

GENDER ISSUES

EQUALITY IN THE MEDIA

GUIDE FOR JOURNALISTS

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Introduction

Guide sheets, providing a gateway for journalists from all over Europe

The media are a mirror of society. They portray social reality.

Journalists have a responsibility as citizens to ensure that this portrayal is as egalitarian and fair as possible.

The guide sheets were written with this in mind: helping media professionals to address this challenge.

Guide sheets: a Council of Europe report on “Women and journalists first”

In December 2011, the Council of Europe’s Gender Equality and Human Dignity Department published a handbook entitled “[Women and journalists first](#)” prepared by Joke Hermes².

This 40-page handbook sought to alert media professionals to their responsibility in the fight for equality between women and men.

Although women form the majority in society, they account for only 25% in the media field.

Guide sheets produced as part of the Council of Europe’s MARS programme

The handbook by Joke Hermes has been taken up and reworked as part of the MARS (Media Against Racism in Sport) programme.

For publication on the MARS website, it has been summarised in the form of five practical guide sheets and fourteen examples found in the press across Europe.

These guide sheets do not replace the original handbook, but form an introduction, or “gateway”, to it.

² *Women and Journalists, First - A challenge to media professionals to realise democracy in practice, quality in journalism and an end to gender stereotyping.* Handbook prepared by Consultant Expert Ms Joke Hermes, PhD. Gender Equality and Human Dignity Department, Justice and Human Dignity Directorate, DGI - Human Rights and Rule of Law, Council of Europe, Strasbourg, Dec. 2011.

SHEET 1 - THE PLACE OF WOMEN IN THE MEDIA SPHERE

Women account for 53% of the world's population. Yet only 24% of the people who appear in media news reports are women.

- Diversify your address book

Journalists must **take advantage of quiet moments [to seek and develop contacts](#) taking diversity and gender equality into account**³.

When speed is of the essence, it is often difficult to find new experts or commentators on a particular subject.

- Communicate with colleagues

Sharing references and pooling contacts can make it possible to feminise all subjects, in accordance with the old adage "unity is strength".

Another journalist in the editorial team will probably have different contacts. On a broader plane, or even at the international level, women journalists tend to interview women more and to have an address book containing more female contacts.

- Question your assumptions

The media often see themselves as a reflection of the society in which they operate and as being objective and neutral.

[The result of this apparent](#) neutrality is that men are over-exposed in the media, while there is a real impression that no discrimination exists between men and women, no attention is being paid to it⁴.

Neutrality is an illusion and **reporting the facts is not enough**.

An item of information is something handled and processed by the media, constructed in accordance with professional and aesthetic norms and then interpreted by a recipient.

A media world without women means the reproduction and normalisation of inequalities in society.

Analysing one's production and adopting a pro-active approach are vital conditions for integrating more women into media productions.

- Point out absent feminisation, do not overlook feminisation

There are inequalities within certain professions: women account for just 6% of Air France pilots.

In this case there is [a lack of feminisation](#) in the society - which offers a good subject for a paper on inequality in society⁵.

³ APPENDIX A - Women experts are not so difficult to find - *Examples of Databases joining Women expert*

⁴ APPENDIX J - "Parity: Media do not do what they tell others to do" - *Express Yourself*, 08.03.12

⁵ APPENDIX C - "Formula 1. A woman back among the drivers" - *Ouest France*, 25.05.12

However, **women are nowadays present in almost every social sphere**: it is up to journalists to find them and express this reality in the media.

Never say “There are no women or no men in this kind of job”, because inequality does not mean non-existence.

The journalist can check whether the situation is one of lack of feminisation or not, and so avoid falling into the trap of missed feminisation, that is to say women are present, but because they do not fall into the usual categories, [journalists and the media “miss” them](#)⁶.

⁶ APPENDIX C - “Formula 1. A woman back among the drivers - *Ouest France*, 25.05.12

SHEET 2 - BUILDING A SOCIAL HIERARCHY

The media play a part in constructing reality and setting social norms. The space and attention given by the media to women and men help to standardise their respective positions in society.

- Identify men and women in the same way

Men are more often identified by all their characteristics (name, first name, profession, etc.).

Conversely, most of the persons who are not identified, or [identified only by their first name](#), are often women⁷.

Women interviewees are often addressed using familiar forms more than men are or identified in terms of their family situation ("daughter of...", "wife of...", etc.).

This unequal treatment has the effect of constructing a hierarchy in the discourse of all involved. Men are treated more deferentially, and what they say in the media carries a greater degree of legitimacy and expertise.

- [Do not victimise women](#)

The media often treat women as victims⁸.

Even if 90% of sexual assault victims are women, **the victims of crime or assault need not necessarily be seen from the gender standpoint.**

A crime may be linked to gender (rape, domestic violence, etc.)

But there are others which are no more reprehensible depending on whether they are committed against a woman or a man.

For example, it is fairly common to hear "How could anyone do that to a woman?" the underlying assumption being that the reaction would have been different if the victim had been a man.

The converse is also true: the cases of men raped in Bosnia shocked public opinion more than the rapes of women in the same country.

- Question women and men in the same way

In the media, women are more commonly witnesses, while men are often experts.

Men are placed in positions of authority in mixed-gender discussions. In Belgium⁹, [women have a greater presence when cultural questions are to the fore](#).

The closer the treatment comes to pure information, the less women are in evidence.

⁷ APPENDIX H - "The 2007 presidential elections: the workings of the campaign" Lesechos.fr, 17.11.06

⁸ APPENDIX L - "In the media, women are always victims" - TerraFemina.com - 14.09.11

⁹ *Quel genre d'infos ?* Rapport final GMMP 2010 - <http://www.quelegenredinfos.be/GMMP2010CF.html>

What women have to say can and should relate to all subjects, not be confined to "[feminine questions](#)"¹⁰.

Ultimately, seen against men's systematically "neutral, rational and expert" comments, those of women are far more than impressions, emotions or expressions of contrasting feelings.

- Men and women alike can discuss any subject

To a journalist, in principle "everything is interesting".

Self-censorship and mental barriers compartmentalise subjects which are in fact of relevance to both genders without distinction.

Often a woman journalist will be assigned to so-called feminine subjects - the home, education, health, etc.

A necessary adjunct to having more women in the media is the decompartmentalisation of those subject areas to which women in general, and women journalists in particular, are regularly assigned.

¹⁰ APPENDIX J - "Parity: Media do not do what they tell others to do" - Express Yourself, 08.03.12

SHEET 3 - BEWARE BODY STANDARDISATION!

- Seek information and nothing but information

Journalists must look for the information value of a woman or a man, not for her or [his](#) [“aesthetic” aspect or sexual potential](#)¹¹.

If one is talking about body mass index in connection with an airline, then it is justified to mention a man's or a woman's waist measurement or weight, because it constitutes information.

Comments by a journalist or other speaker of either sex (chosen by the journalist at the editing stage) on a woman's physique (eg. “and she's pretty too”) are to be proscribed as non-informative.

Nor should such comments be made about a man: indeed, they are not likely to be.

- Be neutral about physical appearance

A person's physical appearance is interpreted unambiguously.

For example, being fat will be synonymous with laziness. These prejudices are firmly rooted in society.

Journalists alone cannot change them.

They can refuse to bow to them in their own sphere of influence, the media.

Where physical appearance in the media is concerned, a woman is more likely to be overlooked as not conforming to the standards applicable.

- Distinguish between sexual freedom and sexy appearance

Sexual liberation, like financial independence, is among the aims of one [current of feminism](#)¹².

[Being “sexy” does not equate to freedom and independence](#)¹³.

Limiting oneself to sexy **women (or men) projects an image of a woman (or a man) as an object.**

Everyone must remain at liberty to exhibit or conceal his or her sexuality in public; it is for the media to understand this fact.

- Beware the cult of youth

Women on TV are younger than men.

In conjunction with the fact that they are twice as likely as men to be presented as victims, this leads to an image of women as “defenceless” and “fragile”.

¹¹ APPENDIX E - Women's voices for change newsbrief - Nov. 2011

¹² APPENDIX N - History, theories and present state of the feminist movement

¹³ APPENDIX G - “Female Chauvinist Pigs” or the Macho Women

Men seem to escape this in the media. Their maturity enables them to rely on their wisdom, whereas [women disappear from the media sphere as they grow older, unless they resort to cosmetic surgery](#)¹⁴.

For all these reasons, including a woman in a media production is a choice to be carefully thought about.

¹⁴ APPENDIX E - Women's voices for change newsbrief - Nov. 2011

SHEET 4 - "AND SHE'S A WOMAN!" WHEN SUCCESS BECOMES FEMALE

Fifty years ago there was some logic in publishing articles and comments about "the first woman...doctor/ pilot/ minister", etc.

Nowadays, it makes less and less sense to emphasise a woman's entry into a given profession, her promotion to a particular post or the spectacular results she has achieved.

- Underlining a woman's success may be a good thing

If the presence of a woman is an exception in a given context (not many women are CEOs), it may be of interest for the public to hear about it.

The information should then be placed in context, for example pointing out where barriers to women exist (eg. the "glass ceiling"), the way in which [this woman has overcome the obstacles, etc](#)¹⁵.

Mentioning the gender conveys information, but adding the adjective "female" is often superfluous.

In a profile of a woman CEO, illustrating the difficulties encountered by women in overcoming obstacles, [the word "female" is informative](#)¹⁶.

When interviewing a CEO from the social angle for example, the name and first name, or even a photo, should be sufficient. Expressly mentioning "female CEO" ("*femme PDG*" in French) is unnecessary in such a case.

If the information relates to a normal situation (for example, it is normal in our societies for a woman to head a large company or be appointed to the highest office of state), then the information should be treated as a normal circumstance, not as something worth mentioning.

Such comments as "Miss Germany" or "[It's a girl](#)" when announcing Angela Merkel's taking office are out of place¹⁷.

- or it may be a bad thing.

When information is given which detracts from a woman's professional credibility.

Any journalist can make readers/listeners interpret things negatively.

References to physique ("she's good-looking"), or [specific questions put only to women](#) (Canal+), tend to detract from a woman's functional legitimacy¹⁸, while men escape these specific aspects.

When the treatment differs depending on the person's gender.

¹⁵ APPENDIX I - Women & Media Awards in Switzerland

¹⁶ APPENDIX C - "Formula 1. A woman back among the drivers - *Ouest France*, 25.05.12

¹⁷ APPENDIX F - Angela Merkel became Chancellor in Germany

¹⁸ APPENDIX M - NKM and Belkacem on the Grand Journal programme: macho interview by Ariane Massenet *Lenouvelobs.com* – 09.03.12

It is important for journalists to be free of prejudice in dealing with individuals.

But women are more often [addressed by their first name or using the familiar "tu" form in the media](#)¹⁹.

As a general rule, it is important always to ask oneself whether the same comment or the same approach would have been employed with a man.

¹⁹ APPENDIX H - "The 2007 presidential elections: the workings of the campaign" - Lesechos.fr, 17.11.06

SHEET 5 - PRODUCING INFORMATION ABOUT MALE/FEMALE INEQUALITIES

As well as including gender equality and equal access to media productions, there should be a significant increase in subjects dealing with inequalities between men and women and gender issues.

- Feminism is also a “male issue”!

[Stereotypes, discrimination and prejudice are a societal problem](#)²⁰.

A problem for the whole of society, [not just for the victims](#)²¹!

No subject is essentially “gendered”.

It is a social construct which can be questioned.

[Like men, women must concern themselves with every subject](#)²²; and it must be possible for men to be assigned to covering so-called “female” issues.

Men and women alike have to deal with these questions if attitudes are to change.

- Keep up-to-date on the subject

Awareness of the problem of inequalities between men and women and of gender relationships is a good start.

Trying constantly to learn more about them is even better in changing working methods.

Producing **a report on discrimination against women is a good opportunity to refresh one’s knowledge or develop awareness, and subsequently to avoid falling into the facility trap or even thinking that the problem has been solved.**

[Producing and distributing a programme on discrimination can spark off others and lead to fairer kinds of treatment, over and beyond the question covered](#)²³.

- Think about one’s own blind spots, call oneself into question

Combating gender stereotypes requires a more developed professional reflexivity and close scrutiny of [ideas that are considered settled, of everyday routines](#)²⁴.

All of us have a standpoint from which it is very hard to escape.

It is important to analyse one’s own productions, discuss things with other people in order [to understand their views better and take their comments into account](#)²⁵.

²⁰ APPENDIX I - Women & Media Awards in Switzerland

²¹ APPENDIX D - Anonymous trolls regularly threaten female writers with rape - *The Observer*, 06.11.12

²² APPENDIX C - “Formula 1. A woman back among the drivers - *Ouest France*, 25.05.12

²³ APPENDIX B - Handy websites for training

²⁴ APPENDIX O - A woman engineer is all right, but a male midwife less so - *L’Express.fr* – 25.03.11

²⁵ APPENDIX I - Women & Media Awards in Switzerland

- **Be conscious of language**

Professional titles are increasingly feminised.

Because it sets out to be a reflection of society, journalism has a duty to play a part in disseminating these terms.

Naming things contributes to their acceptance and normalisation.

One may say or write “authoress, Madam Minister”, etc.

At a time of very frank debate, the best solution is still explicitly to ask [the interviewee what she wishes to be called](#)²⁶.

[Just as one studies at a “training school for nursing”, not at a “school for \(female\) nurses](#)²⁷”.

[The words employed are not neutral](#) and particular attention must be paid to them²⁸.

²⁶ APPENDIX C - “Formula 1. A woman back among the drivers - *Ouest France*, 25.05.12

²⁷ APPENDIX O - A woman engineer is all right, but a male midwife less so - *L'Express.fr* – 25.03.11

²⁸ APPENDIX K - EN IMAGE Rue 89 – *Rue 89* – 17.07.12

APPENDIX A **WOMEN EXPERTS ARE NOT SO DIFFICULT TO FIND** *Examples of Databases linking Women Experts*

The complaint is often made that women experts are so difficult to find. In a world in which men are appointed more easily than women to top positions, that sounds true enough. However, women can be found. For most European countries moreover there are expert databases online, which can be consulted to find names of women. Below are a couple of examples.

1. Belgium - www.expertendatabank.be

This database exclusively contains experts from minority groups (women, LGBT people, people with disabilities, people from foreign origin). With this project the Flemish Government wants to enhance their visibility in the media in a non-stereotypical context. Journalists and programme makers can consult the database as a tool to find experts in all kind of fields, from soil science to heart transplantation.

2. France - <http://voxfemina.asso.fr>.

Vox Femina is a tool to find new experts, to bring new perspectives to a story and to make women more visible.

3. Switzerland: www.femdat.ch

Femdat is a comprehensive Swiss database of women scientists and experts from various professions. <http://www.femdat.ch/C14/C1/femdaten/default.aspx>

4. USA - www.shesource.org

SheSource is an online braintrust of female experts on diverse topics designed to serve journalists, producers and bookers who need female guests and sources. SheSource includes spokeswomen from a variety of backgrounds, representing demographic and ethnic diversity as well as expertise in areas, ranging from security, the economy, and politics to law, peacekeeping, humanitarian crisis, and more. SheSource is a programme of the Women's Media Center and was co-founded by The Women's Funding Network, The White House Project and Fenton Communications to foster a more representative public discourse by increasing the number of women whose opinions are reflected in the news media.

5. Worldwide: www.huntalternatives.org

For women peace experts at
http://www.huntalternatives.org/pages/78_directory_of_women_experts.cfm

APPENDIX B HANDY WEBSITES FOR TRAINING

Just as databases are available online, there is a wide variety of teaching and learning materials for those who wish to be instructed or find tips, e.g. on how to write about sexual assault. More general information and examples are included in media-literacy programmes online.

1. GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

- 1.a Britain** - *Tackling Violence against Women and Girls: a guide to good practice communication* to support and inform government communication in the area of violence against women and girls.

http://www.wrc.org.uk/resources/tools_to_engage_and_influence/violence_against_women_and_girls/default.aspx

1.b Africa

Reporting gender-based violence. Inter Press Service (Africa), 2009

www.ipsnews.net/africa

2. GENDER MAINSTREAMING AND MEDIA LITERACY

2.a Women and Media in the Euromed Region.

Training manual (for journalists who wish to learn the basic elements and tools required for balanced treatment of women in the media). Part of the Euromed Gender equality programme. Enhancing Equality between Men and Women in the Euromed Region (2008-2011).

- 2.b** In partnership with **Media Smart**, a not-for-profit organisation, the British government launched a learning package for teachers to help children understand how the media can alter images to make them unrealistic, as well as the impact of these images on self esteem. This media literacy tool helps young people critically appraise and gain more realistic perceptions of the images they see. It explores how and why idealised images in advertising and the media are used to construct particular messages.

More information about the launch:

<http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/media-centre/news/media-smart>

More information about the campaign:

<http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/equalities/equality-government/body-confidence/>

More information about Media Smart and to download the learning package:

<http://www.mediasmart.org.uk/resources-body-image.php>

- 2.c** The **Canadian** Media Awareness Network offers handy examples and explanations for those teaching journalists or others about media stereotyping

<http://www.media-awareness.ca/english/issues/stereotyping/>

2.d UNESCO Gender sensitive indicators for the media

<http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/resources/publications-and-communication-materials/publications/full-list/gender-sensitive-indicators-for-media-framework-of-indicators-to-gauge-gender-sensitivity-in-media-operations-and-content/>

- 2.e *Portraying Politics. A Toolkit on Gender and Television***: produced in 2006 by a consortium of European public broadcasters and journalism organisations. The toolkit challenges journalists and programme-makers to reflect on the way they currently do things, and to think creatively about new possibilities. The video material is no longer available, but the text can be downloaded in English and German from <http://www.portrayingpolitics.net/>

APPENDIX C

"FORMULA 1. A WOMAN BACK AMONG THE DRIVERS OUEST FRANCE, 25.05.12

Emilie MOHAND-SAÏD

Maria de Villota went to Marussia last March. As a test driver she will not compete in the Monaco Grand Prix this weekend. Marussia/DR

There have been women F1 drivers. Not many. And none at all for the past 20 years. But the wheel is turning. The return of the ladies was marked by the signing of the Spanish driver Maria de Villota with Marussia in March.

While F1 appears to be a male stronghold, it has never been the sole preserve of the "stronger sex". Five women have already raced during the 20th century. The Italian Lella Lombardi drove most often, participating in 14 Grand Prix races in the early 1970s. Since 1992 and the brief appearance of another Italian woman, Giovanni Amati, there has not been one woman behind the wheel of an F1 car.

Prejudice

Two years ago, Frédérique Trouvé, Chairwoman of the FIA committee on women in motor sport (set up in 2009), predicted "the return of a woman to F1" even though, as she pointed out at the time, "there are still reservations about a woman's ability to race in Grand Prix". She proved right last March, when the Spanish driver Maria de Villota signed with Marussia.

"Things are changing a lot in the different stables", says Frédérique Trouvé. "For several years now there have been lots of women in the sport - in every department, and in important positions, including officials, team managers, engineers and so forth". So the simple image of the "pitbabe of the paddocks", a curvaceous caricature in logo-covered shorts, is a thing of the past.

Broaden the base

"The committee on women seeks to promote the participation of women in motor sport in general. Racing in F1 is the culmination of a driver's entire career, whether man or woman. The broader the participant base, the more opportunities there will be for women to be represented in the select, elite world of F1".

This is a view shared by Vincent Beaumesnil, sporting director of the ACO, who is more accustomed to the presence of women drivers in rally events: "Numbers are an important factor. It's not a question of machismo but rather one of promoting motor sport. Women have to be encouraged more. As compared with just a score of F1 drivers, there are about ten thousand at the lowest level. Opportunities to take part must be there from a very early age. You can already see it in karting; things are changing. There are more girls than ever before - brilliant ones too".

A driver's daughter

Everyone in the USA has heard of Danica Patrick. An Indycar driver, now with Nascar, she was expected to be the next F1 applicant. But in the end, Maria de Villota, the daughter of the driver Emilio de Villota, was the first woman to return to F1, 20 years later. "It's a dream come true", said the test driver after a few weeks with Marussia. "Those 300 kilometers last August during a test drive with the Lotus Renault F1 team changed my life".

Born into the sport, 32-year-old Maria de Villota learnt her skills in F3, on the Euroseries 3000 circuit and in Superleague Formula. Like her fellow drivers, she knows that "F1 is hard for everyone. The time clock rules. Getting beaten by a man or a woman makes no difference at the top level. We all have to work hard". But, as she recognises, "attitudes still have to change, among spectators and partners. Many of them are still reluctant to sponsor a woman. It's a question of time"

Women in F1 since 1950

Maria-Teresa de Filipis (Italy, 1958-59): 3 starts, 1 non-qualification, 10th in Belgium. Lella Lombardi (Italy, 1974-76): 12 starts, 2 non-qualifications, 6th in Spain. Davina Galica (Great Britain, 1976-78): 3 non-qualifications. Désiré Wilson (South Africa, 1980): 1 non-qualification. Giovanni Amati (Italy 1992), 3 non-qualifications.

COMMENTS

Information category - There are two interesting things here: 1. The journalist is covering a sporting subject (often a male preserve). 2. **It is a pity that it should actually be a woman writing about the absence of women among racing drivers. It gives the impression that only a woman is able to talk about discrimination against women and feminism.**

Missing feminisation - This article is really a case of missing feminisation - five women in the history of Formula 1, difficulty of finding women in coverage of this sport. The article seeks to understand why there are so few women F1 drivers.

Missed feminisation - Women are present in other positions in motor racing stables and at lower levels. Since the media coverage focuses on drivers or technical teams, what is presented is a man's world. This is an instance of missing feminisation. The article refers to it, but not much because it is not the main subject.

The adjective "female" - Here, mentioning the gender conveys information. Women drivers are very rare; there have been none for 20 years. A contract signed between a woman and a motor racing stable is the result of several persons' efforts to have more women in motor sport. Note also that the journalist talks (in the original French) of "*LA pilote*" and so feminises the sport.

APPENDIX D ANONYMOUS TROLLS REGULARLY THREATEN FEMALE WRITERS WITH RAPE

THE OBSERVER, 06.11.12

Vanessa THORPE / Richard ROGERS

Crude insults, aggressive threats and unstinting ridicule: it's business as usual in the world of website news commentary at least for the women who regularly contribute to the national debate. The frequency of the violent online invective or "trolling" levelled at female commentators and columnists is now causing some of the best known names in journalism to hesitate before publishing their opinions. As a result, women writers across the political spectrum are joining the call to stop the largely anonymous name-calling.

The columnist Laurie Penny, who writes for the Guardian, New Statesman and Independent, has decided to reveal the amount of abuse she receives in an effort to persuade online discussion forums to police threatening comments more effectively. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/profile/laurie-penny>

Women bloggers call for a stop to 'hateful' trolling by misogynist men

"I believe the time for silence is over," Penny wrote on Friday, detailing a series of anonymous attacks on her appearance, her past and her family. The writer sees this new epidemic of misogynist abuse as tapping an old vein in British public life. Irrelevant personal attacks on women writers and thinkers go back at least to the late 18th century, she says. "The implication that a woman must be sexually appealing to be taken seriously as a thinker did not start with the internet: it's a charge that has been used to shame and dismiss women's ideas since long before Mary Wollstonecraft was called "a hyena in petticoats". The net, however, makes it easier for boys in lonely bedrooms to become bullies."

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/blog+books/mary-wollstonecraft>

The cause has been taken up by New Statesman writer Helen Lewis-Hasteley, who invited other women to share their experience. "I wanted to have several writers addressing the issue at the same time because these threats are frightening but they are also embarrassing," she told the Observer. "I know many people will say that every commentator on the internet gets abuse, but what really came through to me when I was looking at this was the modus operandi of the attackers, which was to use the rape threat."

<http://www.newstatesman.com/blogs/helen-lewis-hasteley/2011/11/comments-rape-abuse-women>

Caroline Farrow, a blogger for Catholic Voices, points out she has nothing in common with writers such as Laurie Penny except her gender, but is subject to the same violent abuse. The wife of a vicar and "quite orthodox", Farrow decided to write under her own name and photograph to take responsibility for her views. "But the downside is that for some men this seems to make you a legitimate sexual target. I get at least five sexually threatening emails a day." One of the least obscene recent messages read: "You're gonna scream when you get yours. Fucking slag. Butter wouldn't fucking melt, and you'll cry rape when you get what you've asked for. Bitch."

<http://www.facebook.com/pages/Catholic-Voices/225450737506346?sk=wall&filter=12>"

Linda Grant, who wrote a regular column for the Guardian in the late 1990s, has stopped writing online because of the unpleasant reaction. "I have given it up as a dead loss. In the past, the worst letters were filtered out before they reached me and crucially they were not anonymous," said Grant. "What struck me forcibly about the new online world was the violence of three kinds of attitude: islamophobia, anti-Semitism, and misogyny. And it was the misogyny that surprised me the most. British

national newspapers have done little, if anything, to protect their women writers from violent hate-speech."

The author and feminist writer Natasha Walter has also been deterred. "It's one of the reasons why I'm less happy to do as much journalism as I used to, because I do feel really uncomfortable with the tone of the debate," she said. "Under the cloak of anonymity people feel they can express anything, but I didn't realise there were so many people reading my journalism who felt so strongly and personally antagonistic towards feminism and female writers."

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/profile/natashawalter>

Lanre Bakare, who monitors the comments on the Guardian's Comment is Free website, said he was constantly looking out for attacks on female commentators on any subject. "It can be on European finance and there will still be some snide anti-woman remarks, but there are certain subjects, like abortion or domestic violence, which bring out trolls and then it becomes really unpleasant. Of course, if anyone is found making threats of sexual violence they are banned from the site instantly."

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/profile/lanre-bakare>

Lewis-Hasteley has also been surprised by some of the reaction to the growing campaign to protect women writers from this verbal abuse. "Someone asked me if I didn't realise that I wasn't really going to be raped. But the threat of sexual violence is an attack in itself, and some commentators have their Facebook pages searched, and their home addresses tracked. It's a real feeling of being hunted by these people."

Susie Orbach, a psychotherapist, psychoanalyst and writer, said: "The threat of sexual violence is violence itself, it's a complete violation and it's meant to shut the people up. It's hateful and it raises the question, what do these men, or the people who are doing this, find so threatening? Is it that they feel attacked in their own masculinity and therefore sexuality in this violent form becomes the way that they establish a means to cover up their fragility by bringing their own vulnerability onto these women?"

"If you set women up as sexual objects which society has, no matter what we are doing, that makes women into objects rather than human beings and what you create is a situation in which women who then stand up and make arguments about things, terrify these men who have no access to real women and so they beat them up in the terms in which they've been offered by society, which has nothing to do with the content of what they are saying. Women are supposed to be sexual objects, we're still not supposed to be thinking, feeling, complex human beings. It is due to the continual representation of women as just beauties, the attempt to reduce women to a surface on which we project sexuality. So we're not real people.

"The deeper question is the disenfranchisement of men who find themselves in such depraved circumstances that all they can do is expel the fury that's inside of them on to women. The reaction these men are having shows they are very, very threatened by something and that threat is to their masculinity.

"With sexual violence, what the victim is receiving is the self-hatred of the individual who is expressing that pain and upset that is inside of them in a very explosive manner. Rape is different to the threat of rape but nevertheless it's a very, very serious and threatening experience."

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/nov/05/women-bloggers-hateful-trolling>

APPENDIX E WOMEN'S VOICES FOR CHANGE NEWSBRIEF
Nov. 11

The temptation to hire in one's own image for most managers is as irresistible as it is subliminal – which is why there are a lot of opinionated women working in digital management at the Guardian, and why we all need targets to remind us to look beyond the mirror. On screen, any number of unconventional-looking ageing blokes (Jeremy Clarkson, Jonathan Ross, Chris Moyles, Alan Sugar, Adrian Chiles, Jeremy Paxman, Simon Cowell, Piers Morgan) are paid at a top rate for the talent they possess beyond their appearance.

For women it is an altogether different story – appearance and age are clearly factors in choosing female presenters in a way that they aren't for men. The media should be deeply concerned about this un-diversity – not because it represents moral turpitude on our part, but because it represents bloody awful business sense.

Doing more than protest - When management at Britain's Channel 5 asked Selina Scott, 57, if she'd be available to cover for anchor Natasha Kaplinsky's maternity leave, she said yes and marked her calendar. When instead the channel tapped Isla Traquair aged 28 and Matt Barbet aged 32, Scott did more than complain. She hired a lawyer: "The Channel and the director of programmes for Five, Bob Gale, have stated that they deny this claim and will defend themselves against it," reports the Daily Mail. Emily Bell, at the Guardian UK, calls Scott's lawsuit an important step forward.

<http://womensvoicesforchange.org/news-brief-selina-scott-sues-tv-channel-for-ageism-heart-attack-recovery-viathe-gym-at-41-kimberly-pi-jpgerce-doesnt-cry.htm>

http://www.media-awareness.ca/english/issues/stereotyping/women_and_girls/women_coverage.cfm

APPENDIX F ANGELA MERKEL BECAME CHANCELLOR IN GERMANY

'Miss Germany!' exclaimed the front page headline of Germany's mass circulation tabloid *Bild* (in English) when Angela Merkel became the first woman chancellor in Germany in November 2005. 'It's a Girl' ('Es ist ein Mädchen') announced the left-leaning *Die Tageszeitung*. A curious way to signal the accession of a major new leader on the European and indeed the world stage. (In: *Portraying Politics: A Toolkit on Gender and Television*, 2006, p. 5).

APPENDIX G "FEMALE CHAUVINIST PIGS" OR THE MACHO WOMEN

'This bawdy world of boobs and gams shows how far we've left to go. In the new raunch culture, the freedom for women to be sexually provocative has usurped genuine liberation', by Ariel Levy in *The Guardian*, Friday 17 February 2006.

Women's liberation and empowerment are terms feminists started using to talk about casting off the limitations imposed upon women and to demand equality. We have perverted these words. The freedom to be sexually provocative or promiscuous is not enough freedom; it is not the only "women's issue" worth paying attention to. And we are not even free in the sexual arena. We have simply adopted a new norm, a new role to play: lusty, busty exhibitionist. There are other choices. If we really are going to be sexually liberated, we need to make room for a range of options as wide as the variety of human desire. We need to allow ourselves the freedom to figure out what we want from sex, instead of mimicking whatever popular culture promotes as sexy. That would be sexual liberation.

If we believed that we were sexy and funny and competent and smart, we would not need to be like strippers or like men or like anyone other than our own specific, individual selves. That won't be easy, but the rewards would be the very things "Female Chauvinist Pigs" want so badly, the things women deserve: freedom and power.

Ariel Levy is a contributing editor for *New York magazine* and the author of *Female Chauvinist Pigs: Women and the rise of raunch culture*.

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2006/feb/17/gender.comment>

Levy comments come from the United States. The same argument has been made by European commentators. Rosalind Gill makes similar points in

[http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/2449/1/Postfeminist_media_culture_\(LSERO\).pdf](http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/2449/1/Postfeminist_media_culture_(LSERO).pdf)

As does Angela McRobbie in 'The Aftermath of Feminism' (2009). For a more journalistic perspective, there is Natasha Walter's 2010 book 'Living Dolls: the Return of Sexism'

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/lifeandstyle/2010/jan/25/natasha-walter-feminism-sexism-return>.

APPENDIX H ***"THE 2007 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS: THE WORKINGS OF THE CAMPAIGN" (5/5) - LESECHOS.FR, 17.11.06***

Who thought up the "Sarko-Ségo" match?

Four years after the "traumatic events" of 2002, when nobody foresaw Le Pen's breakthrough, experts considered the merits of the over-mediatisation of the Sarkozy-Royal duo. Political journalists accused pollsters of ignoring the "little candidates", and TV argued that the press was responsible for the celebrity emphasis given to the campaign. The great innovation remained this focus on two presidential candidates even before they were officially nominated.

COMMENTS

The 2007 election campaign in France threw light on the different ways in which men and women are identified in the media: the political duel was summed up in the slogan "Ségo v. Sarko". The problem was that one of them, Ségolène Royal, was referred to by her first name, thus creating a proximity and familiarity which did little to legitimise her as aspirant to an official function such as President of the Republic. Conversely, Nicolas Sarkozy was referred to by his surname. "Nico v. Ségo" would have kept the rhyme and made the two of them equals. However, the best formula would have been "Royal v. Sarkozy".

APPENDIX I WOMEN & MEDIA AWARDS IN SWITZERLAND

The *Conférence romande des bureaux de l'égalité*, in conjunction with various media partners, has established a "women and media prize" to reward journalists who, in a concern for professional ethics, take the debate on equality between women and men forward. The prize winners can be found on the following website: <http://www.egalite.ch/femmesmedias.Html>

APPENDIX J **"PARITY: MEDIA DO NOT DO WHAT THEY TELL OTHERS TO DO"**
EXPRESS YOURSELF, 08.03.12
Béatrice TOULON

"Positions of responsibility in the media are positions of power conferring considerable advantages - prestige, invitations, attraction - coveted positions for which one has to fight and follow the rules for achieving power - talent of course, total availability, adaptability, networking, finding a mentor, etc."
REUTERS / Kena Betancur.

Journalists spend their time chastising others for their failings and forget to question their own actions. This is true of the place of women in the profession, says Béatrice Toulon, journalist and trainer.

What answer do you give to a mother who asks whether her daughter is right to want to become a journalist because journalism seems to be a possible career for women?

Tell her that journalism is a magnificent, even exciting, profession. That many are called but few are chosen, whether male or female. As for the career, there are no miracles: girls account for 60% of graduates from schools of journalism, 57% of freelance journalists, 45% of editorial staff, 32% of senior editors, 18% of chief editors and close to 0% of proprietors. Note that women's publications have not been considered separately here, otherwise the figures for the generalist media would collapse. Behind the outward appearances, the familiar forms of address and the informal hierarchical relations, media concerns are like any other enterprise.

The journalists who work in them, men and women alike, are purveyors of the dominant culture, stiff with stereotypes and prejudice, as described by the media specialist Marie-Joseph Bertini in her book *"Femmes, le pouvoir impossible"*, which all journalism students should be given to read. But journalists are rarely aware of the fact. Their task is to observe other people, judging and assessing them and countering their arguments. They forget to look in the mirror.

We have all at some time read a vindictive editorial in *Libération* on failure to observe parity in politics, though that paper's chief editors are almost all male. The model is also reproduced in respect of diversity: how many articles are there about the exclusion of individuals from immigrant stock, produced by editorial teams of pristine whiteness? Just as teachers cannot imagine that they might be assessed, the media do not think to apply to themselves the rules they advocate for the rest of society. Last year Jean-François Kahn made a rare confession. Shaken by the uproar caused by his comments on "bonking a domestic" (*"le troussage de domestique"*), he looked into gender equality at *Marianne*, and discovered that his magazine, created to upset the established order, reproduced the ordinary hierarchy of the sexes: male management, women employed as assistants or junior journalists, less well paid than their male counterparts, and so on. For 15 years this journalistic rebel had simply not noticed that the most elementary injustice was rife within his own team.

Mechanisms specific to the media

Alongside the ordinary social mechanisms there are some unwritten rules peculiar to the media world. The key factor in the media is topicality - preferably political, but also economic. In France, 28% of women journalists deal with topical questions. The others (72%) are found in the so-called female sector ("care" is the buzz word for it) - meaning family, health, consumer issues, etc. Self-censorship? Gregariousness? The subjects are doubtless fascinating, but dead-ends for anyone with ambition.

Old-fashioned misogyny is happily no longer current in editorial teams. Nor are masculine aperitifs at 11

o'clock in the morning, with crude jokes (I have known them) and meaningful stares at necklines. Well, not too-much. But positions of responsibility in the media are positions of power conferring considerable advantages - prestige, invitations, attraction - coveted positions for which one has to fight and follow the rules for achieving power - talent of course, total availability, adaptability, networking, finding a mentor, etc.

You have to be good at personal branding too - making your mark (getting your name known) everywhere and in all circumstances. Write a book (even in haste), get yourself a slot on radio, TV or in a newspaper, address meetings, tweet, network, communicate on Facebook and through blogs, etc. As in politics, it's more than a profession, it's a life which demands total availability and commitment from those around. But a female journalist is like any other woman: after 30 she starts having children and has to balance her private and professional lives, the chief architects of the glass ceiling.

A woman seldom gains from infringing the codes

Self-promotion requires a lot of self-confidence. Well, self-confidence is not always a characteristic of women, even journalists, even if they are much more aware than their mothers were of their own value and the legitimacy of their ambitions. A great many tests carried out have shown that the rules are not valid in quite the same way for women as for men. Asserting oneself in too obvious a way can quickly be offputting in a woman, while perceived positively in a man.

Unless she is very clever, a woman rarely stands to gain from transgressing the codes of her sex - gentleness, discretion, reliability, perfectionism - too quickly. Is this a caricature? These supposedly "feminine" qualities (which make for perfect assistant roles) were stated in these terms by Nicolas de Tavernost (head of M6) to the authors of the Reiser report on the image of women in the media. Proving their worth through professional competence remains THE rule for women. A young woman journalist on a major weekly has summed it up very well: "Of a bloke it will be easily said that he is not brilliant but really cool, whereas a woman will be said to be cool but not really brilliant".

Does hope for change lie with the Web? Yes, to the extent that it offers more opportunity to everyone. Absence of specialisation means that women are not pushed aside too quickly. But the organigrams of Mediapart and Rue89 and the websites of Le Monde, Le Nouvel Observateur and L'Express reveal nothing very new under the media sun. The editors in chief and editorialists of these websites are mainly men, and so are the influential bloggers they host.

Many things are possible

What is to be done? Just as they have begun to sign up to charters in favour of a better image for women in their content, media concerns could motivate their human resources. Many things are possible: conduct an audit, question staff, analyse recruitment and promotion procedures, make those in charge aware of stereotypes, etc. Good practices are already being followed by many enterprises in the framework of the equality policy and are recorded by ORSE (*Observatoire de la responsabilité sociétale des entreprises*). With awareness and the will to change, things are possible.

There remains the attitude of women themselves. The way is certainly narrow, but the door is open. Women have to believe in themselves, give rein to their dreams and their desires, ease up on domestic chores so as to let their partners take charge of this space too, not hide behind false obligations in order to lag in a frustrating, albeit comfortable, second place, say what they think out loud rather than whisper to their neighbour, take risks (creating a blog about politics means making yourself vulnerable), move beyond the quest for security inculcated into girls from infancy, and so on. Male-female equality is a revolution in thinking for everyone, men and women alike. And it requires constant watchfulness. It is a little tiring, but it is worthwhile, and as with love, there must be two participants for the revolution to

succeed.

APPENDIX K EN IMAGE RUE 89

RUE 89 - 17.07.12

Ten to a room and 75 to a shower: the accommodation provided for cleaning women at the Olympics

Elsa FAYNER

The cleaning staff for the Olympic Park is housed in a large enclosure in east London, out of sight, reveals the Daily Mail.

From the Daily Mail website on the cleaning staff camp (Dailymail.co.uk)

One lavatory for 25 persons and one shower cubicle for 75. The staff sleep in mobile homes, where heavy rain has caused flooding. Many of these workers have come from far afield, some from Spain. And they have ended up with shorter contracts than expected. Yet they have to pay the 700 Euros per month as rent for the prefabs. Some have left, horrified by the state of the camp. Others have decided to rent rooms in private houses, but they have to get their wages first.

Article taken as source material by Rue 89

Ten to a room and one shower for 75 people: Inside the 'slum' camp for Olympic cleaners

Daily Mail – 15.07.12

Katherine FAULKNER

- **They sleep in portable cabins, some of which have been leaking in the rain, at the campsite in East London**
- **The bad weather has left the site flooded with stagnant water, forcing the cleaners to use abandoned crates as makeshift 'stepping stones'**
- **'It is like a slum inside,' says one worker from Hungary**

Cleaners at the Olympic Park are being housed ten to a room at a huge temporary compound. The campsite in East London, hidden from public view, has 25 people sharing each toilet and 75 to each shower. They sleep in portable cabins, some of which have been leaking in the rain.

Grim: Cleaners at the Olympic Park are being housed ten to a room at a huge temporary compound, pictured. The campsite in East London, hidden from public view, has 25 people sharing each toilet and 75 to each shower

And the bad weather has left the site flooded with stagnant water, forcing them to use abandoned crates as makeshift 'stepping stones' to move around the site. Hundreds have come from abroad to work at the Olympics despite promises that the jobs would go to Londoners. On arrival, some were horrified to be told there was no work for two weeks. But despite this, they were made to pay the cleaning company £18 a day in 'rent' to sleep in the overcrowded metal cabins, which work out at more than £550 a month. Others who had come to the UK desperate for the jobs turned back, describing the camp as 'horrible', with showers and toilets 'filthy' from over-use.

Poor conditions: The bad weather has left the site flooded with stagnant water, forcing the cleaners to use abandoned crates as makeshift 'stepping stones' to move around the site. This image shows how close the camp is to the Olympic Stadium

Andrea Murnoz, 21, a student from Madrid, said: 'I couldn't believe it when I saw the places people were sleeping. 'When I first saw the metal gates and the tall tower in the middle, it reminded me of a prison camp. It looks horrible. 'I was thinking I would apply for a job, but I have changed my mind. My two friends signed up, but I think they are regretting it.' Cleaners at the camp have signed gagging orders preventing them from talking to the Press and have been banned from having family and friends visit 'for security reasons'.

One worker, from Hungary, said conditions were 'very bad' inside the camp but he had nowhere else to

live. 'It is like a slum inside,' the 24-year-old said. 'The toilets are dirty and the space is very little.' Another, also from Hungary, said: 'When we saw the camp, we were shocked. When we came to England we thought accommodation would be much nicer. 'Some of the cabins have been leaking and we have been told to fix them ourselves. Two girls have left already because they did not want to sleep in a room with men they didn't know.'

Plans for the accommodation were backed by London 2012 organiser Locog and waved through by the local council, Newham, even though environmental health officers said the toilet and shower facilities were 'unlikely to be adequate', while landscape architects said the sleeping arrangements were 'cramped'. But councillors decided that because the camp would be only temporary, concerns about the housing and welfare of the workers were not 'justifiable reasons for refusing planning permission'. Any accommodation where more than two adults have to share a room is considered 'overcrowded' under housing laws. Health and safety guidelines state that employers should provide at least five toilets and five washbasins for every 100 people.

Craig Lovett, of Spotless International Services which runs the camp, said the number of toilets and showers per person exceeded requirements for temporary accommodation and that there were internet, medical and entertainment facilities on-site. He said shift patterns would reduce pressure on the facilities. He said unexpected heavy rain had been a 'pain' but the company was working tirelessly to sort things out. He added: 'This is not a prison. Nobody is forced to stay there. Many of our staff have come from areas where there is extremely high unemployment and are very happy to be working in the Games. 'There will always be a couple of disgruntled people on site, but it's a shame they didn't come to talk to us to air their grievances because there are certainly processes in place for them to do that.' A Locog spokesman said: 'Cleanevent [part of Spotless] have assured us that the accommodation they are providing their workers is of a suitable standard.'

COMMENTS

The Daily Mail article is excellent, stressing a hidden social aspect of the organisation of the 2012 London Olympics. The vocabulary used is neutral ("cleaners") except when issues of mixed occupation of rooms are raised (gender issue). "Two girls have left already because they did not want to sleep in a room with men they didn't know." One may regret the use of "girls" alongside "men" instead of "women", but this is a quotation and the information is important in other ways.

Once again, the social aspect of sport is dealt with by a woman. That is not a problem in itself, but it becomes one if systematic: "Women journalists covering sport, OK but not too many". Only 5% of sport articles are written by women.

The Rue 89 article is more problematic. It is a short report referring to the Daily Mail. In the body of the text, Elsa Fayner uses the term "*personnel d'entretien*" ("cleaning staff"), a neutral term and the literal translation of "cleaners". In the heading, that translation disappears and is replaced by "*femmes de ménage*" ("cleaning women")! The choice is hard to understand, as the term is used only in the heading of the article. On the one hand, the term "*hommes de ménages*" exists, and men demand its use. On the other hand, the term "*femmes de ménage*" is also problematic because it is wrong. The cleaning staff do a wider range of work than just cleaning. Lastly, the emphasis on questions of mixed occupation of rooms in the Daily Mail article might have alerted Rue 89, since mixed occupation can hardly be discussed with reference to "*femmes de ménage*" only.

APPENDIX L **"IN THE MEDIA, WOMEN ARE ALWAYS VICTIMS"**
TERRAFEMINA.COM - 14.09.11
Marie-Laure MAKOULE

From the Massenet sisters to Alessandra Sublet via Laurence Ferrari, Marie Drucker and Karine Lemarchand, there are more and more women in charge of TV programmes. Yet the representation of women in the French media is still a problem. Why? Here are some answers from Brigitte Grésy, general inspector of social affairs and member of the Observatoire de la parité.

Phot credit: Squanasse

Terrafemina: How has the image of women in the media evolved in recent years? - Brigitte Grésy: At the present time I do not see any real change, rather stagnation. From the standpoint of the profession of journalist, women are certainly more present on TV and radio or in the press. However, in terms of presence and speaking time accorded to women guests on news broadcasts or in political or social discussions, the distribution still remains very uneven. This state of affairs was already criticised in the 2008 survey on the image of women in the media and in the latest CSA report on diversity. Actually, there is an orchestrated invisibility of women in the media. Taking television as an example, the persons appearing on screen are one third women and two thirds men. Furthermore, the women are always less expert and more anonymous. They participate more as victims or witnesses.

TF: How do you explain this stagnation? - B.G.: The system is simultaneously one of practice and of representation. The media tend to invite men to appear as experts more often because they are seen as better able to convey a message clearly and concisely. Moreover, these media are working against the clock. They know who are their best contacts, the specialists able to help them cover a subject rapidly; and among these experts there are not many women. This method is perfectly illustrated by the radio stations France Inter and RTL. On 15 May 2008, on the first station, 82% of the experts heard were men, while on RTL the speaking time of the male experts was 26 times as long as that of the women. In order to reverse the situation, journalists must take the risk of also calling in women and building up an address book of female experts. To my mind, this is the first step and an essential commitment if the presence of women in the media is to be increased.

TF: In concrete terms, how can the image of women in the media be improved? Should we consider introducing quotas? - B.G.: Quotas do not strike me as a good solution, especially as they include the idea of sanctions if they are not complied with. Our purpose is not to punish. However, we envisage setting quantitative objectives to be monitored closely by the committee set up by the minister of solidarity and social cohesion, Roselyne Bachelot. That body, chaired by Michèle Reiser, a former member of the CSA, seeks to propose indicators and a methodology to improve representation of women in the media, and also to initiate a process of self-regulation with those in charge of them. Each year the

committee will report to the prime minister and to the minister for women's rights in order to take stock of the action undertaken.

TF: Do the media seem to you to be ready for these changes? - B.G.: If they manage to contact women experts, the media will be willing to change their habits, especially if they also find that a greater female presence enables them to increase their audience ratings or readership. There is a perceptible kind of contagious desire to see women in their rightful place on TV or radio. For my part, I tend to turn away more and more from discussions involving only men. The same applies to TV debates. And I know I am not alone in this.

APPENDIX M **NKM AND BELKACEM ON THE GRAND JOURNAL PROGRAMME: MACHO INTERVIEW BY ARIANE MASSENET**
LENOUVELOBS.COM – 09.03.12
Valentin SPITZ

Interviewing NKM and Najat Belkacem, spokeswomen for Nicolas Sarkozy and François Hollande respectively, the best that Ariane Massenet could think of was to put “girlie questions” to them to celebrate “Women’s Day”. A scandalous, macho interview according to Louis Elkaim. “We do have a brain!”, protested NKM, bringing the interview to an end.

Edited by Louise Pothier
Author sponsored by Benoît Raphaël

On Thursday evening, for the first time in ages, I watched the “Grand Journal” on Canal Plus. Michel Denisot’s guests on that occasion were the spokeswomen for Nicolas Sarkozy and François Hollande respectively, Nathalie Kosciusko-Morizet and Najat Belkacem.

See the video on:

<http://leplus.nouvelobs.com/contribution/377063-nkm-et-belkacem-au-grand-journal-l-interview-machiste-d-ariane-massenet.html>)

In keeping with the Women’s Day theme, in her “Grand Oral” column Ariane Massenet chose to ask the two guests about “the feminine side” of Nicolas Sarkozy and François Hollande. It was a disaster.

The “feminine side” as seen by Ariane Massenet

First questions by Ariane, constantly punctuated by her usual chuckles: “Are they gentlemen? Do they hold the door open for you? And do they readily confide in you? Are they good listeners?”

In the context of the “feminine side”, this is to be understood as meaning that confiding in someone or listening to them is being womanly. Fine. Let’s move on.

“Do they express their doubts easily?” Meaning: women tend to reveal their feelings more than men. But let’s be indulgent with Ariane, because things are about to go wrong.

“One very practical question”, Ariane continues, “do they go to the hairdresser regularly?”

NKM, who had been smiling in a gently unhappy way up to this point, now stares wide-eyed at Ariane’s inept questioning. “Frankly, that’s not my concern. It’s not my business at all”.

And Najat Belkacem confirms this: “It doesn’t appear in the spokeswoman’s job description”.

Ariane Massenet, 28 June 2011, Paris (LORENVU/SIPA)

Ariane, the year is 2012, not 1950.

The answers from NKM and Najat Belkacem become shorter and shorter. Embarrassment is visible behind the smiles. Ariane questions the two spokeswomen as if Sarkozy and Hollande were their husbands. It has escaped her that we are not living in 1950.

But Ariane goes on digging, perhaps in the hope of striking gold: "Do they have their hair dyed a bit from time to time, a little colour?"

Najat Belkacem: "I have no idea. Nor do I care". The temperature is rising. NKM is coming to the boil. But Ariane doesn't understand. She even appears to find it funny.

So Ariane continues, but all her questions go down like lead balloons. Several moments of solitude ensue. All we need now is Céline Dion bawling "All by myself" with a glass of vodka in her hand.

"Do they use make-up every time they address public meetings?"

"I believe Nicolas Sarkozy drinks Coca Cola Light? Or is it Coca Cola Zero?"

"Do they have a secret weakness? In 2007 Nicolas Sarkozy was fond of chocolate".

NKM: "Yes".

"Is he still?"

NKM: "Yes".

Now I'm hurting, I want to shout out and tell Ariane to shut up. Really, profoundly, seriously.

Fortunately, NKM, who is exasperated, tells her in the course of a final pungent exchange what hundreds of thousands of viewers must be thinking at this moment.

NKM: "Look Ariane, do you think the French people give a toss? I mean, we could perhaps talk about measures and proposals?"

Ariane: "No, no, no. One last question about weight! Do they pay attention to their weight? Everyone has noticed that François Hollande has put a bit of weight back on".

NKM cannot contain herself. Thank you.

Nathalie Kosciusko-Morizet - 23.02.12 (L. BONAVENTURE/AFP)

NKM: "Come on, we do have a brain too! I am speaking for both of us" (also for Najat, who says nothing but agrees), "we can also talk about our candidates' proposals!"

“No, that was all”, chuckles Ariane with a final cackle, red in the face as Michel Denisot looks on in annoyance. “They were girlie questions”, she dares to add by way of conclusion.

Girlie questions? God have mercy on her soul.

What does Ariane Massenet think a woman is?

If we summarise these girlie questions, we arrive at an Identikit picture of Woman according to Ariane Massenet: she is a good listener, she admits her doubts (unlike men, real men, those big virile macho creatures who do not listen and have no doubts), she goes to the hairdresser regularly, she uses make-up, she drinks Coca Cola Zero or Light (well of course, she’s on a diet), and naturally she has a secret weakness but we can’t say what it is. It’s a secret. That’s sweet.

I am a man, but when I saw this interview I wanted to be a woman, out of solidarity.

I wanted to shout out my shame that in 2012 a TV presenter could interview two other women in this way. I thought of Simone Veil and all the heroines who fought for the cause of women.

I found it very sad that on that particular day, which was supposed to celebrate our rights (I have become a woman, remember), Ariane Massenet foisted questions of this sort on NKM and Najat Belkacem.

It was all the more regrettable as the interview was conducted by the programme’s female presenter. What low-grade representation.

Above all, what a rotten blow it dealt to women in general. All those clichés. A brainless interview by a clucking blonde. Intelligent women do exist, so why not on the Grand Journal?

“Girlie questions”, did she say? No, they were questions of a primary macho. Stupid questions. Stupidity has no gender.

The irony of the story is that it was a man, Michel Denisot, who rescued us from the Massenet disaster by switching to another feature. Thank you Michel.

To conclude, I suggest we launch a “Massenet-thon”. Let us all give some money to buy her a brain. Then in a year’s time, when Women’s Day comes round again, she may perhaps be able to ask an intelligent question.

Cheerio all.

APPENDIX N HISTORY, THEORIES AND PRESENT STATE OF THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT

Irène PEREIRA – 10.12.11

Biography - *Irène Pereira* is a doctor of sociology. An associate researcher at GSPM/EHESS, she lectures in political science at Paris-Dauphine university. Co-founder of IRESMO (Institut de recherche sur le syndicalisme et les mouvements sociaux - research institute on trade unionism and social movements), she is the author, among other things, of *Anarchistes (La ville brûle, 2009)*, *Les grammaires de la contestation (La Découverte, 2010)* and *L'anarchisme dans les textes (Textuel, February 2011)*.

Specialists in anthropology consider that in every era and in every society, women have always suffered a situation of domination linked to men's need to control reproduction and filiation. While there have been women's movements at various times in history, it is generally agreed that there was no feminist movement until the 19th century.

In this paper we shall seek to present the feminist movement both in terms of its history and theories and of its present state in contemporary France. How has the feminist movement evolved since the 19th century? What were, and are, the different currents flowing through it? We shall conclude by inquiring whether it can be said, after the demands made and met by the feminist movement (in particular in the 1970s), that feminism is an archaic survival or whether it remains genuinely topical.

I - History and theories of the feminist movement

A. - History of the feminist movement

1. - The first wave of feminism

During the 18th century and the first half of the 19th, there existed men and women who may be regarded as precursors of feminism. For example, the philosopher Cordorcet advocated education for women, arguing that their intellectual inferiority was merely the result of the lack of instruction from which they suffered. During the French Revolution, Olympe de Gouges drew up a declaration of the rights of women and female citizens. There is also a clear concern for women's rights and their emancipation among certain socialists such as the Saint-Simonists (Father Enfantin) and Charles Fourier, already during the first half of the 19th century.

However, not until the end of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th did what women historians call the first wave of feminism develop. It was characterised by the demand for equal rights in the political and professional spheres. Women wanted a chance to engage in the same professions as men (eg. lawyer or doctor). They also demanded the right to vote in elections and to stand for election - a particular demand of the suffragette movement, comprising mainly middle-class women.

Among the leading lights of the first wave of feminism was Marguerite Durand. A former actress, she founded the first newspaper entirely written by women and for women, *La Fronde*. In 1931 she bequeathed her documentation to the City of Paris, thus creating the basis for what became the Marguerite Durand Library on the history of women and feminism.

Paradoxically, it was the anti-clericalism of the French left, and in particular of the radical movement, which seems to have delayed French women's acquisition of the right to vote. Women were considered to be more under the influence of the Church and therefore inclined to vote on the political right. Thus,

while most western states granted the vote to women in the 1920s or 1930s, that did not happen in France until 1944.

2. - The second wave of feminism

What we refer to as the second wave of feminism emerged in the wake of Simone de Beauvoir's book *Le deuxième sexe* (published in 1949), and stems from the American feminist movement known as Women's Lib in May 1968 (itself influenced by the American black power movement), and more generally from profound social changes concerning both women's access to the workplace and contraception (Neuwirth law of 1967 on contraception). The *Mouvement de libération des femmes* (MLF - Women's Liberation Movement) was thus born in 1970, following the impression gained by militant young women in 1968 that men did not regard them as equals, allowed them to do only domestic or manual jobs, and took no interest in their specific demands. The MLF seeks also to establish a new kind of militancy based on a horizontal functioning, including discussion groups where women can talk about their problems in everyday, and even private, life (eg. sexuality).

One particular result of the demands voiced by the feminist movement of the 1970s was the law on the right to abortion (1975), following massive mobilisation.

The MLF then turned its attention to denouncing violence against women, and especially rape. But the various social movements born in the wake of May 68 were losing momentum. In 1979, one of the leaders of the three MLF branches patented the acronym and so prevented the others from using it.

These different tendencies within the MLF are the reflection of different strongly held theories about the feminist movement and its aims.

3. - The theories of the feminist movement

The first-wave feminist movement emphasised primarily the political dimension of feminist demands, ie. civic rights. Woman must be man's equal. The reference sex remains the male sex. This feminism is described as liberal-egalitarian or universalist. This current of analysis still prevails, for example, in the writings of Elisabeth Badinter.

The second-wave feminist movement within the MLF is divided into three main tendencies. One of these, "class-struggle" feminism, derives from Marxism. There is a feminist Marxism which takes its inspiration from Engels's book *The origin of the family, private property and the state*, according to which social inequality between men and women originates in the advent of private property. So women should not fight principally for their emancipation but for that of the proletariat as a whole. Once the revolution has been brought about, women will also be liberated *de facto*.

The second theoretical current running through the feminism of the 1970s is radical, and in particular materialist radical, feminism. As radical feminists see it, women must seek to struggle and form alliances mainly among themselves, be they middle class or working class, rather than on the basis of an economic class where they would find themselves alongside men who took no account of their specific problems. Materialist radical feminists believe in particular that women are the victims of exploitation of the work they do in household tasks and bringing up children: these are tasks which they perform unpaid. Among the theorists of this current of thinking we may cite Christine Delphy.

The third current is also radical feminist, but a differentialist, one. It stresses the natural difference existing between men and women. For these feminists, women must demand recognition of their

specificity. This current was represented during the 1970s in particular by Antoinette Fouque, and known as “psychoanalysis and politics” (shortened to “psyché-po”). This current, under the influence of psychoanalysis and the work of Jacques Derrida, became dominant in the 1980s in both France and the United States under the name of “French feminism”. Leading figures such as Julia Kristeva, Helene Cixous and Sylviane Agazinski may be linked to it in various ways.

In the late 1980s a current of theory emerged to counter the differentialism of French feminism, and was to have a significant influence on the (present) third wave of feminism. It is “queer theory”. Its best known representative is Judith Butler, whose book *Gender Trouble* was published in the United States in 1990. Queer theory criticises the differentialists’ view of female identity. By distinguishing biological sex and gender as a social construct, the exponents of queer theory uphold the argument that identities are not natural but are social constructs which individuals can deconstruct by putting on “performances”. Hence the importance in queer theory of the idea of cross-dressing (“drag”): an individual’s biological and social identity may not coincide. Some women are regarded as masculine, some men as effeminate, certain persons are homosexual or bisexual. The identities of men or women are more complex in reality than social norms would have us believe.

To this account we may add two other theoretical currents of feminism which carry a certain weight at the present time.

In southern hemisphere countries, the struggles of women resisting the destruction by multinationals of their natural, traditional environment on which their tribes depend for subsistence are giving rise to eco-feminist arguments of which the Indian physicist Vandana Shiva is one protagonist. She argues that women are closer to traditional techniques and have a more genuine relationship with their natural surroundings, which would explain a virtually inherent link between feminist struggles and ecological campaigns.

Another current of theory stemming from Afro-American circles focuses more especially on the link between feminism and ethnic minorities in western societies. These theories of inter-sectionality, which the philosopher Elsa Dorlin was among the first to bring to France, deal for example with the way in which the question of feminism affects a girl from a north African immigrant background. Such a girl may not wish to be faced with the choice between her feminist convictions and her Muslim faith: she may in fact want to describe herself as a Muslim feminist who wears the veil, and not see this as contradictory. After the major struggles of the women’s movements of the 1970s and the political and social conquests of the feminists, can it be said that “the greater part has been achieved” and that the feminist movement is just an archaic remnant? Does the success of queer theory not show that feminist demands are old hat and that the main issue now is that of sexual identities?

II. - The present state of the feminist movement in France

A little over 40 years since the MLF came into being, the French feminist movement today appears divided and is struggling to generate the massive motivation around feminist issues that was seen in the 1970s.

Following the series of strikes in December 1995, the feminist movement in France sought to acquire fresh impetus through the unification of feminist forces. January 1996 saw the establishment of the CNDF (*Collectif national pour les droits des femmes*) bringing together political organisations, trade unions and feminist associations. Situated in the wake of the second-wave feminist movement, it gives priority to such themes as combating violence against women, defending the right to abortion or equality in the workplace. The same organisations are to be found in France in the World March of Women (created in 1998) which organises a world event every five years.

But alongside this feminist movement there have appeared feminist groups believed to comprise younger militants, whose ideas, demands and action strategies have sometimes come into conflict with those offered by their elders. They are what is known as the third wave of feminism. These young feminists, marked by the introduction into France, and especially into university circles, of new issues from the United States, highlight the difficulty of envisaging the female category as a unified one. It is over issues such as the Islamic veil and prostitution that the components of the French feminist movement differ. But these conflicts are not the only ones affecting the feminist movement or creating divisions with other social movements. For example, demands for male/female equality at the workplace and in politics are also characterised by their own fault lines. Likewise, relations between feminism and ecology are not proving peaceable.

By means of a brief account and rapid analysis of these controversial issues and fault lines, I should like to show the factors on which the feminist movement should perhaps concentrate in trying to construct a unity of demand and action which may help it towards greater effectiveness.

A - Ongoing demands

It may be noted that some of the sorts of demand expressed in the 1970s in particular, or even earlier, continue to be the campaign themes of present-day feminist movements in France.

- The question of sharing domestic tasks and bringing up children

The question of unequal distribution of the tasks involved in domestic work and raising children continues to be a subject of concern to French feminist organisations. In particular, the inequalities existing here are regularly restated on the occasion of International Women's Day (8 March).

Nonetheless, it should be pointed out that, apart from statements of the principle of sharing domestic tasks or raising children, campaigns or concrete demands on the subject are not very audible in public discussion and the media.

This is probably due, among other things, to the difficulty of intervening in what is perceived as the private sphere of the couple or family. Consequently, no campaign has ever been launched in favour of a housework or sex strike, as happened in the 1970s at the instigation of the MLF.

However, dissension arises over the place of fathers in bringing up children and in particular over the custody of children in cases of divorce, which until recently was invariably granted to women.

- Violence against women: beaten women and rape

Violence against women is by definition denounced by all feminists.

Feminists have obtained specific legislation on rape and conjugal violence, including rape within marriage. In recent years the CNDF has given prominence to its call for an outline law covering violence against women, and the association Osez le féminisme, which is close to the Socialist Party, gave media coverage to a campaign to generate awareness of the rape issue.

Nonetheless, although this would seem to be the subject of universal consensus among feminists, it has given rise to tensions when, according to certain of them, the question of violence against women has been instrumentalised for racist purposes in stigmatising young men from the Maghreb. This controversy

has been evident, for example, in relation to the phenomenon of “tournantes” (gang rape) which has caused conflict between the feminist members of the Ni Putes, ni Soumises movement and those of Indigènes de la République.

- Women’s control of their own contraception and sexuality

This subject recently acquired topicality, initially as a result of the threat of closure of abortion clinics because of measures related to the general review of public policies.

The question of women’s sexuality came more particularly to the fore in the media in the context of the “Osez le clito” (“Dare the clit”) campaign run by the Osez le féminisme association in early 2011.

- Equality in the workplace and in politics

Consideration of the question of male/female equality in politics and in the workplace reveals that women are under-represented in politics and do not receive equal pay; at the same time, women are in the majority in part-time work and unemployment.

But these two issues again give rise to divisions among feminists.

With regard to political representation, the late 1990s were characterised by debates about the question of a parity law, which was presented somewhat simplistically as dividing liberal-egalitarian feminists from differentialist feminists.

Nor is there unanimity on the question of wage demands as formulated by feminists. Some demands, for example concerning the place of women on the boards of major enterprises, may be seen as reflecting the interests of “bourgeois” women, meaning those from the educated middle classes.

So these issues, many of which were first raised by the second wave of feminism in the 1970s, continue to be topical in the demands made; yet there is not always unanimous agreement about the substance of those demands

B - New sets of problems

Two subject areas are causing divisions among feminists: prostitution, and legislation on the Islamic veil and the burka.

Feminist discussions about prostitution are not new, but they have been changed to some extent with the importation of what are known as “sex wars” in the United States and the issue of identity and minority sexuality in “queer” circles.

A self-styled “pro-sex” line of thinking has emerged, and has brought up the question of a recognised status for sex workers (male and female) to include those working in pornography and prostitution. While some feminists, described by their adversaries as “regulationists”, seek to organise within a sex trade union and obtain sex worker status, others call for the abolition of prostitution, which they regard as a form of sexual exploitation; the latter take Swedish legislation, under which clients are prosecuted, as their model .

- The question of the Islamic veil and the burka

The so-called "Islamic veil cases" which have received media attention from the late 1980s onwards, followed by the law on ostentatious religious symbols and, more recently still, by the debate about the burka, have led to new divisions among feminists.

On the one hand, some "republican" feminists stress the sexist nature of the veil and so defend the principle of secularity. They claim allegiance to the republican tradition of criticising religions and their political influence, and also oppose the veil as a particular mark of female oppression.

On the other hand, self-proclaimed anti-racist feminists regard denunciation of the veil and the burka as instrumentalisation of feminism for racist ends. Thus they see wearing the veil as one of many individual ways of practising one's religion, not as a sign of sexist oppression.

Between these two groups, other feminists endeavour to strike a delicate balance between anti-racism, criticism of religions and feminism, advocating the line "Neither law nor veil". This was the stance taken, for example, by both the former LCR and "Alternative libertaire".

- Feminism and ecology: a conflict?

Lastly, while this was not a debate inside the feminist movement, it is interesting to recall the polemic created by Elisabeth Badinter's book *Le conflit*, which underlined the potential divisions between ecological naturalism and feminist constructivism.

Whereas in other countries, especially those of the south, ecological issues and feminist issues may be strongly linked, in France there is little dialogue between these two areas, as is clearly evident in the demands made by the two movements.

Conclusion

To conclude, one may wonder whether these fault lines are the principal obstacles which the feminist movement needs to overcome where its actions are impeded by these internal quarrels.

These divisions are certainly among the causes of the feminist movement's present difficulty in reaching out through its action to a broader public than its own militants alone.

However, the scope of these divisions also needs to be qualified.

Apart from the question of the veil, the other problem areas mentioned are not strictly new. These divisions, presented as differences between feminists of the 2nd wave and those of the 3rd wave, do not always offer a sound basis on which to proceed. Many young feminists adopt stances akin to those of the 2nd wave. One ought perhaps to see this as a conflict of standpoints rather than as a generational one.

Finally, let us not forget that the MLF itself was sharply divided within itself between different tendencies - radical materialists, psyché-po, class struggle etc.

So the present difficulty facing the feminist movement may lie in differences of context. Perhaps it is easier to motivate oneself against a law than to try to obtain enforcement of another?

APPENDIX O A WOMAN ENGINEER IS ALL RIGHT, BUT A MALE MIDWIFE LESS SO *L'EXPRESS.FR – 25.03.11*

While male occupations are increasingly open to women, the opposite is not true.

One sign of the increasing rate of female activity is the fact that traditionally male occupations such as engineering are attracting more and more women, while the converse is much less true: few men become midwives or child-minders.

While women today account for 47% of the workforce, most occupations are becoming feminised, even if truly mixed ones remain "rare", as is observed by the Dares (ministry of employment statistics) in "France, portrait social" published by Insee.

This feminisation is very marked in the medical profession: 59% of juniors are women as compared with 38% of older doctors. Among industrial engineers and technical staff, women account for 39% at the start of the career, but only 9% of the older workforce.

For several years the national education authorities and firms have been encouraging girls to embrace male-dominated and especially scientific careers, through numerous awareness-raising campaigns. But who encourages young men to become child-minders or secretaries, occupations with 99% of women?

"Public policies aimed at attenuating gender segregation tend to encourage women to embrace traditionally male careers, but measures to encourage men to choose female occupations are far rarer", confirmed Helen Norman of Manchester University at a recent colloquy on equality.

Social work remains very female

Like health, teaching and administration, "the social sphere is a continent still to be conquered in terms of mixed occupations" says the sociologist Jacqueline Laufer. Yet there are staff shortages in many of these occupations, for example in the paramedical and social fields.

At the age of 47, Willy Belhassen was one of the first men to become a midwife when the profession was opened up to them in 1982. Of over 20,000 midwives, they account for only 1%. "I knew it wasn't going to be easy. The clichés came mostly from the oldest midwives, who thought that no man would ever have the necessary patience", he recalls.

Boys and girls are exposed to stereotypes from a very early age

"From a very early age boys and girls are exposed to stereotypes which point them towards career possibilities", says Helen Norman. Véra Albaret of the social integration association Fnars cites "clichés about women being drawn to listening and mothering" and so guided towards professions in the care and social fields - occupations which, moreover, are often poorly recognised and badly paid, which perpetuates professional inequalities. And the social pressure continues into adulthood. When a firm issues a vacancy notice reading "Secretary required", what man will be brave enough to apply?" inquires Isabelle Fréret of the CFE-CGC.

Occupational segregation is self-perpetuating

Sociologist Jeanne Fagnani observes that this occupational segregation is self-perpetuating. For example, children in day nurseries almost never see anyone but women looking after them. "It is a factor which perpetuates stereotypes", she explains.

Economist Rachel Silvers, who has carried out a study together with the Observatoire de la responsabilité sociétale des entreprises (ORSE), does nevertheless see some grounds for hope. From a close scrutiny of 165 company agreements on professional equality, she finds that "one quarter mention that men should look towards so-called 'female' jobs": Schneider Electric and Castorama are examples. Even though this often goes no further than words - very few companies set quantitative objectives - "things are starting to move", Mrs Silvera believes

Media, Diversity & Sport - Key Figures!

In Europe, only a quarter of news subjects are women, even though they account for over half of the European population (GMMP, 2010)! While immigrants represent around 10% of the EU population (*Eurostat, 2011*) migrants and ethnic minorities represent less than 5% of the main actors in the news in Europe (*Ter Wal, 2004*). Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) people represent roughly 6% of the population of the United Kingdom but account for less than 1% of the population seen on TV. 20% of the British population is disabled but less than 1% is represented in British TV (*CDN 2009-10 Progress Report*).

Through the sources they use, the subjects they select and the treatment they choose, the media influence the agenda (what to think about) and public perception (how to think) of contemporary debates. This is why the Council of Europe considers truly inclusive information - where everyone can participate as witnesses, players, producers etc. - to be crucial for social cohesion and democratic participation. But today, too many people are still excluded from public debates!

The MARS - Media Against Racism in Sport – EU / CoE joint programme chooses to focus, though not exclusively, on sport because it is considered as an important area for building social cohesion as it is also a major sector of investment in the media industry. However, sport media coverage does not reflect social and cultural diversity and does not ensure equity for all. Only 5% of press articles cover cultural and social aspects of sport; 40% of all sport articles refer to only one source and 20% refer to no sources at all; female athletes have four times more chances of being covered by a female journalist rather than a male one but less than 5% of sport news and stories are made by female journalists (Play the Game, 2005)!

Building upon standards set by various Council of Europe bodies on media pluralism, expression of diversity and non discrimination and the outcome of the 2008-10 CoE's antidiscrimination Campaign, the MARS – Media Against Racism in Sport – EU / CoE joint programme aims at considering non discrimination and expression of diversity as an ongoing angle of media coverage.

Through this approach applied to sport coverage, MARS wants to encourage innovative modes of media content production that could be reproduced in all media sectors and used by any form of media coverage. By stimulating media cross-practices in the field of training, ethics and production, MARS aims at implementing an inclusive and intercultural approach to media content production. To achieve these outcomes, the MARS programme offers media professionals (journalism students and trainers, journalists, media managers, etc.) to participate in National and European Media Encounters and Media Work Exchanges conceived as first steps towards a European media network against racism and for intercultural dialogue.

More – www.coe.int/mars!!