Media gender-equality regimes
Exploring media organisations' policy adoption across nations

Claudia Padovani & Rossella Bozzon

3.1 Media and gender-equality regimes

This chapter contributes to our understanding of gender and media concerns by focusing on an under-researched aspect: the policy dimension. It addresses the nexus between the socioeconomic and cultural environments within which the media operate across the world, and the policies that have been adopted by media organisations to promote gender equality. In so doing, the chapter addresses the following questions: do contextual variables favour or hinder media organisations' commitment to gender equality through the adoption of specific measures such as gender-sensitive policies? And, is it possible to identify patterns of policy adoption that may indicate different understandings of gender equality and gender mainstreaming, and signal the existence of different gender-equality regimes in the media sector worldwide?

Throughout the chapter, "gender-sensitive" and "gender-aware" are used to indicate, in general terms, any formal policy provision or mechanisms adopted by media organisations that reflect an understanding of gender inequality issues to be addressed. Different labels – gender-blind, gender-responsive, and gender-transformative – are used in the chapter to indicate different degrees of organisational awareness and commitment that emerge from the analysis.

We first acknowledge existing international frameworks that have recognised gender equality and gender mainstreaming as globally agreed upon norms, including for the media and communication sector, and we reflect on the extent to which those frameworks have influenced both policy and research interventions over the last 25 years. Making an effort for conceptual clarification, the nexus between equality norms and policy developments in the gender and media environment is discussed, and a case is made for more research in this

area, suggesting elements for a research agenda based on media gender-equality regimes as an analytical proposal (§3.2).

Building on previous findings from international studies that have investigated gender-equality policies adopted by media organisations (§3.3), we then work through data from the Global Report on the Status of Women in the News Media (Byerly, 2011) as a starting point for empirical investigation. The analysis focuses on 59 countries – representative of all world regions – and explores, through a cluster analysis, patterns of gender-related policy adoption by media organisations, as well as possible correlations between general socioeconomic, political, and cultural conditions and policy developments (§3.4).

The concluding remarks critically discuss the main findings concerning the interplay of contextual factors and the adoption of different types of gender-sensitive policy by media organisations. We reflect on how different patterns of policy adoption may signal different understandings of gender equality and resulting strategies to address them, and we suggest directions for future investigations to further explore the GEM dataset and further operationalise the media gender-equality regimes approach (§3.5).

This chapter is innovative in different ways: it focuses on an under-researched aspect of gender (in)equalities in the media – gender-sensitive policies – and it does so by establishing an unprecedented dialogue between gender-political analyses and gender and media scholarship. Furthermore, the empirical analysis conducted, drawing on the GEM dataset, offers a first-ever opportunity to test media gender-equality regimes as an analytical proposal. Finally, an attempt is made to present a forward-looking policy-focused research agenda, in view of making scholarly knowledge in this area more meaningful to policy actors and to the media themselves.

3.2 Mainstreaming gender in media policy: Towards a research agenda

A crucial problem facing worldwide attempts to foster gender equality in and through the media has been, over the past 25 years, the lack of policies that could provide adequate frameworks for the media to operate in society, while contributing to transforming unequal gender relations, at the national level as well as at the level of media organisations.

Given the variety of measures and mechanisms through which gender equality as a global norm is translated in national contexts, clarification of terms is required. On the one side are "legal provisions", such as laws, that compel or prohibit behaviours; on the other side are "policies", generally understood as "sets of ideas or plans of what to do in particular situations that has been agreed to officially by a group of people, a business organization,

a government, or a political party".[1] Policies therefore operate as guides toward actions that are most likely to achieve a desired outcome[2] and can be adopted by governmental as well as non-governmental actors, including the media.

Media organisations often formulate and adopt self-regulatory measures. This results from the belief that, given the role of media institutions in democratic contexts, governments should secure a balance between the media freedom of expression, publication, private ownership, and enterprise, and the positive freedom of citizens to access information. Governments have, in fact, historically avoided regulating aspects of the sector's functioning, particularly in relation to media content.[3]

Since the mid 1970s, with the International Decade for Women and the adoption of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) by the United Nations General Assembly in 1979, gender equality has been recognised as a prerequisite to achieving human and sustainable development (Kardam, 2004). State parties to the Convention have committed to take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination so that women could enjoy the exercise of human rights and fundamental freedoms and adequate living conditions in all domains, including communications (United Nations, 1979, article 1, article 14/h).

The UN Fourth World Conference on Women (1995) held in Beijing almost 20 years after the adoption of CEDAW, and the resulting Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (United Nations, 1995), are globally recognised as cornerstones in the normative developments that pertain to gender inequalities in the media (Gallagher, 2011; Padovani & Pavan, 2017). Participants in the Beijing Conference also indicated gender mainstreaming as a fundamental principle towards the implementation of women's rights. Conceived as the process of integrating a gender perspective in all activities carried by an organisation – including its policies, programmes, training, recruitment, and evaluations – gender mainstreaming has since been considered a policy frame (Pollack & Hafner-Burton, 2000) and promoted as a means to achieve gender equality across policy areas (Krook & True, 2012).

Consistently, the Beijing Platform for Action (United Nations, 1995) identified the adoption of gender-aware media policies as a step to be taken in order to meet the goals of Section J –"Women and Media Diagnosis": promoting equal access to the media and decision-making (J1) – and eliminating gender stereotypes in media content (J2). Section J of the Platform clearly stated that governments and other actors are called upon to promote "an active policy of mainstreaming of a gender perspective in (media) policies and programs" (para. 237); furthermore, it called for media organisations to "elaborate and strengthen self-regulatory mechanisms and codes of conduct" to comply with the objectives of the Section (para. 236 & para. 244.a/b).[4] These calls have been restated over again in regional and international agreements,[5] up until

the 2018 session of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) – a signal of the limited extent to which gender mainstreaming in the media has become a priority for policy actors and media organisations alike.[6]

Similarly, policy concerns have not been central to most scholarly work dealing with gender inequalities in the media sector. While in-depth analyses have exposed the shortcomings of gender mainstreaming in various arenas and domains,[7] no comprehensive international research has been conducted to date to evaluate the mainstreaming of a gender perspective in national media policies.[8] In the European Union, recent studies have highlighted the lack of attention to gender (in)equalities in national policy-making related to audio-visual industries, and stressed the sometimes contrasting positions adopted by the European Commission, the Council, and the European Parliament on the matter (Padovani, 2016; Ross & Padovani, 2017; Sarikakis & Nguyen, 2009). In the Latin American region, non-homogeneous histories marked communication systems and policies in relation to gender equality (Vega Montiel, 2014a), and it has been observed that placing the Beijing Platform for Action in the public debate has been a strategy adopted by feminists advocates, and not by policy-makers (Chaher, 2014, 2016, 2018) – a situation that resembles that of the Southern African region where regulatory mechanisms have been put in place, but mostly as the result of advocacy groups' capacity to bridge media professional associations, civic organisations, and policy actors (Byerly, 2011; Gender Links, 2017).

Overall, scholarly contributions concerning gender-aware policies for the media sector have been sparse and mainly descriptive,[9] looking at different levels and types of regulatory arrangements, but failing to elaborate comprehensive analytical and methodological frameworks. Furthermore, those studies missed the opportunity to engage in a potentially productive dialogue with extensive scholarship on gender-political analysis and related theoretical frameworks.[10] In the present chapter, by moving from a purely descriptive approach, to policy adoption, to testing how different socioeconomic and cultural conditions correlate to measures for gender equality in and through the media, we hope to contribute to strengthening this emerging strand of academic research.

Persistence of inequality patterns in the media expose our partial understanding of the causes, consequences, and complexities that characterise gendered relations in the sector, and invites theoretically sound and innovative research on underexplored aspects. In this context, we argue that an in-depth exploration of how gender is mainstreamed in media policies is necessary to fully understand, address, and overcome inequalities, for a number of reasons:

- The existence of a policy suggests acknowledgement of gender inequalities and political will to address them; on the contrary, the low level of policy adoption often reflects either a gender-neutral approach – where the me-

dia intend to operate on the basis of merit and do not feel it necessary to do anything which advantages women – or, more often, a gender-blind approach – where media outlets argue they do not have a problem with discrimination and fail to understand the barriers facing women in the sector (EIGE, 2013). Alternatively, in some cases, absence of self-regulatory measures adopted by media companies may derive from the fact that gender-equality support mechanisms are already mandated by national laws (Byerly, 2011, 2013).

- The formulation and adoption of regulatory measures – at organisational, national, or supranational level – can be seen as a reflection of processes through which awareness of inequalities grows and explicit commitment to overcome them is made; but they can also anticipate and foster change. It has been highlighted that formally adopted policies and support mechanisms are core to define principles and goals for media operations, but they also provide frameworks to assess progress and change over time (Gallagher, 2011, 2014, 2017). Furthermore, they can contribute to foster the cultural transformation needed to achieve a redistribution of material as well as symbolic resources, including those that contribute to structuring gender inequalities (Chaher, 2014).

- In a situation where it is clear that progress is not a linear process and setbacks are always a possibility (Macharia, 2015; Ross & Padovani, 2017), by establishing sanctioning elements, policy measures can contribute to guarantee sustainability of positive achievements and more equal gender relations over time (Gallagher, 2011, 2017).[11] International normative frameworks that articulate gender equality for both traditional and digital media are thus key to mainstreaming gender in communication governing arrangements (Padovani, 2014).

For all these reasons, though it is clear that formal adoption of gender-sensitive provisions is not enough to make change happen, we contend that policies are a necessary condition to foster change and to make it sustainable over time. More research – focused, transnational, and comparative – is therefore needed to gain a comprehensive understanding of how policies relate to gender equality in practice, in different geocultural and socioeconomic contexts. In the following paragraphs, two relevant aspects are discussed towards developing a research agenda: first, we articulate the different components of an in fieri research domain focused on mainstreaming gender across the media and clarify how policies for gender equality should be understood; then, we advance an analytical proposal on how to conceive policy developments in relation to the multiple dimensions of media gender inequality, in view of investigating media gender-(in)equality regimes.

Charting and conceptualising gender-aware media policies

In the gender and media discourse, "policy" is often referred to in general terms, without any attempt to specify the plurality of regulatory mechanisms involved. The domain under investigation is broad and complex, multi-level and multi-actor in nature (Padovani & Pavan, 2016; Padovani, 2018). Clarification and boundary definition is therefore needed, as well as the identification of entry points for the analysis that would help make sense of the overall picture while shedding light on specific aspects. A broad understanding of policy – conceived as a norm-based system of principles and goals that guide decisions to achieve outcomes – underpins the following paragraph in the attempt to chart a field that involves different actors, at different levels.

In order to map out the variety of gender-aware regulatory arrangements for the media, we can start from frameworks adopted at the supranational level, such as the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action and the documents produced by the World Summit on the Information Society,[12] but also regional frameworks elaborated by the European Union,[13] the Southern African Development Community[14] (SADC), or the Organization of the American States.[15] According to a constructivist perspective of international relations that focuses on actor preferences, principled beliefs, and worldviews (Onuf, 1989; Wendt,1992), actors such as states, international organisations, and other stakeholders interact to frame issues, elaborate normative frameworks, and consolidate them into formal provisions and norms, understood as "shared standards of behaviour for actors with a given identity" (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998).[16] Formal documents that result from actors' discursive interactions enjoy the validity deriving from the "details written down on paper in the form of treaties, conventions and agreements" (Wiener, 2007: 4). In this light, the above-mentioned international documents are of interest to gender-political analysis of the media in as much as they constitute normative frameworks for all interested actors while establishing gender equality and gender mainstreaming as internationally agreed upon norms (Krook & True, 2012), also for the media sector.

But we are also reminded that norms are always confronted with the challenge of actual implementation (Wiener, 2007; Krook & True, 2012) – this is about norms' social recognition and their translation, negotiation, and contestation in different contexts and concrete situations. In fact, "norms that spread across the international system tend to be vague, enabling their content to be filled in many ways and thereby to be appropriated for a variety of different purposes" (Krook & True, 2012: 104). As such, norms are a work in progress. They diffuse because they encompass different meanings, and those meanings are negotiated at the national level where and when such norms are translated into legal frameworks and policies, as well as social practices (Finnemore, 1996; Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998).

Moving from the supranational to the national context, a gender-political analysis for the media would therefore include a focus on how gender is mainstreamed in national media laws and policies[17] as measures through which different actors contribute to enact meanings and promote internationally agreed upon norms implementation in national contexts (Krook & True, 2012). At the same time, such analysis may consider how far national strategies for gender equality go in acknowledging the centrality of the media in achieving their goals,[18] while attention should also be paid to gender-relevant initiatives promoted by independent media regulatory authorities.[19] Furthermore, the role of civic and professional associations should be acknowledged, as these non-state actors contribute to translating global gender-equality norms into context-relevant social practices, through advocacy, the elaboration of policy-oriented position papers, and public information activities, often conducive to calls for the adoption of standards by the media.

Finally, policies internally adopted by media organisations – such as gender-equality plans, policies for maternal and paternal leave, policies to prevent and address sexual harassment, but also codes of conduct and support mechanisms[20] – can also be seen as ways in which gender-equality norms are adapted for, and adopted by, the media sector.

Moving beyond a descriptive approach, we should acknowledge that crucial to any effort to set boundaries for a policy domain is the recognition that how we define "policy" always affects the nature and outcome of our analysis: it conditions our research questions, the data we collect, and how we interpret them (Guba, 1984).

Consistent with the constructivist approach adopted in this chapter, we develop our investigation building on the feminist conceptualisation of policy proposed by Carol Bacchi since the late 1990s. Bacchi (1999, 2009, 2012) is concerned with how problems are articulated, not addressed, by policy-makers, since problematisation reflects implicit assumptions about equality issues, as well as knowledge practices and power relations amongst actors. In her "what's the problem represented to be" (WPR) approach, the author suggests:

> Prescriptive texts provide entry-points for identifying problem representation [because] what we say we want to do about something indicates what we think needs to change and hence *how we constitute "the problem"* [emphasis added]. (Bacchi, 2012: 4)

Furthermore, the possibility to compare problematisation across time, cultures, and geographical spaces, paying attention to how issues are understood and framed in policies, "highlight[s] the specific combination of factors and relations that allow something to become a 'problem' in one situation or another" (Bacchi, 2012: 6). Finally, the WPR approach considers that "it is possible to

detect patterns in problematization, revealing modes or styles of governing that shape lives" (Bacchi, 2012: 5). Bacchi's approach, in fact, is not just about how issues are conceptualised, but also about how rules take place through one or another of those conceptualisations in different locales.

According to this reading, the frames through which gender equality is embedded in media policies are crucial to understanding how global norms are interpreted and how gender-inequality issues are problematised in different contexts. In this light, international provisions, national media policies, gender-equality strategies, and media organisations' self-regulatory measures can all be analysed exploring how different policy actors – international organisations, governments, parliaments, regulatory authorities, and media companies – understand gender inequalities in and through the media.

For instance, organisational policies for paternal leave may signal a problematisation of inequality in relation to family commitments, and therefore call for work-life–balance response measures, while policies to prevent sexual harassment may reflect an understanding of gender-based abuse as a situation that prevents equal conditions for female workers to perform their tasks in a secure environment.

In the end, the identification of "patterns of problematisation" in gender-sensitive media policies may be conducive to a better understanding of gender-aware governing styles across the media sector, and of the level of commitment to overcoming inequalities. It is therefore important to investigate if one or more inequality issues are addressed through the adoption of what type of policies and support mechanisms.

All this may be investigated through discursive approaches, frame and content analyses of policy provisions, or through the analysis of policy processes.[21] But it can also be explored – as we do in the following paragraphs – by taking advantage of the GEM dataset, focusing on the different types of gender-sensitive policies that media organisations adopt in different countries.

A regime approach to gender (in)equality in the media

As stated above, policy actors play an active role in giving meaning to problems, while translating internationally agreed upon norms into specific measures and procedures that are then institutionalised in a given locale. This invites the adoption of adequate analytical frameworks to explore media gender policies: frameworks that stress the nexus between norms and meanings, and between actors' knowledge and interests, as they are played out in regulatory arrangements. The frameworks also ought to embody a comprehensive understanding of media gender inequalities that persist, across the world's regions, in areas of representation and recognition, access and inclusion, working conditions, and decision-making.

In consideration of the complex interplay of global norms, actors' understanding, and multiple gender-inequality issues, we propose investigating gender-aware media policies by adopting a media gender-equality regimes approach.

Feminist scholarship has adopted a regime approach to expose patterns of gendered power relations in societies and institutions (Connell, 1987; Connell, 2009), and to render the complexities of interlocking practices that result in continuing multiple inequalities (Acker, 1989; Walby, 2005, 2009). Taking a slightly different perspective, gendered analyses in international relations have provided a definition of gender-equality regimes that resonate with the approach of this chapter, stressing the role of both norms and decision-making. According to this perspective, gender-equality regimes are the "sum of principles, norms and decision-making mechanisms that need to be deconstructed and analysed to reveal how global norms get interpreted, reinterpreted, filled in and contested […] in different locales and contexts" (Kardam, 2004: 86).[22] Principles are beliefs of fact; norms are standards of behaviour; rules are prescriptions that translate general norms to make them meaningful in specific contexts; and decision-making procedures are the practices for implementing collective choices concerning the ways in which inequality issues are problematised.

Media gender-equality regimes can therefore be conceived as the sum of interrelated meanings, practices, and decision-making processes that characterise, produce, reproduce, or challenge gender and intersecting disparities – like age, ethnicity, and physical ability – in the media sector. At the same time, media gender-equality regimes are grounded in, and bound together by, principles and norms that often translate into standards and formal policies,[23] which constitute the principled frameworks that both constrain and shape gender relations in the media sector. Adopting a media gender-equality regimes approach therefore offers a threefold opportunity:

- On the one hand, as highlighted above and consistently by the contributions included in this anthology, gender inequalities in the media take many different forms, and yet they are rarely investigated and addressed in their intersection (Djerf-Pierre, 2011). A regime approach allows a focus not on single, specific forms of inequality, but on the interplay and intersection of multiple forms of privilege and disadvantage (Connell, 2009), in due consideration of the meanings assigned by interested actors.

- On the other hand, the centrality of rules and decision-making practices in gender-equality regimes makes explicit how principles – of gender inclusion, respect, dignity, equal opportunities, and access to means of expression, knowledge, and resources – may be (in fact, ought to be, but seldom are) embedded in the design, development, and implementation of governing arrangements for the media, thus realising gender mainstreaming.

- Finally, media gender-equality regimes can be operationalised and empirically explored, at any one level of the media policies identified above, from the international to the local. Indeed, the practices and processes that reproduce gender disparities in the media sector can be investigated at all levels where gender-sensitive policy provisions are formulated by national parliaments, regulatory agencies, as well as media organisations.

In the following sections, after summarising the main findings from previous studies, for the first time we operationalise this analytical proposal, focusing on policies adopted at the organisational level of media companies. We chose this unit of analysis for three reasons: first, since the Beijing Conference in 1995, there have been calls to media organisations to mainstream gender in their operations – it is therefore time to assess progress in this area; second, an unprecedented cross-national empirical analysis on this specific aspect is now possible through the data organised in the GEM dataset; third, we see such policies as an entry point towards future exploration of media gender-equality regimes through a multi-level perspective.

Considering the economic, political, and sociocultural factors that may foster or hinder the adoption of policies by media organisations in different countries (independent variables), the study focuses on a set of policy measures adopted by media organisations (dependent variables derived from Byerly, 2011): general gender-equality policies, policies against harassment, maternal and paternal leaves, and policies that secure women getting their jobs back after giving birth. These policies are conceived as translations of gender-equality norms in specific locales, as well as ways in which different gender-inequality issues are problematised within media organisations.

It is therefore interesting to explore if and how different socioeconomic and political conditions may influence norm translation and issue problematisation; and if they foster or constrain gender mainstreaming in the media. Furthermore, gender-equality policies can be combined (i.e., more than one policy is adopted by any media organisation), which makes it possible to trace patterns of policy adoption and address what Bacchi would call patterns of problematisation, by exploring different principled frameworks that support media gender-equality regimes across the world's regions.

3.3 Media organisations' gender-related policy adoption: Findings from previous studies

Building on the few international studies that have included a systematic focus on media organisations' internal policies and support mechanisms, it is possible to delineate where the world's media stand in respect to gender mainstream-

ing. Such international projects have looked at voluntary measures that define the basic principles and goals according to which gender-aware media should operate: these may be general policies on gender equality to establish principled frameworks for media operations, as well as specific measures to guarantee safe and healthy working environments for women, such as policies to prevent and impose sanctions for sexual harassment and abuse. In some cases, these organisational policies reflect legal obligations established at the national level, which is often the case when national obligations guarantee gender equality by supporting female professionals in their maternal roles (policies regarding maternity or policies that guarantee women can get the same job back after giving birth). Other times, policies may foster equality by focusing on family management and shared tasks (policies for paternity leave and providing access to childcare structures).

As it has been highlighted, without adequate mechanisms to support and monitor media organisations' performance against their own equality commitment, policies are unlikely to produce any real transformation (Ross & Padovani, 2017). Hence, once a policy is in place, it may (should) be accompanied by mechanisms that guarantee its effective implementation. These may be codes of conduct that provide specific guidelines to foster dignified representation of women and men in media content or to eliminate gender-based discrimination in the workplace. They may also be support mechanisms to monitor and promote the realisation of gender equality, such as the establishment of ad hoc committees, equality departments, or equality officers. Finally, training opportunities specifically targeted at women professionals and managers may also be activated. In the following paragraphs, we summarise the main findings from international investigations and highlight some open issues that are relevant for the subsequent analysis.

Focusing on the European context, the study Advancing gender equality in decision-making in media organisations, conducted by the European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE) in 2013 (see also Ross & Padovani, 2017), explored the extent to which women occupy decision-making positions across a sample of 99 major media organisations in the 28 member states of the European Union, including all public service broadcasters. It also explored the "extent to which these media organisations have developed gender-equality policies, the mechanisms in place to monitor such policies and the kinds of specific initiatives which exist to further support the career development of women within the sector" (EIGE, 2013: 11). The study showed that only one quarter (26) of the surveyed media organisations had a gender-equality policy, and 21 had equality of opportunities or diversity policies. Clear differences were reported in the study between public- and private-sector organisations: the former were much more likely to have policies in place, with more than one-third of public media (38) having

adopted a gender-equality policy or code of conduct, while only 17 private organisations had some kind of equality measure, and 19 had a policy for equal opportunities in place. Moreover, wide differences could be found between situations where media organisations had adopted different types of policies for the promotion of gender equality – as in Belgium, the UK, Spain, Sweden, and Germany – and 13 countries across the region where no policy or mechanism existed.

A study conducted in the context of the Media Pluralism Monitor[24] and focused on the gender-equality commitment of public service media in the European Union, plus Montenegro and Turkey, also highlighted the diverse situations across the region (Ostling & Nenadich, 2017) and reported that no significant improvement had been made in relation to policy adoption and implementation in more recent years. Almost half of the European public media still lacked gender-equality policies of any kind; in some countries, including Denmark, Italy, and Germany, policies were in place but they either addressed inequality in content or in media structures and functioning. Only public broadcasters in France, Finland, Spain, Sweden, and the UK are reported to have adopted comprehensive policies.

Central to the present analysis is the study sponsored by the International Women's Media Foundation (IWMF), conducted between 2009 and 2010, and resulting in the Global Report on the Status of Women in the News Media (Byerly, 2011; see also Byerly, 2013). Looking at a mix of print and electronic news companies from across the world, researchers in 59 countries have collected data interviewing representatives from 522 companies. The project examined news companies' behaviour in staffing, salaries, and policies; one of the research goals was, in fact, to assess the extent to which "news companies provide the internal support mechanisms that enable women and men to find equal organizational support for gaining skills necessary for succeeding and advancing, and for managing their carriers with childbearing and other family circumstances" (Byerly, 2011: 34).[25]

The IWMF report showed that, at the time of the study, slightly more than half of the surveyed companies had some kind of established company-wide policy on gender equity; but wide variations were highlighted, from a limited percentage of policy adoption in Eastern Europe (16%) to a much higher rate in Sub Saharan Africa and Europe (69%). The study also showed that more than half of the surveyed companies had a policy on sexual harassment. Policies on maternal leave were widely diffused, but disparities were found in the adoption of paternity leave policies. Variations also marked the adoption of policies that guarantee women can get their job back after maternity. Table 3.1 shows regional differences that emerged from the 2011 IWMF study.

Table 3.1 *Adoption of gender-related policies in media companies across seven regions (composite percentage)*

	Middle East & North Africa	Sub-Saharan Africa	Americas	Asia & Oceania	Eastern Europe	Nordic Europe	Western Europe
Has a policy on gender equality	27	69	38	51	16	57	69
Has a policy on sexual harassment	44	67	48	67	9	49	47
Has a policy on maternity leave	95	89	93	89	88	100	98
Has a policy on paternity leave	47	37	57	57	68	100	96
Women can get same jobs back	100	24	68	55	69	100	96

Source: IWMF (Byerly, 2011)

Having adopted a geographical approach to the analysis, the IWMF study – though focused on national-level findings – highlighted differences in policy adoption between regions as well as internal variability within regions.

In Eastern Europe, where national-level laws regulating equality are in place, it was hard to find gender-equality policies in media organisations, and only 9 per cent of such companies had adopted a policy on sexual harassment. In Nordic and Western Europe, in spite of European Union normative requirements on gender equality, the situation was mixed: most companies had maternity and paternity leaves and return policies; 78 per cent offered educational training, with 100 per cent in France; and yet, the adoption of policies on sexual harassment varied from 8 per cent in Germany to 100 per cent in the UK. In the Americas, where most nations did not appear to have a national law on gender equality in the workplace, 38 per cent of the surveyed companies had a general gender-equality policy; media companies in Canada, Costa Rica, Chile, and Venezuela had introduced somewhat extended policy frameworks, while Argentina, Ecuador, and the Dominican Republic showed poor policy adoption. In Asia and Oceania, no gender-aware organisational policies had been adopted in countries like Bangladesh and China, where no national law existed, nor in the Philippines where, on the contrary, a national gender-equality law was in place. Differently, Australia, India, Japan, and New Zealand had national gender-equality laws, and all media organisations had also adopted some kind of policy.

What these analyses show is that, in spite of recommendations made since the mid 1990s, gender equality policies are not a widespread practice amongst media organisations, proving that compliance with gender mainstreaming

as a global norm remains a widespread challenge. Moreover, across regions, the existence of national gender-equality laws – which may be considered as instances of recognition of global norms – appears to be both an enabling and constraining factor towards internal policy adoption by media organisations.

The IWMF report concluded: "Variations in gender-related policies among the 59 nations and regions were too numerous to allow tests of significance to be performed on the findings" (Byerly, 2011: 34). The report suggested that further analysis is needed because "the nature and impact of gender-related policies in news companies requires interpreting them in relation to a number of factors" (Byerly, 2011: 38), including historical legacies and cultural factors, gender roles, and women's status in society, and of the existence of national legal frameworks that require equality in the workplace and in the larger environment. We contend that the GEM dataset allows the empirical exploration of some of those factors. In particular, it allows us to address the following research questions:

- How can the wide variation in the adoption of gender-related internal policies by media organisations in different countries and regions be explained?

- Is it possible, within such variation, to identify patterns of policy adoption that may indicate the existence of different equality regimes in the media sector worldwide?

3.4 Exploring media organisations' policy adoption across nations

In order to investigate if and to what extent the environment within which the media operate favours or hinders the implementation of gender mainstreaming by media organisations, in this section we explore socioeconomic and cultural contextual factors that may help explain highly diversified gender-sensitive policy adoption around the world. Furthermore, the possible relation between the problematisation of gender inequality issues and patterns of policy adoption in different contexts is investigated. The section is divided in two parts: first, we present an initial exploration of possible relations between contextual factors and media self-regulatory behaviour and offer a world picture based on countries' different patterns of adoption of gender-related policies. We then conduct a more focused investigation of how contextual elements relate to those different patterns of policy adoption.

As we proceed, a few important caveats should be mentioned concerning both the available data and the chosen methodological approach. The analysis is based on data collected for the IWMF Global Report on the Status of Women in the

News Media (Byerly, 2011) available from the GEM dataset, and it provides a picture of media organisations' gender-related policy adoption at country level in 59 countries[26] from all world regions in 2010.[27] Changes may have occurred in the meantime, which cannot be considered in the present analysis. The following paragraphs provide a world picture and comments on the situation around the turn of the decade. It should also be mentioned that the IWMF methodology implied a selection of media companies to be included in the analysis for each individual country.[28] A sampled number of few media outlets – ranging from seven to seventeen in each country – hardly reflects the plurality of voices and multiplicity of situations that characterise media environments across the world. This is particularly true if the countries involved range from populations above one hundred million people, with hundreds of media outlets constituting national multicultural media ecosystems (like India or Mexico), to countries with a population below ten million and possibly more homogeneous media environments (like the Nordic countries). Moreover, although the original IWMF data were collected at the level of individual media organisations, in the GEM dataset they have been reorganised to represent means of the value recorded for each variable for all organisations at the country level. Hence, countries – not individual organisations – are the units of analysis in the following paragraphs.

In relation to the methodological approach adopted in this chapter, we highlight that we have identified five different patterns of gender-relevant policy adoption (regimes) by media organisations using a bottom-up approach, and we have explored possible correlations between macro-contextual conditions and different configurations of policy adoption. This empirical exercise has important methodological limitations that restrict the proposed interpretations to a descriptive plan. First, the analyses are based on a single year for which data were available; there is, therefore, no information about when policies and different provisions were introduced or concerning instances of change over time. The main consequence is that it is not possible to test causal relations using the available data. Second, the choice to use cluster analysis is in line with a descriptive and exploratory intent; in fact, unlike other approaches, cluster analysis does not require an a priori interpretive model. Finally, different cluster solutions have been tested, and while the five identified and proposed patterns of policy adoption are substantially stable among the different solutions, the attribution of single countries to each cluster is not univocal: some countries are on the edge between one group and another, and their allocation could reflect the assignment criterion (the way similarities between cases are identified).

In light of the above, cautious interpretation of the findings is required. No causal relation is expected to emerge from the analysis, which is exploratory and focuses on country-level similarities and differences in the adoption of different

gender-relevant policies by media organisations.[29] Nevertheless, the present investigation – in addition to building on the only available data concerning gender-related policy adoption at the level of media organisations across the globe – provides an unprecedented entry point towards a better understanding of the challenges to gender mainstreaming in the media sector and to how gender-equality issues are problematised across the world. Furthermore, it applies an innovative analytical framework – that of media gender-equality regimes – to identify general trends and possible patterns of policy adoption.

A detailed description of all the original data sources, datasets, and variables used in this chapter is provided in Appendix 3.2. The following sections narratively present the rationale for the variable selection, analyses, and main findings.

Gender-related policy adoption by media organisations: A world picture

In order to address open issues concerning high variability in policy adoption between and within regions, we first look for correlations between contextual elements and policy adoption in individual countries. Contextual factors have, in fact, been indicated as relevant to women's empowerment across nations (Ingelhart & Norris, 2003; Ingelhart et al., 2004; Welzel, 2003).

Better economic conditions in a country may indicate a situation where basic societal needs have been met; hence, there is space to engage with other aspects of inequality, including gender-related ones, in response to calls for social justice. Moreover, according to classical development theory, increased economic development associates with broader distribution of educational and occupational resources (Alexander & Welzel, 2007). Accordingly, economic sectors – including the media – may view the adoption of gender-sensitive policy measures more favourably when the overall level of wealth is higher. In this case, the media may also value economic opportunities deriving from more gender-equal conditions.

Higher degrees of women's political participation may indicate that women have gained recognition and meaningful degrees of power in society (Ingelhart & Norris, 2003; Lovenduski & Norris, 2003), thus becoming vocal and better able to express their needs and to ask for specific equality commitment, both at the national and organisational level.

As per cultural orientation, it has been shown (Norris & Ingelhart, 2001; Ingelhart & Norris, 2003) that traditions, attitudes, and histories do play an important role in slowing down – or, on the contrary, in fostering – women's advancement in society. This may also be the case when it comes to making formal commitments in specific sectors, like the media. These cultural elements are difficult to trace and measure; hence, in the context of the present study,

we consider social rights – including the rights to equal inheritance, to enter into marriage on a basis of equality with men, to travel, divorce, and confer citizenship to children – as indirect indicators of societal cultural orientation towards gender equality.

In order to account for these contextual factors, three different groups of macro-variables are considered in the analyses: 1) measures of the overall economic and social development conditions, 2) the degree of gender equality or inequality, and 3) measures of women's empowerment.

The first set of variables includes the index of democracy,[30] GDP per capita,[31] and the Human Development Index (HDI)[32] as proxies, respectively, for democratisation, economic wealth, and human development.

The second set of variables, measuring gender equality, includes the Gender Inequality Index (GII) and the Global Gender Gap Index (GGI).[33]

The third set of variables, measuring women's empowerment in society, includes: women's political participation index; women's civil society organisation participation; women's civil liberties index;[34] women's economic rights; women's political rights; and women's social rights. These measures reflect different forms of participation, political empowerment, and civil liberties, as well as women's enjoyment of economic, political, and social rights.

The selected variables are sometimes highly correlated, and they cover similar dimensions. It is the case, for example, in the correlation between the women's political participation index and women's political rights, or in the correlations between women's civil society organisation participation, the women's civil liberties index, and women's social rights. However, since the analyses rely on a limited number of observations, and for some variables some cases are missing, we decided to keep all the selected variables in the analyses as sensitivity checks of the stability of the main results beyond possible outliers and variations measurement scales.

Finally, five types of policies that can be adopted by media organisations are considered as dependent variables:[35]

- general policies on gender equality

- policies concerning sexual harassment and abuse

- policies regarding maternity leave

- policies regarding paternity leave

- policies that guarantee women can get the same job back after giving birth

Table 3.2 shows correlation between each of the contextual dimensions and the five gender-related policies adopted by media organisations across the 59 countries.

Table 3.2 *Correlations between five gender-related policies and contextual dimensions (Pearson's r)*

	Has a policy on gender equality	Has a policy on sexual harassment	Has a policy on maternity leave	Has a policy on paternity leave	Women can get same jobs back	*n*
General indicators						
Index of democracy	0.070	0.171	0.190	0.551***	0.404**	58
GDP per capita	0.121	0.149	0.247	0.633***	0.576***	53
Human Developement Index	-0.156	-0.079	0.229	0.568***	0.611***	58
Gender-equality indicators						
Gender Inequality Index	0.097	0.050	-0.207	-0.649***	-0.612***	58
Global Gender Gap Index	0.131	0.197	0.236#	0.482***	0.252#	56
Dimensions of women's empowerment in society						
women's political partici- pation index	0.055	0.101	-0.010	0.302*	0.130	57
women's civil society organisation participation	-0.065	-0.005	0.239#	0.562***	0.455***	58
women's civil liberties index	-0.077	0.028	0.188	0.520***	0.464***	58
women's economic rights	0.175	0.166	0.234#	0.486***	0.450***	58
women's political rights	0.203	0.131	0.004	0.199	0.216	58
women's social rights	0.215	0.181	0.271*	0.522***	0.422**	55

Comments: #*p* < .10, *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001. *n* = countries. Data is not available for all countries, which means that the number of countries included in the analyses varies between different measures. Data reference year is 2010, with the exception of the indicator of women's social rights, which refers to 2007 (see Appendix 3.2 for full references to the original variable sources).

Source: IWMF (Byerly, 2011); QoG (Teorell et al., 2017); V-dem (Coppedge et al., 2017); CIRI (Cingranelli et al., 2014)

According to this initial exploration, most of the considered contextual variables show no significant relation with general gender-equality policies and sexual harassment policies. Differently, the considered independent variables are positively correlated with policies adopted to foster paternity leave and to support women in getting their job back after giving birth.

What this analysis does not allow is the exploration of any meaningful combination of policies adopted by the media in any given country, nor the nexus between patterns of contextual factors and policy adoption. This is a relevant aspect since, as discussed above, gender policies can address different dimensions of inequality, and it is always possible for media organisations to adopt more than one policy. Moreover, patterns of policy adoption may indicate

different degrees of organisational commitment to gender equality and suggest different orientations in translating gender equality as a global norm into specific provisions and contexts. Finally, the adoption of different measures by media organisations may reflect different ways in which gender-inequality issues are problematised and addressed.

In relation to how gender-inequality issues are understood, and related problems "represented to be" (Bacchi, 2009) in policy measures, we may consider that the adoption of general gender-equality policies, and of policies against sexual harassment, address unequal gendered relations in the media environment in broad terms: they reflect an understanding of gender inequality as an issue of discrimination and persisting unequal opportunities in the workplace and in media content, accompanied by women's exposure to different forms of abuse. The underlying goal of policy adoption is one of fostering cultural and structural change in the sector, by affirming equality and non-discriminatory principles and adopting measures to make working spaces more secure.

Differently, policies concerning maternity leave – and, more particularly, paternity leave – and the possibility to reintegrate women in their jobs after the birth of a child, speak to concerns of work-life balance: the represented problem here is the need to support individual professionals in their family roles and working commitments so they can enjoy equal conditions in their professional lives. The policy goal is to overcome inequalities by fostering a shared division of family labour and more sustainable working conditions for women.

We argue that by investigating patterns of policy adoption across countries, we can explore the possibility for different media gender-equality regimes to emerge from the data, as systems of meanings (issue problematisation) and practices (adoption of policy measures) that reflect, while also shaping, gender relations in the sector. We therefore perform a cluster analysis on the five indicators of gender-related policies, available in the GEM dataset, adopted by media organisations, in order to see if and how countries come to compose coherent groups on the basis of (dis)similar behaviours in their (media organisations) adoption of internal policies.[36]

We use a *K*-means cluster algorithm, opting for a 5-clusters solution. This solution guarantees internal consistency from an empirical point of view. At the same time, while partly confirming the findings of previous studies (Byerly, 2011, 2013), it highlights unexpected similarities and differences between countries, thus raising new questions and inviting further explorations. Table 3.3 shows how the level of adoption of the five considered policies characterises each different cluster.

Labels for clusters 1, 4, and 5 are inspired by the terminology adopted by UNESCO (2014) in its Gender Equality Action Plan 2014–2021. In that context, the gender-equality marker is proposed as a mechanism to track developments

in the promotion of gender equality worldwide; it is a mechinism that is based on a four-point scale to assess activities.[37] The marker codes as gender-sensitive activities that identify and acknowledge inequalities; as gender-responsive activities that include evidence-based gender analysis and specific actions to address inequalities; and as gender-transforming activities that – beside stressing the causes of inequalities based on gender analyses – challenge a multiplicity of discriminatory practices in view of influencing radical change while supporting transformative policies. Following this rationale, the labels adopted for clusters 1, 4, and 5 indicate a growing degree of support for gender equality, as can be inferred by the adoption of plural formal commitments. Different labels are used for clusters 2 and 3: structural-change oriented (cluster 2) refers to countries where mostly general equality policies are adopted by media organisations, indicating a problematisation of inequality that focuses on the structural conditions that prevent equal opportunities for female workers to perform their tasks in a fair and safe environment; while work-life balance (cluster 3) indicates situations where inequality issues are problematised in consideration of the unequal burden experienced by women between family care and job requirements, and the policy response mostly includes arrangements that favour better sharing of family commitments.

Overall, according to the available data from 2010, the only policy that was widely adopted across all clusters was that on maternal leave – a finding that can be partly explained by the widespread existence of national legal frameworks that require organisations to put in place measures to support maternity. Also, it is a finding that suggests how a specific interpretation of gender equality as a global norm – that is, the nexus between equality and women's maternal role – is considered as "appropriate" across cultural contexts. Yet, it's translation at the national level varies, since policies that support women going back to work after giving birth were only meaningfully adopted in some countries. All other organisational policies showed differing levels of adoption, and various combinations, thus marking differences among groups.

Countries in cluster 1 present a low level of adoption of gender-related policies of any kind. These are countries from different geocultural contexts, all showing minimal commitment to gender equality, including in relation to maternal leave if compared with all others – hence the label gender-blind. This cluster comprises fourteen countries, spanning from Russia to Jordan, from Pakistan to Nigeria, and from China to Egypt and Jamaica. It also includes Argentina, discussed in the section above titled "Charting and conceptualising gender-aware media policies" in consideration of the gender-responsive national legislation adopted in 2009 (Chaher, 2014). The discrepancy between national-level legislation and policy commitment at organisational level may be explained by the fact that 1) the national legislation was adopted just before or while the IWMF data were collected, but also 2) the legislation did not specifically require

Table 3.3   *Levels of gender-related policy adoption in media organisations (mean, standard deviation, and minimum and maximum values), list of countries by cluster*

	Cluster 1 (n = 14)				Cluster 2 (n = 13)				Cluster 3 (n = 14)				Cluster 4 (n = 8)				Cluster 5 (n = 10)			
	mean	sd	min	max	mean	sd	min	max	mean	sd	min	max	mean	sd	min	max	mean	sd	min	max
Has a policy on gender equality	8.7	13.8	0	40	81.6	20.3	38	100	26.0	26.0	0	80	66.8	15.5	44	88	74.6	34.1	0	100
Has a policy on sexual harassment	12.1	15.1	0	50	82.6	17.4	50	100	18.8	23.2	0	83	69.4	20.0	33	93	94.6	11.9	66	100
Has a policy on maternity leave	81.6	16.1	44	100	90.2	12.8	57	100	94.8	14.9	44	100	96.3	7.6	79	100	98.3	5.4	83	100
Has a policy on paternity leave	28.6	26.8	0	86	25.4	30.0	0	89	93.7	8.2	80	100	58.6	25.0	22	91	95.4	10.1	71	100
Do women get same jobs back	45.1	35.1	0	100	2.2	8.0	0	29	92.8	11.7	67	100	79.8	21.8	40	100	98.3	5.4	83	100
	Gender-blind				**Structural-change oriented**				**Work-life balance**				**Gender-sensitive**				**Gender-transformative**			
	Russia, Ukraine, Bulgaria, Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nigeria, Cameroon, Argentina, Ecuador, Jamaica, China				South Africa, Namibia, Congo (Dem Rep.), Ghana, Zambia, Mozambique, Malawi, Zimbabwe, Madagascar, Mauritius, India, Fiji, Peru				Denmark, Norway, France, Germany, Poland, Hungary, Romania, Lithuania, Estonia, Chile, Dominique Republic, Venezuela, Brazil, Philippines				Spain, Canada, United States, Mexico, Puerto Rico, Morocco, Uganda, Ethiopia				Sweden, Finland, United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, South Korea, Kenya, Israel, Costa Rica			

Comments: n = number of countries. Clusters are based on *K*-means clustering algorithm (Mooi & Sarstedt, 2011; Makles, 2012) applied to the five indicators of gender-related policies available for 59 countries. Data reference year is 2010 (see Appendix 3.2 for full references to the original variable sources).

Source: IWMF (Byerly, 2011)

media organisations to adopt gender-related policies. Indeed, the Argentinian country report in the IWMF report highlighted that "company policies do not support women, greater access to the profession or the advancement for those already employed" (Byerly, 2011: 152) and described a context where the overall situation for women professionals was highly problematic, with less than 20 per cent women in governance and top-level managerial positions. This is a very different situation from that of Bulgaria, which is also included in this cluster. In this case, women's presence appeared, at the time of data collection, as dominant in terms of overall numbers and occupational status. At the same time, the surveyed Bulgarian newsrooms showed very low adoption of any kind of policy apart from full support (100%) for women getting their jobs back after maternity leave (Byerly, 2011). The Bulgarian case, suggesting non-policy–related factors as explanations for unequal newsrooms, such as historical developments (see Nastasia & Nastasia, 2013), seems to question the actual need for, and effectiveness of, policies. But the realities in other clusters invite more nuanced considerations.

Clusters 2 and 3 show different patterns of policy adoption, each cluster indicating that priority is given to a specific set of policies. Cluster 2 is characterised by a high level of general gender-equality and sexual-harassment policy adoption and very minor focus on solutions that support women and men in balancing their professional lives and family commitments. Considering the adopted policies as aimed at providing overall principled frameworks for media operations in view of transforming gender relations within the sector, this group is labelled structural-change oriented. It includes 13 countries, most of which are from the Southern African region, plus India and Peru. South Africa is representative of the African countries in this cluster: with a population of over 50 million and eleven official languages, it presents a rich and plural mediascape, hardly reflected in the sample of the eight media companies surveyed. The overall picture that emerged from the IWMF report was mixed. Parity was almost reached in the media sector occupation, and women were granted opportunities to progress to top-level positions; at the same time, women earned less and worked in more precarious positions. In this context: "Most South African news companies have policies favorable to women's advancement" and "the lack of glass ceiling reflects progressive gender policies in the nations' news companies surveyed" (Byerly, 2011: 128). Looking beyond the African context, both India and Peru presented much more gender-unequal situations, with women underrepresented across categories and experiencing strong limitations in access to top managerial positions. In India, companies showed mixed tendencies to adopt newsroom policies favourable to gender equality; but, it should also be recalled that a Supreme Court mandate for employers to adopt workplace policies for sexual harassment (adopted not long before the IWMF data collection) may explain media organisations' commitment on this aspect,

with 82 per cent of the media having adopted anti-harassment measures (Byerly, 2011). In Peru, media organisations had put very few policies in place to address women's advancement (Byerly, 2011), but the areas where they had taken some action were those of general gender-equality policies and measures to contrast sexual harassment. In this cluster, the nexus between existing national legal frameworks and organisational self-regulatory mechanisms is less clear than in the previous cluster; hence, other variables may better explain the pattern of gender-related policy adoption.

In cluster 3, we find an opposite orientation when compared with cluster 2. In this case, we have high adoption of paternal policies and of policies for guaranteeing women can get their job back after maternity leave, while general gender-equality policies and policies for sexual harassment are considered much less. A work-life–balance vision seems to inspire these countries' problematisation of inequality issues and efforts to overcome them. Again, this is a diverse group, comprising Northern and Eastern Europe, but also Brazil, the Dominican Republic, Venezuela, and the Philippines. Denmark and Norway, which are commonly associated with the Nordic tradition of high levels of gender equality, occupy a slightly different position in this analysis. In Denmark, policies at media level were adopted only where there was an explicit requirement according to national laws (as for paternity leave), or when there was no specific national provisions on the matter (as in the case of reintegrating women after giving birth). Similarly, in Norway, "national laws on gender equality help to explain Norwegian news companies' mixed showing on their own gender policies. […] Some companies have adopted their own policies within these guidelines, but others follow national laws" (Byerly, 2011: 328). In both cases, the IWMF report also stressed the fact that the realities of newsrooms were unequal, with men outnumbering women 2:1 – at the same time, women seemed to have better chances of accessing higher occupational positions. The resulting mixed picture parallels that of policy adoption at media level. Of interest is the fact that most Eastern European countries fall in this cluster, having transitioned from totalitarianism – when gender inequalities were "hidden", but at the same time women were encouraged to work outside the household – to democracy, with dramatic changes in the media structures, with both men and women journalists striving to reshape the profession (Byerly, 2011). Furthermore, integration into the European Union may have affected not only national legal frameworks towards enacting gender-equality measures, but also influenced media companies' adoption of specific policies. Also of interest is the case of the Philippines, with a Magna Charta of Women adopted in 2009 to provide comprehensive prohibitions against sex discrimination. In this context, general gender-equality policies may have been considered unnecessary, and in fact were not adopted by media organisations, while paternity leave and return-to-job policies were fully adopted (Byerly, 2011). What seems to cluster these countries together is, therefore, the presence of national legal frameworks for

gender equality, with media companies feeling compelled to elaborate provisions only for areas that are not specifically covered at the national level.

Cluster 4 is characterised by a medium level of policy adoption, where no specific type of policy is prioritised. According to the IWMF data, countries in this group demonstrate some degree of concern for gender equality and are thus labelled gender-sensitive to indicate that they acknowledge inequalities and adopt some mechanisms to address them. At the same time, this is possibly the most internally diverse group in our analysis, including countries like Canada, Mexico, Morocco, and Ethiopia. In Mexico, "newsrooms have been slow to adopt gender policies" (Byerly 2011: 189) and experience longstanding gender inequalities and discrimination, as reported by other studies (see Vega Montiel 2013, 2017); yet, amongst the limited number (ten) of media outlets included in the GEM dataset, all had maternity and return policies in place. On the other side, Canadian companies, though guaranteeing better conditions for women in the profession, presented meaningful glass-ceiling issues and varied in their adoption of gender policies, with just over half (55%) having issues-specific provisions (Byerly, 2011), thus presenting a "paradox of women in the news" (see Young & Beale, 2013). Since it comprises countries that do not show specific patterns of gender-aware policy adoption, we consider this a "residual cluster", with limited explanatory potential for our analysis.

Finally, cluster 5 is a group of ten countries where most policies are adopted in high percentages, hence the label gender-transformative. These countries not only acknowledge and address inequalities, they also signal a more holistic understanding of (in)equality issues, challenge different discriminatory practices, and foster structural change towards more equal gender-equality regimes. At the same time, the cluster comprises very different realities: from Sweden and Finland – world-known for highly gender-equal national systems – to Costa Rica, Kenya, and Japan – all countries that do not rank high in gender-equality indices. According to the IWMF report, both Sweden and Finland showed equal numbers of men and women occupied in the media sector, with a meaningful status of women also in governance and senior positions. Furthermore, both had longstanding national legal frameworks in place to prevent gender discrimination and foster equality. Swedish media organisations were characterised by "uniformity in their pro-equality progress" (Byerly, 2011: 333), with all gender policies adopted; though, for instance, no childcare provisions were in place, since this is commonly provided by local communities. Finnish media were also marked by a full adoption of different policies, including 66 per cent of media outlets committed to countering harassment, which, given the existence of a national legislation on the issues, would not be a requirement. Different are the cases of Costa Rica and Kenya. In Costa Rica, "companies demonstrate[d] a commitment to gender equality through their company policies which comport well with national laws passed to advance women economically" (Byerly, 2011:

172) in an overall situation where women were underrepresented, but they also enjoyed moderate access to all levels in the media structure; in this case, the national legal framework seems to have made a difference in organisational policy adoption. In Kenya, efforts were made to "address some of the barriers that limit women's participation and mobility in the newsroom" (Byerly, 2011: 100) – possibly in response to the objectives of the national constitution and as a result of women's professional associations' lobbying efforts – but the overall situation of women professionals was highly unequal and mostly marked by traditional beliefs and cultural values that strongly influence their opportunities (Kareithi, 2013). Given the diversity of countries in the cluster, further exploration of the contextual conditions that may play a role in supporting organisational policy adoption is needed.

By visualising the 59 countries on a world map, using a different colour for each cluster, the variability across, as well as within, geographical regions clearly appears. Countries that show a gender-transformative orientation (green) can be found in Northern Europe, Australia, and Central America, while gender-sensitive approaches (blue) can be found in North America, Spain, and Kenya. Gender-blind countries (red) span from China to Latin America, while adoption of general equality policies characterise the Southern African region and few other countries (orange). Northern-Central-Eastern Europe resembles the efforts made in Brazil and Venezuela in promoting work-life balance (purple).

Figure 3.1   *The variability of global adoption of media gender-related policies (clustering countries according to similar patterns of policy adoption)*
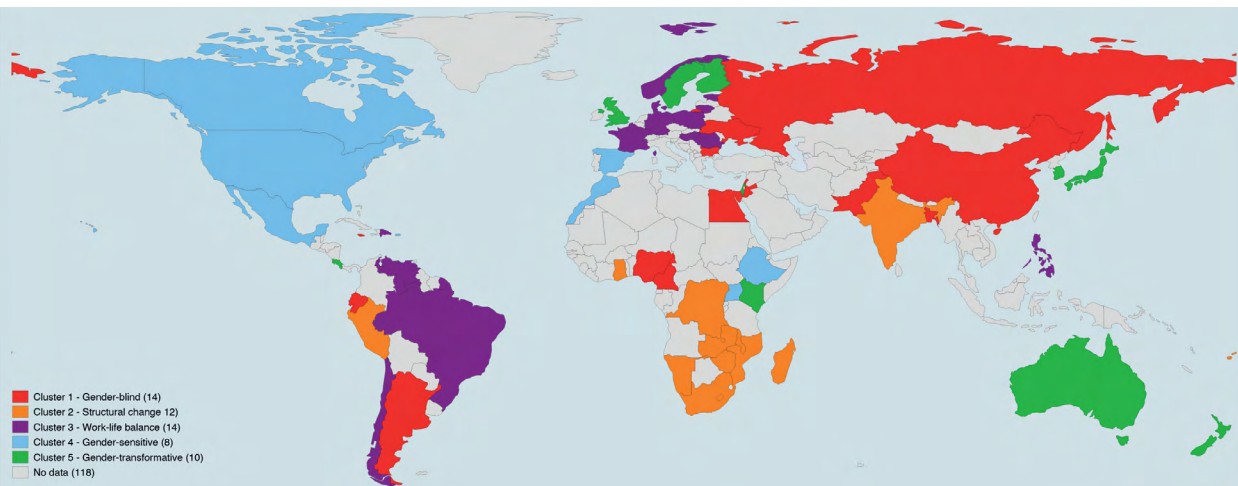
Comments: The map includes 59 countries from the IWMF study that are part of the GEM dataset. The grey areas lack data; red = cluster 1, gender-blind; orange = cluster 2, structural-change oriented; purple = cluster 3, work-life balance; blue = cluster 4, gender-sensitive; green = cluster 5, gender-transformative. Data reference year is 2010. Due to limitations in the SPMAP program, 13 countries are not displayed on the map, including Mauritius, which is in cluster 2.

Source: IWMF (Byerly, 2011)

Exploring contextual factors influencing
gender-sensitive policy adoption

Varying patterns of policy adoption in the different countries, as identified through the cluster analysis, invite further investigations of contextual variables that may help explain what encourages or prevents media organisations in each country from making specific commitments to gender equality – adopting one or more policy measure that reflects different normative interpretations of gender equality and mainstreaming in the media sector.

In line with scholarly analyses on gender mainstreaming (Hafner-Burton & Pollack, 2008; True, 2003; Walby, 2004; 2005), the IWMF report suggests a number of possible explanatory factors for media organisations' propensity towards policy adoption (Byerly, 2011), including: the relevance of cultural norms, values, and traditions that operate in each context; the existence of national laws that promote gender equality; women's status in the larger societal environment; as well as women's engagement with equality and rights movements, particularly when organised around professional organisations. Through a cluster-focused analysis of the GEM dataset, we can empirically explore some of those factors and test their significance and possible correlations.

It should be mentioned that one factor we have not been able to include in the analysis relates to the existence of gender-equality legal frameworks at the country level, since the relevant variable in our dataset does not include data for the countries considered in this study.[38] This constitutes a limit to our study since in many cases, as we have seen in the previous section, the existence of national gender-equality laws, alongside constitutional provisions and high courts' decisions, seems to be related to policy adoption by media organisations (Byerly, 2011). Future investigations and media gender-equality regimes should therefore pay specific attention to how gender issues are mainstreamed and institutionalised at national level.

The three sets of macro-variables considered above (Table 3.2) to measure societal conditions, the degree of gender equality, and women's empowerment are now employed to account for possible explanations of different patterns of media organisations' policy adoption in the five clusters.

General societal conditions are investigated by relating degrees of democratisation, economic wealth, and human development, respectively, to each of the five clusters. This analysis addresses the following questions:

- Is it possible to identify any relation between the level of democratic development that countries in each cluster enjoy and patterns of policy adoption, assuming that democracy "opens possibilities for people to mobilize and press for change" (Wängnerud & Samanni, 2009: 7)?

- Does economic wealth help explain a cluster's characterising features, or would a composite indicator, such as the HDI – which includes three basic dimensions of human development, such as health, knowledge, and standard of living, and accounts for emancipative attitudes – better contribute to understanding patterns of policy adoption?

Similar questions can be asked in relation to different degrees of gender equality or inequality (Alexander et al., 2016): Would these – captured by composite indicators that reflect gender equality in societies in relation to the diverse domains of health, educational attainment, and political and economic empowerment – relate to patterns of policy adoption by the media?

And what about the relation between specific dimensions of women's empowerment in society – explored through a series of variables that reflect different forms of participation, political empowerment, and civil liberties, as well as through women's enjoyment of economic, political, and social rights and patterns of media organisations' policy adoption?

Cluster distribution according to the different variables that reflect overall contextual features is reported in Table 3.4. In the following paragraphs, we discuss the main findings.

What the analysis shows is that gender-transformative countries (cluster 5), as well as those oriented towards work-life balance (cluster 3), share high levels of democratisation, GDP, and human development; while gender-blind countries (cluster 1) and countries concerned with structural change within the media sector (cluster 2) rank similarly low on all such variables, though the former performs slightly better in relation to GDP and the HDI.

This polarisation between clusters 5 and 3 (gender-transformative and work-life balance) on one side, and clusters 1 and 2 (gender-blind and structural-change oriented) on the other, is visible throughout the analysis. Similar patterns of cluster distribution are in fact found in relation to the overall degree of gender equality in society, but only for the GII, and not for the GGI. Interestingly, countries labelled as gender-blind rank slightly higher than structural-change oriented ones on the GII – a situation that suggests more favourable conditions in the countries included in the first cluster towards gender-sensitive policy adoptions by media organisations as means to support women in the workplace. On the contrary, the analysis clearly indicates that this is not the case: in spite of having lower levels of gender equality, as expressed by the GII, countries in cluster 2 are much more likely to adopt gender-sensitive policies and show a specific interpretation of gender equality in the media, presenting what could be considered as a media gender-equality regime oriented towards structural change.

When looking at different measures of women's empowerment, the pattern is confirmed: again, clusters 3 and 5 rank higher on all indicators, while

Table 3.4 *General indicators, gender-equality indicators, and dimensions of women's empowerment in society by media gender-equality clusters (means)*

	Cluster 1 Gender-blind (*n* = 14)	Cluster 2 Structural-change oriented (*n* = 13)	Cluster 3 Work-life balance (*n* = 14)	Cluster 4 Gender-sensitive (*n* = 7)	Cluster 5 Gender-trans-formative (*n* = 10)	Test *F* Signifi-cance
General indicators						
Index of democracy	5.02	5.42	7.40	6.41	8.18	(***)
GDP per capita	5,063.4 (*n* = 13)	2,197.0 (*n* = 10)	13,320.1	14,188.49 (*n* = 6)	18,878.9	(***)
Human Develop-ment Index	0.67	0.55	0.81	0.70	0.84	(***)
Gender-equality indicators						
Gender Inequality Index	0.67	0.55	0.81	0.70	0.84	(***)
Global Gender Gap Index	0.65	0.68 (*n* = 11)	0.71	0.68	0.72	ns
Dimensions of women's empower-ment in society						
women's political participation index	0.75	0.81 (*n* = 12)	0.92	0.89	0.90	(*)
women's civil society organisation participation	0.72	0.70	0.91	0.79	0.87	(***)
women's civil liberties index	0.67	0.66	0.89	0.76	0.91	(***)
women's economic rights	0.92	1.00	2.07	1.57	2.40	(*)
women's political rights	2.07	2.15	2.21	2.14	2.50	ns
women's social rights	0.64	1.00	2.00 (*n* = 13)	1.67 (*n* = 6)	2.22 (*n* = 9)	(***)

Comments: n = country observations. ***p < .001, **p < .01, *p < .5. Data is not available for all countries, which means that the number of countries included in the analyses varies between different studies and measures. Data reference year is 2010, with the exception of the indicator of women's social rights, which refers to 2007 (see Appendix 3.2 for full references to the original variable sources).

Source: IWMF (Byerly, 2011); Teorell et al., 2017; Coppedge et al, 2017; CS-GEM dataset (Färdigh et al., 2020)

clusters 1 and 2 always rank low. In general terms, indices related to women's involvement in civil society organisations and countries' level of support for social rights and civil liberties point out significant differences across clusters, whereas indices on women's political participation and women's political and economic rights endowment do not account for significant differences across clusters. It is worth noting that gender-transformative countries perform much better than all others, including those oriented towards work-life balance, particularly in relation to women's social rights, assumed here to indicate a country's cultural orientation towards women and their rights. At the same time, structural-change oriented countries implement women's social rights more than countries in the gender-blind cluster.

As discussed in the earlier section of this chapter, the cluster labelled gender-sensitive (cluster 4) is the most heterogeneous one: policy adoption is present but moderate for all types of policies and the cluster's internal variability is the highest in relation to all indicators, from GDP per capita to women's empowerment. This looks like a residual and diverse group, for which more qualitative, country-based investigation is needed.

These analyses suggest that in some cases, contextual factors may play a role; at the same time, the findings do not allow a full explanation of the relations between variables.

Countries in clusters 5 and 3 share high levels of democracy, wealth, and gender equality, and yet they have different patterns of policy adoption. The former shows a clear commitment towards gender equality and mainstreaming as global norms and seems to translate those norms according to a holistic perspective that considers different dimensions of inequality and, possibly, their interplay. The latter translates those norms in media self-regulatory measures that focus on a specific aspect of unequal relations in the sector, that is, the need to facilitate a balance between family roles and working commitments. In some cases, this may depend on the existence of national gender-equality legislations, but the different approaches adopted, for instance by media outlets in Sweden and Finland if compared with Norway and Denmark – all countries with progressive national frameworks in place – suggests other elements intervene in orientating media self-regulatory provisions.

Similarly, countries in clusters 1 and 2 share low levels of democracy, wealth, and gender equality and yet cluster 2 shows a consistent pattern of policies that reflect an orientation towards structural change through principled self-regulation; whereas gender-blind countries, in spite of performing better on indicators such as the HDI and GII, show total disregard for the translation of gender-equality principles and norms into formal measures at the level of media organisations.

3.5 Conclusion and discussion

In addressing our research questions, concerning variations in the adoption of gender-related policies by media organisations in different countries and the possibility to identify patterns of policy adoption across the world, we opted for an analysis that clustered countries on the basis of their approach to gender mainstreaming. By exploring variability amongst clusters of countries, we were able to move beyond a regional focus – which may be misleading in assuming similarities based on cultural, political, and economic conditions – and to gain a better understanding of how global gender-equality norms travel and are negotiated worldwide.

The study indicates that the relation between contextual factors and policy adoption at the cluster level is not linear. We have explored how different contextual variables may account for different patterns of gender-related self-regulatory measures, to find out that gender equality can be progressed despite a potentially unfavourable economic and sociopolitical environment. At the same time, more favourable contextual conditions, which are generally conducive to the adoption of gender-equality policies, do not always translate into higher and more articulated formal commitment to equality by media organisations.

The analysis shows that, in general, contextual variables do play a role, but they do not have the same relevance for all clusters, nor do they have the same relation to the different types of policies included in the study. In some cases, economic wealth is positively correlated to the adoption of policies (as in the gender-transformative cluster), but in other cases it is not (structural-change oriented countries show a high degree of general equality policy adoption in spite of ranking the lowest on the GDP per capita indicator). A higher level of GDP per capita also relates to a strong commitment by media companies to fight against sexual harassment in some contexts (again, the gender-transformative cluster), but not in others (work-life balance cluster). Also, women's political and civic participation seems to relate to the adoption of specific measures, such as general equality policies and those to prevent and sanction sexual harassment, in some contexts (the gender-transformative and structural change clusters), but the opposite holds true in other contexts (the work-life balance cluster). Finally, the seemingly positive relation between a higher level of enjoyment of women's social rights (a proxy variable for cultural orientation) and patterns of policy adoption is highlighted (clusters 3, 4, & 5), as it may indicate that sociocultural contextual factors matter to media gender equality more than other elements.

In the study, we also aimed to operationalise the media gender-equality regime approach, and we did so by identifying five clusters of countries sharing similar patterns of policy adoption. The analysis reveals the complicated interplay between globally agreed upon norms of gender equality and gender

mainstreaming on the one side, and societal norms and political-economic-cultural contexts on the other.

Gender-transformative countries – from Sweden to Australia and the UK – mostly rank high on all indicators and enjoy high levels of democracy, wealth, and social rights. The high level of adoption of all types of policies, also complementing existing national policies, indicates a strong commitment to gender equality by media companies. This also suggests an understanding of gender (in)equality as a system of interrelated issues including personal safety, gendered roles, and challenges in balancing personal and professional lives. These countries express a regime of high compliance with gender mainstreaming as a global norm and a policy frame.[39]

Countries in the cluster oriented towards work-life balance – most of which are located in Central, Northern, and Eastern Europe – enjoy adequate levels of wealth and democracy, but seem not to be interested in supplementing existing national equality plans (which are in place in all EU countries) with self-regulatory provisions. Interestingly, in this cluster, women's political participation in society – the highest value across all clusters – does not seem to foster a comprehensive understanding of intersecting gender-inequality issues in media organisations, as these mainly intervene to support the professional life of working mothers. At the same time, high levels of GDP per capita and enjoyment of women's social rights do not translate into adequate problematisation of sexual harassment issues. We may be facing a regime whereby gender-equality norms are translated into nation-level legal provisions, but not consistently renegotiated across the media sector.

The structural-change oriented cluster is the most consistent in geographical terms, as it mainly includes members of the Southern Africa Development Community. Characterised by high adoption of general equality provisions and sexual harassment policies, it also shows low levels of income, which do not prevent their media organisations from putting in place measures for gender equality. At the same time, these countries show meaningful levels of women's participation, as well as a certain degree of cultural orientation towards gender equality. This finding suggests a positive dynamic is in place – possibly an interplay between institutions and nongovernmental feminist or grassroots groups[40] – that contributes to the definition of media gender-equality regimes.

Countries in the gender-blind cluster are characterised by low performance on most contextual aspects. Even though in some cases wealth and gender equality indicators suggest there may be conditions to support more gender-equal media environments, the low levels of democratic development and women's participation in society may account for their inconsistent commitment to gender mainstreaming in the sector, resulting in a media gender-unequal regimes.

The cluster labelled gender-sensitive, being the most diverse group in our analysis, also in relation to their approach towards policy adoption, can hardly

be considered a coherent cluster. This invites country-case specific analyses to better understand media commitment towards equality and resulting regimes.

As Ingelhart and Norris remind us, "a pattern of causation cannot be determined from any simple correlation" (2003: 134). Our study shows that the correlation between contextual elements and policy adoption is hardly straightforward. It suggests that contextual conditions – including specific legislation, civic mobilisations, and political will at different levels – do play a role in fostering different media gender-equality regimes, but their influence is not the same in all countries. The study also indicates that the combination of different types of policies may reflect varying orientations towards gender equality as a global norm, different interpretations of gender mainstreaming as a policy frame, and various ways in which the multiple inequalities that characterise the media sector are understood, problematised, and addressed. By highlighting similarities and differences between groups of countries in the IWMF data, the study partly confirms previous findings, but it also makes new questions emerge and indicates directions for future analyses, in due recognition of the complexities of gender equality regimes and their multi-level governance.

In general terms, more comparative research is needed to account for the nexus between national frameworks for gender equality, national media laws, the role of independent communication authorities, and media organisations' own commitment towards the implementation of gender mainstreaming, as highlighted in international and regional recommendations over the past decades (Padovani, 2018). Future studies would therefore need to integrate the set of contextual variables taken into consideration in the present work with existing national gender-equality legislations, strategies, and programmes, which constitute the normative frameworks within which the media operate. National media policies should also be taken into consideration,[41] with a focus on their sensitivity (or insensitivity) to gender (in)equality issues. Moreover, the influence exerted by internationally agreed upon norms and frameworks – such as the Beijing Platform for Action or the United Nations Agenda 2030 – on the adoption of national and organisational gender-sensitive policies for the media should be considered. This would allow a comprehensive multi-level analysis with regard to gender-sensitive policy developments in the media sector.

Our analysis – integrated with observations from the IWMF report and contributions by Byerly (2011, 2013) – also suggests that, even when national gender-equality frameworks are in place, media organisations may behave differently in formalising their commitment to equality and diversity. Further research may therefore explore how cultural orientations, as well as media organisational cultures, interact with such frameworks. Qualitative investigations may contribute to highlighting the extent to which cultural and context-specific variables support the adoption of gender-related provisions by media

organisations, even in the absence of supportive national frameworks. This would include an appreciation of the local histories of communication systems, and a focus on the contributions to policy formulation, adoption, monitoring, and implementation by policy networks that may involve media regulators, but also equality champions acting as allies within national institutions, and civil society organisations advocating for media gender equality.

At the level of media organisations, a quantitative follow-up to the present analysis could reveal what factors account for different approaches to gender mainstreaming when contextual situations are similar but the resulting gender-equality regimes are different – as we have seen with gender-transformative and work-life–balance oriented countries on the one hand, and the gender-blind and structural-change oriented on the other. This could be done by focusing on couples of clusters, further exploring the correlation between patterns of policy adoption and specific contextual variables, thus "unpacking" clusters and gaining a more fine-tuned understanding of individual countries' positions on a global map of media gender-equality regimes.

Policy adoption at the level of media organisations could also be further investigated through qualitative analyses of "endogenous" variables that characterise organisational structures, such as the existence of supportive management and leadership, the presence and status of female and male professionals in decision-making positions, and the professional culture within which they operate. Also, focusing on organisational instead of country level, comparing, for instance, public and private media organisations, may contribute to a better understanding of internal dynamics that lead to self-regulatory measures in due consideration of plural media environments. All this would allow the exploration of how different equality regimes may result from the interplay of media's internal dynamics.

Finally, future research should address the core issue of media policies' relevance: Do policies, once adopted, make a difference on media performance? Does policy adoption impact cognitive, behavioural, and professional orientation towards equality inside the media? Further research in this respect may consider policies adopted by media organisations as independent variables, to test organisational gender-equality performance. It would mean looking at correlations between the adoption of (different types of) policies and the multiple dimensions of gender inequality, including in media content, access to material, financial and symbolic resources, access to managerial positions and leadership roles, and issues of safety both off- and online. This investigation would also allow the full operationalisation of the media gender-equality regime approach by exploring the intersection of multiple forms of inequality while, at the same time, acknowledging the centrality of regulatory practices towards making gender equality a reality.

Notes

1. From the *Cambridge English Dictionary*, 2018. The literature on policy making, policy processes, and policy analysis is vast, and approaches are plural. For the purpose of the analysis presented in this chapter, we adopt a specific understanding of "policy" (as discussed in §3.2).

2. Policies may differ from – but sometimes are identified with – "strategies", or high-level overall plans embracing the general goals and acceptable procedures that are usually elaborated by a governmental body to involve different actors and stakeholders.

3. On the "apparent" contradiction between the principles of freedom of expression and gender equality in the media – and how this is played out in policy debates, reflecting different interests and priorities – see Gallagher (2011); see also Svensson & Edström (2014).

4. A more detailed account of the policy focus that characterised Section J in the Beijing Platform for Action, also inspiring civic and professional initiatives after 1995, is offered by Padovani and Pavan (2017). Attempts to update Section J in the digital context have been carried out, for instance, by the Association for Progressive Communication (2015).

5. For an overview of international and regional formal provisions indicating gender-sensitive media policy as core towards the elimination of gender inequalities, see Padovani (2020). See also the series of video lectures included in the Learning Resources of the Advancing Gender Equality in Media Industries (AGEMI project, Unit 9, Sections 1.1 and 1.2, titled "Searching for gender-sensitive media policies", accessible on the project platform: www.agemi-eu.org).

6. Similar concerns are expressed in a recent Report on Gender Equality in the Media Sector in the EU by the European Parliament (2017/2210(INI)). The report calls for a motion for a European Parliament resolution; calls on member states to fully implement existing legislation addressing gender equality; encourages media regulatory bodies to monitor the presence and advancement of women in the media sector; and urges public and private media organisations to adopt internal polices, such as equal-opportunities and diversity policies, to address persisting inequalities.

7. Several scholarly works have highlighted the challenges and shortcomings of gender mainstreaming in the global arena and in the European context, but with no specific focus on the media: Squires (2005) has criticised the transformative potential of mainstreaming; Rees (2005) has highlighted the uneven development of gender mainstreaming in the European Union; Hafner-Burton and Pollack (2008) have stressed the strong resistance to gender mainstreaming; Schmidt (2005) talked about "decoupling" to indicate that gender mainstreaming is widely embraced in theory but denied in practice.

8. Preliminary findings of a Global Survey on Gender and Media (UNESCO, 2016) showed that only 35 per cent of world governments have integrated media and gender in their national policies and programmes, and a similar situation has been observed in relation to independent media regulatory bodies' activities.

9. Padovani (2018, 2020) offers an overview of scholarly interventions in the field, which include Gallagher (2008, 2011, 2017); Byerly and Ross (2006); Jensen (2008, 2010); Drossou and Jensen (2005); McLaughlin and Pickard (2005); Beale (2002); Shade (2014); Sarikakis and Nguyen (2009); Vega Montiel (2014b); Padovani and Pavan (2016); Padovani and Shade (2016); and Gurumurthy and Chami (2016).

10. We refer to the limited effort made by gender and media scholars to enter a potentially productive dialogue with a vast feminist literature on policy making and gender political analysis elaborated over the course of the past decades (for a recent overview on this scholarship, see Kantola & Lombardo, 2016).

11. For a lively account of the relevance of policy adoption for gender equality in and through the media, and of the challenges to policy implementation, see the interviews with experts and media representatives conducted in the context of the Advancing Gender Equality in Media Industries (AGEMI) project: GEMTalks in the AGEMI youtube channel (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_yI3IWHmbNw&list=PLYkH1-dO6vlRiC4So1B8DtegbpAcPsfA8)

12. See para. 12 of the WSIS Geneva Declaration of Principles "Building the Information Society: a global challenge in the new Millennium" adopted in 2003 (WSIS, 2003).

13. For an overview of the several interventions by the European Union, see Ross & Padovani, 2017; see also the "Gender and media in Europe" section of the Mapping Global Media Policy platform (organisational documents) (http://www.globalmediapolicy.net/node/6305)

14. In Southern Africa, sustained collaboration among a network of over 40 organisations led to the adoption of a Protocol on Gender and Development by the SADC in 2008. Articles 29–31 deal specifically with media information and communication, and are regularly monitored through the Gender Protocol Barometer coordinated by the non-governmental organisation Gender Links (2017).

15. The 1995 Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence Against Women encourages "the communications media to develop appropriate media guidelines in order to contribute to the eradication of violence against women in all its forms" (OAS, 1995: Article 8). More recently, the Declaration of Pachuca on Strengthening Efforts to Prevent Violence against Women acknowledges the responsibility of the media in eliminating gender stereotypes, fostering freedom of expression, as well as promoting public awareness of the Beijing Platform for Action and the SDGs (OAS, 2014).

16. According to Wiener and Puetter, norms are "ideas of varying degrees of abstraction and spec- ification with respect to fundamental *values*, organizing *principles* or standardized *procedures* that resonate across many states and global actors, having gained support in multiple forms including official policies, laws, treaties or agreements [emphasis added]" (2009: 183).

17. A positive example is the Argentinian Ley de los medios [Law of the media] adopted in 2009, which acknowledged gender equality as one of its guiding principles and established specific mechanisms for citizens to redress violations of their communication rights. On the Argentinian case and developments in the region, see Chaher (2014, 2016, 2018). A meaningful case is also the Spanish legislation against sexist advertising, described by Martin Llaguno (2016).

18. An interesting example of media-aware equality strategy is the National Plan for Gender Equality, Citizenship and Non-discrimination adopted by Portugal for the period 2014–2017. The plan included an explicit focus on media and communication as one of the seven strategic areas in which to operate to achieve gender equality (Council of Ministers, Portugal, 2013). In this respect, we could also mention the Council of Europe's Gender Equality Strategy 2018–2023: Strategic objective 1 of the overall strategy is about the prevention and combat of gender stereotypes and sexism, and explicit reference is made to the role of the media – traditional and digital.

19. The role of independent regulatory authorities in fostering gender equality has been stressed by the French Speaking Media Regulatory Authorities Network (REFRAM). In 2011, the network adopted a Declaration on Equality between Men and Women in Audiovisual Media and then published a vade mecum titled Plans for Action for an Integrated Approach to Gender Equality, reporting good practices for equality developed by independent authorities.

20. These are the policies investigated in the following paragraphs: Section 3 provides an overview of organisational policies from previous studies, while Section 4 introduced an innovative analysis based on data from the GEM dataset.

21. Future analyses in this direction may be inspired by the approach and methodology developed by Verloo (2007) and Lombardo and Meier (2009) in the context of European projects where gender equality policies have been investigated through critical frame analysis.

22. Kardam's work sits within international relations scholarship, according to which regimes are "implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules and decision-making procedures around which actors' expectations converge" (Krasner, 1992).

23. According to Kardam (2004: 89), "regimes would be incomplete without the rules and deci- sion-making procedures that reflect their norms and principles".

24. The Media Pluralism Monitor is a tool designed to encompass components of risk to media pluralism (see http://cmpf.eui.eu/media-pluralism-monitor/).

25. In the case of the EIGE study (2013: 73) a similar concern was also included, looking at the European context and related policies explored to "determine the extent to which these major media organizations have developed gender-equality plans, equality or diversity codes and other forms of self-regulation to avoid discrimination on the ground of sex".

26. The list of countries and their geographic distribution can be found in Appendix 3.1.
27. 2010 is the single year for which most of the relevant data in the GEM dataset are available, including the IWMF data, which were collected in 2009–2010. When no data is available for relevant variables for that same year, the closest year for which data are available is considered (this is the case with the women's social rights variable in the QoG dataset; in this case, the year for data collection was 2007).
28. As stated in the IWMF report (Byerly, 2011), purposive sampling was used to assure an intended mix of print and electronic news companies per nation, and only traditional news companies were considered for inclusion. A sample range was developed for each nation based on the overall number of companies for a given nation; this range was a guide for local researchers in selecting the number and kind of media to be surveyed. Final approval of the selected media came from the principal investigator. In some cases, smaller-than-intended samples actually surveyed resulted from media companies not agreeing to be involved.
29. More articulated reflections on individual country cases included in the IWMF report, including qualitative analysis and references to broader and deeper studies conducted in each country, are provided by Byerly (2013).
30. In this case, the considered variable is the Economist's Intelligence Unit's Index of Democracy (variable in GEM dataset: qog_eiu_iod) based on rating 60 indicators in five categories: electoral process, civil liberties, the functioning of government, political participation, and political culture.
31. This is reflected by the GDP per capita (variable in GEM dataset: vdem_mad_gdppc).
32. Human Development Index (variable in GEM dataset: qog_unod_hdi), a composite index that measures achievements in three domains: life expectancy, adult literacy, and GPD.
33. Gender Inequality Index by UNDP (undp_hdi_gii) and Global Gender Gap Index by the World Ecomomic Forum (wef_ggi_score). Both composite indicators have been included, as they partly capture different data but work through different logic: the GII measures (in)equality between women and men in achievements in three dimensions: reproductive health, empowerment, and the labour market; the GGI is a more articulated index that examines the gap between men and women in four fundamental categories: economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, health and survival, and political empowerment.
34. The considered variables are: the women's political participation index (vdem_genpp), focusing on women's representation in formal positions; women's civil society participation (vdem_gencs), indicating women's ability to express themselves and participate in groups; and the women's civil liberties index (vdem_cli) indicating women's ability to make meaningful decisions in life. Also, women's political rights (qog_ciri_wopol), women's economic rights (qog_ciri_wecon), and women's social rights (qog_ciri_wosoc).
35. In the GEM dataset, the country is the unit of analysis – all variables measure the share of news companies that have gender-related policies or measures in each country. Variables cover 59 countries and vary between 0–100. In consideration of data reliability, the variables originally included in the Global Report on the Status of Women in the News Media and related to media organisations' adoption of policies to provide childcare and to provide gender training have not been considered in this analysis.
36. A preliminary inspection of the correlation matrix of the five indicators points out a strong positive correlation between indicators of policies that aim to address unequal gendered relations (i.e., between gender-equality policies and policies against sexual harassment) and a slightly positive correlation between indicators of work-life–balance policies concerning maternity, paternity, and the possibility to reintegrate women in their jobs after the birth of a child. All the other parameters are not significant, suggesting the lack of a linear relation between couples of indicators. *K*-means cluster analysis allows us to identify combinations in the adoption of the five policies that overcome linear relations between indicators, segmenting the data in a way that the within-cluster variation is minimised (Mooi & Sarstedt, 2011).
37. The gender-equality marker system was developed by OECD and is now a tool within the UN and UNESCO system (see https://en.unesco.org/genderequality/tools).

38. Our analysis is based on the GEM dataset. One variable through which we could have explored the correlation between policy adoption and the existence of national legal provisions for gender equality – gender equality from the QoG dataset (Teorell et al., 2017; data from 2010, coded as: qog_irai_ge) – does not include enough data for the countries considered in this study; hence, it was not possible to include the variable in the analysis (for the relevance of national gender-sensitive legislation in relation to gender equality in society in general, see also Wängnerud & Samanni, 2009).
39. Further in-depth and qualitative investigation is required to understand the presence, in this group, of countries – such as Kenya or Costa Rica – that do not enjoy high levels of GDP or HDI, nor rank high on most other contextual factors that characterise other countries in this cluster.
40. For an account of the Southern African experience in promoting media gender equality through monitoring, professional training and policy adoption, see Padovani (2018) (see also http://genderlinks.org.za/what-we-do/media/).
41. No variable concerning these aspects was available for the present study. Future research would need to collect such data and to integrate them in the GEM dataset.

References

Acker, Joan. (1989). Inequality regimes: Gender, class and race in organizations. *Gender & Society*, *20*(4), 441–464. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243206289499

Alexander, Ami, & Christian Welzel. (2007). *Empowering women: Four theories tested on four different aspects of gender equality* [Conference presentation]. Annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, USA.

Alexander, Ami, Catherine Bolzendal, & Farida Jalalzai. (2016). Defining women's global political empowerment: Theories and evidence. *Sociology Compass*, *10*(6), 432–441. https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12375

Association for Progressive Communication. (2015). *How technology issues impact women's rights: 10 points on section J*. https://www.genderit.org

Bacchi, Carol. (1999). *Women, policy and politics: The construction of policy problems*. London: Sage.

Bacchi, Carol. (2009). Introducing the 'What's the problem represented to be' approach. In Angelique Bletsas, & Chris Beasley (Eds.), *Engaging with Carol Bacchi* (pp. 21–24). Adelaide, Australia: University of Adelaide Press.

Bacchi, Carol. (2012). Why study problematizations? Making politics visible. *Open Journal of Political Science*, *2*(1), 1–8. http://dx.doi.org/10.4236/ojps.2012.21001

Beale, Alison. (2002). Gender and transversal cultural policies. In Marc Raboy (Ed.), *Global media policy in the new millennium* (pp. 199–214). Luton, UK: University of Luton Press.

Byerly, Carolyn M. (2011). *Global report on the status of women in the news media*. Washington, DC: International Women's Media Foundation (IWMF). https://www.iwmf.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/IWMF-Global-Report.pdf

Byerly, Carolyn M. (Ed.). (2013). *The Palgrave international handbook of women and journalism*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137273246

Byerly, Carolyn M., & Ross, Karen. (2006). *Women and media: A critical introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Chaher, Sandra. (Ed.). (2014). *Public policies on communication and gender in Latin America: The path ahead of us*. Buenos Aires: Asociación Civil Comunicación para la Igualdad [English text] (pp. 98–192).

Chaher, Sandra. (Ed.). (2016). *Políticas publicas de comunicación y género: Entre andares y retrocesos* [*Communication and gender public policies: Between steps and setbacks*]. Buenos Aires: Asociación Civil Comunicación para la Igualdad.

Chaher, Sandra. (Ed.). (2018). *Políticas publicas de comunicación y géneroen América Latina: Cerrando un ciclo* [*Public communication and gender policies in Latin America: Closing a cycle*]. Buenos Aires: Asociación Civil Comunicación para la Igualdad.

Cingranelli, David L., David L Richards, & K. Chad Clay. (2014). *The CIRI human rights dataset*. http://www.humanrightsdata.com/p/data-documentation.html

Connell, Robert. (1987). *Gender and power: Society, the person and sexual politics*. Cambridge: Polity in association with Blackwell.

Connell, Raewyn. (2009). *Gender in world perspective* (2nd ed., Short introductions). Cambridge: Polity.

Coppedge, Michael, John Gerring, Staffan I. Lindberg, Svend-Erik Skaaning, Jan Teorell, David Altman, Frida Andersson, Michael Bernhard, Steven M.Fish, Adam Glynn, Allen Hicken, Carl Henrik Knutsen, Kyle L.Marquardt, Kelly McMann, Valeriya Mechkova, Pamela Paxton, Daniel Pemstein, Laura Saxer, Brigitte Seim, Rachel Sigman, & Jeffrey Staton. (2017). *V-Dem codebook v7*. Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) Project, University of Gothenburg, Sweden.

Council of Europe. (2019). *Implementation of the Council of Europe gender equality strategy 2018–2023*. Annual Report 2019 Gender Equality Commission GEC(2019)9. https://rm.coe.int/annual-report-2019/16809e4622

Council of Ministers, Portugal. (2013). *The V national plan for gender equality, citizenship and non-discrimination 2014–2017* (V PNI). Resolution of the Council of Ministers, Portugal, no. 103/2013.

Djerf-Pierre, Monika. (2011). The difference engine: Gender equality, journalism and the good society. *Feminist Media Studies*, 11(1), 43–51. https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2011.537026

Drossou, Olga, & Heike Jensen. (Eds.). (2005). *Visions in process II: The world summit on the information society 2003–2005*. Berlin: Heinrich Böll Foundation.

EIGE (European Institute for Gender Equality). (2013). *Review of the implementation of the Beijing platform for action in the EU member states: Women and the media: advancing gender equality in decision-making in media organisations: report*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union. https://doi.org/10.2839/73389

European Parliament. (2017). *Report on gender equality in the media sector in the EU* (2017/2210(INI)). https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/e74216ca-09da-11ea-8c1f-01aa75ed71a1

Finnemore, Marta. (1996). Norms, culture, and world politics: Insights from sociology's institutionalism. *International Organization*, 50(2), 325–347. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818300028587

Finnemore, Marta, & Kathryn Sikkink. (1998). International norms dynamics and political change. *International Organization*, 52(4), 887–917. https://www.jstor.org/stable/2601361

Färdigh, Mathias A., Monika Djerf-Pierre, Maria Edström, with Carolyn M. Byerly, Sarah Macharia, Claudia Padovani, and Karen Ross. (2020). *The GEM Dataset, version 1*. Comparing Gender and Media Equality (GEM) Project: Department of Journalism, Media and Communication (JMG), University of Gothenburg.

Gallagher, Margaret. (2008). Feminist issues in the global media system. In Leslie Shade, & Katherine Sarikakis (Eds.), *Feminist interventions in international communication: Minding the gap* (pp. 17–32). Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

Gallagher, Margaret. (2011). Gender and communication policy: Struggling for space. In Robin Mansell, & Marc Raboy (Eds.), *The handbook of global media and communication policy*. (pp. 451–466). Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Gallagher, Margaret. (2014). Reframing communication rights: Why gender matters. In Claudia Padovani, & Andrew Calabrese (Eds.), *Communication rights and social justice*. (pp. 334–348). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Gallagher, Margaret. (2017). Gender and media: A critical analysis after 20 years of the Beijing. *Comunicazione politica, Journal of the Italian Association of Political Communication*, 2, 191–208. https://doi.org/10.3270/87220

Gender Links. (2017). *SADC gender protocol barometer*. Johannesburg: Gender Links.

GMMP (Global Media Monitoring Project). (1995–2015). Margaret Gallagher, Sarah Macharia, Lilian Ndangam, Dermot O'Connor, Kasia Seydegart, George Spears, & Media Watch, Canada, World Association for Christian Communication. http://whomakesthenews.org/gmmp/gmmp-reports

Guba, Egon. (1984). The effect of definitions of "policy" on the nature and outcomes of policy analysis. *Educational Leadership*, 42(2), 63–70.

Gurumurthy, Anita, & Nandini Chami. (2016). Unpacking digital India: A feminist commentary on Policy Agendas in the Digital Moment. *Journal of Information Policy*, 6, 371–402. https://doi.org/10.5325/jinfopoli.6.2016.0371

Hafner-Burton, Emily, & Mark Pollack. (2008, October 21). Mainstreaming gender in the European Union: Getting the incentives right [paper]. http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1287859

Ingelhart, Ronald, & Pippa Norris. (2003). *The rising tide: Gender equality and cultural change around the world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ingelhart, Roland, Pippa Norris, & Christian Welzel. (2004). Gender equality and democracy. *Comparative Sociology*, 1, 321–345. https://ssrn.com/abstract=2391796

Jensen, Heike. (2008). *Engendering Internet governance research: The example of censorship* [Conference presentation]. Global Internet Governance Academic Network (GigaNet) Annual Symposium.

Jensen, Heike. (2010). Global feminist politics concerning media, ICTs: Past lessons and present challenges. *Women in Action*, 1, 47–52.

Kantola, Johanna, & Emanuela Lombardo. (2016). *Gender and political analysis*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kardam, Nüket. (2004). The emerging global gender equality regime from neoliberal and constructivist perspectives in international relations. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 6(1), 85–109. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461674032000165941

Kareithi, Peter J. (2013). Kenya: 'A girl may not sit in the father's stool'. In Carolyn M. Byerly (Ed.), *The Palgrave international handbook of women and journalism* (pp. 266–283). New York: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137273246_20

Krasner, Stephen D. (1992). Structural causes and regime consequences: Regimes as intervening variables. *International Organization*, 36(2), 185–205. https://www.jstor.org/stable/2706520

Krook, Mona Lena, & Jacqui True. (2012). Rethinking the life cycles of international norms: The United Nations and the global promotion of gender equality. *European Journal of International Relations*, 18(1), 1–25. https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066110380963

Lombardo, Emanuela, & Petra Meier. (2009). Framing gender equality in the European Union political discourse. *Social Politics*, 15(1), 101–129. https://doi.org/10.1093/sp/jxn001

Lovenduski, Joni, & Pippa Norris. (2003). Westminster women: The politics of presence. *Political Studies*, 51(1), 84–102. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9248.00414

Macharia, Sarah. (Ed.). (2015). *Who makes the news?* Global Media Monitoring Project 2015 reports. http://whomakesthenews.org/gmmp/gmmp-reports/gmmp-2015-reports

Makles, Anna. (2012). Stata tip 110: How to get the optimal k-means cluster solution. *Stata Journal*, 12, 347–351.

Martin Llaguno, Marta. (2016). Limiting market-driven freedom of expression by regulating sexist advertising in spain: An evaluation of and some shadows from the first decade. In Maria Edström, Andrew T. Kenyon, & Eva-Maria Svensson (Eds.), *Blurring the lines: Market-driven and democracy-driven freedom of expression* (pp. 177–184). Gothenburg: Nordicom, University of Gothenburg.

McLaughlin, Lisa, & Victor Pickard. (2005). What is bottom up about global Internet governance? *Global Media and Communication*, 1(3), 357–373. https://doi.org/10.1177/1742766505058129

Mooi, Erik, & Marko Sarstedt. (2011). *A concise guide to market research*. Berlin: Springer-Verlag.

Nastasia, Sorin, & Diana Iulia Nastasia. (2013). Bulgaria: Cinderella went to market, with consequences for women journalists. In Carolyn M. Byerly (Ed.), *The Palgrave international handbook of women and journalism* (pp. 27–38). New York: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137273246_3

Norris, Pippa, & Ronald Ingelhart. (2001). Women and democracy: Cultural obstacles to equal representation. *Journal of Democracy*, 12(3), 126–140. https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2001.0054

OAS (Organization of American States). (2014). *Declaration of Pachuca: "Strengthening efforts to prevent violence against women"*. https://www.oas.org/en/mesecvi/docs/DeclaracionPachuca-EN.pdf

OAS (Organization of American States). (1995). *Inter-American convention on the prevention, punishment and eradication of violence against women*. https://www.oas.org/juridico/english/treaties/a-61.html

Onuf, Nicholas. (1989). *World of our making: Rules and rule in social theory and international relations*. Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press.

Ostling, Alina, & Iva Nenadich. (2017). Public service media in Europe: Gender equality policies and the representation of women in decision-making roles. *Comunicazione politica, Journal of the Italian Association of Political Communication*, 2, 209–232. https://doi.org/10.3270/87221

Padovani, Claudia. (2014). Gaps in media and communication governance: Towards a gender-aware research and advocacy agenda. In UNESCO/IAMCR, *Media and gender: A scholarly agenda for the global alliance on media and gender* (pp. 55–61). Paris: UNESCO.

Padovani, Claudia (2016). Gendering the European digital agenda: The challenge of gender mainstreaming twenty years after the Beijing World Conference on Women. *Journal of Information Policy*, 6, 403–435. https://doi.org/10.5325/jinfopoli.6.2016.0403

Padovani, Claudia. (2018). Gender media policy research and communication governance. *Javnost – The Public*, 25(1–2), 256–264. https://doi.org/10.1080/13183222.2018.1423941

Padovani, Claudia. (2020). Gender and media policy. In Karen Ross (Ed.), *the international encyclopedia of gender, media, and communication* (pp. 518–528). Oxford: Wiley Blackwell. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781119429128

Padovani, Claudia, & Elena Pavan. (2016). Global governance of ICT: Exploring online governance networks around gender and media. *Global Networks*, 16(3), 350–371. https://doi.org/10.1111/glob.12119

Padovani, Claudia, & Elena Pavan. (Eds.). (2017). Gender, politics and the media: Lessons learned and struggles for change twenty years after the Beijing fourth world conference on women. *Comunicazione politica, Journal of the Italian Association of Political Communication*, 2. https://doi.org/10.3270/87219

Padovani, Claudia, & Leslie Shade. (2016). Introduction to the special issue: Gendering global media policy: Critical perspectives on "digital agendas". *Journal of Information Policy*, 6(1), 332–337. https://doi.org/10.5325/jinfopoli.6.2016.0332

Pollack, Mark, & Emily Hafner-Burton. (2000). Mainstreaming gender in the European Union. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 7(3), 435–456. https://doi.org/10.1080/13501760050086116

Rees, Theresa. (2005). Reflections on the uneven development of gender mainstreaming in Europe. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 7, 555–574. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616740500284532

Ross, Karen, & Claudia Padovani. (Eds.). (2017). *Gender equality in the media: A challenge for Europe*. London: Routledge.

Sarikakis, Katherine, & Eliane Thao Nguyen. (2009). The trouble with gender: Media policy and gender mainstreaming in the European Union. *Journal of European Integration*, 31(2), 201–216. https://doi.org/10.1080/07036330802642771

Schmidt, Verena. (2005). Gender mainstreaming: An innovation in Europe? The institutionalisation of gender mainstreaming in the European Commission. Opladen, Germany: Barbara Budrich.

Shade, Leslie Regan. (2014). Missing in action: Gender in Canada's digital economy agenda. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 39(4), 887–896. https://doi.org/10.1086/675542

Squires, Judith. (2005). Is gender mainstreaming transformative? Theorizing mainstreaming in the context of diversity and deliberation. *Social Politics*, 12(3), 366–388. https://doi.org/10.1093/sp/jxi020

Sundström, Aksel, Pamela Paxton, Yi-ting Wang, & Staffan I Lindberg. (2015). *Women's political empowerment: A new global index, 1900–2012*. Working Paper series 2015:19. Gothenburg: The Varieties of Democracy Institute, University of Gothenburg. http://hdl.handle.net/2077/41348

Svensson, Eva-Maria, & Maria Edström. (2014). Freedom of expression vs. gender equality: Conflicting values when regulating gender stereotypes in advertising. *Tidsskrift for Rettsvitenskap*, 127(5), 479–511.

Teorell, Jan, Stefan Dahlberg, Sören Holmberg, Bo Rothstein, Anna Khomenko, & Rickard Svensson. (2017). *The quality of government standard dataset, version Jan16*. Gothenburg: The Quality of Government (QoG) Institute, University of Gothenburg. https://doi.org/10.18157/QoGStdJan17

True, Jacqui. (2003). Mainstreaming gender in global public policy. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 5(3), 368–396. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461674032000122740

UNESCO. (2014). *UNESCO priority gender equality action plan (2014–2021)*. Paris: UNESCO. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000227222.locale=en

UNESCO. (2016). *Global survey on gender and media: Preliminary findings*. Paris: UNESCO.

United Nations. (1979*). Convention on the elimination of discrimination against women* (CEDAW) [A/RES/34/180]. https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/10649?ln=en

United Nations. (1995). Beijing declaration and platform for action. In *Report of the 4th world conference on women, Beijing, 4–15 September 1995* [A/CONF.177/20/Rev.1]. https://digital-library.un.org/record/250039?ln=en

Walby, Sylvia. (2004). The European Union and gender equality: Emergent varieties of gender regimes. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, *11*(1), 4–29. https://doi.org/10.1093/sp/jxh024

WSIS (World Summit on the Information Society). (2003). *Geneva declaration of principles. Building the information society: A global challenge in the new Millennium* [WSIS-03/GENEVA/DOC/0004]. https://www.itu.int/net/wsis/documents/doc_multi.asp?lang=en&id=1161%7C1160

Vega Montiel, Aimée, & Patricia Ortega Ramirez. (2013). Mexico: Structural challenges for women in the news media. In Carolyn M. Byerly (Ed.), *The Palgrave international handbook of women and journalism*. (pp. 284–300). New York: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137273246_21

Vega Montiel, Aimée. (2014a). Moving towards Beijing+20 – Latin American gender media policy developments. *Feminist Media Studies*, *14*(2), 330–334. https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2014.909140

Vega Montiel, Aimée. (Ed.). (2014b). *Media and gender: A scholarly agenda for the global alliance on media and gender* (UNESCO/IAMCR). Paris: UNESCO. http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/resources/publications-and-communication-materials/publications/full-list/media-and-gender-a-scholarly-agenda-for-the-global-alliance-on-media-and-gender/

Vega Montiel, Aimée. (2017). Critical issues on gender equality and ICTs in Latin America. In Yasmin Ibrahim (Ed.), *Politics, protest, and empowerment in digital spaces* (pp. 263–275). Hershey, Pennsylvania: IGI Global.

Verloo, Mieke. (Ed.). (2007). *Multiple meanings of gender equality*. Budapest: Central European University Press.

Walby, Sylvia. (2004). The European Union and gender equality: Emergent varieties of gender regimes. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, *11*(1), 4–29. https://doi.org/10.1093/sp/jxh024

Walby, Sylvia. (2005). Gender mainstreaming: Productive tensions in theory and practice. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, *12*(3), 321–343. https://doi.org/10.1093/sp/jxi018

Walby, Sylvia. (2009). *Globalization and inequalities*. London: Sage.

Welzel, Christian. (2003). Effective democracy, mass culture, and the quality of elites: The human development perspective. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, *43*, 269–298. https://doi.org/10.1177/002071520204300306

Wendt, Alexander. (1992). Anarchy is what states make of it: The social construction of power politics. *International Organization*, *46*(2), 391–425. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-23773-9_7

Wiener, Antje. (2007). Contested meanings of norms: A research framework. *Comparative European Politics*, *5*, 1–17. https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.cep.6110107

Wiener, Antje, & Puetter, Uwe. (2009). The quality of norms is what actors make of it: Critical constructivist research on norms. *Journal of International Law and International Relations*, *5*(1), 1–16. https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/jilwirl5&i=3

Wängnerud, Lena, & Marcus Samanni. (2009). *Driving forces behind gender equality – a cross country comparison* [Working papers 2009(28), Quality of Government Institute, University of Gothenburg, Sweden]. http://hdl.handle.net/2077/39082

Young, Mary Lynn, & Alison Beale. (2013). Canada: The paradox of women in the news. In Carolyn M. Byerly (Ed.), *The Palgrave international handbook of women and journalism*. (pp. 109–121). New York: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137273246_9

Appendix 3.1 List of 59 countries included in the analysis and their regional distribution

Countries		Regional distribution
Argentina	Madagascar	**MENA Region** Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco
Australia	Malawi	
Bangladesh	Mauritius	
Brazil	Mexico	**Sub-Saharan Africa** Cameroon, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, South Africa, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe
Bulgaria	Morocco	
Cameroon	Mozambique	
Canada	New Zealand	
Chile	Namibia	
China	Nigeria	
Democratic Republic of Congo	Norway	**Americas** Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Jamaica, Mexico, Puerto Rico, Peru, United States, Venezuela
	Pakistan	
Costa Rica	Peru	
Denmark	Philippines	
Dominican Republic	Poland	
Ecuador	Puerto Rico	
Egypt	Romania	**Asia and Oceania** Australia, Bangladesh, China, Fiji, India, Japan, New Zealand, Pakistan, Philippines, South Korea
Estonia	Russia	
Ethiopia	South Africa	
Fiji	South Korea	
Finland	Spain	
France	Sweden	**Eastern Europe** Bulgaria, Estonia, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Russia, Ukraine
Germany	Uganda	
Ghana	Ukraine	
Hungary	United Kingdom	
India	United States	**Nordic Europe** Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden
Israel	Venezuela	
Jamaica	Zambia	
Japan	Zimbabwe	**Western Europe** France, Germany, Spain, United Kingdom (including England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales)
Jordan		
Kenya		
Lebanon		
Lithuania		

Appendix 3.2 Variables and data sources

The GEM dataset

The pooled GEM dataset is compiled within the project, Comparing Gender and Media Equality Across the Globe (Färdigh et al., 2020). The GEM datasets include variables from a number of different sources. In order to allow for proper identification across studies and to link each variable to its original source, each variable name has been assigned a prefix that contains a reference to the original dataset, followed by the original variable name.

Variables considered in this chapter

The starting point for our analysis is data derived from the Global Report on the Status of Women in the News Media (IWMF in the GEM dataset; Byerly, 2011).

The International Women's Media Foundation (IWMF) is a Washington-based organisation that is dedicated to strengthening the role of women journalists worldwide. The Global Report on the Status of Women in the News Media, published in 2011, is their first international study of women in the news media. The data were collected between 2009–2010, when more than 150 researchers interviewed executives from 522 major media companies from across the world. The dataset includes detailed information on news operations with respect to men's and women's occupational standing, hiring and promotional policies, and other workplace practices. It also provides information about recruitment, training, policies related to advancement, news assignments, and a range of other issues that affect gender status in news organisations.

Dependent variables

Below, the variables from the IWMF study that have been included in the analysis as dependent variables are presented, along with the questions used in the IWMF questionnaire to collect the data:

- Policy on gender equality (iwmf_gendpol): Does your organisation have a stated policy with respect to gender equality in employment?

- Policy on sexual harassment (iwmf_sexpol): Does your organisation have a sexual harassment policy?

- Policy on maternity leave (iwmf_matpol): Does your organisation have a maternity leave policy?

- Policy on paternity leave (iwmf_patpol): Does your organisation have a paternity leave policy?

- Do women get same jobs back (iwmf_sjb): Do women get their same jobs when they return from maternity leave?

The variables measure the share of news companies which have adopted the above policies. The variable covers 59 country observations (2010) and the scale ranges between 0–100.

Independent variables

The contextual (independent) variables were retrieved from several different sources.

The Gender Gap Index (GGI) score (wef_ggi_score) is developed by the World Economic Forum (WEF) and examines the gap between men and women in four fundamental categories (sub-indexes). All indicators are measured as ratios – that is, outcomes for females in relation to outcomes for men. The four sub-indexes include: economic participation and opportunity (female labour force participation, wage equality between women and men for similar work, female estimated earned income, female legislators, senior officials and managers, female professional and technical workers); educational attainment (literacy, net primary enrolment, net secondary enrolment, gross tertiary enrolment); health and survival (sex ratio at birth, healthy life expectancy); and political empowerment (seats in parliament, ministerial level, number of years with female head of state over male value). The scale ranges between 1 (equality) and 0 (inequality).

The Gender Inequality Index (GII) score (undp_hdi_gii) is developed by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and measures gender inequalities in achievements in three dimensions of inequality between women and men: reproductive health (maternal mortality and adolescent birth rate); empowerment (population with at least secondary education and share of parliamentary seats); and the labour market (labour force participation rates). The scale ranges between 0 (equality) and 1 (inequality). In the analysis, the scores have been reversed to provide a measure of equality instead of inequality.

A range of variables are retrieved from the Quality of Government (QoG) dataset (Teorell et al., 2017), which is published by the QoG Institute at the University of Gothenburg. The QoG Institute offers a range of datasets on indicators for quality of government and all things related. For this particular study, we used the following variables from QoG:

- The democracy index (qog_fh_ipolity2) is originally retrieved from Freedom House/Polity. This version includes imputed values. The scale ranges from 0 (least democratic) to 10 (most democratic).

- The Human Development Index (HDI) (qog_undp_hdi) is originally produced by the UNDP, and it is a summary measure of average achievement in key dimensions of human development: 1) a long and healthy life, 2) being knowledgeable, and 3) having a decent standard of living. The HDI is the geometric mean of normalised indices for each of the three dimensions. The health dimension is assessed by life expectancy at birth. The education dimension is measured by mean of years of schooling for adults aged 25 years and over, and expected years of schooling for children of school-entering age. The standard of living dimension is measured by gross national income (GNI) per capita. The HDI uses the logarithm of income to reflect the diminishing importance of income with increasing GNI. The scores for the three HDI dimension indices are then aggregated into a composite index using geometric mean.

- The indicators for women's economic rights (qog_ciri_wecon), women's political rights (qog_ciri_wopol), and women's social rights (qog_ciri_wosoc) are originally retrieved from the Human Rights Dataset (Cingranelli et al., 2014). In the present study, all 59 IWMF countries are included, and data refers to 2010 for economic rights and political rights and 2007 for social rights. The indicators set out to measure the extensiveness of flaws pertaining to women's rights and government practices towards women, or how effectively the government enforces the laws. The scale varies from 0–3 where 0 indicates that there are no economic or political rights for women under law, and systematic discrimination based on sex may be built into the law, and 3 indicates that all or nearly all of women's economic and political rights are guaranteed by law.

Finally, we referred to a set of variables from the Varieteis of Democracy (V-dem) dataset (Coppedge et al., 2017). V-dem covers 177 countries on a broad range of indicators of democracy; political systems as well as elections, women's political empowerment (Sundström et al., 2015), and civil society participation. Approximately half of the indicators in the V-dem dataset are based on factual information obtainable from official documents. The other half consists of more subjective assessments on topics like political practices and compliance with de jure rules; on such issues, typically five experts provide ratings. Country experts provide data on country, variable, and year. V-dem's methodology assumes that they have a minimum of five country experts for every country-variable-year. Most variables are measured on an ordinal scale, but are converted to an interval scale by the specific measurement model used by V-dem. For this particular study, we used the following variables from V-dem:

- GDP per capita, logged base 10 (vdem_mad_gdppcln) ranges from 5.32–10.36.

- Women's political participation index (vdem_genpp) (Sundström et al., 2015): This index measures the extent to which women are represented in formal political positions. Coders have been asked to include both women's descriptive representation in the legislature and equal share in the overall distribution of power. The index is formed by taking the average of the indicators for lower chamber female legislators (v2lgfemleg, standardised) and power distributed by gender (v2pepwrgen).

- Women's civil society organisation participation (vdem_csgender): This variable measures the extent to which women can freely participate in civil society organisations (CSOs). The expert coders were asked to pay attention to 1) whether women are prevented from participating in CSOs because of their gender, and 2) whether CSOs pursuing women's interests are prevented from taking part in associational life. The scale is ordinal (0 = almost always; 1 = frequently; 2 = about half the time; 3 = rarely; 4 = almost never) but converted to interval by the measurement model applied by V-dem (the V-dem name is v2csgender).

- Women's civil liberties index (vdem_gencl): This index measures to which extent women have the ability to make meaningful decisions in key areas of their lives. Women's civil liberties are understood to include freedom of domestic movement, the right to private property, freedom from forced labour, and access to justice. The index is formed by taking the point estimates from a Bayesian factor analysis model of the V-dem indicators for freedom of domestic movement for women (v2cldmovew), freedom from forced labour for women (v2clslavef), property rights for women (v2clprptyw), and access to justice for women (v2clacjstw). The original variables included in the index are measured on an ordinal scale, but are converted to interval by the measurement model by V-dem.