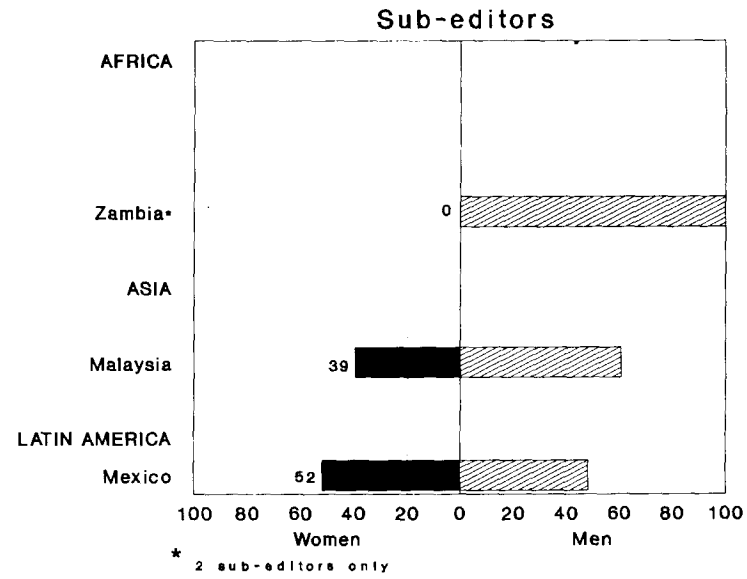
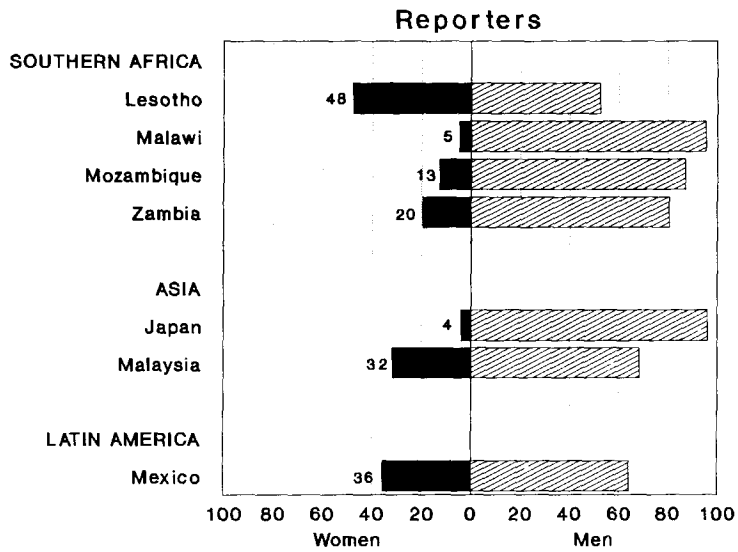


Figure 21. Women's and Men's Share Selected Journalism/Editorial Jobs, News Agencies



American countries that women seem to have most success in journalistic work, although Mexico – and in particular Peru – are well below the regional average in all four occupational categories. On the other hand, Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela all apparently offer relatively good opportunities for women even at the senior levels of editor and editorial executive (Figure 19).

By contrast, the situation in Southern Africa and the Asian countries (Figures 18 and 20) is less encouraging. In relation to the regional average of 21%, women account for a fairly large share of posts as reporters jobs in Namibia and Swaziland. Elsewhere in Southern Africa – even at this basic level – the picture is not bright. Malawi, where women are just 10% of press reporters, again shows up poorly, but so too do Zimbabwe and Tanzania. In the more senior editorial categories women's share of jobs falls sharply, and among the editorial executives – bureau chiefs, executive editors, directors – there is not a single woman. In the three Asian countries the pattern is not very different. In Malaysia, although there are relatively high proportions of female reporters, sub-editors and even editors (18%), there is no woman among the editorial executives. Nor are there any women at this level in Japan. In India however, in relation to their overall share of jobs in the press (8%), women account for a relatively high proportion

of sub-editors and editors, and are even represented at the level of editorial executives.

Data for the same four journalistic categories in national news agencies are presented in Figure 21. At the reporter level, women have over 30% of jobs in the agencies of Lesotho, Malaysia and Mexico. Few agencies list sub-editors among their staff, but again Malaysia and Mexico stand out. At the editorial level, women account for an impressive 55% of posts in Mexico (considerably higher than their share of editorial posts in the newspapers covered by the study). However, not one of the five news agencies for which data are available has any female editorial executives.

The overall picture which emerges from these data is one of quite limited scope for women to make an impression on the content of the press, unless they happen to work in Colombia, Ecuador or Venezuela – or, to a lesser extent, in Chile, Namibia and Malaysia. But even in these countries women are in a minority, especially in the influential editorial and executive posts. In the light of the training data discussed earlier in this monograph, the mis-match between women's potential editorial contribution (based on the numbers of women in journalism training over the past ten or fifteen years) and their actual position in the hierarchical structures of print journalism is altogether striking.

8

The Management of Media Organisations

The very top jobs in the media covered by this study – director general, chief executive, president – are almost exclusively occupied by men. Of the 239 organisations studied, only eight (3%) are headed by women. A further eight have female deputy directors. Most of these are small radio companies or news magazines, and almost all of them are in Latin America. Among the most significant is *Canal 11* (Mexico), a television organisation with almost 500 employees, whose current Director General was also preceded by a woman. Of note outside Latin America is *Radio Botswana*, part of the Botswana Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, whose present Deputy Director is the third successive woman to hold this position over the past fifteen years. In Europe, the Bulgarian national radio company *Balgarsko Nationalno Radio* (2000 employees) has a woman Deputy Director General; and the Italian public service broadcasting organisation *Radiotelevisione Italiana (RAI)*, with more than 14,000 staff, has had a female president since July 1994.

Women in the Media Hierarchy

Moving down the hierarchy to the senior management echelons, Figures 22 and 23 make it clear that few top media managers are female. These graphs show that women's average share of posts at the top three levels of management is below 20% in all media and all regions except for broadcasting in Latin America. In Southern

Africa and the three Asian countries there are very few women indeed in senior management. There are none at all in broadcast management in Malaysia. In Japan out of a total of 3146 senior managers (across all media) just twelve are women (0.4%). In Botswana and Mozambique there are no women in the top three management levels of the press.

The situation in Europe varies enormously from one part of the region to another (Figure 23). The overall regional average of 16.6% women in senior broadcast management is inflated by the high proportions of female managers in the Baltic States, Bulgaria, Romania and the Russian Federation. Women's share of broadcast management is also above average in Sweden and Norway. But France is the only Western European country in which more than 20% of senior managers in broadcasting are women. At the other end of the scale are Germany, Italy and Luxembourg, where women's share of senior management jobs is only 4% (lower than all countries in Latin America, lower than all countries in Southern Africa except South Africa, and lower than India).

Figures 22 and 23 include the *top three* levels of management. Across all 239 media organisations women account for just 12% of jobs in these hierarchical levels. If the analysis is restricted to the *highest* management level only, women's share of jobs drops to 9% across the same organisations. In eight countries there is not a single woman at this top level of media management: Malawi, South Africa,

Figure 22. Women in Top Three Levels of Media Management

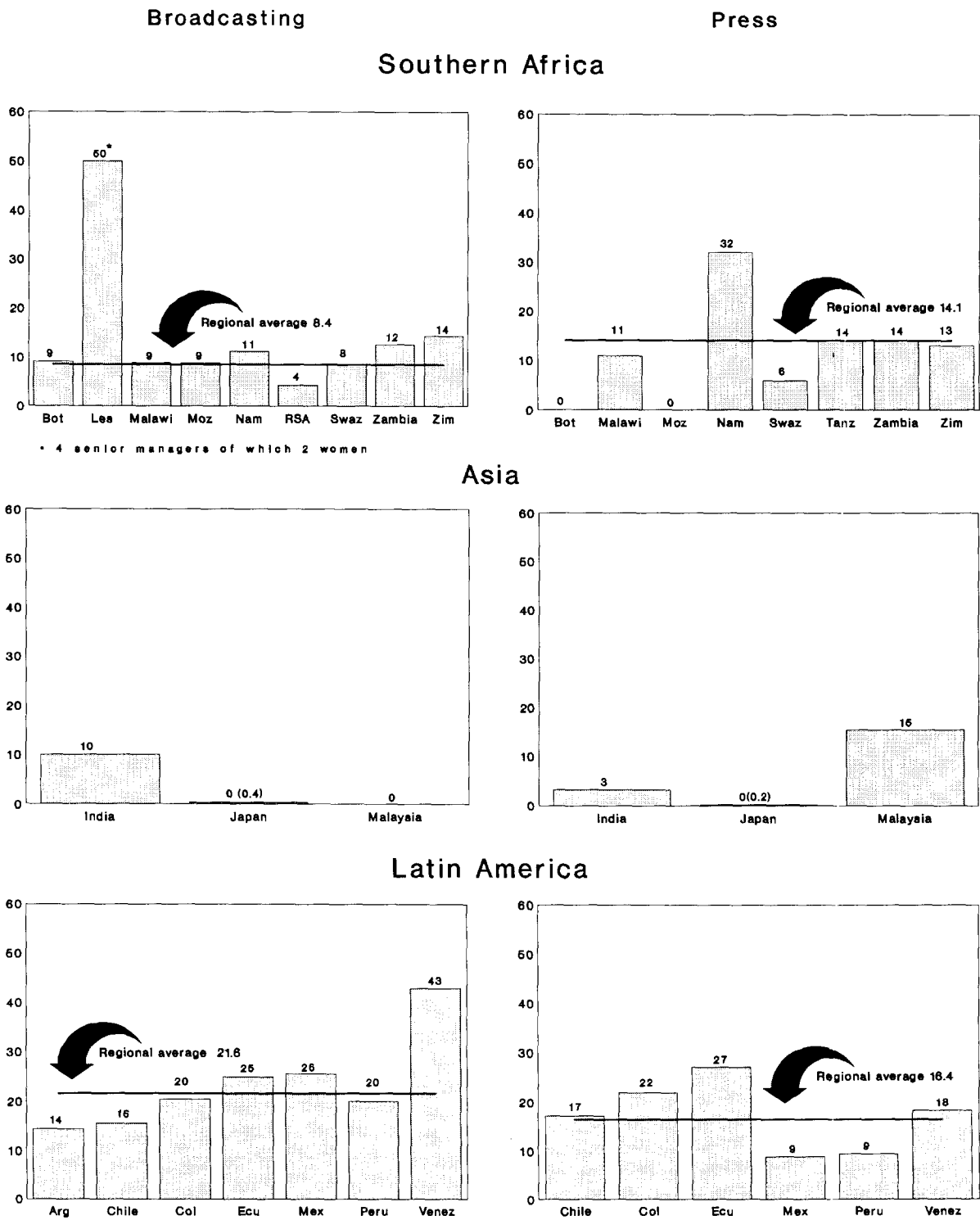


Figure 23. Women in Top Three Levels of Broadcast Management - Europe

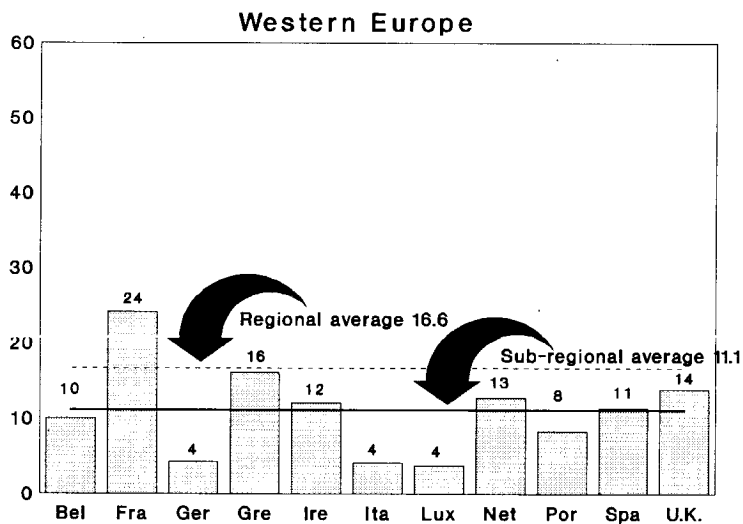
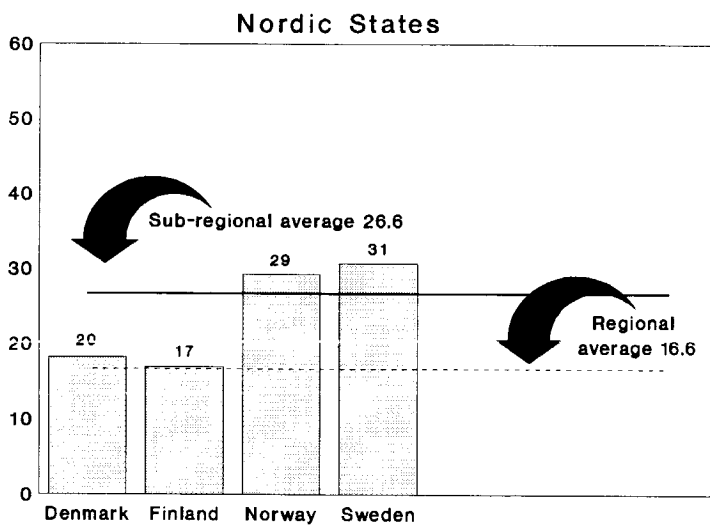
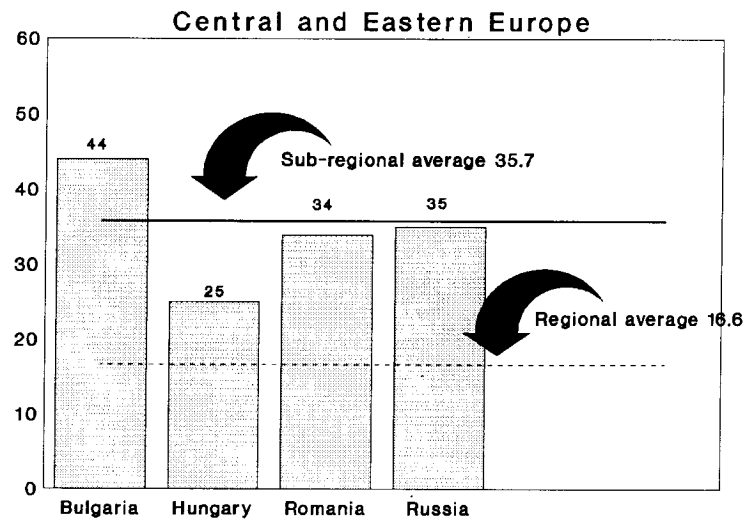
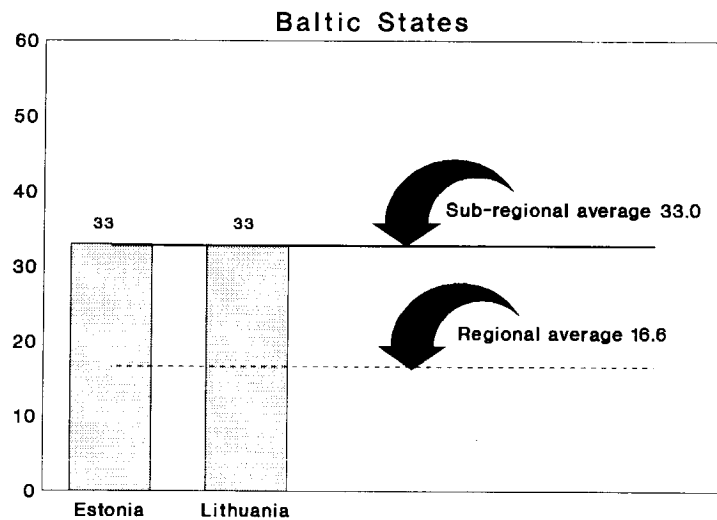
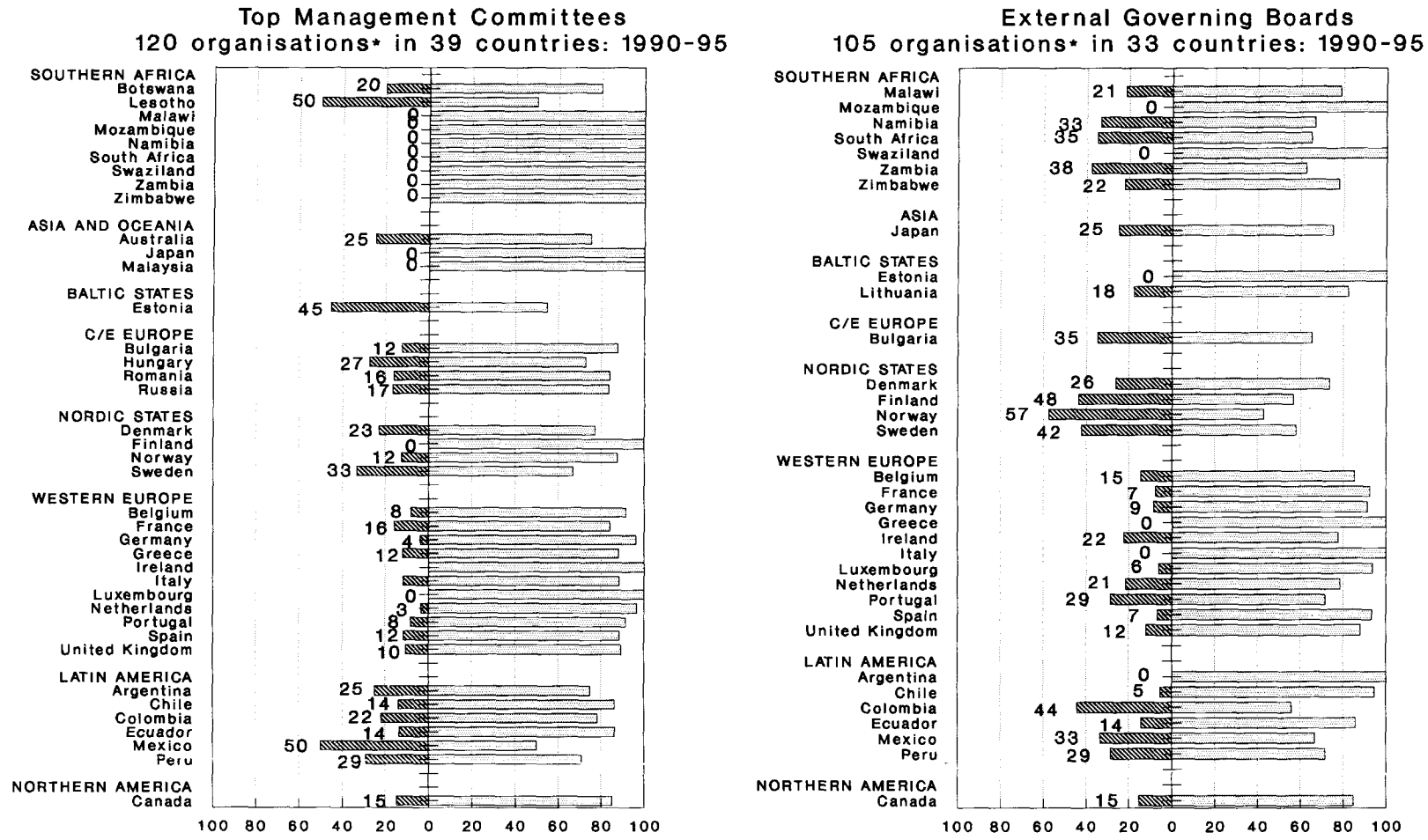


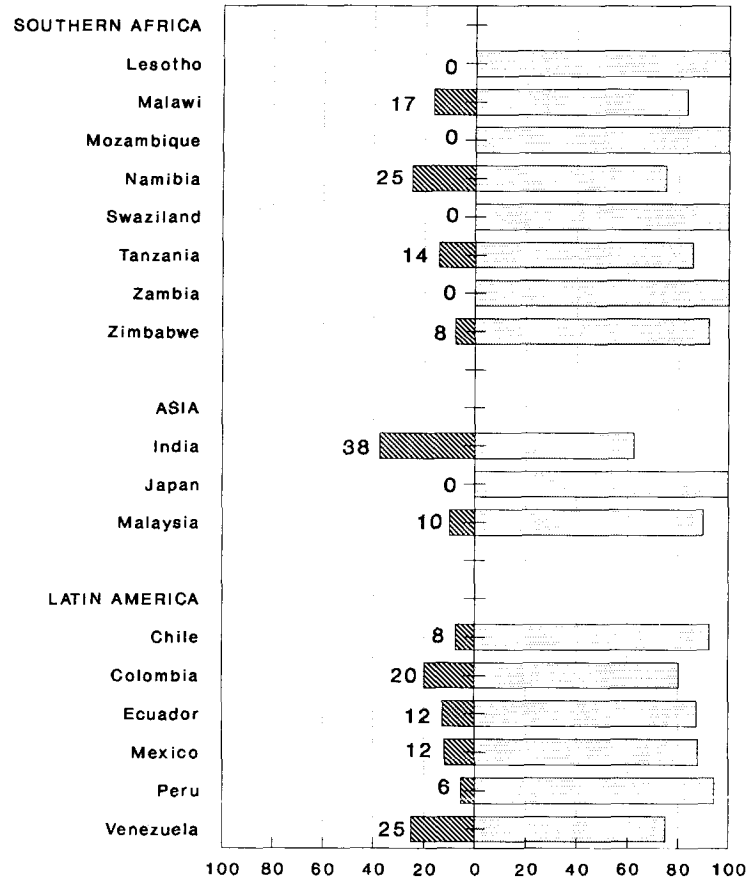
Figure 24. Women's and Men's Percentage Representation in Decision-Making Bodies - Broadcasting



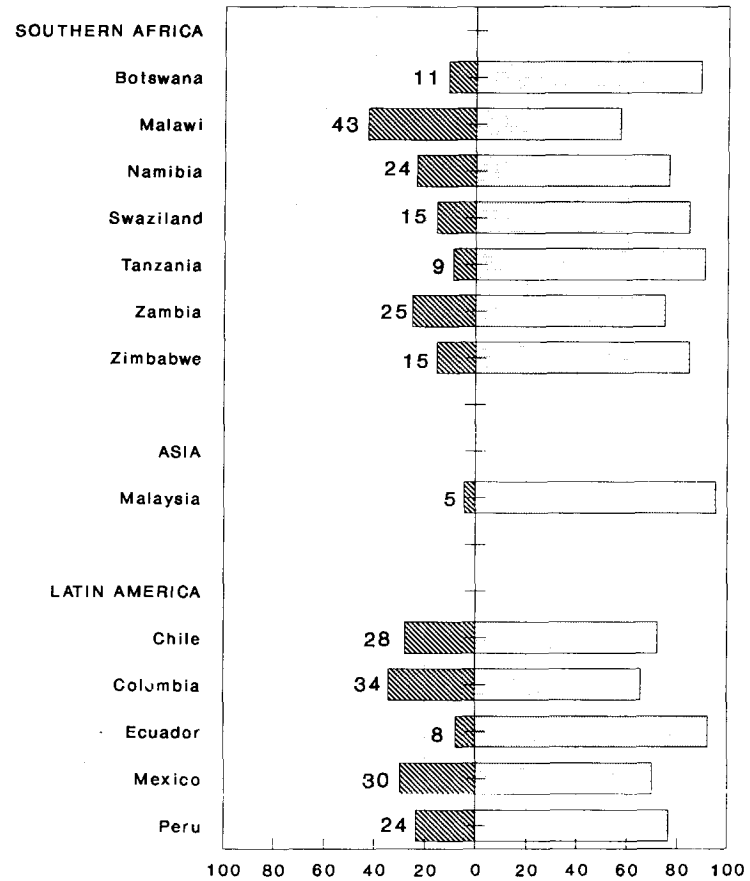
* organisations with at least 16 staff

Figure 25. Women's and Men's Percentage Representation in Decision-Making Bodies - Press

Top Management Committees
45 organisations* in 17 countries: 1993-95



External Governing Boards
31 organisations* in 13 countries: 1993-94



*organisation with at least 15 staff

Swaziland, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Finland, Ireland, and – rather surprisingly – Lithuania.

In the case of the press, more than two-thirds of the women in these top positions are in administrative posts – often in areas such as finance, personnel, sales, or public relations. Most of the remaining senior press executives are in editorial positions, for example chiefs of special editions, sections, or supplements – including women's pages. In radio and television just over a quarter of female senior managers are in the administrative sector. Almost two-thirds are production executives, but of course the actual numbers are very small indeed. At the highest echelon of production management, across all 153 broadcasting organisations studied there are just 73 women, distributed across 23 countries. The largest number of female top production executives is in Sweden (14), followed by the United Kingdom (13). Colombia, Chile and Hungary have six each, and Estonia has four. There are three in Denmark, France, Norway, Netherlands, and Russia. Other countries with at least one woman in this category are Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, India, Japan, Bulgaria, Germany, Italy, Romania, Spain, Mexico and Peru.

While it is heartening to see that some women can and do succeed in reaching the summit of media management, it is nonetheless salutary to recognise that these women represent a tiny proportion of all women working in the media. Of course, only a minority of men reaches the top. But *proportionately* men are much more likely to succeed than women are. Analysis of European broadcasting data shows that, at the top level of the management hierarchy can be found:

- * 1 in every 1000 female employees
- * 1 in every 140 male employees

On average, men are seven times more likely than women to reach the top (Gallagher, 1995).

Women in Media Decision-Making Bodies

Another measure of women's influence in the media is their incidence on the decision-making committees and governing boards which exist in almost every organisation. Figure 24 shows women's share of places in the committees and boards that define and shape policy in broadcasting. Figure 25 presents similar data for the press. The 'top management committees' are top-level *internal* committees – boards of management, boards of directors, and the like – which are responsible for every aspect of management within the companies. Here women are very much in a minority, with just 12% of places within these key decision-making groups in broadcasting, and 9% in the press. Indeed of the 120 top management committees in radio and television, more than half (67) include no women at all. In the press just under half (21) of the 45 equivalent committees have no women.

Women do slightly better in terms of seats on governing boards – the *external* bodies which advise broadcasting organisations on policy and, in some cases, on financial matters. These vary considerably in influence from one organisation to another. In broadcasting 16% of board members are women; in the press, women's share is 21%. However, about 30% of these governing bodies have no female members: 32 of the 105 boards in broadcasting, and 9 of the 31 boards in the press include no women at all.

Obstacles to Women in Media Employment

In most parts of the world women's access to media employment, and to decision-making positions in the media, is now rarely hampered by outright or flagrant discrimination, in the sense of inegalitarian rules and regulations. Just as potent, however, are the 'invisible barriers' – the attitudes, biases, presumptions and even organisational procedures – which put women at a disadvantage in a working environment designed to accommodate male needs and priorities.

Stereotyped Attitudes

By far the most commonly reported obstacle to career development which women report is the problem of male attitudes. The effects of some of these have been discussed earlier in the monograph, in terms of problems faced by women in recruitment and promotion in the media. One of the most important implications of the male dominance within media organisations is that women are judged by male standards and performance criteria. Often this means a constant effort to *'prove that you are as good as men. I don't think they take me seriously'* (Danish business journalist, see Holman 1992, p. 20). The same point is made in a recent study of French journalists: *'It's really not easy to be taken seriously ... To begin with they treat you as a bit of a joke ... To show that you're serious, you have to try twice as hard if you're a woman'* (Devillard et al., 1992, p. 106).

The hazards of not being taken seriously extend beyond the difficulty of having one's work judged with respect. They also include the risk of sexual harassment – a problem mentioned by women surveyed in countries as different as Finland (Kuusava et al., 1993), Senegal (van den Wijngaard, 1992), Spain (Comas et al., 1988) and Tunisia (AJT, 1991). For women in the Senegalese study, their male colleagues' 'flirtatious behaviour' was an important reason for them to keep contacts after work to a minimum: *'If I'm invited for a drink, or to go to the cinema, I always say I've got work to finish or I've got something else to do'* (van den Wijngaard, 1992, p. 53). Men, on the other hand, often use the time after work to develop the 'old boys' network' which is so important in strengthening professional relationships, in opening up doors to promotion, and so on. An American journalist describes one way in which this works: *'I saw my male boss take a new hire (male) to a basketball game for male-bonding. He never took female hires anywhere'* (see Holman, 1992, p. 20). In a 1993 survey of women and men working in advertising agencies and on the business side of print and broadcast media in the United States, 65% of women blamed the 'old boys' network' and a sexist cultural climate for hobbling their chances to succeed (AWNY, 1993).

Stereotyped attitudes and beliefs about the qualities needed for certain jobs, and about how jobs should be done, can also prove an obstacle to women in the media. The case of a Danish journalist, disappointed in her attempt to obtain

a management position, exemplifies this: *'All my colleagues recommended me, but the management said "no". They said I wasn't "robust" enough. The management don't like women in managerial jobs. Only one has succeeded so far, but it took her more than 25 years'* (see Holman, op. cit., p. 17). The occasional promotion of a woman into senior management can sometimes function as kind of alibi, allowing male-dominated management structures to continue unperturbed by any distinctly female influence. This 'one at a time' mentality vis à vis women in senior media management precludes any possibility of women building up the kind of power base necessary for real change – either in terms of media output or in terms of the way in which media institutions are organised and managed. As a Canadian journalist puts it: *'One at a time. We barely manage to fill the shoes left empty by one another'* (Pelletier et al., 1989, p. 91).

Perceptions of media management as a tough and virile domain, where decisions are taken by men in smoke-filled rooms, are enough to stop many women from trying to become part of a world they regard as alien: *'I believe that women often choose not to strive for a promotion. The reason is that women often hesitate to give orders – to be in an executive position, and order working partners to do different kinds of work. Women tend to strive for better relations between work-mates'* (Swedish journalist, in Holman, op. cit., 1992, p. 21). Angela Coyle (1988) describes this move – out of the 'feminine role' and into 'male management' – as one which leaves women in a barren zone where they can be neither men nor women, because the qualities valued in men are not acceptable in women, while the qualities women value are not deemed acceptable in shaping management style. A British radio producer interviewed by Monica Simms for her BBC report explains this well: *'I don't deny that macho management works – through bullying and coercion. Nor would I deny that women can adopt such management techniques. However, I would suggest that many women perceive management as a job that requires certain characteristics that they choose not to adopt ... There are other more democratic management styles that involve persuasion and participation that women (and indeed, many people) would find sympathy with'* (Simms, 1985, p. 18).

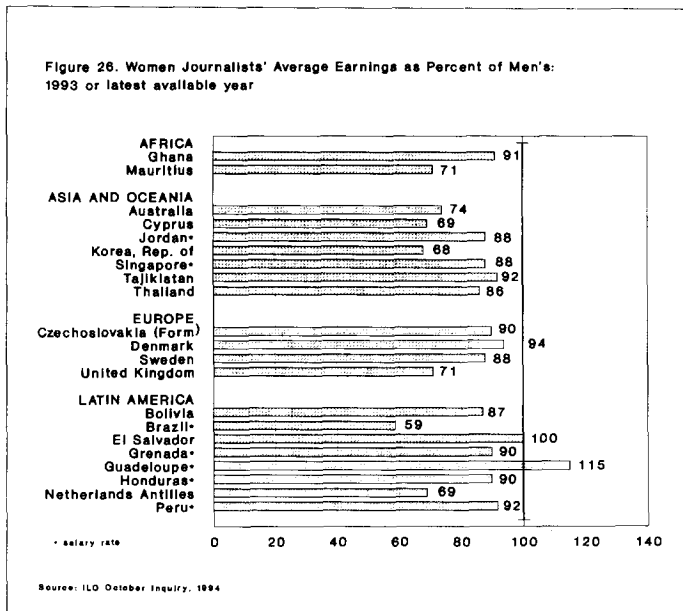
One of the major ways in which stereotyped attitudes impinges on women media professionals is in the assignment of work. Women and men tend to be given different tasks or areas of responsibility, which reflect the taken-for-granted aptitudes and interests of the two gen-

ders. In a survey carried out for the International Federation of Journalists, and covering ten countries in Europe, North America, Asia and Africa, Kate Holman found that over half (56%) of the responding journalists (male and female) believed that women are directed towards 'soft' topics (human interest, social affairs, culture) rather than 'hard' areas like business, economics or foreign news (Holman, 1992). Although this rigid division of labour may have started to break down somewhat in certain countries, the vast majority of studies around the world confirms a persistently gender-based segregation in the allocation of work assignments in media organisations. This tendency to stream women and men into different departments and subject areas has several important repercussions.

Salary Differences

Of crucial importance is the effect of this pattern of work allocation on salaries and promotion prospects. As Torild Skard has pointed out, the topics towards which women are directed have less status among the editorial staff, they get less prominence and they may never appear at all. It is the promotion of men's interests which is generally rewarded (Skard, 1989). Indeed, there is overwhelming evidence of a significant salary gap between female and male employees in the media. The fact that media women are consistently paid less than their male colleagues has been confirmed by recent studies in Finland (Kuusava et al., 1993), Germany (Fröhlich and Holtz-Bacha, 1995), the Netherlands (AGB Veldcamp, 1991), New Zealand (Lealand, 1994), Spain (Gallego, 1993), Tunisia (AJT, 1991), the United States (Bielby and Bielby, 1995), and across the Member States of the European Union (Gallagher, 1995). ILO figures also demonstrate an earnings gap between female and male journalists in practically every country for which data are available (Figure 26).

In fact, according to the ILO this gap is actually *widening* in countries as diverse as Australia, Sweden, the United Kingdom, Cyprus, the Netherlands Antilles, and Singapore. The differential is not explained by any differences in the hours worked by these journalists. Indeed in the Republic of Korea, where women's earnings are only 68% of men's, ILO data from the same source show that female journalists actually work longer hours than men. Nor is the average age difference between women and men in journalism an adequate explanation.



In his study of New Zealand journalists Geoffrey Lealand notes that the inequalities in salary are such that they 'cannot be fully explained by the large number of young females in the survey' (Lealand, 1994, p. 3). It seems likely that these salary differences are linked to the kinds of assignment given to women and men in the same job category – the specific tasks they do, and the valuation given to these through additional payments and merit awards. As a Danish journalist in Holman's study puts it: 'The wage statistics show a difference between men's and women's personal bonuses that cannot be easily explained. There might be a slight – maybe unconscious – tendency to consider men in a more serious working capacity than women' (Holman, 1992, p. 23).

The gender division of work assignments reduces more than women's income. It also reduces their chances of promotion. In their study of journalists in Finland, Kuusava et al. (1993) concluded that in this distribution of tasks, women's skills are undervalued. For example, a journalist writing about 'hard politics' is supported and regarded as good promotion material. Someone writing about 'human' and everyday issues is seen as unambitious (because apparently uninterested in the top priorities of the organisation), and tends to remain a rank-and-file reporter.

Values and Priorities

The issue of work assignments raises other problems for women. If they restrict themselves to the 'soft' topics which have less status in the organisation – but which women

themselves tend to consider important – their promotion prospects may be limited. Exposure to a narrow range of work – particularly work whose status is low – is not the obvious preparation for a move up the hierarchy. A Malaysian journalist interviewed by Shanthi Dairiam expresses this in terms of frustrated potential: 'Men get plum assignments and as a result women lack visibility within the organisation, although there are several good women journalists who can take on difficult assignments' (Dairiam, 1992, p. 22).

For other women there are different frustrations. If they move into the areas usually covered by men – economy, business, politics – the 'women's topics' are neglected, according to the Norwegian journalists in Skard's study: 'The men don't take up subjects we women think are important, so we women often do it – otherwise it won't be done. But thereby we confirm the sex-determined distribution of tasks' (Skard, 1989, p. 136). Faced with this dilemma some women take on a double role, covering 'men's areas' as well as trying to include 'women's topics' of various kinds. This usually means they have to put in extra hours. In this situation many women do seem to experience conflict, and a feeling of low status. Noting that her male colleague gets assignments covering crime and legal affairs, a young Swedish reporter seems first to complain that she is never assigned these stories. But, she continues. 'I wouldn't want to write about them, because I'm not interested .. I mean it's very important to write about young women and sexuality ... I just get so tired, I'm always given these kinds of jobs. I just don't understand' (Löfgren-Nilsson, 1994, p. 6).

In these circumstances, as Monica Löfgren-Nilsson found in her study, women journalists are more likely than men to experience the working environment in terms of 'control' (by others) – both in terms of getting response to their own ideas, and in terms of control from superiors. Not surprisingly, men experience more freedom in the working environment. It is more closely adapted to their priorities and needs than to those of women.

Working Conditions

One of the most widely expressed difficulties for women working in the media is the problem of reconciling parenthood with the demands of the job. The arrival of more women in the media workplace has not changed the organisation of work. The profession has not adapted to its 'feminisation', through the provision of company crèches, child-

care systems and so on. According to women interviewed in a 1992 Belgian study, this makes real equality impossible. As one experienced journalist remarked: *'I've never known a man who said he wouldn't marry or have a family because if he did he would risk neglecting his work'* (Baguette, 1992, p. 86).

Angela Coyle has argued that, because it is men who occupy key decision-making positions, organisational procedures and structures usually reflect male norms and priorities. The most obvious ways in which women are disadvantaged is in the way that work organisation still takes little or no account of parental responsibilities: *'Workplace childcare facilities and part-time working arrangements (which can integrate into a career structure) are virtually non-existent. Perceived as "women's needs" such measures are regarded as costing money, not fitting into television schedules and anyway women have to fit in with the world, not have special concessions made for them'* (Coyle, 1988, p. 75). Male organisational priorities are apparent in other forms. In her report for the BBC Monica Simms quotes a woman television producer who expressed surprise that the organisation had no crèche *'when it has a bar in every building, providing a large debilitating drinking pool, subsidised for the ill health of its employees'* (Simms, 1985, p. 18)⁹.

Overcoming the Obstacles¹¹

According to the younger female journalists interviewed in a 1989 Canadian study, women do exercise power differently. They consult more, they work more in teams. These journalists believe that women create a calmer, more frank, more conscientious work climate (Pelletier et al., 1989). As more women move into the higher echelons of media management, the working environment may become less of an obstacle course for women. However, as we have seen, women's share of senior management – and of other key jobs – in the media, remains disconcertingly small. The 'give it time' approach does not seem to work – particularly

in relation to women's long-awaited break through the media 'glass ceiling', but also in terms of the constitution of an equally long-awaited 'critical mass' of women in media institutions. Reflecting on a 'give it time' comment from one of the (male) editors in her study, Shanthi Dairiam concludes with irony *'After all it is only 30 years or so since women have been breaking into the public sphere (in Malaysia). So we need to give it time'* (Dairiam, 1992, p. 22). Experience has by now shown that women's move into the power structures of the media is *not* 'just a matter of time', and that positive measures are needed to bring about real change.

Organising and lobbying

This is a key tactic for women both inside and outside the media. The list of associations at the end of this monograph demonstrates that women right around the world have understood its importance. The process involves great struggle and requires much energy. Donna Logan, Vice-President for Media Accountability at the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, puts it well: *'If women are serious about wanting to change things in the newsroom and to gain access to the levels where the power rests, they have to do more than arrange polite discussions with superiors about the problems ... No-one relinquishes power willingly'* (Logan, 1993, p. 15).

Mentoring

Mentors can be crucially important in supporting and encouraging the career development of women within the media. Mentoring involves helping those coming up through the media organisations to develop so that they understand the organisation they are working for and are ready to assume more responsibility within it. Donna Logan again: *'(A mentor) is someone, usually a person senior to you but not your boss, who tells you what you are doing right, what you are doing wrong and suggests ways to fix the weaknesses. ... Don't wait to be asked. If you spot someone you think can help you, go and ask them'* (ibid.).

Policies and Attitudes

There is no easy or quick route to ensuring equal opportunities in media employment. Improving recruitment procedures or providing training can help. But the longest and hardest job is to change the attitudes that breed inequali-

⁹ In the decade since the Simms Report much has changed at the BBC, which now has an advanced equal opportunities policy and several workplace crèches. Moreover, under the present Director General, mineral water is said to have replaced wine at BBC receptions.

¹¹ Many of the proposals in this section are summarised from *Equal Opportunities in European Broadcasting: A Guide to Good Practice* (Brussels, European Commission, 1991), written by Margaret Gallagher.

ties. One of the ways in which media institutions can help to change the organisational atmosphere, and the attitude of key staff, is by adopting a clear policy on equal opportunities, which is repeatedly and unambiguously endorsed by senior management. The Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC), the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and many other organisations in Western Europe now have comprehensive policies in this field (see Commonwealth Broadcasting Association 1993; European Commission 1991). These companies are not content simply to obey the letter of the law in relation to equality between women and men. They are intent on achieving real results, by promoting and managing change in the gender balance of their workforce. Their experience shows that an active approach to equal opportunities in the media does bring results. For example at the CBC (Canada), between 1976 and 1993 women's share of management jobs (all levels) increased from 10% to 35%. In the *most* senior management grades of the BBC (United Kingdom), there were no women at all in 1982; but by 1994 18.5% of these posts were held by women.

Setting Goals and Targets

These and other media organisations have found that there is little point in making grandiose, general statements of 'good intent' in regard to equal opportunities. Statements of policy must be specific and realistic. One way of concretising the organisation's equality objectives is to set explicit numerical targets for women's appointment to certain jobs or at certain levels, to be achieved over a stated time-scale, and against which progress can be measured. A target respects the principle of appointing or promoting the 'best person' for the job. But by focusing the attention of managers on working towards a better gender balance in their staff, it can lead to a more careful consideration of who the 'best person' really is. For large organisations, it is important that targets are agreed within individual departments, taking into account the number of women already working within the department, the likely availability of female applicants, the expected staff turn-over, and so on. This means that, within any organisation, the actual targets will vary greatly from one department to another. But for the individual manager this makes more sense than trying to reach some overall goal set by the organisation as a

whole, but which in her or his particular department may be completely unrealistic.

Recruitment and Selection

Stereotyped attitudes constitute one of the main barriers to the appointment and promotion of women in the media. Some straightforward steps, such as ensuring that interview and selection panels include both women and men, can help here. Although this does not guarantee bias-free selection, it may limit some of the most blatant discrimination. Guidance and training in fair selection methods for all staff involved with interviewing or recruitment is another important measure to minimise gender bias. A simple approach is to prepare written materials which set out guidelines, and which give examples of questions that can inadvertently discriminate against female candidates.

Another obstacle to women's recruitment and promotion is the fact that many jobs in the media – particularly those at senior levels – are never advertised, either internally or externally. Research covering broadcasting organisations in 25 European countries in 1989 showed that, when jobs are not advertised, men are *fifteen times* more likely than women to be appointed (see European Commission, 1991). This is where the 'old boy's network' has its most obvious impact. To lessen the chances of women being completely overlooked, not only is it essential that all jobs are advertised, but that advertisements are placed where women in the target group will see them.

The age limits which are sometimes attached to media appointments are often remarkably disadvantageous to women, especially those who want to rejoin the labour force after they have brought up children. The setting of unnecessary age limits may actually amount to indirect discrimination, and organisations should consider whether they can really be justified before specifying them. Some organisations actively encourage women to apply for posts in areas where they are under-represented. This can be done by including a statement in the job advertisement text which makes it clear that applications from female candidates will be especially welcome. Research shows that women are indeed more likely to apply, and to be appointed in this way (European Commission, 1991). For occupational categories in which women's share of jobs is particularly low, some organisations go so far as to give preference to women

in a 'tie-break' situation (where the qualifications of male and female candidates are equal). The Dutch broadcasting company NOS has adopted this approach, as indeed have certain international organisations such as the European Commission and the Council of Europe.

Training and Career Development

No media organisation which is seriously committed to promotion of equal opportunities will be content to claim that 'women don't apply' for certain posts, nor will it be ready to leave the onus on 'the educational system' to supply young women with the training needed for technical and production jobs. Progressive companies see the advantage of initiatives to equip all staff with the confidence, skills and experience that makes the most of their talents – to the benefit of the company itself.

Training in personal effectiveness and confidence building can be enormously helpful to women. In the words of a Belgian journalist – formerly a Ceefax operator – who participated in this kind of training: *'The most important thing I learnt is strategy. I used to think that things just 'happen'. But you have to look at the unwritten rules in your organisation – how male colleagues work towards their goals, what the power balance is – and make all that work in your favour. I did change jobs thanks to the training. And I think I changed too'* (see European Commission, 1991, p. 11).

Operational orientation courses can introduce women to the possibility of working in areas completely different from their own. For example, some organisations have developed what are generally known as 'familiarisation' courses in the production and technical areas, aimed at female staff with no prior experience or formal qualifications in these fields. Such courses aim not to *train* women as technicians or programme operations staff, but to help women decide whether a career in these areas is of interest to them. Some decide that it is not. But many go on to pursue further training and to secure technical and operational jobs. For example, of about 60 women who attended operational awareness courses at the BBC (United Kingdom) between 1986 and 1990, 14 (23%) later found posts in the technical area. Set against the fact that in 1990 only 4% of all female staff in the BBC were in technical jobs, the success rate of this kind of training is impressive.

Management training for women can provide the extra skills and confidence needed to apply for a managerial posi-

tion. Often women simply need this additional push forward to be convinced that they are capable of a more responsible job, and to be persuaded that they should aim higher. According to the Head of Financial Administration – formerly an accounts assistant – in one of the Dutch broadcasting companies: *'It gave me just that extra "baggage" you need to do a management job. Although I already had the formal qualifications, without the management training it would have been years before I had the courage to apply for such a position'* (see European Commission, 1991, p. 12).

Working Conditions

The working environment of the media have been shaped over many decades by men. Not just the formal systems, but the working climate itself tends to reflect certain assumptions about women's and men's place in the world. The issue of equal – or unequal – pay is one illustration of this. Media organisations do need to examine salary scales for women and men in identical occupations to see whether differences are justified and to rectify any anomalies. At the same time, the salary scales for all jobs call for careful review, so as to highlight disparities in the evaluation and remuneration of skills associated with male and female occupational categories.

Another important problem to be tackled is sexual harassment. This probably occurs in almost every media organisation, although in many it is still a taboo subject. Policy statements are an essential first step. These should make it clear that sexual harassment will not be tolerated and that complaints will be dealt with seriously and sympathetically. There is also a need for procedures that make it possible for complaints to be handled in confidence. Many incidents go unreported because the victim fears reprisal or ridicule. Where possible, organisations should encourage discussion of the problem. In 1987 the Dutch Broadcasting Emancipation Commission produced a leaflet and launched an industry-wide debate on policy. As a result the Commission found that employees were more confident about coming forward with complaints.

The issue of reconciling family and professional responsibilities is absolutely fundamental to ensuring equal opportunities. Flexible working arrangements, job sharing and career break schemes have all proven effective. Job sharing means dividing a full-time post between two employees at *their* request. Division of responsibilities,

hours and conditions are mutually agreed between the employer and the employees. Pay, holidays and other benefits are divided on a pro-rata basis. A surprising range of jobs can be shared. In the BBC (United Kingdom) job-shares exist among producers, vision mixers, floor managers, costume designers – as well as more obvious categories such as secretaries and administrators. Career break schemes ensure that, during their 'break' (usually a maximum of three to five years), employees are kept in regular touch with the company, may be offered temporary work and/or training opportunities, and are normally given priority over external applicants for advertised vacancies.

Assistance for childcare, whether in the form of an on-site crèche or special payments for child support, is a *sine qua non* of good practice in this area. However, a real sharing of professional and personal responsibilities depends not simply on the provision of support to female employees, but also on encouraging male staff to play their part in this. Almost universally it is still women who assume the main responsibility for home and family – whether they feel it is fair or not. A Danish journalist explains the career repercussions of this: *'In journalism the most exciting work takes place at odd hours – evenings – which makes it impossible for many women because they must pick up the children from the kindergarten. This is my problem. I cannot work nights. My husband does and he cannot change hours – or will not'* (see Holman, 1992, p. 22). The provision of paternity leave, and measures to ensure that fathers take it, is an essential step in equalising responsibilities and opportunities between women and men.

Monitoring Employment Patterns

Commitment to equal opportunities implies setting up a monitoring and reporting system within the organisation so that progress can be traced over time. Such a system need not be elaborate, but it does require the regular collection of statistics, covering at least the following:

- * the number of women and men in all job categories, salary bands and hierarchical levels, including senior management;
- * the number of women and men involved at each stage of recruitment – applications, interviews, appointments – for all internally and externally advertised vacancies.
- * the number of women and men on each internal and external training course organised or supported by the company.

With this information in hand, media organisations will be in a position to assess the magnitude of existing inequalities in employment patterns, and to evaluate the pace of change towards a more equal gender balance in all jobs and at all levels.

Action and Change

Action is essential to ensure equal opportunities within the media. The 'give it time' approach has been tried, and has been found wanting. Over the past decade, some of the world's major media organisations have concluded that the active promotion of equal opportunities is good management practice and makes sound commercial sense. But *no* media organisation can afford to waste the talents of the women in its workforce.

The question of whether these talents are different from those of men remains an intriguing one. Certain studies have concluded that women and men in the media do not necessarily differ in their approach to stories or issues (for example: *Women, Men and Media*, 1994; van Zoonen, 1988). Others suggest that, when they constitute a reasonable numerical force, women can and do make a difference. For instance, in the United States a 1992 survey of managing editors of the 100 largest daily newspapers found that 84% of responding editors agreed that women *have* made a difference – both in defining the news and in expanding the range of topics considered newsworthy: women's health, family and child care, sexual harassment and discrimination, rape and battering, homeless mothers, quality of life and other social issues were all cited as having moved up the hierarchy of news values because of pressure from women journalists (Marzolf, 1993).

The introduction of 'new' topics – although of course they are age-old concerns for women – onto the news agenda is one way in which female journalists can make a difference. Another, although more difficult to illustrate, has been to change the way in which established issues are covered. One obvious example is the coverage of the war in Bosnia, in which women reporters focused worldwide attention on the systematic rape of women as a weapon of war. Again the issue of 'critical mass' is important. Women have been reporting war for decades, but the war in the former Yugoslavia drew women journalists in unprecedented numbers. Penny Marshall, a reporter for British Independent Television News (ITN), believes this strong female pres-

ence was crucial. She herself was one of the first British journalists to investigate conditions in the camps at Omarska and Trnopolje – before the issue of mass rape became public. Her remarks are revealing:

'As soon as I saw the men (in the camps), partly because of their physical appearance, I wanted to know if they had been tortured. It didn't strike me that the women's story was as urgent as the men's, and I think that is because I had inherited a news agenda that has subsequently changed. It has occurred to me since that the next generation of reporters may well put rape on the agenda much higher, and much earlier in the war, because of this experience' (see Saunders, 1993, p. 13; emphasis added).

Women do inherit agendas within the media. But they can also change those agendas in a way which affects male colleagues too. As Penny Marshall puts it: *'the news agenda is dynamic and the presence of women in the newsroom changes the way everybody thinks about things'* (ibid.). This is an optimistic assessment. A different note is sounded by those who believe that the structure of large media organisations, and the political and economic context in which they are located, makes it impossible for women to have a profound impact on media output. This is the view of New Zealand journalist Judy McGregor who, after twenty years in the media, concludes: *'I believe enlightened and energetic women can*

only marginally alter the male-ness of the news ... It will need more than increased numbers of women working as journalists, greater numbers of female news executives and board members to radicalise the media' (McGregor, 1992, p. 189).

In the years ahead it will become clearer which of these assessments – the optimistic or the pessimistic – should be given more weight. For the moment women's employment in the media is an unfinished story, whose resolution is not evident. Whatever the final outcome, one thing at least is clear. The pursuit of equality in the media – as in all other spheres – is not a radical feminist issue. It is a matter of human rights, a part of the struggle for genuine democracy in society at large and in media institutions in particular. As long as women and men are not given the possibility to work together on an equal basis, sharing the same rights and the same responsibilities, there is a 'democratic deficit' in our societies¹². Until media employment patterns reflect a more equitable gender balance, it will be impossible to claim that there is genuine democracy in the media or their messages.

¹²The concept is borrowed from the President of Ireland, Mary Robinson, in a keynote speech to the Council of Europe conference 'Equality and Democracy: Utopia or Challenge?', Strasbourg, 9-11 February 1995.

Table I

Women's Employment in the Media 1990-1995

Specially conducted studies:
239 organisations in 43 countries

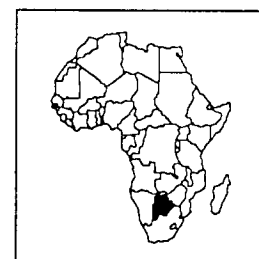
Table I
Women's Employment in the Media
1990-1995

Notes:

- (1) Data include all staff (permanent full-time, permanent part-time, temporary) except actors, orchestra and choir.
- (2) Figures for senior management are based on analysis of top three management levels, excluding Chief Executive Officer (CEO) and Deputy CEO. Organisations with less than 30 staff are not included in this part of the analysis.
- (3) Organisations are listed in the following order (where available):
 - Broadcasting
 - Press (in italics)
 - News Agencies
- (4) Labour Force data are from *The World's Women 1995: Trends and Statistics*, United Nations, 1995.

**Table I
Women's Employment in the Media
1990-1995**

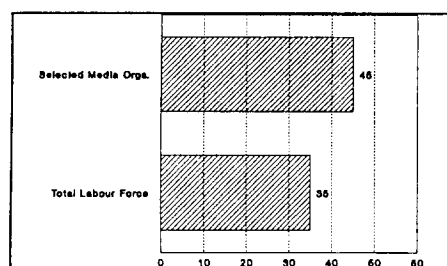
Southern Africa



Botswana

1993	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Radio Botswana*	245	114	31.8	18.2	0.0	87.5	10	1	9.1
<i>Mmegi/The Reporter</i>	32	12	12.5	0.0	***	45.5	8	0	0.0

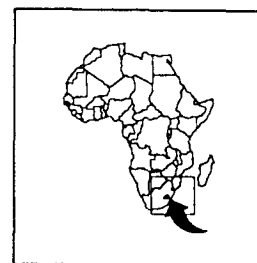
*includes *Daily News* and Botswana Press Agency (BOPA)



Women's Share of Employment in above Media Organisation/s and in Total Labour Force

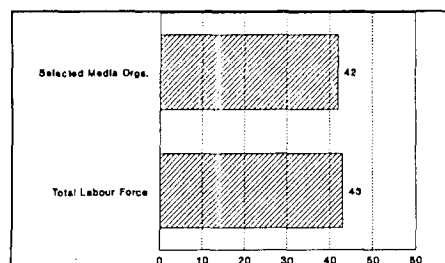
1 = Total Staff;	4 = % Women in Crafts/Creative jobs;	7 = No. of Men in Senior Management;	n.a. = non-available;
2 = Total Women;	5 = % Women in Technical jobs;	8 = No. of Women in Senior Management;	n.i. = not included;
3 = % Women in Production/Editorial jobs;	6 = % Women in Administration;	9 = Women's Share Senior Management;	*** = No Staff in this category.

Table I
Women's Employment in the Media
1990-1995

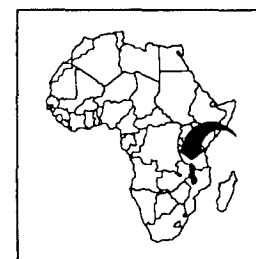


Lesotho

1993	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Lesotho National Broadcasting Service	76	30	44.0	0.0	23.3	100.0	2	2	50.0
<i>Lesotho Weekly</i>	20	7	18.2	33.3	***	66.7	n.i.	n.i.	n.i.
Lesotho News Agency (LENA)	31	16	44.4	***	***	100.0	2	0	0.0

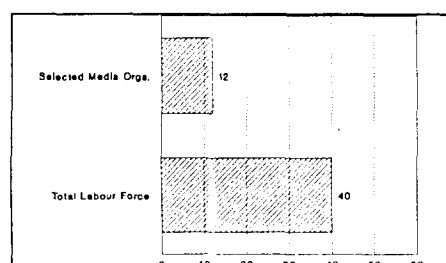


Women's Share of Employment in above Media Organisation/s and in Total Labour Force



Malawi

1993	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Malawi Broadcasting Corporation	490	56	18.8	0.0	3.9	32.8	21	2	8.7
Blantyre Newspapers: <i>Daily Times</i> , <i>Malawi News</i>	128	22	11.4	0.0	0.0	33.3	8	1	11.1
Malawi News Agency (MANA)	96	6	7.4	0.0	0.0	66.7	6	0	0.0



Women's Share of Employment in above Media Organisation/s and in Total Labour Force

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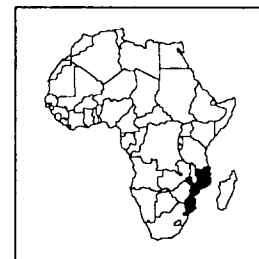
9 = Women's Share Senior Management;

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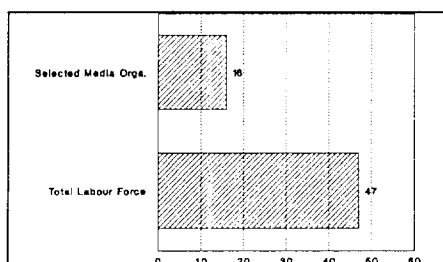
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**Table I
Women's Employment in the Media
1990-1995**

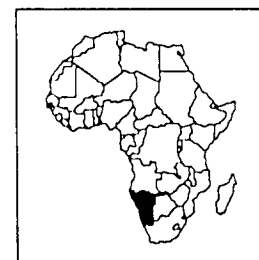


Mozambique

1995	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Radio Moçambique (1993)	812	132	25.6	***	1.0	29.1	76	7	8.4
Televisão de Moçambique	173	21	13.3	0.0	3.9	20.0	8	1	11.1
Media Coop: <i>Mediafax</i> , <i>Mozambique News</i> , <i>Savana</i>	59	16	15.4	0.0	100.0	50.0	7	0	0.0
Agencia de Informação (AIM)	65	13	12.9	***	18.2	27.3	8	0	0.0

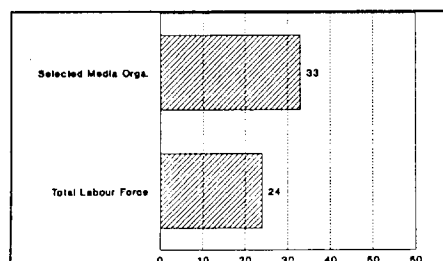


**Women's Share of Employment in above
Media Organisation/s and
in Total Labour Force**



Namibia

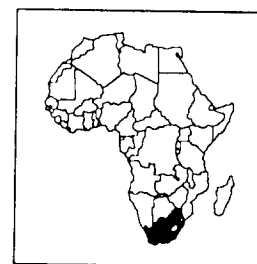
1993	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC)	460	115	28.4	16.7	3.1	61.4	8	1	11.1
Democratic Media Holdings: <i>Die Republikein</i> , <i>Sontag Republikein</i>	236	112	36.8	0.0	28.0	68.3	17	8	32.0
<i>New Era</i>	17	6	22.2	100.0	***	75.0	n.i.	n.i.	n.i.



**Women's Share of Employment in above
Media Organisation/s and
in Total Labour Force**

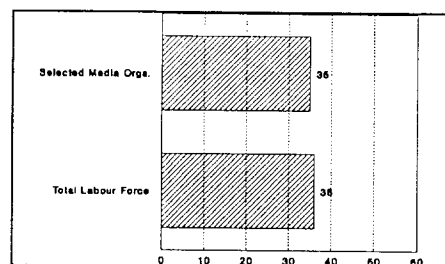
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**Table I
Women's Employment in the Media
1990-1995**

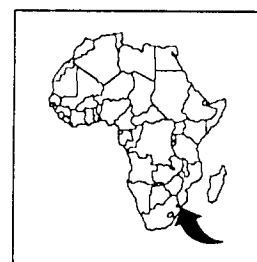


South Africa

1995	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC)	5 501	1 827	29.3	31.9	5.8	61.9	137	6	4.2

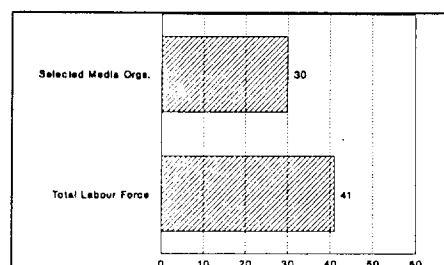


Women's Share of Employment in above Media Organisation/s and in Total Labour Force



Swaziland

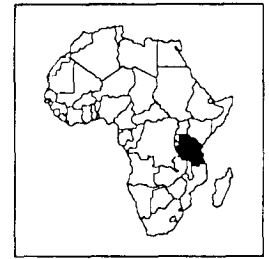
1993	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Swazi Radio	118	36	29.2	25.0	29.2	70.6	10	0	0.0
Swazi Television	97	28	26.7	***	0.0	33.3	12	2	14.3
Swazi Observer	52	18	29.6	28.6	60.0	20.0	11	1	8.3
Times of Swaziland	96	24	25.7	66.7	17.4	0.0	4	0	0.0



Women's Share of Employment in above Media Organisation/s and in Total Labour Force

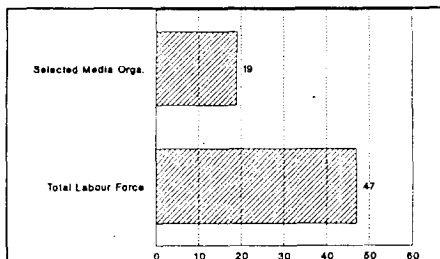
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Table I
Women's Employment in the Media
1990-1995

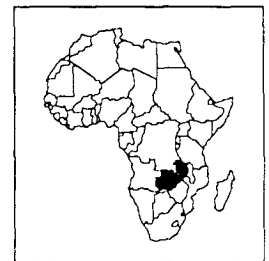


Tanzania

1993	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
<i>Business Times</i>	55	10	8.0	***	***	29.2	6	1	14.3
Media Holdings:									
<i>Express, Mwananchi</i>	50	10	14.3	***	0.0	24.0	6	1	14.3
Tanzania News Agency (Shihata)	130	25	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	11	1	8.3

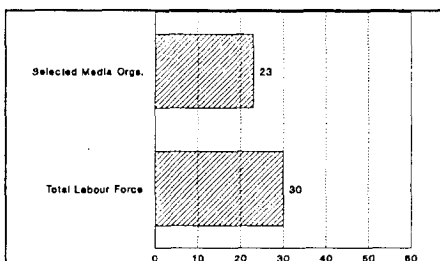


Women's Share of Employment in above Media Organisation/s and in Total Labour Force



Zambia

1993	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC)	452	114	30.2	12.5	10.0	56.3	21	3	12.5
<i>Times of Zambia</i>	143	39	22.5	0.0	***	42.9	11	2	15.4
<i>Zambia Daily Mail</i>	114	15	11.4	0.0	***	28.6	21	3	12.5
Zambia News Agency (ZANA)	92	19	18.5	***	0.0	57.1	12	2	14.3



Women's Share of Employment in above Media Organisation/s and in Total Labour Force

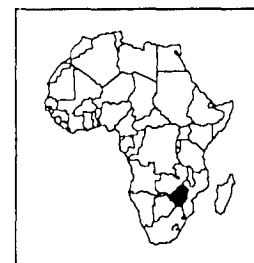
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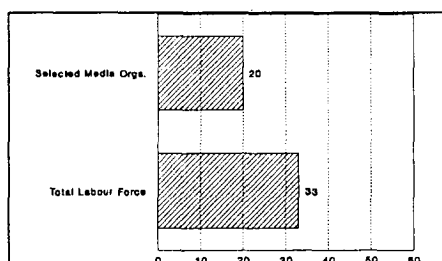
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Table I
Women's Employment in the Media
1990-1995



Zimbabwe

1993	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC)	1 109	247	32.6	20.0	5.2	35.3	42	7	14.3
Modus Publications: <i>Daily Gazette,</i> <i>Financial Gazette,</i> <i>Sunday Times</i>	219	55	12.8	0.0	0.0	52.0	20	6	23.1
Zimpapers: <i>Chronicle, Herald,</i> <i>Kwayedza, Manica Post,</i> <i>Sunday Mail, Sunday News</i>	849	144	6.7	4.8	3.7	44.8	27	1	3.6



Women's Share of Employment in above Media Organisation/s and in Total Labour Force

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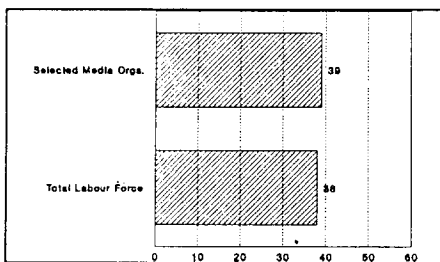
**Table I
Women's Employment in the Media
1990-1995**

Asia and Oceania



Australia

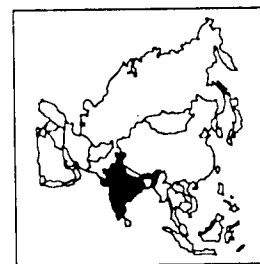
1993	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC)	4 855	1 895	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.



Women's Share of Employment in above Media Organisation/s and in Total Labour Force

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Table I
Women's Employment in the Media
1990-1995

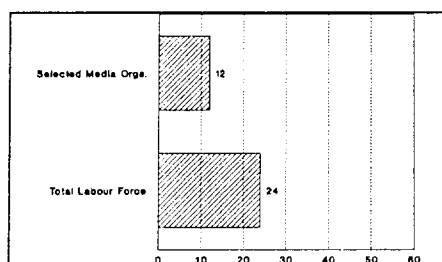


India

1994	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
All India Radio **	27 204	3 197	23.9	***	7.2	17.5	2 814	301	9.7
Doordarshan TV*	4 570	689	23.6	9.3	9.3	30.0	165	28	14.5
<i>The Hindu</i> **	1 906	40	9.2	***	0.0	1.3	19	1	5.0
Indian Express Newspapers:**									
<i>Financial Express,</i>									
<i>Indian Express, Jansatta</i>	884	84	17.9	0.0	0.0	10.5	45	1	2.2
Times of India Group:									
<i>Times of India, Navbharat Times</i>	1 882	245	20.9	***	0.0	18.9	27	1	3.6

*Items 1-6: headquarters and 7 production centres
7-9: headquarters and 12 production centres

** 1993



Women's Share of Employment in above Media Organisation/s and in Total Labour Force

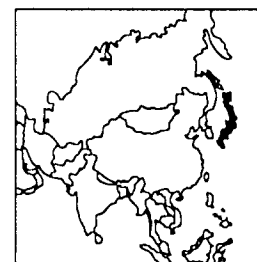
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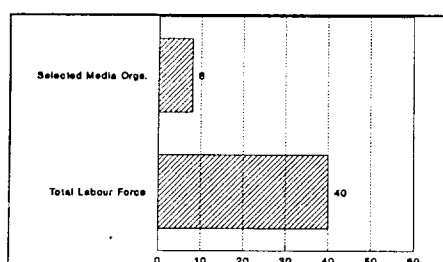
**Table I
Women's Employment in the Media
1990-1995**



Japan

1993*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Nippon Hoso Kyokai (NHK)	13 595	963	8.1	n.a.	0.9	12.7	749	2	0.3
Asahi National Broadcasting	1 625	224	17.7	10.8	1.3	23.2	283	2	0.7
Fuji Television Network	1 415	244	17.9	19.4	5.1	21.5	228	0	0.0
Nippon Television Network (NTV)	1 535	210	15.5	6.8	3.5	18.6	122	2	1.6
<i>Asahi Shimbun</i>	8 151	533	9.6	5.0	0.7	5.5	447	1	0.2
<i>Mainichi Shimbun</i>	4 852	306	9.7	1.8	0.6	7.6	293	0	0.0
<i>Nihon Keizai Shimbun</i>	4 645	328	6.8	1.1	0.0	9.8	240	0	0.0
<i>Sankei Shimbun</i>	1 887	147	8.3	6.8	1.5	10.2	148	1	0.7
<i>Yomiuri Shimbun</i>	7 741	550	8.4	3.6	0.1	11.6	402	1	0.2
Kyodo News Service	1 998	142	4.0	4.0	0.6	14.5	222	3	1.3

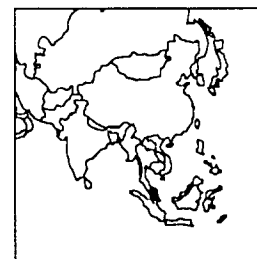
* Press data exclude temporary staff



**Women's Share of Employment in above
Media Organisation/s and
in Total Labour Force**

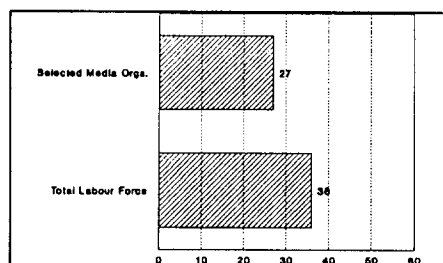
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**Table I
Women's Employment in the Media
1990-1995**



Malaysia

1993	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Radio Television Malaysia (RTM)	2 965	822	35.6	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	37	0	0.0
New StraitsTimes Berhad: <i>Berita Harian, Business Times, Malay Mail, New Straits Times, Shin Min Daily News</i>	2 904	798	34.2	12.4	0.3	44.6	88	15	14.6
<i>Utusan Malaysia</i>	857	161	22.7	2.9	24.4	35.9	11	3	21.4
Pertubuhan Berita Nasional (Bernama)	394	114	26.4	11.1	0.0	49.5	6	0	0.0



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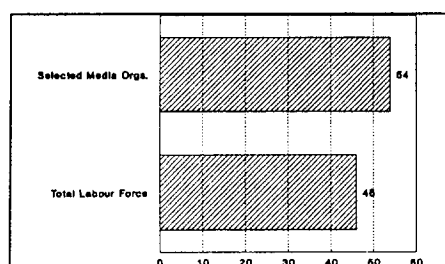
Table I
Women's Employment in the Media
1990-1995

Europe: Baltic States



Estonia

1995	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Eesti Raadio	439	263	55.2	***	64.2	90.6	21	16	43.2
Eesti Televisioon	755	376	57.3	55.2	22.2	76.4	46	17	27.0



Women's Share of Employment in above Media Organisation/s and in Total Labour Force

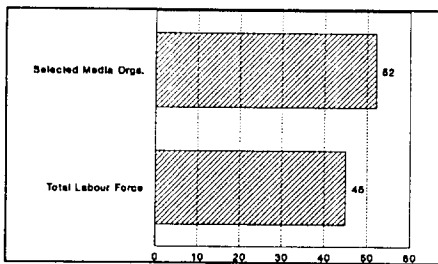
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**Table I
Women's Employment in the Media
1990-1995**



Lithuania

1995	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Lietuvos Radijas ir Televizija (LRT)	1 444	754	60.5	54.8	31.2	90.7	68	33	32.7

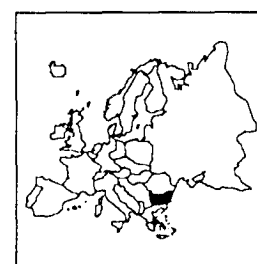


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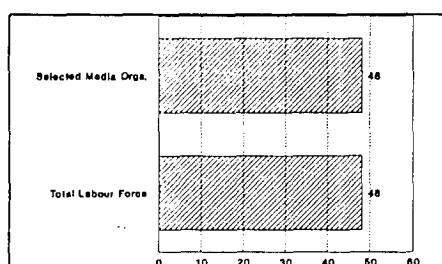
Table I
Women's Employment in the Media
1990-1995

Central and Eastern Europe



Bulgaria

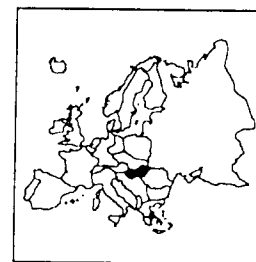
1995	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Balgarsko Nationalno Radio	2 002	1 227	67.3	***	39.5	92.7	86	75	46.6
Balgarska Nationalna Televizija (BNT)	2 887	1 113	48.1	43.8	32.9	68.4	33	19	36.5



Women's Share of Employment in above Media Organisation/s and in Total Labour Force

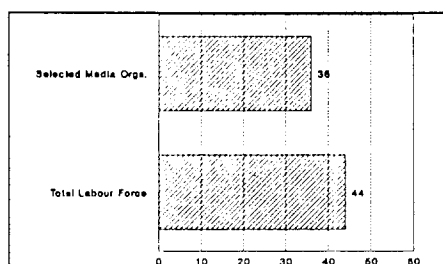
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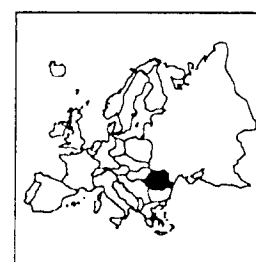


Hungary

1995	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Magyar Rádió	2 025	986	42.7	100.0	20.6	81.0	84	28	25.0
Magyar Televizio (MTV)	3 756	1 330	37.3	42.2	9.0	76.2	9	3	25.0

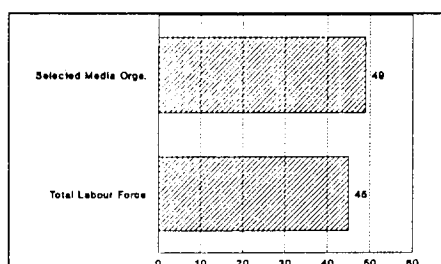


Women's Share of Employment in above Media Organisation/s and in Total Labour Force



Romania

1995	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Radiodifuziunea Romana	2 310	1 141	51.2	***	39.3	77.6	113	58	33.9



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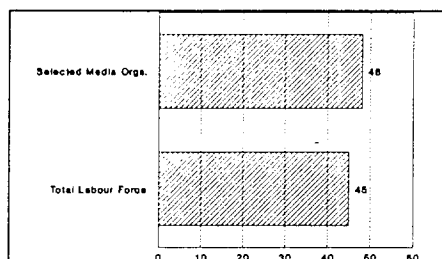
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**Table I
Women's Employment in the Media
1990-1995**



Russian Federation

1995	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Rossijskoe Teleradio (RTR)	4172	1 998	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	115	62	35.0



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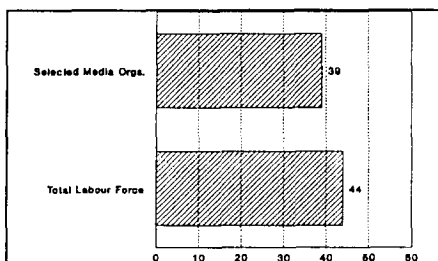
Table I
Women's Employment in the Media
1990-1995

Europe: Nordic States



Denmark

1990	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Danmarks Radio	3 538	1 526	35.9	38.5	16.5	78.2	84	16	16.0
TV2-Danmark	386	146	31.9	***	35.3	56.3	15	6	28.6
1994									
<i>Det Fri Aktuelt</i>	129	42	26.1	n.a.	33.3	42.9	9	3	25.0
A/S Dagbladet Politiken:									
<i>Ekstra Bladet, Politiken</i>	1 219	347	23.6	n.a.	18.0	46.7	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.



Women's Share of Employment in above Media Organisation/s and in Total Labour Force

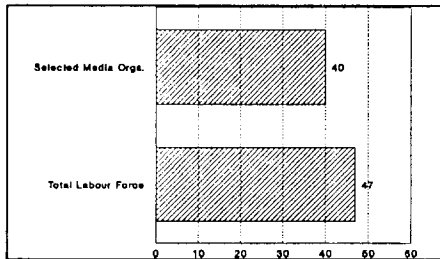
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Table I
Women's Employment in the Media
1990-1995

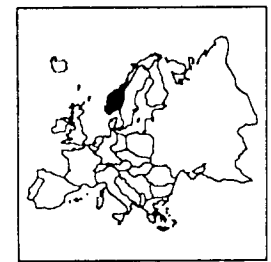


Finland

1995	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Oy. Yleisradio (YLE)	4 639	1 872	49.1	37.5	13.4	81.5	64	13	16.9

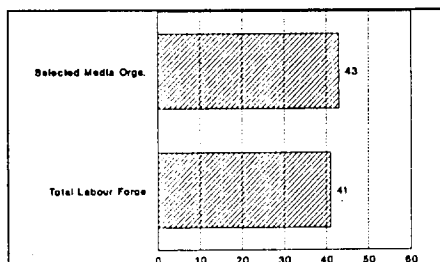


Women's Share of Employment in above Media Organisation/s and in Total Labour Force



Norway

1995	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Norsk Rikskringkasting (NRK)	3 255	1 415	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	155	64	29.2



Women's Share of Employment in above Media Organisation/s and in Total Labour Force

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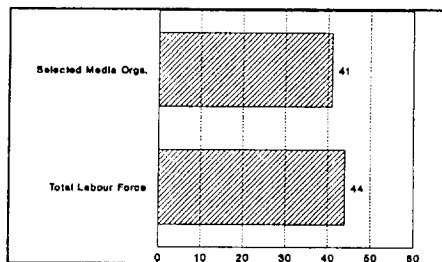
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**Table I
Women's Employment in the Media
1990-1995**



Sweden

1995	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Sveriges Radio	2 421	1 012	45.0	100.0	11.3	65.8	38	19	33.3
Sveriges Television	4 474	1 812	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	170	73	30.0



**Women's Share of Employment in above
Media Organisation/s and
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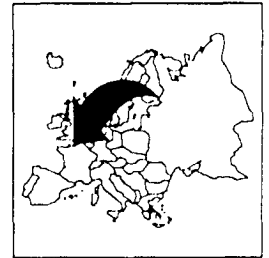
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Table I
Women's Employment in the Media
1990-1995

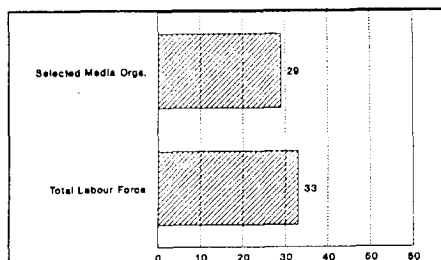
Western Europe



Belgium

1990	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Belgische Radio en Televisie - Nederlandse (BRTN)*	2 641	719	28.2	39.3	2.0	58.7	62	4	6.1
Radio-télévision belge - française (RTBF)	2 802	962	39.6	18.2	5.7	72.7	72	8	10.0
Vlaamse TV Maatschappij (VTM)	148	68	49.2	***	9.4	64.2	11	4	26.7
1994									
<i>Le Soir</i>	779	153	34.0	n.a.	1.2	26.8	39	11	22.0
De Persgroep: <i>Het Laatste Nieuws,</i> <i>De Nieuwe Gazet</i>	510	111	18.3	n.a.	1.1	45.9	27	4	12.9
Vlaamse Uitgeversmaatschappij: <i>De Gentenaar, Het Nieuwsblad,</i> <i>De Standaard</i>	759	176	17.0	n.a.	8.2	43.5	86	10	10.4

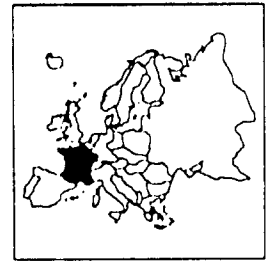
* Excludes part-time staff



**Women's Share of Employment in above
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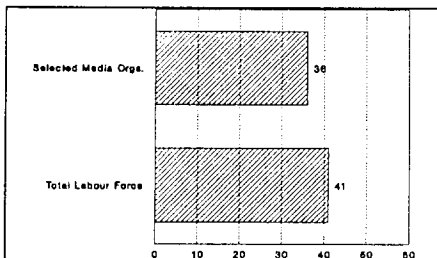
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Table I
Women's Employment in the Media
1990-1995



France

1990	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Radio France Internationale (RFI)	482	219	44.8	***	5.8	78.3	14	3	17.6
Télévision française 1 (TF1)	1 363	629	39.9	45.9	11.6	80.7	24	9	27.3
France 2	1 336	565	31.6	26.7	6.7	82.4	40	18	31.0
France 3	3 519	1 204	21.1	22.9	3.7	80.1	105	26	19.8
M6 Metropole TV	186	90	40.0	50.0	20.6	71.0	18	7	28.0
La Sept-Arte	120	72	14.3	***	0.0	72.2	9	4	30.8
Société française de production (SFP)	3 795	1 172	39.8	31.7	16.0	79.6	61	19	23.8



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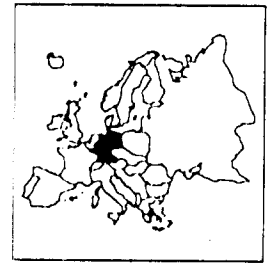
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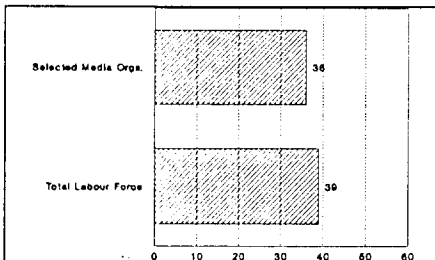
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**Table I
Women's Employment in the Media
1990-1995**



Germany

1990	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Hessischer Rundfunk (IIR)	2 047	755	23.8	29.3	14.8	74.7	72	3	4.0
Norddeutscher Rundfunk (NDR)	3 468	1 367	28.7	51.5	14.3	73.7	122	4	3.2
Radio Bremen	687	293	35.2	44.2	23.5	83.3	19	1	5.0
RIAS Berlin	777	360	28.5	40.4	22.2	80.3	26	0	0.0
Süddeutscher Rundfunk (SDR)	2 048	788	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Sender Freies Berlin (SFB)	1 444	589	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Saarländischer Rundfunk (SR)	762	281	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Südwestfunk (SWF)	2 254	762	30.7	39.5	10.8	77.1	107	6	5.3
Westdeutscher Rundfunk (WDR)	4 377	1 643	27.0	40.6	11.6	72.8	130	5	3.7
Deutschlandfunk	758	343	22.5	***	29.6	79.2	33	0	0.0
Deutsche Welle	1 538	593	25.2	93.8	14.2	73.5	33	0	0.0
Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen (ZDF)	4 082	1 564	25.1	52.6	7.1	73.4	138	11	7.4
RTL Television	465	198	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Tele 5	181	115	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1994									
Axel Springer Verlag:									
<i>Berliner Morgenpost,</i>									
<i>Bild, Die Welt</i>	14 111	4 403	29.1	n.a.	12.9	50.8	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	1 409	657	40.3	n.a.	n.a.	51.0	39	5	11.4
<i>Frankfurter Rundschau</i>	1 695	389	25.1	n.a.	11.6	54.7	64	5	7.2
<i>Süddeutsche Zeitung</i>	2 478	1 018	21.9	n.a.	18.6	65.8	82	3	3.5
<i>Die Tageszeitung</i>	136	77	56.5	n.a.	61.3	53.5	10	6	37.5



**Women's Share of Employment in above
Media Organisation/s and
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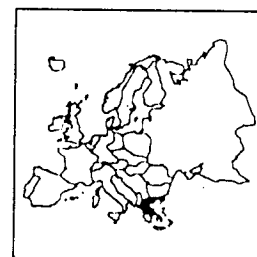
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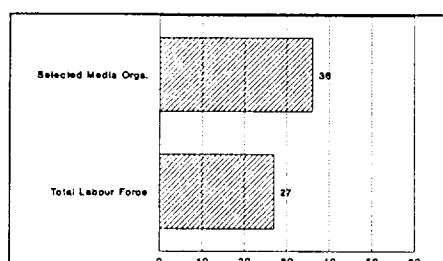
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Women's Employment in the Media
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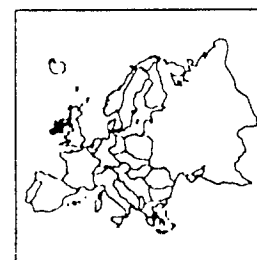


Greece

1990	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Elliniki Radiophonia Tileorassi (ERT)	4 875	1 796	40.5	40.2	10.6	76.3	82	19	18.8
Antenna	437	135	25.9	36.8	9.3	50.5	26	2	7.1
Mega Channel	296	105	27.3	40.0	12.5	54.1	23	4	14.8

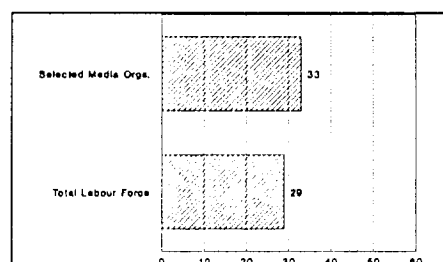


Women's Share of Employment in above Media Organisation/s and in Total Labour Force



Ireland

1990	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Radio Telefis Éireann (RTE)	1 973	645	41.3	25.0	3.9	71.2	44	6	12.0



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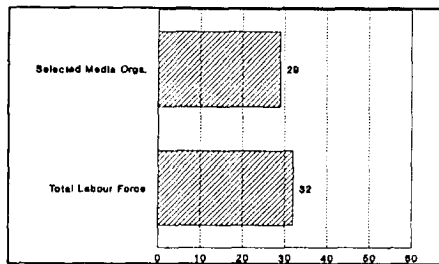
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Table I
Women's Employment in the Media
1990-1995



Italy

1990	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Radiotelevisione Italiana (RAI)	14 357	4 281	34.1	27.8	1.7	55.9	498	18	3.5
Reti Televisive Italiane (RTI-Fininvest)	2 243	718	33.3	57.4	4.6	65.1	67	6	8.2
1994									
<i>Il Manifesto</i>	141	63	47.7	n.a.	n.a.	39.6	14	4	22.2
<i>Il Messaggero</i>	705	125	19.4	n.a.	1.4	36.2	35	5	12.5
<i>La Repubblica</i>	698	190	24.3	n.a.	n.a.	31.2	115	10	8.0
<i>La Stampa</i>	860	127	16.0	n.a.	3.9	19.8	30	7	18.9

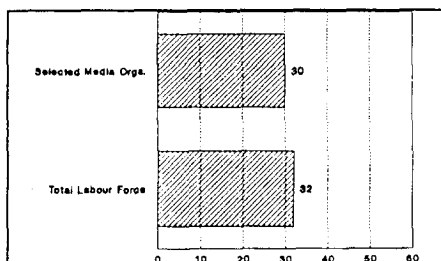


Women's Share of Employment in above Media Organisation/s and in Total Labour Force



Luxembourg

1990	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
CLT	493	141	33.9	38.5	0.5	59.6	26	1	3.7
1994									
<i>Tageblatt</i>	97	36	11.8	n.a.	31.2	79.0	12	7	36.8



Women's Share of Employment in above Media Organisation/s and in Total Labour Force

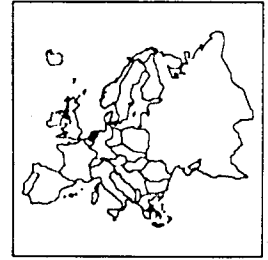
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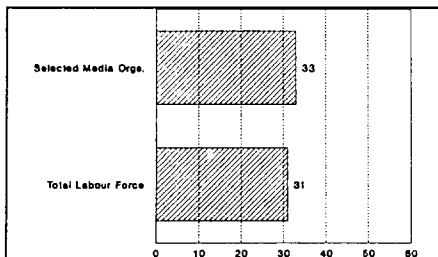
Table I
Women's Employment in the Media
1990-1995



Netherlands

1990	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Nederlandse									
Omroepprogramma Stichting (NOS)	573	244	34.1	0.0	16.7	56.9	31	4	11.4
IKON	60	38	62.2	***	50.0	58.8	4	1	20.0
Katholieke Radio Omroep (KRO)	362	161	42.4	45.5	50.0	53.2	33	5	13.2
Televisie Radio Omroep Stichting (TROS)	191	80	41.9	***	12.5	52.4	15	3	16.7
VARA	395	167	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	28	9	24.3
VPRO	205	104	46.1	***	0.0	62.7	8	0	0.0
Teleac *	110	64	56.3	***	0.0	61.0	9	1	10.0
Nederlands Omroepproductie									
Bedrijf (NOB)	2 683	612	15.6	16.2	10.9	42.0	49	5	9.3
Radio Nederland	379	124	21.5	100.0	3.7	66.1	31	1	3.1
RTL-4	196	99	43.0	***	0.0	62.0	11	3	21.4
1994									
<i>Het Parool</i>	145	46	24.6	n.a.	n.a.	93.3	14	2	12.5
<i>Trouw</i>	152	59	34.9	n.a.	n.a.	65.0	14	7	33.3
<i>De Volkskrant</i>	223	61	21.8	n.a.	n.a.	69.2	24	1	4.0

*Excludes temporary staff



Women's Share of Employment in above Media Organisation/s and in Total Labour Force

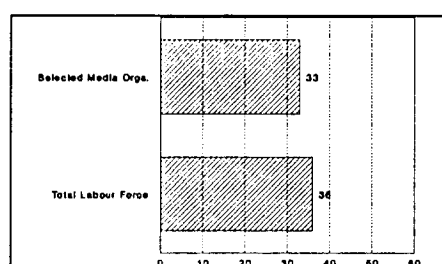
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Table I
Women's Employment in the Media
1990-1995



Portugal

1990	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Radiodifusão Portuguesa (RDP)	1 913	751	33.8	22.2	10.0	62.3	66	5	7.0
Radio Renascença	497	175	32.1	0.0	3.5	68.4	15	2	11.8
Radiotelevisão Portuguesa (RTP)	2 418	721	31.3	30.0	3.7	62.4	75	7	8.5
1994									
<i>Jornal de Noticias</i>	467	95	14.0	n.a.	1.9	32.1	58	9	13.4



**Women's Share of Employment in above
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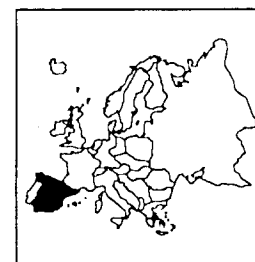
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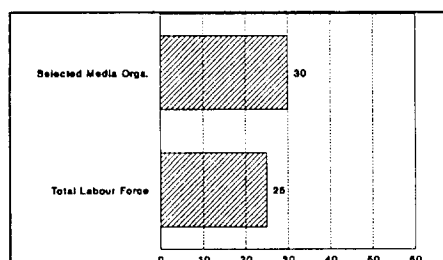
**Table I
Women's Employment in the Media
1990-1995**



Spain

1990	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Radiotelevisión Española (RTVE)	12 131 3 547		26.0	24.5	5.0	66.8	251	30	10.7
Radiotelevisión de Andalucía (RTVA)	779 260		33.4	62.5	8.4	60.7	28	2	6.7
Radiotelevisión de Galicia (RTVG)	742 219		34.1	41.7	5.2	63.8	35	4	10.3
Radiotelevisión Madrid (RTVM)	498 234		39.6	60.0	13.5	75.2	9	2	18.2
Radiotelevisión Valenciana (RTVV)	578 166		31.2	31.6	10.1	50.0	14	2	12.5
Euskal Telebista	523 158		36.4	37.5	11.4	83.8	17	3	15.0
TV3 - Televisió de Catalunya	953 275		27.3	49.2	3.3	77.2	22	5	18.5
Canal + España	187 70		32.0	***	11.6	51.2	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Telecinco	109 51		31.4	100.0	12.5	72.2	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1994*									
<i>ABC</i>	1 354 334		59.5	n.a.	10.0	19.5	103	25	19.5
<i>El Mundo</i>	290 99		33.6	n.a.	5.9	43.6	34	9	20.9
<i>El Pais</i>	793 193		32.9	n.a.	5.1	31.8	60	9	13.0

*Senior Management excludes top management level (i.e. levels two and three only)



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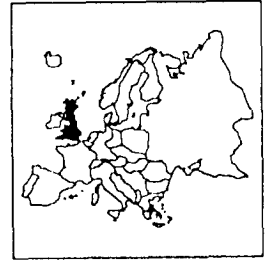
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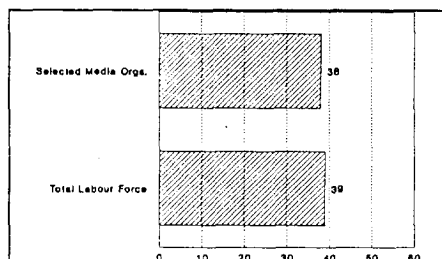
Table I
Women's Employment in the Media
1990-1995



United Kingdom

1990	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC)	29 096	11 981	51.1	32.6	6.5	73.7	634	108	14.6
Channel 4 Television	405	237	48.4	42.9	23.9	82.4	18	9	33.3
Anglia Television	840	333	37.1	23.3	5.4	82.0	24	1	4.0
Border Television	213	77	38.3	26.7	6.8	78.0	8	1	11.1
Central Independent Television	1 681	668	37.6	19.6	4.3	79.0	60	4	6.3
Channel Television	113	49	42.3	50.0	8.1	67.9	12	1	7.7
Grampian Television	244	94	44.0	25.0	4.7	83.3	12	4	25.0
Granada Television	1 389	573	41.7	18.5	4.0	79.3	31	7	18.4
ITV Group	1 017	346	36.8	34.8	7.6	74.6	26	3	10.3
Independent Television News (ITN)	1 044	285	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	38	5	11.6
London Weekend Television (LWT)	1 210	403	41.4	17.9	4.1	71.2	42	8	16.0
Scottish Television (STV)	728	256	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	19	2	9.5
Thames Television	2 186	830	42.8	28.3	3.0	75.7	43	3	6.5
Television South West (TSW)	378	137	35.1	11.8	6.3	64.4	26	3	10.3
TV-am	387	176	40.6	35.3	17.9	75.7	32	3	8.6
Television South (TVS)	905	316	38.9	27.9	6.0	64.2	25	5	16.7
Tyne Tees Television	639	230	37.5	8.9	5.7	68.6	21	2	8.7
Ulster Television (UTV)	247	84	34.0	5.6	4.0	67.8	7	2	22.2
Yorkshire Television (YTV)	1 181	408	42.5	24.2	5.3	72.2	28	3	9.7
Children's Channel	57	30	50.0	0.0	16.7	72.0	4	1	20.0

1990	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
MTV Europe	98	59	54.6	50.0	0.0	64.2	7	5	41.7
Sky Television	974	390	49.7	52.3	12.2	70.1	32	6	15.8
Superchannel	41	17	20.0	***	0.0	52.2	5	0	0.0
W H Smith Television	313	100	32.1	10.4	9.5	61.9	14	2	12.5
1994									
Express Newspapers: <i>Daily Express</i> , <i>Daily Star</i> , <i>Sunday Express</i>	1 438	356	22.7	n.a.	0.7	31.3	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
News International: <i>News of the World</i> , <i>Sun</i> , <i>Sunday Times</i> , <i>Times</i> , <i>Today</i>	3 625	893	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.



**Women's Share of Employment in above
Media Organisation/s and
in Total Labour Force**

1 = Total Staff; 2 = Total Women; 3 = % Women in Production/Editorial jobs; 4 = % Women in Crafts/Creative jobs; 5 = % Women in Technical jobs; 6 = % Women in Administration; 7 = No. of Men in Senior Management; 8 = No. of Women in Senior Management; 9 = Women's Share Senior Management; n.a. = non-available; n.i. = not included; *** = No Staff in this category.

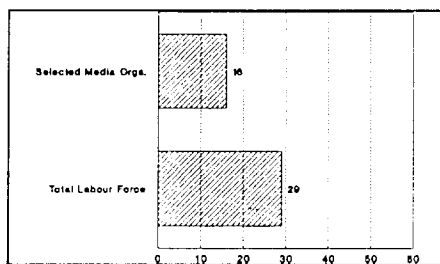
Table I
Women's Employment in the Media
1990-1995

Latin America



Argentina

1995	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Radiodifusora del Plata	135	22	21.5	***	4.4	27.8	12	2	14.3



Women's Share of Employment in above Media Organisation/s and in Total Labour Force

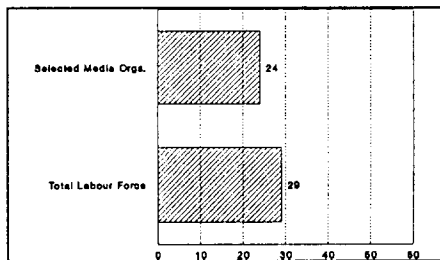
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**Table I
Women's Employment in the Media
1990-1995**



Chile

1994	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Radio Chilena	100	18	14.0	***	0.0	40.7	17	1	5.6
Radio Colo Colo	35	7	6.7	***	0.0	46.2	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Radio Portales	79	13	8.3	***	0.0	57.1	4	1	20.0
TV Nacional de Chile (Canal 7)	761	164	32.8	11.7	1.3	64.0	17	4	19.0
Red Televisiva Megavisión (Canal 9)	267	61	27.7	3.7	0.0	56.1	15	4	21.1
TV Universidad de Chile	372	109	37.3	18.0	1.5	60.8	7	1	12.5
<i>La Epoca</i>	105	33	35.0	33.3	0.0	46.2	6	0	0.0
<i>La Nacion</i>	538	133	21.1	23.1	7.0	33.6	33	3	8.3
<i>El Siglo</i>	40	9	4.6	28.6	***	54.6	1	0	0.0
Empresa El Mercurio: <i>El Mercurio, La Segunda, Las Ultimas Noticias</i>	1 570	393	37.0	12.9	1.5	40.5	110	30	21.4
Consorcio Periodístico: <i>La Cuarta, Que Pasa, La Tercera</i>	750	153	24.7	24.6	3.9	31.0	23	1	4.2
<i>Apsi</i>	27	13	33.3	66.7	***	70.0	n.i.	n.i.	n.i.
<i>Hoy</i>	36	18	33.3	100.0	***	75.0	2	2	50.0



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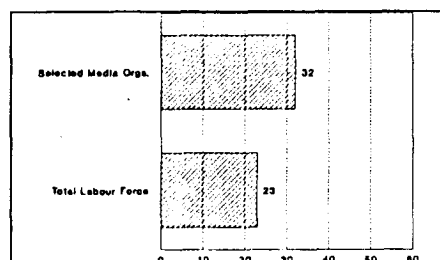
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**Table I
Women's Employment in the Media
1990-1995**



Colombia

1993	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Colombiana de Televisión	306	110	27.1	56.3	0.0	61.1	17	1	5.6
Inravisión - Canal 3	295	84	36.7	31.4	10.9	***	18	6	25.0
Audiovisuales	198	56	43.1	26.9	2.2	55.6	4	1	20.0
Globo Televisión	96	24	20.3	***	11.1	66.7	3	2	40.0
Noticiero C.M.I	178	51	35.6	16.7	14.6	36.4	8	4	33.3
Producciones Punch	226	79	37.5	35.3	0.0	69.6	8	2	20.0
Producciones Tevecine	474	176	42.1	27.3	0.0	67.4	6	2	25.0
Radio Televisión Inter Americana (RTI)	296	74	32.0	31.5	5.1	33.3	15	1	6.3
Telenoticiero Medio Día	66	21	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	4	2	33.3
Unidad de Televisión, Colcultura	65	28	51.1	0.0	0.0	66.7	6	2	25.0
<i>El Colombiano</i>	612	178	42.6	9.4	7.3	29.4	28	12	30.0
<i>El Espacio</i>	226	83	33.9	40.5	11.1	46.7	22	0	0.0
<i>El Espectador</i>	1 156	309	38.6	17.7	15.3	39.3	32	14	30.4
<i>El Heraldo</i>	305	112	33.6	23.7	7.7	50.0	18	6	25.0
<i>El Mundo</i>	158	57	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	7	2	22.2
<i>El Nuevo Siglo</i>	405	127	29.4	18.8	10.7	27.4	23	6	20.7
<i>La Prensa</i>	262	84	20.0	25.5	18.4	31.9	23	3	11.5



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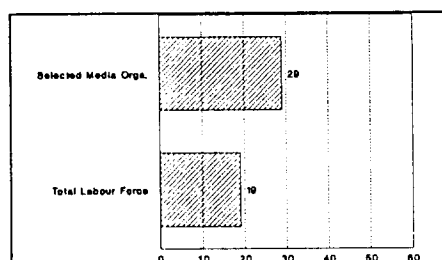
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**Table I
Women's Employment in the Media
1990-1995**



Ecuador

1993	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Radio Nacional del Ecuador	33	8	35.7	***	6.3	50.0	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Emisoras Gran Colombia	28	6	0.0	***	16.7	83.3	n.i.	n.i.	n.i.
Frecuencia Mil	14	4	50.0	***	0.0	100.0	n.i.	n.i.	n.i.
Radio Caravana	38	4	5.9	***	0.0	100.0	1	0	0.0
Radio Catolica Nacional	28	9	33.3	***	14.3	33.3	n.i.	n.i.	n.i.
Radiodifusora Marañon	8	3	0.0	***	***	100.0	n.i.	n.i.	n.i.
Radio Sonorama	15	4	33.3	***	0.0	60.0	n.i.	n.i.	n.i.
Radio Universal	11	3	***	***	20.0	50.0	n.i.	n.i.	n.i.
San Francisco AM	26	2	11.1	***	0.0	0.0	n.i.	n.i.	n.i.
Cadena Ecuatoriana de Televisión - Canal 10	143	44	33.3	12.5	2.1	74.2	8	5	38.5
Teleamazonas	66	17	33.3	***	0.0	66.7	6	0	0.0
<i>Hoy</i>	187	64	38.9	6.3	17.9	58.9	15	5	25.0
<i>El Universo</i>	462	143	35.6	13.8	1.9	71.2	31	12	27.9



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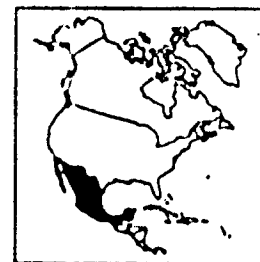
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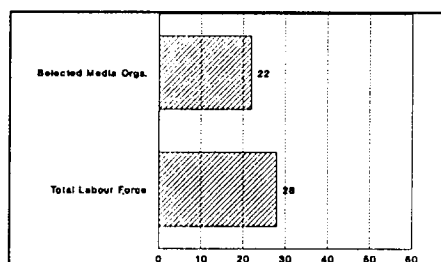
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**Table I
Women's Employment in the Media
1990-1995**



Mexico

1994	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Radio Mil	67	16	28.2	***	6.7	80.0	1	1	500
Stereorecy	74	27	36.4	***	0.0	57.5	8	2	200
Televisión Azteca	1 068	201	28.4	24.1	3.6	76.9	41	7	146
Canal 11	490	156	39.4	33.3	16.4	54.0	11	11	500
<i>Excelsior</i>	1 590	250	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	81	5	58
<i>El Financiero</i>	639	137	16.4	0.0	0.0	29.3	12	1	77
<i>La Jornada</i>	331	136	34.2	5.0	6.3	59.4	19	5	208
<i>Ovaciones</i>	489	89	24.6	0.0	0.9	42.4	17	3	150
<i>La Prensa</i>	618	91	7.1	7.1	4.8	30.3	19	2	95
<i>El Universal</i>	1 045	198	28.5	2.1	0.0	31.2	52	4	71
<i>Proceso</i>	100	33	0.0	0.0	***	77.4	6	0	00
Agencia Mexicana de Noticias (Notimex)	637	265	41.8	***	0.0	57.0	43	21	328



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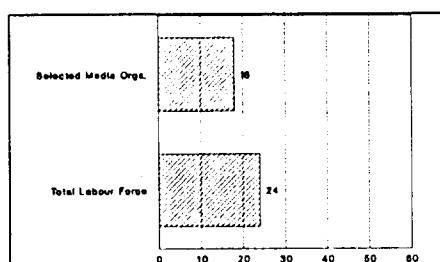
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**Table I
Women's Employment in the Media
1990-1995**



Peru

1993	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Radioprogramas del Perú	115	32	39.0	***	0.0	25.9	12	3	20.0
Radio Nacional del Perú	22	9	44.4	***	0.0	33.3	n.i.	n.i.	n.i.
Radio Agricultura	18	6	66.7	***	0.0	60.0	n.i.	n.i.	n.i.
Radio del Pacifico	26	6	0.0	***	0.0	66.7	n.i.	n.i.	n.i.
Radio Inca	9	3	0.0	***	0.0	75.0	n.i.	n.i.	n.i.
Radio Santa Rosa	10	2	0.0	***	0.0	50.0	n.i.	n.i.	n.i.
<i>l'expreso, Extra</i>	297	41	10.8	3.9	18.2	23.5	6	2	25.0
<i>Ojo</i>	349	54	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	5	1	16.7
<i>La Republica, El Popular</i>	200	25	3.2	12.0	18.2	21.2	25	0	0.0
<i>Oiga</i>	54	18	29.4	0.0	0.0	66.7	3	1	25.0



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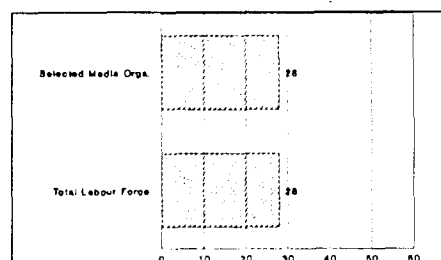
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**Table I
Women's Employment in the Media
1990-1995**



Venezuela

1994	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Radio Nacional de Venezuela	157	48	35.7	***	0.0	95.7	5	6	54.5
Radio Rumbos	83	25	25.6	***	0.0	54.6	3	0	0.0
Venezolana de Televisión	687	150	27.8	15.9	1.5	63.3	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
<i>El Nacional</i>	353	143	43.8	***	0.0	85.6	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
<i>El Universal</i>	658	128	23.8	0.0	0.0	62.5	52	11	17.5
Editora Triangulo: <i>Número,</i> <i>Número Financiero, Sibarita</i>	30	18	66.7	0.0	***	87.5	2	1	33.3



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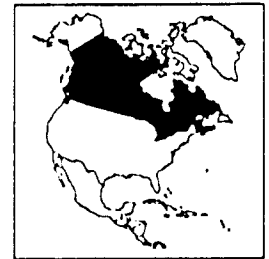
4 = % Women in Crafts/Creative jobs;
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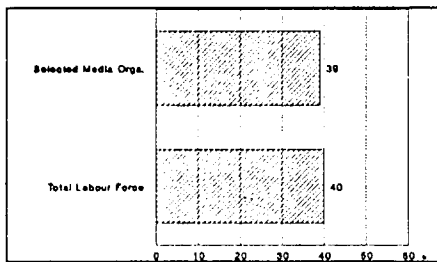
**Table I
Women's Employment in the Media
1990-1995**

Northern America



Canada

1994	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC)	11 757	4 637	n.a	n.a	n.a.	n.a	360	110	23.4



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Table 2

Other Recent Data on Women's Employment in Media. 39 Countries

	Employment category	Total no./ no. women	% women	Year
AFRICA				
Ghana¹				
Daily press (2 newspapers)	Journalists	107/24	22.4	1989
<i>Ghana News Agency (GNA)</i>	Journalists	130/21	16.1	1989
Kenya²				
Daily press (3 newspapers)	Journalists	250/25	10.0	1992
Nigeria³				
<i>Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria</i>	All staff	n.a.	35.0	1989
<i>News Agency of Nigeria (NAN)</i>	Journalists	127/8	6.3	1989
Senegal⁴				
Broadcasting & press (all)	Journalists	300/30	10.0	1990
Togo⁵				
<i>Radiodiffusion Togolaise</i>	Permanent staff	249/27	10.8	1986
<i>TV-Togolaise</i>	Permanent staff	142/23	16.2	1986
<i>Agence Togolaise de Presse (ATOP)</i>	Permanent staff	124/41	33.1	1986
Tunisia⁶				
Broadcasting, press & news agency (TAP)	Journalists	n.a.	22.0	1993

Table 2
Other Recent Data on Women's Employment in Media.
39 Countries

	Employment category	Total no./ no. women	% women	Year
ASIA				
Bangladesh				
<i>Radio Bangladesh</i> ⁷	All staff	1 738/83	4.8	1990
<i>Bangladesh Television</i> ⁷	All staff	1 155/71	6.1	1990
Press (107 newspapers) ⁸	Journalists	900/34	3.8	1989
China ⁹				
Broadcasting & press	Journalists/editorial	121 000/n.a. (est.)	30.0	1993
Hong Kong				
<i>Radio Television Hong Kong</i> ¹⁰	All staff	n.a.	37.0	1993
<i>Hong Kong Journalists Association</i> ¹¹	All members	502/200	39.8	1992
India				
<i>All India Newspaper Employees Federation</i> ¹¹	All members	4 500/200 (est.)	4.4	1992
Indonesia ¹²				
<i>Televisi Republik Indonesia</i>	All staff	6 500/1 950 (est.)	30.0	1990
Press (all)	All staff	12 652/2 115	16.7	1990
Japan ¹¹				
<i>Nippo: Japanese Union of Journalists</i>	All members	10 350/850	8.2	1992
Malaysia ¹¹				
<i>National Union of Journalists</i>	All members	1 412/418	29.6	1992
Pakistan ¹⁰				
<i>Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation (radio)</i>	All staff	4 500/114	2.5	1993
Philippines ¹³				
Broadcasting & press (8 organisations)	All staff	1 397/376	26.9	1989
Singapore ¹⁰				
<i>Singapore Broadcasting Corporation</i>	All staff	2 883/n.a.	43.0	1993

Table 2
Other Recent Data on Women's Employment in Media.
39 Countries

	Employment category	Total no./ no. women	% women	Year
Sri Lanka¹⁴				
<i>Sri Lanka Rupavahini Corporation</i> (television)	All staff	292/37	12.7	1990
Thailand¹⁵				
<i>First Army Station</i> (radio)	All staff	170/30	17.6	1987
<i>Channel 3, Channel 5</i> (television)	All staff	790/250	31.6	1987
Daily press (3 newspapers)	All staff	1 467/282	19.2	1987
EUROPE				
Denmark¹⁶				
<i>Dansk journalistförbund</i>	All members	6 500/n.a.	31.0	1992
Finland¹⁶				
<i>Suomen Journalistiliitto</i>	All members	8 800/n.a.	49.0	1993
Germany¹⁷				
<i>IG-Medien - Journalismus</i>	All members	10 800/3 402	31.5	1990
Iceland¹⁶				
<i>Íslands Journalistforening</i>	All members	n.a.	28.0	1993
Italy¹⁸				
<i>Ordine dei Giornalisti</i>	All members	14 103/2 927	20.7	1993
Norway¹⁶				
<i>Norsk journalistlag</i>	All members	n.a.	33.0	1993
Romania¹⁹				
<i>Societatea Româna de Televiziune</i>	All staff	2 728/943	34.6	1994
Slovenia²⁰				
<i>Radiotelevizija Slovenija</i>	Television journalists	n.a.	38.0	1992
Sweden¹⁶				
<i>Svenska journalistförbundet</i>	All members	12 900/n.a.	42.0	1993

Table 2
Other Recent Data on Women's Employment in Media.
39 Countries

	Employment category	Total no./ no. women	% women	Year
United Kingdom¹⁷				
<i>National Union of Journalists</i>	All members	30 946/10 611	34.3	1990
LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN				
Antigua and Barbuda¹⁰				
<i>Antigua & Barbuda Broadcasting Service</i>	Professional staff	n.a.	31.0	1993
Argentina²¹				
Television (14 stations)	All staff	3 585/632	17.6	1993
Daily press (4 newspapers)	Journalists/editorial	512/99	19.3	1993
Barbados¹⁰				
<i>Caribbean Broadcasting Corporation</i>	All staff	250/n.a.	32.0	1993
Colombia²²				
Radio (27 stations)	All staff	777/131	16.9	1992
Television (23 stations)	All staff	453/132	29.1	1992
Daily press (13 newspapers)	All staff	372/111	29.8	1992
Dominican Republic²³				
Radio (41 stations)	All staff	596/158	26.5	1993
Television (unspecified)	Programme-related	n.a.	31.0	1993
Daily press (9 newspapers)	All staff	742/164	22.1	1993
Jamaica¹⁰				
<i>Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation</i>	All staff	192/n.a.	38.0	1993
Trinidad and Tobago¹⁰				
<i>Trinidad and Tobago Television</i>	Permanent staff	152/52	34.2	1993
NORTHERN AMERICA				
United States²⁴				
Broadcasting	Journalists/editorial	35 539/11 747	33.0	1992
Daily & weekly press	Journalists/editorial	85 097/34 131	40.1	1992
Wire services & news agencies	Journalists/editorial	1 379/357	25.9	1992

Table 2
Other Recent Data on Women's Employment in Media.
39 Countries

	Employment category	Total no./ no. women	% women	Year
OCEANIA				
Australia ²⁵				
Commercial radio (147 stations)	Permanent staff	3 422/1 243	36.3	1991
Commercial television (46 stations)	Permanent staff	4 582/1 557	34.0	1991
New Zealand				
<i>Television New Zealand</i> ¹⁰	All staff	1 100/533	48.4	1993
<i>Journalists & Graphic Process Union</i> ¹¹	All members	2 600/950	36.5	1992
Tonga				
<i>Tonga Broadcasting Commission</i> ¹⁰	All staff	55/23	41.8	1993

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Women and Media: Associations and Networks

INTERNATIONAL

International Association for Women in Radio and Television

c/o Swedish Broadcasting Corporation
Oxenstiernsgatan 20
S-10510 Stockholm
Sweden
Tel: +46-8-784 1323 Fax: +46-8-784 2270
Contact: Christina Ruhnbro, President

International Women's Media Foundation

2775 S. Quincy Street # 470
Arlington
Virginia 22206
USA
Tel: +1-703 820 0607 Fax: +1-703 820 7719
Contact: Sherry Rockey, Executive Director

International Women's Tribune Centre

777 UN Plaza
New York
NY 10017
USA
Tel: +1-212 687 8633 Fax: +1-212 661 2704
Contact: Anne Walker, Executive Director

Isis International

PO Box 1837
Quezon City Main
Quezon City 1100
Philippines
Tel: +63-2 967 297 Fax: +63-2 815 0756
Contact: Marianita Villariba, Director

World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters (AMARC)

Women's Committee
3575 boul. St-Laurent #704
Montréal, Quebec
Canada H2X 2T7
Tel: +1-514 982 0353 Fax: +1-514 849 7129
Contact: Evelyn Foy, President

World Association of Women Journalists and Writers

Bosque del Molino 54
Herradura
Mexico 11000, D.F.
Tel: +52-5 589 7035 Fax: +52-5 520 0086
Contact: Gloria Salas de Calderón, Honorary Life President

AFRICA

Regional

*Anglophone West Africa Media Network for Female Journalists
(WAMNET)*

c/o PO Box 2638

Accra

Ghana

Tel: +233-21 228 282 Fax: +233-21 229 398

Contact: Akua Dansua, Chairperson

*Association des professionnelles africaines de la communication
(APAC)*

B.P. 4234

Dakar

Sénégal

Tel: +221 210 815 Fax: +221 220 042

Contact: Fatoumata Sow, Executive Secretary

Federation of African Media Women

– *Southern African Development Community (FAMW-SADC)*

c/o Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation

PO Box HG 444, Highlands

Harare

Zimbabwe

Tel: +263-4 498 610 Fax: +263-4 498 608

Contact: Jennifer Sibanda, Coordinator

FEMNET

PO Box 54562

Nairobi

Kenya

Tel: +254-2 440 299 Fax: +254-2 443 868

Contact: Joyce Mangwat, Coordinator

National

Egypt

Egyptian Women in Film

8 Gamet El Dewal El Arabia Street

Giza

Contact: Ekbal Baraka, Secretary General

Kenya

Kenya Media Women's Association

PO Box 30456

Nairobi

Tel: +254-2 226 292 Fax: +254-2 229 658

Contact: Eulalia Namai, Chairperson

Madagascar

Association des Femmes Journalistes Malgache

ASJM

PO Box 8699

Antanarivo

Tel: +261-2 25648/20238 Fax: +261-2 21397

Contact: Olga Rabenirainy, President

Tanzania

Tanzanian Media Women's Association (TAMWA)

PO Box 8981

Dar-es-Salaam

Tel: +255-51 29089/32181 Fax: +255-51 44939/44834

Contact: Pili Mtambalike, Secretary General

Tunisia

Alliance des Femmes Communicatrices

56 Boulevard Bab Bénat, 1008 Tunis

Tel: +216-1 260 834 Fax: +261-1 567 131

Contact: Amel Khamari, Secretary General

Uganda

Uganda Media Women's Association (UMWA)

Ministry of Information

PO Box 7263

Kampala

Tel: +256-41-257 252

Contact: Julie Gipwola, General Secretary

ASIA

Regional

Asian Network of Women in Communication (ANWIC)

14 Jangpura-B
Mathura Road
New Delhi 110014
India

Tel: +91-11 619 821 Fax: +91-11 462 3681

Contact: Jyotsna Chatterji, Coordinator

Women in Media Network of Central Asia (WIMNCA)

264 Kalinina Street, Apt. 10
Bishkek 720010
Kyrgyz Republic

Tel: +7-3312 247 453 Fax: +7-3312 247 453

Contact: Galina Petounina, Coordinator

Women's Media Network for Asia and the Pacific (WMNAP)

Gender and Development Programme
Asian and Pacific Development Centre
Pesiaran Duta
PO Box 12224
50770 Kuala Lumpur
Malaysia

Tel: +60-3 254 8088 Fax: +60-3 255 0316

Contact: Meena Shivdas, Coordinator

National

Bangladesh

Naripokkho
House 51, Road 9A
Dhanmondi R/A
Dhaka 1209

Tel: +880-2 819 917 Fax: +880-2 811 431

Contact: Arifa Hafiz, Mahbooba Mahbub, Coordinators

Cambodia

Women's Media Centre of Cambodia (WMC)
PO Box 497
Phnom Penh

Tel: +855 1881 0243 Fax: +855-232 7553

Contact: Yim Chandavy, WMC Representative

China

Capital Women Journalists' Association
15 Huixin Dongjie, Chaoyang District
Beijing 100029

Tel: +86-1-422 0755 Fax: +86-1-422 0544

Contact: Qing Huang, Vice-President

India

Women's Media Advocacy Group
c/o Women's Feature Service
49 Golf Links
New Delhi 110003

Tel: +91-11-462 9886 Fax: +91-11-461 1138

Contact: Akhila Sivadas, Coordinator

Indonesia

Kalyanamitra – Women's Communication and Information Centre

Jalan Sebret 10A
Pasar Minggu
Jakarta 12540

Tel: +62-21 780 6683 Fax: +62-21 809 4379

Contact: Sita Aripurnami, Coordinator

EUROPE

Malaysia

Pertama (Association of Women Journalists)
c/o Rohani Pa' Wanchik
Jelita, Berita Publishing
Jalan Liku 54100
Kuala Lumpur
Tel: +60-3-282 4322 Fax: +60-3-282 8490
Contact: Rohani Pa' Wanchik, President

Mongolia

Centre for Women Journalists
c/o Ardiin Erkh
Ikh Toiruu
Ulaanbaatar 11
Tel: +976-1 313 487 Fax: +976-1 314 021
Contact: Budraagcha Oyunchimeg, Deputy Director

Philippines

Women's Media Circle Foundation, Inc.
151-A Mahiyain Street
Sikatuna Village
Quezon City 1101
Philippines
Tel: +63-2 921 2222 Fax: +63-2-911 6239
Contact: Anna Leah Sarabia, Executive Director

Singapore

Association of Women for Action and Research (AWARE)
MediaWatch Committee
Block 5, Dover Crescent #01-22
Singapore 0513
Tel: +65-779 7137 Fax: +65-777 0318
Contact: Braema Mathi, Coordinator

Sri Lanka

Women and Media Collective
5 Jayaratne Avenue
Colombo 5
Tel: +94-1 584 350 Fax: +94-1 580 721
Contact: Kumudini Samuel, Coordinator

Regional

European Commission Steering Committee for Equal Opportunities in Broadcasting
Geneesheerstraat 9
1560 Hoeilaart
Belgium
Tel: +32-2 657 3726 Fax: +32-2 657 5586
Contact: Kate Holman, Coordinator

Pandora (European Network of Women in the Audiovisual Arts)
c/o Université des Femmes
place Quetelet 1A
1030 Bruxelles
Belgium
Tel: +32-2 219 6107 Fax: +32-2 219 2943
Contact: Violaine de Villers, Coordinator

National

Finland

Naistoimittajat ry: Finnish Women Journalists
Vuorenpeikontie 5 A 89
00820 Helsinki
Tel: +358-0 759 2064 Fax: +358-0 759 2064
Contact: Anne Hyvönen, Chairperson

France

Association des Femmes Journalistes
Maison de l'Europe
35 rue des Francs-Bourgeois
75004 Paris
Tel: +33-1 4297 4791 Fax: +33-1 4264 9108
Contact: Virginie Barré, President

Femmes du Cinéma et de l'Audiovisuel (FCA)

31 boulevard Pereire
75017 Paris
Tel: +33-1 4485 0557 Fax: +33-1 4485 0557
Contact: Michèle Le Blanc, President

Germany

Deutscher Journalistinnenbund
c/o Westdeutscher Rundfunk
Postfach 10 19 50
5000 Köln 1
Tel: +49-221 220 3925 Fax: +49-221 220 6216
Contact: Inge von Bönninghausen, President

Italy

Commissione Pari Opportunità della Federazione Nazionale della Stampa Italiana (FNSI)
Corso Vittorio Emanuele 343
00196 Roma
Tel: +39-6 686 1659 Fax: +39-6 687 1444
Contact: Isotta Gaeta, Coordinator

Netherlands

Netwerk MediAVrouwen: Media Women's Network
Postbus 26850
1202 JX Hilversum
Tel: +31-35 773 111 Fax: +31-35 773 627
Contact: Martha Hering, Secretary

Poland

Women in Film and Television (Poland)
c/o Telewizja Polska
International Relations
ul. J.P. Woronicza 17
00-999 Warszawa
Tel: +48-22 476 778 Fax: +48-22 440 206
Contact: Barbara Pietkiewicz, Coordinator

Russian Federation

Association of Women Journalists
c/o Ogoniok Magazine
Bumazhni Proiezd 14
Moscow 101456 GSP
Tel: +7-095 251 4647/238 3641
Fax: +7-095 943 0070/238 3641
Contact: Nadezda Azhgikhina, Irina Jurna, Chairpersons

Spain

AMECO (Asociación Española de Mujeres Profesionales de los Medios de Comunicación)
C/- Almagro 28
28010 Madrid
Tel: +34-1 347 7911
Contact: Mirentxu Zabalegui, President

AMPIA (Asociación de Mujeres Profesionales de la Industria Audiovisual)

Urbanización Monte Alina
c/- Poniente 62
Pozuelo de Alarcón
28223 Madrid
Tel: +34-1 715 5447 Fax: +34-1 351 1162
Contact: Margaret Nicoll, President

Associació de Dones Periodistes de Catalunya

Rambla de Catalunya 10
08007 Barcelona
Tel: +34-3 317 1920 Fax: +34-3 317 8386
Contact: Julia López, Coordinator

United Kingdom

Networking
Vera Productions
30-38 Dock Street, Leeds LS10 1JF
Tel: +44-1532 428 646 Fax: +44-1532 451 238
Contact: Alison Garthwaite

Women in Film and Television (UK)

Garden Studios
11-15 Betterton Street
London WC2H 9BP
Tel: +44-171 379 0344 Fax: +44-171 379 1625
Contact: Kate Wallbank, Administrator

Women in Journalism

10 Oak House
Trinity Road, London N22 4YT
Tel: +44-181 566 2908/889 7526 Fax: +44-181 840 4923
Contact: The Secretariat

LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

Regional

Agencia Latinoamericana de Información (ALAI)

Area de Mujer

Casilla 17-12-877

Quito

Ecuador

Tel: +593-2 528 716 Fax: +593-2 505 073

Contact: Irene Leon, Coordinator

Fempres – Red de comunicación alternativa de la mujer

Casilla 16-637

Santiago

Chile

Tel: +56-2 232 1242 Fax: +56-2 233 3996

Contact: Adriana Santa Cruz, Director

Isis Internacional – Servicio de información y comunicación de las mujeres

Casilla 2067, Correo Central

Santiago

Chile

Tel: +56-2 633 4582 Fax: +56-2 638 3142

Contact: Ximena Charnes, General Coordinator

National

Chile

Asociación Nacional de Mujeres Periodistas

Amunategui 31, 3°

Santiago

Tel: +56-2 698 7381/698 1349 Fax: 56-2 672 7149

Contact: Gloria Leiva Montenegro, President

Colombia

Fundación Cine Mujer

Apartado Aereo 27382

Bogota D.C.

Tel: +57-1 342 6184 Fax: +57-1 286 7586

Contact: Patricia Espinosa Alvear, Executive Director

Jamaica

Women's Media Watch

PO Box 344

Stony Hill

Kingston 9

Tel: +809-942 2203 Fax: +809-927 9363

Contact: Samere Tansley, Coordinator

Peru

Colectivo Radial Feminista

Movimiento Manuela Ramos

Av. Bolivia 921

Lima

Tel: +51-14 245 251 Fax: +51-14 234 031

Contact: Gabriela Ayzanoa, Coordinator

NORTH AMERICA

Canada

Canadian Women in Communications

372 Bay Street, Suite 1900

Toronto

Ontario M5H 2W9

Tel: +1-416 363 1880 Fax: +1-416 363 1882

Contact: Bev Dales, Executive Director

MediaWatch

517 Wellington Street West, #204

Toronto

Ontario M5V 1G1

Tel: +1-416 408 2065 Fax: +1-416 408 2069

Contact: Meg Hogarth, Executive Director

Toronto Women in Film and Television

20 Eglinton Avenue West, Suite 2206

Toronto

Ontario M4R 1K8

Tel: +1-416 322 3430/322 3648 Fax: +1-416 322 3703

Contact: Deborah Day, Executive Director

USA

American Women in Radio and Television

1650 Tyson's Boulevard, Suite 200

McLean

Virginia 22102

Tel: +1-703 506 3290 Fax: +1-703 506 3266

Contact: Kris Weiland, Coordinator of Association Services

National Association of Media Women

157 West 126th Street

New York

NY 10027

Contact: Eleanor Hayes, President

Women in Communications, Inc.

10605 Judicial Drive, Suite A-4

Fairfax

VA 22030

Tel: +1-703 359 9000 Fax: +1-703 359 0603

Contact: Gail Ellsworth, Executive Director

Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press

3306 Ross Place, NW

Washington

DC 20008-3332

Tel: +1-202 966 7783 Fax: +1-202 966 7783

Contact: Donna Allen, President

Women, Men & Media

Graduate School of Journalism

Columbia University

New York

NY 10027

Tel: +1-212 854 3411 Fax: +1-212 854 7837

Contact: Betty Friedan, Nancy Woodhull, Presidents

OCEANIA

Regional

PINA Pacwomen

Pacific Islands News Association

Private Mail Bag

Suva

Fiji Islands

Tel: +679 303 623 Fax: +679 303 943

Contact: Nina Ratulele, Administrator

National

Australia

Women in Film and Television (Australia)

PO Box 337

Fitzroy 3065

Tel: +61-3 417 2155 Fax: +61-3 417 7336

Contact: Sue Maslin, President

New Zealand

Women in Film and Television (New Zealand)

PO Box 9175

Wellington

Tel: +64-4 384 6405 Fax: +64-4 384 7406

Contact: Robin Laing, President

Papua New Guinea

Papua New Guinea Women in Media (PNGWIM)

c/o Divine Word Institute

PO Box 483

Madang

Tel: +675 822 937 Fax: +675 822 812

Contact: Sr Evangelista Nite

References and Bibliography

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