Media, Identity, and Gender: Tracking Feminist Media and Journalism Theories and Methodologies

Zala Volčič[*]

SUMMARY

This article attempts to illustrate some general theoretical and methodological approaches to journalism and media coming from feminist perspective. The research questions raised by media feminists scholars relate not only to the key issue of representation, but also to wider examination of the place of women in the media industries, to women as producers and as audiences, and women's reflections of their own situation in relationship to the media spaces.

At the heart of this article lies a case-study. It asks whether there are any gender differences in a general perception held in a newsroom of a small Australian newspaper – that female journalists work differently to male journalists. On the basis of qualitative methodologies (participant observation, and indepth interviews) the study explores the question whether there are observable differences in the way female journalists and male journalists work in that particular newsroom. Put it simple, we are interested here in whether Australian female journalists in the studied newspaper newsroom conform to a traditional, patriarchal style of journalism?

Key words: identity, media, gender, journalism, interviews, femininity

Introduction

The critical media approach employed in this article conceives the world as socially and historically constructed through power relations that position people differently according to different categories. The unequal power relations that work

---

[*] Zala Volčič, Post Doctoral Fellow, Centre for Critical and Cultural Studies, University of Queensland, Australia. E-mail: z.volcic@uq.edu.au

5

to naturalize the categories that we use to understand the world, such as gender, class, race, and nation, and exert a particular way of seeing the world, result in the marginalization and oppression of certain groups of people. This article attempts to map different diverse approaches in understanding gender, while adopting media feminism as a core framework, in order to offer some possible theoretical and methodological ideas for future research. The purpose here is solely to provide some ways of thinking about journalism, media, identity, gender, and research.

In order to map some research ideas, this article examines a specific case-study dealing with the position of women within journalism / newsroom space. The case study is a comprehensive 'all-encompassing' research method (Yin 2003: 14). As an exploratory research strategy, case studies can include both qualitative and quantitative evidence. First part of the article asks whether there is a general perception held in a newsroom that female journalists work differently to male journalists. Evidence of a perceived difference in the journalistic styles of men and women would include journalists *believing* and *agreeing* that stories were assigned according to gender and observations of stories being assigned according to gender. On the basis of our research, we offer some evidence that female journalists work differently and were perceived to work differently to male journalists in a newsroom. Therefore differences in gender identity exist. The differences in gender identity were found to affect content, regardless of pressures from organisational identity.

Overall, journalism is constituted from the very beginning as a gendered profession and cannot be understood without a theory of gender power (Lont, 1995; McRobbie, 1996). We are aware here, however, that gender categories vary across cultures and we have to critically examine diverse feminist theories and practices as culturally and historically situated.

Case-study: Newsroom gender identities and their effect on content

Before a story *becomes* news it must pass through a series of gates, which are open and shut by journalists – the gatekeepers (White, 1950:383) that are consequently influenced by their own identities, including gender. Gender is socially constructed – "One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman" (de Beauvoir, as cited in Kearney, 2006:9). Men and women each have a different set of expectations placed on them by their culture (James and Drakich, 1993:286). According to Gill, "women have different perspectives because of their different lives" (2007:126). As workplaces reproduce wider society (Lavie, 2004:130), it follows that, in a newsroom, an Ms Gates would hold "experiences, attitudes and expectations" unlike those of a Mr Gates. Simplistically, this raises the question of whether the gender of a journalist would affect their news selection (and how) – would a female journalist be more likely to pass stories dealing with for example, emotions, and female issues or about females? The Bleske study found that only 8.5 per cent of stories selected by Ms Gates were about women's issues or contained a woman as the main subject or main source of news (1991:94). However, Bleske believed the small proportion of feminine news supported "that there is a deep-rooted prejudice against women as newsmakers in society" (1991:94). He

concluded that this could not be overcome simply with women holding decision-making roles in newsrooms (1991:96). Breed's theory of social control in newsrooms (1995:277) could help explain Bleske's results. Breed identified six functions of newsrooms that worked to ensure staff conformed to the dominant policies of the newsroom, see Table 1 (1995:277-279). The institutional policy can at times conflict with personal and professional norms (Breed, 1995:281). Therefore Mr and Ms Gates' news selection may have been so similar, despite their difference in gender, because both were conforming to similar institutional policies.

Table 1: Newsroom functions that create conformity

Reason for conforming to policy	Summary of explanation
Institutional authority and sanctions	Editor openly requests particular policies be followed or ignores and changes stories that defy the policy.
Feelings of obligation and esteem for superiors	Younger journalists may feel indebted to the older journalists, who they learnt from or were hired by.
Mobility aspirations	Conforming rewarded professionally
Absence of conflicting group allegiance	No evidence of unions or informal groups resisting
The pleasant nature of the activity	"The newsroom is a friendly, first-namish place", with interesting work and access to important people and decisions.
News becomes a value	"News comes first"

(Breed, 1995:277-279)

In furthering the explanation of Bleske's results, Gallego et al.'s theory that female journalists adopt male values should be considered: "Women journalists go through primary gender socialisation and when they begin to work in the media, we argue that they undergo a secondary 'male' socialisation process" (2004:59). As claimed by Virginia Woolf in the 1920s, journalism began as an occupation for males (Gallego et al., 2004:59): "The world did not say to her as it did to them, 'Write if you choose; it makes no difference to me'. The world said with a guffaw, 'Write? What's the good of you writing?'" (1929:52). In order to be included in the patriarchal industry, women therefore had to suppress non-dominant values – those of their first socialisation (Gallego et al., 2004:59). Therefore under Gallego et al.'s theory, Ms Gates was following the male values that Mr Gates had contributed to making dominant. Although we are unable to discern male and female news values, Djerf-Pierre and Lofgren-Nilsson have developed a set of male and female dimensions of journalism based on perceptions, see Table 2 (2004:82). The female dimensions are loosely comparable with Gill's features of contemporary

news presentation, see Table 3, (2007:134). For example, the contemporary approach of presenting news in an emotional or entertaining way would be appropriate for soft news, a female dimension of journalism, rather than hard news. Also, the traditional style of presenting news of public interest rather than human interest compares with the public sphere, which is important to male journalism. This could suggest that media have changed with feminisation (and not commercialization!), contradicting Bleske's results and Gallego et al.'s secondary socialisation theory.

Table 2: Perceived male and female dimensions of journalism.

Male	Female
Hard news	Soft news
Public sphere/macro level	Private sphere/micro-level
Male sources and perspectives	Female sources and perspectives
Distance/neutrality	Intimacy/empathy
Detachment	Audience orientation
News hounds	Pedagogues
Professional ethics	Personal ethics
Competition/individualism	Cooperation/collective
Hierarchical and formal organization	Horizontal and informal organization

(Djerf-Pierre and Lofgren-Nilsson, 2004:82)

Table 3: Traditional and contemporary news presentation

Old-style news	Contemporary style
Serious	Trivial
Rational	Emotional
Information	Entertainment
Abstract	Personal
Literary	Visual
Modern	Post-modern
Public interest	Human interest
Factual	Blurring fact and fiction
Investigative	Infotainment
Measured judgement	Sensationalism

(Gill, 2007:134)

Christmas supports that media has evolved with its increased female workforce, and she argues that "women have helped to change the content of news pages. Material of particular interest to women, which used to be ignored… is now

spread throughout the paper… even when women select the same news content as men, they write it in a different manner" (2004:157).

News now focus more on health, education and family stories (Christmas cited in Gill, 2007:125). Issues are 'humanised' and personalised and there has been an increase in confessional journalism, many argue precisely due to feminisation (Christmas cited in Gill, 2007:125). Moore, a former editor of the *Daily Telegraph*, agreed the same for print: "Until recently everything important on the papers was done by men, and that was naturally enough reflected in the product. Then people woke up to the fact that 50 per cent of readers were women… there started a trend toward the feminisation of newspapers. That's not necessarily downmarket at all. It doesn't mean triviality; it means a stronger sense of the human interest in a story. There was a curious sense of dryness in the old days" (cited in Ross, 2004:156). Christmas and Moore's shared theory completely opposes Bleske's results and Gallego et al.'s theory. Frohlich agreed with Christmas and Moore that female journalists worked differently to their male colleagues. Initially, this was beneficial, as women are socialised as better communicators (Frohlich, 2004:71): "In the fields of communication professions, 'female' characteristics such as empathy, thoughtfulness, the need to reach consensus, a talent for dealing with people, and the ability to work in a team-orientated atmosphere, are all considered to be qualifications that could be used as career advantages in contrast to supposedly typical male characteristics such as cool rationality, competitiveness, aggression and individualism" (Frohlich, 2004:67). However, it also had the effect of 'pigeon-holing' women in soft news – the "friendliness trap" (Frohlich, 2004:71). The trap restricted them from advancing their careers (Frohlich, 2004:72).

Different studies support both arguments – that female journalists work differently and similarly to male journalists. Craft and Wanta compared the content of 30 US daily newspapers with the proportion of females in managerial roles at each paper (2004:128). Christmas and Moore's research was supported, as newspapers with a high percentage of female managers published more positive news than newspapers with low percentages of female decision makers (Craft and Wanta, 2004:134). However, Bleske was also supported with the finding that newspapers with high percentages of women in managerial positions published slightly less human-interest stories than those with low percentages of senior women (Craft and Wanta, 2004:131). Also, men and women were equally as likely to cover human-interest stories (Craft and Wanta, 2004:132).

The discrepancy may be explained by considering another factor. According to Ross, the style of contemporary media cannot simply be attributed to the increased female presence: "Although there has been a clear shift toward a more informal and personal style of news reporting with a human interest approach, so called soft journalism that could represent a kind of feminization of news, such a shift has, arguably, been for commercial reasons rather than as a consequence of any determined action on part of women journalists" (Ross, 2004:156).

Djerf-Pierre and Lofgren-Nilsson agree with Ross that contemporary news presentation is a result of commercialisation rather than gender differences (2004:101). They add that commercialisation may be driving gender differences: "The risk

exists that commercial logic will coincide with the separation of gender, emphasising the differences rather than the similarities, both human and journalistic" (2004:101). This furthermore suggests that 'new journalism' is not a result of true differences in gender socialisation but rather it is formed by commercial perceptions of what genders should be like. Also, female rebellion against the contemporary style of news presentation supports that it is *the commercialisation* of media rather than *the feminisation* of media that is responsible for the changes.

Identities of Journalists

Journalists must negotiate between at least three identities when making decisions – their gender, their organisational and professional identities (de Bruin, 2004:1). There are other identities, such as class, race, ethnicity, that also influence decisions, which de Bruin recognises but does not consider in the study (2004:2). Organisational identity refers to the structure of the institution the journalist is working for. For example, the elements outlined by Breed, see Table 1 (1995:277-279), would come into account when a journalist considered their organisational identity. Professional identity consists of values that stretch across organizations, for example, the journalistic ethic of objectivity (de Bruin, 2004:6). Thus, the three identities can clash (de Bruin, 2004:6). For example, a journalist whose professional identity resists writing commercial stories may be forced into doing so by their organisational identity. Otherwise, a male journalist that resists humanising stories due to his gender identity may make his story more personal because his organisational identity demands it.

The following preliminary case-study focuses on gender identity in the newsroom and how journalists perceive it. It compares journalists' perceptions of gender identity to observations of gender identity within the newsroom and asks whether there is a strongly perceived and/or observed difference in male and female gender identities. The study also explores how journalists of both genders perceive their organisational identities. It questions whether there is a correlation between what male and female journalists regard as categories of news they should select for their organization's publication. If such a correlation exists alongside evidence of difference in gender identities, then the influence of organisational identity will be inferred greater than that of gender identity.

Methodology

Research questions were investigated within the two newsrooms of the small Queensland Newspaper, Australia. The newspaper is a non-metropolitan, daily newspaper with a circulation of about 50,000, covering different regions in north Queensland, Australia. The editor and the deputy editor are both female and so too is a large proportion of its sub-editors and reporters. The paper's main newsroom is in the town of roughly 70.000, where sub-editors, the deputy editor and editor are usually based. A smaller team of reporters also work from different regional offices.

Two different research methods were employed for this study that was conducted in the spring of 2008. Firstly, editorial meetings at the start of three consecutive days in the main newsroom of the studied newspaper were observed. During each meeting, the day's paper was critiqued and story ideas for the next day's paper were discussed. In order to classify observations objectively, Djerf-Pierre and Lofgren-Nilsson's dimensions of male and female journalism were used, see Table 2 (2004:82). Whether stories were assigned based on these dimensions, and whether journalists reacted to news or generated story ideas in ways that exemplified these dimensions was recorded. Gallego et al. used observations of editorial meetings in their study of Spanish newspapers also (2004:53). It provided insight into the way gender is incorporated into the process of journalism rather than the outcomes (Gallego, et al., 2004:53). The process of journalism is important to this study because research questions are concerned with the influence of gender before the pressures of other factors come into account.

Next, interviews were conducted with journalists working in newsrooms. Seven female journalists and four male journalists were interviewed. In all interviews, two basic points were covered – gender bias in assigning and generating stories. The interviewees' responses determined follow-up questions. Often they were asked to provide an example or expand on an answer and sometimes an answer would prompt discussion of a related issue. All interviews were conducted in rooms designed for reporters to use when talking privately with sources. This allowed interviewees to talk freely of colleagues and superiors. In her study of Caribbean newsrooms, de Bruin chose to interview journalists outside of the newsroom, so as to ensure privacy and distance interviewees from ongoing work (2004:8). However, as leaving the newsroom would increase the amount of time journalists had to sacrifice and privacy was not improved, it was not felt this was necessary. The journalists were not impartial observers of newsroom culture, however this would not make results less effective, as explained by de Bruin: "It is not important whether their statements are true or false: The texts provide an insight into how interactions with journalists at work are perceived" (2004:8). In contrast, editorial-meeting observations were based on set criteria, see Table 2 (Djerf-Pierre and Lofgren-Nilsson, 2004:82), they would allow for direct observations rather than observations of perceptions. Full confidentiality of interviewees was made possible.

Results

Assigning stories – observations made during editorial meetings

In total, there were five stories assigned to reporters. It was much more likely for a reporter to generate his or her own stories. Four of the stories assigned went to female reporters – two were soft news and two were hard. The one story assigned to a male reporter was a soft-news story.

Assigning and generating stories – interview findings

Most journalists identified a gender bias in story assignment and generation, see Table 4. However, when journalists were split into gender groups, gender was not recognised by males as a factor in story generation. Of the seven female journalists interviewed, five said the gender of a journalist affected stories assigned to them and six said that gender affected the type of stories journalists generated. Three of the four male journalists agreed gender could determine story assignment. However, when it came to story generation, three of the four males believed women and men worked similarly. In many cases, the informant specified that although they thought gender had some effect on story assignment and generation it played a very small part. For example, the editor attributed the effect gender played when she was assigning stories as "minimal". She also said the gender of a journalist only accounted for 10 to 15 per cent of the story ideas they generated.

Table 4: Journalists perceptions of gender bias in story assignment and generation

Journalist profile			Question asked	
Role	**Gender**	**Age**	**Any evidence of gender affecting story assignment?**	**Any evidence of gender affecting story generation?**
Editor	Female	59	Yes	Yes
Deputy editor	Female	42	No	No
Sport editor	Male	43	Yes	Yes
Sub-editor	Male	30	Yes	No
Sub-editor	Female	24	Yes	Yes
Sub-editor	Female	23	Yes	Yes
Reporter	Female	45	Yes	Yes
Reporter	Male	38	Yes	No
Reporter	Male	24	No	No
Reporter	Female	19	Yes	Yes
Reporter	Female	17	No	Yes

Of the eight journalists that recognised gender bias in story assignment, five said this was because female journalists were seen as more "sensitive" or as having more "sensitivity". Of the remaining three, one used the example of more human-interest stories being given to women. Another said more wedding stories were assigned to female journalists. While the remaining interviewee referred to stories assigned to women as the "softy" stories. Therefore all eight believed women were assigned more soft news.
In cases where journalists did not recognise a gender bias, all explained that other characteristics of journalists took precedence. Characteristics that these informants felt affected story assignment more than gender included age, personal interests, class, seniority, location of the office the journalist was working in and past experience writing in that area.

Observed gender identities

Story generation – observations made during editorial meetings

Journalists were more likely to generate stories that exemplified dimensions of journalism belonging to the opposite gender identity, as seen in Table 5. Both genders were almost equally as likely to do this. Each gender also thought of stories that could be linked to their gender using the gender dimensions of journalism.

Table 5: Gender dimensions of journalism in stories generated

	Story idea			
Meeting number	**FF**	**MM**	**FM**	**MF**
1	1	0	1	2
2	1	1	2	2
3	2	1	2	0

<u>Categories based on the gender dimensions of journalism</u>
(Djerf-Pierre and Lofgren-Nilsson, 2004:82)

FF = Female generates story idea that exemplifies at least one female dimension of journalism
MM = Male generates story idea that exemplifies at least one male dimension of journalism
FF = Female generates story idea that exemplifies at least one male dimension of journalism
FF = Male generates story idea that exemplifies at least one male dimension of journalism

Reacting to stories – observations made during editorial meetings

Over the three meetings, the most comments made were FF, which would reflect the greater number of female journalists in each meeting, see Table 6. Most of the FF comments were appreciations of human-interest or soft-news stories. For example, "That story was so cute" and "All I looked at was the [photo of the] rhino. I thought it was lovely". Females and males were equally as likely to make comments that exemplified journalistic dimensions of the opposite gender. However, both were less likely to do this than to make comments that exemplified perceptions of their own gender.

Table 6: Gender dimensions of journalism in reactions to news items

Meeting number	Number of comments made			
	FF	MM	FM	MF
1	2	3	1	1
2	6	0	0	1
3	8	1	1	0

Categories based on the gender dimensions of journalism
(Djerf-Pierre and Lofgren-Nilsson, 2004:82)

FF = comment made by female that exemplified at least one perceived female dimension of journalism
MM = comment made by male that exemplified at least one perceived male dimension of journalism
FM = comment made by female that exemplified at least one perceived male dimension of journalism
MF = comment made by male that exemplified at least one perceived female dimension of journalism

Discussion

Female journalists expressed Djerf-Pierre and Lofgren-Nilsson's typical dimensions of female journalism when reacting to news items (2004:82). They were more likely to react to news items in a 'female' way than in a 'male' manner. However, when it came to generating story ideas, females were more likely to present stories to the newsroom that exemplified male dimensions. The reactions to news items could be taken as a better indicator of gender identities, because story generation was often down to chance. The journalist might have had a tip off by a contact during an unexpected encounter or been the first to answer a phone call or check the fax machine within the newsroom, so gender would not be directly represented.

Therefore results gave some evidence, based on direct observations of editorial meetings, the female journalists were resisting the traditional male style of journalism. This opposes Gallego et al.'s secondary socialisation theory (2004:59). However, this study analysed an editorial team, which was made up mostly of female journalists and had a female editor and deputy editor. Other newsrooms, particularly ones dominated by male journalists, may have produced different results.

The editor explained gender identities could change depending on whether a newsroom was dominated by male or female staff: "I think when men get to be an over-dominant group anywhere the male atmosphere comes through. In one of our offices we've got more males and there's a tendency to treat the females like the sweet, little lady. If there are too many females, they become motherly towards the

guys" (Editor, 59-year-old female). This indicates that although identities could change with the amount of male or female journalists, a stark contrast between the perceptions of male and female identity would be ever present. Interviews with journalists supported that male and female identities were perceived as different. One female sub-editor found the identities so different they could be "dividing". She used an example from an observed editorial meeting: "Like today with [a female journalist], the guys are like 'We want the facts' and [a female journalist] says 'I don't think you should include that'" (Sub-editor, 23-year-old female). The most common perception journalists held of the female identity was that it was sensitive: "I find the sensitive issues usually go to the girls and the hard-news stories go to the guys" (Sub-editor, 23-year-old female). A minority said they did not share this view because the personal characteristics of some journalists meant they were expectations to gender-identity norms. For example, a male journalist could also be sensitive: "A young, male journalist, who had left the FCC] was the king of fluff around here" (Reporter, 23-year-old male). Therefore personal characteristics were seen as derived from multiple identities rather than just gender.

In some cases, journalists confused their gender identity with other personal characteristics not related to it: "I think it's always happened to me [stories were assigned to her based on gender] because I have a background in social service. I used to be known as the bleeding-heart reporter" (Reporter, 45-year-old female). Although the reporter identifies that she is being assigned a certain type of story because of previous experience, a characteristic of her professional identity, she attributes this to her gender. Therefore she is demonstrating her perception of her own gender identity as sensitive. Results of interviews gave evidence of female journalists working differently or being perceived to do so. Therefore as with meeting results, the secondary socialisation theory was supported (Gallego et al. 2004:59). This carried through to news-selection results. There was also a clear distinction in the way male and female journalists handled certain news categories. Human-interest and morality stories were deemed more important by women and stories about economy were more important to men. This news selection reflects Djerf-Pierre and Lofgren-Nilsson's typical dimensions of female and male journalism (2004:82). This supports that these dimensions of female and male journalism were present in the newsroom as perceptions and that they affected content without pressures of organisational or professional identities altering them. Therefore these results directly oppose those of Craft and Wanta (2004:131). They also contradicted Bleske's findings (1950:91) and supported Moore (cited in Ross, 2004:156) and Christmas (cited in Gill, 2007:125). However, a comment from the editor indicated that the effect female journalists' gender identity had on content could be limited by the nature of the identity itself: "I'm aware of that [assigning stories based on gender] in other papers. The larger the paper, the more likely you [a female journalist] are to be popped into the softer line."

The fragmentation of news is a result of commercialisation, according to Djerf-Pierre and Lofgren-Nilsson, (2004:101). Commercialisation is strengthened by emphasising differences between gender identities (Djerf-Pierre and Lofgren-Nilsson, 2004:101). Assuming commercialisation is driven by political economy,

15

it would be the organisational identities of journalists' that are concerned with decisions on selecting and producing commercial content. Therefore although on the surface news selection does not seem determined by organisational identity, organisational identities may actually be shaping gender identities, which this study has shown affect news selection.

This preliminary study found some evidence that female journalists worked differently and were perceived to work differently to male journalists in a newsroom. Therefore differences in gender identity existed. The differences in gender identity were found to affect content, regardless of pressures from organisational identity. However, it was inferred that organisational identity was working through gender identity to affect news selection and promote commercialisation.

Conclusions

According to Gramsci, "Pessimism of the Intellect, Optimism of the will" requires recognizing our present circumstances and properly analyzing and understanding the nature of our present reality. Optimism of the will means insisting on the possibility and moral desirability of social change. It is through use of these two concepts together that we can develop an intellectual strategy of recognizing the falsity of women's fashion magazines, advertising and so called "empowerment", and being willing to work to turn a seemingly hopeless situation around. From a critical feminist perspective, empowerment appears to be an essential component in the process of capital accumulation – advertising's notions of 'empowerment' contribute to the inequalities inherent in capitalism by perpetuating processes of oppression, control and exploitation while seducing its subjects with notions of freedom and authenticity. This process of creating discursive constructs (sex, men, fashion, and beauty) for its readers to 'feel empowered' appears to align with the populism of liberal, democratic capitalism. The discourse of 'empowerment' implies that all subjects are equally able to participate within the public sphere, that there are no elites or subjects with more power than others. However, capitalism does create elites. These elites appear to disguise their power behind the discourses of 'liberation', 'participation' and 'empowerment'. Unless identity politics becomes more fluid and comprehensive, new understandings of gender and ethnicity will be hard to achieve. There is the need for a feminist counter-public sphere.

REFERENCES:

Aldstadt, D. (2001), "Arletty, star image, and the return of the gaze: Gazing back from Marcel Carne's Les Enfants du Paradis" *West Virginian Philological Papers,* (4): pp. 67-94

Aubrey, J. S. (2006), "Exposure to sexually objectifying media and body self-perceptions among college women: an examination of the selective exposure hy-

pothesis and the role of moderating variables" *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research,* 55 (14): pp. 159

Allen, A. "Femininist Perspectives on Power." 19 Oct. 2005. *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* 22 Oct. 2007 <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/feminist-power/>

Asen, R. (2000), "Seeking the "Counter" in Counterpublics." *Communication Theory.* 10 (4): 424-446.

Atton, C. (2007), "Current Issues in Alternative Media Research." *Sociology Compass.* 1 (1): 17-27.

Attwood, F. (2005). "Fashion and Passion: Marketing Sex to Women." *Sexualities* 8.4, 392-406.

Baker, C. N. (2005). "Images of Women's Sexuality in Advertisements: A Content Analysis of Black- and White-Oriented Women's and Men's Magazines." *Sex Roles* 52.1-2, pp. 13-27.

Ballaster, R., M. Beetham, E. Frazer, and S. Hebron. (1991). *Women's Worlds: Ideology, Femininity and the Woman's Magazine*. London: Macmillan.

Bleske, G. L. (1991), "Ms. Gates Takes Over: An Updated Version of a 1949 Case Study. *Newspaper Research Journal* 12 (fall): 88-97.

Bowlby, R. (1987), "'The Problem with No Name': Rereading Friedan's 'The Feminine Mystique'." *Feminist Review* 27, pp. 61-75.

Breed, W. (1995), "Social Control in the Newsroom: A Functional Analysis." in *Approaches to Media*. Ed. O. Boyd-Barrett and C. Newbold. Great Britain: Hodder Arnold.

Brown, H. G. (1963). *Sex and the Single Girl*. New York: Pocket Books.

Cohen, J. L. (1995) "Critical Social Theory and Feminist Critiques: The Debate with Jürgen Habermas". From *Feminists Read Habermas*. Edited with Intro by Johanna Meeham. New York: Routledge.

Cortese, A.J.(1999). *Provocateur: Images of Women and Minorities in Advertising*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc.

Craft, S. and Wanta, W. (2004), "Women in the Newsroom: Influences of Male editors and Reporters on the News Agenda." *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly.* 81(1):124-138.

de Bruin, M. (2004), "Organisational, Professional and Gender Identities – Overlapping, Coinciding and Contradicting Realities in Caribbean Media Practices." in *Gender and Newsroom Cultures: Identities at work*. Ed. M. de Bruin and K. Ross. Cresskill: Hampton Press. 1-16.

Dines, G. and J. M. Humez. *Gender, Race, and Class in Media*. (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage,1995), 71

Djerf-Pierre, M. and Lofgren-Nilsson, M. (2004), "Gender-Typing in the Newsroom: The Feminisation of Swedish Television News Production, 1958-2000." in *Gender and Newsroom Cultures: Identities at work*. Ed. M. de Bruin and K. Ross. Cresskill: Hampton Press. 81-106.

Feleski, R. (1989), *Beyond Feminist Aesthetics.* Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press. 164-182.

Ferguson, M. (1985), *Forever Feminine: Women's Magazines and the Cult of Femininity*. Alershot, England; Brookfield, VT: Gower.

Fernald, A. E. (2005), "A Feminist Public Sphere? Virgina Woolf's Revision of the Eighteenth Century." *Feminist Studies.* 31 (1): 58-172.

Fraser, N. (1990), "Rethinking the Pubic Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy." *Social Text.* 25/26: 56-80.

Frohlich, R. (2004), "Feminine and Feminist Values in Communication Professions: Exceptional Skills and Expertise or "Friendliness Trap?" in *Gender and Newsroom Cultures: Identities at work*. Ed. M. de Bruin and K. Ross. Cresskill: Hampton Press. 119–142.

Gadsden, G. Y. (2000), "The Male Voice in Women's Magazines." *Gender Issues,* 18.2, pp. 49-57.

Gallego, J., Altes, E., Canton, M. J., Melus, M. E. and Soriano, J. (2004). "Gender Stereotyping in the Production of News. in *Gender and Newsroom Cultures: Identities at work*. Ed. M. de Bruin and K. Ross. Cresskill: Hampton Press. 119–142.

Gill, R. (2007), *Gender and the Media.* Cambridge: Malden Polity Press.

Gauntlett, D. (2002), *Media, Gender and Identity: An Introduction*. London; New York: Routledge.

Gill, Rosalind. "From Sexual Objectification to Sexual Subjectification: The Resexualisation of Women's Bodies in the Media." In Editor's Introduction, *Feminist Media Studies* 3.1 (2003): 100-106.

Hartley, J. (2002), *Communication, Cultural and Media Studies: The Key Concepts*. Routledge.

James, D. and Drakich, J. (1993), "Understanding Gender Differences in Amount of Talk: A Critical Review of Research." in *Gender and Conversational Interaction.* Ed. D. Tannen. New York: Oxford University Press. 281-312.

Joseph, A. and K. Sharma (2006), *Whose News? The Media and Women's* Issues. 2nd ed. New Delhi; Thousand Oaks, Ca: Sage Publications.

Kirca, S. (1999),"Popular Culture: From Being an Enemy of the 'Feminist Movement' to a Tool for Women's 'Liberation'?" *Journal of American Culture.* 22 (3): 101-107.

Kearney, M. C. (2006), *Girls Make Media.* New York: Routledge.

Lavie, A. (2004), "Organisational Factors in the Newsroom: Cause for Hope or Despair?" in *Gender and Newsroom Cultures: Identities at work.* Ed. M. de Bruin and K. Ross. Cresskill: Hampton Press. 119–142.

Lont, C.(1995), *Women and Media: Content, Careers, ad Criticism.* Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co.

McCracken, Ellen (1982), "Demystifying Cosmopolitan: Five Critical Methods." *Journal of Popular Culture.* 16 (2): 30-42.

McRobbie, A. (1996), "*More!* New Sexualities in Girls' and Women's Magazines." *Cultural Studies and Communications*. Eds. Curran, James, David Morley, and Valerie Walkerdine. London; New York: Arnold; New York: St. Martin's, pp. 172-95.

Milkie, Melissa A. (2002), "Contested Images of Femininity: An Analysis of Cultural Gatekeepers' Struggles with the "Real Girl" Critique." *Gender and Society* 16.6, pp. 839-59.

Rendall, J. (1999), "Women and the Public Sphere." *Gender & History.* 11 (33): 475-488.

Ross, K. (2004), "Sex at Work: Gender Politics and Newsroom Culture. in *Gender and Newsroom Cultures: Identities at work.* Ed. M. de Bruin and K. Ross. Cresskill: Hampton Press. 145–163

Showalter, Elaine (2001), *Inventing Herself.* London: Picador.

White, D. M. (1950), "The Gate Keeper: A Case Study in the Selection of News." *Journalism Quarterly* 27 (fall): 383-396.

Woolf, V. (1929), *A Room of One's Own.* New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Wolf, N. *The Beauty Myth.* London: Chatto & Windus, 1990

Yang, Fang Chih Irene (2004), "International Women's Magazines and the Production of Sexuality in Taiwan." *The Journal of Popular Culture*. 37 (3): 505-530.

Yin, R. (2003), *Case Study Research. 3rd Ed.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications

Mediji, identitet i spol: tragom feminističkih teorija i metodologija o medijima i novinarstvu

Zala Volčič

SAŽETAK

Cilj ovog članka je prikazati neke opće teorijske i metodologijske pristupe novinarstvu i medijima iz feminističke perspektive. Istraživačka pitanja koja postavljaju feministički medijski teoretičari odnose se ne samo na ključna pitanja prezentacije, već i na šire propitivanje uloge žene u medijskoj industriji, žene kao proizvođače i žene kao publiku, istražujući razmišljanja žena o vlastitoj situaciji u odnosu na medijski prostor. U okviru studije slučaja istražuje se postoje li spolne razlike u općoj percepciji u jednim malim australskim novinama – rade li žene novinari drugačije od muškaraca novinara. Kvalitativnom metodom (promatranje, intervjui) pokušava se odgovoriti na pitanje jesu li vidljive razlike u radu ženskih i muških novinara u tim australskim novinama, drugim riječima, jesu li se australske novinarke podredile tradicionalnom, patrijarhalnom stilu novinarstva?

Ključne riječi: identitet, mediji, spol, novinarstvo, intrvjui, feminizam