



Linnéuniversitetet

Kalmar Våxjö

Examensarbete 15 hp – Journalistik

”I am still unlearning it”

*A qualitative study of how Indian journalists
perceive their reality from a gender perspective*



Author: Lisa Andreasson
Author: Johanna Olsson Jönsson

Supervisor: Britt-Marie Ringfjord
Examiner: Maria Elliot

Semester: HT15
Subject: Journalism
Level: Bachelor

Author: Lisa Andreasson, Johanna Olsson Jönsson

Title: "I am still unlearning it." A qualitative study of how Indian journalists perceives their reality from a gender perspective.

Location: Linnaeus University

Language: English

Number of pages: 57

Abstract

India experienced huge media coverage from all over the world associated with the Nirbhaya-case in 2012, when a young middleclass girl was brutally raped in a bus by five men in Delhi. After this horrifying incident a lot of demonstrations followed all over India. Women in the urban areas was arguing for the same rights as men and was standing up for a more equal society where everybody is able to live as freely as someone else, no matter what gender you was born with.

This study aim to examine what experiences, perceptions and opinions Indian journalists in English written press have of their reality from a gender perspective. We wanted to know how and when Indian journalist represent women and if there is a certain way of thinking about representation of women in the media content. In interviews with a total of eleven journalists and ethnographic observations in two of India's largest cities we tried to examine the structures and perceptions that influenced the journalist's worldview and thus also the messages that appears in the news. By using the theory of structuration, agenda setting, performativity and intersectionality we examined what structures that the journalists live and operates within and how this is affecting the media content.

Key words

India, New Delhi, Bangalore, Media, Journalism, Newspapers, Agenda setting, Structuration theory, Performativity, Intersectionality, Equality, Giddens, Butler, Media ethnography, Qualitative interviews, Feminist media theory.

Thanks!

First of all we want to show our gratitude to the country of India. With all your diversities and surprises you caught both of our hearts and learned us more about ourselves in nine weeks than anyone of us thought was possible. Sincerely, thank you. We will come back to you as soon as we can.

We would also like to extend a heartfelt thank you to all of the people we have met along the way. People that opened up their homes and hearts showed us around and invited us in deep conversations about life and dreams. You know who you are and we promise, we will come back to you too.

For this thesis to be possible we need to thank SIDA and the Linnaeus University for believing in us and our study and providing us with the means to go outside of our security back home in Sweden.

We also want to express our appreciation to all the eleven journalists that took of their time to meet us with their honesty. We hope that all of you will achieve your goals within the journalistic field and that you continue on in the strive towards good news.

A special thank you to our supervisor Britt-Marie Ringfjord that supported us through bad Internet connections and various obstacles.

At last we want to thank each other. Through laughter, tears and adventure we have been standing by each other's side in the pursuit of compiling this paper – a bachelor thesis and a journey that has meant much more than we can express here. Thanks.

Lisa Andreasson and Johanna Olsson Jönsson

Register

1	Introduction	1
1.1	Introduction to the Indian media climate	2
1.2	The caste system	3
2	Purpose and relevance of this study	4
2.1	Purpose and questions at the issue	6
3	Previous research	7
3.1	Feminist Media Studies	7
3.2	Hirdman and the gender contract	8
3.3	“Covering rape in a shame culture”	8
3.4	Representation and identification	9
4	Theoretical framework	10
4.1	The Agenda setting theory	10
4.2	The structuration theory	11
4.3	The Queer theory/performativity	14
4.4	Intersectionality	16
4.5	Theory discussion	18
5	Method	19
5.1	The research design	19
5.2	Selection of material	20
5.3	Collection of data	21
5.3.1	<i>The interviews</i>	21
5.3.2	<i>Ethnographic studies</i>	22
5.4	Reflections over Swedish Council of Science stipulates	23
5.5	Model of analyse	23
5.6	Method discussion	24
5.7	Extern and intern reliability, validity and generalizability	25
6	Introduction to the empirical basis	27
6.1	Sources/Interview persons	28
6.2	Beats	33
6.3	Being a journalist	37
6.4	Representation	43
6.4.1	<i>Women as victims</i>	45
7	Discussion/summary	51
7.1	Summarize and discussion	51
8	Conclusion and further research	55
8.1	Conclusion	55
8.2	Suggestion for further research	56
9	References	58
Appendix		I
	Appendix A, Interview guide and observation schedule	I

Appendix B, Public and private ethnographic observations_____	II
Appendix C, Understanding the news _____	III
Appendix D, Description of our informants _____	IV
References of the Appendix _____	V

1 Introduction

Our interest in India and its journalism started with the articles of the acclaimed Nirbhaya case that occurred in 2012 in Delhi. A young female student from a higher social background was brutally raped by a group of men and was later deceased from her injuries. India attracted attention in the Western media as a “rape culture” where women were portrayed as constant victims. Large protests were carried out in Delhi and around the country for women's rights.

The reporting on this stirred up many emotions in us and our interest in media reporting in India started. We read about India as a misogynist country, where women were raped as a punishment only because they were women and committed the simple act of going out in the evening in the company of a male friend. We saw the BBC documentary India's daughter that pictured India as a country where women have no rights or nothing to say (SVT, 2015). Since we are journalist students and it is from that perspective we very much perceive the world, it was leading increasingly to the question: How is it to work as a journalist in this country?

We have been staying in India, one of the most multifaceted countries in the world for almost nine weeks. We have ducked the traffic in Delhi; realised that there are gender segregated carriages in the metro because there is a need for it, to ensure women's safety; we have read multiple articles about rape victims in the country and we have talked to female and male journalists for hours. We have lived with and admired women and men who consider themselves as liberals and feminists and who are constantly fighting for their right and the progression of India.

But we have also met girls in the touristic paradise of Goa who never attended school or even know how to write or read in the same age of us. We have read matrimony paragraphs in the paper stating women as beautiful objects with the right features to be a good wife for the highest bidder and we have also realised that arranged marriage is more common than the opposite. But we have also felt the warm welcoming of the Indian embrace, its people and their understanding of different cultures and religions. We have comprehended the difference in culture, language and tradition in every

different state we have visited. We have met the western expats of Bangalore, living a safe and protected life in the middle of the IT-boom of India and we have been visiting villages where English is rarely ever spoken in Rajasthan and we have been in the middle of the Delhi smog and enjoying the life of an Indian metropolis.

We have been embracing this country, its culture and its media for nine weeks, of course with the view of two women growing up in Sweden, appointed to be one of the world's most gender equal countries in the world, according to The Global Gender Gap Report where Sweden landed the fourth place in 2014. India is ranked 114th. (Global Gender Gap Report, 2014) And all of that will be a part of this thesis because we are not perfect beings, nor impenetrable to the surroundings that this thesis is researched and created in. But one thing is for sure, India will stay with us as a melting pot of colours, tastes, cultures and amazing people and we know that we have much to learn from this diverse country.

This study aims to examine how journalists in the English written press perceive their reality from a gender perspective and how this can affect the journalistic content in terms of fair representation of women. For this to be possible we have been interviewing eleven journalists and interpreted their answers according to the agenda setting theory, structuration theory and theories about queer and intersectionality.

1.1 Introduction to the Indian media climate

Our study is mainly based upon English written press and we have met journalists from some of the biggest sharks in the industry such as The Hindu, Deccan Herald, Deccan Chronicle, The New Indian Express and the biggest of them all: The Times of India with over 2,9 million circulated papers on a daily basis in 2014 according to the Audit Bureau of Circulation (ABC, 2016).

India is consisting of 29 states, with 70 per cent of the population living in villages and rural areas. There are over 300 different languages spoken by the population and the country has 21 official languages (Landguiden, 2015). Hindi, English and Sanskrit are the principal languages in the country with English being used and understood by 200 millions of people in the country, around 16,6 per cent of the population. (Lewis, M. Paul, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fenning, 2016)

The Press Council of India, PCI, is a mechanism for the Indian press to regulate itself and was set up in the 1966. According to their website the press is to function as a watchdog of public interest and it must have a secure freedom of expression. On the website PCI have constituted 42 guidelines for the press to follow including accuracy and fairness, pre-publication verification and caution against defamatory writings for example (PCI, 2016).

In this study we will use the word “beat” to describe the different subjects that journalists are working within. This is a concept that Indian journalist use everyday in their work, and every journalist are handed different beats – subjects of interests, that they are going to monitor.

1.2 The caste system

The Indian caste system reflects Hindu religious beliefs and is over 2000 years old. According to Hinduism there are four main castes with connection to four general occupational categories: Brahmins, the highest caste (scientists and spiritual leaders), Kshatriya (the soldiers and emperors), Vaishya (farmers and merchants) and Shudra (workers and craftsmen). Below these four castes there are the untouchables, or Dalits, these are the people you should avoid at every cost. Dalits are the ones who perform the worst tasks in the communities such as begging, handling human waste and feed on leftovers. In traditional areas of India there are still people performing purifying rituals whenever they have been in contact with a Dalit. (Giddens, W. Sutton, 2013) Two years after the independence from The United Kingdom in 1947 it became illegal in India to discriminate people according to caste, but the system is still very much alive up to date, something that we witnessed daily (Landguiden, 2016). In the modern economy of India, people from different castes are thrown together in public spaces such as workspace, airplanes or restaurants and it has therefore become difficult to maintain the strict lines between the different castes. Gidden and W. Sutton (2013) writes that since India is more and more affected by the globalisation the caste system should be more and more out of date.

2 Purpose and relevance of this study

In this chapter we distinguish why there is a need for a study of how journalists perceive their reality. We give a thorough explanation of what has transpired in various reports on women's representation in media and what the United Nations (UN) says about the medias influence in the strive against a more equal world. We also present the purpose and the question at the issue for this thesis.

In the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, (article 2), it is listed that:

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty. (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 2015)

According to a research made by United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO) published in 2014, only a quarter of the people heard and read about in the news in the world today are female and just over a third of the media industry employees are women. "Women have also remained severely under-represented as sources of information and opinion on a wide range of topics, including politics and economics, and especially as authoritative/expert voices." (UNESCO, 2014).

Global Media Monitoring Project is a project over the whole world, which takes the pulse of the media climate. Among other things, the project focuses on who it is that may be heard in the media. We have looked closely at the survey conducted in India. According to the project India is one of the few countries in the world where the media is thriving and the media constitutes a central and powerful role and shaping values and norms in the country. Women's issues are often pictured as dramatic cases of violence and discrimination and the media tend to forget other equally important issues. The project is stating that sexism and stereotyping of women is less evident now than before, but this has probably more effect now. Women are pictured as individual victims or heroines rather than a collective or as female members of a community. Ordinary women's experiences and opinions are missing or represented by urban, middle class

women. Socially, economically, geographically and otherwise disadvantaged women, and their experiences and opinions, are virtually absent. The report do point out that women are no longer missing from the media content, but it is rather a question of who the women that are pictured are, when and where they appear and what they are doing – thus, how women are represented that now is the question. (GMMP, India, 2010)

Only 22 per cent of the news subjects who were also sources of information (news sources) were women; 78 per cent of the news sources were men. Nearly two thirds (63 per cent) of the news stories from the Indian media that were analysed reinforced gender stereotypes while only 9 per cent challenged them. (GMMP, India, 2010)

In the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, United Nations distinguish that:

The Platform for Action recognized the potential that exists for the media to make a contribution to gender equality. The Platform for Action called on States to increase the participation and access of women to expression and decision-making in and through the media and new technologies of communication and to promote a balanced and non-stereotyped portrayal of women in the media. (UN Women, 2015)

The report is also stating that women's participation in media production has increased over the world though the numbers are far from equal. But the same report is also declaring that the representation of women has made limited progress and that they continue to be portrayed in traditional and stereotypical manners that do not reflect their diversity, capacities or the roles that they actually maintain in life (UN Women, 2015). India is the world's largest democracy with 800 million out of 1,2 billion people voting in the latest parliamentary election (The Swedish Embassy, New Delhi, 2015). India is a country in development and it is said to have a large impact on the future world order (Klingspor. C, 2013). In excess to that India is also the motherland of one of the world's largest English written daily newspapers, which is also one of India's largest by circulation according to The Audit Bureau of Circulation, India (ABC India, 2013). This makes India an interesting country for journalistic field studies with a free press as well as a great influence in the world and a major circulation of its press.

2.1 Purpose and questions at the issue

The purpose with this thesis is to examine how the persons working in journalism and creating media messages reflect upon gender in their production and in their workspace. We want to examine the Indian journalists' experiences, perceptions and opinions of their reality since the UN declares medias' potential of being a big part in the strive of gender equality. We also want to examine what norms, ideals, thoughts and perceptions that lay behind the representation of women in the media content and to do so we have to understand the people working within media.

Purpose:

- To understand the experiences, perceptions and opinions of Indian journalists in the English written press' reality.
- What norms, ideals and thoughts that lay behind the representation of women in the media content in the English written press in India.

Questions at the issue:

- What kind of sources and interview persons does Indian journalists in the English written press use in their daily work and how?
- What differences are there between the different journalistic beats in terms of who is working within them and how they are ranked?
- How is it to work as a journalist within the English written press in India?
- How does Indian journalists within the English written press reflect upon representation in their daily work?

By answering these questions we believe that it is possible to understand how the persons working in journalism in English written press in India reflect upon gender in their daily production. And therefore also how it affects the media content.

3 Previous research

We have in our study opted to use theories and previous research and theories about feminism, gender, structuralism and identification. This because of the fact that our study's main focus is the journalists' way of looking at the world and the field they operate within. But also the way they perceive their own role in the creation of meaning and identity in the media content with a special attention on gender. We have also included one study about the media climate in India after the gang rape in Delhi 2012, this for our own pre-understanding of the media, its ways and the people operating within it.

3.1 Feminist Media Studies

Liesbet van Zoonen's Feminist Media Studies (2009) has been valuable for our work because she has summarized different studies about media from a feminist perspective and contributed with her own interpretation and additions. We consider our study to be a feminist media study and therefore thought this was suitable for us. We will use some examples that van Zoonen (2009) highlights in the analyse to give it a more solid ground.

Van Zoonen discusses Stuart Hall's "sender-message-receiver" sequence where the sender creates a message, which is understood in "the reality" with all its different cultural discourses and then received and interpreted by the audience/receiver.

According to the model of communication in feminist media theory there are three different messages about gender transmitted through media: stereotypes, pornography and ideology. Van Zoonen (2009) argues that these types of feminist transmission models have been criticized because media production is not completely built upon bad intentions from capitalistic male owners neither is it a product of sexist messages. Van Zoonen (2009), instead implies that the relation between sender and receiver is better characterized by tensions between individuals and personal values and opinions. And by the commercial need to be popular among a variety of different social groups.

Distortion is a key concept in many feminist media studies according to van Zoonen (2009). Media *distort* reality by showing women in stereotypical roles. Van Zoonen addresses Tuchman's (1978) analyse which highlights the basic elements of a functionalist feminist media theory that media reflects society's dominant social values

and symbolically denigrate women, by not showing them at all or by pigeonholing them into stereotypical roles. Why media works like this is according to different feminist studies because of the lack of female journalists and producers in the industry.

3.2 Hirdman and the gender contract

Yvonne Hirdman, lector in contemporary history, formulated around 1988 a theory for the use of describing our thoughts about when female and male converts into structure of power in the society. Hirdman (2003) calls the relation that is created socially and culturally between the sexes for the Gender contract, thus, an inherited knowledge of how gender should be and who possesses the power. She wants it to be a simple concept for a quite complicated reality. This is supposed to help us see how we, through our biological sex, have been assigned gender, gender that provides us with the code of how to behave in the society and how this can create separate realities for men and women (Hirdman, 2003). Hirdman's studies will be useful for us to understand what historical as well as contemporary influences contribute to create the roles of women and men in the society. In our analysis we will be able to use Hirdman's (2003) different examples to highlight our own study.

3.3 "Covering rape in a shame culture"

Shakuntala Rao (2014) highlights the problem of how rape crimes are covered in India, and specifically in New Delhi. She starts from the event in Delhi in December 2012 when a woman was brutally raped and died of injuries 13 days later. The event became one of the most media covered incidents from India that year, and definitely one of the most media covered rape incidents ever in India. Rao (2014) argues that rape and other sexual abuse against women are crimes that do not get very much attention in Indian media even though crime overall is one of the subjects that gets the most attention. As a method she is interviewing 38 journalists from different TV-channels as well as shadow them in their daily work, more or less: a media ethnographic study. She defines that it is *who* is raped that matters, and in a culture with an integrated hierarchical system like the caste system, this is particularly clear. "Analysis of their responses has shown that the journalists interviewed do not believe television news in India to represent the poor and the untouchables, or dalits, nor do they see it as giving voice to or providing adequate coverage of poor victims of rape and sexual assault." (Rao, 2014)

3.4 Representation and identification

Jostein Gripsrud (2011) writes about representation and identification in *Mediekultur – Mediesamhälle* that representation is a construction of what is portrayed, not a complete and objective reflection. Gripsrud (2011) is talking about media representation as different individuals, or groups that are standing for, *representing* the certain group they belong to: their characteristics, values and social backgrounds for example. Media representation can provoke strong feelings, according to Gripsrud (2011) that get stronger the more the different members of the group feels attached, and identify themselves within the certain group.

Media agency and particularly the reproduction of persons existing beliefs about what is right or wrong, of what is feminine or masculine, natural or unnatural is part of the media's social function. Gripsrud (2011) also expresses that media is the society's extended arm into the privacy of the homes and compete of the upbringing with parents and other grown-ups. But it can be doubtful that we incorporate immoral behaviours because of two things. One is that we are not plain sheets; we already have our values and norms that help us understand media messages. On the other hand, we have filters through which we can analyse the fiction that media provides us with. This filter is somewhat weaker when it comes to descriptions of the reality such as in news. But media influence people's thinking and opinions. Although of course there are other factors that affect humans it cannot be excluded that the media have power and thus also influence us, we create a picture of ourselves through interaction with our surroundings. Media present material in which we can look upon ourselves through. (Gripsrud, 2011)

4 Theoretical framework

In this chapter we will introduce the theories that we will use in this study. At the end you will find a summary/discussion of all the theories and how we are going to apply them. Both separately and together, and how these will help us to achieve a result.

4.1 The Agenda setting theory

Shehata (2012) argues that the agenda setting theory is one of the effects that have meant most to the mass media's influence on public opinion. According to McCombs (2006) the need for orientation in our reality is the reason why the public falls into the agenda that the media sets. The bigger need a person has of orientation the bigger is the chance that she or he follows media's agenda setting. McCombs put most focus on the agenda setting when it comes to politics and who has the power in a country. When agenda setting is viewed as a strict theory there is basically no limits for what kind of objects that can build an agenda in the media and amongst the public (McCombs, 2006). When it comes to almost all kinds of issues on the daily agenda, the citizens are dealing with some kind of second hand reality, a reality that is structured according to the journalists reporting of these events and situations. The public is using the media's leads on what issue should be put first, the issues that media is highlighting is gradually the issues that the public will think has the highest importance. The media is not deciding what opinions the public should have, but they have success in what the public should have opinions about (McCombs, 2006). McCombs (2006) is showing different studies from USA to Eastern Asia in *Setting the agenda: The mass media and public opinion* that has proved this thesis that is laying the ground of the agenda setting theory. From the studies they came to the conclusion that agenda effects occurs within a reasonably open political system and a reasonably open media system (McCombs, 2006). India falls within these criteria.

Shehata (2012) brings up the second dimension of the Agenda Setting Theory that includes the attributes that describes the objects. The second dimension of the theory is more about how citizens perceive the way in which objects or issues are portrayed. Studies have shown that there is a connection between how the media reports on politicians from an affective as well as a substantial attribute and the citizen's comprehension of the objects.

Priming and framing is also included in the agenda setting theory, or as a way of describing how the agenda setting works. Priming involves how media content affects humans' behaviours and has been used, according to Shehata (2012) to study the consequence of, among other things, the stereotypical perceptions of minority groups. Priming has been seen on one hand as a consequence of the agenda setting theory and on the other as a psychological explanation to the emergence of the agenda setting effects. Through highlighting certain problems, but not others, media will affect what criteria people use to evaluate the object. Framing on the other hand is all about the way the content in the media is pictured or how different aspects of the issue is highlighted to create a special sense in the citizens whenever the issue is spoken of (Shehata, 2012).

In India we have realised that "the written word" has a high status and that people rely on newspapers and its contents. It is a well-respected source of news. This can be proved by the high circulation of the press as well as the journalist's attitude towards their work and position in the society. This in combination with theories of agenda setting offers a very powerful tool where the journalists operates and creates its content. Therefore we find it important to understand how the journalists view their own role in spreading media content, which can keep or challenge normative structures of gender as well as patterns of power and the cultural split between men and women.

The agenda setting theory will be useful to us because we want to examine what messages that the media content is offering the audience, with a special attention on gender and fair representation of women. But our main focus for this study is to understand how and why these messages are created. We are well aware of that it will not be possible to do a research on how the messages affect the audience. But with the agenda setting theory we can highlight that the media has power in terms of what will be important issues for the audience as well of how they are perceiving different subjects and objects.

4.2 The structuration theory

Giddens and W. Suttons (2013) way of explaining the theory is mainly based on the insight that we create and recreate the social structure in our daily life. Giddens means that individuals can create their identity freely based upon the identities that, for

example media, displays and offers to individuals. The daily exchange is happening between people who try to change or preserve rules that they think is the most beneficial for themselves. (Giddens, 2013) To summarize the structuration theory you can say that the individual is a product of its surroundings and its norms and values, but the surroundings can as well be a product of the big and small actions of the individuals.

Giddens (1984) splits our consciousness into three different levels, *unconscious motives/cognition*, *the practical consciousness* and *discursive consciousness*. The unconscious motives controls the basal instincts, our needs, the motivation and our actions. The subconscious is inaccessible and cannot be directly controlled.

According to Giddens (1984) ontological security are to be found in basic anxiety-controlling mechanisms that is represented in the cognition of one person. We have to trust that some things will stay unchanged, for example the patterns of interactions, routines etcetera. This could for example be translated into something that Björn Häger (2009) calls “it is in the walls”. The expression aims to explain how journalists on the editorial staff do what they always do in terms of news evaluation, because it is based on the unspoken norms. According to Johansson (2015) the humans strive towards security is a big part of the structuration theory. A big part of the everyday behaviour is to develop routines and a feeling of ontological security, a way of trusting the surroundings that we live and operate within.

It is in the practical consciousness that Giddens puts his focus that includes all the knowledge that people use to navigate in social situations (Johansson, 1995, p. 399). This is a knowledge that you cannot express verbally but it is important for the social development that we exist in. The persons adaption of the society is based on the knowledge that we have in the practical consciousness, it is a silent knowledge that everyone possesses. This gives every person a way of building up reflexivity – a way to observe oneself in relation to the outside world and relate to external demands. This makes it possible for people to perceive irony, read between the lines and understand body language. This is something that Giddens (1984) calls mutual knowledge. The discursive consciousness is a very small part of our consciousness. Normally we can only formulate a fraction of all of our experiences, attitudes and intentions and it is in the discursive consciousness where a person can highlight specific intentions and actions.

The structuration theory is based on the fact that people can reflect and adjust their actions. A big part of the social life is based on routines and exists of recurring behaviours. The daily life is generally working just fine with its automatic flow without anyone thinking about it. It is only when interferences occur as it becomes necessary to examine the specific motives that govern human behaviour. (Johansson, 2015) We are all doing an active change in our social structure over and over again in our daily activities. At the same time the structure demands action, because structure is dependent on people to act in somewhat the same way. In one way, action is only possible when every individual possess a large amount of socially constructed knowledge that was there before him or her (Giddens, W Sutton 2013). This is something that we have interpreted to what we in daily speech call normative behaviour, or norms. The social life demands that we are following specific patterns or normative behaviour; it is when we apply these behaviours that we consolidate the rules and conventions and give them content and a meaning. Society and groups have structure within the extent that we follow a certain pattern (Giddens and W Sutton, 2013).

According to Giddens, the informal roles are of more significant matter than the rules that we have in the book of law. Rules create and recreate, with help of the language, in the social interactions we have every day. And when rules are connected with resources (the capacity to change the social surrounding) it leads to the creation of structure (Johansson, 2015) Giddens distinguish between two types of resources, allocative and authoritative resource, where allocative refers to the capacity to affect the material society and authoritative refers to the capacity to control other and to steer people. When Giddens speaks about power he refers to people's ability to change social process. (Johansson, 2015)

The structuration theory provides us with a tool to understand processes that the journalists create and recreate within and how this possibly can affect the media content. If we understand how structures are affecting people we can also understand why the media content looks the way it does. Because we strongly believe that the media content is a product of the ideas, views and structure of every individual and the collective mass of journalists behind it.

4.3 The Queer theory/performativity

Judith Butler's (2007) queer theory is a branch from the feminist theory and assumes that gender is something that is socially constructed by the discourses, or the reality, that we live and operate within. This is what Butler (2007) calls performativity and can be translated into actions that creates gender. It is the creation, expressions and how we act that maintains the ideas about gender, sex and sexuality. For performative actions to get a wider effect a big group needs to execute them (Ambjörnsson, 2008).

Butler (2007) is inspired by Foucault and argues that different systems of power create the identities, or the subjects, that they later on are representing. Media and journalistic contexts can be included in this system of power. According to Foucault the language and the names we give each other is crucial for how we see ourselves and the reality. Foucault means that with classification we take control over the people of the society. By pigeonholing people we put different labels on them and through that we say that some people are more important than others. Foucault means that this is a process of normalisation. And with normalisation we can generate power. We want to fit into the norm (Ambjörnsson, 2006).

Butler builds her theory on Wittig, Beauvoir and Irigay, who argue that the language excludes women. Only men can be seen as persons and there is no other gender than the female. Butler (2007) argues that the political and linguistic 'representation' determines in advance the criteria in which the subjects are formed within. It is this identity that Butler discusses and problematizes in *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. Butler describes gender as something we do, rather than something we are (performativity). At the same time the concept of being a "woman" is (this is Butler's way of writing) not something that is determined and set, but rather something that continually is reformed and converted. According to Butler representation can only be offered to those who can qualify as a subject. And Butler argues that the role, which is represented in the power system, is often based on a heterosexual male norm. A woman is to operate as such in the dominating heterosexual system, and a person who is questioning that system risk to loose the sense of being rooted in a gender (Butler, 2007, p.25). People will only be understandable by being assigned a gender in accordance with recognizable patterns of gender intelligibility. Butler (2007) focuses on Wittig and Beauvoir that argues that women are separated from men by being denied freedom and

independence. In other words, it is only men that are “persons”, and there is no other gender than the female.

We are judging another person as a “human” according to his/hers comprehensibility, simply explained as what identity category we can place him or her in. This is shaped by the society’s image or the social norm, as well as the legal picture of what a person is and what rights the person has. Butler emphasizes on these two parts but she also mentions that the personal norm has an equal part in the determination of what a person is. (Butler, 2006)

According to Fanny Ambjörnsson (2006), it is possible by focusing on heteronormativity to see beyond individual’s sexuality and instead see the large patterns of how norms affect our everyday life and the values that is in the society. By using the theory it is possible to discover the diversity of sexual impressions and positions that stands in the shadows of hetero- and homosexuality (Ambjörnsson, 2006) In the queer theory you can use “queer readings” that means that you look at a text (for example a situation) to examine what kind of norms and beliefs that has created the text and how it affect the person’s readings and how the person assimilates the messages that are mediated. Queer readings is a way of seeing how heteronormativity, that according to Butler (2007) is based upon the male norm, is created on different levels and how it expresses in the daily life. The queer theory and thus queer readings is largely about examining how power is created and recreated in relation to sexuality and how heteronormativity is maintained and recreated (Ambjörnsson, 2006). A new academically research about sexuality was aiming towards a wider perspective. It was not only the “abnormal” that was supposed to be examined; now they wanted to study the relation between sexuality and power and our perceptions of female and male (Ambjörnsson, 2008).

Even though the queer theory is supposed to be including it has been criticised for being elitist and focusing on a western context. According to critics it has been created by white, rich and well-educated people, therefore it is only accessible for a small group (Kulick 2005).

We want to understand how the journalists create gender and thus how it affects the media content. The queer theory and Butler’s (2007) performativity provides us with a

good tool to understand how gender is created and what processes that lay behind the creation of gender in the media content.

4.4 Intersectionality

Intersectionality is made up of many other theories such as post colonialism, Marxist class theories and different feminist theories etcetera. Intersectionality gives the arguments that van Zoonen (2009) brings up about that it is impossible to look upon gender as an isolated parameter as a name. But intersectionality is an attempt to work a way around the limits with including different parameters in a feminist perspective. An intersectional perspective asks questions about how power and inequality are combined in the comprehension about the white norm, the male norm, sex property, heterosexuality and class by a reconstruction of new markers who make a difference between a “we” and a “them” to social codes. Intersectionality as a theoretical perspective, originated in an anti-racist critique of the "white" hegemonic feminism exclusionary practice (de los Reyes, Mulinari, 2005). An intersectional perspective is necessary to use in research regarding equality and gender related questions according to de los Reyes and Mulinari (2005) because analysis of authority cannot be reduced to a question only based upon gender issues. It has to be viewed upon in a context of different variables. An intersectional analysis asks questions about feminism’s need of the acknowledgment of the male and about feminism’s adaption to patriarchal institutions. (de los Reyes, Mulinari, 2005)

De los Reyes and Mulinari brings up Charles Tilly’s (2000) concept *durable inequality* as a part of intersectionality. Inequality is according to Tilly something that does not “exist” but rather is created in the relation between different categories. It is created in the enforcement of resources as well as the exclusion from power and influence. Resources can be divided in two categories: material resources as well as symbolic resources. Often do material resources bring symbolic resources such as education, knowledge, and control over the society’s ideology production. According to Tilly (2000) there are category-controlled opposites such as man/woman, aristocrat/plebeian etcetera. Two processes create inequality and make it durable: the exploitation and the accumulation of possibilities where the exploitation is about the distribution of power and systematic exclusion of certain groups. The accumulation of possibilities occurs

when a categorical group (for example men) gains access to a valuable resource, in our case the media, which can be monopolized to enhance the position of the certain group/category.

There are many previous theories to describe what intersectionality highlights. Social stratification is used by sociologists as well as Giddens and W. Sutton (2013) as an introduction to Marxist class theory and to describe economical and social divisions in the society. We have used stratification as an example of a socially constructed knowledge or a certain kind of system that provides us with information on how we should behave and interpret our surroundings.

A society can exist of a stratum in a hierarchy where the most favoured is at the top and the less privileged is on the bottom. A caste system is a form of stratification where people have their social functions and positions for life. According to Giddens a society built upon castes can be compared to a society built upon class where the positions are congenital. In the system of caste it is strictly forbidden to have any form of contact with persons from other castes, this “purity” is maintained by endogamy or matrimony in the same social group. One of the most determining factors in a system of stratification is gender, all societies are structured in a way that reproduce inequality and men’s superior position to women in terms of wealth, status and influence (Giddens and W. Sutton, 2013). Inequality between men and women has to be understood in terms of class differences since it deepens the differences. This is what intersectionality highlights, nothing can stand alone and has to be combined to understand the full spectra of the diversity and according to Giddens and W. Sutton (2013) a leading concept in this context is intersectionality.

We will primarily use two parameters in our intersectional analysis: gender and class (caste), this since we can not focus on too much and since it is impossible for us to comment on race and sexuality for example. To understand gender in a complex society as India we cannot exclude different parameters and that is why we also have chosen intersectionality as a theory.

4.5 Theory discussion

Through the agenda setting theory we can highlight that the media has power in terms of what issues should be important for the audience as well as what the media content offers the audience in terms of representation of women and gender. But we are not doing an analyse of the audience, we focus our analysis on the journalists who creates the content and therefore is setting the agenda. Our beliefs are that it is important to understand the environment and the structure in which the journalists create the media agenda. Giddens (1984) structuration theory provides us with a good tool to analyse processes that the journalists create and recreate within. One of these processes is stratification where gender and class can be included.

We will use intersectionality to highlight how gender and class are working together to create different processes of power. Processes, or normative approaches that later on, through the media content, are exposed to the people reading it. According to Gripsrud (2011) people identify themselves in the media using representation and will adopt and adapt according to offered representation. The identification theory supports and describes the structuration theory and the agenda setting theory in terms of how the journalists that we are going to meet are socialised into a society and an occupational culture where gender is pictured and described. Or in terms of Butler: (2007) how performative actions and descriptions in the media content as well as in the daily life of the journalist create gender. But it is also a part of the society's culture in terms of who has the power; how women and men are created and recreated in the society or in other terms: how they are socialised into different roles in different discourses, at what position we can find men and women and how they are portrayed.

5 Method

We are using a media ethnographic method, which includes observations of the setting as well as qualitative interviews with ten journalists from six different news distributors in both Delhi and Bangalore. The interviews are going to be semi structured and based upon an interview guide (see Appendix). In addition to that, we have conducted an interview with a woman who has worked in the industry for over 30 years as a journalist as well as an editor. This interview is for our own understanding of the media climate as well as for an introduction to the empiric chapter. Our study is deductive since it is based upon established ideas and hypothesis, which we are testing with our collected data (Ekström and Larsson, 2013).

5.1 The research design

The purpose with our study was formulated already in the process of applying for the MFS-scholarship. We wanted to understand how it is to work as a journalist in India and how they are reflecting about gender in their daily work. When we formulated this purpose and the questions at the issue we started to look for suitable previous research and theories. From the previous research we received a deeper understanding of feminist media studies as well of the Indian media climate. We felt that there was a shortage of this type of studies in India but it could also be because we had difficulties getting access to them.

We wanted to understand the journalists perception of their reality and their work so we designed an interview guide that tried to include all the different aspects of that; from themselves, their occupation, interests and the perception of the imagined readers among other things (see Appendix A). We tested our interview guide in our first interview that we did because of our own pre-understanding of the society (the interview with Romi). Therefore we had the chance to improve the guide afterwards. We also had the opportunity to see the different workspaces and the people in action when they were working in both Delhi and Bangalore.

Ethnography uses observations, often in combination with interviews, for studying cultures, social organizations and patterns of action on the settings (Ekström, 2013). “The settings” as Ekström (ibid) talks about we have interpreted to the field: India, in which we operate within. We do not want to limit ourselves to the editorials since the

whole culture is a big part of what is happening at the editorials as well as in the mind of a journalist.

The interviews varied from 40 minutes to 90 minutes but in every interview the different themes in the guide was touched in somewhat way. Not in the same order every time since we followed the journalists reasoning. After the interviews we transcribed and selected different key quotes that captures the reasoning of the journalists according to identified themes.

5.2 Selection of material

When we selected our interview persons our first request was that they should be relevant for our study. The criteria for this were that they are still working as journalists in English linguistic press so they could give proper answers to our questions. We defined our study to English written press because of the simple reason that English is a language both of us master. We also felt that an interpreter would complicate the interview situations and a lot of feelings, words and mutual understanding that can be important for the empirical base would get lost.

The second criteria were that we would have an equal amount between men and women. Bryman (2011) calls this a targeted selection because the interview persons are strategic selected. He also says that it is supposed to be a variation of persons in these sorts of interviews. We were looking for journalists that worked with different beats and therefore could have different aspects in approaching our questions. For example within age, gender and work experience. To see a chart over our interview persons go to Appendix.

We made contact with the journalists through mail and text messages in Bangalore since we had a person fixing us contact information. But in Delhi we went for the direct approach. We went to the offices of Times of India and The Hindu and waited in the reception until we got hold of a good contact. It took a lot of work and time, but it was the only way we could approach these offices. Ethnographers have to collect information from any source that is available and the selection of informants in an ethnographic study is usually based upon a combination of convenient selection as well

as a snowball sampling or a chain of samplings (Bryman, 2011). In Bangalore we had the privilege to have a “fixer” that set us up with several journalists for interviews.

5.3 Collection of data

Throughout our stay in India, we have applied a media ethnographic study, partly because we think it is inevitable to do differently when we are in an environment so different from our own but also to gain a deeper understanding of this environment so that we can get a more credible result and for us to conduct better interviews. Britt-Marie Ringfjord (2006) applies a media ethnographic study as she explores juvenile girls who play soccer and their relationship with soccer in the media. She describes media ethnography as a method that combines participatory observations; conversations and interviews that refer to describe how media interfere in people’s daily life and what significance they give media in different contexts. It is exactly this we are aiming towards. According to Ekström (2013) ethnography differentiates itself because of the questions the researcher is trying to find an answer to. The questions are more about what the participants do, how situations are interpreted and what their actions mean. Ekström (ibid) says that in ethnographic studies it is common to combine methods. This is called triangulation. The combination of observations and interviews is necessary to get a grip not only of what people do but also what their actions means and how they think in different situations in the cultural context of being a journalist in India.

5.3.1 The interviews

In our study, we have used qualitative interviews with a low degree of standardization. Trost (2010) explains this as interviews where the interviewed sets the pace in terms of language, following questions and order. With a low grade of standardization the opportunities are wide according to Trost (ibid). This suited us since we wanted the interviews to be more of a conversation and because of the fact that we never knew what to expect in terms of the journalists convenience in talking to two Swedish students as well as the language level. We always let them set the pace for their sake as well for ours. Trost (2010) explains qualitative interviews as a way of understanding how the interviewed thinks and feels, what experience she or he has and how they view their world. Interviews are the most common method to use in qualitative studies, this because of the flexibility the interview allows that make it so attractive. Also in

qualitative interviews we have the possibility to let the interviewed talk in different directions so that we can see what is important and relevant to the interviewed (Bryman, 2011).

5.3.2 Ethnographic studies

We have been doing a lot of different observations both in public, semi-public and private environments to absorb the different discourses and structures that exist in India. We have travelled around in the country using different kinds of transportations, we have lived with people, been invited to dinner-parties, taking part of the news and conversations as well as observing meetings at some of the offices we have visited. The meaning with ethnographic studies is that we, as observers, should be able to see the way a group relate to the structure at the office or in the society. In this way we can observe and see things that the people we meet are not aware of (Ekström, 2010). This was necessary for us to in some way overcome, or at least differentiates, ourselves from our western perspectives. But we are well aware that this will follow us through our research as well as in the analyse.

Semi-public/office-observations. With ethnographic studies in a new office we have the opportunity to discover the editorial work from inside. It is there we have the opportunity to see how the structure is, with its hierarchies and status differences and how invisible norms play out (Ekström, 2010). For an observation schedule see Appendix A. According to Ekström (2010) it is unlikely that a journalist in an interview situation should say that it is this kind of things that they are doing at the office meetings. During our semi-public observations at the editorials we had the opportunity to see different meetings between journalists as well as between journalists and decision-makers. We could see how different journalists in different beats were divided and seated and could get at sense of what kind of people in terms of gender and age working on the papers. We also had the opportunity to see one of the journalists in action.

Read about our public and private observations as well as our understanding of the news in India in the Appendix B and C.

5.4 Reflections over Swedish Council of Science stipulates

We have taken the guidelines of Vetenskapsrådet (2011) in our consideration when we executed our research. They have structured the eight guidelines like this 1. Tell the truth about your research. 2. Consciously review and account for the purpose(s) of your studies. 3. Openly account for your methods and results. 4. Openly account for commercial interests and other associations. 5 not steal research results from others. 6. Keep your research organized, for instance through documentation and archiving. 7. Strive to conduct your research without harming people, animals or the environment. 8. Be fair in your judgement of others' research.

We are both aware of these guidelines and we can both truthfully say that we have followed them the best way we could. We have at all times tried to be as honest and correct to both ourselves and to the respondents. For example always telling the respondents that we are only using the interviews for this thesis and have given them pseudonyms (see Appendix D). We feel that we have done them justice in a way so they do not feel exposed in any way and they all are well aware of what we are using the interviews for. We have through all the way been very careful with what we are writing so that it is clear what our speculations are and what comes from previous research and what is theory. It is really important for us to be clear on what are our own thoughts and what is not. We have therefore been very accurate direct to the sources we have collected our information from and quoted where it has been necessary. The data we have collected are information that we have documented at all time and therefore it should be no doubt that the collected data is true and ours.

5.5 Model of analyse

Already in the meeting with India our analysis of the society started and during all of our interviews we did gradually build an idea and analysed our thoughts and experiences. After the interviews we transcript the content verbatim. The analyse and discussion continued as a flow during the whole process. In the next step we analysed the interviews from different themes based upon our interview guide and selected key quotes to point out similarities as well as variations. We had to be aware that we had more material than we could publish in this thesis and therefore had to select the most variant for our study.

Our purpose with this study is to understand the experiences, perceptions and opinions of Indian journalists in the English written press' reality. But also to understand what norms, ideals and thoughts that lay behind the representation of women in the media content in the English written press in India. To succeed with our purpose we created our questions at the issue about the journalists interview persons, their different beats, how the daily work as a journalist looks like and how they reflect upon representation.

But to get useful answers we could not ask these questions directly. We had to go deeper and create some kind of trust with the informants by engaging in a conversation regarding their view around these issues. We formulated an interview guide (see Appendix A) that is evolving around our main questions at the issue. By touching the subjects in our interview guide we believe that we could get an understanding of the journalists point of view. We also did observations of the editorial setting (see Appendix A) to understand in what environment the journalists operated within. In addition to that we spent nine weeks in the country of India to indulge in the social codes and structure. An environment that the journalists too are formed by and within. All of this to get a good empirical base to answer our questions at the issue so that we could fulfil the purpose of this study.

5.6 Method discussion

First and foremost we are two female journalist students from Sweden with specific values, ideas and preconceptions created in a western context. We have our ideas of how journalism works. But above all we had preconceptions of what India is and how it works, created from western news channels. All of that affect us and will have an impact on how we meet, react and interpret the journalist's interviews as well as the society over all. Therefore it will have an impact on how this study is designed as well as the result. This is something we have taken in consideration during our whole research and something that we are well aware of and something that the reader of this study too should be aware of.

Our study is conducted in metropolitan areas of India: Delhi and Bangalore and on English written newspapers. There is a big difference in education, development and in culture between rural India and urban India. Our study is conducted in urban India, and from what we have been told; there are great differences as well in the content as in the

production of “rural” newspapers in local languages. Therefore our study can only tell us something about the journalism of urban India.

Another critique against studies that include interviews is the so called interviewing effect that includes the identity of the researcher, like status differences as age and gender and how it can affect the respondent's answers. (Denscombe, 2009) That we were two people conducting the interviews may have caused a situation where the respondents felt a disadvantage (Trost, 2010). These were factors we already had in consideration, especially since we are two women talking to journalists in the cultural context of India with all its hierarchies and norms. To avoid strange situations we always started with small talk and introductions of our study and ourselves. And the fact that we were two young Swedish students was more of an advantage than a disadvantage. In situations with senior male journalist there was not a problem with the status difference since we had a lot of respect being western and considered as highly educated as well as there was a lot of curiosity around us. And in situations with younger female or male journalists we were at the same level because of our age and our way of always adapt to the situations. That we were two people asking questions was actually a relief since we could back up each other if the other one was missing out and the interviews became more of a conversation rather than a one-to-one strict situation.

5.7 Extern and intern reliability, validity and generalizability

We are using a qualitative method to collect our material. Bryman (2011) discuss that there is a need for adjusting the word reliability and validity to a qualitative study. This is because these words usually are connected with measurements within quantitative studies. Bryman (2011) is using LeCompte and Gotez (1982) concept with using the words extern and intern reliability and validity.

External reliability is in which extent the study can be replicated. It is hard to replicate a qualitative study and get the same result, because it is impossible to freeze a social environment (Bryman 2011). With an accurate description of the way we have executed our study we are therefore fulfilling the demand of external reliability required, in a way it is possible, with a qualitative study.

Internal reliability means that we as scientists discuss and agree how we are supposed to look at the material we have collected (Bryman, 2011). We have from day one discussed and decided how we were going to interpret the impressions that we were about to receive during this study.

According to LeCompte and Goetz (1982) it should be a high correspondence between our theoretical ideas and our observations and that this would give a high internal validity. According to this our study has strength because of the long time we spend in the environment where we are doing our interviews and observations. LeCompte and Goetz (1982) mean that the external validity is a problem for qualitative studies because of the use of case studies and their narrow selection. We are aware that our study cannot be applied to the rest of India since we have conducted it in urban environments and far from whole India are at this state. It would be a difficulty but perhaps not an impossibility to replicate our study in another country because of the different appearances of the society in the world. But with an accurate description of the way of how we have executed our study we are fulfilling the demand on external reliability required in the way it is possible with a qualitative study.

Our study is based upon media ethnography, which combines both interviews with cultural observations. According to Larsson (2010) triangulation is a way of strengthening the credibility of a study. Quantitative researchers often criticize qualitative research because it tends to create too impressionistic and subjective results that are built upon the researchers' unsystematic perceptions of what is important. They also criticize the relationship quantitative researchers establish with the informants. The critics also mean that the result is more difficult to generalize beyond the situation in which the study is made in. (Bryman, 2011) We understand that we cannot talk about statistical generalizability but Larsson (2010) argues that if different interviews at different settings exhibit common features, there are opportunities to speak more generally because the pattern that emerges from these cases can reasonably claim to also apply in other contexts. We are aware of that Larsson (2010) is in minority with these arguments but it is an interesting aspect to lift anyhow. We have found common features in different interviews at different newspapers as well as different cities and can generalize to a certain extent but must take into account that we are not able to talk about any kind of general truth in our result. But we still believe that our study, since we found a lot of similarities, can produce a trustworthy result.

6 Introduction to the empirical basis

In this section we are presenting our empirical material and the theoretical analyse of it. We have chosen specifically key quotes to capture the sense of the journalist's opinions regarding our question at the issue. Some quotes are also showing the different opinions or views. Some quotes have been edited in terms of grammar and the structure of the sentence to make it easier to read.

To achieve a better understanding of media in India as well as the possibility to shape our interview guide in the best way we had an interview with a now retired journalist, whom we will call by the pseudonym *Romi*. Romi is now retired but has worked within the business for over 30 years. Romi has a lot of experience and she is well informed about the gender approach in Indian media since this was what she was concentrating on for many years as an editor for Women's Feature Service. Therefore we felt that she could give us a good approach to the Indian news climate.

The glass ceiling is hard to break for women coming into the business according to Romi and she mentions that women are often given certain beats to cover, the so called "softer" beats.

[...] they are also sometimes slaughtered and given certain beats which are seen as suitable for women. [...] In India we don't have much representation of women in the rural areas. There it is overwhelm male dominated according to studies.

Even though Romi has seen a change in terms of more women coming into the business, she means that the change is centralized to urban areas as well as to a middle/upper class section of the society. Romi brings up the larger impact of cooperation and economics as a possible reason to why women, especially from rural areas, get lesser and lesser representation in mainstream media. She also mention the Nirbhaya case as a turning point in which media realized that violence towards women is an important aspect to bring up.

Weather media or people came first is hard to tell. But it is true that the media saw an opportunity to be more popular and therefore saw the story as very important. [...] If we want to be cynical we can say that the media saw this as a business opportunity but it's also true that in the process the media itself had to recognize the fact that crimes and violence against women

also are important issues as foreign politics and cooperative affairs in a sense that if you don't get this right it can affect your economy or your foreign policy.

But even though violence against women gets more attention it is very biased towards a special group of the country, due to the complexity of the Indian society. She tells us about the men's high valued status in the Indian society and that men's status is deeply rooted. She even uses the word "God" to describe men's special status.

Romi tells us about the constitution in India where it is stated that no one should be discriminated because of its gender. She tells us that women today are more aware of their constitutional rights but that it is something that is strictly based in urban areas. Rural India is left far behind. Romi also mention caste as a contributing factor to unequal representation in the press.

It all comes' down to who has the largest and strongest voice in society. And so definitely cast is a factor in the media. People from the lower castes are the ones who get in touch with the largest society problems but they are not represented, not in the newsroom or in the news.

6.1 Sources/Interview persons

A big part of our interviews regarded sources and interview persons, since it is a big part of a journalist's job. Whenever we asked for the journalist's sources and interviewees they referred to politicians, officials, police chiefs and so on. In some cases activists and representatives of NGOs was mentioned – all is what we have chose to call elite sources. All of the journalists were from the same kind of middle-class background and this contributed, according to some of our informants, to the high concentration on one kind of sources.

I use all kind of sources, politicals, officials, NGO:s, police officers. **Aman**

So I would say that the majority would be scientist and government officials and activists.
Arpan

For us to search for people in the non-elite sector or the non-influential sector explain to them the whole entire thing and then make them talk to us and then convince them to talk to us. That takes away a lot of time so we might as well talk to these people and just finish it off and then go away. **Sandhya**

Sandhya gives a good explanation to why she uses elite sources, it is because of lack of time, she tells us. But we could see the pattern that the journalists were following a well-trodden path without really thinking about it. Johansson (2015) brings up that an important part of the structure in people's everyday life is that daily life is structured from automatic actions and that this usually can go on smoothly, but according to Giddens everybody is aware of their actions (Johansson, 2015). According to an intersectional perspective that is highlighted through Tilly's (2010) inequality durability where the category men and high status/aristocrat is combined and how they are getting the monopolized access to the journalists and therefore also the media we can see that this is very much going on in our informants work.

Even though the caste system is illegal in India it has been replaced with another system of stratification, class. We noticed this not only in our interviews with our informants but it followed us more or less everywhere. But for some people the caste system was still very important. When we visited a small shop in Hauz Khas Village in New Delhi, the shop owner told us that she would never let a dalit (an untouchable) come into the shop and she would never talk to a person so far beneath herself.

Many of the journalists were aware of the focus on elite sources and were very upset by the fact that their papers were so focused on what social background one person had and felt more or less forced into the mind-set of their paper.

When it comes to my newspaper it is very important which kind of people you speak to. You can't go and speak to a street vendor or base your stories on street vendors. You can't even do a story on street vendor, because who would read that? It was kind of a shock to me, you know I tell them there has been an accident and they say, what is the profile of the victim? Who is the victim? **Minnu**

The papers know their target audience so when you are for say talking about an accident it is very insensitive and I do not really like this but they ask you for the profile of the victim. [...] people wouldn't really read about a factory worker or the collie worker but then I personally think it is like saying, his life doesn't matter as much as you know. **Ankita**

Yeah we are sometimes a little biased towards the people who are a little more elite or have a little more power in the society because they come out with their voice compare to the other sectors in society. **Sandhya**

Minnu told us that at her newspaper it is important who you speak to, a reflection we could see in all interviews. You cannot report on anybody, it has to be someone whose life “matters”. This strengthened Rao’s (2014) research that indicates that the journalists who were interviewed did not think that television news in India should cover all sections of the society. They indicate for example that it is a lack of representation of the poor (untouchables) victims of rape and sexual assault in the news. Minnu’s and our informant’s responses confirms Rao’s research. The coverage of news is unevenly focused in the Indian society, where it all comes down to whom you are and what section of the society you are from.

I was thinking about that, that when an accident happens we often ask what the dad to the victim does. [...] So what the dad does is our first question. Even me. I forget to ask what the mum do. I am so ashamed. It is like the women don’t exist. Even when you are writing a generally story you are like, he did this or, you are not talking about an specific person but you are using the word he. Is like a generally thing, why are we not saying she. I don’t know how to work around that. **Ankita**

From an intersectional perspective we can see that power and inequality are woven into both gender and class. According to de los Reyes and Mulinari (2005) power and inequality is (re) created through markers that make differences between "us" and "them" to social codes. The journalistic field is welcoming to a certain kind of category, you should not only be elite or from a higher social background, you should also meet the requirement of being male, then you are welcome to join the “us” in the media content. This is something that comes from the structure of the society where women are not included in certain areas, according to Butler (2007) the male norm is fortified in the language as well; we can see that Ankita is discussing this. You can only be represented if you meet the requirements of being a subject, and according to Butler (2007) it is only men who meet these demands and therefore only they who can get a fair representation.

The use of elite sources is the reason, according to many of the journalists, to the overrepresentation of men in their work.

Well actually it is often men I talk to. Politicians are men. **Aman**

Unfortunately, the people with power are usually men. The women in power I have interacted with are some biologist and bureaucrats. **Rashi**

So when I do politics, it is mostly men, it is a boy's club. Still. **Gopal**

Through intersectionality we can highlight the exclusion of women as sources or interview persons both because of their gender in combination of the position women hold, or actually not hold in the society. Arpan told us that he met mostly men and based it on the fact that there were mostly men in the professional groups that he met. He also explains that whenever a woman finishes her education in India she gets married and therefor never joins the professional life. Mulinari and de los Reyes (2014) writes that gender is not only gender and class is not only class, these are categories that can not be used as isolated analytical tools without at the same time give expression for a position of power. Male elite sources has received all the benefits, according to Tillys (2000) durable inequality: they are males instead of females, they are well educated and in the top layer of the society, instead of plebeians. Inequality is created in the relation of different categories where women, low caste/class members and low educated people are excluded because of the lack of material resources and symbolic resources. According to Tilly (2000) two processes creates inequality; the exploitation and the accumulation of possibilities. Elite sources have succeeded with both, they have access to power in their occupations/places in society where women, along with multiple other categories, are excluded and this has meant that they have gained access to the media, where journalists retains them according to the male norm that is in the media profession (Butler, 2007).

Many of the journalists also came to the conclusion that it is harder to talk to women and people from lower classes or castes. There is also a pattern in how the journalists do not reflect on what kind of persons they interview, that they just talk to whomever is convenient and that would be the person standing close by or the persons who are interested in the issue – the elite sources. According to Giddens (2013) theory about structuration, the journalists and the people they interview are following specific patterns or normative behaviour where it is not conforming with the norm of the society that women speak to men and where women are very careful. Arpan tells us that it often could be awkward interviewing women since the society told the woman that it is awkward for her to be in a conversation with a man. He is aware of the structuration in the society. This is also a way of showing India's stratification where men's and higher class people's superior position to women and low caste/class in terms of wealth, status

and influence conducts the terms in where journalists, both female and male, as well as potential interview persons has to operate within. Even the female journalists tells us that it is harder to speak to women:

Men are a little easier to talk to and women are a little more careful. Even if they are given you off the record stuff women are very careful, “I can’t give you this and this”. Harder to get information from them compare to a man. I think men are a little more confident that they can handle it. **Ankita**

In the interviews we asked the question whether the journalists thought it was different being a man or a woman in the contact with sources/interview persons. We have seen the reflection from female journalists that men has it easier to create close relations with potential sources (who often is men in higher positions) since they can ask them out for drinks or dinner to build contact. According to Butler (2007) the heterosexual male is the norm and everything except that is barking in on their field. This is something we can see for the female journalists in the business, they are having a harder time to work in a journalistic field that is built upon a male norm. Female journalists, who are by the majority of our informants, seen as softer and more sensitive, provides a better access in meetings with rape victims or other issues concerning women, according to the journalists. The male journalists we met said that there is a need for female journalists whenever there is an interview with women. The journalists, both male and female, creates the perception of the female journalist, she is soft, more tender and careful in comparison to the journalist (that actually is the male journalist). According to Butler’s (2007) performativity it is the creation, expressions and how we act that maintains the ideas about gender, sex and sexuality, in this case, the female journalist.

In Mangalore I talked to a few rape victims and it was always a little awkward. I think it is our sex that caused their misery and you can't be as open as you can be with a man. [...] women are brought up in a certain kind of way. **Arpan**

If I like to interview a girl regarding a rape case or other women issues it’s better for a girl. The girl can talk freely with other girls. She can explain it in better way. A girl can express freely if it is another girl. **Vineet**

Because of the society, a male dominated one, a man are always open to a woman. Women can only be open to women. That is the trade of a male dominated society. **Gopal**

For instance when a man need goes out for a drink, talks to them, makes friends. It is easier for them to do it, but I have to think like a hundred times if I have to go and meet a cop outside of his office. I am like, what are people going to say, what are people going to think. **Ankita**

I wouldn't invite a male source to a drink. I do not think he would be comfortable to be seen with me in his profession. If I invite him, the source, over for a coffee I do not think he like the association that gives. **Rashi**

There is a clear pattern that the journalists are split into groups of women and men, this can create some kind of ontological security (Giddens, 1984). They interpret their surroundings from this perspective and are structuralized into it and everybody knows what a female and a male journalist is supposed to be and do. It feels safe and if a journalist would break this pattern he or she would break the ontological security of the journalistic field and the everyday routine and patterns of his or her editorial. It is evident that the journalists have a clear picture of what a woman is and how she is suppose to act, as Butler (2007) would put it, it is a proof of performativity, they create gender and in this case the female journalist. The male journalists and the male sources are the ones who possess both the allocative resources and authoritative resources (Johansson, 2015).

6.2 Beats

At the papers where we have conducted interviews every journalist has its specific beat, meaning an area of interest that they cover. This can be everything from tourism, transport, and culture to politics and crimes. According to Romi female journalists in India are doing the so-called “softer” beats, where softer also is a way of ranking different beats to each other. The “soft” beats according to the journalists was culture, health, education, feature, fashion and lifestyle and it is here we found most women.

So I said that I write about music, dance, theatre, art and culture basically. He said, “oh, when will you graduate to more important things?”. I asked what he meant and he said, “like politics”.

Minnu

You CAN do everything but as a woman you of course draw your line somewhere. Which I guess a man wouldn't draw. **Sandhya**

Well, women are often getting the softer areas. I have been lucky to get to do what I am doing.

Rashi

The man will do the incident itself. Talking to the police and stuff. [...] And the empathy, sympathy, the sensitive part of it will be done by a woman. [...] Feature is considered not important so a guy won't fight for it. But things that is considered important, like crime, politics, investigative journalism, that will make the guys fight over it. And it is more likely they will get it because those field are so full of guys that there will be an excuse to send a guy there. **Arpan**

The female journalists expressed that they met opinions that “their” field would be less important, or that they are “lucky” that they were in a so-called “harder”, male-oriented field. Or that they would draw their line somewhat earlier than their male colleagues in what beat they will cover. There is also a clear opinion of what is the most important beats (the ones who also is considered best appropriate for men) and the less important beats. McCombs (2006) writes that the citizens are dealing with a second hand reality that is structured according to the journalist’s agenda. When the journalists are clearly making a difference between different beats and ranking and adding a value to them according to if they are male or female, what messages do this send to the public according to the agenda setting theory? When we talked about the newspaper with Pranaya he insinuated that the entertainment feature is aiming towards women, because of the so called “lighter” features:

It is about fashion, it is about women’s health. It is basically a housewife journal or a girl's journal. Like that, we give film reviews; there’ll be some cartoons, the horoscope. So it is the lighter part of the paper. **Pranaya**

At the same time he tells us that the other part of the paper, which is about politics and other “harder” subjects, is written mostly by men and about men. If we use queer readings to interpret what norms and beliefs that has created the opinions (Ambjörnsson, 2008) it is clearly that Pranaya is formed by clear norms of what is female and what is male, and thus what is hard and what is light. Queer readings is a way of seeing how heteronormativity, that according to Butler (2008) is based upon the male norm is shown. Through the queer perspective we can examine how power is created in relation to sexuality and gender. The beats that Pranaya, together with other journalists highlight as important, thus powerful, are the beats where the male journalists have the majority.

Aman, who works as an editor remarks that women cannot do everything because it would be unsafe for them:

We prefer to assign men than women if it is twelve o'clock, if there has been a crash I would like to send a man. [...] I think it is safer. Yes you could send a woman with protection and she would do an equally good job but personally if something happens during night and there is a lot of violence and somebody has to be sent I send a man. **Aman**

But when we ask directly about which beats women at Aman's office are in he answers that they do everything:

No, no, they do everything. Absolutely makes no difference at all whether there are a man or a women. Absolutely. No difference, only if it is in the middle of the night. Then I have to think twice if I am going to send a woman. But no, they can cover all kind of beats. **Aman**

Here comes the strong man to the woman's rescue because she has always a need to be rescued, they do not ask whether the woman feels that it is necessary. By being the provider men find themselves useful and necessary, and through that they also find the acceptance from other men in their surroundings (Hirdman, 2001). Women being strong, independent and secure take away the male security and you could say that they find other ways to be protective of "their" women. For instance telling women to be careful of walking alone at night. In a way Pranaya amongst the other journalists are warning women from themselves, this was an opinion we met among many, not just the journalists in our interviews. Men always felt the need to protect women, and they were often very clear about it.

This could also be used as a way of maintaining the ontological security (Giddens, 1984). In this case the male editor is "protecting" his female colleagues and uses that as a way of keeping the norms and the daily routine of the editorial. Structure is dependent on people to act in somewhat the same way, and action is according to Giddens and W. Sutton (2013) only possible if a person possesses an amount of socially constructed knowledge that was there before him or her. Pranaya are deeply convinced that women cannot handle themselves, while he says that women "should be able to do everything that men can do", he feels the need to protect them. It is a proof that his role as a socially constructed man is questioned if he does not follow this socially constructed knowledge – otherwise the ontological security falls.

There was the opinion from some of the journalist that it does not matter if you are a woman or a man, but there was still the indirectly notion of that there are women's beats and men's beats. The female journalists we met were very upset of the division in male/female beats and that they were graded differently. When we told Ankita, who works with crime reporting, about many of the other journalists, and other people we have met, thoughts about that it would be unsafe for women to work with crime or journalism overall she answers that it is the main argument for men to exclude women from certain areas:

I think that is just an excuse. [...] I mean, you could either say that it is not unsafe at all or you can say that it is unsafe everywhere. It is the same thing everywhere. [...] We can take care of ourselves. Do not deny us the opportunity of doing crime reporting because you think it is unsafe for us. **Ankita**

Ankita tells us that she fought hard to get into crime reporting, her bosses did not want her to do it at first and put her in education. Even though she used to work with crime reporting at her last job. Eventually she got into crime reporting because a police officer came to the office and told the editor that she was one of his favourites. The only way for her to get in a beat that is considered as a "male" beat was for a man to tell her editorial chief that she was good enough for it. Journalism is a male oriented business, where men are the norm, always. In fact the society in India overall is a male oriented society. We can hear from the journalists directly or indirectly that they are talking about journalists and female journalists, male and female beats, where the "male" beats are considered as "real" journalism and female beats is the filling. This is reminiscent of what Butler (2007) argues: only men can be persons, and there is no other sex than the female. From an intersectional perspective we can see that power and inequality are woven into both gender and class. Ankita is well aware of that she is operating in a man's world:

So I am glad that I am in crime reporting but in a way I felt that you needed a man to come and tell you that I am a good crime reporter for you to actually put me back on crime. **Ankita**

6.3 Being a journalist

In all of our interviews we have talked about the journalist's personal life, at least those parts that are related to their professional life. What we noticed when we transcribed the interviews was that we usually came to a deeper conversation with the women we talked to and therefore there are more quotes from women in this section.

What we noticed immediately in the offices was that the women that worked were of young age and the men of different ages. We almost never met an older female journalist and one possible explanation that we got was that a lot of female journalists quit their job when they got married. Van Zoonen (2009) is highlighting research about why there are fewer women in the media industry. Research from diverse countries such as United States, The Netherlands, and Germany shows that there are many but often the same obstacles for women to come into the business. According to these researches women meet obstacles in entrancing the work as well as advancing because of their family responsibility. A journalist job is considered to be round the clock and is therefore not suitable for a mother, since she has a round the clock responsibility for her family and children and media organizations do not yet provide childcare facilities. According to the research van Zoonen (2009) brings up the few remaining women over their thirties does not have children.

The only two women we met that were over 30 years old were Sandhya and Rashi. Rashi is not married and do not have any children and Sandhya been out of the business for a few years before she came back. Now she is juggling her life as a mother and a working journalist.

It was perfect. And then I had to unfortunately quit my job because I was getting married, but everybody told me: "don't quit your job. It's not going to be the right thing". But I was like "no, I will, I will" and I took a break. My in laws were also very resistant that I'd take a break. I quit my job. But later when I wanted my job back again it was a hell. Because once you have come out of it and then getting back inside is very difficult. **Sandhya**

We can see that Sandhya felt that it was unfair but she never blamed the norms of the society, she was very accepting about the fact that this was what the society expected from her. The silent knowledge is a part of the structuration theory that means that a big part of the human behaviour and the social life works without a discussion about what

norms that rules the social interactions and without reflecting how you should handle different situations (Johansson, 2015). Sandhya is proving her silent knowledge, she reflected about the situation but not why the situation occurred, she is structuralized into the norm of the society where the woman quit her job when she gets married.

Ankita speaks about running out of time; she knows that when she is married there will be difficulties to work as a journalist. Because the demands of the job do not fit with the demands of being a classic wife in India:

I am 27 and my parent are talking about marriage and things like that and I might be married in like two or three years and I am really running out of time. I need to get things done right now. I feel like I am not getting things done. I am in crime reporting but I don't just want to be a reporter, I want to be an editor right now but it is going to be five or six years more. **Ankita**

Working as a journalist as a woman is not something that is seen as a good job for married women:

I think it would be a lot more restrictive when I am married. Because right now I can do whatever I want. [...] But if I am married I have to ask him. Get his permission maybe, I am not sure how it is going to be. **Ankita**

Let's assume that we two get married and I get transferred somewhere there will be more pressure on her to quit her job and come to where I am than it is the other way. If she would get a transfer there would be more pressure on her to skip that job and stay with me. **Arpan**

Both Ankita and Sandhya tell us that whenever a woman is married she is not supposed to work as a journalist anymore, even Arpan agrees on the fact that there is a pressure on women to quit their work when they are married. Ankita mentions that she has met potential husbands through her parents and that they are interested in her work as a journalist “but no one wants to marry a journalist” – it does not cope with the structuration of India. A female journalist puts herself in “danger”, she will not be able to do typical housewife chores because of her working hours, and she would disturb the ontological security of an Indian marriage. Sandhya even did quit her job at first but when her husband was out of the picture she came back, starting all over again with lower salary and different tasks. Working as a journalist as a woman would disturb the ontological security of the roles of “being a woman”. Ontological security can only be noticed when it is disturbed (Giddens, 1984). The women are challenging the

ontological security if they would still work as a journalist when they join in a matrimonial contract. In the performativity (Butler, 2007) of Indian wives (Indian women) it is not included to work, especially not in a journalistic profession.

Hirdman (2001) writes about the stereotypical gender contract. Men have through all times been the ones to agree on what chores the different genders should have in life. Hirdman (2001) describes a way of looking at it through an androcentric perspective. Using that perspective you can talk about the basic position that it is a man's obligation to take "care" of the woman. And that woman, who has been taken care of, in this contract, does not have the right to leave their place. They should be in the home, giving birth and taking care of the home. And if they behave they will be provided for and for that they should be grateful. This may seem like an old way of thinking but when talking to our informants we see that this kind of thinking shines through in their answers.

We also noticed that many of the journalists talked about how women were perceived by their male colleagues and that they often heard comments whenever they succeeded with anything:

"Oh it is because you are a woman he picked up your phone call." I mean, that is not a thing to say and that obviously puts you down. I mean it's the person's credibility, if you are a man and if you can't do that then it's shame on you. It does hurt you sometimes but I guess it's a part of it, and it is in every profession. **Sandhya**

Minnu said that being a woman would always make you think twice about things:

It is quite unsafe to be a woman in this country or perhaps the world but most so in this country. So that creeps into the profession as well. So they don't let the women out for an assignment because the newspaper would be blamed if something happens to her and didn't take care of her. [...] you have to start getting out and somebody has to start making that change. **Minnu**

Both Sandhya and Minnu give examples of how men control their professional life. Men use their authoritative resources to "protect" women from going out. At the same time their authoritative resources are questioned whenever the women succeed better, their ontological security is failing. Sandhya breaks the gender contract (Hirdman, 2001) by succeeding in her work. According to Tilly (2000) inequality is reproduced by accumulation of possibilities for example. The accumulation of possibilities is

happening when a categorical group (e.g. men) wins access to a valuable resource. Sandhya challenges this access when she is succeeding at different tasks that normally the men has monopolized, and therefore she is questioning the ontological security of the editorial.

I guess that my male colleagues say that "We are a little more relaxed because we know that the woman is there at home to take care so we can stretch a little more." But in the case of working mothers it is a little difficult to ask. But I've never seen any man come to say that "no I am not going to do night shift because my child is waiting home". I never come across that. **Sandhya**

But even though they reflect on how it is to struggle with combining private life and their professional life there is never a complaint. When Sandhya tells us about how she never came across her male colleagues express the same thought as her, she just shrugs her shoulders. The journalists we met are so accustomed to what it is supposed to be in the society and at their workplaces, that we often felt that they did not question the reason to their situation. The routinisation of the daily life is connected with the practical consciousness and the need of handling anxiety that characterize the human existence. Routines are a way of protecting yourself from anxiety and feelings of inadequacy (Johansson, 2015). The only time you notice the routines is when they are taken away from you, Sandhya was ripped of her security, her routine, when her husband left and she was enlightened to how hard it is to manage a life outside the routines of the society.

Our discussion with young women that we met during our field studies often led to discussions about how it is to grow up in India. All of them indicate that they were pushed to follow in their mother's footsteps; educate for the possibility of a good matrimony match, marry young, have children and stay home. One of these women that we had extra contact with during our stay told us about the struggle she felt when she over and over again had to tell her mother that she didn't want to marry. She chose a life outside of the routines of India and challenged the ontological security at the same time that she had to handle how hard it is to be outside the routine, the structure, of the Indian society. This could lead to a feeling of exclusion from her family as well as the society. If we connect to Giddens (Johansson, 2015) structuration theory this woman disturbed the everyday routine of her social network and therefore it became very hard for her to feel as a part of the social interaction, of India, as well as her own family.

Even though many of the female journalist reacted on how they were treated compared to their male colleagues or male relatives we felt that they were very accepting about it. One woman that we lived together with during our stay had chosen to challenge the routine by marrying a man from outside of India and also stay at her work. She told us that her parents' way of handling her choice was to pretend to their relatives that she did not meet a foreign man until they were married. She told us that everybody lies to maintain the easy way of the social structure. "Challenging the patriarchal society is like pulling out small splints of glass from your body, one by one", she said in a conversation with us. This proves the structuration theory: it is not before you go outside the routines that you notice how the structure affects you and how hard it is to stand outside.

Alyssa's friends call her a feminist, something that she did not feel totally comfortable with. She had arguments about this that made us very confused, but these were arguments that we could find in all the interviews with the women we met:

Traditionally our society is a little male-oriented. You have to accept it, okay? That's the truth. There is male chauvinism. They have it in them, they can't get out of it, okay? [...] there are weird statements coming from politicians which you kind of feel "how ridiculous can it be?". That women should not go by night because otherwise they will be raped, there are statements like that. So you feel a little bit that it is ridiculous and at that point of time you kind of feel that having a debate. And if there is a male supporting that argument you will definitely have a fight with him, right? **Alyssa**

Alyssa is proving that she is aware of the structure of the society, a structure that she needs to accept; "they have it in them". But at the same time she is very questioning about it. She wants to raise arguments and debates about the structure of the society where the heterosexual male is the norm according to Butler (2007). The daily exchange is happening between people who try to change or preserve rules that they think is the most beneficial for themselves (Giddens, 2013). Alyssa does not really know where to put herself, from times it is more beneficial for her to accept the structure but at other times she reflects about the society and its structure and feels a need to question it. The daily life is generally working just fine with its automatic flow without anyone thinking about it. It is only when interferences occur that it becomes necessary to examine the specific motives that govern human behaviour (Johansson, 2015). We can go back to the quote of changing the patriarchy (a structure), "it feels like pulling out splints of

glass”. Alyssa, and the other journalists pull out the splints sometimes and sometimes they let them stay where they are, because it is easier to stay within a routine and an ontological security than to stay outside it. Ankita shows another example of how long it can take to change a structure and how far you need to go to pull out all the splints of glass:

We are taught to think a certain way, I am really ashamed to say this, when I was doing my post graduation I actually did a paper on how we should bring back the burka, as a sign of protest against objectification of women. My teacher yelled at me, she is like, “this is the exact opposite what we have been working for, for so long”. And I didn’t get it at that point because the whole thing about covering up and all that was in my head that I was judging women who are wearing short clothes and a few years ago it hit me that it shouldn’t matter. If a man would walk around naked would you laugh at but you would not abuse the man you would not have thoughts about raping him or whatever so why is it different when a women, she should be able to... So I was talking to my aunt in Kerala and in Kerala you were wearing tights, and how it is tight fitting. So they had this rule, you have slits at the side so no more slits. Women are not supposed to wear salvas with slits anymore. It was a huge issue at one point. I talked to my aunt and ask why at the point you see a women body you are sexualizing her, you are objectifying her, why? And then was when it hit me. I was such an idiot in college. I came around but a lot of women do not come around. Lot of these fights that happen on for example Twitter, it is often women that are yelling at women for talking in a certain way. It is usually women who are judging other women. We have to unlearn the whole thing. And it is hard, you are so confused. You are judging and then you are realizing that you are judging. And that you should not. I am still unlearning it.

Ankita

Ankita shows that daily encounter changes the way of thinking as well as the structure she is socialized into. She changed her way of thinking by talking to her aunt about the new rule against high slits. She had to face that change to realise that her own way of thinking is something the society taught her to think. She calls this a way of “unlearning” the norms of the society. A way to pull out the glass splints or in terms of the theory of structuration: to question the routines and the ontological security. Something that has been hard for her to do. Ankita tells us about how she has been taught of think in a certain way, and that all women in her surroundings have done the same. That they have to unlearn to think about women in general and themselves in a certain way. Individuals are constantly involved in a social context and the identities are intimately linked with a number of different social contexts, but these roles may change with the social interaction (Johansson, 2015). The daily life is build upon routines and it is only when the routines are disturbed they are noticed. Like for Ankita, her “rules”

was disturbed by a discussion with her teacher and through that activating what Giddens (1984) calls the discursive consciousness.

6.4 Representation

Representation was one of the main things we asked and talked about with the journalists. It was also the thing that we had the hardest time to explain, about what we meant when we asked about representation and equality in their work. As a sub line to representation we have chose “women as victims”.

According to Aman it was activism if you thought too much about equality between genders or class:

Obviously you can't look at every issue in one piece. Sure it sounds good and maybe in journalism class they teach you that. That you should look at women issue, rural issue... If i write a story that has nothing to do with women or rural so then I can not focus on that. I prefer it to be focused. **Aman**

Women and people from rural areas as well as in lower classes are so tightly connected with issues or as victims that Aman says that it takes away the focus from the purpose of the article if you bring them in. We noticed this when we read the papers, there was a lack of female representatives and when they were mentioned or pictured it was mainly as beauties in the entertainment sector or as victims. According to Giddens and W. Sutton (2013) structuration is based on the insight that we recreate the social structure in our daily life and that individuals can create their identity freely based upon identities that displays. Media is a way of displaying and offer identities according to Gripsrud (2011).

The representation that the journalists offer women is generally stereotypical in a way of showing them as beauties and victims. But Aman and many of the other journalists explains it as a question about focus.

Only if it is a woman's issue then it is fine, otherwise it is only unnecessary noise and after that beyond a point you will lose the value of the information and the type of news. I guess we shouldn't waste it always. [...] Gender does not matter. I do not consider gender as a priority. Yes we will split to all sections of the society that is what I try to do. **Sandhya**

According to the features of the agenda setting theory: priming and framing, the media can establish associations (priming) and representations (framing) around a subject or an object with the public and the effect of the agenda can have very direct consequences for the attitudes and the opinions amongst the public as well as the status of the object (McCombs, 2006). When the journalist's have a very stereotypical way of framing women or people from lower classes the association around these objects, as well as subjects concerning them will be stereotypical. One interesting thing that we can understand from our interviews is that the journalist's perception comes from the structure they live in – it is therefore a never-ending cycle where certain routines and structures are created and recreated again and again.

Many of the younger journalists had a more idealistic view on representation. Minnu works as a culture reporter and she is one of few that actually talk about striking a balance in her reporting between the genders. As an example she takes people playing the mouth harp, an instrument played mostly by men because of the chance of cutting of the lip and that would make women an unattractive spouse. But Minnu searched for a female mouth harper:

Yes, I try to find women to get a balance. If I am talking to five people for one story, 1000 word piece generally involves about four people at least and in those pieces I try to ensure that it is two women and two men at least. **Minnu**

Alyssa was one journalist that was working with representation without really reflecting upon it. The day we met Alyssa all the papers in Bangalore had been reporting on the new metro. The paper, which Alyssa worked on, was the only one who had interviewed the female train driver, and it was she who wrote the article. The article did not focus on that the metro pilot was a woman; she was just there with her point of view at the new metro as well as a picture of her.

It will help them. That was my intention to write it. And also to give it a different angle to my story, it would be different than what other write. Every paper has covered it today the same story, but in this way it will be a little different from them. [...] And someone will also understand that they can also try for such a thing. They are also capable of going and driving and being a part of the metro. If she is from a small village and can be a part of that then everyone else can. **Alyssa**

Alyssa chose the female metro pilot partly because it gave her article a good angle but partly because it would offer a good identification for people from the same social background. At the same time Alyssa is very concerned about telling us that she is not only writing about women and that it is important to her to highlight men and their issues as well, but for this text it was a good fit. People can adjust and change their actions in a structure (Johansson, 2015) and Alyssa explains to us that she is from a different social background where she as a girl had the same possibilities and was treated as her brothers. Her arguments did not follow the patterns of the other journalist's interviews sometimes.

Whenever we asked the journalists about how they think of representation and writing about both gender and different classes, we got the reaction that they write about these categories whenever there is an issue that concerns them:

You see if there is a price raising of gas, cooking gas, it is important to ask more women, less men. Because they do the activities. That is the household issues.

Do you think it is important to report on women issues?

Yeah, it is important. How will women be aware of the issue if you do not write? They will bring awareness among the women community. **Vineet**

Women are not interested in politics and economics, unless it is not in their area such as cooking food or being a housewife according to the thoughts of the journalists. If this perception is on-going among the journalists as well as in the journalistic content women will be associated to these tasks, according to the priming effect of the agenda setting theory. And by choosing special attributes and connect women with that, e.g. household duties, the public, including both women and men will associate women with these attributes, according to the framing effect of the agenda setting theory.

6.4.1 Women as victims

Whenever we brought up reporting about women or about including women in the reporting, as well as lower caste/class members we noticed that it always had to be an issue around these categories. Women generally were portrayed as rape victims.

The journalists we talked to had no problem with interviewing different kinds of victims. But in respect for the victims they anonymise them. Pranaya met a girl who became a victim in a family dispute.

One family gang member try to find this girl home alone so they beat her up and set her on fire. So my job was to go to that burn section in the hospital, people are not allowed, interview her and see what she has to say. It is sometimes idiotic, how do you ask a 60 per cent burned girl? She will be at bad state. I went as a relative to sneak in and went near her bed, sat with her, she could barely open her eyes. [...] **Pranaya**

When we asked him why this was an important interview for the paper he answered that it gave an interesting angle to a text and because it was a selling factor. Women as victims have become, as our interview with Romi suggest, a business.

Rape was one subject that came up in each and every interview we had. An increasing awareness among the readers after the Nirbhaya-case has made newspapers to take action and write more about it. This can be linked to what Giddens calls a critical situation: it is when people's daily life goes through massive changes and when it is not possible to maintain the regular routines. These changes often have long-term consequences for a large amount of people (Johansson, 2015).

The Nirbhaya case received so much attention that it was bound to change the society, because many people reacted and took a step out of their regular norm by demonstrating and cause debates around the subject. We could say that there was so many people involved in this (mostly people from higher social backgrounds from what we heard) that there was a change in the daily exchange, because it was most beneficial for them. According to Giddens (2013) an individual can be a product of its surroundings, but the surroundings can as well be a product of the actions of the individual. Structure can be used to characterize the emergence of social institutions, by observing yourself in relation to the outside world; you create a human identity and a relationship to the external demands (Johansson, 2015). We can see that there was a new structure formed after the Nirbhaya case, people came together as a group to form and redirect the structure of the society. And since the journalists live in the structure of India, they will have a reflexive view upon the actions.

There is something about women as a group that makes them good objects in news stories. Ankita lifts this:

Women tend to grab news. [...] It kind of becomes a sexual case whenever there is a woman involved. There are a lot more sensationalism around the women victim, in a sense, not in a bad

way. Most reporters are careful about not revealing the background of the victim. But when there is a women involved people are more angry with that. **Ankita**

Ankita tells us that “women grab news” and that people gets more angry whenever a woman is involved (as a victim). Women are perceived as something vulnerable that the structure of the society, where the men are the norm (Butler, 2007), has to take care of them. It is the creation, expressions and how we act that maintains the ideas about gender, sex and sexuality. For performative actions to get a wider effect a big group needs to execute them (Ambjörnsson, 2008). When journalists are constantly solely picturing women as victims this will create the idea of women as victims or actually make them into victims. As we have pointed out earlier in this analyse; the picture we have gotten of the structure of India, women are supposed to stay home as housewives and men are supposed to provide for them. Through all times men has have the task to take care of the women, it is in the mutual knowledge of the structure of India. This will create women as victims, because of performative actions and when the male structure is failing at taking care of her it will be good news. This will hit extra hard since it is the man who is failing at their duties, crimes against women is perceived as kicking on someone who is already down.

According to the rules of priming and framing (McCombs, 2006) women will be associated as victims and because of the journalists way of often take up the women's role in why she got raped or molested there will be an association amongst the public to these attributes. Women have to suit themselves since they are not following the structure of the society, by staying out late for example. And according to the agenda setting theory, people will adapt these views at the same time as crime against women is regarded as an important issue. This has the journalists perceived and cases, where women is the victim will be recreated again and again.

Minnu tells us that she recently has had a lot of discussion with male friends about that women get their own carriages in the subway, a day dedicated to them (International Women's Day) and that there are changes in legislation to protect women's right. To raise this “issue” the “International Men's Day” has become on the agenda in India amongst the public, she tells us. We saw a lot of advertisers about it both on the street and in the newspapers. Our informants, though, see women as a group that needs to be heard of because of all the crime that is committed against them. Alyssa speaks of it and

says that writing about women is important because, the words that Alyssa uses, a lot of them are still deprived.

See it is important because there is still many women who are very deprived. Not everyone is fortunate as me or you. A lot of people are still deprived. You come across stories that are very horrifying sometimes. There are women who are left by their family, because they have been burned by acid. There are so many stories that you come across as a journalist. **Alyssa**

The problem with always writing about women as “deprived” or in special contexts that are considered soft or as victims we will, according to performativity and the theory of structuration create women as this. Instead of finding women that can stand from times to times for, what the elite sources usually stands for in the journalistic context, to get a fair representation. Hirdman (2001) points out with example from the bible and the Koran that women have always been in need to be taken care of and with that the urge to protect and to be tender to women has existed among men. Unless they do not obey, because then they would have themselves to blame.

Vineet says that the sensationalization of the rapes has reached its limits, partly because of the fact that it harms more than helps the victims but he also believes that it can serve as an encouragement for other men to carry out similar crimes. He blames the media coverage and it is due to media that an increasing number of rape crimes are happening, because people are inspired. We had the same discussion with a retired journalist that blamed video games, media, Internet and alcohol for the increasing reporting on rapes against women.

You see the girl will face the problem in the court but before that the media rape. So you see I think don't make this sensational, this kind of story should not. It is news, only news. We should focus, give the punishment to the criminals. Not the girl. **Vineet**

I do not know if we report more or if there are more cases being reported. When it is a rape case it is taken a lot more seriously than it used to be earlier. Which is brilliant. With that I also think there are more people actually talking about it. There are more people saying, you know I do not want to keep quiet about this, I want to go and talk about it. **Ankita**

There is an argument amongst the public that we met outside the interviews that are blaming media for the increased rape incidents. Vineet is also talking about this, that media have such big power that they would encourage men to execute these crimes;

therefore the media should not sensationalize the cases. Ankita on the other hand, amongst most of our informants thinks it is a good thing to highlight something that was happening in the obscurity before. Both of them are talking about a change in the society, there is no doubt that the Nirbhaya-case and the reporting that has followed it is an example of what Giddens (1984) calls a critical situation: a set of actions that disrupt the daily routines of a structure. Conventions and routines can be abandoned and new routines can be instituted. Social institutions and the society do not exist isolated from the actions of the individuals but are created, reproduced and sustained in the daily social interaction. Even if the daily social life can seem like fluent and sporadically, social interaction are characterized by regularity and repeating patterns (Johansson, 2015). Vineet wants to keep the ontological security of the structure before the Nirbhaya-case by not sensationalize the events, because then according to him, more people will be ripped out of their security. Ankita on the other hand indicates that people are departing from the regularity of the repeating patterns of not talking about rape and keeping it in the obscurity.

During our time in India there was a very noticed rape case about a girl who was raped in a park by two of the park guards. Many of the papers wrote about the incident and highlighted the fact that the girl chose to stay in the park. By subconsciously writing these opinions that we also heard from some of the journalists media are establishing associations and representations around a subject – in this case women and this can have direct consequences for the opinions amongst the public as well as the status of the woman (McCombs, 2006). Hirdman (2001) means that as long as nobody breaks the gender contract everything will go on, as it is “suppose to”. But as soon a woman breaks it, it would prove her ungratefulness. A lot of newspapers in India indicate that if you want to avoid being raped, as a woman, you should not stay out late or taking a bus that is empty at night. If you do so you are kind of stupid. Even a well educated reporter, as Ankita was very ambivalent about working with a case like this:

Yes that was really difficult for me to write because obviously this girl was very stupid saying that she should stay in the parking lot this night and we hope for an ideal situation where you can stay out and spend the night in the parking lot but she was taking an unnecessary risk there. She didn't have to. I am not saying, whenever we said this I had to be very careful to blame the victim, I am not blaming the victim but I still have to say that she was stupid. This case was really difficult to write. Because I still have to raise sympathy for her because the woman was just raped. You never deserve that. I didn't write it, I just got the information. If i would have

written it I would probably undermine the fact that she was in the parking lot and she decided to stay the night there. Because there is also the slight doubt that the cops made that up. **Ankita**

Ankita acknowledge that women have to blame themselves when they get raped, because they are willingly breaking the routines of the society (Johansson, 2015) and leaving the ontological security (Giddens, 1984) where women should stay at home in the night where they are protected by their male relatives or husbands. At the same time she understands that she should not blame the victim because there is a new structure in India that was further highlighted by the Nirbhaya-case and many other incidents and this is affecting her as well. She is saying that it is difficult to write this, that it is difficult to stand in the middle of two structures and in the development of the society.

7 Discussion/summary

In this chapter we will present our discussion as well as a summarization of our result and analyse.

7.1 Summarize and discussion

Our main purpose of this thesis was to examine what experiences, perceptions and opinions the Indian journalists in English written press have. And what norms, ideals and thoughts that lay behind the representation of women in the media content in the English written press in India. We had read reports on the media climate in India that told us that the representation of women was unfair and did not represent the dimensions of the women in the country. We wanted to know why the media content looked like this and therefore we wanted to meet and go into depth with some of the producers of the content: the journalists that create the messages. Our questions at the issue was: what kind of sources and interview persons does Indian journalists in the English written press use in their daily work and how? What differences are there between the different journalistic beats in terms of who is working within them and how they are ranked? How is it to work as a journalist within the English written press in India? How does Indian journalists within the English written press reflect upon representation in their daily work?

We had already before going to India read reports on the representation of women. During our stay we could soon understand that these reports were accurate just by reading the newspapers and it became even clearer in the conversations with people and our informants. What structures lay behind this unfair and uneven representation? Our interviews about the journalist's experiences, perceptions and opinions revealed that women were excluded in the media content because of the high concentration on elite sources. We realized in our interviews that the journalists have a very elite centred thinking when it comes to sources and interview persons. The arguments for this were that it took less time and effort to find elite sources, and that they were the ones with knowledge and power in the society. The problem, as also the journalists stated, was that most of the elite sources were men and therefore women were excluded in these texts. Many of the journalists was upset by the fact that their papers demanded them to

disregard people from lower classes and they blamed the lack of female sources on the structures of the society. There was an opinion of “we are reflecting the society and in the society there are only men”. At least on higher positions. Men have full access to media as a group since they are the ones with power in the society, partly because of their gender and partly because of their resources.

There was also an opinion amongst the male journalists, that usually works with what is regarded as the “hard” subjects, that it is hard to interview women because of the structure of the society. Also the answers from the female journalists indicate that they felt that it is harder, but they have it easier than men to meet women. The problem is that the female journalists usually work within subjects that are regarded as “soft” subjects and it is here women get to be heard as well. The report from GMMP (2010) assumed that the women that are heard are often urban middle-class women. We got the explanation that it is even harder to speak to women from rural areas since they are more structuralized into different norms.

Our interviews with the journalists about their experiences, perceptions and opinions of their reality also revealed that the female journalists were meeting resistance. Because they had a harder time talking to male elite sources. Because they get comments if they succeeded with something in the profession from their male colleagues. Because the beats that is assigned to them was considered as “soft” and less important. And because they feel a pressure from family and the structure of the society to quit their job whenever they got married and this leads to the fact that women will have a harder time to reach the influential beats as well as decision-making positions. There was an opinion that it was “cool” to meet a female journalist but she was no good choice for a matrimonial match. We could connect this to the matrimonial pages in the newspapers where women were supposed to have a high education, be tender and a good housewife. The education is merely there as a way to raise the qualifications for the man to choose her.

But we did also meet the opinions from male journalists that female journalists were good to have in contact with women and female sources and that they provided the media content with sensibility and tenderness. At the same time the male norm is working against the women and their progress in the occupation, and it shines through in the male journalists responses. Also in the women's responses to the initial inquiry

they did not want to criticize their situations, but when you go deeper you will understand that it is rather that they are not accustomed to assert themselves and criticize the structure where the men are rewarded. They are following the mutual knowledge of the structure. Women are filling a gap, according to the male journalists, but the problem is that they are pigeonholed into that gap with no or few other choices. According to the feminist media studies that van Zoonen (2009) brings up, the distortion or the denial of women in media content would be solved if more women came into the business. We did not see this since the women, except from being denied opportunities in the same beats and influence as the men in the business, too are structuralized into the male norm of the journalistic field and following the rules of the editorials to be allowed the access.

According to the rules of agenda setting the gradation of different beats will have an impact on the audience as well. This is not something that we had the possibility to study but the journalists we met that worked in for example culture told us that they met these opinions. And since there are more women in these beats there will be a possibility that their journalistic work will be seen as less important as well. There is a way to connect women with what is considered less important and “softer” both in the media content as well as in the workspace and this will also create the perception that women are less important and softer, according to performativity. Both within the journalistic business and in the society.

During our interviews we sometimes had a hard time explaining what we meant when we asked about representation. And we got the answer that thinking about representation is “overthinking” and would disturb the focus of the facts in the texts. When we discussed this with some of the younger journalists we realized that they had another view than many of their older colleagues. They felt that they had an important role in representing women from all different social backgrounds. The problem is that if these female journalists follow the norm and structure of the society they will disappear from the journalistic work field when they are going to start a family and these remarks about representation will not follow their advancement in the business because there will be none.

Another thing we realized, both in the interviews and in the newspapers, was that whenever women were pictured or mentioned it was as victims of horrific crimes and

rapes or in contexts like house holding. Van Zoonen (2009) brings up previous feminist studies that women are overlooked or pictured stereotypical in the media content. For the journalists it was mostly about following patterns of what is on the agenda right now where rape has become a huge sensationalized success to write about after the Nirbhaya-case. The journalists do feel that it is important to lift the subject but the problem is that it is more or less the only time women are pictured in the media content. According to Gripsrud's (2011) theory of representation and identification media does provide content in which we can look upon ourselves through. When women are constantly pictured as victims they will soon be victims because of the rules of structuration and identification.

In addition to examining how the journalists represented women we wanted to get the answer to why the journalists represented women in this way. With our empirical base we can proof that the journalists are a product of their surroundings, like all of us are. Not only is it that women get the role as the weaker sex in India, because they are constantly dependent on men, it has in recent years been a very strong focus on changing the structure of society where rape is involved. The journalist are here trying to find their place and they think, except that it is a great way to increase sales, that it is important to address the problems relating to women's rights. The problem is that it might be the reverse effects instead of also show strong independent women to get a diverse representation for women to identify with. But that would mismatch with the rules of the structuration in India.

8 Conclusion and further research

In this chapter we will present our conclusion of our research as well as give suggestions for further research within this area.

8.1 Conclusion

We have tried to come closer to what experiences, perceptions and opinions Indian journalists in English written press have of their reality from a gender perspective in our interviews as well as of our observation of their surroundings. We have examined how and where women are represented in the media content from our conversations with both our informants and our readings of the newspapers in India and we have tried to examine why the journalists represent women in this way. We have understood that the journalists, like every other person, are a product of the surroundings they live in and that they are following structures of these surroundings. We have also tried to understand how these structures work and operate by doing ethnological observations as well as doing analyses of our informant's answers from theories about structuration, agenda setting, performativity and intersectionality.

We wanted to examine what structures the Indian journalists are operating within and how this is affecting the media content. There is proof that the journalists, like all people, are following the structure in the society, both unconsciously and consciously. A very clear proof of that is that many of the journalists are struggling with how to handle writing about rape cases. Where a part of them reflects about that it can never be the woman's fault that she is raped but another part is saying that a woman has to in some way not tempt fate by for example going out at the night. The journalists are so structuralized into the norms, rules and mutual knowledge of the society that it is hard for them to break up with these arguments within them.

For women to get a fair representation the routines of the journalistic business has to be changed. The journalists has to increase the effort in the search for female elite sources or the structure of the society needs to change and open up for women at higher positions. But it is more likely for the journalist to start making a change; we believe that with good representatives to look up to, women will have it easier to start making this change. The Beijing Platform for Action (UN, Women, 2015) declares that media

has potential to make a contribution to gender equality. With the journalists feeling that they have this responsibility we believe that they would start making that change because they are already in many cases breaking the routines and rules of the structuration in India.

The media business and the journalists need to change the structure within as well, and there has to be a change in how the journalists grade different beats toward each other if fair representation is the goal. This would open up for women to feel as important in the business as men. It is not enough that there are more women in the business if the structure of the business does not start to change. Otherwise the journalists, both female and male, will follow well-trodden paths and there will be no room for new ideas or routine-breaking content. It is a good thing that journalists now are taking actions against the multiple rapes in the country and are starting to highlight these crimes. But there is a problem when women are only portrayed as victims rather than independent human beings with different roles in the society. There is also a problem when journalists cannot look outside the structure in blaming the rape victims, the women. Because these are ideas that will spread outside the media content and establish amongst the public.

But it is not only inside the media business that changes need to happen; it is in all of the society. Women need to be able to feel that they are free to start families and work professionally for the media business to change in long terms. But that is a very long process. Sometimes somebody needs to start making that change and we believe, together with the UN, that media has the potential of doing that. It is all about unlearning certain structures of the society.

8.2 Suggestion for further research

We would strongly recommend to do journalistic field studies in India since it is a country with the world's largest press by circulation and that is very diverse in terms of culture, religion, development etcetera. For example it would be interesting to see a study with gender and class perspectives on headlines in newspapers. It would also be interesting to go deeper with the female journalists that are starting to appear increasingly on all the editorials in India. There is also a need for studies based on the rural press of India and what impact it have amongst the public. We would like to

encourage studies of the agenda with a gender perspective in India with interviews with the audience and how they perceive their own representation in the media. At last, we strongly believe that our result of this study would be more or less the same in Sweden or in any other country in the world. And we sincerely hope that this study will inspire other people to go outside of their own ontological security and break the routines of their everyday life.

9 References

Printed Sources

Ambjörnsson, F. (2006). *Vad är queer?*. Stockholm: Natur och kultur.

Bryman, A. (2011). *Samhällsvetenskapliga metoder*. (2., [rev.] uppl.) Malmö: Liber.

Butler, J. (2007). *Genustrubbel: feminism och identitetens subversion*. Göteborg: Daidalos.

Butler, J. (2006). *Genus ogjort: kropp, begär och möjlig existens*. Stockholm: Norstedts akademiska förlag.

De los Reyes, P. och Mulinari, D. (2005). *Intersektionalitet: kritiska reflektioner över (o)jämlighetens landskap*. 1. uppl. Malmö: Liber.

Denscombe, M. (2009). *Forskningshandboken: för småskaliga forskningsprojekt inom samhällsvetenskaperna*. (2. uppl.) Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Ekström, M. (2010). Etnografiska observationer, I M.Ekström & L. Larsson, (red.) (2010). *Metoder i kommunikationsvetenskap*. 2. uppl. Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Giddens, A. & Sutton, P.W. (2013). *Sociologi*. (5., rev. och uppdaterade uppl.) Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Giddens, A. (1984). *The constitution of society: outline of the theory of structuration*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Gripsrud, J. (2011) *Mediekultur, mediesamhälle*. Göteborg: Daidalos AB.

Hirdman, Y. (2003). *Genus: om det stabila föränderliga former*. 2., [rev.] uppl. Malmö: Liber

Häger, B. (2009). *Reporter: en grundbok i journalistik*. 1. uppl. Stockholm: Norstedt

Johansson, T. (2015) *Anthony Giddens och det senmoderna*. I Månson, P. (red.) (2015). *Moderna samhällsteorier: traditioner, riktningar, teoretiker*. 9. uppl. Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Johansson, T. (1995). *Rutinisering och reflexivitet: en introduktion till Anthony Giddens*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Kulick, D. (red.) (2005). *Queersverige*. Stockholm: Natur och Kultur.

Larsson, L. (2010) *Intervjuer*. Ekström, M. & Larsson, L. (red.) (2010). *Metoder i kommunikationsvetenskap*. (2. uppl.) Lund: Studentlitteratur.

LeCompte, M.D, and J.P. Goetz (1982), *Problems of reliability and validity in ethnographic research*. Review of educational research, 52, s. 31-60.

McCombs, M. (2006). *Makten över dagordningen: om medierna, politiken och opinionsbildningen*. 1. uppl. Stockholm: SNS förlag.

Nord, L. & Strömbäck, J. (red.) (2012). *Medierna och demokratin*. (2. uppl.) Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Ringfjord, B-M. (2006) *Fotboll är livet : en medieetnografisk studie om fotbollstjejer och TV-sport*. Lund: Media and Communication Studies, Lund University.

Shehata, A. (2012). *Medierna och makten över publiken*. I Nord, L. & Strömbäck, J. (Red.), *Medierna och demokratin* (s.137). (2. uppl.). Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Tilly, C. (2000). *Beständig ojämlikhet*. Lund: Arkiv.

Trost, J. (2010). *Kvalitativa intervjuer*. (4. uppl.) Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Tuchman, G. (1978a) *Heart and home: Images of Women and the Media*. New York: Oxford Univeristy Press.

Zoonen, L. v. (2009). *Feminist media studies / Liesbet van Zoonen*. London : Sage, 2009.

Unprinted sources:

Audit bureau of circulation, (2013) http://auditbureau.org/Top_Circulations.pdf .
Downloaded 2015-12-01

Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, UN, Published 2015
http://www.unwomen.org/~media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2015/sg%20report_synthesis-en_web.pdf) Downloaded 2015-11-30

Eklund, Johanna (2015-03-05) SVT. *Indiska våldtäktsmannen: Hade hon legat still hade hon inte kommit till skada*. (<http://www.svt.se/nyheter/utrikes/indiska-valdtaktsmannen-hade-hon-legat-still-hade-hon-inte-kommit-till-skada>) Visited 2015-12-02

Global Gender Gap Report 2014, World economic forum, a non profit foundation in Geneva, Switzerland. <http://reports.weforum.org/global-gender-gap-report-2014/rankings/> Visited 2016-01-20.

Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP), 2010, *Who makes the news*
<http://whomakesthenews.org/gmmp/gmmp-reports> Visited 2015-11-27

Khan, Joseph and Khan Sameer The India report of the GMMP 2010.
http://cdn.agilitycms.com/who-makes-the-news/Imported/reports_2010/national/India.pdf Downloaded 2016-01-02

Klingspor Catharina, 2013, *Många bollar i luften för världens största demokrati*, Utrikespolitiska institutet http://www.ui.se/blog/uibloggen/?t_id=4933 Visited 2015-10-07

Lewis, M. Paul, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fenning(eds.) 2016. *Ethnologue: Languages of the world*, Ninetheeth edition. Dallas, Texas: SIL International. Online version. <http://www.ethnologue.com/country/IN> Visted 2016-01-03.

Landguiden, Utrikespolitiska institutet, *Indien*, updated 2016-02-09.
<https://www.landguiden.se/Lander/Asien/Indien/Befolkning-Sprak> Visted 2016-02-15

Presscouncil, *PrinciplesEthics*, last updated 23 mars 2015,
(http://presscouncil.nic.in/Content/62_1_PrinciplesEthics.aspx) Visited 2015-02-13.

Rao. S (2014) *Covering Rape in Shame Culture: Studying Journalism Ethics in India's New Television News Media*, *Journal of Mass Media Ethics: Exploring Questions of Media Morality*, 29:3, 153-167, DOI: 10.1080/08900523.2014.918497

Sakar, Monica för CNN, 2015-03-05 *India's Daughter, the film banned by India: Why did it show?* (<http://edition.cnn.com/2015/03/05/asia/bbc-india-documentary/>) Visited 2015-12-15.

The Swedish Embassy, New Delhi, 2015, *Ambassadens landrapport för Indien*
<http://www.swedenabroad.com/sv-SE/Ambassader/New-Delhi/Landfakta/Om-Indien/>
Visted 2015-10-07

United nations, *Universal Declaration of Human Rights, article 2*.
www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights. Visited 2015-12-01

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organizations (UNESCO)
published in 2014 <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0022/002270/227025e.pdf>.
Downloaded 2015-11-24

UN Women, 2015, s 39, *The Beijing Declaration and platform for action turns 20*,
http://www.unwomen.org/~media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2015/sg%20report_synthesis-en_web.pdf. Downloaded 2015-12-26

Vetenskapsrådet (2011). *Forskningsetiska principer inom humanistisk samhällsvetenskaplig forskning* [Elektronisk resurs].
Stockholm: Vetenskapsrådet.. <http://www.codex.vr.se/texts/HSFR.pdf> Downloaded 2015-12-15

Appendix

Appendix A, Interview guide and observation schedule

Different themes that we brought up in our interviews

Finding news

Interview persons

Subjects/interests (beats)

The profession

The reader

Working environment

Equality

Representation

Different things we had in mind when we did our observation both in general and at the offices.

What do we see?

What are people wearing?

How does the landscape look like?

How does the office look like?

Who is speaking?

How open are they with discussion/ conversations with each other?

Who take the lead?

Pattern?

Is there any hierarchy and who is in that case at the bottom?

Are we disturbing with our presence at the office-meetings?

Appendix B, Public and private ethnographic observations

Public spheres are easy to access and here we could blend in as normal tourists. Ekström (2013) writes that an observation of a public sphere gives the scientist a possibility to continue without any specific permits. But the scientist must always be aware of the ethical aspects and never publish any facts where an individual can be recognized. Our observations in public spheres have been for our own understanding of the role of women in the society. How women dress in public, how they behave and how they are treated. Ekström (2013) argues that scientist within the field of media and communication do not usually use public spheres for observations because of the question if it really is science to sit on a café? Ekström (2013) argues that it is science as long as it is a part of a well-structured project with specific questions.

For us the public observations has been a big part of our understanding of India. If we did this thesis in a similar cultural context from our own it would not be necessary. But in this way we realized that women and men travel in different carriages in Delhi's metro because of "the protection of women", we realized that women almost always dress in the traditional sari or kurta while men had the liberty to dress as they felt like and that there hardly are any women out in the streets during the day. We have visited families where the wife have had a master's degree but the day she got married she gave up her career and devoted her life to her husband. At the same time we have met girls and women who is very criticising against the norms of the society, that wants to study because they want to work, that likes to party and to dress the way they like. We have been in deep conversations about women's right and about the demands from family, friends and the society. It has been very rewarding seeing both different sides of India and it has contributed to our understanding of the world, as someone put it very neatly in a conversation we had "India stands with one leg in two different decades and it is in that gap that we are facing a lot of problems". But it is not all problems, not at all, it is a complex country with different currents and at some times it can create chasms but it can also create a deep understanding for different beliefs, cultures and ways of life.'

Appendix C, Understanding the news

During our stay in India we have picked up the newspapers whenever we had the possibility. It has been randomly and without any specific analyse method, only for our own understanding of the texts that is produced. Quickly we realized that there was a pattern in what the papers wrote about and that a big part of the news was about men in different power positions, about cooperation's and about crime. Women could be seen occasionally in the entertainment sector of the paper pictured as beautiful actors or as rape victims in the crime section, being sensationalised.

During our nine weeks there were two particular rape cases that was highlighted, one where the woman was raped in a moving mini bus (The Hindu, 2015) and one about a woman who was raped in a park (Times of India, 2015). Both incidents were in Bangalore and in both articles it is clearly mentioned that the woman had an opportunity to be at another place at the time. In the article about the gang rape in the moving mini bus there is a quote from a policeman saying: "The friend tried to dissuade her as there were not enough passengers in the vehicle. However, she insisted and got into the vehicle". The headline of the article about the gang rape in the park is: "Police send her out of park, but she returned" – we read similar headlines in multiple newspapers that day.

Appendix D, Description of our informants

Minnu	Female, 26 years	Culture, art reporter	Private paid college with degree in journalism/literature
Ankita	Female, 27 years	Crime reporter	Private paid college with degree in journalism
Alyssa	Female, 28 years	City reporter, social issues, women/children	Private paid college with degree in journalism
Sandhya	Female, 30 years	Environment, tourism	Private paid college with degree in journalism
Rashi	Female, 45 years	Air force/space reporter	Private paid college with degree in journalism
Arpan	Male, 28 years	Environment reporter	Private paid college with degree in engineering/journalism
Vineet	Male, 38 years	City reporter	Private paid college with degree in journalism
Pranaya	Male, 40 years	City reporter	Private paid college with degree in journalism
Aman	Male, 41 years	Editor, Political reporter	Private paid college with degree in journalism
Gopal	Male, 42 years	Political reporter	Private paid college with degree in journalism

References of the Appendix

Printed sources:

Ekström, M. (2010) *Etnografiska observationer*, I Ekström, Mats & Larsson, Larsåke (red.) (2010). Metoder i kommunikationsvetenskap. 2. uppl. Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Articles:

The Hindu (2015-10-06), newspaper Bangalore

<http://www.thehindu.com/news/cities/bangalore/official-transport-could-have-saved-gangrape-victim/article7727592.ece>)

Times of India (2015-11-13), newspaper Bangalore,

(<http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/bengaluru/Bengaluru-rape-case-Police-sent-her-out-of-park-but-she-returned/articleshow/49763062.cms>)