

GENDER INEQUALITY IN INDIAN MEDIA

A Preliminary Analysis



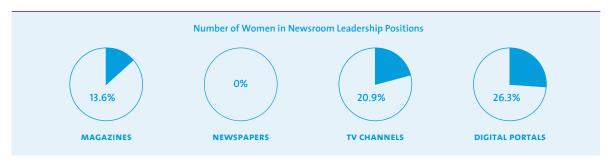
TABLE OF CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	1
INTRODUCTION	4
METHODOLOGY	5
RESEARCH LIMITATIONS	7
SECTIONS	
English Newspapers	9
Hindi Newspapers	13
English Television News	17
Hindi Television News	21
Digital Media	25
Magazines	29
Radio	33
APPENDIX	34
PROJECT TEAM	36

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Leadership Positions

We calculated the representation of women in newsroom leadership positions¹. A journalist was defined to hold a leadership position if they were designated editor-in-chief, managing editor, executive editor, bureau chief, or input/output editor. A journalist holding more than one of these positions in the same newsroom was counted only once. The table below shows what we found.



English Newspapers

- Women comprise about 25% of those who write news stories, features, analyses, and opinion pieces, and byline 20.4% of all articles.
- In the top decile of writers by the number of articles published, women's representation is the highest in The Economic Times (32.7%) and the lowest in The Telegraph (14.3%).
- Women byline 27% of front page articles and just 5.9% of sports stories.
- Women get to contribute more articles on Science and Technology (33.3%), Culture and Entertainment (32.8%), and Public Life (32.6%) than on Sports (6%), Defence and National Security (10.5%), and Politics (19.8%).
- Merely 2.6% of all articles are on gender issues and only 39.6% of these are written by women.

Hindi Newspapers

- Women comprise about 17.1% of those who write news stories, features, analyses, and opinion pieces, and byline 11.1% of all articles.
- In the top decile of writers by the number of articles published, women's representation is the highest in Amar Ujala (18.9%) while Rajasthan Patrika does not have a single woman in the top decile.
- Women byline just 5% of front page articles and a dismal 2.7% of sports stories.

¹ Data not available for CNN News 18 India, Rajya Sabha TV, Navbharat Times and Dainik Bhaskar.

Hindi Newspapers

- Women get to contribute more articles on Environment and Energy (16.9%), International Affairs (15.2%), and Public Life (14.6%) than on Defence and National Security (4%), Crime and Accident (4.7%), and Sports (4.9%).
- Merely 3% of all articles are on issues related to gender and only 34.6% of these are written by women.

English Television News

- Women appear in 15.7% of all flagship debates and comprise 22.4% of the panellists on average.
- Over 53% of the debates feature all-male panels.
- NDTV 24x7 has 29.5% women in the top decile of panellists by TV appearance while Rajya Sabha TV has none.
- Few female panellists are bureaucrats, defence experts, financial experts, or think tank representatives.
- Women make up 34.7% and 29.7% of the panels discussing, respectively, Public Life and Culture and Entertainment. They are absent from panels debating issues related to Science and Technology.
- Only 7.5% of all flagship debates are on gender issues and women comprise 55.6% of the panellists participating in them.

Hindi Television News

- Women appear in just 8.3% of all flagship debates and comprise 9.3% of the panellists on average.
- Over 70% of the debates feature all-male panels.
- NDTV India has 13.9% women in its top decile of panellists by TV appearance while Rajya Sabha TV, India TV, and News18 India have none.
- There is no female panellist who is a bureaucrat, defence expert, financial expert, or a think tank representative.
- Women make up 33.3% of the panels discussing Science and Technology matters but are absent from panels debating issues related to Sports.
- Only 3.2% of all flagship debates are on gender issues and women comprise 47.8% of the panellists participating in them.

Digital Media

- Women comprise 35.4% of the writers and byline 39.8% of all articles.
- The top decile of writers by the number of articles published is entirely female in The Ken while Newslaundry (Hindi) does not have a single woman in the top decile.
- Women contribute more articles than men on State and Policy (58.4%), Crime and Accident (53.5%), Culture and Entertainment (51.3%), and Public Life (50.3%).
- Just 3.7% of all articles discuss gender issues and 63.6% of these are written by women.

Magazines

- Women comprise about 27.1% of the writers and byline 25.8% of all articles.
- The top decile of writers by the number of articles published is entirely female in The Caravan and Femina while Frontline, Tehelka, Outlook (Hindi), and Sarita do not have a single woman in the top decile.
- Women get to contribute many more articles on Culture and Entertainment (42.4%) and Public Life (38.1%) than on Defence and National Security (7.8%), International Affairs (11.1%), and Politics (14.8%).
- Just 7.8% of all articles discuss gender issues and 57.1% of these are written by women.

Radio

- In only two of the 10 cities covered by this study, women outnumber men as radio jockeys across stations.
- In all the cities except Delhi and Kolkata, at least half of Radio Mirchi's presenters are women. Big FM employs more female than male hosts in Patna and Bhopal, and none in Chandigarh.

INTRODUCTION

The media plays an influential role in modern society. By reporting, framing and interpreting news, it helps mobilise citizens on socio-political issues. Increasingly, people look to the media not only to be informed but to shape their opinions as well. It is, therefore, imperative for the media to reflect in its work and, indeed, workplaces the diversity of its audiences, including gender diversity.

Yet, the media today is largely male-dominated, in India and across the world. Women are often assigned to cover 'soft beats' such as Lifestyle and Fashion while men predominate in the 'hard beats' of Politics, Economy, and Sports. Men also occupy the majority of the leadership positions. By thus marginalising women's voices and perspectives, the Indian media essentially denies nearly a half of the population a chance to influence public opinion. This runs counter to the principles of fairness, equality, and democracy.

Such is the imbalance in power and representation that it is often men who get to speak even on women's issues. This only serves to entrench patriarchal structures and prejudices. As Sandra Harding points out, a woman's perspective cannot be claimed; only after experiencing and being in her social position can an unjust social order be critiqued.

Article 15 of the Indian constitution safeguards women against discrimination on the basis of their sex while Article 39(d) secures equal pay for equal work for both men and women. But gender inequality and female underrepresentation persist in almost all spheres of the country's life. Women's contribution, whether at home or the workplace, continues to be devalued, and they continue to be underpaid or unpaid. They are also exploited and preyed upon; the MeToo movement last year bared in disturbing detail a culture of sexual harassment and abuse, especially in the entertainment industry and the media.

It is thus the media industry's responsibility to engage with the issue of gender diversity in its work and workspaces. This quantitative study, we hope, will offer a foundation for examining the issue and furthering its understanding.

The study sifts through Hindi and English newspapers, TV channels, news websites, magazines and radio stations to produce a comprehensive report on women's representation in the Indian media. It shows that women are underrepresented across print, broadcast, and digital media. Few women get to write or speak about the Economy, Sports, Defence, and International Affairs. Comparatively more women cover Culture, Entertainment, and Public Life but still far fewer than their population demands.

The report, in sum, provides substantial evidence that women continue to be denied their fair share of opportunities to shape public opinion in India.

METHODOLOGY

We used the method of 'byline count' to determine the representation of women in print and digital media. Every bylined article was categorised according to the gender of the writer, and the proportion of articles written by women was calculated. The same method is used by researchers elsewhere to study gender diversity in the media.

As for broadcast media, the gender of the anchor or debate panellist was deduced from their appearance, and verified against their publicly available profiles.

Platform Selection

We analysed news content, published in Hindi and English, across the four platforms of newspapers, TV channels, news websites, magazines, and radio stations.

We selected six English and seven Hindi newspapers based on their ranking in the Indian Readership Survey of 2018 and the availability of online archives.

In case of the English newspapers, we used editions from cities where they had the highest circulation or where they were headquartered. Since most of the Hindi newspapers did not have national editions, we looked at their city editions from various Hindispeaking states.

TV debate shows provide a window onto the agendasetting capacity of broadcast media. Channels invite 'panellists' to discuss the important events of the day. They can be spokespersons of political parties or civil society organisations, or individuals considered 'subject experts' or 'authorities' on a particular subject.

By analysing the gender composition of TV debate panels, we sought to find out who the media considered credible opinion makers and, simultaneously, who it was that various organisations and political parties saw as their credible representatives.

We chose six English and as many Hindi news channels that featured at the top of the annual ratings for 2018 released by the Broadcast Audience Research Council India. These included the state-run Rajya Sabha TV, which airs debate shows in both Hindi

and English. Although ABP News was among the five top-rated Hindi channels, its debate shows were not available online. So, we replaced it with Republic Bharat, which was launched in February 2019. We chose six English and as many Hindi news channels that featured at the top of the annual ratings for 2018 released by the Broadcast Audience Research Council India. These included the state-run Rajya Sabha TV, which airs debate shows in both Hindi and English. Although ABP News was among the five top-rated Hindi channels, its debate shows were not available online. So, we replaced it with Republic Bharat, which was launched in February 2019.

We chose six English and as many Hindi news channels that featured at the top of the annual ratings for 2018 released by the Broadcast Audience Research Council India. We also included the state-run Rajya Sabha TV, which airs debate shows in both Hindi and English. Although ABP News was among the five top-rated Hindi channels, its debate shows were not available online. So, we replaced it with Republic Bharat, which was launched in February 2019.

In case of digital media, we picked 11 websites at random based on the availability of their content on MediaCloud, an open-source software tool for media analysis.

Similarly, we randomly chose a few prominent magazines covering a range of interests without necessarily looking at their readership numbers. These included a sports weekly, a business publication, and two magazine whose target audience is women.

Five radio channels broadcast in Hindi and English across 10 cities were chosen at random as well.

Content Analysis

We collected data from the front page of each newspaper as well as its opinion, economy and sports pages published over a six-month period, from October 2018 to March 2019. The data was entered manually.

For Television channels, only their flagship debates were considered. While the English channels aired such shows in the prime time slot between 8 pm and 11 pm during the period of study, some of the Hindi channels did so in the evening slot, from 5 pm to 7 pm. The data was collected by watching the debates and entered manually. The selected programmes are listed in the appendix

Given the volume of their content, the digital outlets presented a unique problem. So, we used MediaCloud to collect relevant data. In addition, since these websites published tens of thousands of articles during the six months of study, we restricted our analysis to a smaller set of writers — those with at least five articles to their name.

In case of the magazines, we limited our analysis to the lead story of each issue and the stories highlighted on the cover page.

The raw data collected from all these archives included:

- 1) Name of the outlet
- 2) Date of publication or broadcast
- 3) Page title or programme slot
- 4) Name and gender of the writer(s)
- 5) Name and gender of the anchor(s)
- 6) Name and gender of the panellist

Where an article was written by multiple people, each writer was considered to have penned it separately. Articles by news agencies, news desks, editors, or unnamed correspondents were not considered.

The articles and debates were categorised under eleven 'topics'. We tried to keep the topics as mutually exclusive as possible but it wasn't always possible. So, occasionally, we used discretion to file an article or a debate under a particular category after considering its content and context.

The articles and debates were further categorised as being about gender if ideas, contestations, or movements around gender were their central theme. For example, articles and debates on the issue of women's entry into Kerala's Sabarimala temple, MeToo movement, Transgender Bill, crime against women. This category was separated from the 11-topic list as gender issues cut across topics. Thus, an article on the MeToo movement was filed under the topic of Crime and Accident and also labelled 'Article on Gender'.

Participants in TV debates were categorised on the basis of their professional background – they either represented their political groups or official positions, or were subject experts – and divided into 14 'fields'.

Data Collection

The writers and panellists were classified as Male, Female, and Other. The gender of each writer was determined from their Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn, or Wikipedia profile, or through bios on the website of their organisation. The gender of each panellist was deduced after watching the debate. Care was taken to ensure the writers or panellists who did not identify as male or female were marked as 'Other'. Where a person's gender was neither publicly available nor discernible – for example, the byline consisted of only the surname – it was marked as 'Can't say'.

RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

We used a range of methods to make our research robust and to reduce margins of error. Constraints of time and resources, however, imposed certain limitations as explained below.

Data Collection

We used an open-source software tool to collect data from digital media. For newspapers, TV news channels, and magazines, we had to compile the data manually. Our team of over 20 members collected around 65,000 entries. Though we had a streamlined process of data collection and quality checks in place, there might have been some errors leading to duplication of names, mismatched entries and such.

Topics and Fields

Data analysis demands objectivity in classification and categorisation. Our research subject and data variables, however, made this difficult. For example, we categorised all bylined articles according to the topic of discussion. But an article can cover multiple topics. In such a case, we tried to situate it in context and then used discretion in categorisation. Similarly, a TV panellist advocating a political party's viewpoint while working for an NGO was listed under only one 'field' based on the topic of the debate. Again, this might have resulted in some overlaps. Our team believes that we came up with credible analytical points, although it would be inconsistent to put a precise number to the margin of error.

Sampling

While the newspapers for this study were selected on the basis of certain parameters – the Indian Readership Survey, the availability of online archives – TV news channels, magazines, digital outlets, and radio networks – were chosen more randomly, mainly based on their prominence. So, our sample should not be seen as being representative of the Indian media.

Correlation

We do not claim that there will always be a correlation between the data presented in this report and the content produced by the media. For example, comparing articles on gender issues published by different outlets, there might be a case where a newspaper is carrying more such articles with the aim of building opinion in favour of what might be considered a gender-insensitive position. The data points only indicate the extent to which gender issues are discussed, not whether they are presented or understood in their proper context.

This report should be seen as a preliminary step towards quantifying gender diversity in the Indian media, and an invitation to conduct further research on the subject.

ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS

Of the 2,963 writers whose articles appeared in the six English newspapers during the period of study, only a quarter were women. And of the articles published, only 20% were by women. Their share of the bylines was less than the average in The Telegraph (11.8%) and The Hindu (15.5%). [Figure A]

The absence of women was even more pronounced in the top decile of writers according to the number of articles published. Women constituted about a third of the top decile in The Economic Times but less than 20% in Hindustan Times, The Hindu, and The Telegraph. [Figure B]

FIGURE A
Overall gender composition

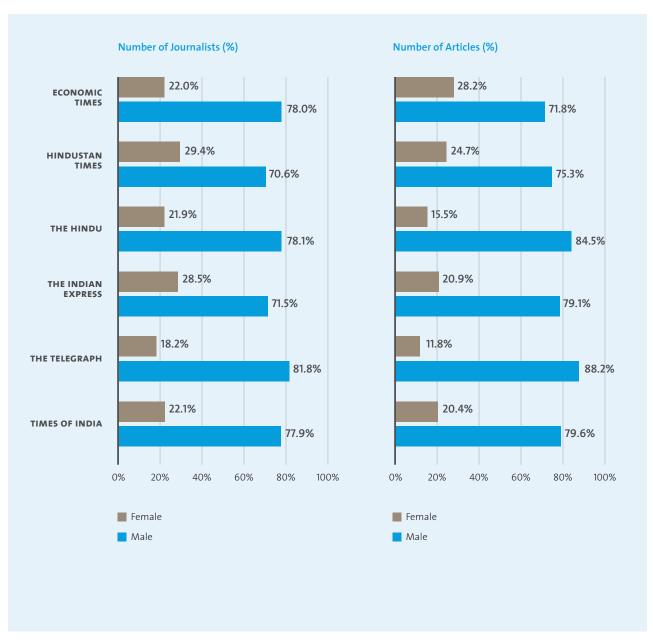
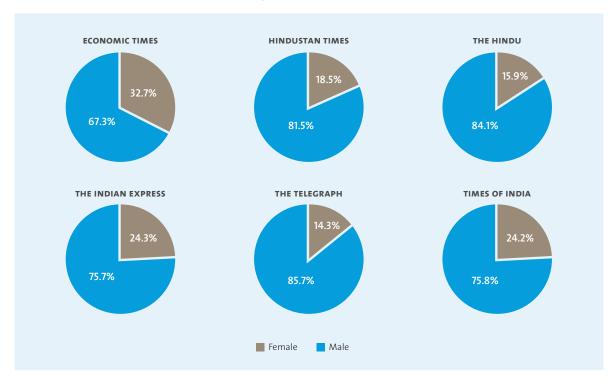


FIGURE B

Gender composition of the top decile by number of articles



Across the front, opinion and business pages of these newspapers, only about a quarter of the articles were credited to women.

This fell sharply to 6% on sports pages. Not surprisingly, given that women accounted for just 13.7% of the bylines on the sports pages. [Figure C]

It was the same story when the articles were analysed by topic. Apart from Sports, women got to write less on Politics as well as Defence and National Security.

FIGURE C
Gender composition by page

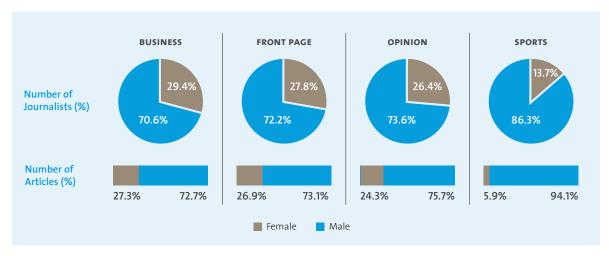
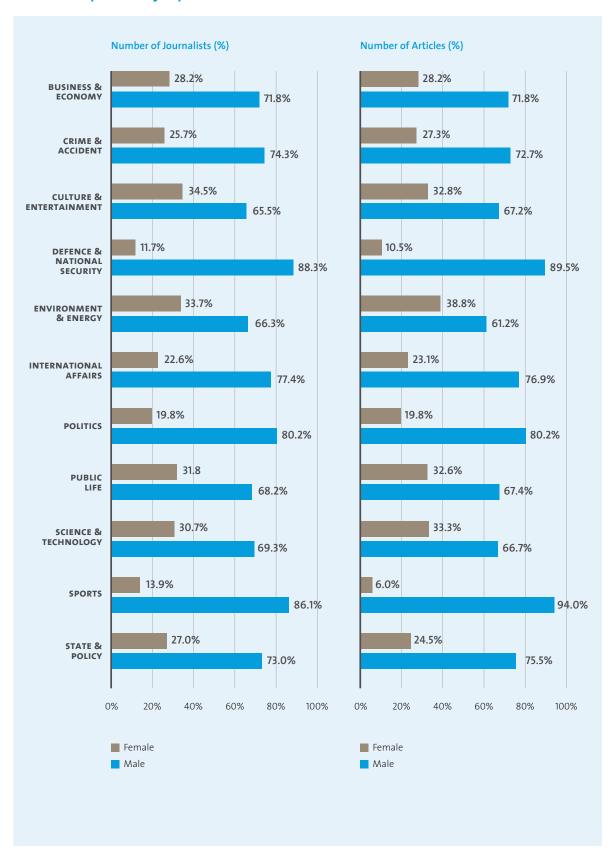


FIGURE D

Gender composition by topic



In contrast, women bylined over 30% of the articles on Culture and Entertainment, Environment and Energy, and Public Life, and a third of the articles on Science and Technology. [Figure D]

Of the 17,311 articles analysed, only 457 were on gender issues, or less than 3%. Of all such articles published in The Telegraph and The Hindu, just 17.9%

Of the 17,312 articles analysed, only 457 were on gender issues, or less than 3%.

and 24.1%, respectively, were bylined by women. In the other four English newspapers, over half of the articles on gender issues were by women. [Figure E]

FIGURE E
Gender composition by articles on gender issues



HINDI NEWSPAPERS

Between October 2018 and March 2019, the seven Hindi newspapers selected for this study published 2,084 writers and no more than 17% of them were women. Of the 6,806 articles that appeared during this period, an average of 11% were by women. Prabhat Khabar, Punjab Kesari and Rajasthan Patrika had women write less than 10% of the bylined articles. [Figure A]

Just as in case of the English newspapers, women's representation was even more skewed in the top decile of writers by the number of bylines. Women made up nearly 20% of the top decile in Amar Ujala but less than 7% in Hindustan and around 5% each in Rajasthan Patrika and Punjab Kesari. [Figure B]

FIGURE A
Overall gender composition

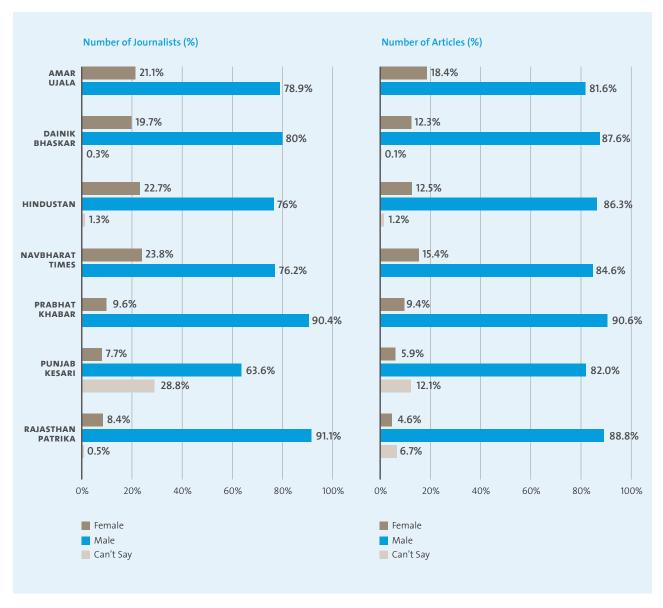
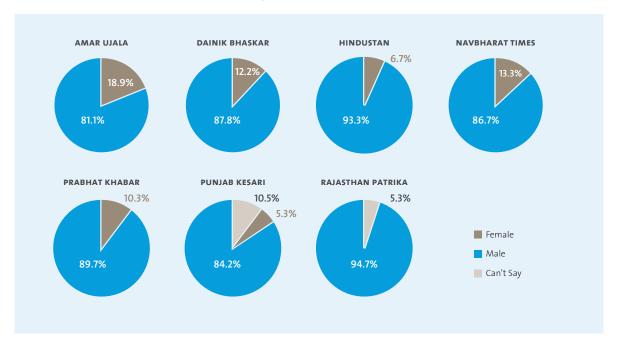


FIGURE B

Gender composition of the top decile by number of articles



This was consistent with the trend of few women landing front page bylines. Only 5% of the articles published on the front pages of the seven newspapers were by women. The figure fell to 2.7% on sports pages. [Figure C].

Only 5% of the articles published on the front pages of the seven newspapers were by women.

FIGURE C
Gender composition by page

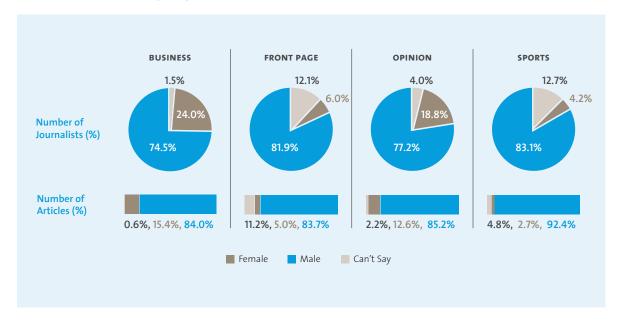
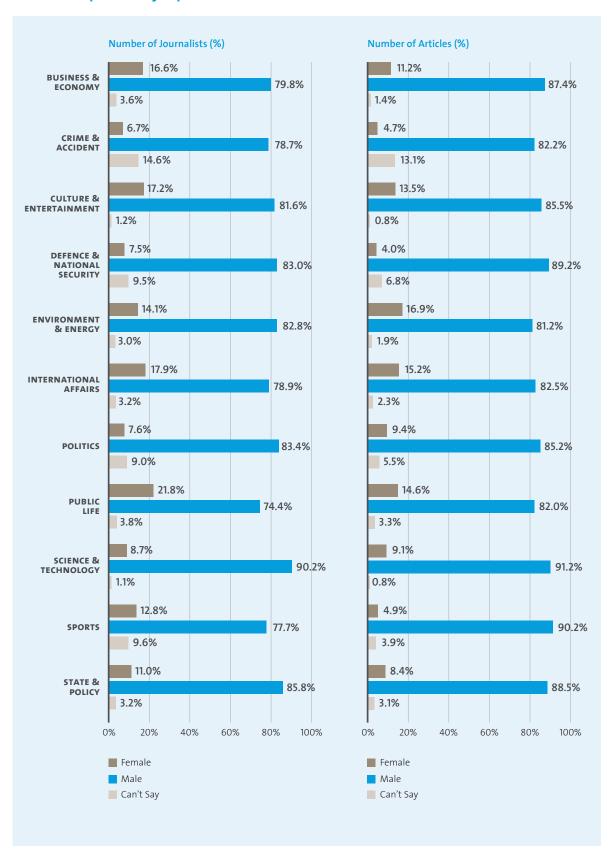


FIGURE D

Gender composition by topic



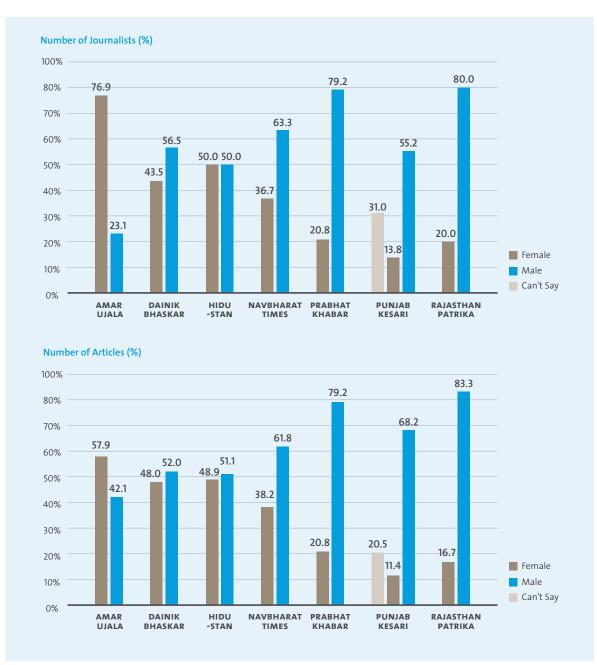
Save for International Affairs and Environment and Energy, women wrote no more than 15% of the articles on all topics, with their share of bylines dropping below 5% in case of Crime and Accident, Defence and National Security, and Sports. [Figure D]

While all seven newspapers carried articles on gender issues, only five did so on their front pages. There were just 205 articles, or 3% of the total

Only 3% of the articles published across these newspapers covered gender issues.

articles, that covered articles on issues of gender. Women bylined 58% of such articles in Amar Ujala but only 17% in Rajasthan Patrika and a measly 11% in Punjab Kesari. [Figure E]

FIGURE E
Gender composition by articles on gender issues



ENGLISH TELEVISION NEWS

The seven English TV news channels chosen for this study together aired 1,967 shows of their flagship debates during the period under consideration. A total of 1,906 individuals participated in these debates of whom women were less than a quarter. And women accounted for just 15.7% of the appearances by these panellists, meaning male panellists on average attended, or were invited to, 50% more debates than their female counterparts. [Figure A]

The abundance of all-male panels shows the extent of women's underrepresentation on TV debates. NDTV 24x7 featured the lowest proportion of all-male panels at 38.5% of its debates. Rajya Sabha TV had the highest at 82%. [Figure B]

FIGURE A

Overall gender composition

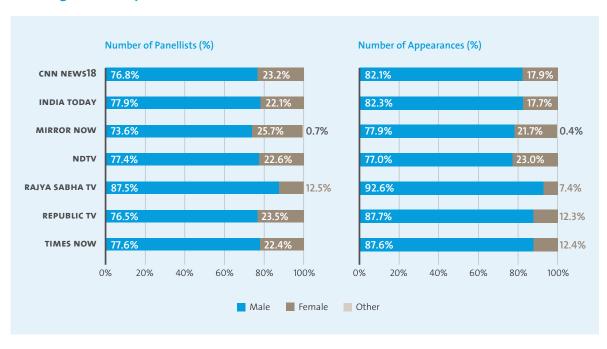


FIGURE B
Proportion of all-male panels

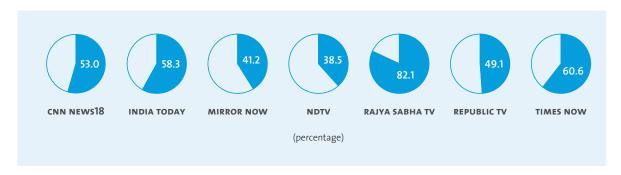
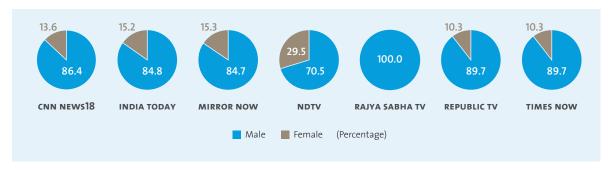


FIGURE C
Gender composition of the top decile by TV appearance



The representation of women in the top decile of panellists by appearance was 10%-15%, rising to almost 30% at NDTV 24x7. In contrast, no woman featured in the top decile of panellists on Rajya Sabha TV. [Figure C]

Representation of woman panellists who were bureaucrats, defence experts, financial experts, or think tank representatives was particularly low. [Figure D]

FIGURE D

Gender composition by field

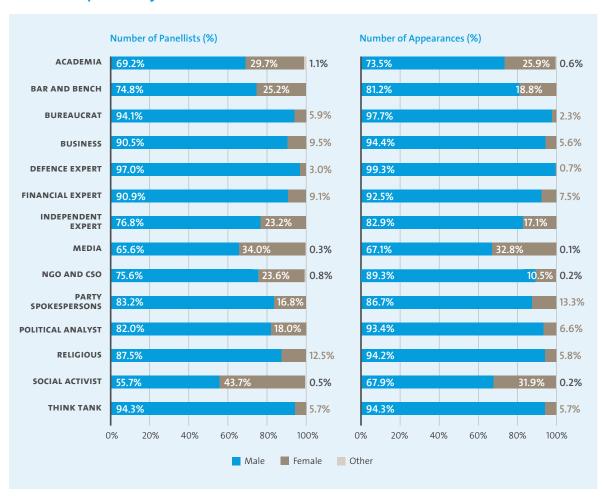


FIGURE E Gender composition by topic

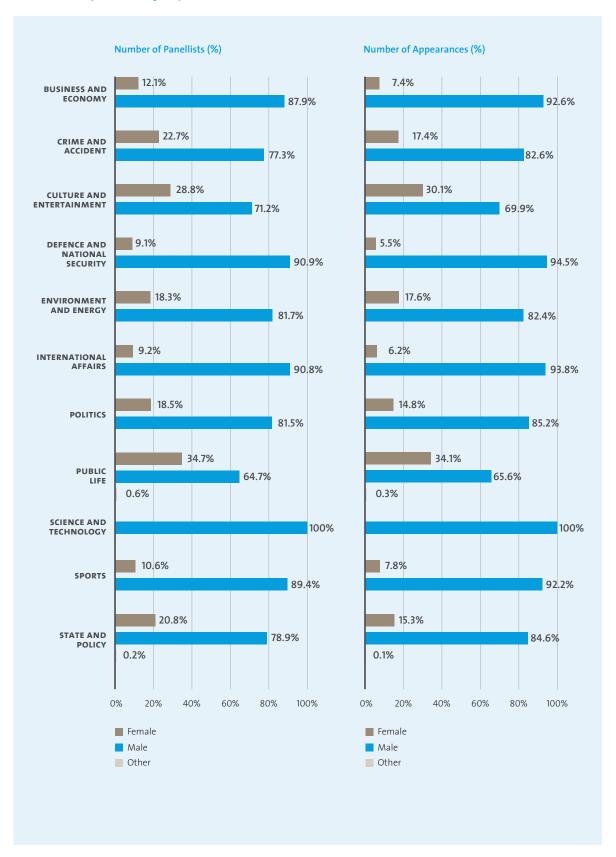


FIGURE F
Gender composition of panels debating gender issues

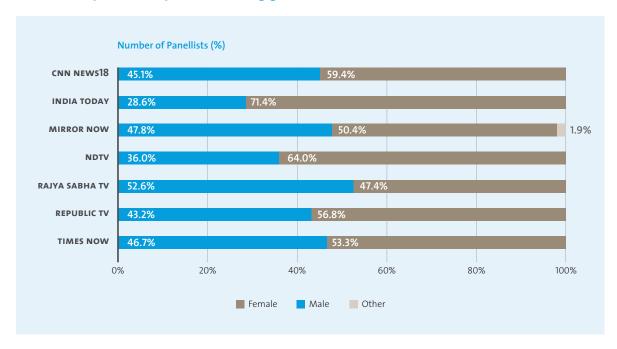
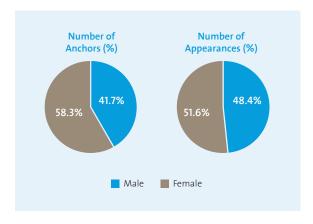


FIGURE G
Gender composition of anchors moderating debates



Women were similarly underrepresented when the panellists were categorised by topic. They made up about a quarter of the panels discussing issues of Culture and Entertainment or Public Life but were completely absent from debates related to Science and Technology. [Figure E]

The only area where women enjoyed fair representation was anchoring.

About 7.5% of the debates across the channels covered gender issues. The panels for these debates had roughly equal gender representation, although women comprised 64% of the panellists on NDTV 24x7 and 71% on India Today. Mirror Now was the only channel that invited panellists who did not identify with either gender, for a debate on the Transgender Bill after it was introduced in the parliament. [Figure F]

The only area where women enjoyed fair representation was anchoring. The seven channels together featured 20 male and 28 female anchors during the period under consideration, and they moderated roughly an equal number of shows. [Figure G]

HINDI TELEVISION NEWS

The seven Hindi news channels studied for this report telecast 1,185 debates from October 2018 to March 2019. A total of 1,252 individuals participated in these debates but only 12% were women. Male panellists attended far more debates than their female counterparts, who accounted for less than 9% of the total appearances. [Figure A]

Over half of the debates across these channels featured all-male panels, with the figure rising to nearly 75% in case of India TV and NDTV India. [Figure B]

No woman featured in the top decile of panellists by appearance on News18 India, India TV, and Rajya Sabha TV. [Figure C]

FIGURE A

Overall gender composition

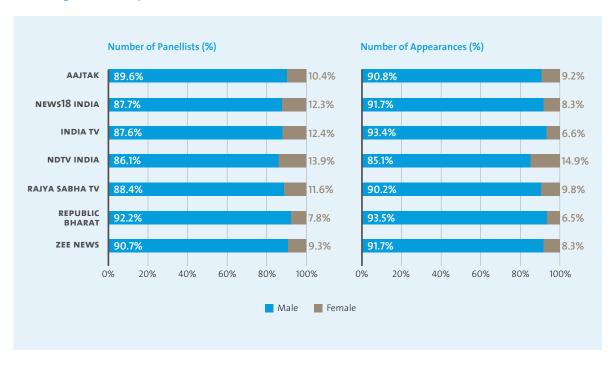


FIGURE B
Proportion of all-male panels

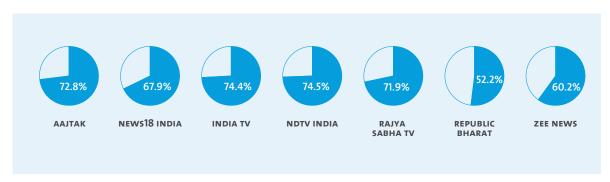
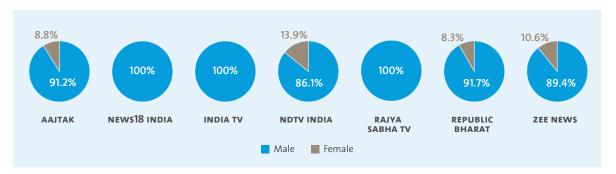


FIGURE C
Gender composition of the top decile by TV appearance

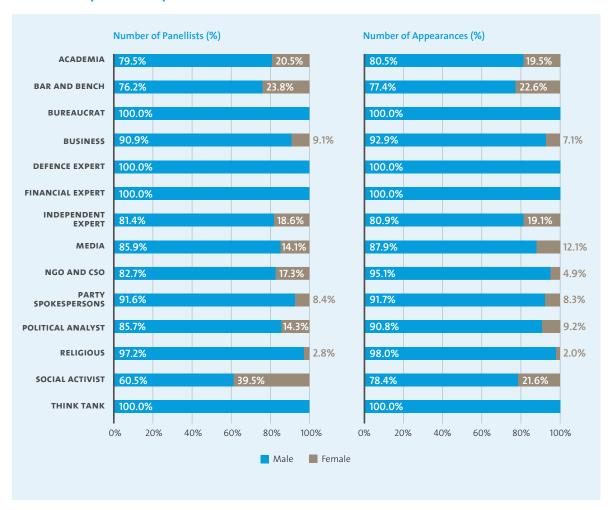


Not a single woman panellist was a bureaucrat, defence or financial expert, or represented a think tank. For debates on Defence and National Security, women were invited mostly in their capacity as

spokespersons of political parties. Even then, they made up less than 9% of the panels debating such subjects. [Figure D]

FIGURE D

Gender composition of panels



Women's representation rose to about a quarter in panels debating matters related to Culture and Entertainment or Public Life, and to a third in

panels debating Science and Technology matters. [Figure E]

FIGURE E

Gender composition by topic

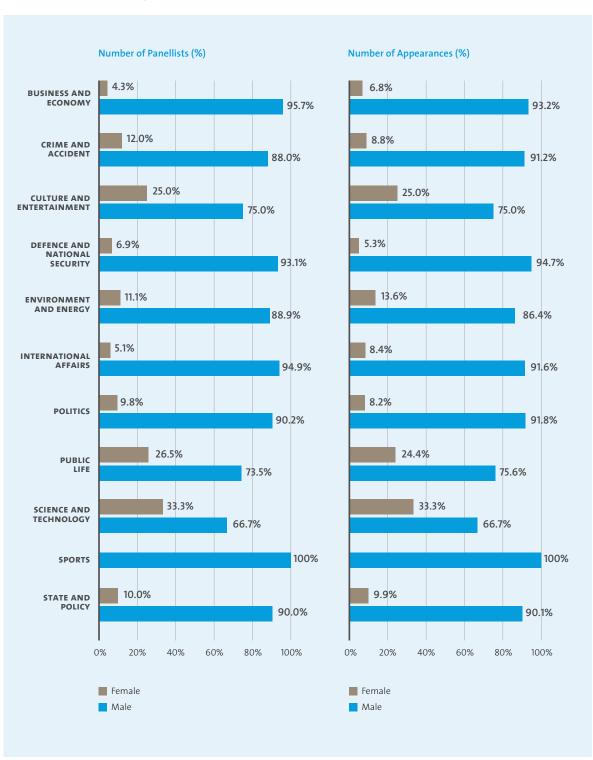


FIGURE F
Gender composition of panels debating gender issues

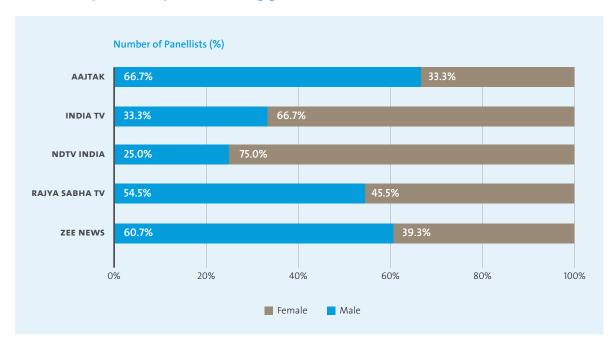
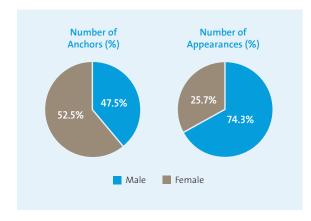


FIGURE G
Gender composition of anchors moderating debates



Not a single woman panellist was a bureaucrat, defence or financial expert, or represented a think tank.

Only five of the channels aired debates on gender issues, even though the period under consideration coincided with the MeToo allegations and the agitation against women's entry into Kerala's Sabarimala temple. And even in debates on gender issues, women were underrepresented. A debate on 'Maternal Health and Challenges' on Rajya Sabha TV, for example, had one female panellist and four men. The same channel conducted a debate on 'The Global Nutrition Report 2018' and invited a male official to represent even the Ministry of Women and Child Development. [Figure F]

The only area where women had equal representation to men was anchoring. There were 21 female and 19 male anchors across the seven channels. Men, however, still anchored three times as many debates as women. [Figure G]

DIGITAL MEDIA

Women were better represented online than in newspapers or on TV.

We studied eleven digital media outlets published in English and a couple published in Hindi. Together, from October 2018 to March 2019, these outlets posted articles by 1,124 writers. On average,

women were better represented online than in newspapers or on TV, accounting for over a third of the writers and nearly 40% of all articles. The proportion of women's bylines, though, fell to 7.4% in Newslaundry (Hindi), 14.9% in Swarajya, and 16.5% in Satyagrah. [Figure A]

FIGURE A

Overall gender composition

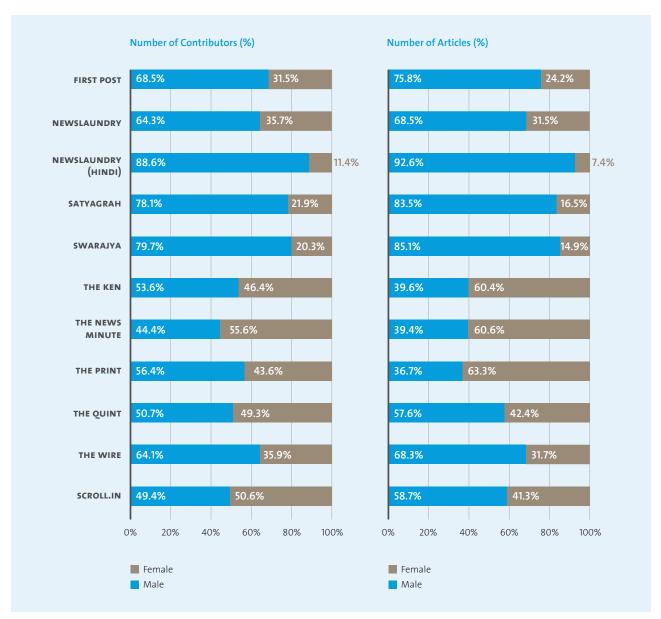
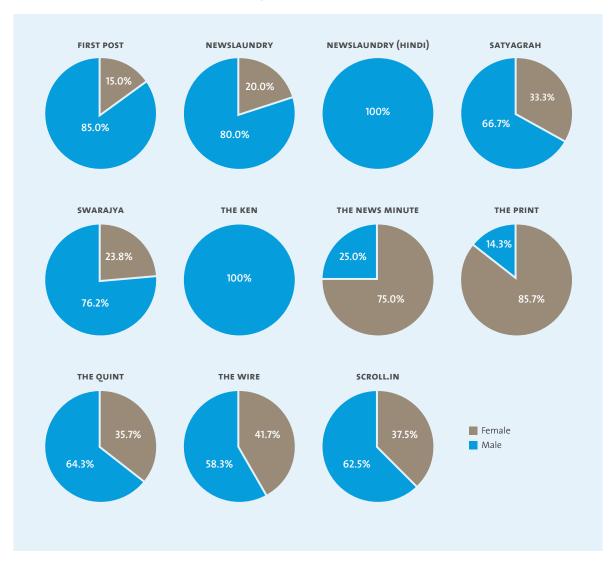


FIGURE B

Gender composition of the top decile by number of articles



There was greater variance in gender representation of the top decile by the number of articles published. On the one hand, the top decile in The Ken was entirely female. On the other, not one woman featured in the top decile at Newslaundry (Hindi). The top deciles at The Print and The News Minute were heavily dominated by women in sharp contrast to Firstpost, Newslaundry, and Swarajya. [Figure B]

Over half of the articles on Crime and Accident, Culture and Entertainment, State and Policy, and Public Life were written by women. In contrast, women bylined few articles on Sports and Science and Technology. [Figure C]

The top deciles at The Print and The News Minute were heavily dominated by women.

While women contributed many more articles on gender issues than men on average, Newslaundry (Hindi) and Swarajya again trailed. In all, though, only 3.7% of of the around 21,000 articles discussed gender issues. [Figure D]

FIGURE C

Gender composition by topic

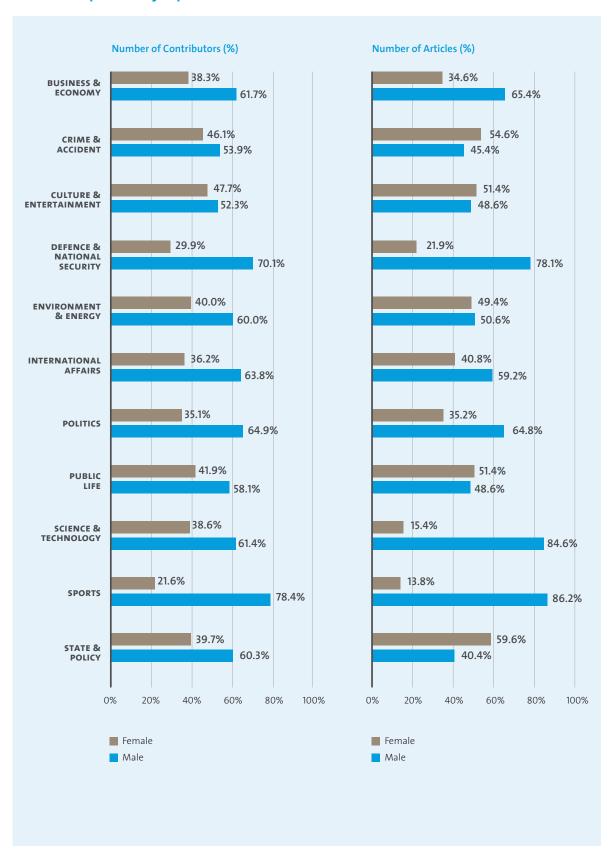
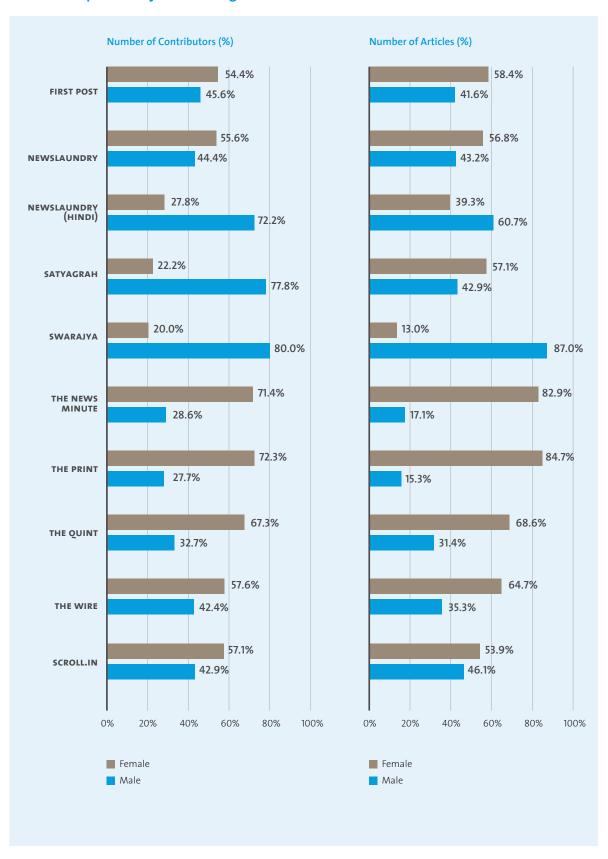


FIGURE D

Gender composition by articles on gender issues



MAGAZINES

The 12 magazines chosen for this study covered an array of interests, from Politics and International Affairs to Sports and Gender Issues, and all followed the broad media trend of men predominating. Femina was the sole exception. Sarita, a Hindi magazine whose target audience is women, featured more male writers than female during the six months covered by the study. [Figure A]

The top decile of writers by the number of articles published was entirely female in The Caravan and Femina, but entirely male in Frontline, Organiser, Outlook (Hindi) and Sarita. [Figure B]

Only three of the magazines carried articles on Defence and National Security and Sports that were written by women. Across the dozen magazines,

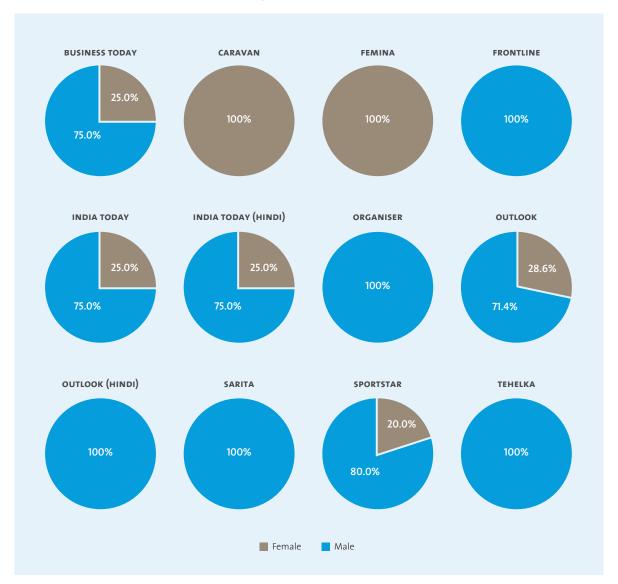
FIGURE A

Overall gender composition



FIGURE B

Gender composition of the top decile by number of articles



merely two of the articles on International Affairs were bylined by women, one of them a foreigner. There was not one article on Science and Technology by a woman. Culture and Entertainment was the only topic on which women wrote nearly as much as men. [Figure C]

Only nine of the magazines carried articles on gender issues during the period under consideration. Business Today, Sportstar, and even Femina did not carry any article that could be classified as being about gender on their cover page. Frontline, Organiser, and Outlook (Hindi) did carry articles on gender but none by a woman. Moreover, most of

There was not one article on Science and Technology by a woman. Culture and Entertainment was the only topic on which women wrote nearly as much as men.

the articles on gender issues published by these magazines were in October and November of last year when the MeToo allegations started surfacing, including in the media industry. [Figure D]

FIGURE C

Gender composition by topic

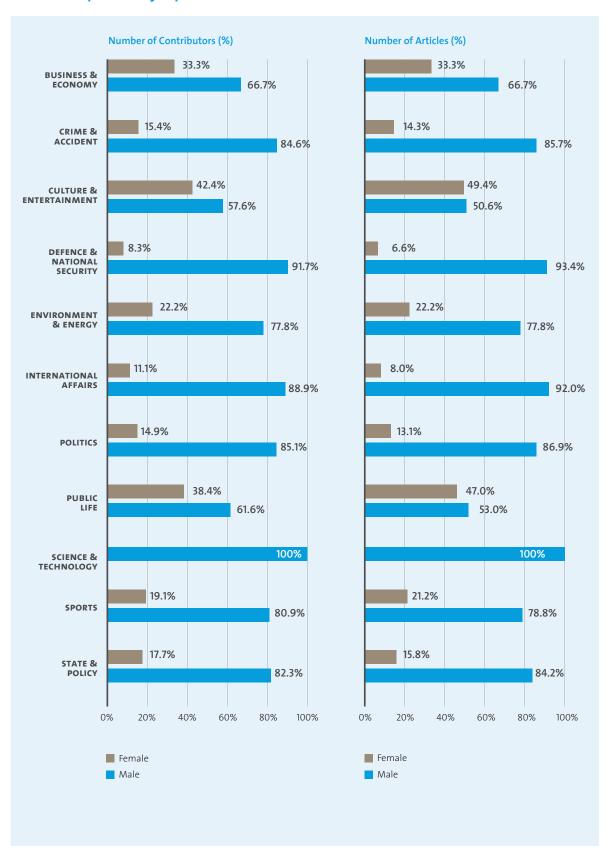
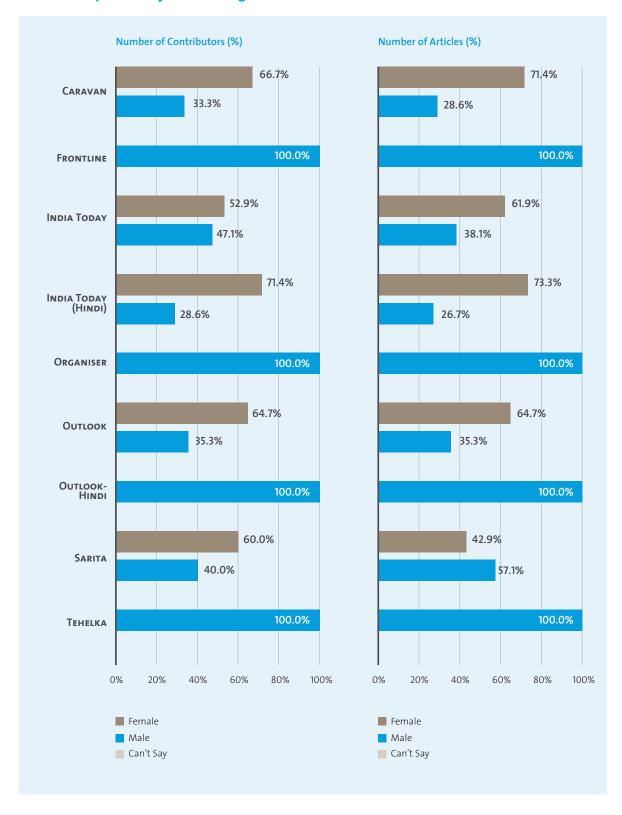


FIGURE D

Gender composition by articles on gender issues



RADIO

We looked at five private radio networks and collected demographic data on their presenters in 10 major cities. Across the 10 stations of each of the networks except Radio Mirchi, there were fewer female than male radio jockeys. In only two of the 10 cities, women outnumbered men as radio jockeys across stations.

The gender ratio was particularly skewed against female presenters in Delhi, Chandigarh and Kolkata.

In all the cities except Delhi and Kolkata, at least half of Radio Mirchi's presenters were women, with the figure rising to 80% in Hyderabad. Big FM employed more women than men as radio jockeys in Patna and Bhopal, as many as men in Guwahati, and none in Chandigarh. [Figure A]

FIGURE A
Percentage of Female Radio Jockeys

City -> Channel	Delhi	Mumbai	Bengaluru	Lucknow	Patna	Guwahati	Hyderabad	Chandigarh	Kolkata	Bhopal	Average Channel
Radio Mirchi	40	57.14	60	50	60	60	80	60	30	57.1	55.4
Red FM	28.6	40.0	60.0	50.0	33.3	75.0	40.0	33.3	33.3	50.0	44.4
Big FM	23.3	45.5	42.9	27.3	52.9	50.0	36.4	0.0	37.5	61.5	37-7
Fever FM	18.2	33.3	33.3	28.6	-	-	60.0	-	-	-	34.7
Radio City	40.0	33.3	40.0	40.0	50.0	-	33.3	-	-	-	39.4
Average City	30.0	41.9	47.2	39.2	49.1	61.7	49.9	31.1	33.6	56.2	

APPENDIX

Sources

Newspapers

- The Times of India (Mumbai)
- Hindustan Times (Mumbai)
- The Hindu (Chennai)
- The Indian Express (Delhi)
- The Telegraph (Kolkata)
- The Economic Times (Mumbai)
- Dainik Bhaskar (Patna)
- Amar Ujala (Lucknow)
- Navbharat Times (Delhi)
- Rajasthan Patrika (Jaipur)
- Prabhat Khabar (Ranchi)
- Punjab Kesari (Ludhiana)
- Hindustan (Delhi)

Digital News Outlets

- The Print
- The News Minute
- The Ouint
- Newslaundry
- Scroll.in
- The Ken
- The Wire
- Swarajya
- Firstpost
- Newslaundry (Hindi)
- Satyagrah

TV News Channels

- Republic TV
- India Today
- NDTV 24x7
- Mirror Now
- Times Now
- CNN-News 18
- Rajya Sabha TV
- Republic Bharat
- Aaj Tak
- NDTV India
- India TV
- Zee News
- News 18 India
- · Rajya Sabha TV

Magazines

- Outlook
- India Today
- Business Today
- The Caravan
- Frontline
- Sportstar
- Outlook (Hindi)
- India Today (Hindi)
- Tehelka
- Femina
- Sarita
- Organiser

Radio

- Radio Mirchi
 Bengaluru, Bhopal, Chandigarh,
 Delhi, Guwahati, Hyderabad,
 Kolkata, Lucknow, Mumbai,
 Patna
- Red FM
 Bengaluru, Bhopal, Chandigarh,
 Delhi, Guwahati, Hyderabad,
 Kolkata, Lucknow, Mumbai,
 Patna
- Big FM
 Bengaluru, Bhopal, Chandigarh,
 Delhi, Guwahati, Hyderabad,
 Kolkata, Lucknow, Mumbai,
 Patna
- Fever FM
 Bengaluru, Delhi, Hyderabad,
 Lucknow, Mumbai
- Radio City
 Bengaluru, Delhi, Hyderabad,
 Lucknow, Mumbai, Patna

APPENDIX

Topics and Fields

The topics used to analyse the data are:

- 1) **Business and Economy:** Macroeconomic indicators, financial markets, individual businesses, domestic and global trade.
- 2) **Crime and Accident:** Riots, murder, communal violence, lynching, sexual harassment, rape, accident, building collapse, fire.
- 3) **Culture and Entertainment:** Film, music, art, dance, books, authors, literary awards, reviews, art and literary festivals.
- 4) **Defence and National Security:** War, conflict, armed forces, insurgency, naxalism, terrorism.
- 5) **Environment and Energy:** Climate change, weather, wildlife, plants, earth science, renewable energy, fossil fuels, environmental science research.
- 6) **International Affairs:** All foreign news, Indian diplomatic affairs.
- 7) **Politics:** Parties, elections, statements by politicians.
- 8) **Public Life:** Protests, demonstrations, rights movements, social unrest, daily life, media, journalism.
- 9) **Science and Technology:** Inventions, discoveries, science explainers, communications technology, artificial intelligence, machine learning.
- 10) **Sports:** All sports, sports organisations, doping, scandals.
- 11) **State and Policy:** Agriculture, rural affairs, urban affairs, education, healthcare, transport, bureaucracy, transfers and recruitment, ministries, judiciary.

The fields used to categorise TV panellists are:

- 1) Academia
- 2) Business
- 3) Bureaucrat
- 4) Bar and Bench
- 5) Defence Expert (includes retired armed forces personnel)
- 6) Financial Expert
- 7) Independent Expert (environmentalists, medical doctors, sportspersons, film directors, writers)
- 8) Media
- 9) NGO and CSO (belonging to non-governmental organisations or civil society organisations)
- 10) Political Analyst (only independent political analysts, not party spokespersons)
- 11) Party Spokesperson
- 12) Religious Expert (spiritual gurus, heads of religious denominations)
- 13) Social Activist
- 14) Think Tank

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