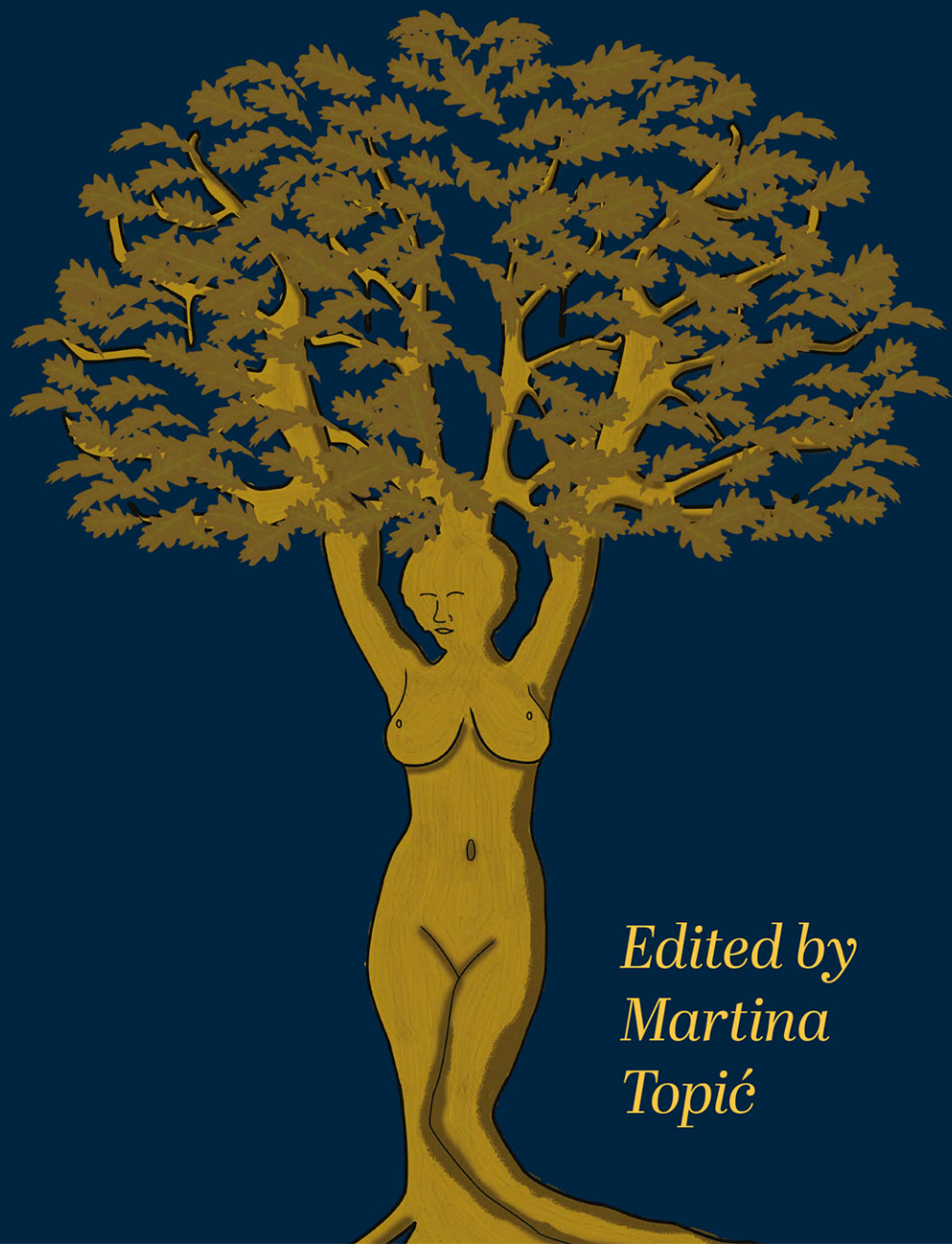


Women and the Media in Capitalism and Socialism

An Ecofeminist Inquiry



*Edited by
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Introduction:

An Ecofeminist Perspective on Women and the Media in Capitalism and Socialism

Martina Topic'

Lots of work has been published, particularly since the 2000s, on women in the media and the distinctive position that women occupy in newsrooms, and issues they face. However, not much work considers the position of women in the media within the media's political economy and the position of women in the media using ecofeminist lenses. The argument on media political economy comes from Marx ([1849] 1959) who argued that the press needs to be a watchdog and 'the tireless denouncer of those in power, the omnipresent eye, the omnipresent mouthpiece of the people's spirit that jealously guards its freedom' (p. 231, cited from Sandoval, 2013, pp. 44–45). However, for this to happen, media would have to work on a not-for-profit basis or 'not being a trade' (Sandoval, 2013), which led many authors to argue that media need to be studied in the context of capitalism and as part of the political economy of capitalism (Garnham, 1998; Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Mosco, 2009; Sandoval, 2013). The fact that media operate in the context of capitalism means their commercial interests are working against their social work and result in exploitation of employees, market pressures which lead to uniformity and conformism, and this ultimately threatens democracy (Fuchs, 2011, 2010; Garnham, [1986] 2006; Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Horkheimer & Adorno, [1947] 1997; McChesney, 2004; Schiller, 1997; Schiller & Schiller, 1988; Smythe, [1977] 1997). However, what these works fail to analyze is the notion of patriarchy and sexism, which is deeply entrenched in the media's organizational culture. Many works have tackled this issue only to find that women work in a fundamentally masculine culture where they are often seen as outsiders because men do not join newsroom culture but constitute it (North, 2009b). In practice, this means that newsrooms operate under masculine patterns such as masculine understanding of what constitutes news, and the division of hard vs. soft news is still rampant (Lobo et al., 2017;

Lofgren-Nilsson, 2010; Ross, 2001; Ross et al., 2018; Shor et al., 2014; Topić & Bruegmann, 2021). What is more, women were traditionally confined to the so-called soft news such as health, lifestyle, food and fashion, however, once these topics came to the agenda, such as health and food for example, then it is men who now write on these topics whilst women remain in specialist sections, marginalized (Topić, 2018). In a nutshell, women continually struggle to cover the most prestigious beats, face the glass ceiling, leave the industry earlier (Knowles, 2020; Lobo et al., 2017; North, 2009, 2016a; Robinson, 2005; Ross et al., 2018) and they struggle ‘trying to manage the work/home balance, especially for working mothers, and were concerned with the dominance, still, of a long-hours culture’ (Ross, 2001, p. 532; see also Lafky, 1991, 1993; North, 2016; Organ et al., 1979; Ross, 2001; Ross et al., 2018; Topić & Bruegmann, 2021).

However, these are not the only issues women face. Some authors argued that women have to become blokish to succeed and

some of the women who do remain in senior positions become so bloke-ified by the macho water in which they swim that many younger women looking up don't see them as role models for the kind of women they might want to become.

(Mills, 2014, p. 19)

In other words, women have merged to masculine newsrooms and those who do not want to merge or simply cannot embrace masculine behaviour and communication have to leave, this ultimately meaning that values and practice (such as newsgathering technique) have not changed despite the increase of women joining the media industry (Christmas, 1997; Djerf-Pierre, 2011; Graber, 1980). Thus, newspapers still have

macho cultures, desk editors openly watching and talking about porn, and heading off to the pub [...]. The tabloid newsroom is far from being woman-friendly – visitors would be lucky to see a woman anywhere near a news desk or a backbench. There is a deeply entrenched bloke culture. It's all about the boys' club, promotions are dished out in the pub and women aren't invited. In the end, women just get fed up.

(Mills, 2014, p. 22)

What is more, when women first joined journalism male editors and journalists expressed fears that they will bring emotion into coverage (Franks, 2013), and women have historically occupied positions in healthcare, lifestyle, food, fashion and beauty and family topics (Christmas, 1997). Up to today, research shows that women's interests are labelled as soft news and remain unappreciated (Christmas, 1997).

While the works cited above vividly explain the position of women in journalism, they do not consider this position in the context of the political economy of the media, which led me to embrace ecofeminism when editing this book and I am trying to understand and analyze case studies in this book with an ecofeminist lens.

Ecofeminism is a feminist movement that links feminism with ecology and the struggle to preserve the natural environment, and thus links the oppression of women with the oppression of Nature (Mallory, 2012; Sandiland, 1999). This oppression happens as a result of hegemonic masculinity and patriarchy, and both of these oppressions are linked to capitalism (Đurđević & Marjanić, 2020; Gaard, 1997; Henderson, 1997; Ling, 2014; Maclaran & Stevens, 2018; Merchant, 1992; Radford Ruether, 2012; Stoddart & Tindall, 2011; Von Werlhof, 2007; Warren, n.d.) as a system which is inherently oppressive to women and Nature. Ecofeminism is predominantly centred on tackling hierarchy and capitalism and thus presents an anti-hierarchical and anti-capitalist movement, and ecofeminism has followers around the globe working on tackling oppression of women and Nature (Bandyopadhyay, 1999; Fakier & Cock, 2018; Green Belt Movement, n.d.; Griffin, 2020; Holy, 2007; Jain, 1984; Moore, 2011; Mishra et al., 2021; Shiva & Bandyopadhyay, 1986). Rosemary Ruether (1975) summarized what ecofeminism stands for decades ago but her words still stand today,

Women must see that there can be no liberation for them and no solution to the ecological crisis within a society whose fundamental model of relationships continues to be one of domination. They must unite the demands of the women's movement with those of the ecological movement to envision a radical reshaping of the basic socioeconomic relations and the underlying values of this [modern industrial] society.
(p. 204)

Ecofeminists see oppression of Nature and women as intertwined and this oppression is seen as a result of hegemonic masculinity which adversely affects women, indigenous communities, people of non-white origin and also all species on the planet. As a result, ecofeminism opposes all -isms, sexism, racism and speciesism and has historically been in conflict with most ideologies (liberalism, conservatism, fascism, nationalism) as well as patriarchy and capitalism (Đurđević, 2020; Marjanić, 2020; see also Brownhill & Turner, 2020; Saed, 2017).

Whilst ecofeminism focuses immensely on Nature and environmental preservation, which I have written about in my other works (e.g., Topić, 2020; Topić et al., 2021), what is also central to ecofeminism is the notion of masculinity and how masculinity works against women and in that, masculinity is intertwined with capitalism, seen as inherently patriarchal. This concept is taken from ecofeminism and applied to the position of women in the media in this book. Ecofeminists argue

that the rise of science has led to the rise of the ‘masculine way of thinking of the world’ (Bordo, 1986, p. 441). This way of thinking led to dualistic objectivism, which comes from Cartesian philosophy and it denies humans a connection with Nature and places humans at the centre of the universe. Many early ‘intellectuals’ embraced these views and imposed the rise of science against Nature and also women. For example, witchhunts are linked with the persecution of women healers at the time when men developed science and supposed rationality (Godfrey, 2008; Holy, 2007; Singer, 2002), which extended the ‘us vs. them’ narrative from ‘humanity vs. Nature’ to also ‘men vs. women’. Bordo (1986) and Singer (2002) argued that Cartesian duality resulted in a masculine rationalist paradigm, which then also led to the development of masculine consciousness, and this underpins scientific thought. This set of values erased female consciousness and way of doing things. Capitalism also rose in this period and this created a divide between the public and private sphere where men started to work whilst women stayed at home and looked after families, this dichotomy then being further exacerbated with a further duality of reason vs. emotion where reason (men) was needed to achieve progress whilst emotion (women) was to stay at home (Donovan, 1990). Some ecofeminists said that modernity, built upon masculine paradigm, has done nothing to improve the condition of humans but destroyed it by being the bastion of capitalism and patriarchy where women’s contributions are systematically undermined because of housewife-ization, or unpaid and undervalued labour that women perform but that does not contribute towards the accumulation of capital (Mies, 1986; Von Werholf, 2013). This process of undermining everything that is ascribed to femininity has also led to bloke-ification of women and thus ecofeminists recognize that many women became ‘women male dealers’ and are

being even more ‘tough’ than their male counterparts just to prove that they are not ‘soft’, emotional women, and are able to ‘get the job done’, that is to advance enclosures, open markets, and call on the armed force of the state, even to torture and cage children, in order to stop anyone who opposes the goals of profitable enterprise.

(Brownhill & Turner, 2020, p. 5, emphasis in the original)

This notion has been confirmed in empirical research in journalism, as outlined above and where scholars have argued for decades that women have to be bloke-ified to succeed and thus become one of the boys and embrace masculine working patterns, including behaviour and communication, to succeed in masculine newsrooms (Gallagher, 2002; Mills, 2014; North, 2009a, 2009b, 2016a, 2016b; Ross, 2001; Topić, 2018; Topić & Bruegmann, 2021).

Socialist ecofeminism has, however, argued that Marxist and socialist feminisms failed to solve the oppression of women because of their obsessive focus on

production and work as part of reproducing the working class for the reproduction of capital (Marx, 1976). In that sense, ‘Marxist feminist analysis has demonstrated how women’s unpaid care work that reproduces the working class acts as a subsidy for capital by externalizing the cost of social reproduction’ (Fakier & Cock, 2018, p. 44). Since women’s work is unpaid, Marxist feminists have emphasized unpaid work and the reproduction of the workforce to reproduce capital, however, they failed to sufficiently grasp masculine domination and the intertwined relationship between capitalism and patriarchy, which calls for socialist ecofeminism, a form of ecofeminism that tackles both capitalism and patriarchy and thus explains how inequality works and reproduces itself.

Against the backdrop above, in this book, I wanted to explore the position of women in the media in a variety of economic contexts and thus I particularly looked at the position of women in capitalism and socialism. Some countries analyzed belong to a mixed economy, however, whether one country is fully capitalist or mixed is a contentious issue and would require an economic analysis, which is beyond the scope of this book. For that reason, I decided to divide the book into two sections and analyze countries with any element of capitalism within the capitalist paradigm and the socialist and post-socialist periods are analyzed within the socialist paradigm. The reason for this focus of the analysis lies in calls to analyze media within the political economy in which media operate (Garnham, 1998; Herman & McChesney, 1997; Mosco, 2009; Sandoval, 2013), and I am extending this to the position of women in the media.

What is more, in the past decade or so, there has been a surge of works studying the position of women in socialism and their lived memories exploring whether women regret the fall of socialism, and many studies show that women indeed regret the fall of socialism by emphasizing they lost economic security, freedom to fight to achieve their interests and jobs. For example, women from Russia emphasized that many things were bad in communism but they lived decent lives economically speaking (Nadkarni & Shevchenko, 2004) whilst women in Romania noted that they had the money before liberalization but had nothing to buy whilst now everything is available but the prices are similar to the ones in the West whilst salaries are low or ‘Romanian’ as they argued (Brunnbauer, 2000; Kligman, 1998). Meyer and Schulze (1998) spoke to women from Eastern Germany who emphasized that they knew, since they were little girls, that they will have children and have state help which will give them economic independence and support and they emphasized greater freedom in choosing work and what they want to do, including within their own families. In Poland, women admitted to sitting at home crying and taking depressants because, with the change of regimes and the beginning of the transition towards liberalism and capitalism, they lost income, self-confidence and friendships (Pine, 2002). A similar finding exists in research on

Yugoslavia with textile workers expressing regret for the fall of socialism quoting predominantly economic security, no need to have a connection to get a job and a sense of pride in working for the common good (Jambrešić Kirin & Blagaić, 2013; Premuž Đipalo, 2016; Senjković, 2018), and, in Croatia, a large number of women specifically stated their position has worsened since the transition in the 1990s (Leinert Novosel, 1998). Therefore, in this book, I am using the socialist ecofeminist viewpoint to explore whether either capitalist (or countries that embraced some elements of capitalism) or socialist countries promote equality of women in the media and if they do, to what extent are women truly equal and how the position of women works in the media in two distinctive political economies. In that, I look at chapters in regards to the literature analyzed above and look at the position of women in capitalism and socialism generally and whether this is mirrored in the media.

The book opens with countries that belong to capitalist political economies or have embraced many elements of capitalism in their social and economic development. In the first chapter, Hanne Vandenberghe argues that Belgium does not excel in gender equality albeit the conditions have improved over the last decade or so. In that, she conducted a study analyzing media coverage between 2003 and 2013 with a particular focus on public broadcasters and newspapers in Belgium and also considering the Diversity Charter, which marked the beginning of diversity policy strategy. According to findings, the gender imbalance decreased in broadcasting but not in the newspapers. This finding is against data showing that the number of women working in newspapers increased globally more than the number of women working in broadcasting (WACC, 2015), however, the data goes in line with scholarly works about the position of women in newspapers, which are still seen as the masculine world and this particularly applies to the press as the bastion of masculinity, where many works of western scholars have shown that women face deeply entrenched masculinities and inequality (Gallagher, 2002; Mills, 2014; North, 2009a, 2009b; 2016a, 2016b; Ross, 2001; Topić, 2018; Topić & Bruegmann, 2021).

In the second chapter, and drawing from Franks and O'Neill (2016), Beth Fenner and Barbara Henderson conducted a byline analysis of football pages in British newspapers, showing that almost no meaningful progress has been made in women reporting football, and football journalism thus remaining a domain of men and masculinity. The authors argue that the specific data relating to football suggests the domination of males within football is still commonplace in today's society. Despite certain papers, such as *The Guardian*, making significant progress in increasing the visibility of female football journalists, with 11 per cent of football articles having a female byline and 8 per cent of all football articles being written by females, the majority are making little or no progress at all. In the second stage

of this research, the authors also carried interviews with football fans, both men and women and asked them to assess newspaper articles. According to findings, fans expressed stereotypical views expecting women to be softer in their coverage of football than men and also by assigning more credibility to male presenters than the female ones, thus assuming women have less knowledge of football than men. With this, masculine way of thinking becomes visible and reveals itself in social prejudices and also newsroom culture via by line analysis of women's involvement in the news production.

In Chapter 3, Batya Weinbaum elaborates on the way the portrayal of women changed in a western popular culture arguing that women went from new to *new new* and now to *new new new* women, where the *new new new woman* is defined in what Weinbaum understands as post-feminist, or a situation where the dynamic and work relations for women have changed. In that, the popular culture traditionally portrayed the so-called new woman as the one who works and no longer sits at home and just caters for her man, but her work was a background to gender. *New new* woman also works and the work is primary whereas the gender roles are secondary whereas the *new new new woman* works, connects to equal women at work and also works around women's issues. Postfeminism is here defined as changed work relations and thus women are seen as progressed and feminists fight almost as finished because of work relations, however, what Weinbaum's chapter shows is an excessive focus on being allowed to work and progress as a sign of postfeminism and the fact feminism has achieved equality for women. What these narratives do not tackle is the fact women still face structural barriers and thus progress harder, leave the industry and face hidden forms of sexism, inherent to many industries including the media, and especially the organizational world in general.

In Chapter 4, Béatrice Damian-Gaillard and Eugénie Saitta discuss the activism of French women journalists who published an opinion piece denouncing pervasive sexism, macho behaviour and problematic working conditions for women journalists. Women argued that they are obliged to operate 'differently from their male counterparts' in terms of the relationship they have with their sources, and the statement reveals criticism of male domination in the political field as well as sexism and sexual harassment in political journalism which puts them at odds with experiences of men journalists in the information-collecting process. Damian-Gaillard and Saitta conducted interviews with authors of this opinion piece to explore how sexism works in French journalism and argued that the opinion piece raises the issue of seduction in the everyday exercise of political journalism where women are prevented from collecting information without encountering sexism which also reveals domination of men in politics who create this situation in the first place. In other words, the chapter illustrates patriarchy and sexism as inherent

to French politics and journalism, thus showing that women face structural barriers in capitalist political economies and that the masculine way of thinking and denouncing women and their contributions is still alive.

In Chapter 5, Belén Zurbano-Berenguer, Salomé Sola-Morales and Paloma Sanz-Marcos discuss violence against women and the sourcing of stories about violence against women. In that, they argue that journalists were more inclined to write objectively and use, for example, agency sources, and depend on police information rather than talking to women and presenting their stories or invite advocates, service providers or women researchers as sources. As argued by Bullock (2002), this police frame of stories provides a fact-oriented approach distorting women's experience of violence due to its objectivity and detachment from the context (cited from Sutherland et al., 2016, pp. 7–8). This chapter illustrates masculinity in journalism and the domination of the so-called hard news approach to news writing techniques as well as masculine rationality that is pervasive in journalism. Therefore, instead of tackling a social problem of violence, news articles present objective facts, which has historically been a masculine way of doing journalism (Christmas, 1997; Djerf-Pierre, 2011; Graber, 1980).

In Chapter 6, Maria João Cunha and Carla Isabel Cruz analyze the representation of women in the Portuguese press and also to what extent are women used as sources. Their analysis revealed that women are mostly represented in society sections and in terms of sources, most editors are either men or women appointed by men. As a result, women are less represented in the direct sourcing of news. Authors correctly argue that the lack of women's representation in sourcing news is a historical problem where women have been portrayed in relation to men and this often distorted women's status in the social world (Tuchman, 1979). Due to the masculine agenda in the news, this means that, according to authors,

the images of women produced are those of victims of violence, both domestic and public, of sex objects, passive, dependent, weak and engaged in domestic roles. Moreover, print media representations of women in politics are not representative of their actual presence in prominent political positions in Portuguese society, even with Parity Law. Consequently, standard images of femininity are idealized and normalized in the real world. Such practices act as barriers for women to escape traditional gender roles and expectations.

Similar to the Spanish chapter, the Portuguese case shows media as promoting masculine stereotypes and expected roles and thus re-enforcing domination and expected roles instead of meaningfully engaging with an issue.

In Chapter 7, Chinedu J. Nwasum, Jude Ogbodo, Joseph N. Chukwu and Ekwutosi S. Nwakpu explored to what extent Nigerian women journalists cover

and write about the most important news in the country and to what extent are women used as sources by journalists and in which areas. The data reveals that men dominate Nigerian journalism space both as news creators and sources of news and masculine values still dominate Nigerian newsrooms, thus showing that in the Nigerian context – similar to the one in the West – men and masculine thinking and view of the world dominate the media, ultimately showing that the women's equality plight is a universalist struggle that spans across borders.

In the second section of the book, the position of women in the media within socialist and post-socialist regimes is analyzed, and socialism in this context means that countries are considered socialist or post-socialist if they had a socialist political economy in place rather than just a socialist government, which still operates within a capitalist or mixed economic paradigm (as is the case with some countries analyzed in this book such as Portugal, for example, which has a socialist government but operates within a social democratic mixed regime). The first chapter in the second section of the book, Chapter 8 by Mirela Holy, analyzes the position of women journalists in Croatia since independence from the 1990s when Socialist Yugoslavia disintegrated. The analysis is done within the national context of the rise of neo-conservatism and the influence of the Catholic Church in the country. As for women in the media, this situation of conservatism is mirrored in editorial positions being awarded to predominantly men, which influences the representation of women politicians. Using qualitative interviews with women journalists, Holy demonstrated that women in Croatian media suffer from inequality such as the pay gap and the glass ceiling, however, they also internalized masculine way of thinking and blame women, politicians, for appearing in lifestyle sections even though, as Holy argues, this is sometimes the only platform to get heard in the public. The analysis shows that, after the fall of socialism, conservatism emerged and enforced expected roles and discrimination of women inherent to capitalism, many of which policies Croatia embraced during the transition.

In Chapter 9, and similar to Holy's chapter, Nataša Simeunović Bajić, Marija Vujović and Anka Mihajlov Prokopović analyze the position of women in Serbian media before and after the fall of socialism. In that, they argue that after Socialist Yugoslavia disintegrated, nationalism and authoritarianism took place in Serbia and this had an impact on the media. Authors argued that even though women won their rights in socialism, their roles in a patriarchal society remained unchanged. This means that being a journalist during Yugoslavia implied greater security, dignity and respect but as soon as the regime changed in the 1990s women journalists had to prove themselves and they face lower wages and discrimination at work, thus showing that the economic regime has an impact on the status of women, however, old prejudices can easily emerge if society has not moved away from patriarchy, which socialist regime clearly failed to tackle and eradicate.

In Chapter 10, Elena Díaz and Lisa Makarchuk analyze the representation of women in Cuban cinema. In that, they argue that women's participation and position in Cuban society is privileged due to a favourable political will of the regime and structural changes in socialist society, but these changes alone did not eliminate patriarchal stereotypes against women. Women are, thus still under-represented in cinema as producers or creators of films, however, their presence increased in the production of documentaries. Whilst the media are improving and reducing stereotypical content, there are still issues and in part, this can be seen because of the lack of women in senior positions, which leads to the notion of socialist ecofeminism that calls for the embracement of the dismantling of patriarchy within socialism arguing that socialism alone cannot solve women's inequality if women are not actively engaged with the socialist regime and if their voices are not embedded within formal policies.

In Chapter 11, Nikolina Borčić and Ivona Čulo analyze the position of women in former Yugoslavia using academic empirical articles and then compare these findings with the current writing of the Croatian online press about Yugoslav women. Their findings show that the official discourse in former Yugoslavia was centred on the so-called New Woman, which was meant to be working and a part of the newly formed socialist society. Whilst women have indeed achieved the right to work, which was not granted to them before the Yugoslav rule, there was also a heavy focus on family and upbringing and the woman's role became dual, the one of both a worker and caring mother, thus placing a burden of expectations on women. However, when Yugoslavia disintegrated, academic articles analyze new policies and a sudden move to remove women from the public sphere entirely with the return of nationalism and a more open patriarchal society, and some studies conducted after the disintegration show that many women regretted the fall of socialism because their right to work was not questioned and they felt they had more rights despite being expected to have a dual role.

In Chapter 12, Ivona Čuljak and Lea Vene analyze the portrayal of women in two fashion magazines published in post-war Yugoslavia. The two magazines were published by the Anti-fascist organization and promoted the New Woman as endorsed by the new socialist regime. The analysis reveals a dual tendency towards women, as promoted by the Anti-fascist organization closely linked to the regime. From one side, women were pushed towards meeting their full potential and choose whether they would like to become employed (this was also promoted) and fashion played a significant role in this process. On the other side, the promotion of consumerism also pushed women more towards the patriarchal notion of women being in the private sphere and concerned with physical appearance. As the analysis shows, the situation with promoting fashion to women was complex and whilst there was a genuine attempt to emancipate women and enable them to

become equal to men and join the workforce, there was also an expectation that women will raise children and work in the textile industry, a traditional feminine profession. Thus, the regime was sympathetic to the women's plight, however, this regime was still based on masculine rationality and masculine way of thinking with the expectation of women to look after the household, thus placing a burden of dual role onto them.

In the final chapter, Ovidiana Bulumac analyzes the representation of the new communist woman in Romania through the analysis of the press representation. She argues that the regime and the press instrumentalized women to gain power by promising them equality and this meant also pushing women to work in factories and thus be independent of men. This went to the point that even motherhood was pushed aside in the interest of the regime and the press portrayed women as workers, however, once the regime was established, then women got pushed aside and failed to achieve true equality with the discourse of motherhood and raising future workforce emerging. The situation and the discourse with the position of women are similar to the one described in the previous chapter where Čuljak and Vene also argued that women were pushed to work and contribute towards building up a new Yugoslav society, however, at the same time, the patriarchal notion of women as mothers who raise future workers was not abandoned and in a way re-emerged with the rise of consumerism in Yugoslavia, which resulted with the rise of Yugoslav feminism.

What appears from all these chapters is that women face some sort of inequality in both capitalism and socialism, however, it seems that socialist regimes are inclined to see all professions as equally valuable and media mirrored the social change on the status of women. In other words, traditionally feminine professions such as fashion were seen as a way to emancipate women and get them to work to contribute to the socialist society. The latter is admirable considering that the position of women in capitalism is often seen through the notion of private vs. public and that women's professions and women's interests are not always recognized as equal to those of men, such as women's news interests, as emphasized earlier in this introduction. However, where socialist regimes failed was in distancing themselves from expected roles of women and thus across all countries, there seems to be a notion of masculine rationality and masculine way of thinking as underpinning even socialist regimes. This is why socialist ecofeminism is needed because this approach correctly accepts socialism as better for everyone due to its focus on the common good, which corresponds with women's views who now regret the fall of socialism. In addition to that, socialist regimes did not openly undermine the position of women and their input and women report to researchers they felt more appreciated and respected and it was easier to achieve what they wanted. However, as ecofeminist theory correctly recognizes, even socialist regimes were

underpinned by masculine rationality and way of thinking and this is visible in the chapters in this book where all authors report expectations of women to run households and look after families, with which they placed a double burden on women instead of educating men to share these responsibilities and thus dismantle patriarchal underpinning of social roles. The fact socialist regimes failed to do this led to the worsening of the position of women after socialism with the introduction of nationalism and re-traditionalization, as cases from Croatia and Serbia show where both countries moved towards embracing patriarchal discrimination of women where women face a pay gap, glass ceiling and the lack of recognition of professions perceived as feminine (which is similar to Western capitalist society) as well as the discrimination coming from expected roles, which is even more pervasive now in these countries than in the Western liberal democracies. In other words, the equality that women achieved to an extent in socialism got easily dismantled because patriarchy never got dismantled but it was pushed under the carpet by the more inclusive, albeit still very masculine, regime.

In capitalist countries or those with mixed economies with some elements of capitalism, all chapters, as a rule, confirm findings that already exist in the literature on women in the media and comment on the discriminatory position of women and demonstrate masculinity as underpinning media industries across countries. It appears, therefore, that when the position of women in the media are analyzed within the political economy of media and using the ecofeminist lens, that the problem largely lies in masculinity and the masculine way of thinking, which has historically been present in all regimes. In a nutshell, what analysis here shows is that the position of women in the media seems to mirror the position of women in the society and if women are seen as respectable and equal in the society, this translates into their media work whereas if they are not seen as respected or equal, this then translates in prejudices, stereotypes, structural barriers and unfavourable position for them.

In summary, it appears that when the position of women in the media in capitalism is at stake, women suffer from discrimination, structural barriers, lack of recognition and a masculine way of thinking across countries whereas in socialism women did not suffer from the lack of recognition but they did suffer from dual expectations, which placed a burden on them and enabled the return of patriarchal discrimination with the change of regimes and this leads to the notion of masculine thinking that underpinned socialist regimes too. As emphasized by ecofeminist theory, the masculine way of thinking started during the Cartesian time and has been underpinning the world ever since resulting in a masculine rationality paradigm, and this led to masculine consciousness that underpins scientific thought and has led to the rise of capitalism and the introduction of private vs. public sphere and the division to rationality vs. emotion (Bordo, 1986; Donovan,

1990; Godfrey, 2008; Holy, 2007; Singer, 2002). Whilst it is obvious from existing research, as well as chapters in this book, that socialist regimes had more respect for women, it is clear that they were also underpinned by a masculine thought to an extent, which resulted in a double burden on women in society and this was mirrored by the media.

Therefore, new socialism is needed, the one which will take into consideration patriarchy in all of its elements and include not just policies on equal pay and equal opportunities in the organization but also has active women's voices in designing policies that last and that makes an impact on equality in all of its social segments. Equal societies are better for everyone (Djerf-Pierre, 2011), and capitalist exploitation of workers through a desire for profit and natural devastation that comes with it needs to be replaced with a democratic decision of people to establish socialism, but we need socialism underpinned by socialist ecofeminist theory that truly makes women equal and the regime as such durable.

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