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CONFERENCE BACKGROUND PAPER*

INFLUENCE OF THE MASS COMMUNICATION MEDIA ON ATTITUDES TOWARDS
THE ROLES OF WOMEN AND MEN IN PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY

Report of the Special Rapporteur,
Mrs. Esmeralda Arboleda Cuevas **

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** On the recommendation of the Commission on the Status of Women (draft resolution IX of its twenty-eighth session), through the Economic and Social Council at its first regular session of 1980, the Preparatory Committee for the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women decided at its third session to submit the report of the Special Rapporteur (E/CN.6/627) to the World Conference after appropriate revision in the light of the comments made during the twenty-eighth session of the Commission. The present report has been revised in accordance with this decision and is submitted as a conference background paper under item 8 of the provisional agenda of the Conference.

The views expressed are those of the author and not necessarily those of the United Nations Secretariat.

Preface

It is now universally acknowledged that the influence of the mass communication media on attitudes towards the roles of women and men in present-day society has gone beyond the scope of debate. It has achieved a status in world-wide research as well as having been incorporated in planning programmes of many organizations at all levels of national, sectoral and international life. Further, it has been integrated in most development projects concerned with the advancement of women.

Undoubtedly the United Nations system has been in the forefront of this trend. The Commission on Human Rights was among the first to appreciate the importance of the issue and it subsequently empowered the Economic and Social Council to conduct and implement forceful mandates to set in motion activities pertaining to women and the media. The most recent of these endeavours has culminated in the present report, which implements resolution 2063 (LXII) dealing with the influence of the mass communication media on attitudes towards the roles of women and men in present-day society.

The vast scope of the subject-matter has resulted in a virtual information overload. Instead of facing a research problem, the subject has opened new horizons and has led to many data sources. The availability of an abundance of reference material has provided the report with a basis for the synthesis of new approaches and has prompted the exploration of action-oriented measures.

Yet this report does not purport to be conclusive. At best, it should be seen as only one of the initiatives towards the goal to be achieved, which must be followed by additional research and activities including seminars, workshops and related training activities.

The study was hampered by substantial difficulties in obtaining both administrative and field support. These setbacks, however, only served to highlight the contributions of staff of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) both at headquarters and at its Liaison Office with the United Nations, and of the Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat, through its Advancement of Women Branch. In this context, mention should also be made of the additional contributions and participation by a number of Governments, non-governmental organizations, institutions and individual experts who helped to build the data base for the study.

The preparation of this report drew to a large extent upon work carried out by UNESCO which is the lead agency in this field. Individual references have not always been included. However, a Bibliography listing the principle works utilised is appended.

Esmeralda Arboleda Cuevas

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INTRODUCTION

1. Owing to their capacity to reach a vast audience, the mass communication media has been credited as an institution with the most pervasive influence on attitudes and opinions. There are other powerful forces, such as the family, church and school, but on a global perspective, and in terms of numbers reached, those forces cannot compete with the messages and symbols in newspapers, magazines, radio, television, commercial advertising and cinema, which load the audience round the clock.
2. As the sophistication of communications technology and hardware escalates, the audience base of media expands. And, as more people gain access to the media, their influence, particularly on how the world should be viewed, becomes more dominant, even alarming. Numerous studies show that newspapers, magazines, radio, television and the cinema not only transmit public opinion but are influential in its formation.
3. Influence is exerted by the mass communication media in various manners, for example, by presenting models, offering social definitions, encouraging stereotypes and conferring status on people and behavioural patterns, as well as in several other indirect ways (1). It is surprising, therefore, to note that, in relation to the varied issues involving women, research gives very little attention to the systematic investigation of how the mass communication media influence opinions about their roles.
4. As a cultural force, the mass communication media do not simply reflect - they help to shape - social reality. This is due to their function as agents of socialization and of social change. The media can present social attitudes and behaviour acquired through constant exposure, imitation, comparison and indoctrination. Viewed from a positive angle, they can spark new trends and

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become exponents of new movements and changes in values, particularly those which can help reverse, over a period of time, the traditional concept and treatment of women. At present, however, the need for change remains urgent, for data is rather consistent on a stereotyped image of women, and indications are high and persistent that the tendency is towards the traditional rather than the modern.

5. A meeting of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) on the subject of women and the mass media (2) points out how feminine militancy has drawn attention to the role of the mass media in perpetuating and disseminating traditional stereotypes of women, which in turn contributes to perpetuating their inferior social status. The problem, therefore, is simple: if, in fact, the mass communication media reflect women as they see themselves, and thus perpetuate stereotypes and myths, it is necessary to tear down barriers and traditions, remove prejudices and obstacles and create a new tool for what can be called a social revolution. This, clearly, is a domain of the socialization process.

6. Although the aspect of socialization has received much attention in terms of theoretical analysis of the sociology of women, and the mass media have been assigned a role in contributing to sex-role stereotyping of women, the sociological interaction and the relationship between women and the mass communication media do not seem to attract very many empirical studies. Despite an acknowledgement of the socializing influence of the mass media on women as a function of sex-role concepts and behaviour adopted by both sexes, the steps which connect media exposure and personal behaviour remain a mystery. Thus, social attitudes remain the largest obstacle to change in the traditional roles of women.

7. Since 1970, when research on women and the mass media started to burgeon, studies have relied almost exclusively on the content analysis method. The approach is often unitary, and consists generally in finding out the number of instances in which the mass media portrays women and/or their image as one of traditional stereotyping. This suggests an already biased approach to research, and its shortcomings are due to the use of a limited research methodology.

8. Applied to women and the mass media, content analysis rarely proceeds beyond the sexual dichotomy. All males, counted together as a general category, are contrasted with an all-female category distinguished on the basis of personal and visible traits, such as marital status, age, physical appearance etc. When media images of women are treated, analysis tends to define them within the narrow confines of their stereotyped roles; the traditional domestic and the sexual object of man being outstanding examples.

9. Recently, however, some social science and communication experts have extended the scope and nature of research to include the sociological process. Concern has been diverted in order to take full account of the considerable ongoing changes in the economic, social and political positions of women, as well as the manifestations of these changes in the content of the mass media. Studies which substantiate this new trend include the one by Myra Buvinic (3), which focuses on the effects of socio-economic development and cultural change on women, as well as women's reaction to these changes. The work of Kathleen Newland (4), which reviews the changing role of women world-wide and discusses the impact of these changes in politics, economic development and social structures is also relevant.

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10. A considerable amount of research has also been done in the French language. Of particular relevance is that undertaken under the auspices of UNESCO by Anne Legaré (5) on the impact of "Femme d'aujourd'hui", a programme for women in Quebec's television. Its conclusions are of even greater interest, since they apply to a community in search of its own identity, in trying to protect and enrich the French-Canadian culture, and in comprehending women who belong to a disadvantaged social group.

11. In the process of completion is a study by Margaret Gallagher (6) for UNESCO and the forthcoming Seminar on Women and the Mass Media of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women, 1980. Gallagher cites examples showing how the mass communication process and the mass media organizations cannot be separated from the social, economic and political systems in which they are embedded. She mentions that it is no accident that in those countries in which women have made the most progress towards full social, economic and political participation, economic imperatives have underlain policy formulations, and mass media reflects the Government's commitment to those policies. Elsewhere in the laissez-faire economics of the capitalist world, the media tends to respond to other commercial pressures, which characterize women's participation primarily in terms of consumerism.

12. The present report isolates the fundamental and/or most pervasive sociological factors that can help in understanding the development and consequent reinforcement of sex-role stereotyping in the mass communication media. In order to do so, it takes into account the direct relationship between sociological variables and the issue of women in the context of the media. It assumes as well that the media are subservient to ethnic, political, economic, educational

concepts and policies existing in given cultures. It hopes, thus, to underline the strength of these sociological factors as obstacles in stereotyping women, thereby providing a more realistic basis for the formulation of media strategies suitable to individual sociological problems.

13. Data have evolved out of a rigid screening of available literature on the topic. Particular attention has been given to research conducted after 1975, following the observance of the International Women's Year, and to recent studies undertaken by individual experts involved with the social sciences, women's issues and the mass communication media. These studies have been gathered through personal contact with a world-wide network of experts. The report also reflects significant findings derived from an opinion survey undertaken from April through August 1979.

14. In order to provide for modifications arising from distinct policies, data and issues are sometimes grouped so as to cut across similar national situations. Geographical positions, ethnic characteristics and political structures or orientations are all taken into consideration as factors which intervene in decisions and activities which affect women's relation with the mass media. All groupings of data and issues follow a most pragmatic approach. Generalizations, recommendations and/or guidelines thus retain a high proportion of their scientific validity, whenever implemented at the local, national or regional levels.

15. It is important to underline the fact that the nature of the sources of the data available for the preparation of this report was not fully balanced. Thus, data were available on some regions while they were lacking on others, in which case secondary sources were used. There was a preponderance of data

on the United States of America and Western Europe, while there was difficulty in obtaining data from certain countries, particularly socialist countries. In addition, mention should be made of the monopoly by Western news agencies on the reporting of various news items and of the fact that, partially because pre-packaged media programmes are exported to various regions, such as Latin America, Asia and Africa, especially from the United States of America and Europe, the impact of these programmes is not limited to American or Western audiences, but is spread to audiences of other continents.

I. A BRIEF HISTORY OF UNITED NATIONS EFFORTS

16. United Nations concern for the subject of women and the media was first expressed in 1972 by the Commission on the Status of Women. In its resolution I (XXIV), the Commission emphasized that deep-rooted attitudes were serious obstacles to its work of promoting the advancement of women, and it observed that those attitudes were due to cultural patterns which to a certain extent determined the ways of thinking and feeling of women and men, and were disseminated on a vast scale as a result of the technical advances in mass communication media. The Commission called for a report by the Secretary-General to be based on information received from Governments and interested non-governmental organizations (7).
17. The report (E/CN.6/581), submitted in 1974, substantiated the concern voiced by the Commission and stressed the need for additional research. Further recommendations were made and subsequently incorporated by the Economic and Social Council in its resolution 1862 (LVI) of 16 May 1974. The Council called for a further report by the Secretary-General, based on information available to him, to be submitted to the Commission at its twenty-sixth session in 1976. It also invited UNESCO, among others, to co-operate in carrying out pilot country studies.

18. The concerns expressed by the Commission and the Council were echoed and reinforced at the World Conference of the International Women's Year, held at Mexico City in 1975. The World Plan of Action adopted by the Conference devotes a special chapter to the mass communication media. According to the Plan, the media have great potential as vehicles for social change and can exercise a significant influence in helping to remove prejudices and stereotypes, accelerating the acceptance of women's new and expanding roles in society and promoting their integration into the development process as equal partners. A basic aim of the Plan is to eliminate the negative influences that, based on old conceptions, negate the true image of women and ignore the diversity of their roles and their actual and potential contribution to society. The Plan further seeks to raise public consciousness, utilizing in favour of women the immense potential of the mass media (8).

19. The second report of the Secretary-General (E/CN.6/601 and Corr.1) took into account the recommendations of the Conference, as well as those of the Commission and the Council. It focused especially on measures that might be taken by Governments, non-governmental organizations, international and media organizations to achieve a new attitude towards the roles of women in present day society. The Economic and Social Council, in resolution 2063 (LXII) of 12 May 1977, acting on the recommendation of the Commission on the Status of Women at its twenty-sixth session, agreed to the appointment of a special rapporteur, with a mandate to prepare a study on the impact of the mass communication media on the changing roles of men and women, including action taken by the public and private sectors at national, regional and international levels to remove prejudices and sex-role stereotyping, to accelerate the

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acceptance of women's new and expanded roles in society and to promote their integration into the development process as equal partners with men. At its resumed second regular session of 1978 the Economic and Social Council appointed Mrs. Esmeralda Arboleda Cuevas as the special rapporteur for the study,

20. Since the issue of women and the media was first raised in the United Nations in 1972, other organizations within the system have, in varying degrees, shown increased interest in the subject. Special mention should be made here of UNESCO and, also more recently, of the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA). UNESCO, for example, over the last two years, has supported and mobilized a number of action-oriented research and field projects focusing specifically on the use and role of the mass communication media in developing more positive attitudes towards the status and image of women in society. Jointly with UNESCO, the United Nations is currently planning an international seminar on women and the media as part of the preparations for the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women, 1980.

21. In view of the limited time available to the special rapporteur to undertake detailed consultations with all interested organizations in the United Nations system, as well as the restrictions imposed on the length of this report, it was considered preferable for the organizations themselves, rather than the special rapporteur, to inform the Commission of any relevant activities undertaken or planned in addition to those described in the Secretary-General's report of 1976 (E/CN.6/601 and Corr.1, chap. III).

22. The present report of the special rapporteur combines the research methods used to prepare the two preceding reports (E/CN.5/581 and E/CN.601 and Corr.1). It also attempts to fill in the research gap identified in the second document,

wherein it was noted that, in spite of the importance of the subject, very little information was available on how sex roles were portrayed by the mass media. The aim of this report, therefore, is (a) to generate a valid set of guidelines for policy action that can serve as a strong basis for project planning at global, sectoral and national levels to advance studies and action programmes on women and the mass communication media; (b) to give an evaluation of how the World Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Objectives of the International Women's Year relating to the mass communication media has been translated into positive action by various Governments and organizations; and, (c) to provide an appraisal of how the various programmes and projects of the specialized agencies, as well as other activities such as workshops, seminars etc. held through the regional offices, have helped in bringing the subject of women and the mass communication media into greater focus.

23. The guidelines put forward in this report have evolved from a careful review of research materials, both published and unpublished, on the subject. They have also developed from the findings from an opinion survey that collected information on the extent to which the mass communication media and industry had helped to advance the status and positive role image of women in society. The survey reflected opinions solicited from 153 Governments, 158 non-governmental organizations, individual experts and other organizations, such as media institutions.

24. In view of the considerable delay in appointing the special rapporteur, which did not finally take place until October 1978, and thereafter the administrative constraints encountered in the process of setting up the data-base for the study, the present report faced difficulties and limitations. The assistance provided by UNESCO to overcome such difficulties was most valuable and should be emphasized.

25. At its twenty-eighth session from 25 February to 5 March 1980, the Commission on the Status of Women expressed its appreciation to the Special Rapporteur for her comprehensive report, particularly in view of the substantial difficulties with which she had been faced in obtaining both administrative and field support. Many representatives proposed that the report be forwarded to the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women, for its consideration. Several representatives stated that the report assumed particular importance in view of the concurrent release of the report of the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems. That Commission was constituted by UNESCO as a result of pressure from several countries to study communications problems. However, one representative pointed out that, while the Commission itself had completed its work and submitted its recommendations, it was, with the exception of the member from Canada, an all-male Commission and had produced only one general resolution dealing with the communication needs of women. Consequently, several representatives felt that the Commission could draw several lessons from that experience and should note the importance of the special rapporteur's report in that connexion. Several representatives called for increased co-operation between the United Nations and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization in this field and noted with interest that, under the co-sponsorship of both organizations, a seminar is to be convened in May 1980, in New York, on the question of "Women and the Media", and expressed the hope that the report of the special rapporteur would serve as a major contribution at that seminar.

26. The representative of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization stated that UNESCO was not in a position to comment on the report of the special rapporteur, it therefore does not necessarily reflect UNESCO's position on this subject. UNESCO may avail itself of the possibility to make comments before the third session of the Preparatory Committee for the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women. She offered copies of a recent UNESCO publication entitled Portrayal and Participation of Women in the Media, and said that UNESCO was paying special attention in its work to the image of women as reflected in school text books and children's publications.

II. PERVERSIVE SOCIAL OBSTACLES MAINTAINING IMAGE-STEREOTYPING

27. The mass media in the United States of America, Canada and Western Europe typify women as a consumer. Because of the commercial value inherent in their sex role, almost invariably they are portrayed as the traditional housewives or the amorous sex objects. Women make the majority of consumer decisions and are therefore valuable to the efforts of various industries, including the mass media, to progress or even to survive.

28. In three areas, women are considered commercial assets: as housewives, as sex objects and as employed women. Of the three roles, the most popular and beneficial to the mass media has been and still is, the traditional role of woman as housewife-mother. Media studies also consider the stereotyping of this role as the most significant economic obstacle to changing women's image. Research indicates that this is based on a preoccupation with purely material and consumer values. In fact, in the countries mentioned above, it is hardly possible to separate the housewife-consumer partnership. At the twenty-eighth

session of the Commission of the Status of Women the representative of New Zealand stated that the situation described in this and the previous paragraph would certainly be parallel to New Zealand.

29. In the United States, newspapers give precedence to the role of mother and wife over occupational or professional activities (9). A woman may occasionally manager her husband, but (always wisely!) she gives way to him in the end. If she works, she is never the boss; and however long her hours, nothing interferes with the smooth running of her home. She is the perfect homemaker, but above all the perfect consumer. In Austria, a daily review of four of the most influential newspapers concludes that the most frequently projected images of women are "the careful, home-loving housewife; the tramp or sex object; the efficient secretary; the femme fatale or model; and the devoted mother" (10). In the British newspapers, Barr (11) notes the apparent stereotyping emphasis on the female appearance and description of women in terms of their marital status and their domestic role, whatever their occupations are. And, on the basis of a survey of Netherlands magazines (12), Wassenaar reveals the image of the housewife-mother to be dominant, and the primary role of married women to be that of pleasing their man, the centre of their lives.

30. The fact that a larger audience in the highly industrialized countries is glued to the television explains the lack of data, or even of interest, in studies relating to radio. This is particularly regrettable since these countries also concentrate vertically their monopoly of the mass media, and the abundance of television receivers does not preclude a parallel number of radio receivers. Neither does this generalization apply to some countries in Europe, for instance Cyprus, Spain, Turkey and Yugoslavia, which are still radio-oriented owing to their socio-economic structure, media infrastructure and resource capabilities.

31. Commercial advertising in television is considered the most influential medium in perpetuating the traditional image of women as housewife-mother-consumer. Studies note that advertising places women firmly at home and identifies housework as a woman's special responsibility. The study conducted by Lundstrom and Sciglimpaglia (13) is more direct; it stresses that advertising suggests that women do not do important things, portrays women in a manner that is offensive and implies that women's place is at home. Research by O'Donnell and O'Donnell (14) and the Task Force on Women and Advertising of Canada (15) has also underlined the extent to which advertising associates domestic tasks and products with women. Moreover, the analysis by Marecek et al. (16) of how women are represented in television commercials reveals that the little expertise women show in television is largely restricted to traditional areas of homemaking and personal care and that this restriction tends to increase. At the twenty-eighth session of the Commission on the Status of Women the representative of New Zealand stated that a similar situation exists in her country. In this respect, she stated that growing numbers of individual women are taking upon themselves to offer consumer resistance to those television advertising concerns who insist on perpetuating that image of women.

32. Generally speaking, television programmes, whatever their type and format, are housewife-oriented. Weibell (17) underlines the predominant housewife-mother image of women, except in drama. Kuchenhoff (18) cites that in the Federal Republic of Germany, women's roles are restricted to traditionally female spheres of health and family-oriented news stories. Findings by the United States Commission on Civil Rights (19) and the Ontario Educational Communications Authority (20) further note that television considers marriage and parenthood,

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as well as the responsibilities associated with it, as more central to a woman's than to a man's life.

33. There is also ample evidence showing that the role of women is to attract men by means of their appealing physique and to keep them by being deferent and subservient. In fact, this is the rationale behind the beautiful woman as an object of pleasure. The "amorous-glamorous" image of women is played up in most of the visual media of television, film and magazines, with, of course, excellent financial results (21).

34. In magazines, more so than in newspapers, women are mainly considered sex objects. Various analyses of magazines such as Viva and Cosmopolitan have suggested that, by presenting men, rather than women, as sex objects, these periodicals merely present another version of the traditional picture of women; by emphasizing the importance of men in women's lives, they substitute sexual freedom for economic or social liberation. Weibell (17) writes that the only link that has remained between feminism and Cosmopolitan is the fact that women's sexual freedom has become her liberation. This observation in fact created an uproar from some media commentators, which precipitated concern on the part of the United States Commission on Civil Rights (19), among others, at the growth of American programmes portraying women as sex objects, possibly reflecting some misconceptions among broadcasters concerning women's "liberation" and "sexual freedom". Recent studies of television programming in the United States note a similar development in broadcasting.

35. Lately, a new trend in exploiting women's body consists in what network executives refer to as "girlie shows". Under pressure from both audiences and federal regulators to eliminate violence from television, the networks have

responded by substituting women. The success of "Charlie's Angels" for example, has generated a rush of imitators featuring gorgeous women in various glamorous occupations, with their sexual charms constantly on display (4).

36. The third most popular image of women is that of the employed housewife or professional career woman. This role has evolved from the growing number of women in paid employment and the steady increase in the number of married women employed. However, world-wide studies show a concentration of women portrayed as being employed in limited and inferior fields and roles. The studies conducted by the United Methodist Church (22) and the United States Commission on Civil Rights (19) report that in the United States, women are most likely to be portrayed in traditional female occupations, generally as secretaries or nurses, and as supervisees rather than supervisors. Findings of Scandinavian, British and German origin, confirm that, aside from under-representation and depiction in stereotyped domestic and sexual roles, women are seen in service occupations rather than in positions of authority (6).

37. Fragmented evidence seems to imply that the mass communication media in countries with socialist systems and policies present and treat women in a generally positive manner. Their economic contribution to development, on a par with that of men, is particularly stressed.

38. Some studies on Eastern Europe offer evidence that the presentation and treatment of women in the mass media do not significantly differ from those in countries with a capitalist system and orientation. A content analysis of samples of Soviet children's readers (23) reveals that, despite a high rate of female participation in the labour force, women in these readers are overwhelmingly identified as mothers and grandmothers and portrayed as passive,

expressive, supportive, nurturing and contented as well as politically naive. On the other hand, men are portrayed in a broad range of activities almost exclusively outside the home and shown as active, confident, ambitious and politically involved. The same analysis reveals that, even from an early age, children are exposed to different images of male and female roles. Mass media literature directed at children and youngsters retain images which reflect traditional distinctions in the emotional make-up, intellectual capacities and motivation of boys and girls.

39. A study of newspapers in Poland (24) illustrated that childbearing is not a father's role as indicated from photographs of women as mothers but not of men as fathers. Reports about women generally show that they have children while reports about men do not mention their family life. The same under-representation of women is available in magazines. Semenov's analysis of two most popular youth magazines (25) discovers that there are five times as many authors as authoresses; males are featured in central positions twice as often as women; and, while in 48 per cent of the cases no information is given about the occupation of female characters, this is true only in 9 per cent with respect to males. In Yugoslavia, perhaps owing to its importation of mass media products from the West, periodicals focus on sexuality. A survey of magazines (26) identifies an emphasis on women's display of sexuality which borders on the pornographic and on this evidence, concludes that by replacing social with sexual emancipation, the media have reversed the sense and substance of women's movements

40. The representative of the USSR, at the twenty-eighth session of the Commission on the Status of Women stated that the previous paragraphs do not concord with the image of women reflected by the media in the USSR.

The broad range of statistics which reflect the status of women in Soviet society is systematically published in statistical handbooks such as "Women in the Soviet Union". They reach a broad readership and large numbers of these booklets are printed.

41. The Soviet press, radio, television, information agencies as well as publishing agencies are making a very important contribution to the development of the economy and the cultural and social life of this country. An enormous effort is constantly being carried out by the media to involve women actively in state, public and social work, and to take a full part in the construction of a new life. Women take part in State power-organs and are involved in politics and in economic work, as a result of a great deal of educational work carried out by the Communist Party among the working masses of men and women. The media is constantly showing women's worth and capabilities and the value of their work to society as a whole. Furthermore, women's artistic achievements increase the role of women in Soviet society and put them side by side with those who are struggling for a new life and for popular happiness. The press constantly publishes material about the active participation of Soviet women in all aspects of life of the country. Information is also published about the struggle of women in various countries of the world for peace, against imperialism, for national independence and for economic and social rights, as well as covering international women's conferences.

42. She stated that in the Soviet Union the possibilities for making use of the mass media for the benefit of women in order to improve their life are fully available because women work in large numbers in all these media. They occupy high positions in various publishing sectors, in the cinema, on the

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radio and television. The image of modern Soviet women created by the mass media there, shows a harmoniously developed personality with high spiritual levels comprising all at once a mother, a citizen and an actively participating worker engaged in building a Socialist Society and involved in educating the younger generation. This is a reflection of the real situation, where millions of Soviet women on an equal footing with men, are taking part in useful work, in the creation both of material and spiritual wealth. The real conquest of Socialism, the elimination of exploitation of man by man, a free education, free medical care, the elimination of unemployment, concern on the part of the State of women as mothers and in the continual increase in the prosperity of workers, have created all the necessary conditions for women to become full equal members of society. The media is an essential part of this process.

43. While in the north of the American continent, capitalism exalts activities and behavioural patterns traditionally called virile - aggressiveness, competition and emulation, combativeness - which place women in a secondary and subservient position, in the south ancient cults of feminine divinities prevail, well mixed with Catholic hagiology and reinterpreted through strong Hispanic-moorish prejudices against women. The result in the south is far from a true feminization, but rather the imposition of a relationship where the woman is equally subservient to man.

44. Basically, women in Latin America continue to be shaped into planetary beings who rotate perpetually around the masculine sun. Woman's role is specified as one of service, procreation and virtue. Vis-à-vis man, a woman is the epitome of subordination, sacrifice and purity. Worst, these characteristics are sublimated

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in romantic love. As a mother, the woman is self-sacrificing and dedicated; as a wife, she is faithful, weak and delicate. Womanhood should culminate in marriage and the solution to all problems is motherhood. As an opposite image to this idealized, if corrupted, view of womanhood, is the woman with manly characteristics, who is condemned as the personification of evil.

45. The mass media are not passive in their reinforcement of this double view of womanhood: the sentimental and the immoral. In fact, the media have been a parallel conservative force in reinforcing these ideological imperatives, since by so doing, their function of maintaining the status quo is fulfilled. Sentimentality is poignantly duplicated in the telenovela "Simplemente María", whose unprecedented success raked in millions for its sponsors; while the devilish one is superbly cast as "Doña Bárbara", a personification created by Pómulo Gallegos. They are produced in the region and widely distributed.

46. Available data on the image of women in newspapers project this relatively low esteem for women, as evident for instance in the separate sections labelled exclusively for women. In fact, a related discussion by experts has observed that newspapers consider women as newsworthy only because they provide a sensational angle to the story (27).

47. In magazines, women's passivity is represented by the fictional heroine who is dependent, ineffectual, humble, virtuous, contented and emotional. An analysis of 202 stories (28) drawn from a sample of magazine fiction directed at the working and middle class confirms this image. Lately, this passivity has assumed a new expression. The female imagery in magazine fotonovelas from 1960 onwards in Colombia has made a striking redefinition of women's vulnerability to oppression on the basis of her sexuality (29).

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48. It is radio that women provide the proverbial mine for sponsors, as exemplified by the astonishing popularity of the soap operas. An analysis (30) implies a marked emphasis on love as a solution to all problems and love as the only possible means of individual progress. Man's standards of feminine behaviour also serves as a basis for rewards and punishments (31). A more alarming finding is that the life portrayed in soap operas is viewed as the real one, if not substituted for it. The results of studies involving housewives in a Venezuelan village (32) are confirmed by similar studies undertaken at Saõ Paulo, in Brazil (33).

49. In television, a channel of communication that caters to a substantial westernized elite, the same trend is magnified, particularly through the visual advantage of the medium for duplicating situations and making them lifelike. A study of the television portrayal of women in Puerto Rico (34) reveals that the mother image (depicted as an abandoned wife sacrificing herself for her children) has taken on other variations, such as that of the aunt who uses single blessedness as an excuse for self-sacrifice, the never-assertive daughter or sister etc.

50. These images are even more emphatically reinforced in advertising sustained by these three pervasive media. A study of advertisements in radio, television and magazines in Costa Rica (35), for instance, reveals a prevailing focus on motherhood and reproduction, sublimated in romantic love and expressed in self-sacrifice, dedication and reward. Owing to the influence of methods from the United States, explicit sexuality has also become run of the mill for television.

51. . Latin America's proximity to the United States and the considerable

westernization of its elite make it a region particularly sensitive to the penetration of commercialized images, which superimpose faulty reflections of feminity. Thus, it becomes doubly difficult for the Latin American woman to achieve her freedom: she does not only struggle against her own social and historical background, but receives a compounded and artificial image that puts her at a greater disadvantage.

52. However, efforts to counteract this Western penetration have been made. As far as the monopoly that the international press agencies exercise, Governments in Latin America have been at the forefront in efforts by UNESCO to create a double current of international information that will, even indirectly, benefit women's image. Through the creation of SERLA, the signatory countries of the "Convenio Andres Bello" have agreed to maintain their cultural independence vis-à-vis satellite transmissions; while in the area of publications, some feminist groups counteract the superficial, banal and dangerously facile commercialized image of women and although they still have the problem of a limited circulation, their magazines have become pioneers. Fem., edited in Mexico City, perhaps serves as the best example. In New Zealand the growth of these magazines has been slow but sure, but they have the constraints of a limited budget.

53. In Latin America, Cuba presents a unique picture in the story of women's emancipation. The Revolutionary Government of 20 years ago decided that the full partnership of women was indispensable. Not satisfied with a purely economic integration, an over-all transformation was brought about in the images of women and men. Not only were Cuban women made aware of their rights, but men were sensitized to their new duties as well. Using all forms of mass media, the

Government launched an educational campaign: all citizens, even those living in small rural communities, were instructed in their new roles in socialist Cuba.

54. After years of persevering in this new relationship, which, of course, started with the creation of new images in the textbooks, the Cuban Government felt confident that it could move on still further and therefore crystallized the new social situation into laws. Even prior to its approval, every Cuban citizen was made aware of the new image; hence, every detail of the proposed legislation was discussed and approved by local committees. Then, complying with a popular and universal request, Congress acted and approved the new Family Code in 1975. In a single generation, the image of the Cuban woman was transformed and today only one type of citizen exists in Cuba, with no social, economic, or political differences due to sex.

55. Hardly any studies on the images of women in the mass media are to be found in English for the other countries in the Caribbean. Until the date of writing, the only data available to this study has consisted of an analysis of the image and perception of women in imaginative literature in Haiti (36).

56. Haitian society puts a high value on motherhood and barrenness is unacceptable. The maternal household, unstable conjugal unions and illegal offspring are all emphasized as features of the Haitian family. Superstition, the influence of fatalism and ignorance are represented as forces that encourage the birth of many children and discourage the use of contraceptive measures.

57. The role of women in agriculture, the family, health and nutrition are perceived according to the cultural values prevailing in the country and the circumstances affecting the Haitian peasant's life. Although this does not necessarily concur with reality, as documented otherwise in some of the research

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undertaken on the subject of women in the country, the Haitian woman is portrayed in the literature referred to here as unable to derive power from the oppressive burden of her responsibility, even if she is often successful in trade and economically independent. Many literary images of women as sole heads of household reveal lives of maternal self-sacrifice, unending work, deprivation and illness (37).

58. With respect to Jamaica, a general analysis shows that the family and social position of lower-income women is one of acute insecurity and oppression. This is partly illustrated in a historical article describing that within the slave hierarchy, the position of the black women is, sexually, economically and from the family standpoint, one of oppression and exploitation. Today, the situation of black women still reflects "the society's perception of women as workers without skills, reservoirs of cheap human power and always available for exploitation" (38).

59. Struggling for an emerging status, Jamaican women find that they comprise over half the population of the island and that there is every reason to suppose that they play a vital role in society (39).

60. In Asia, the progress in mass media research about the development of corollary training programmes for women only emphasizes the need for a more open and revolutionary acknowledgement by the mass media of the new status and potential of women. In fact, there is an increasing demand for the mass media to exhibit a parallel responsiveness to emerging social changes in which women are viewed outside the context of home, family and children.

61. An evaluation of studies on women and the mass media in Asia is a very demanding task. The diversity of social systems and values, variations in

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historical pasts, complexities arising from extreme socialist to extreme capitalist ideologies, create corresponding differences in the view and treatment of women by the mass media. At one end of the continuum, for instance, is China, which, compelled by economic necessity, needed to harness women to rebuild a nation and an economy, a change the mass media sustained by way of a revolutionary reversal of the self-image of women and a redefinition of their social roles. At the other end lies Japan, where the struggle of the Japanese woman who, despite her country's technological leap, economic industrialization, and total media saturation, meets difficulties in trying to release herself from a rigid set of customs and traditions, an effort the mass media give visibility to and/or help to undermine.

62. There is the distinct status of the Filipino woman who, since before the turn of the century even, has been conscious of the existence of a matriarchal society but, in deference to the universal patriarchal view of society, has been responsible for her own stereotyped image through her perpetuation of the myth (41) that it is the man who leads, a concept the mass media have picked up and reflect as real. Also puzzling is the seemingly hard decision faced by the Indian woman on whether to take a more explicit view of her sexuality or to remain passively traditional, a dilemma inflicted by her exposure to the media pact generously provided by the West. Similarly, there is the Thai woman, who is trying to emerge from the cocoon of her traditional society.

63. Despite efforts to encourage the mass media to cater to a more liberal and active imagery of women in Asia, analyses are still indicative of the traditional. The newspapers are seemingly the most reluctant to reverse the image of women.

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Several analyses of the Japanese press, for instance, show a tendency in news reporting to provoke hostility towards women who challenge the traditional and approval of those who keep up traditions (42). Even linguistic mechanisms to describe the dissent or protests of women towards traditional roles as irrational, emotional and hysterical have been created (43). One leading woman journalist-feminist in Japan concludes that the newspapers reinforce traditional notions, actively contradicting the redefinition of sex roles in contemporary Japan (44).

64. In India, an analysis of Hindu periodicals (46) covering the last 30 years shows a steady decline in the discussion of women's issues. Worse, it reflects and almost exclusive emphasis on traditional concerns, such as food, fashion, and beauty, which is attributed to the dependence on advertising and economic consumption influenced by the West. An analysis of the women's pages in the English-language newspapers in Hong Kong (46) reveals an overwhelming number of photographs, mostly on social events and fashions that preoccupy the elite; fashion stories, horoscopes and regular features on food and recipes dominate the sections. Only 10 out of the 67 issues sampled focus on medical or psychological questions.

65. In magazines, the image is just as unresponsive to emerging social changes. Women's magazines in India, like their periodical counterpart, focus almost exclusively on food, fashion, and beauty. In spite of this negative trend, however, India is credited as Asia's pioneer in the development of a feminist press. Feminine magazines, such as Manushi and Femina, have presented a radical alternative image of women, but they are generally accessible only to the minority of the predominantly middle class literate women.

66. In spite of the important role of radio and its accessibility to the vast majority of the mass population, particularly in developing areas of Asia, studies are lacking on the impact of the medium on attitudes towards women. This is perhaps due to a tendency towards elitism, which relies on the more lucrative media, such as the press, television, and cinema, which, unfortunately, are within the reach of only an educated minority of the population.

67. The few studies of television coverage of women confirm the presentation of an extremely narrow range of female images. In Japan, women in television dramas are portrayed as young, occupying traditionally feminine positions, if they are employed at all, seeking identity through love and marriage, passive to problem-solving, diligently home-oriented, self-sacrificing and dependent (47).

68. It is in the cinema that research is concentrated and the data sources are primarily India, Hong Kong and Japan, which have extensive cinema industries. Despite this advantage, however, the cinema in these countries is not very supportive of the new image of women. In Hong Kong and India for instance, which stand among the top five countries in the world in terms of film production, women have a limited role in production. In addition, their portrayal is still stereotyped. A comprehensive analysis of 12 Hindi and 6 Gujarati movies in India (48) reveals an emphasis on the young, beautiful and sexually attractive women: only 12 out of 46 female characters portrayed are shown in gainful employment and women continue to be depicted in traditional female occupations and as being overwhelmingly emotional. Marriage as the only important goal for women is still a feature, as is the classic masculine standard of double morality.

69. An analysis of the images of women in Japanese film production reveals the predominance of the presentation of woman as either wife or whore, but seldom as an independent human being (49). Interesting too, is a sample of ten Filipino films, whose old-fashioned values conflict with those listed by female college studies, implying, among other things, a slow response to emerging new social values in society by the mass media.

70. In advertising, the recurring image of women is Western-oriented (i.e., consumer predisposed, sexually explicit and beauty-conscious). A study of newspaper advertising in the Philippines (50) found that about 30 per cent of the advertisements used women as sales bait or addressed women as consumers. A more aggravating proportion of 60 per cent was revealed in a study of television commercials. In India, dependence on advertising support influences editorial policies. Periodicals address women primarily as potential consumers and are only available to the upper class and middle class women who are primarily housewives and have easy access to both consumer products and the press that promotes them. The majority of the economically active women who are engaged in unskilled labour are seldom addressed.

71. As far as over-all efforts of the mass media to cover and reflect the varied images of women in Asia are concerned, the amount of literature is growing and it is predicted that some reforms will give shape and voice to a new image of women in the mass media. One factor motivating rapid changes is the growing awareness of the potential of women's movements. Observations are available indicating that the movement to equalize women's status vis-à-vis

men's is important to Asia as an integral part of the over-all socio-economic development; and, the press is expected to play a significant role by emphasizing equality between the sexes.

72. India, which until the present time has led in research, training and perhaps production, has set the stage for the development of a truly feminist press. In Japan, the mass media are more and more pressed to support the increasing endeavour of women feminists. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that pessimism runs high. This negativism is founded on the assumption that Asian newspapers do not emulate the Western model as far as the women's movement is concerned. Leading Asian journalists are uncomfortable with the onrush of the feminist movement, which challenges entrenched male positions, and women's movements still get sparse coverage in Asian newspapers. In fact, there is speculation that the pains the movement is undergoing reflects the view held by some Asian Editors, who are predominantly male, that the movement is irrelevant to Asian conditions.

73. There is also an ongoing campaign in Asia to strengthen women's position and influence in the mass media through the creation of adequate education and training facilities. Studies reveal a close correlation between the existence of fairly well-established media structures and the availability of academic mass communication programmes. In Asia, 70 per cent of the institutions offering courses and/or degrees in mass communication are concentrated in five countries, namely, the Philippines, Taiwan Province (China), the Republic of Korea, India and Japan. Further surveys of female employment in the media, particularly in journalism have demonstrated that women are as qualified for media careers as men in terms of educational background. What women seem to lack most

is experience (51). Thus, the Philippines has started on plans for a systematic and an encompassing programme that will expose women journalism graduates to media work traditionally dominated by men and Hong Kong has stimulated regional discussion on women and the media.

74. China, perhaps, should be treated as an isolated case. Literature on the portrayal of women in China is almost purely positive. Various studies of imagery in children's books (52) report the extent to which these challenge traditional Western perceptions of sex roles and provide positive models for girls. It appears that on the basis of available positive literature, individual experts have concluded that "media portrayal of women in China probably represent the most extreme example of how, in a historically brief time span, the mass media can make a major contribution to a revolutionary reversal of women's self-image and of social definitions of women's roles" (6).

75. A study of the relationship between feminism and socialism in China traces the role of the media, primarily the press, in raising the consciousness of women towards the particular form of cultural oppression directed against them (6) as far as periodicals are concerned, the story of the removal of the editor of one of the major women's magazines through a political action during the cultural revolution in 1976 on the grounds that the magazine tried to promote familiar Western values, such as the achievement of happiness through the family or the attractions of good food, has become a classic reference.

76. This positive panorama of China, however, is not altogether supported by an interview with women (53), which indicated that Government and media had neglected the specific difficulties inherited by women from their historical past and through their reproductive roles. Thus, while it is true that the real concerns

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of women have been redefined in the press, films, operas and ballets, politics and production, and heroines are portrayed only in leadership roles, the same sort of stereotyped vision - showing no hint of the competing demands which real women in such positions actually face - displays women as unquestionably non-political and unauthoritative creatures. Such a glimpse perhaps can be confirmed by the fact that in China, despite the absence of legal and economic barriers, men still monopolize the top creative positions in the cinema (54).

77. The literature reflecting the mass media's treatment of women in Australia reveals cases of pervasive trivialization and sensationalization of women's concerns. This is exemplified by a study of the portrayal of women in The Sun of Sydney (55) in which stereotyped portrayals of women appear in sexist cartoons and headlines which describe them in terms of their roles as mothers and, in some instances, in the sensationalized coverage of rape. Also, an analysis of the image of women in three newspapers during the coverage of the 1976 Olympic Games (56) concludes that women were treated according to the narrowest stereotypes, and while sports reporters viewed the male as the general norm, women seemed to fit into some other second-ranking category. This can also be broadly referred to the New Zealand situation.

78. The same pattern is echoed in an earlier systematic study of prime time television shows (57), where women were commonly portrayed as acquiescent and self-deprecating and as objects of male humour. There are no accounts of the impact created by the cinema, but the difficulties presented in producing feminist films within the male system illustrate how the dominant male environment forces compromises on the output of feminists who nevertheless want to achieve visibility over male-controlled channels (58).

79. Rather impressive is Australia's attempt to explain the stereotyped image of women in the mass media by way of a comparative examination of the role of education. Australia has funded several studies, which have stimulated the preparation of guidelines for the different categories of writers and educators on how to reverse the stereotyped image of women in textbooks and in the school curricula. Australia is convinced that education has a lot to do in creating a lower image of and esteem for women, and that this is strongly reinforced outside the school premises by the mass media.

80. Many countries in the diversified Asian continent follow the tenets of Islam, a philosophy that actually transcends the boundaries of Asia, endows a distinct culture to the Middle East and almost divides, sociologically, the African continent. Islam, like other non-Western civilizations, is undergoing a search for its own identity. Founded at a time and place in which woman was strictly considered a childbearer, this remains Islam's perception of what woman should be in all cultures, even in this century. Moslem women feel that they have yet to discover and reach a true equilibrium within their own civilization and develop those rights without which it will be hard to conceive of their present-day image. The problems this presents to the would-be analyst of women and the mass media in Moslem society is self-evident.

81. A compounding problem is that there is very little concern and knowledge about the treatment of women by the mass media in the emerging transitional cultures in the countries comprising Western Asia. What is known so far is that, as in the past, these countries remain in a static cultural situation. This is reflected in a conscious and deep pre-disposition to remain closely intertwined in personal relationships and involvements, particularly the family,

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which traditionally and today, is an important part of life. For instance, in Iran, there remains much of the social customs, religion and law that account for women being considered more dependent and men being traditionally and at the present time more dominant, informed and active than women. Hence, the law stating that the man of the house is the head of it and responsible for its support creates a strong financial dependence of many women on their menfolk and enhances the more dominant active role of the latter. The requirement of two female witnesses for every male witness in legal cases shows, for instance, that there is more faith and trust in the judgment of men (59).

82. As for communication, not only are women not permitted to work in the media, they are not even to be seen in television or heard on the radio, for instance in Saudi Arabia. As a rule, mass media in the Arab world still present women exclusively in the stereotyped role of housewife, mother and consumer and very rarely as spokespersons for their own problems, as has been proved by an observation study in Pakistan (60).

83. Making the most of the few completed studies from these culture-bound countries, some tentative, recurring concepts and images of women can be drawn. For example, the extremely detailed analysis of the Lebanese daily newspapers over the period 1935-1975 (62) reveals that, across all papers and all years, women occupied no more than 4 per cent of the total space. Half of this proportion covered information concerning women that was mostly mundane gossip, while the other half contained advertising using women as selling bait or addressing them as consumers (about 60 per cent and 30 per cent of the cases, respectively). A further finding was that, during critical periods, for example between 1945 and 1975, women's news was among the first to be sacrificed and suppressed.

84. In Egypt, a less gloomy picture is revealed in an analysis of the women's page in two newspapers and of a women's magazine over the period 1965-1976 (62). There was an increased interest in women's activities in the economic and cultural fields and a wider range of topics was treated. However, this trend was accompanied by an increasing percentage of advertising in all the papers studied and only the concerns and interests of the urban middle-class women were considered.

85. Apparently, magazines have been the main medium of communication used by Arab women. About 40 women's magazines appeared in Lebanon, Egypt and Syria during the first 50 years of the twentieth century, but these did not survive for long. Mainly, they fought for the recognition of women's rights, a trend that was not continued from 1950 onward, when magazines tried to satisfy all tastes and published material about housekeeping, child-care and beauty problems while pressing for social reforms in general. Over a period of time, magazines acquired a strong predisposition towards Western influence. In Egypt, there appears to be a tendency for the characters portrayed in women's magazines to assume Western rather than Egyptian attitudes. What is encouraging, however, is that generally there is equal treatment of males and females, although the relationship between them is depicted as relatively formal.

86. Unfortunately, there is no evidence of scientific studies of radio and television but in the cinema an analysis of Egyptian films between 1962 and 1972 concludes that, with few exceptions, the films stressed women's negativism and incapacity to solve problems. Moreover, women were usually shown as physically attractive but lacking in intellectual ability and social awareness (63).

87. The fact that Africa happens to be the favourite of today's development-conscious workers offers an advantage in the sense that there is also a self-conscious use of the media to sustain the process of development. Although still subject to experiment, it is assumed that this advantage is used in favour of a more positive treatment of women by the mass media. For example, it is observed that the appearance in Ghana, Kenya and Senegal of explicitly or implicitly feminist magazines which have become established in recent years indicates that alternative self-images are available (6).

88. In reality, however, the treatment of the images of women in Africa does not yet differ from that found elsewhere. One still finds the same under-representation of women as newsmakers, their depiction as consumers and advertising bait and as the stereotyped wife or whore. A review of the contents of six African dailies over a one-month period (64) for instance, finds only a handful of articles centred on urban women, dealing mostly with the old mill of fashion, social events and crimes. For the purposes of advertising, feminine myths and stereotypes were used in all of the newspapers. Occasional articles on women and the law or on social and economic status and development were presented but only in the most general terms.

89. A number of articles reflect an ambivalent treatment of the image of women in the mass media. In Ghana, where people are still very sensitive to values and customs, the woman is perceived as possessing a mystical awesome power in the area of food-growing and this is viewed as being akin to her even more awesome power of child-bearing. This image, in fact, is exemplified in a review of Ghanaian literature. There are new developments, however. A review of two newspapers in Ghana (65) illustrates some changes over a span of 10 years. In

the Ghana Review, stories about women had doubled in space while the Daily Graphic has made changes in the content, particularly of the women's page. There was a departure from the portrayal of women as wives and mothers, with a new emphasis on their potential role in the development of their social, legal and political rights and their contribution to national development. This change may be due, however, to the fact that a woman had recently been appointed as the newspaper's editor-in-chief.

90. In Zambia, an analysis of The Times and The Daily Mail covering the period 1971 to 1975 (66) reveals an intense ambivalence towards women in society, so that while they are still portrayed as "folk devils", they have also become "folk heroes". As the latter, they are depicted in three different ways: as equal to men in harnessing national development; as sanitized indigenous pin-up women and as strong and protective mothers. However, even in this role there is conflict, so that while they are praised for their initiative as career women, they are condemned for being married.

91. It is in magazines that women seem to be gaining a more positive stronghold. Articles address women in a serious manner and a feminist impact on the attitudes and policies of editors and writers is apparent. Feminist magazines are also becoming sources of alternative self-images. Viva of Kenya, which started as a traditional magazine for women, now publishes regular, comprehensive articles on issues like prostitution, birth control, female circumcision etc.

92. Ghana's Obaa Sima (Ideal Women) is subjected to the problems of publishing for a small literate audience, but in its fifth year its review of editorial policies notes that it will "continue to draw the attention of readers of the whole nation to all matters which will improve the status of women in society"

and appeals to readers to help achieve this (67). The magazine is said to have been largely instrumental in the establishment of a government committee to review the laws of succession and inheritance in Ghana.

93. Comparatively, Senegal's more openly feminist Famille et développement, with a circulation of 20,000, publishes materials on women in the broad sphere of social development. Known to reach and be read by 10 times as many people by the time the copies are lent, traded, resold and passed along, this magazine has published hard-hitting articles on prostitution, birth-control pills, female circumcision, polygamy and sex education. The independent editorial policy of the magazine, maintained through foundation funds and the absence of paid advertising, have helped shape new positive policies affecting women (68). At the twenty-eighth session of the Commission on the Status of Women, the representative of Senegal stated that the press has played a part but not the role inferred from this paragraph.

94. Although radio represents the most promising and practical mass media in Africa, particularly considering the high illiteracy rates, there are only a few studies on radio's potential as part of the integral development of the African women. One of these is the monograph on "L'incidence de l'audiovisuel sur le comportement de la femme sénégalaise" (69), which reports the superiority of radio over other media and the extraordinary importance it has for the great majority of Senegalese women. The monograph observes that for the Senegalese women radio is an instrument to break their isolation, to escape everyday drudgeries, to be informed "on the problems that worry us" and to become part of the national whole.

95. In Africa, particularly south of the Sahara, the development of the cinema industry has been slow owing to a lack of commercial outlets, money and equipment, and the preference of audiences for Western films. Africa's outstanding woman film-maker (Sarah Maldoror) is from the French West Indies and only a few women, mostly from Egypt, the United Republic of Cameroon, Tunisia and Ghana, are active in film-making. An analysis of a selection of feature and documentary films (70) concluded that, while dealing with relevant concerns of contemporary African women in society, the films were not comprehensive and there was too much emphasis on Western influences. The analysis emphasized the need for films not only about but also by African women.

96. At the twenty-eighth session of the Commission on the Status of Women, many representatives cited cases from their respective national experiences that substantiated the points made in this chapter, and called for non-governmental, governmental and intergovernmental efforts (especially the United Nations family) to more effectively monitor the influence of the mass media in this regard and to promote a new and more affirmative image of women in modern society. Some representatives cited gaps in the report in this context, and stated that if they could be filled, the study would be greatly strengthened. One representative thought the report should take more of an in-depth analysis of the socio-cultural roots of both the problems and opportunities of the mass communications media - especially in developing regions such as Africa. He felt that as presented to the Commission, the report does not sufficiently emphasize the social factors which contributed to the formation of stereotyped images of women in Africa. He would like to see the strategies spelled out in greater detail. Another representative cited the weight of thousand-year-old feudal tradition in her Asian country and

condemned the vestiges of male chauvinism which were still noticeable in all aspects of life, and the practice of treating women as merchandise or using them for profit-making purposes.

III. MEASURES TAKEN BY GOVERNMENTS

A. Monitoring and regulating portrayal

97. Almost every report received from the Governments of North America, such as the United States of America and Canada, and countries comprising Western Europe, particularly Greece, Spain and Ireland, admits the absence of any special private or public bodies, committees or departments, which monitor the presentation and dissemination of news with a view to improving the criteria for selecting and presenting current news and factual reports about women. There are countries, such as Sweden and Ireland, however, which have encouraged the media industry itself to form special groups to improve the presentation of news about women, including their involvement in the production of news.

98. Although without a formal national group assigned to monitor current news and factual reports on women, the Governments of the United States and Austria state that attention is given to this matter through the United States Commission on Civil Rights and the Women's Department of the Federal Ministry of Social Affairs respectively. In the Federal Republic of Germany, a private body, the "Aktion Klartext", established in 1978, studies the presentation of items relating to women and their situation in the mass media.

99. A strong phenomenon in most countries is the presence of movements, either of feminists or unions, which undertake studies and monitor news relating to women and/or as advisory and consultative bodies on programming content. This situation exists in Spain, for instance. In the United States, the local chapters

of the National Organization of Women have undertaken studies on the portrayal of women in local news programmes. Meanwhile, in Austria, a women's group formed to study the image of women in the media conducted and published an analysis of the treatment given to this subject in the large daily newspapers, covering six months in 1978.

100. The same situation prevails for entertainment and fiction. Even for this type of programme, Governments and the mass media are guided by the basic constitutional laws on freedom of expression and civil rights. Moreover, any media groups concerned with studies relating to women in news programmes include in them entertainment and fiction. Generally speaking, there is no evidence of studies which plot the influence or impact of entertainment and fiction programmes on the community with respect to the changing roles of women and men. Furthermore, no public or private committees, departments or bodies have made recommendations instituting such studies.

101. Reports of Governments contain elaborate descriptions of legal and non-legal agencies concerned with advertising and indicate that particular attention to affirming a positive image of women is being considered. Exceptions, however, are Belgium and Sweden. In Belgium, no private or public organization exists to deal with advertising or to monitor the portrayal of women in advertisements, because the Broadcast Law of 1960 forbids commercial advertisements in the media. The same is true in Sweden, where radio and television do not carry advertising.

102. An interesting case is Ireland, where the subject is interpreted within the scope of a State act relating to workers, i.e., the Employment Equality Act of 1977 which makes it unlawful to advertise jobs which discriminate on grounds of sex. Austria offers a similarity with Ireland in the sense that a government authority,

a sub-committee of the Advisory Board of Consumer Policy in the Federal Ministry of Trade, Commerce and Industry, also concerns itself with advertising that relates to the proper portrayal of the image of women. The Federal Republic of Germany, Finland and the United States of America are still guided by the provisions of their own basic constitutional laws, which strongly uphold freedom of expression. At the twenty-eighth session of the Commission on the Status of Women, the representative of Finland stated that a law on Consumer Protection has been in force in Finland since September 1978. According to this law, methods that offend moral values, or are improper or misleading from the consumer's point of view, are not allowed in advertising and marketing consumer goods.

103. In most instances, reports from Governments state that the regulation of advertising is subsidiary to media laws, such as the codes of ethics. Greece, for instance, plans to reinforce a Code of Advertising Principles, while in Ireland the Radio Telefis Eirean employs the Code of Advertising Practice. The case of the United States of America is unique because, despite its strong adherence to the tenets of freedom of expression, a number of actions such as that of the National Advertising Board in 1975 have challenged the way women are portrayed in advertising. Actually, private and exclusive bodies do a lot more monitoring than the public authorities or media. In Spain, for example, a private entity, "Autocontrol of Advertising", aims at defining and applying ethical norms to which advertising of products and services should adjust.

104. Regarding efforts to counteract tendencies reinforcing male-female stereotypes in advertising, an over-all impression points to very minimal action by Governments. If there are efforts, they are undertaken by the media itself. Women's groups also do active policing. In the United States of America, after the

National Organization of Women and the Association of Flight Attendants had picketed the offices of two domestic airlines that created highly suggestive television and print advertising in which flight attendants were stereotyped as sex objects, both airlines changed the focus of their campaigns.

105. Most reports from Governments describe the different educational programmes or articles prepared by and for the mass media which directly or indirectly promote women in general and/or their roles. Countries that have produced educational programmes that are relevant to women but do not necessarily deal with their changing roles include Belgium, Greece and Ireland. The Federal Republic of Germany has mentioned specific educational and informative programmes while in Austria, the Federal Ministry of Social Affairs has subsidized the production of three short films for television relating to the changing roles of women. In the United States of America, according to its report, there are programmes and articles about the changing roles of women and men but only four of them are known to have been produced with the aim of promoting that change.

106. On the matter of legislation, there are no laws and/or non-legal sanctions pertaining to the selection and presentation of current news and factual reports relating to women. The basic constitutions of countries override all legislations and strongly uphold the policy of freedom and right of expression. There are, however, codes of ethics for the press, radio and television, but again these do not contain instruments specifically favouring women. Open concern for news about women is largely undertaken through positive actions by established feminist organizations.

107. The same situation applies to laws and non-legal sanctions relating to entertainment and fiction. Reports from the United States of America, however,

note that non-legal sanctions may be in the form of a consumer boycott on advertisers who buy time on programmes that portray women in a demeaning way. In addition, the United States cites actions by the United States Commission on Civil Rights encouraging production companies and network programming executives to incorporate more women (and minorities) into television drama. The United Methodist Women, a private group, has urged writers to give their suggestions to advertisers on how they would like to see television portray girls and women.

108. With respect to laws and regulations covering advertising, particularly prohibitions on the exploitation of the physical attributes of womanhood in a degrading manner, these measures are considered "sensitive issues". Reports from Governments are emphatic that no norms or guidelines exist. As the United States of America puts it, this is largely left to social acceptance.

109. Neither are there any legal and/or non-legal sanctions dealing with ways in which educational-cultural programmes should convey a different image of women. However, Governments are involved in educational activities which promote a less traditional image of women. In Spain, the Subdirección General de la Condición Feminina, established within the Ministry of Culture, suggests that Governments should formulate global political action in this sphere, while in Finland and the United States of America, affirmative action programmes and studies have materialized.

110. Reports from Governments of countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, except the Dominican Republic, stress the absence of any public or private bodies in charge of monitoring the presentation and dissemination of current news and factual reports with a view to improving the image of women. However, councils and/or offices integrated in government offices, as in Chile, indirectly exercise

this function. Either independently, as in the case of the Dominican Republic, or in association with the Government, as in Mexico, radio and television commissions or agencies are formed to serve this purpose. Private organizations are also involved in keeping a good image of women in news and information programmes.

111. The intervention of various monitoring groups in Jamaica is unique. From time to time, these groups comment on specific issues exposed by the media, especially the press. The Women's Bureau and the Committees of Women for Progress have adversely reacted in public against the publication of details of divorce cases and of semi-nude pictures, while the Jamaican Committee on Women's Rights has treated the question of paid maternity leave. The Committee of Women for Progress has also opposed beauty contests, particularly those for little girls.

112. Reports from Latin America and the Caribbean also admit the lack of any existing body of research which assesses the impact on the community of entertainment and fiction programmes with respect to the changing roles of women and men. There are only some sporadic studies, as in the case of Chile, as well as some fragmented studies undertaken by institutions which are extensions of either formal public or private bodies. In the Bahamas, the Entertainment Resource Committee of Civil and Private Citizens has been established to recommend how local entertainment activities can be improved, or at least to ensure that they portray local culture. In Jamaica, the media police themselves. The most widely circulated newspaper, The Gleaner, has recently instituted a progressive women's page in its Sunday magazine section.

113. In relation to advertising, Governments point to three bodies which attend to the monitoring of advertisements. However, none is specially formed to safeguard

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the image of women. Chile and Argentina declare the law that prohibits disrespect for human dignity and sexual discrimination to be applicable. In Mexico, the Dominican Republic and Trinidad and Tobago, this task is covered in the broadcast laws.

114. There are no educational articles or programmes prepared for dissemination by the mass media with the predominant aim of promoting the changing roles of women and men. Generally, there are government-supported or government-funded educational programmes, but very rarely do these treat the role of women. This, however, does not mean that there are no individual or private efforts to attain this objective, as in the Dominican Republic, in the Bahamas and in Jamaica.

115. Since these programmes are designed to meet the social needs of the community as a whole rather than to support the image of a particular group in the society, no effort is made to show a positive image of women. Support endorsing the production of educational/cultural programmes is particularly evident from various women's groups, as in the case of Women in Development in the Dominican Republic, the Women's Bureau in Jamaica and the Secretaría Nacional de la Mujer in Chile.

116. Laws regulating the selection and presentation of news and information items, entertainment and fiction, advertising and even educational/cultural programmes relating to the presentation of women are indirectly provided through the existing basic constitutional laws of the country or through the press and broadcast laws. Generally, these laws prohibit information contrary to good taste and morals. These do not, however, contain legislation dealing with the forms and channels that produce programmes about women.

117. As far as advertising is concerned, in Mexico, the Federal Law of Radio and Television forbids any that is contrary to good custom and exhibits or uses words and attitudes considered to be obscene. In Chile, the university institutions and professionals have shown concern and have prepared studies. In Trinidad and Tobago, there is a growing concern about beauty contests which exploit the attributes of women and about the increasing use of the so-called "calendar art" imported into the country. Regarding educational and cultural programmes, there seems to be a strong attachment to the clause in the constitution upholding equal rights for both sexes so that educational programmes cannot be specifically designed and produced to favour one sex.

118. Reports from the Governments of Australia, Pakistan and Papua New Guinea also state that there are no public or private agencies instituted for monitoring the presentation and dissemination of news specifically to safeguard the image of women. However, there are committees formed within the media industry which are concerned with this task, such as, the Broadcasting Tribunal in Australia and in Pakistan the news division at the television headquarters at Islamabad and the national news bureau at the television centre at Rawalpindi.

119. Reports also stress the absence of any agency that monitors the presentation of women in entertainment and fiction. There are similar attempts by some sectors in the form of research, training or production. In Australia, a number of concrete efforts have been undertaken by the Advisory Committee on Program Standards of the Australian Broadcasting Tribunal. Australia also mentions the contribution of the Women's Bureau in the Department of Employment and Youth Affairs.

120. As regards advertising, there are no agencies or committees engaged in monitoring. Generally, this function is supervised by the broadcasting authority operating in the country and, where this is weak, certain initiatives are taken by individual media sectors. In Singapore, the Department of Broadcasting exercises strict control over commercials, especially those exposing women. There is also a restriction on telecast hours of commercials on women's undergarments and toiletries. Civic organizations often take over the task of monitoring. In Papua New Guinea, the Churches' Council for Media Co-ordination has been active, and the National Council of Women and Women's Affairs Division have publicly expressed concern at the way in which women are being used for commercial advertisements in print. In Australia, a number of groups have commented on the unfair and prejudicial portrayal of women in advertisements.

121. As to efforts in the area of education and culture, Australia reports a recent project funded by the Schools Commission, which has employed a journalist Blanche d'Alpuget, to write a series of articles directed primarily at specialized journals. In Pakistan, the production of such programmes is handled by all five television centres. However, these programmes are not specifically designed to promote the changing roles of men and women. Regarding support from private organizations, only Australia has cited a case.

122. There are no laws which cover the presentation of women in current news and factual reports, entertainment and fiction, advertising and educational/cultural programmes. As far as the first two types of activities are concerned, Australia cites the formation of the Women Media Workers, 1976, which unified and organized women across the branches of the media. As regards advertising, the Media Council of Australia, which has a Code of Advertising Ethics and the Australian Association

of Advertisers, with a similar Code of Advertising Standards, are outstanding. However, none relates to the exploitation of the physical attributes of women. In Pakistan, some clauses in the Television Code of Ethics prohibit the exploitation of womanhood. And, in Papua New Guinea, the Broadcasting Advertising Standards prohibit such exploitation in newspapers as well as in broadcasting.

123. In Israel, the lack of a specific agency to monitor the presentation of women in news and information programmes is covered by the Commission on the Status of Women, which has recently prepared a special chapter on mass communication media and women. Likewise, there is no public or private agency which monitors the portrayal of women in works of entertainment and fiction. As regards advertising, the efforts of the Commission on the Status of Women may be repeated. Also the offices of the Co-ordinator for Women's Affairs has helped by sending letters to advertisers suggesting the formulation of advertisements in a non-sexist style. The report from Israel implies that there is monitoring of educational and cultural programmes. Israel also reports that generally the collaboration of academicians and voluntary organizations is solicited for this activity.

124. Generally, there are no legislations which apply to current news and factual reports, particularly those dealing with women. However, some efforts show that there is concern. In the area of entertainment and fiction, although there are no laws, journals published by women's organizations are conscious of the value of monitoring and their editorial policy is shaped accordingly. Regarding educational programmes, since any guideline concerning the mass media has to be either derived from the existing laws or approved by the Broadcasting Board, guidelines on educational programmes may be acceptable only if proposed to the Board.

125. Where Africa is concerned, there is little direct action against discrimination in entertainment and fiction. Sudan mentions the presence of committees for studying broadcasting and quotes recommendations restricting any entertainment which "contradicts the social rules of the Sudanese society" In advertising, Botswana and Sudan report that at present there are no agencies created solely to monitor the portrayal of women. Both States also indicate the absence of government departments or other bodies of a private nature in charge of producing educational programmes or articles for dissemination by the mass media with the aim of promoting the changing roles of women and men.

126. For all areas of current news and factual reports, entertainment and fiction, advertising and education and culture, there are no legal or non-legal sanctions which prohibit the stereotyping of women. Since Sudan is an Islamic country, customs and traditions prohibit the exploitation of the physical attributes of womanhood.

B. Advancing and regulating participation

127. Reports from Governments indicate that over the last five years there has been a slow but slightly upward trend in the employment of women by the press, radio and television. Based on a comparison of 1974 and 1978 data, the United States has reported a percentage increase of 37.9 in the employment of women in radio and 31.4 in television. Both sets of data, however, include secretarial posts. Although it is short of statistical evidence, Sweden has stressed that the number of women employed in the media has changed favourably.

128. In Austria, women's employment in the printing media does not reflect any significant change. The research conducted by Fabris and Krenzhubes in 1975 still compares significantly with that of the Ministry of Social Affairs in 1979.

In fact, there is a very minimum regression slant of nearly 1 per cent from 1975 to 1979, that is, while 27.8 per cent of the journalists were women in 1975, this proportion decreased to 26.9 per cent in 1979. In the broadcasting media, comprising radio and television, the most recent data show that 30.7 per cent (947 out of 3,082) of those employed are women.

129. Although the data on Finland are confined to 1979, they show a remarkable comparison between the number of men and women employed in the press, radio and television. The Union of Journalists estimates that in the seven largest daily newspapers, with 1,282 employees, only 512 are women. In radio and television, there were 1,501 women out of 4,074 employees in 1978. A detailed analysis of the female : male ratio reveals a more definite pattern of one sex outrating the other. In both radio and television, males outnumbered females by a ratio of 2 to 1. Hence, in radio, of a total of 470 employees, 63 per cent were men while only 37 per cent were females; and in television, of 329 employees, 66 per cent were males while only 34 per cent were females.

130. Lacking numerical evidence, the Federal Republic of Germany, Ireland and Belgium have found it impossible to indicate the scope of changes in the employment of women, while Greece has indicated that there is no distinction in the employment of men and women in radio and television.

131. Claims of significant changes in the employment of women in the mass communication media do not necessarily indicate a positive absorption in the high-ranking, paying media positions. The evidence provides rather a static picture. While women have increasingly come to be on a par with men in number and scope, they are still outnumbered and outranked as far as the more serious, demanding and highly considered positions in the decision-making level or technical field are concerned.

132. It reports that the share of women in the decision-making bodies of the press, radio and television continues to be negligible. Media data exclusive to Finland also indicate that women are greatly under represented in management positions dealing with policy matters (2 out of 20) as well as with political, economic and international items (90 out of 240). Women and children's issues, however, remain a monopoly of women (20 out of 22).

Despite the advantage that there are more women journalists in Finland than in any other Nordic country, only a few of them are in management positions or doing political and foreign affairs reporting. In radio and television, the male majority (2,573 out of 4,074) in 1978 was considered to be due to the domination of this sex over technical activities. This information, however, only covers the seven largest newspapers. The situation is less gloomy with regard to the Finnish press in general since over 40 per cent of journalists in this country are women.

133. A sharper comparison is evident in high-ranking posts. Males surpass females both as heads of departments and programmes, and as heads of programme offices. In areas of coverage, particularly of news and current affairs, men outrank women by about two to one. The situation is reversed, however, in the instructional programmes department. More women are in charge of children's and youth programmes and only women handle family programmes. Ireland, however, takes an optimistic look at the situation. It attributes the slight changes in the distribution of females within the media since 1974 mainly to moves towards areas of work normally done by men. In New Zealand, although there has been a substantial increase of women reporters, the control and dominance of all media by males, is the outstanding principle. The Broadcasting Board of New Zealand

comprises four men and one woman appointed by a Government caucus of fifty-two men and one woman. All the major executive positions on the broadcasting corporation in both television channels, are held by men. The same can be said of the broadcasting systems Radio New Zealand with the exception of one position, head of programmes, that is held by a woman. Private radio stations are completely controlled, owned and dominated by men. Of the thirty-six metropolitan daily newspapers in New Zealand ownership is in the majority shareholding that of males, control over all the major positions is in the hands of males and the thirty-six newspapers are all edited by males. There is a growing involvement of women, particularly of editorial staff, in the smaller community newspapers which circulate in regional areas once or twice weekly, and women's involvement predominates in the distribution of pamphlets by voluntary organizations.

134. With the exception of Sweden, Governments report unanimously that there are no legal enactment concerning the employment and placement of women in the press, radio and television. This lack of formal action is due to the fact that this concern is considered to be covered by the basic constitutional laws of the nation, particularly those which regulate discrimination in employment. Moreover, careful adherence to sanctions respecting freedom of expression and the civil rights of all mankind prohibits the enforcement of State regulations controlling the media as well as regulations that particularly favour opportunities for one sex.

135. Even codes of ethics for print, radio and television contain no specific provisions safeguarding the hiring or placement of women. Legal actions, however, can be brought against the mass media in cases of mistreatment or evident discrimination. However, these are mostly carried out by pressure groups organized for such purposes.

136. In Sweden, employment of women in the mass media is regulated by the Equality Agreement between the Swedish Employers' Confederation and the Federation of Salaried Employers in Industry and Services. This Agreement requires employers to work actively for a more equal distribution of sexes within different occupational categories. It covers only radio and television, although a small number of newspapers have already exacted quotas on the employment of women.

137. Despite the lack of legal provisions in the United States of America and Austria a number of legal actions have challenged whatever inadequacies the mass media have exhibited in terms of employing women. Ireland follows the regulations embodied in the Employment Equality Act of 1977, which specifies that all positions in the mass communication media are open to men and women and also respects the Anti-Discrimination (Pay) Act of 1975, which ensures that all posts must attract the same pay for women and men. The Federal Republic of Germany and Belgium are guided purely by the tenets of their Constitutions.

138. Governments representing the Spanish-speaking countries in Latin America, such as Argentina, Chile and Mexico, all report significant changes in the employment of women in the press, radio and television. Similar claims are made by two countries in the Caribbean region, namely, the Dominican Republic and Jamaica. However, no numerical proof is given to substantiate claims, so that the judgement relating to the change is more "felt" than "actual".

139. A number of reasons have been cited as bases for the change in the employment of women in the mass media. Argentina traces it to the inclination of women today to occupy more roles in the professional sphere. Chile and Mexico are convinced that the increase in the enrolment of women in schools of journalism has served

as a motivating factor. For Mexico, the International Women's Year (held there in 1975) has been considered responsible for an increased interest in employing women in the mass media.

140. Similarly, there are no quantitative data available on the number of women employed in the different positions and/or areas in the mass media. Chile, however, estimates that at present more than 50 per cent of the newspaper personnel in the different mass media are women. And Mexico reports that, in the last 10 years, women have been able to penetrate the media industry, particularly television. In the Dominican Republic, women have made important steps in the production of cultural and instructional programmes; while in Jamaica, women employees, even 10 years ago, occupied management posts in the media.

141. The areas identified as being handled by women are politics, economics, psychology and current events, but more frequently pedagogy, education, infant themes and the creative arts. These findings are strongly evident in the data pertaining to Chile and Mexico. The fields where women are least represented are the police beats and sports, as in Chile. In terms of hierarchy of positions in the media, women do get a chance to occupy important jobs. In Chile, women occupy management jobs as directors or editors and in Mexico, particularly in television, women are editors as well as correspondents and commentators. However, there are no special laws and/or non-legal sanctions relating to the employment of women in the media. Generally, discrimination is regulated by national labour laws and equality acts.

142. As far as the employment of women in high positions in the mass media in the Far East is concerned, Australia, which appears to be very active in mobilizing studies on the role and employment of women in the mass media, claims that there

are "insufficient studies to provide a valid statement that will indicate changes in this area". .It reports that "in general, the employment of women in the media is proportionately low and reflects traditional views of sex roles and interests in society. In many cases, the stereotyping of occupations within the media industry discriminates against women. Many occupations, particularly in the technical areas, are presented as if they are inaccessible to women, if not by intent, then by language, through job advertisements, career brochures and official job designations."

143. Reports from the Governments of Pakistan, Singapore and Papua New Guinea not only indicate the increase in the employment of women in the press, radio and television but provide adequate numerical evidence to support their claims.

Within the last five years, the Government of Pakistan has claimed an increase of from 5 to 17 women employed in the media. Singapore shows an average yearly increase of 30 per cent. Papua New Guinea isolates the case of Niugini Nuis, which used to be an all-male-dominated media enterprise but has reversed this tradition by employing two national women journalists and two expatriate women executives.

144. The fields in which women are absorbed are mentioned. In Singapore, more women officers now occupy positions of authority in radio and television. In fact, the Director of Broadcasting is a woman. In Papua New Guinea, the National Broadcasting Commission has particularly noted that women are now employed in the division of news and current affairs and are also being given more responsibilities at the provincial level, for example, in the production and research for special programmes for women and children.

145. Regarding legislation which covers the employment of women by the media, none exists in Australia and the Far East. There are, however, initiatives which lead to the greater employment of women. In Australia, initiatives have been mobilized through the Community Radio and the Task Force on Equal Opportunity for Women in the Australian Broadcasting Commission. In Singapore, and Papua New Guinea, laws involving the employment of women by radio and television are considered to be reflected in the Constitution.

146. Israel notes that there has been an increase in the number of women journalists in the country and specifies that the greater increase is in television. Women journalists now serve as field reporters and in television they do more production and newscasting than reporting, editing and interviewing.

C. Accelerating and regulating the role of the
media as integrating agents

147. If Governments in highly industrialized countries have access to studies and reports concerning the role of women, they still ignore the real influence that mass communication exerts. These studies rarely deal with the extent of progress achieved by the mass media in reinforcing or accelerating the integration of women in the development process. Countries such as Ireland have stated that much work has been done in relation to the changing role of women in the labour force and consider this as indirectly serving the topic. Sweden, on the other hand, admits that, although the content of the mass media still reflects decisions almost totally made by men, there have been improvements in the way media portray the participation of women in society and in the national economy.

148. With the exception of the United States of America, Governments have reported the absence of public or private committees which regularly monitor the media and their outlets, to ascertain whether there has been any progress in the integration of women in the development process. An ambivalent reaction also exists to favouring the issuance of guidelines to mass communication media decision-makers in order to encourage such integration.

149. In fact, countries do not seem to see the necessity of encouraging works depicting situations and attitudes relating to the role of women in development, such as the portrayal of women who travel as frequently as men do, free of fears about frailty, vulnerability, or public disapproval. One of the reasons given by Austria, for instance, is that such situations no longer apply to highly developed countries. Another reason is that such descriptions have already been exposed in the media since the start of industrialization. As to whether the Government has taken part in any co-operative media effort at the regional level to promote the climate for the participation of women in development, only Ireland has offered a positive response. At the twenty-eighth session of the Commission on the Status of Women it was stated that the facts contained in this paragraph should be emphasized.

150. Reports from Latin America and the Caribbean countries reveal that Governments have access to studies or reports on how the feminine sector is being integrated in the development process. Although some of these may have reference to the mass media, they are relatively few in number and not really exhaustive.

151. Governments recognize these studies and are aware that the findings are broadcast in radio and television. The media are also very supportive, as in Mexico, where radio campaigns are produced relating to the struggle for women to

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take a more active role and to participate in the tasks of national development. Women's organizations and specialized institutions assist as well. In the Dominican Republic, this role is carried out by the group called "Women in Development". In Jamaica, the Institute of Mass Communication reinforces the recommendation endorsed during the Workshop on Caribbean Women in Communication for Development, held in 1975 at Santo Domingo.

152. Formally speaking, there are no agencies which monitor the contribution of the mass media in advancing the integration of women in development. Chile reasons that this type of organization does not exist because the subject is treated equally with other materials which deal with national development. Argentina, Mexico, the Dominican Republic, the Bahamas, Jamaica and Grenada favour the issuance of guidelines to the mass media to encourage the integration of women in development.

153. Reports from the Governments of Australia and of countries in the Far East reveal three situations: the Government has no access to studies on how women are integrated in the development process; the inquiry is not applicable to the mass media situation existing in the country (as in Pakistan); and no studies have yet been carried out or reports collated concerning the influence of the mass media on the achievement of women's integration in the development process, as in Papua New Guinea.

154. In Australia the preparations for undertaking this task are pending in view of the level of activities relating to women, i.e., more focus is still being directed towards the absorption of women in the labour force and towards ensuring a balance of the sexes therein. As to monitoring the mass media to ascertain their assistance in advancing the integration of women in the development process

this is not done. However, in Papua New Guinea, the mass media are sensitive to any criticisms which may point to an inadequate coverage and presentation of the integration of women in the development process and the economic benefits arising from such.

155. The Government has no access to studies on the influence of the mass media in integrating women in development in Israel. It stresses that the mass media are very keen on maintaining their autonomy, so governmental guidelines on the subject will not be favourably received. However, at the moment, situations depicting women's role in development are in principle already covered by the mass media and these appear as feature programmes.

156. In Africa, reports from Botswana and Sudan indicate the lack of access of the Government to studies or reports concerning the influence of the mass media in the work of integrating women in the development process. Sudan, however, reports that, although the Government has never issued guidelines to decision-makers in the mass media, it has urged the Women's Association to participate in any work in the Sudanese society.

IV. ACTIONS TAKEN BY NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

157. Very little evidence exists on which to base a judgement on the efforts made by the non-governmental organizations in exploiting the benefits presented by the mass media in influencing a more positive image of women and their activities. This, perhaps, is due to the novelty in the concept of using the mass media in favour of women. A few, however, have documented how they have started taking advantage of the mass media and have enumerated the obstacles encountered in the process of using these media.

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158. Owing to the greater proportion of non-governmental organizations engaged in political activities that have responded, more evidence highlights how the media reinforce the political participation of women, as in the cases of the Women's International Democratic Federation and the United Towns Organization. In the same vein, the All-India Women's Conference argues that it is important to establish first how women's participation in public life has been advanced before it is possible to assess the relevance of the mass media in women's activities. With their political participation encouraged, inevitably women's social and cultural life will be recognized; their involvement in the mass media would be on a par with, if slightly different from, that of men in societies where the status of women in politics is less highly recognized.

159. Education is the next most represented activity of the non-governmental organizations that have responded. The International Federation of University Women, for instance, reports on a survey it has conducted to determine how its national affiliates have advanced the use of the media in promoting their activities. Results indicate that many organizations have relatively easy access to the local press, although the information given is for the most part published on the feminine page; access to radio is less easy and access to television even more difficult; and access to the media in general is easier in small towns than in big cities.

160. The United Towns Organization reports that, during the convening in Italy of 200 women ministers and journalists from 16 countries of Europe and Africa to discuss the access of women to public responsibility, a motion was passed on how to change the representation and portrait of women given in school books, the

mass media etc., precipitated by the observation that demeaning descriptions of women and their role lead to an undermining of women's dignity and offer a persistent hindrance to their undertaking civic responsibilities.

161. Member organizations of the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession consistently review the content of textbooks to abolish sex stereotyping of girls and boys unconsciously instilled at an early age outside and inside the class-room. Its Assembly in Jakarta recognized "that the furtherance of equal opportunity between men and women depends on educational programmes that are designed to correct existing imbalances".

162. Non-governmental organizations also report that they are steadily increasing their use of the mass media, singly through the press, radio or television and/or combined with other media, for instance, the use of groups in small or large communities, a practice followed by Baha'i International. Pulpits and church meetings are also used with the same end in view, as exemplified by the St. Joan's International Alliance.

163. The World Alliance of Reformed Churches, in spite of its inadequate media resources, produces a monthly press service under the responsibility of women. Along the same lines, the World Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) publishes Common Concern and As Others See Us to promote the image of women. One of its feature articles, "Image of women in the mass media", still reflects YWCA involvement in this question.

164. Media-oriented non-governmental organizations have also done some good work. The Arab States Broadcasting Union, for instance, convened a seminar in Tunis (1975) on women's programmes in radio and television, and has published its findings in the Arab Broadcast.

165. For the purposes of the present study, the International Federation of the Periodical Press has sought comments from the largest publisher of magazines addressed to women in Britain. The impressions gathered include the following: more women are being employed in the middle ranks in radio and television but not in decision-making areas in the British Broadcasting Corporation or the Independent Broadcasting Authority; although the Sex Discrimination Bill is not a legal sanction, it discourages discrimination against women in employment; and a study on the different ways in which women are presented in the British press is being undertaken by Women in the Media and a report will be available in 1980.

166. The non-governmental organizations are very explicit on some outstanding obstacles they encounter in soliciting media assistance to cover and treat women's activities. One difficulty brought up is that women have very little confidence in themselves and this psychological hindrance is reinforced by their education, the mass media and society. Thus, there is a need to overcome this difficulty to enable women to have access to various posts in civic life at national and international levels. The non-governmental organizations also lament that women's image as portrayed in the media reflects a trend which may be popular but is not progressive; hence, the concept of women is that of tractability, pity and compassion. Also, the media do not deal with problems of women's participation in various lives but mostly illustrate their home life only.

167. Variations among certain media, in their consideration of women's issues, have been observed. Thus, while a television programme presents responsible women in the family and society, the commercial cinema still exhibits the traditional image of the female minor, e.g., women in their household symbol or their sexuality as an object.

168. Corollary reasons for the obstacles are mentioned. The survey undertaken by the International Federation of University Women provides evidence that women lack courage or initiative in the domain of the mass media and therefore, before they can advance in this field, it is important that they learn to deal with the media and to use them themselves.

169. The absence of institutions which can change the low profile of women compounds the problem. In countries that have recently embarked upon independent development, effective measures have been taken to ensure that the mass media exert a positive influence in involving women in different spheres and promoting real equality. An example cited is that in socialist countries, where equality of women is guaranteed by law and implemented in practice, the mass media deal comprehensively with women's full participation in public and family life.

170. Obstacles also exist because of an imbalance in the migratory pattern and economic status of the people. In India, the inability of the mass media to project an all-embracing women's image is traced to the inadequate level of literacy of rural women and to the restrictive social and family structure of the Indian society. It is proposed that, if the mass media will focus on the disabilities and poverty of the disabled classes, a better appreciation of the situation will result. But at present, media neither awaken Indian women nor stimulate interest in a new role for them.

171. Another rationale offered for the obstacles is that, although there are positions that will elevate women, there is a shortage of women to fill them. Thus, even though organizations create or reserve vacancies for women in journalism, for instance, this becomes a useless effort when only one woman competes in a group of 50 applicants, when it is highly probable that the decision will be in favour of a man.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICY ACTION

172. The limited (and fragmented) research on and the complexity of the issues relating to the influence of the mass communication media on attitudes towards women and men do not prevent the formulation of some action-oriented recommendations, which are set out below.

173. Research should assume a historical and holistic approach, since a number of related causes and effects have already been created by the considerable changes in the economic, social and political positions of women. Therefore, a critical study, particularly of historical periods of sharp changes which have evolved a new concept of women in society and the relationship of those changes to mass media's coverage and treatment of women will yield meaningful data.

174. An overriding concern is to ensure that the mass media incorporate the ongoing changes in society and do not continue to lag behind these. Although it is true that, in the mainstream, the mass media are beginning to reflect or recognize a greater diversity in images for women, a quick acceptance of these ideas, as well as an aggressive reflection of changes and an exploration of more dynamic alternative images, are yet to be seen.

175. An immediate departure from the present reliance on the content analysis method is called for. What are needed now are effect and experimental studies, which can be evolved either from the selection of particular pilot cultures or a cluster of cultures which exhibit very similar patterns and bias in value systems, geography, and socio-political-economic policies. When humanly and economically feasible, the information benefits that can be derived from longitudinal studies should be considered.

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176. Research overlapping and wastage can be minimized by riding in existing development projects. Researchers can be convinced to include women as an important concern or variable in all ongoing and future projects and/or undertake independent intensive studies. International organizations providing research funds may cover costs of country-wide studies on mass media and women. International decisions on the reallocation of research resources to countries with less material and capability but greater need are welcomed.

177. Undoubtedly, certain important characteristics of women (images) in the mass media are universal. Media reflect women in their narrow stereotyped domestic role as a sex object, fashion initiator, consumer, subordinate to men, docile and self-sacrificing etc. Subtle variations, however, particularly in terms of the stress placed by a culture on certain stereotyped characteristics may prove to be the most important root cause of prejudice. In order not to be lost in the maze of images, there is a need to concentrate on and to downplay the most dominant and pervasive traditional image that presents itself as the source of stereotyping. By culture groupings, findings have identified these as consumerism and sexism, sentimental romanticism, cultural oppression, educational indoctrination, systems and value conflicts etc.

178. One solution for removing social stereotyping is to evolve and legitimize a new positive alternative image of women and to convince the sponsors and marketers of the mass media that this new image is what women want and are interested in and that therefore, unless the media accept this new image, they will lose a great proportion of their audience. A demanding task, however, is to be able to constantly feed and saturate the mass media with this new image model showing women as having full control of themselves, knowing their rights, needs and expectations,

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equal with men in good health, education and employment, authoritative as decision-makers and reliable as career professionals, can compete, initiate and achieve without fear of social ostracism etc. A change in the male image also needs to be provided by the media. This can reflect men as gentle husbands and fathers, who are able to share household chores, are more involved with children and can receive instructions from a woman superior and who manifest exactly the same emotions and vulnerabilities as women.

179. At the twenty-eighth session of the Commission on the Status of Women, some delegates indicated that the image of men portrayed by the media merited a more detailed consideration. We could, for example ask to what extent are men depicted as mere consumers and whether changes in the portrayal of men would accelerate changes in the image of women. It was suggested that time budget studies may help clarify this situation by pointing out the division of work between family members and the modifications in the life styles brought about by the increase in leisure time.

180. The mechanisms are wanting that would encourage the mass media not to stress women as being marginal and unimportant in many spheres of social, economic and political and cultural development. The media must cover stories (and provide editorials too) which convey that women's absence in productive work is wasting half of the world's potential resources: a disregard for women limits society's chances of improving social conditions and delays the development of a new human social structure where equality closes the gap of understanding between men and women; the non-involvement of women in politics means missing a most essential co-mobilizer of political consciousness etc.

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181. The mass media should liberate themselves from the jargon of élitism and expand their reach to cover the less privileged and less educated population of women. The greater social problems are not confined to a small élite and, if society really wants to develop women and make constructive use of them, then the mass media should be more accessible and comprehensible to the less privileged rural women. Considering the concentration of big media in urban centres and the lack of media facilities in the rural areas, access to and consumption by rural women can be adequately supplemented by use of the rural "mimeo" sheet, blackboards, traditional folk media, small local media and transistorized radio. Regarding indigenous folk media, care should be taken in the retelling of stereotyped stories, particularly since most of these portray women in traditional roles. Perhaps it is safest to develop new plots and stories exemplifying a new woman and a more active role for her and adapting these to the folk media.

182. Legislation, including the setting of quotas covering n number of years, to cut down the entry and circulation of foreign mass media, can be drafted. The assistance of local media producers and associations to serve as gatekeepers may be solicited. Some countries have already deliberately reduced their consumption of foreign programmes, giving as a motive the harmful nature of the violent and sexual concepts and actions contained in them. Studies show that imported images fed into the formation and/or transformation of local perceptions have reached alarming proportions; there are countries where over 50 per cent of the television programmes and practically all the films are imported.

183. A corollary evaluation of stereotyping imbibed in related materials, such as the instructional media, is imperative. Textbooks, curricula, and other teaching materials where necessary should be rewritten to ensure that

these reflect a more positive image of women. Findings confirm that educational literature and institutions, further reinforced by the mass media, condition the youth to behave and think according to the sex that they are born into. Worse, instructional processes are designed to prepare women to perform traditional roles, so that girls are streamed into subjects from which they emerge ill-equipped for anything more than the unskilled poorly paid jobs in industry or the traditional female jobs, such as teaching and secretarial work.

184. There is a need to exploit the revolutionary tendencies within the mass media, such as the increasing growth and popularity of the feminist press, the emergence of feminist filmmakers etc. In some developing countries, feminist literature already offers alternative images of women. Also, instead of criticizing the traditional women's page, this can be turned into an educational page, whereby it builds up the informational atmosphere of alerting women to changes and duties beyond the house and motherhood. Women editors can be sensitized to pay more attention to women's problems and to write articles conducive to the elevation of women's status, by way, for instance, of success stories of women who have advanced development, gained patriotic recognition etc. At the twenty-eighth session of the Commission on the Status of Women, some representatives stated that it becomes apparent that some progress is being made when we look at women's press, women's film-makers, art, crafts, dance and drama. Several delegates referred to the political power of these avenues of expression, and expressed their appreciation for the inclusion of this paragraph in this report.

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185. Existing networks at various levels can also be harnessed. At the outset, it may be appropriate to single out the status levels of these groups to be able to make efficient use of them. Primarily, concern must be focused on these organized people and institutions, through whose agencies change may occur and whose revolutionary initiatives may help to redefine the norms and profiles of mass media organizations at both the local and international levels relating to women. These organized groups can also effectively complement the mass media by acting as change agents.

186. Indigenous groups, such as the traditional neighbourhood village group, whose tremendous influence in the village level and whose network of communication and communal action are relatively rapid and fluid, can be tapped. They can bring tremendous pressure on the male half of the village society, displaying an apparent solidarity that men cannot match. Village women's groups need to be identified to serve as nurseries and laboratories for the healthy development and socialization of women into public roles.

187. On the urban level, the women's movements, women's action groups etc. can create an impact, particularly with their activities which put pressure on the mass media. An increasing number of these small groups have started working together in monitoring output systematically and in bringing pressure on local media to make findings on discrimination public by circulating results. And the fact that certain advertisers are apparently revising their formats to take account of such factors as women's increased participation in society and in the media indicates that even these small ripples have a wider effect. These groups not only provide a radical interpersonal auxiliary but also expand horizontally the scope of women's programmes and activities and act as links with the rural community, principally by providing a vertical filter of media materials to rural women. (Care should, however, be exercised

by urban groups with regard to feeding very urban materials and programmes which conflict with or are irrelevant to village needs.)

188. Urban women's groups can also push mass movements in the rural areas and sensitize the lower-class women to more satisfactory roles in society. However, in so doing, care must be taken not to incur the resistance of men in the countryside. Perhaps a starting task is to institute campaigns aimed at bringing about infrastructural changes for and involving women, such as literacy campaigns and related activities that are beneficial to improving rural living conditions. Some National Women's councils, for instance, have tried to sensitize women in the countryside by holding regional and provincial seminars and by mobilizing women in better positions to extend their help to the less fortunate in the remote rural areas.

189. On the world-wide upper level, the assistance of non-governmental organizations can be mobilized. From the very beginning, these groups have been an active constituency in the promotion of issues concerning women by including the women's viewpoint and components in the upper echelon of law and society. Mechanisms need to be developed whereby the support of these groups can be solicited to represent the disadvantaged women who do not have the capacity to influence the life of society, particularly in the developing world.

190. A gradual but active and continuing reorientation in the present structure of power and control in the mass media must be set in motion. The mass communication media have been and still are in the hands of men, who use them to exclude women deliberately from the larger political and social environment by confining them to the consumers markets. Mass media programming content, too, remains a prism of bias as indicated by the dominance of men in all broadcasting content. Perhaps some lessons

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can be learned from the strategies and methodologies followed by government-controlled media, which seem to offer positive images of women and lay stress on their contribution to economic and social development.

191. A re-evaluation of decision-making patterns in most media organizations and in established professional practices would be timely. Programmes which integrate more women in the mass media structure must be pursued. Until women constitute a critical mass within the media, their ability to work against accepted cultural and professional values will be negligible. The single standard which gives equal rewards and incentives for women and men in media systems should be instituted. Criteria for assessing occupational acceptance and promotion should be the same for both sexes.

192. Any participation of women in the media jobs should include the upper levels. The present severe under-representation of women in the upper echelons of all media organizations indicates that women are still a small minority among media professionals, especially in senior positions, and are therefore disproportionately excluded from key decision-making posts. Structural and cultural barriers throughout the media, which keep women in the low-level and low-status jobs that in the first place they are channelled into upon entry must be rechecked.

193. The position of women in the media can be gradually improved as more women are trained in universities. Today's media women should no longer be locked up exclusively in women's pages, family pages and cooking columns. They should be given on-the-job training as specialists in consumer affairs, education, politics etc. Recruitment quotas should reflect a general desire to encourage women to be appointed in media management decision-making and to such positions as columnists, reporters and producers. Employment laws which mandate equal recruitment, training, pay and promotion procedures while

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forbidding dismissals of women for reasons of marriage, pregnancy, etc. should be drafted. The establishment of committees or councils for equality between men and women in the mass media are also helpful.

194. An appeal to the political will of Governments to co-operate in national, regional and international efforts in favour of women should be solicited. Owing to the adherence of most Governments to the constitutional rights of freedom of expression and codes of ethics of the press, radio and television, which therefore hinders legislation that is openly more favourable to women, a substitute form of support is for Governments to encourage a more positive consideration of women in the mass media, and, whenever already viable over time, gradually to provide much needed leadership in formulating various legislations beneficial to women. Governments may also stimulate the creation of more tangential groups to help monitor the mass media. Governments can encourage a more healthy view of the problem of discrimination by supporting various groups committed to greater and higher interrelations and interaction between men and women. Another corollary support is for Governments to be concerned with the provisions of services, such as, day care centres, paternal leaves etc. to benefit working women and to get media interested in promoting these activities.

195. On the international level, for example in the United Nations, the various departments may provide greater support information activities, as in the case of the Department of Public Information, which should activate and firmly mobilize public opinion on women's issues, produce films and other literature on women and disseminate globally such activities through

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its network of information centres (UNIC). Whenever possible, the United Nations, through its various departments (and agencies) should extend financial and human resources to Governments for exclusive use in projects designed to improve the position of women. Discrimination, however, should be exercised particularly in allocating funding, as there are countries which are sufficiently research-based but need help and/or advice in organizing production; others already need training, while others are still backward in matters relating to research.

196. The specialized agencies can be motivated not only to include activities for women in their programmes, but also to involve women in these activities. These agencies can also contribute much by way of feeding the mass media with stories on women's contribution in health, nutrition, development, family planning etc. and, when possible, expanding existing service networks for this purpose. For its part, UNESCO should institute and formalize the designation of a staff or section that will be concerned with providing a data-bank on women, together with the setting up of a network that co-ordinates information on women as well as disseminating and monitoring such information.

197. National Governments should be encouraged to provide a periodic review of programmes on women, strengthen the research base and/or offer adequate training for all categories of personnel working for the advancement and integration of women in national development. They can also encourage a more active development and production of indigenous materials for local media. In order to mobilize public opinion and media support, Governments should organize seminars with key officials, media editors and local leaders to provide a platform for bringing the subject of women into proper focus and to develop a network of information filters, cadres and multipliers of news about women. On the other hand, regional

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offices should be more sensitive to national programmes and activities and should provide proper initiative in terms of co-operation and assistance, particularly in collating data bases at the regional level.

198. A close look at the future development of women and the media at the international level in relation to the effort to bring about the new international information order, as discussed at the United Nations in the Special Political Committee in early November 1979 is timely. For women, the concept of a "right to communicate" as promoted by the International Institute of Communications and UNESCO is the key to the future access to and use of the media for development, which is also acknowledged as an important part of the new international information order. Women should be included in the discussions of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, especially in relation to the subject of the uses of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting. It is strongly recommended that Governments seriously involve women in the endeavours of the same Committee directed towards the preparation of an international convention on principles governing the use by States of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting. The task of changing attitudes and behaviour towards the roles of women and men in the present and future society is so enormous that it requires the most innovative technology of communication to overcome obstacles and achieve a break-through in new areas.

199. At the twenty-eighth session of the Commission on the Status of Women, the majority of delegates agreed that the Mass Communications Media had become the most important transmitter of information in present day society and that it influences the behaviour of almost everyone who consumes it. There was a difference of opinion, however, regarding the

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degree of Government control of the media to present a new positive image of women in contemporary society. A number of representatives argued that Government intervention on this question would lead to a restriction of press and media, but they underlined the need for Governments to finance and support the production of films, television and radio programmes, newspapers and magazines to advance the role and status of women in contemporary society. They argued that this did not give the Government the right to dictate the content of those programmes and articles. On the other hand; several representatives argued that it was only the Government which could redress the imbalance and inequities in this regard, at the national level. Some were alarmed that in some regions of the world, fifty per cent of programmes were of foreign origin. It was stated that the recommendations of the Commission should contain an appeal for the mass communications media to fulfill their obligations to disseminate the ideas contained in the United Nations documents beginning with the Charter right down to the Declaration and now the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, and to strengthen peace and mutual understanding among peoples. Some stated that efforts should be made to ensure that the mass communication media project a proper picture of the situation of women and their role in history and their great achievements in the struggle for liberation. Women should emerge as personalities. Women in their social roles should be shown to other women, men and children. This would actually strengthen and make family life more stable. The proposal was made that in order to counter the practices of using women as sex symbols or for profit making purposes, it might be necessary to work out some international document prohibiting the use of mass communications media, literature and art for the purpose of exploiting and reducing the dignity of women, or discriminating against them.

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200. Most representatives noted the crucial importance of education, especially at the primary and secondary levels, to counter the image-stereotyping which has traditionally portrayed women as inferior to men in many spheres of modern life. In this context, many representatives called for a new image of women and men to be reflected in the educational planning and programming at these levels, as well as for increased professional education to train more women in the field of communications. Some felt the Governments had an extremely important role to play in education through the adaptation of school textbooks to portray women in the proper roles vis-à-vis men in the family and in society. Others stated that their Governments did not support control of educational curricula, nor was its implementation possible in their countries since their educational system was decentralized.

201. Many representatives indicated that research had clearly proven the strong link between the image of women in the mass media and the degree of their participation (or lack of it) in the decision-making processes of the mass communication industries. It was proposed that women pressure groups should be taught to make maximum use of the media; they should be shown how they can obtain the maximum diffusion of their ideas and actions in the press. Furthermore, programmes should be promoted to inform women about the structures and functioning of national and international institutions, how to have access to them and how to influence them.

202. The need for further study on this subject was emphasized by several delegates. It was stated that special efforts should be made to study the effects of the media on the least privileged and least educated women, and that the research should be presided by the Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs Branch for the Advancement of Women. The aim should be to provide the data base for further improvement of the influence of the

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203. Many representatives supported the idea of establishing monitoring agencies in all Member States to follow up the overall question of the influence of the mass media on attitudes towards the roles of women and men in present-day society. Most representatives concluded that until the participation of women in the decision-making process of the mass communications industries was increased substantially, the media would continue to be a part of the problem, rather than a part of the solution.

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ANNEX

Resolution IX
Commission on the Status of Women
Twenty-eighth session

Influence of the mass communication media on
attitudes towards the role of women and men
in present-day society

The Commission on the Status of Women,

Recommends to the Economic and Social Council the adoption of the following draft resolution:

The Economic and Social Council,

Recalling Economic and Social Council resolution 2063 (LXII) regarding the influence of the mass communication media on attitudes towards the role of women and men in present-day society,

Taking note of the report of the special rapporteur of the Commission on the Status of Women, Dr. Esmeralda Arboleda Cuevas, on the influence of the mass communication media on attitudes towards the roles of women and men in present-day society,^{1/} and of the importance of the problems raised in that report,

Emphasizing the enormous potential of mass communication media for training and education of the general public, in particular the potential of television and its applicability in schools and adult education centres,

Taking into account the increasing amount of time spent by the general public consuming television and its influence on its attitudes and its patterns of behaviour,

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^{1/} E/CN.6/627

Considering that the influence of mass communication media is likely to increase during the next few years due to the use of new technologies for improving transnational audio-visual communication media,

Regretting a tendency in mass communication media to present women in stereotyped roles and pointing to the need of its correction,

1. Calls upon those responsible for the content and presentation of mass communication media to make additional efforts to present in a more comprehensive and balanced way the right of women to enjoy equal rights and equal opportunities with men;

2. Encourages all relevant organizations, political parties, women's associations and other relevant groups or institutions to exercise their influence on those responsible to achieve the aforementioned aims;

3. Recommends that the Preparatory Committee for the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women decide, at its third session, to submit the report of the Special Rapporteur^{2/} as a background document for agenda item 8 of the proposed agenda of the World Conference, after appropriate revision in the light of the comments made during the twenty-eighth session of the Commission on the Status of Women.

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^{2/} General Assembly resolution 33/189, annex.

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