

8 Gender and Media in Times of Crises

Claudia Padovani and Karen Ross

INTRODUCTION

Much of the discussion about the current financial crisis and, more broadly, the political and cultural crises in Europe largely ignores issues of gender and of media. At the same time, the media have the potential to act as a force for good in shaping the agenda around potential resolutions, even as they are experiencing their own sectoral crises. Issues of gender and equality are then added to this mix.

Although critical junctures are considered by some to offer opportunities for radical change, including the potential to advance equality between women and men, little effort has been made to reflect on the role and responsibility of the media in favouring such transformations, neither within the media sector itself nor in society at large. Looking at contemporary Europe, we ask two fundamental questions: Are the media implementing gender-aware approaches in addressing these crises, including the ones occurring in their own sector, and what does the current situation of women's presence and roles in European media organizations suggest as far as challenges and opportunities towards better gender equality in the region? In this chapter, we interrogate the findings of a research project conducted in twenty-eight European countries, set out within the context of a broader reflection on why the media should promote gender equality in times of crisis and on a redefinition of the institutional role of the media in democratic societies.

FRAMING CRISIS, MEDIA AND GENDER

As long ago as 1976, Edgar Morin suggested the widespread and vague use of the term 'crisis,' with its associations to many areas of human experience – crisis of society, humanity, civilization and so on – prevented a proper understanding of real social problems. If everything were more or less a crisis, then the meaning of the term became devalued, and the very notion of crisis as an extreme and highly damaging social phenomenon was itself in crisis. Morin also recalled how, in ancient Greece, "*krisis*" signified "*le moment decisive, dans l'évolution d'un processus incertain, qui permet*

le diagnostic” (the decisive moment in the evolution of an uncertain process, which allows diagnosis), while today it is mostly used to indicate “indecision.” (Morin, 1976, p. 149; see also Koselleck and Richter, 2006) In this chapter, we would like to revive the original meaning of the term, and look at the nexus between media, crisis and gender in Europe today as a decisive moment in media transformation and a meaningful way of discussing institutional media crisis in its relation to democratic norms and values, as suggested in Chapter 1.

Current media changes and challenges can be positioned in the context of plural critical junctures, hence our interest in considering if the media are actually recognized and invited to play a meaningful role, as social actors and stakeholders, in framing and possibly overcoming such crises. More specifically, we look at if and how the media are implementing gender-aware approaches in addressing these crises, including the ones occurring in their own sector. We elaborate the crisis concept as we develop our argument. We start from a specific focus on the ongoing economic and financial crisis and its implications for women and men. We then discuss the interrelations between crisis and media beyond the financial situation to include gender equality as one element of media crisis and a sustained challenge to media’s role in fostering democratic values. We conclude by describing the realities of gender employment and inequalities in decision-making in media industries across Europe. The ‘diagnosis’ concerning gender inequalities in the media is informed by the findings of one particular research project but influenced by decades of research on the broader topic. And it is used as a starting point to suggest ways forward to enable women and men to achieve their potential and to assist in addressing specific aspects of media and crisis while reasserting the media’s role in fostering and promoting democratic values. Our final aim is to open up a space for thinking about the gender dimension of media institutions’ crises and how improving gender equality can be seen as a means to overcoming multiple societal crises.

THE GENDER DIMENSION OF THE ECONOMIC CRISIS

Several reports have been produced over the past few years, by EU institutions such as the Parliament and Commission as well as by NGOs such as the European Women’s Lobby and the scholarly community, to consider the gender implications of the current economic and financial crisis. These reports respond to the fact that “despite the growing debate over the causes of the crisis, less attention is paid to its material impacts, and very little to gender considerations.” (Vertova, 2012, p. 123)

Many contributions point to the need for the adoption of a gender-sensitive perspective to assess the impact of the on-going crisis on gender equity and enhancing women’s rights and potential (Antonopoulos, 2009;

EWL and Oxfam, 2010; EWL, 2012; European Parliament, 2011; European Commission, 2012).

What emerges from these reports is that, contrary to expectations, the current economic crisis is affecting women more than men because of its depth and duration. Whilst financial markets now appear calmer in comparison to a couple of years ago, industrial outputs in Europe are 10.8 per cent below their 2008 peak and the expected EU GDP in 2013 constituted a 0.2 per cent decrease following a contraction of 0.4 per cent in the previous year. This situation inhibits the private investment, crucial to recovery, which has seen a drop of 14.5 per cent between 2007 and 2011.

The situation has also had a significant impact on employment rates (unemployment in the first half of 2014 was averaging 10.7 per cent, ranging from 4.3 per cent in Austria to 26.1 per cent in Spain), real wages (with declines of up to 12 per cent in Greece and Lithuania) and household incomes (Library of the European Parliament, 2013). Men seem to have been more severely affected in the early years of the crisis and this can be partly explained by the structure of EU labour markets, with the immediate effects of job losses and redundancies hitting male-dominated sectors such as manufacturing and construction.

However, as the crisis deepened, so have inequalities in the workplace, particularly affecting temporary workers, young people and low-skilled workers, many of whom are women. Moreover, subsequent anti-crisis measures have moved towards fiscal consolidation because of pressure to restore public finance. As a consequence, while women still earn less than men with an average EU-pay gap of 16.5 per cent in 2010 (partly explained by the specificities of the sectors where they are employed and partly by the roles attributed to women in different cultures), economists expect female unemployment to worsen because the sectors in which they are a majority of the workforce – health and social care, education and public services – are now being particularly affected by the recession.

Indeed, women are not only vulnerable as employees in the public and third sectors but also because they are the primary beneficiaries of the services these sectors provide. Cuts in spending on care and social services are having a disproportionate effect on women as care-giving is again forced into the private sphere of unpaid work. Finally, these adverse trends in women's experiences are accompanied by rising levels of domestic violence against them as the crisis puts pressure and strain on families and relationships (Antonopoulos, 2009; EWL and Oxfam, 2010; WSL, 2012).

Overall, then, the financial crisis is worsening the conditions of women's lives and their potential and actual participation in the labour market, forcing them back into their 'traditional' roles of unwaged care-giver and family support. Precarious working conditions, increasing discrimination in the labour market with subsequent shifts to informal (unpaid) work, rising levels of poverty, reduced access to services and rising levels of domestic violence, accompanied by cuts in vital support services, are all highly visible signs

of the deep recession taking place across Europe (EWL and Oxfam, 2010; EWL, 2012).

As a result, much of the progress that had been achieved in terms of gender equity in different sectors and levels of society has now stalled and risks being eroded (European Parliament, 2011; 2012). Similarly, gender stereotypes that position women within a narrow range of public and private roles are once again playing a role in constraining the promotion of women's rights and their empowerment, which are, on the contrary, crucial to economic and societal recovery. From the view of many commentators, the media are seen as key players in the production and reproduction of negative gender 'norms' (Elston, 2010; Vertova, 2012).

CRISIS OR CRISES?

Interestingly, most discussions and reports assume crisis as a non-problematic concept. They mostly refer to the economic crisis or the crisis centred around public finance and sovereign debt issues resulting from the financial crisis that erupted between 2007 and 2008, when the sub-prime mortgage debacle in the United States had a disastrous and global impact with different consequences for Western economies and those of other parts of the world.

Where attempts to conceptualize the crisis are made, they mainly acknowledge the time factor characterizing an economic crisis, structured around phases: the first one related to the 2008 credit crunch and the financial-services sector, and the subsequent, still on-going phase with austerity policies adopted by individual countries to respond to public indebtedness, often resulting from public finance disasters that occurred during the previous phase. As a study invited by the European Parliament notes: "The victims of unemployment during the first wave of the recession may fare better in subsequent phases, while those who were initially 'insulated' may find themselves exposed." (2011, p. 10f)

One of the few attempts to contextualize the crisis more broadly is offered by Oxfam International, in a paper titled "Gender Perspectives on the *Global Economic Crisis*." "The current crisis, which originated in the financial economies of the North, does not exist in isolation, and needs to be understood as the latest element in a complex web of sudden onset shocks and longer-term traumas that affect individuals and their families in developing countries (...)" "and not only, as it has become clear, for European families as well.

Similarly, Antonopoulos states: "[T]he global economic downturn has exacerbated effects from other crises manifest in food insecurity, poverty, and increasing inequality." (2009, p. 1) It seems that only when the European situation is put in the broader global context that a more sophisticated understanding of the challenges emerging from multi-dimensional crises can be offered. However, hardly any attempt has been made to connect, at

a conceptual as well as at empirical level, the different decisive moments with which we are now confronted.

Citizens' detachment from politics and governing institutions has become an issue of growing concern as it may undermine the very foundations of democratic life. Global and European security are put at risk by several factors, including environmental¹ and geopolitical issues, such as energy, water and resource control. Moreover, socio-economic inequalities² are growing and causing social unrest in many regions, as witnessed by developments after the Arab Spring and ongoing conflicts across Europe, the Middle East and Africa.

In this context the crisis of democracy, the crisis of capitalism and the crisis of civilization itself appear as recurrent yet separated themes in public and media discourse. While Morin cautions against the casual use of the term, we nonetheless need to recognize "crisis is a structuring concept" and "by labeling a situation as one of crisis, one declares the presence of a threat to the prevailing order." (Raboy and Dagenais, 1992, p. 5)

In this context we need to highlight the role of the media in relation to existing crises and to be fully aware of how powerful the media are as agents of social communication by which crises are framed and made meaningful to the public. The media are crucial in shaping our understanding of ongoing recession dynamics as well as the multiple and interlinked 'uncertain processes' taking place in the political, institutional, cultural and social realms. This is because journalists and media outlets claim to reflect the public's concerns as well as disseminate political responses to the crises. At the same time, we also need to consider the critical situations media organizations themselves are experiencing, not only in their attempts to respond to technological, commercial and political challenges but also in their effort to maintain a democratic function in fostering values such as truthfulness, freedom and responsibility but also inclusion, diversity and participation of all citizens, women and men.

In the words of Ogrizek and Guillery: "Crisis is confusion, a trial, a break, an opportunity. All of this is true." (1999: xiii) The media can therefore be seen as both part of the problem but also, more positively, part of the solution. But can we see them acting as meaningful agents in addressing the challenges deriving from critical uncertainties and in supporting necessary decisions?

MEDIA AND/IN CRISIS AND GENDER

The media, as a sector, scarcely appear in the documents and reports we mention above, which have dealt with the gendered implications of the current recession. When they are cited, they tend to be seen as elements of an immediate response to specific aspects of the economic crisis³ and what tends to be highlighted is their complicity in perpetuating gender stereotypes, thus

undermining the achievements that have already been made and restricting further progress, including working towards gender equality.

More generally, the media do not seem to be considered as relevant stakeholders, nor understood as an economic sector in their own right, in spite of the many crises they are experiencing. They are in crisis as institutions and epistemic agents in their national contexts; they are challenged in their democratic functions by corporate logics; they are exposed to pressure by the technological and social transformations that characterize the new digital and convergent media environment; and the economic crisis is having a profound impact on media outlets, with structures disintegrating and growing unemployment in the sector even as new initiatives, mostly online operations, are being created.

Furthermore, we argue the complex relationship between crises, media and gender, and the ways in which each impact on the others, has not been adequately appreciated. Nor has attention been paid to the long-term crisis in the sector, which is exemplified by persistent gender inequalities in media content, operations, employment and decision-making structures. In Morin's terms, we can regard media outlets and their gender-(un)aware operations, as the evolution of an uncertain process, which makes it possible today, on the basis of numerous accounts, to identify the nature of an illness by examining the symptoms (the diagnostic). Such symptoms have been described and analysed through decades of research and monitoring efforts, upon which we now set the scene, today, for a decisive moment⁴.

Worldwide collaboration in the four iterations of the Global Media Monitoring Project since 1995 have revealed persistent inequalities over time, together with the very slow pace of change in women's visibility in the news. Their presence in the genre, both as producers and subjects of news, has increased from seventeen per cent in the mid-'90s to twenty-four per cent in 2010 (GMMP, 2010). Stereotypical and disrespectful representations, particularly in advertising, have been at the core of a number of reports, including recent statements by the EU Commission ("Breaking Gender Stereotypes in the Media," 2012).

In 1991 and 2001, the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) conducted surveys among journalists' unions in thirty-nine nations to determine women's status in newsrooms and their membership and leadership in unions. The 2001 report for IFJ (Peters, 2001) noted that in Europe, women represented forty per cent of the journalists in newsrooms, but only held three per cent of the decision-making posts. The glass-ceiling effect in European newsrooms has been documented by any number of European case studies (see, for example, Capecchi, 2006) and by transnational investigations (IWME, 2011), showing an ongoing trend of discrimination towards women in media organizations, where their occupation of merely one-third of top managerial positions seems to constitute a gendered 'rule' across regions and cultures.

These findings and statistics are clear symptoms of a crisis in the media, namely that of the sector's inability to fully perform its democratic role in

giving voice to all sections of society, both men and women, and to foster societal transformations that would favour pluralism, diversity and gender equity, especially in times of crises. We highlight the fact that this specific component of media crisis is seldom mentioned when discussing the challenges faced by the media in relation to the decline of traditional forms of consumption and the switch to online content and platforms.

We also argue this lack of attention is all the more problematic since gender equality has long been recognized as a core component of sustainable and innovative knowledge societies, particularly through the adoption of gender-equality plans and guidelines (EU Strategy for equality between women and men 2010–2015). Suggestions have been made to implement mainstreaming gender across policy domains, to integrate gender-equality promotion in crisis-relieving policy-making, to address sectoral segregation and strengthen the position of women in political and corporate sectors, and to enhance women's participation in decision-making⁵. But what does the current situation of women's presence and roles in European media organizations suggest as far as challenges and opportunities for change in times of crises? Are European media outlets, both public-service broadcasters and private organizations, recognizing the decisive moment of crisis and promoting gender equality, thus attempting to overcome this crisis?

CRISIS AND CONTROL: GENDER AND POWER IN EUROPE'S MEDIA INDUSTRY

Part of the 'benefit' of a world in crisis is that it forces us to consider radical alternatives to the status quo, ways of being, doing and thinking that could produce better and more equitable outcomes for all. But in order to imagine the unimaginable, we must first understand the reality on the ground. We argue that so far, there has been little theoretical or empirical consideration of the ways in which crisis, media and gender work as forces on and with each other.

One way to begin to understand something of how this particular set of dynamics play out is to look at the ways in which women experience the media industry as an employer and the potential impact a crisis culture can have on their career development. We explore this through a discussion of a recent, EU-funded project that was led by the authors and was undertaken during 2012–13.⁶ The work identified the extent to which women were involved in the decision-making apparatus of some of Europe's major media institutions, including all the public-service broadcasters across the EU28 (thirty-nine in total), together with sixty large-scale private companies.

We also interviewed sixty-three women media practitioners across the nations surveyed. The project aimed to assess the extent to which one of the key aspirations of the Beijing Platform for Action – Section J.2: to increase the participation and access of women to expression and decision-making in and through the media and new technologies of communication – was

being achieved. It also explored the existence of gender-equality policies and action plans in the same ninety-nine organizations.

Lastly, the project included a media monitoring aspect in which popular TV channels were monitored in each country, with a focus on the extent to which women and men were selected to appear in a variety of fact-based and entertainment shows and where decisions on who to include were taken by programme and production teams. The visibility of women as media practitioners, including as journalists, presenters and hosts, was also monitored. Given the importance of the media in framing world events, including the global crisis and the ongoing and well-documented inequalities that exist between women and men (and within and between other groups), a study that brought together media and gender under the same spotlight was extremely timely.

The remainder of this chapter considers the primary findings of the study and draws conclusions about the impact of crisis management on women's potential as change agents, arguing the irresistible push towards the safe and familiar, which is a routine response to crisis, too often results in a reluctance to break the traditional mould of male managers. This means the distinctive contributions and perspectives women bring to the decision-making and problem-solving process, given what is already known about gender-based differences in management styles, are considerably reduced, with the consequence that crisis conditions are extended when they could have been alleviated.

FINDINGS⁷

The principal finding from the first part of the study, the survey of ninety-nine organizations, shows the continued under-representation of women in decision-making positions, despite the increasing numbers of women graduating from media programmes and entering the industry. Out of 3,376 senior positions that were coded from the total sample, comprising both employees and board members, 1,037 were occupied by women (thirty per cent). At the most senior level, such as CEO or President, this percentage decreases to sixteen per cent. Just over one in five (twenty-one per cent) Chief Operating Officer positions, such as Director-General or Editor-in-Chief, were occupied by women (EIGE, 2013, Section 2, p. 26).

Public-service broadcasters were more likely to recruit women to senior positions than private companies. As far as gender-equality plans, diversity policies and codes are concerned, just under half the organizations in the survey have some kind of equality policy that at least mentions gender, although less than one in five organizations have a policy explicitly focused on gender (Section 2, p. 37). A similar number have formal mechanisms in place to monitor their gender and/or equality policies and nine organizations have an Equality or Diversity Department. In terms of practical measures, the most frequently mentioned measure is related to sexual harassment, although even then, fewer than twenty-five per cent of organizations

mentioned this, followed by a dignity at work policy (nineteen per cent) and a maternity leave policy (seventeen per cent) (Section 2, p. 40). Only six organizations support structured training programmes for women, although slightly more (nine per cent) provide equality-awareness training for staff. In terms of sectoral differences, public-service broadcasters were significantly more likely to have formal gender and equality structures than private-sector organizations.

Interestingly, there was no clear correlation between the existence of gender-equality policies and high numbers of women in senior positions. We suggest this is because workplace culture, informed by a particular leadership approach, exerts a strong influence on the extent to which equality issues are taken seriously. Some organizations have high numbers of women in decision-making roles but very little evidence of a gender-equality framework, and we have no way of knowing how or even whether women's senior status carries real authority or whether more cynical management strategies are in play that provide the veneer of equality but power still resides in male hands at the very top of organizations.

At one level, more women in senior positions, regardless of their actual power or authority, can only be seen as a good thing as it suggests a movement in the right direction and that women are at least in a position to be able to take advantage of promotion opportunities when they arise. However, the testimonies of many of the women who were interviewed for the project suggests that even when they do attain senior positions, they are always in a minority, they are easily picked off and they often have to conform to 'male' ways of working in order to survive, let alone thrive. The following two comments exemplify the frustration many women articulated about their working lives.

If you are surrounded by men, you tend to take their standards, rules and agendas for granted. And believe me, they would be different in mixed teams.

–Katharina

If a woman is really determined to cross the border into "male" areas ... she must adjust at least partly to the rules of the men's club.

–Erzebet

What most women identified as both the problem and the solution was the commitment (or not) at the top of their organizations to pursue a gender-equal workplace. If we accept that most working environments are created and sustained by the leadership team at the top, then the importance they give to equality issues will determine the cascading commitment, or otherwise, down the chain of command, including the place of equality within the broader human-resources framework. Without the existence of robust gender-equality policies and practices that are embedded as an integral part

of an organization's human resources policy and are regularly monitored and actioned when failures or breaches are identified, then women are always vulnerable to discrimination and unequal treatment.

Women are mostly overlooked for promotion for reasons other than their competence, including their gender (discrimination on grounds of sex) and their perceived inability to take on new opportunities because of their domestic and/or family responsibilities (discrimination on grounds of family or caring role). Sometimes women do choose to prioritise family over career but this is often because workplace cultures make it impossible to achieve a work-life balance, which benefits both the individual and the employer.

Very little attention has been paid so far in investigating not only the existence but also the active and sustained implementation and monitoring of equality policies, including those focused on gender. Whilst there have been numerous reports and guidance about fairer representation in terms of media content, there has been much less work focused on issues of employment and promotion. This study has identified, again, a systemic problem of the under-valuing of what women can contribute to enhancing the prospects and growth of the European media industry at a time of crisis. Disavowing the talents and experiences of half the workforce does not seem like sensible management practice and, as several recent studies have shown, companies that do recruit and promote women into senior positions also tend to be the ones that are prospering (BiS, 2011; CED, 2012; McKinsey & Co., 2012).

CONCLUSIONS

Earlier in this chapter, we suggested much of the discussion about the current financial crisis and, more broadly, political and cultural crises in Europe largely ignore issues of both gender and media. At the same time, we argued the media have the potential to act as a force for good in shaping the agenda around potential resolutions, even as they are experiencing their own sectoral crises. One positive feature of critical junctures is the opportunity – because there is nothing to lose – to think more creatively about change.

When applied to the media sector, this thinking could indeed produce a less risk-averse management approach, which takes a chance on recruiting and promoting more women as potential agents for change. Unfortunately, from the findings of our own recent study, this does not appear to be the route the European media industry has followed nor seems likely to follow in the future. At the national, regional and global level, policies and guidance abound on how to improve and enhance women's representation in decision-making across all sectors, within cultural, economic, judicial and political structures.

The problem has been known for decades and there already exist a range of actions that could be taken to address the problem. The study discussed in this chapter adds specific data and knowledge from the European

context, including specifying more indicators as benchmarks to guide future political action and media operations⁸. But instead of seeing the current *krisis* as an opportunity to rethink the existing business models and imagine something better able to respond to the complexities of critical times, most organizations – as much the media sector as other economic sectors – seem to be involved in a process of retrenchment, less rather than more willing to develop alternative strategies or encourage new voices to be heard. There seems little will to make change happen despite the palpable failures of the business-as-usual model.

In difficult times, it is tempting to take a risk-averse strategy and maintain the status quo but we argue that now is in fact the best time to make the kinds of radical change that will empower women, which many have advocated, as the old ways of doing things are clearly not working. While more women in decision-making positions in media industries (or indeed any industry), alongside better and more balanced gender representation in media content, cannot and should not be seen as the only solution to the current media institutional crisis, women's continued marginalization from the apparatus of power is, we argue, definitely part of the problem. Gender equality should not be seen as an issue only for the 'good times' but rather a core component and a baseline for decisive moments towards ideating and implementing policies and programs to overcome European societal crises.

If the media are part of the problem, then implementing principles of inclusion of diverse voices, balance and fairness in perspectives, and participation of women and men alike in their very operations may be part of the solution. This may indeed be a concrete move to facilitate and foster a redefinition of the institutional role the media are to perform in democratic societies.

NOTES

1. See the latest International Panel on Climate Change report "Climate Change 2013: The Physical Science Basis," released in September 2013. Available at <http://www.ipcc.ch/report/ar5/wg1/#.Ukf89xa563A>.
2. See Piketty, 2014; Rosenvallon and Goldhammer, 2013.
3. As in the European Parliament's study titled "Gender aspects of the economic downturn and financial crisis" where, in discussing the need to support couples and single parents to navigate the recession in the UK, reference is made to the need to "Encourage men to make more use of their entitlements to parental leave and other working-time adjustments ... and of flexible working options available at their workplace ... [R]esearch shows that for (interventions) to be effective action is needed on multiple fronts: information campaigns in the *media* and by social partners at the workplace targeted at men and their employers." (2011, p. 120).
4. Also restated by the recently launched UNESCO Global Alliance for Media and Gender: to act today, more promptly and effectively than in the past, to guarantee gender equality in and through the media. See <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/>

communication-and-information/crosscutting-priorities/gender-and-media/global-forum-on-media-and-gender/homepage/.

5. A Directive establishing a procedural quota, proposed by the European Commission in 2012 and voted by the European Parliament in November 2013, is currently being discussed by the Council of the EU.
6. Study on Area J of the Beijing Platform for Action: Women and the Media in the European Union EIGE/2012/OPER/07.
7. Data in this section refer to the final Report of the study, *Advancing gender equality in decision-making in media organizations*, available at <http://eige.europa.eu/content/document/advancing-gender-equality-in-decision-making-in-media-organisations-report>.
8. It is worth mentioning the policy relevance of a research project, like the one discussed in this chapter, conducted in the context of the Council of the European Union that took place in June 2013, on behalf of the Irish Presidency of the Union and the European Institute for Gender Equality. A primary aim of the study was to identify a set of key indicators through which media organizations could be benchmarked to identify the extent to which they were pursuing a gender-equal agenda in the workplace. As a consequence of the findings, three indicators were indeed developed, one relating to the proportion of women in senior positions, one relating to the proportion of women on company boards and the final one relating to the existence of gender-equality policies and actions, including mechanisms for monitoring, implementation and action (EIGE, 2013, p. 49). These indicators were subsequently taken up and formally adopted by the Council. Though it is not quite clear how they will be implemented, by whom and when, it is important to highlight how policy-making in this area is nowadays informed and supported by a plurality of studies and sound empirical evidence. These need to be expanded and updated, but certainly constitute fundamental knowledge resources to address media crisis from a gender perspective while offering the possibility for a triangulation among such diverse stakeholders as governments, academia, media industries and professionals.

REFERENCES

- Antonopoulos, R. (2009) *The current economic and financial crisis: a gender perspective*. Working papers, The Levy Economics Institute, No. 562. Retrieved from: <http://www.econstor.eu/dspace/bitstream/10419/31580/1/605411867.pdf>.
- Bettio, F. et al. (2012) *The impact of the economic crisis on the situation of women and men and on gender equality policies*. Brussels: ENEGE.
- BiS (Department for Business, Innovation and Skills) (2011) *Women on Boards*. London: BiS.
- Capecchi, S. (ed.) (2006) *Inchiesta: trimestrale di ricerca e pratica sociale, numero monografico su Donne e Media*, No. 153, Anno XXXV, Edizioni Dedalo, Bologna, luglio–settembre 2006.
- CED (Committee for Economic Development) (2012) *Fulfilling the Promise: How More Women on Corporate Boards Would Make America and American Companies More Competitive*. Washington DC: CED.
- Council of the European Union (2011) *Council conclusions on the European Pact for gender equality for the period 2011–2020*. Retrieved from: http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/lisa/119628.pdf.

- EIGE (2013) *Advancing gender equality in decision-making in media organizations*. Retrieved from: <http://eige.europa.eu/content/document/advancing-gender-equality-in-decision-making-in-media-organisations-report>.
- Elson, D. (2010) Gender and the global economic crisis in developing countries: a framework for analysis. *Gender & Development*, 18(2). pp. 201–12.
- European Commission (2010) *Strategy for equality between women and men 2010–2015*. Retrieved from: http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/strategy_equality_women_men_en.pdf.
- European Parliament (2010) *Gender aspects of the economic downturn and financial crisis on welfare systems*. Retrieved from: [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/etudes/join/2013/474396/IPOL-FEMM_ET\(2013\)474396_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/etudes/join/2013/474396/IPOL-FEMM_ET(2013)474396_EN.pdf).
- European Parliament (2012) Directive of the European Parliament and of the Council on improving the gender balance among non-executive directors of companies listed on stock exchanges and related measures.
- European Parliament (2012) Draft report on the impact of the economic crisis on gender equality and women's rights (2012/2301(INI)). Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality.
- European Parliament (2012) *Gender Quotas in Management Boards*. Retrieved from: [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/note/join/2012/462429/IPOL-FEMM_NT\(2012\)462429_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/note/join/2012/462429/IPOL-FEMM_NT(2012)462429_EN.pdf).
- European Parliament resolution of 17 June 2010 on gender aspects of the economic downturn and financial crisis (2009/2204(INI)).
- EWL (European Women's Lobby) (2012) *The price of austerity. The impact on women's rights and gender equality in Europe*. Brussels: EWL.
- EWL and OXFAM International (2010) *Women's poverty and social exclusion in the European Union at a time of recession: An invisible crisis? A genderworks paper*. Brussels: EWL and Oxfam.
- GMMP (2010) *Global Media Monitoring Project reports*. World Association of Christian Communication (WACC). Retrieved from: http://www.whomakesthe news.org/images/reports_2010/global/gmmp_global_report_en.pdf.
- Koselleck, R. and Richter, M. (2006) Crisis. *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 67(2). pp. 357–400.
- IWMF (2011) *Global Report on the Status of Women in the News Media*. Retrieved from: <http://iwmf.org/pdfs/IWMF-Global-Report.pdf>.
- LSE (2013) *Research Project and related publications*. Retrieved from: <http://www.lse.ac.uk/media@lse/research/The-Euro-Crisis-in-the-Press.aspx>.
- Lyberaki, A. (2011) *Gender aspects of the economic downturn and financial crisis*. EP, Policy Department C, Brussels.
- McKinsey & Company (2012) *Women Matter 2012: Making the Breakthrough*. McKinsey & Co. Retrieved from: http://www.mckinsey.com/client_service/organization/latest_thinking/women_matter.
- Morin, E. (1976) Pour une crisologie. *Communications*. pp. 149–63.
- Ogrizek, J.M. and Guillery, M. (1999) *Communicating in crisis: A theoretical and practical guide to crisis management*. Piscataway, NJ: Aldine Transaction.
- Oxfam International and European Women's Lobby (2010) *Women's poverty and social exclusion in the European Union at a time of recession: An invisible crisis?* Retrieved from: <http://www.womenlobby.org/publications/reports/article/an-invisible-crisis-2010>.

- Pearson, R. and Sweetman, C. (eds) (2011) *Gender and the Economic Crisis*. London: Oxfam.
- Périvier, H., Cochard, M. and Cornilleau, G. (2011) Gender effects of the crisis on labor market in six European countries, OECD meeting, June 2011. Retrieved from: <http://www.oecd.org/eco/labour/48215665.pdf>.
- Peters, B. (2001) *Equality and Quality: Setting Standards for Women in Journalism*. Brussels: IFJ.
- Piketty, T. (2014) *Capital in the XXI century*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Rosenvallon, P. and Goldhammer, A. (2013) *The society of equals*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Vertova, G. (2012) Women on the verge of a nervous breakdown: The gender impact of the crisis. In: Papadopoulos, E. and Sakellaris, G. (eds.) *The political economy of public debt and austerity in the EU*. Athens: Nisson Publications.