



The Curious Case of Women in Media

AMMU JOSEPH

KEYWORDS: GENDER, MEDIA, FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION, MEDIA PLURALISM, DIVERSITY

105

Introduction

The top three contenders for the ACJ Award for Investigative Journalism 2018 were all young women. Eventually Nileena MS received the award, instituted by the Asian College of Journalism with the support of the Media Development Foundation, while Nikita Saxena and Neha Dixit got special mentions. All three were recognised for their articles on politically sensitive—even explosive—subjects. Nearly 40 per cent of the 2018 Red Ink Awards recognising excellence in several different areas of journalism, instituted by the Mumbai Press Club, went to female journalists. Women constituted over a quarter of the winners of the Ramnath Goenka Excellence in Journalism Awards, instituted by The Indian Express Group, for outstanding work done in 2017 in various categories of coverage.

In October 2018, five women were among the six journalists who were attacked on the first day of the first pilgrimage to the Sree Dharma Sastha Temple in Sabarimala (Kerala) after the Supreme Court of India struck down the restriction on women of menstruating age entering the temple. The journalists were threatened, bullied, manhandled and almost prevented from doing their jobs by angry and violent protestors opposed to women's access to the temple complex. Before the temple reopened its doors in November, for the second time after the contro-



versial judgment, the Sabarimala Karma Samithi, a forum spearheading the agitation against women's entry, circulated an "appeal" to media outlets asking them not to depute women journalists to cover the pilgrimage. Implicit in the appeal was the threat of more violence. Under the circumstances, some editors took a considered decision not to assign women to cover the developments at Sabarimala. While their motivation was no doubt to save female staff from further dangers, the end result was that at least some women journalists were deprived of the opportunity to report from "ground zero" on one of the most significant stories of the year. However, in January 2019 a female cameraperson for a Malayalam news channel, Shailaja Abdulrahman, became a social media sensation after a leading newspaper published a photograph of her trying to hide her tears as she continued to shoot a Sabarimala-related protest in the state capital, Thiruvananthapuram, even after she sustained back and neck injuries from the assault by agitators.

At the end of a working day in September 2017, senior journalist and editor Gauri Lankesh was shot dead just as she was about to enter her home in Bangalore. It is highly likely that the execution-style murder was prompted by Gauri's political views, writings and activities. So, on the face of it, the crime would seem to have more to do with her work as a journalist and activist than with her gender. However, it has become increasingly clear that there is a special kind of hostility, even hatred—especially in certain quarters—towards women who are strong, have strong views, are unafraid of voicing their opinions and of taking action based on their convictions. And many women journalists tend to fall into that category. Lankesh was mercilessly trolled while she lived—and even after her death, by some who thought it appropriate to justify and even celebrate the murder. With her assassination, the violence appears to have moved from the virtual world into the real one.

In 2018, journalist Rana Ayyub's image was morphed on a pornographic video and distributed via social media. Her mobile number was also circulated in various forums. As a result, she was forced to change 52 SIM cards in the course of a year in an effort to avoid the trolling and doxing she was subjected to—mainly because of her investigative journalistic work relating to the communal violence in Gujarat in 2002 and her continued criticism of communal politics¹ and the practitioners thereof. In February 2019, journalist Barkha Dutt lodged several police complaints about the lewd photos she received on her phone after her tweets offering to help Kashmiris who were being harassed in some parts of the country in the aftermath of a suicide attack in Kashmir which killed over 40 members of the Indian armed forces. Online abuse and hate speech have, of course, become occupational hazards for journalists of both sexes across the world. However, while men are generally attacked



on professional grounds, their female colleagues often have to endure personal attacks, including references to their bodies (and parts thereof) and sexual lives (as imagined by the sick minds of their tormentors), as well as actual threats of violence, particularly sexual violence. The recent experiences mentioned above were not the first for Ayyub and Dutt, and a number of other women journalists across the country have survived similar traumatic experiences. After the slaying of Gauri Lankesh, some women journalists have even been warned that they would suffer a similar fate if they did not mend their ways.

In October 2018, the genie of sexual harassment in media workplaces was let out of the bottle it had been confined in for decades by the second #MeToo wave to hit India within a year. Exposés by a few survivors about unacceptable behaviour by bosses or colleagues in the media and entertainment industries led to unprecedented outrage about the widespread prevalence of the problem, indignation at the impunity hitherto enjoyed by several perpetrators, as well as some unexpected remedial action by at least a few organisations. The resignation of a well-known journalist turned politician, a member of the upper house of Parliament serving as a minister in the Government of India—after days of attempted bluster and bravado—signalled that even the high and mighty may no longer be able to get away with sexual delinquency. Of course, speaking out invited the inevitable backlash, with victim blaming, slut shaming and professional isolation used to punish women who dared to go public with their experiences and to intimidate and warn others. Besides flatly denying the allegations, some of the more powerful among the accused men added insult to injury by slapping criminal defamation cases and civil suits on their accusers.

In April 2019, the Network of Women in Media, India (NWMI), announced that the third NWMI Fellowship for Women Journalists was being conferred on a 26-year-old independent journalist, Marouf Gazi, based in Srinagar, Kashmir. The fellowship, voluntarily funded by network members, is meant for promising young women journalists working in challenging situations, remote areas or conflict zones, often without regular pay or proper equipment. Young women from Adivasi,² Dalit³ and religious minority communities in particular face immense hardships while trying to be journalists. The first fellowship was awarded in 2017 to 27-year-old Jayanti Buruda, an Adivasi journalist from Malkangiri district, Odisha. One of 11 siblings, Jayanti completed her journalism course at the Central University of Odisha, Koraput, 150 km away from her home in Malkangiri, one of the most underdeveloped districts in the state. She is the first female journalist in her town, encouraged to study by her father who was himself denied the privilege of schooling.



The 2018 fellowship went to 22-year-old Ambika Raja, then a trainee reporter with the *New Indian Express* in Kozhikode, Kerala. She has been wheelchair-bound since 2014, when she sustained a spinal cord injury in an accident. Despite this major set-back that left her paraplegic, she went on to study at the Asian College of Journalism (Chennai) and pursue a career in the news media. Marouf Gazi, based in a state that has experienced violent conflict for several decades and remains a challenging, often dangerous, place for journalists to work in, has been writing on a wide range of topics, including human rights and political resistance by Kashmiri women. The fact that the number of fellowship applications, as well as the number of places from which they have been received, have been steadily rising (to 28 applications from 10 states in 2019) indicates that young women across the country are determined to overcome multiple disadvantages and difficulties to pursue their dream of becoming journalists.

I have book-ended the above accounts with obviously "positive" stories about female journalists in India. However, even the apparently negative ones provide glimpses of positive developments: they reveal the evolving roles of women in the media, while also highlighting the attendant challenges they face and tackle in different ways. For example, the fact that several women were among the journalists deputed to cover the Sabarimala story indicates that many are very much out there, in different parts of the country, reporting hard news, including tense and potentially violent situations. Similarly, while sexual harassment in media workplaces has evidently been a serious problem for a long time, the silence has now been broken. The women journalists who have dared to go public with their experiences, not just risking but also enduring backlash of various kinds, have thereby ensured that the issue can no longer be ignored. And the flip side of the online abuse targeting women is the fact that they are evidently seen to be important enough for trolls (and their handlers) to persecute them. The close links between freedom of expression and gender equality and balance in the media are rarely acknowledged in discussions on media freedom or gender equality or even gender concerns vis-à-vis the media. Yet it is surely obvious that in order to truly enjoy freedom of expression, human rights and gender equality, people—including women, men and LGBTQI⁴ persons—must be equally able to participate in the media (in multiple roles and at multiple levels), to express themselves through the media, and to determine the nature and content of the media.



Media pluralism and gender

In recent years, I have been increasingly interested in the relationship between gender and media pluralism—an essential part of freedom of expression. Media pluralism was traditionally equated with 'the existence of the greatest possible number of newspapers, magazines and periodicals reflecting the widest possible range of opinion within the community' and 'the end of monopolies of any kind.'¹⁵ A more recent working definition describes it as 'the scope for a wide range of social, political and cultural values, opinions, information and interests to find expression through the media.'¹⁶ Accordingly, diversity is clearly an integral element of media pluralism, with newer, broader interpretations of pluralism highlighting the imperatives of diversity in general and inclusiveness in particular.

Media pluralism is intrinsically about enabling the presence of a range of voices, values and perspectives in the media and thereby facilitating inclusive public debate, generating open discussion between various sub-groups and systems within a society, and reflecting diverse interests and concerns. This is of crucial importance because:

a society's most inclusive conversations with itself are conducted through the media. If those media do not reflect society in all its facets, all its complexity, that conversation becomes distorted and simplistic in ways that nourish intolerance.⁷

109

As a recent, official document relating to media pluralism in Europe puts it, 'If media freedom provides the possibility to express oneself and to access information, then media pluralism is the degree of outreach of this freedom—the outcome being that every group in a society can enjoy this freedom.'⁸

Gender balance is an obvious prerequisite for pluralistic media that reflect the diversity of any given population. The Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) was a front-runner among freedom of expression organisations when its 2002 gender policy explicitly stated that 'gender equality is intrinsic to a pluralistic and diverse media.'⁹ Unfortunately, the fact is that in much of the world, and certainly in India, gender balance is still sorely missing from any aspect of the world of media.

India is known as the world's largest newspaper market, with well over a lakh (114,820) registered publications of which almost 17,000 (16,993) are newspapers, nearly 8000 of which are paid newspapers (which is apparently a world record). There are more than 900 functioning television channels here, private and public (883 private and 34 from the public/state broadcaster Doordarshan). Nearly half the



private channels are news channels. There are dozens of news websites offering original content. And there is also the state/public broadcaster All India Radio (unfortunately the 350 operational private FM Radio stations and 238 Community Radio Stations are still not permitted to broadcast their own news programmes). This proliferation of multiple forms of media would suggest that, going by traditional definitions of media pluralism, India is doing well. However, in terms of diversity and inclusiveness in general, and gender balance in particular, it is definitely not.

Of course, the first obstacle to ascertaining the situation in India is the relative absence of research on the subject, especially quantitative studies. However, some systematically gathered data is available on women's presence in the Indian media workforce, as well as the representation of women in Indian media content as sources of news, information and opinion. While some recent depictions of female journalists in the movies and entertainment television suggest a preponderance of women in present-day media, this popular perception is not borne out by statistics. Unfortunately, the available data is a few years old and in dire need of updating, but it still serves as a useful baseline.

Women in the newsroom

The 2011 Global Report on the Status of Women in the News Media,¹⁰ covering over 500 media companies in nearly 60 countries, including India, revealed that, despite the growing and visible presence of many successful, high profile and highly regarded media women, both internationally and in India, the overall situation is far from encouraging in most parts of the world. These are some of the main findings of the 2011 study, which covered 17 news companies in India:

- Men outnumbered women by 4:1 among all employees (journalists and other categories) of the surveyed news companies in India. Globally, women comprised about one third of the total media workforce.
- Less than a quarter (23.5 per cent) of Indian journalists was female. The corresponding global figure was around a third (36 per cent).
- Women made up approximately one fifth (21 per cent) of the governance structures of the Indian news companies surveyed (as members of company boards of directors, for instance). It must be noted, however, that the governance figure for India does not necessarily indicate professional upward mobility since many women here join governing boards as members of proprietorial families rather than on the basis of merit,



qualifications or experience (exceptions notwithstanding). The corresponding figure across the globe was 25.9 per cent or a little over a quarter.

- Less than 14 per cent of the top management level (publishers, CEOs and others in charge of running media companies) comprised women. That was about half the global average of 27.3 per cent.
- Less than a quarter (23.3 per cent) of the positions in senior management (news directors, editors-in-chief and so on) was occupied by women. The corresponding global figure was 38.7 per cent or well over a third.
- Women constituted no more than 28 per cent (between a quarter and a third) in any of the occupational categories and levels of the news companies surveyed in India. The global situation was markedly better (though still not balanced), with women comprising 41 per cent of senior professionals, 38.7 per cent of senior management and 36.1 per cent of junior professionals.

A year-long study by the New Delhi-based Media Studies Group India found that in 2012 female journalists represented a tiny 2.7 per cent of the total number of journalists at the district level.¹¹ The survey covered 14,278 accredited journalists working in 255 districts of 28 states (approximately 40 per cent of the total number of districts in the country). Six states and two union territories were found to have no district-level accredited women journalists at all. Furthermore, a 2014 survey¹² which examined the Delhi editions of four leading newspapers over three months revealed that 73 per cent of the 8,681 articles in the sample were written by men, while women contributed to just 27 per cent of the articles. In other words, for every one article written by a woman, there were about three pieces written by men. Significantly, male bylines dominated both the front page and the editorial/op-ed pages of all the papers.

Women in public service broadcasting

Figures pertaining to women's presence in the country's state, supposedly public, broadcasters are also quite discouraging. Prasar Bharati, the notionally autonomous corporation overseeing the public television (Doordarshan) and radio (All India Radio) networks, did have a woman chairperson not long ago (Mrinal Pande, a distinguished editor and writer), but the 13-member board she presided over till April 2014 included only one other woman: a politician, not a media professional. In early 2019, the board, with just nine members (and four vacancies),



included only two women, a Bollywood actor as a part-time member and the Director General of Doordarshan as an ex-officio member—again, no female media professional.¹³ Two years later, in January 2021, there were still only two women on the board, a Bollywood actor and a politician who is also, apparently, a fashion designer—both part-time members.

Doordarshan (DD) and All India Radio (AIR) did have female Directors General (DG) a few years into the new millennium, both appointed in 2009 after decades of male leadership. Of them one was a career broadcaster who joined the radio network as a programme executive, worked her way up over 25 years, and retired in 2011 after two years as DG, AIR. The current DG of DD (a man) presides over an overwhelmingly male directorate general, with just three women among the total of 29 senior officers in January 2021.¹⁴ The unfortunate reality is that there are still few women in senior jobs in the public broadcasters. In 2015 the situation in All India Radio was as follows:¹⁵

- Of the 11 names then listed under senior programme management, only three (27 per cent) were women.
- Of the 19 senior management posts in engineering, only 13 were then identified by name and just one of them was a woman (less than eight per cent).
- Of the 60 senior administrative personnel, only 11 (18 per cent) were women.

There has evidently been little improvement in the intervening five years. There was only one identifiable woman among the total of six senior programme managers and one out of a total of seven senior engineers in January 2021. No data was available on the situation among senior administrative managers.¹⁶

There has traditionally been a gender deficit in India's existing media regulatory bodies (official and otherwise) as well. Unfortunately, the situation has not improved much in recent times.

- The Press Council of India makes it difficult to figure out who is who among the members of the Council in the current, 13th term,¹⁷ but after scrolling through various gazette notifications in Hindi and English, it appears that of the 18 working journalist members (editors and others) in the Council, not one is a woman; of the eight other members, only two are women: a Member of Parliament and the nominee of the University Grants Commission.
- The Telecom Regulatory Authority of India (TRAI),¹⁸ with jurisdiction over the telecommunications as well as broad-



casting industries, had 24 members in 2019, among them just one woman. Even that lone woman had disappeared by 2021.

- The News Broadcasters Association,¹⁹ a self-regulatory body comprising some of the leading private television news companies, currently has ten directors on the board, of whom three are women.
- The president of the Editors' Guild of India²⁰ is currently a woman, but of the 15 members of the Executive Committee, only two are women.

Women and online media

The proliferation of Internet-based media and the opportunities that have opened up due to digital technologies have certainly provided women journalists with more options, even in terms of becoming media entrepreneurs. However, the assumption that the rapidly evolving media and information environment, facilitated by the apparently incessant innovations in information and communications technologies (ICTs) over the past couple of decades, has significantly democratised the media space is questionable.

Many believe that the Internet and digital technology have breached the boundaries of availability and access to such an extent that media pluralism is no longer as vital an issue as it once was or, at least, that it is pertinent only to the "old" media, which are no longer central in the present scheme of things. However, from a gender diversity standpoint, the picture is not all that rosy, mainly—but not only—due to continuing gender-based differences in access to information and communication technologies in many parts of the world, including India.

According to a 2018 study by LIRNEAsia,²¹ an information and communications technology policy think tank, India has the highest gender gap in mobile phone ownership amongst 18 comparable countries across the world, and ranks among the lowest in women's access to the Internet. A 2018 Pew Research Center survey²² revealed that not only were men more likely than women to own smartphones in India, but the gap had widened significantly in the five years since the previous survey. So Indian women as a whole clearly lag behind in Internet and social media usage. There is also some evidence that the under-representation of women in traditional news media has been carried over into the virtual news world, barring a few honourable exceptions. In addition, it is important to note that women around the world, including India, who do have access to the Internet and social media, report that they are bombarded by a culture of misogyny online, including aggressive, often sexualised hate speech, direct threats of violence, harassment, and



revenge porn involving non-consensual use and circulation of personal/private information and images, prompting at least some of them to exit social media.

Women in the news

Turning to the representation of women in the content of news media, the Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP)²³ is the world's longest-running and most extensive research on gender in news media, conducted every five years since 1995. While the 2010 edition covered 108 countries across the world, the 2015 edition covered 114 countries. Both included India, where the NWMI coordinated the monitoring. The monitoring exercise in India in 2015 covered print, TV and Internet news, not news on radio or Twitter.

What is particularly disturbing about the findings of the latest available GMMP²⁴ is that, after excruciatingly slow but nonetheless steady progress in the representation of women in the 15 years from 1995 to 2010, there had evidently been stagnation and even backsliding over the five years between 2010 and 2015. These are just a few of the many interesting findings of the 2015 survey, which are available online:

- Globally women made up only a quarter (24 per cent) of the persons heard, read about or seen in newspaper, television and radio news in 2015, exactly as they did in 2010: in other words, there was no improvement over the five years.
- The overall presence of women in the Indian news media in 2015 (print and television) was 21 per cent: lower than the global average and lower than the 2010 figure for India (22 per cent).
- Globally women's relative invisibility in traditional news media had crossed over into digital news delivery platforms: in 2015, only 26 per cent of the people in Internet news stories and media news Tweets combined were women.
- At 36 per cent, women appear to be better represented in Indian news websites (i.e. Internet news) than in traditional media but this figure does not include Tweets.

A recent study undertaken by the NWMI²⁵ is also relevant in this context even though it is not directly related to print media. Television news channels in India regularly feature panel discussions with spokespersons and experts to analyse and debate current events and issues. Women are invariably under-represented in these forums. Over the past few years the issue of "manels"—men-only panels—has come to the fore internationally, with a popular blog ("Congrats! You Have an All-Male



Panel") calling attention to the all-too-common phenomenon and several other initiatives, such as @genderavenger and manpanels.org, attempting to raise awareness and encourage corrective action. In India, too, several panels on important platforms and conferences have been called out for being all-male panels or manels, as they are now called.

However, NWMI members from across the country felt the need to conduct a systematic monitoring of TV news channels to establish whether or not the general impression of the prevalence of "manels" was a fact. The research exercise, undertaken in the summer of 2017, aimed to collect and collate information on the participation of women—as anchors/ interviewers and as discussants/respondents—in panel discussions during prime-time news bulletins and popular talk shows on TV news channels broadcasting from different parts of the country.

Conducted over one full month (22 April to 21 May 2017), the study examined programmes aired by 28 channels in 12 languages: six in English, four in Hindi and 18 in various other Indian languages (Gujarati, Punjabi, Urdu, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Bangla, Odiya, Asamiya and Marathi). One prime-time news show and one top weekly talk show were reviewed for each channel.

The study revealed that nearly three quarters of the news anchors were men (72 per cent). The imbalance was highest in Hindi language channels, where men constituted about 89 per cent of the anchors. English channels fared well with almost as many female as male anchors. Panellists were also found to be overwhelmingly male at 86 per cent, with women at a little less than 14 per cent and transgender (TG) panellists constituting a miniscule 0.2 per cent. Interestingly, Hindi channels fared better here, with women panellists at 23.5 per cent, compared to English at just 17 per cent and the average for other Indian language channels at a dismal 10 per cent.

The under-representation of women among anchors as well as panellists in most Indian television channels indicates that gender equity in the newsroom remains a distant goal. It is clear that the only thing standing in the way of more diverse voices being heard in media debates on current affairs is the attitude of decision makers in the media. The day they recognise that it is important for the public in a democracy to have a thorough, holistic understanding of current events and issues so that they can be active, well informed citizens, they will be able to ensure that their programming includes a wider range of voices. The problem is not a dearth of experience and expertise among women and other presently under-represented groups. The problem is that media decision makers do not appear to appreciate and accept the importance of diversity. What they need to understand is that the scarcity of female



experts and opinion leaders sharing their perspectives on current events and issues of concern to society in the media actually deprives audiences of the knowledge and perspectives of one half of society.

Conclusion

Women and media, gender and media, can no longer be seen or dismissed as niche issues. They are and must be acknowledged to be centrally connected to human rights and fundamental freedoms. The following timeless quotations sum up the reasons why it is important for all those concerned about freedom of expression and media freedom, on the one hand, and gender equality and justice, on the other, to continue to focus on gender and the media.

'Institutions that are not changed cannot become agents of change. Just as gender has to be mainstreamed in government it has to be mainstreamed in the media.' (Editorial in daily paper brought out by gender/media activists during the Beijing Plus Ten review meeting at the UN, New York, March 2005)

'What, in the end, could be more central to free speech than that every segment of society should have a voice?' (Justice Athalia Molokomme, former Attorney General, Botswana)

'When every voice counts we can stop counting the voices.' (Colleen Lowe Morna, Special Advisor and former Chief Executive Officer, Gender Links, South Africa)

Endnotes

¹ Politics that attempts to construct religious or ethnic identities, incite strife between people identified as different communities and stimulate communal violence between those groups.

² Indigenous people belonging to different tribes, most of who continue to live in remote, impoverished areas of the country.

³ Literally "broken people", earlier known as "untouchables", who traditionally occupied the lowest rungs of the rigid, hierarchical caste system.

⁴ Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans-sexual, Queer, Intersex.

⁵ Declaration of Windhoek, 3 May 1991.

⁶ Final Report of Independent Study on Indicators for Media Pluralism in the Member States: Towards a Risk-Based Approach, K.U. Leuven (ICRI), Jönköping International Business School – MMTC, Central European University – CMCS, Ernst & Young Consultancy – Belgium, July 2009.

⁷ Mark Thompson. 2012. *Protecting media pluralism In Europe*. Open Society Foundations, 18 Dec.,



<http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/voices/protecting-media-pluralism-europe> [retrieved 29.03.21].

⁸ Center for Media Pluralism and Media Freedom. 2013. *European Union competencies in respect of media pluralism and media freedom - Policy Report*.

<https://ec.europa.eu/digital-agenda/sites/digital-agenda/files/CMPFPolicyReport2013.pdf> [retrieved 29.03.21].

⁹ Gender and the Media, Gender Links, MISA and GEMSA. 2005. *Better late than never? Audit of the Southern African Declaration on Gender and Development*,

https://genderlinks.org.za/wp-content/uploads/imported/articles/attachments/09290_audit_2005_-_communication-media.pdf [retrieved 29.03.21].

¹⁰ Carolyn M. Byerly and International Women's Media Foundation. 2011. *Global report on the status of women in news media*. Washington,

<http://iwmf.org/pdfs/IWMF-Global-Report-Summary.pdf> [retrieved 29.03.21].

¹¹ Women journos number just 2.7 per cent at district level, says survey. 2012. *Hindustan Times*, 5 May,

<https://www.hindustantimes.com/delhi/women-journos-number-just-2-7-at-district-level-says-survey/story-sdlkSovLvdOPDr3zJt3NJ.html> [retrieved 29.03.21].

Mohammad Ali. 2012. Conspicuous by her absence. *The Hindu*, 14 May,

<http://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-features/article3416531.ece?css=print> [retrieved 29.03.21].

Women's participation in Indian news media 2.7%. 2012. *Media Studies Group India*,

http://mediastudiesgroup.org.in/research/survey/survey_detail.aspx?TID=1 [retrieved 03.11.12].

¹² Manisha Pande. 2014. Where are the women? *Newslaundry*, 5 Dec.,

<https://www.newslaundry.com/2014/12/05/where-are-the-women> [retrieved 29.03.21].

¹³ Website of Prasar Bharati,

<http://prasarbharati.gov.in/PBBoard.php> [retrieved 10.05.19].

¹⁴ Website of Doordarshan (Directorate General Doordarshan | Doordarshan,

Directorate General - Prasar Bharati [retrieved 11.04.21].

¹⁵ Website of All India Radio,

<http://allindiaradio.gov.in/WhoisWho/Pages/ProgrammeSeniorManagement.aspx> [retrieved 05.05.15].

Website of All India Radio,

<http://allindiaradio.gov.in/WhoisWho/Pages/SeniorEngineeringManagement.aspx> [retrieved 05.05.15].

Website of All India Radio,

<http://allindiaradio.gov.in/Oppurtunities/Tenders/Documents/admin%2027022015.pdf> [retrieved 05.05.15].

¹⁶ Website of All India Radio (Who Is Who – All India Radio),

Who-Is-Who Engineering AIR - Prasar Bharati, Who-Is-Who Programmes AIR - Prasar Bharati [retrieved 11.04.21].

¹⁷ Website of the Press Council of India,

https://presscouncil.nic.in/Content/8_1_CurrentCompositin.aspx [retrieved 19.01.21].

¹⁸ Website of the Telecom Regulatory Authority of India,

<https://www.trai.gov.in/about-us/whos-who> [retrieved 19.01.21].

¹⁹ Website of the News Broadcasters' Association,

<http://www.nbanewdelhi.com/board-of-directors> [retrieved 19.01.21].

²⁰ Website of the Editors' Guild of India,



<https://editorsguild.in/members/> [retrieved 19.01.21].

²¹ Karishma Mehrotra. 2018. Internet in India: gaping gender gap. *Indian Express*, 8 Aug., <https://indianexpress.com/article/technology/tech-news-technology/internet-in-india-gaping-gender-gap-5296818/> [retrieved 29.03.21].

²² Laura Silver. 2019. Smartphone ownership is growing rapidly around the world, but not always equally. *Pew Research Center*, 5 Feb.,

<https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2019/02/05/smartphone-ownership-is-growing-rapidly-around-the-world-but-not-always-equally/> [retrieved 19.01.21].

²³ Global Media Monitoring Project, <http://whomakesthenews.org/gmmp> [retrieved 29.03.21].

²⁴ The findings of the GMMP 2020, delayed from March to September by the Covid-19 pandemic, were not yet available in January 2021.

²⁵ Manels or Panels? Desperately seeking women in Indian TV news debates. 2019. *Network of Women in Media, India*, 01 Feb., <http://www.nwmindia.org/component/k2/panels-or-manels-desperately-seeking-women-in-indian-tv-news-debates-2> [retrieved 29.03.21].

²⁶ This chapter was originally written in May 2019 and updated in January 2021.

Bibliography

Ali, Mohammad. 2012. Conspicuous by her absence. *The Hindu*, 14 May, <http://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-features/article3416531.ece?css=print> [retrieved 29.03.21].

Byerly, Carolyn M. & International Women's Media Foundation. 2011. *Global report on the status of women in news media*. Washington, <http://iwmf.org/pdfs/IWMF-Global-Report-Summary.pdf> [retrieved 29.03.21].

Center for Media Pluralism and Media Freedom. 2013. *European Union competencies in respect of media pluralism and media freedom - Policy Report*.

<https://ec.europa.eu/digital-agenda/sites/digital-agenda/files/CMPFPolicyReport2013.pdf> [retrieved 29.03.21].

Gender and the Media, Gender Links, MISA and GEMSA. 2005. *Better late than never? Audit of the Southern African Declaration on Gender and Development*,

https://genderlinks.org.za/wp-content/uploads/imported/articles/attachments/09290_audit_2005_-_communication-media.pdf [retrieved 29.03.21].



-
- Manels or Panels? Desperately seeking women in Indian TV news debates. 2019. *Network of Women in Media, India*, 1 Feb., <http://www.nwmindia.org/component/k2/panels-or-manels-desperately-seeking-women-in-indian-tv-news-debates-2> [retrieved 29.03.21].
- Mehrotra, Karishma. 2018. Internet in India: gaping gender gap. *Indian Express*, 8 Aug., <https://indianexpress.com/article/technology/tech-news-technology/internet-in-india-gaping-gender-gap-5296818/> [retrieved 29.03.21].
- Pande, Manisha. 2014. Where are the women? *NewsLaundry*, 5 Dec., <https://www.newsLaundry.com/2014/12/05/where-are-the-women> [retrieved 29.03.21].
- Final report of independent study on indicators for media pluralism in the member states: towards a risk-based approach. K.U. Leuven (ICRI), Jönköping International Business School – MMTC, Central European University – CMCS, Ernst & Young Consultancy – Belgium, July 2009.
- Silver, Laura. 2019. Smartphone ownership is growing rapidly around the world, but not always equally. *Pew Research Center*, 5 Feb., <https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2019/02/05/smartphone-ownership-is-growing-rapidly-around-the-world-but-not-always-equally/> [retrieved 19.01.21].
- Thompson, Mark. 2012. *Protecting media pluralism in Europe*. *Open Society Foundations*, 18 Dec., <http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/voices/protecting-media-pluralism-europe> [retrieved 29.03.21].
- Women journos number just 2.7 per cent at district level, says survey. 2012. *Hindustan Times*, 5 May, <https://www.hindustantimes.com/delhi/women-journos-number-just-2-7-at-district-level-says-survey/story-sdlkSovLvdOPDr3zJPt3NJ.html> [retrieved 29.03.21].
- Women's participation in Indian news media 2.7%. 2012. *Media Studies Group India*, http://mediastudiesgroup.org.in/research/survey/survey_detail.aspx?TID=1 [retrieved 03.11.12].