

# GENDER STRUCTURE OF MANAGERIAL AND CHIEF EDITORIAL POSITIONS IN THE NEWS MEDIA OUTLETS



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## **Author:**

Professor, Snježana Milivojević, PhD

## **Research team:**

Assistant Professor, Danka Ninković-Slavnić, PhD

Tanja Maksić, editor in BIRN

Hristina Cvetinčanin-Knežević, Doctoral student at the Faculty of Political Science

Danica Balaban, Doctoral student at the Faculty of Political Science

Sanja Pavlović, Doctoral student at the Faculty of Political Science

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

MAIN FINDINGS .....	2
ABOUT THE RESEARCH.....	3
MEDIA OUTLET SAMPLE .....	5
BACKGROUND .....	9
RESEARCH RESULTS .....	11
EDITORIAL POSITIONS.....	13
MANAGEMENT POSITIONS .....	15
PUBLIC BROADCASTING SERVICES - RTS AND RTV.....	16
CONCLUSIONS .....	20
RECOMMENDATIONS .....	24
REFERENCES.....	26

# MAIN FINDINGS

1. The total number of female journalists is high and in average they account for more than 60% in the news media outlets, exceeding the average in most of the European countries, which is around 40%.
2. The number of women at editorial positions, or with such title, exceeds in average one half of the total editorial staff (58%). The number of women is smaller in editorial boards and in small editorial committees, and it is the smallest among editors-in-chief.
3. Only 18% of editor-in-chief positions is held by women. Out of 34 editors-in-chief in 41 media outlets only six are women.
4. Not a single daily newspaper has a woman as editor-in-chief, and the majority of them are in digital media (3 internet portals and RTV digital).
5. More than one third of all managerial positions is occupied by women (36%), and out of eight big corporations three have women as general managers.
6. Women more often hold managerial positions in audio-visual (three TV channels) and digital media outlets (web portals/digital editions).
7. All key positions in the RTS are occupied by men, although women are dominant in the production sector, where they account for 71%.
8. The other public broadcaster, RTV, has a female programme director for all RTV outlets, and two women editors-in-chief - one of RTV Radio and one of RTV Web. A share of women in the production related positions accounts for 67%.
9. Women as journalists and editors of individual programmes, shows or sections are most numerous in TV outlets (69%) and least in the print news media (57%).
10. Compared to the similar international research, where the ratio of female and male journalists is 40%-60%, women are more numerous in news media outlets in Serbia (60%-40%), but on average they are less likely to be editors-in-chief (18%) than in 12 countries according to a 2020 survey (22%)

# ABOUT THE RESEARCH

Mapping of the proportion of women and man at leading managing and professional positions in the news media contributes to a wider understanding of media industry from the gender perspective. This type of research is still scarce and mainly focused on media content and the representation of woman across media. However, gender stereotypes, mis and under-representation of women, also indicate to deeper causes of gender inequality in media professions, media systems and the society at large.

The main objective of this research is to map out gender distribution of roles and to identify patterns of unequal participation, and therefore unequal opportunities that occur in media professions and news media outlets concerning the highest decision-making positions.

The second objective of this research is to enable the comparison of national results with those from other countries and to show their correlation with other systemic features, i.e. that the obstacles in establishing equal gender relations in the media outlets constitute at the same time a problem of protection and improvement of freedom of expression.

The third objective of the research is to identify tendencies in traditional and digital media outlets, and to point out the institutional specifics of different types of media and different media environments, i.e. tendencies that already occur in the digital transformation process.

The fourth objective of the research is to provide data to compare media representation of women with gender role distribution in editorial and managerial professions, i.e. gender structure of decision-making in the media and gender dimension within professional hierarchy.

The results will contribute towards a better understanding of the disparities between the high place that Serbia occupies in the assessment of gender equality and the

disproportion of power among men and women in the economic, political and cultural fields. Serbia is among the first countries outside the EU where the Gender Equality Index is measured, and according to it Serbia was ranked 39th out of 153 countries in 2018. The 2021 World Economic Forum annual report on gender equality placed it in a high 19th place (<https://www.srbija.gov.rs/vest/en/170700/serbia-achieves-huge-progress-in-gender-equality.php>), but as recent debates initiated by the adoption of the Law on Gender Equality show, apart from the symbolic level, there are also very strong institutional resistances to equality starting already at the level of the use of gender-sensitive language.

The results of this research will also serve to formulate recommendations for creating a more conducive environment for women's involvement in editorial and managerial processes in the news media outlets, which is one of the goals of the recently adopted Media Strategy (1.1.10 Action Plan for Media Strategy Implementation).

# MEDIA OUTLET SAMPLE

The research was conducted on the sample which is numerically small (22 media outlets out of 2,500 registered media outlets), but is designed to include media that employ a large number of journalists, and cumulatively reach out to a huge part of the national audience. The selected media reflect diverse editorial policies, involve mixture of public and private outlets, print and audio-visual, conventional and new media organisations with diversified ownership structure, so they represent a good overview of the domestic media system.

Several of these 22 media outlets belong to big media companies such as PINK International Company, United Media Group, Ringier Axel Springer, Adria Media Group, RTS or RTV. Most of them also include several special brands or editions on different platforms which often act as separate media outlets as far as programme and structure are concerned (for instance, daily newspaper Kurir, web portal Kurir and TV Kurir are parts of the same media company which is a member of the Adria Media Group). The total number of researched media outlets, the ones with separate editorial teams, is therefore twice as high and amounts to 40. They have 1938 employees performing different journalistic roles, which constitutes a significant part of the national journalistic community.

This number was compiled from the official data, such as impressum and records of employment, and answers acquired through survey or interviews.

<b>Daily news</b>	<b>Weekly</b>	<b>Agency</b>	<b>RTV media outlet</b>	<b>Cable TV</b>	<b>Digital media outlet</b>
<b>Politika</b> 1. press 2. digital	<b>Vreme</b>	<b>Fonet</b>	<b>RTS</b> 1. TV 2. radio 3. RTS digital	<b>TV N1</b> 1. TV 2. web portal	<b>Mondo</b>
<b>Danas</b> 1. press 2. web portal	<b>Nin</b>	<b>Beta</b>	<b>RTV</b> 1. TV 2. radio 3. RTV digital	<b>TV Nova S</b> 1. TV 2. web portal	<b>Espresso</b>
<b>Večernje novosti</b> 1. press 2. web portal			<b>RTV PINK</b> 1. TV 2. web portal		<b>Telegraf</b>
<b>Blic</b> 1. press 2. web portal			<b>TV Prva</b> 1. TV 2. web portal		
<b>Informer</b> 1. press 2. web portal			<b>TV B92</b> 1. TV 2. web portal		
<b>Kurir</b> 1. press 2. web portal 3. TV					
<b>Alo</b> 1. press 2. web portal					
<b>Srpski telegraf</b> 1. press 2. web/ Republika					



This research is the first one in our country that maps out the gender structure of holders of editorial and managerial functions. It is comparable to several international projects wherein media contents or journalistic profession are already included in comparative overviews, as well as to the data of several international academic projects concerning global tendencies in the media industry, or policy studies prepared for leading international organisation dealing with media freedom or gender equality issues.

The research's primary ambition is to identify basic tendencies and it covers both professional (editorial positions) and managerial (directors, executives) functions. In some cases these functions were hard to categorise, because the media outlet organisational structures differ considerably, and sometimes several media outlets as parts of bigger corporations have the same management staff. This mostly refers to general managers, i.e. key managerial functions, which are therefore categorised in a special category on a par with general manager of public broadcasting services, for instance. Managers/directors for separate media outlet are categorised separately, even in cases when the media outlets belong to the same corporation.

In the editorial circle, some editors-in-chief are in charge of multiple platforms or brands within the same media company. Some of the media outlets, especially TV houses, have a very specific organizational structure with positions that combine both program and business competencies (such as executive editors, news directors, etc.), in which case we have classified them into categories closer to their main competencies. Finally, editorial organisations differ considerably, so some media outlets have numerous editorial staff because many senior journalists have this title, or because the editorial board includes all editors of all sections or shows, while elsewhere the editorial board includes only a narrow editorial circle. Regardless of these organizational differences, collected data clearly indicate the patterns in the gender distribution of roles in decision-making roles.

The data collection process has once again shown that exact data is very difficult to obtain because the level of transparency about the internal organization of national media outlets is very low. Likewise, national institutions keeping different types of records on media (BRA, Statistical Office, Ministry of Culture and Information) often do not have harmonised methodology on the collection, and particularly on categorisation of data (categorisation of professions, lack of gender aggregated statis-

tics). Data collection procedure covers three stages: firstly, the data are collected from mastheads and other publicly available sources, then through the questionnaire sent out to adequate bodies of the media outlets, and finally, through individual interviews with employees in different editorial offices and journalists' associations so as to correct any possible discrepancies.

The research was conducted from 15 March to 15 May, and the research team was comprised of: Professor, Snježana Milivojević, author; Assistant Professor, Danka Ninković-Slavnić, coordinator/ data processing, and researchers - Tanja Maksić, editor in BIRN; Hristina Cvetinčanin-Knežević, Danica Balaban and Sonja Pavlović, doctoral students at the Faculty of Political Science.

# BACKGROUND

International and national research point out that gender inequality indicators in the media are well identified and long-standing. The project Global Media Monitoring “Who Makes the News” (GMMP) was initiated 25 years ago as one of the activities after the adoption of the Beijing Declaration in order to generate data necessary in formulating better public policies and awareness raising about gender inequality. The research shows that the progress is slow and unbalanced, that there was a mild progress in the first decade (1995-2005), whereas in the second one (2005-2015) a stagnation was observed, hence at such a pace it would take a century to reach gender equality in the media world.

GMMP research has also been conducted in Serbia since 2005 and it indicates similar results. Women account for one fourth of all actors to be seen, heard and who speak in the news world-wide, and despite the regional variances this remains a global tendency. The 2020 results for Serbia indicate that women are only 20% of those who are subject to reporting, and that this representation is slightly higher (25%) in digital media. Women are less visible in all walks of life; the issue is just the size of that gap. Although the health and care about family represent everyday lives of many women, COVID-19 has shown that even reporting on these topics in the media covers far less women, although at the same time they are much more affected by the crisis. Regardless of the fact that many texts refer to areas in which women are much more often both subjects and sources of news, with the politicization of the crisis it has become a political, and therefore much more masculine domain. The only significant increase was in the number of experts in the media, with the appearance of female doctors and medical workers, who were barely represented in previous researches.

Although it may appear that women are visible in the media, and that there are as many or even more of them than men in the media contents, the analysis shows that such visibility is mainly due to entertainment and magazine media outlets, tabloid press and entertainment industry, but not the news media. With their absence from the news, their authority, reputation and status are maintained as less impor-

tant, their expertise is less valued. Research on media professions, hierarchy and distribution of roles within different media occupations, speaks differently about a similar relationship. The media, especially the journalistic profession, are highly positioned when it comes to the presence of women in comparison to many other occupations. The number of female journalism students in the education systems is huge, even in the late 1980s the number of graduate female students constituted a “new majority” in journalism. At FPS, like most faculties in Serbia, female students make up from 75% to 90% at different levels of study. Within the profession, women make up between 60-70% of all employees, depending on the type of media outlet and the type of journalistic work. This ratio changes at higher levels of the professional and educational hierarchy (for example, among the PhD positions, or in dean's positions). Within the media institutions, neither of the two public broadcasting services has ever had a female general manager or a female president of the Management Board. Women are somewhat more numerous in editorial and managerial positions in the digital media, but there is not enough data yet to establish whether it is a trend, and whether it indicates a change in circumstances in the digital environment and the emergence of new habits in the media industry.

This research is a preliminary and initial step in considering the relationship between these two groups of research findings and phenomena. It is guided by the following questions - how the lower presence of women at key editorial and managerial positions in media relates to the circumstances in the media industry, how it corresponds to the standards and the status within the profession (editorial quality, jobs distribution, news beat selection) and finally, how it is related with media representation of women, including decisions whose stories and views are broadcast, which perspective is used to formulate, explain and interpret the events and phenomena they report on?

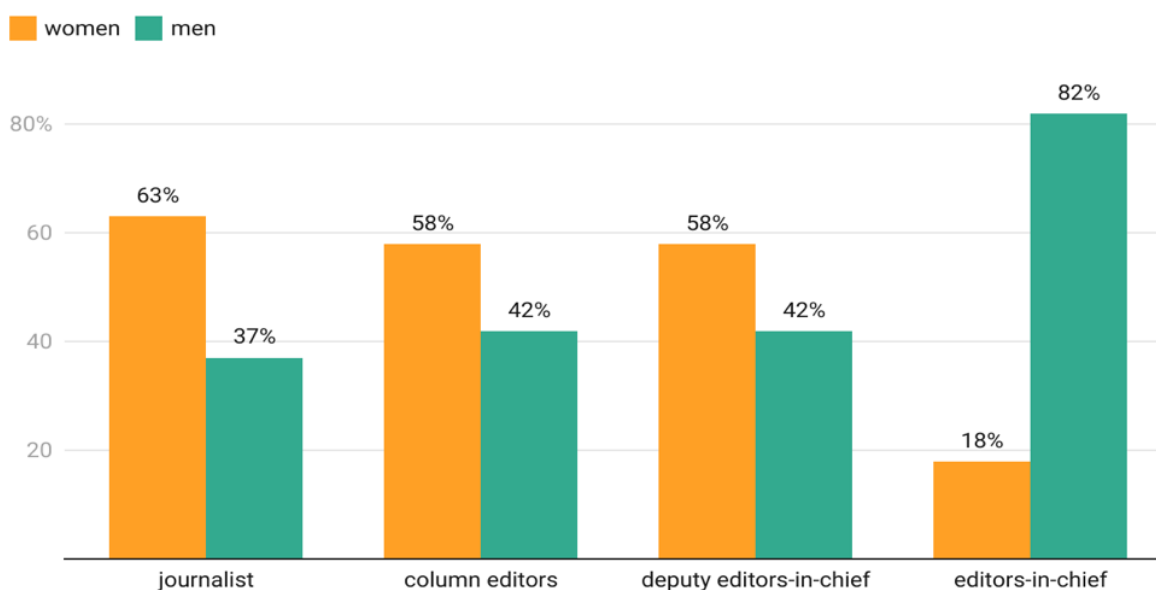
Responses to these questions require regular monitoring in order to know what progress we have made in the creation of equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities for all. Unfortunately, currently only 15% of the countries in the world are regularly collecting gender-related statistics which reflects the attitude towards women and girls, but also aggravates the formulation of public policies and activities for creating a fairer environment to promote gender equality.

# RESEARCH RESULTS

Women make up the majority of the workforce in the news media and are engaged in all professional spheres. Out of almost 2,000 (precisely 1938) employees in the investigative editorial offices, on average women account for around 60% (1,173), and men around 40% (764), when observing all journalistic jobs and positions, from male and female journalists to male and female editors. However, when it comes to distribution at different hierarchical positions certain differences are visible, as well as the distinct existence of a *glass ceiling* blocking better access to the position of male/female editor-in-chief.

Thus, in the entry professional position women journalists are more numerous than their male colleagues. They account for 63%, and male journalist for 37% of the employees. As column editors, they are also the majority (58%), and this proportion is maintained when it comes to the position of assistant and deputy editors-in-chief. However, there is a radical change - in the most respectable and prominent position for the journalistic profession - only 18% of the editors-in-chief are women (6 out of 34).

## Gender structure in newsrooms



**graph 1:** Gender structure in newsrooms

In that broadest professional base, among those directly involved in the production of news content, there are differences among different types of media outlets. Among male/female journalists and male/female column editors, specifically the part of the editorial office directly involved in the news production, 57% of women work in the press, while they are more represented, for 12%, at the same jobs in the television and account for 69%. A lot of researches confirm that this is a global trend and that feminisation of the profession is much more pronounced in the audio-visual media outlets, i.e. that there is a growing number of women where there is a larger number of different presenter jobs.

## Share of women - journalists & editors of shows and columns



**graph 2:** Share of female journalists and editors of shows and columns per types of media outlet

# EDITORIAL POSITIONS

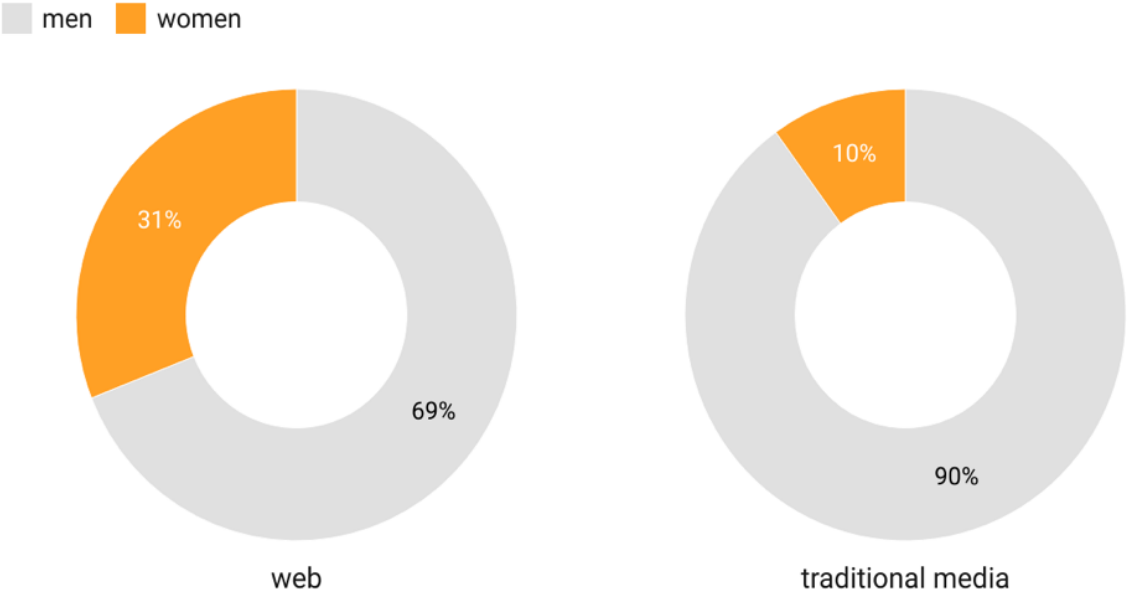
The most prestigious professional position in journalism, the post of male/female editor-in-chief is the least accessible to women. They are more numerous at posts of managers than on posts of editors-in-chief. Out of 34 individuals occupying that position in the 40 analysed media outlets, only six women are editors-in-chief. The difference in the number of positions and the total number of media outlets results from the fact that somewhere there are separated editorial positions, for instance, for print and on-line editions, and somewhere such position is occupied by the same person, which was in that case counted only once. Interestingly, the representation of women occupying positions of assistants and deputies is high, and it accounts for 58%, while a radical decline is observed at the subsequent level, and there are only 18% of them at the position of editor-in-chief.

The disproportion between a large number of female journalists and editors and extremely small number of women editors-in-chief indicates that the major gender gap is precisely observed on this position, primarily in the print media outlets and public broadcasting services. These positions are least accessible to women not only in terms of numerical disproportion, but also historically. As a large number of women in the profession testify, the hierarchical structure is not maintained by the argument of the majority, but by power relations.

When it comes to the chief editorial positions, there is a pattern recognized, indicating different accessibility of that position depending on the type of media outlet. Namely, women have significantly greater chance to access the position of the editor-in-chief in digital media outlets, i.e. as editor of web-portal (irrelevant of whether it concerns web edition of a traditional media outlet or digital-born media outlet), then to become one in a traditional media outlet. Out of 13 people editing web in our research 4 are women (rtv.rs, republika.rs, prva.rs and mondo.rs), and 9 are men, while in the traditional media outlets 2 are women and 19 men. Out of female editors-in-chief in traditional media outlets, one edits radio (RTV Radio), one television (TV Prva), while the press is the most controversial and at this point not a single woman is heading the editorial office of any daily print media.

It is important to note once again that this research is focused on the news media and that these findings do not show those who are editors-in-chief of magazines or the entertainment program on television. In many columns, programmes, and specialized media, women hold editorial and chief editorial positions, but power relations within the profession are most clearly reflected in the news media outlets.

### Share of female editors-in-chief by the type of media



**graph 3:** Share of female editors-in-chief - web against traditional media editorial offices



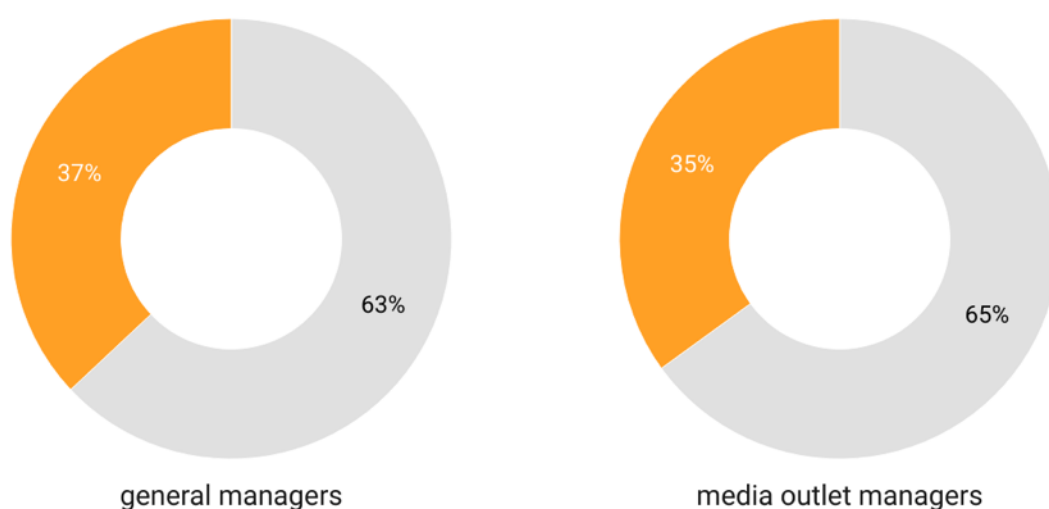
# MANAGEMENT POSITIONS

In the biggest and most influential media outlets in Serbia, a share of women in managerial positions is exceeding one third (37% general managers and 35% media outlet managers).

Out of eight big media companies, three are headed by women - Politika Novine and Magazini (Mira Glišić Simić), United Meda (Aleksandra Subotić), Ringier Axel Springer (Jelena Drakulić Petrović).

## Share of women at managerial functions

men women



**graph 4:** Share of women in management positions

Slightly smaller percentage of women are also managers of certain media outlets within bigger media companies wherein out of 20 media outlet managers - seven are female. In this case again, the newer media outlets are more open and therefore there are three women managers of TV stations (RTV, TV Prva, TV Pink) and four of web portals (Espresso.co.rs, Republika.rs, B92.net, and Alo.rs).

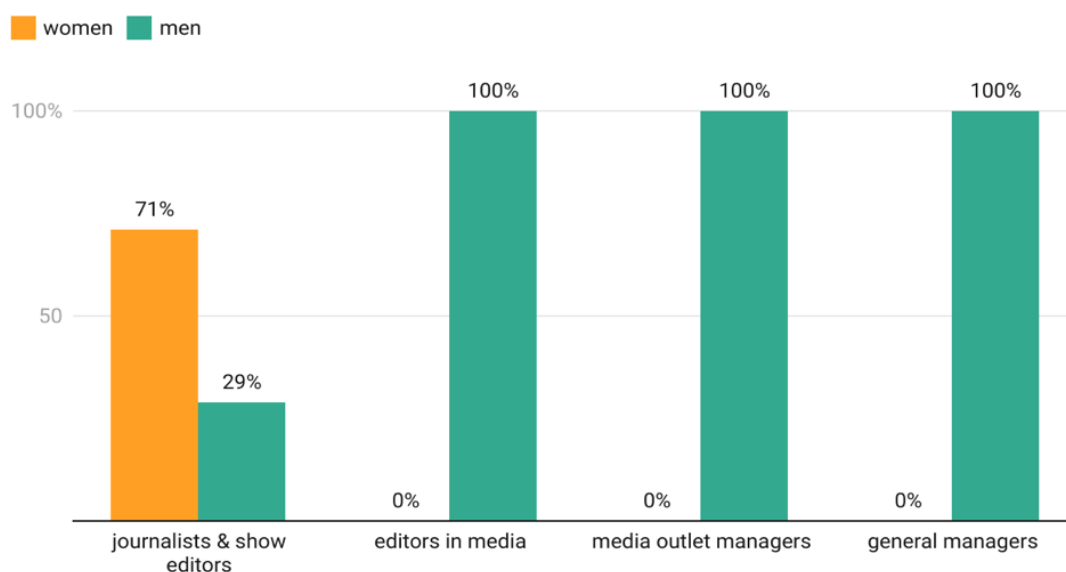
The percentage of women among managers at all managerial levels is higher than the percentage of women editors-in-chief and it would be interesting to investigate why it is so.

# PUBLIC BROADCASTING SERVICES - RTS AND RTV

Due to a special role that public broadcasting services play in the Serbian media system, the question arises as to what the situation is therein against the general findings, whether there are any specificities and if so, which are they. Therefore, we have singled out in the following section the data for each of the media broadcasting services separately, we compared them with commercial televisions with national coverage and provided an overview of the gender structure in the highest positions in two public broadcasting services.

Due to its complex structure, a portion of the public RTV data, as stated, also refers to the positions that are not exclusively related to the news programmes. For the sake of comparison, the professional roles are categorised in such a fashion to enable mapping of gender differences within the journalistic base on one hand and in key decision-making positions on the other hand. Therefore, we have singled out the positions of male and female journalists and editors of shows, then the positions of editors-in-chief of media outlets dealing with news programmes, media outlet managers (there is a difference in the organisational structure between RTS and RTV, so for the RTS this covers managers of television and radio, while for the RTV it covers programme director for all media outlets) and general managers.

## RTS - gender structure

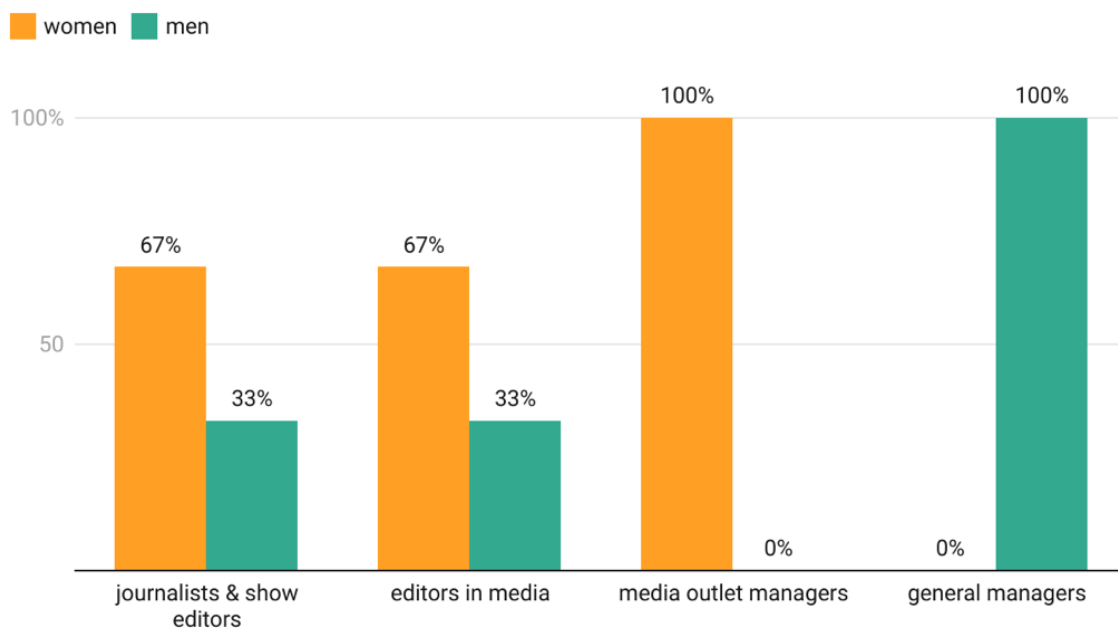


**graph 5:** Representation of females and males at different positions in the RTS

As it is noticeable from the graph, women are mostly working in the production sector, where they make up 71% of employees in various journalistic positions. There are differences in their representation depending on the media type, so that female journalists and show editors make up 75% on television (N = 122 women, 40 men), on radio 66% (37 vs. 19), while in the Internet editorial office they make up 57% (16 women and 12 men). However, there are none of them at the very top. The general managers, directors of media outlets, and the news media editors-in-chief are men.

The distribution of the most responsible roles on RTV is somewhat different. The share of women in production jobs is 67% (on TV it is 70% (156 women, 66 men), on the radio 65% (104 women, 56 men), and on the Internet 44% (11:14)). Women editors-in-chief are at the head of the radio and web editorial office, while that position on the TV is occupied by a man. In this media outlet, one person is the director of the programme for all media, and one person is the general manager of the entire RTV.

## RTV - gender structure

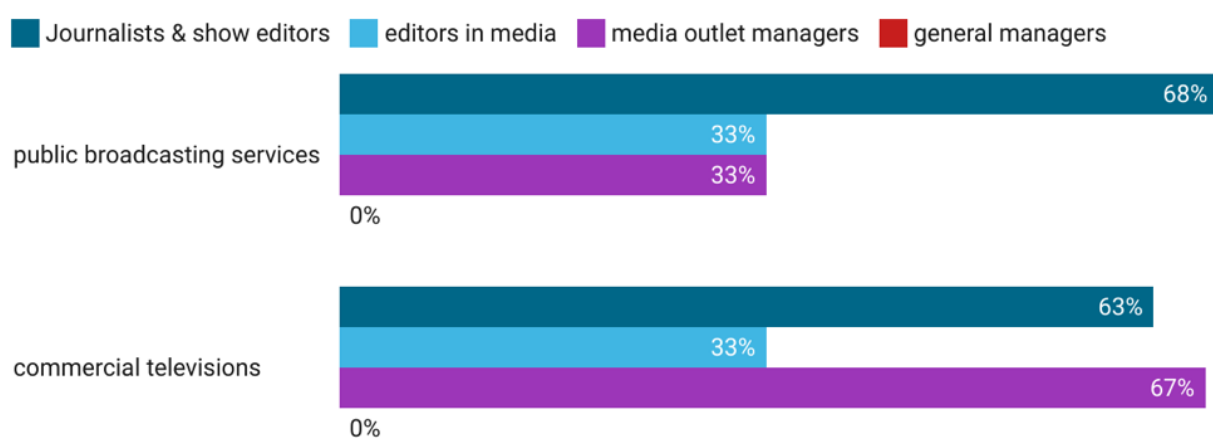


**graph 6:** Women and man at different positions in the RTV

For commercial televisions with national frequencies, as visible in their programme schedule, news content is not a priority. It is also noticeable in the number of people participating in its production. All three televisions with national frequencies covered by this research (B92, TV Prva and RTV Pink) employ only 41 individuals who take part in the production of news and informative content, either as a column or informative show journalist or editor. The representation of women is at the average level, and amounts to 63%.

In comparison with the public broadcasting services (RTS and RTV together) these televisions have somewhat lower share of women at journalistic jobs, but almost two times bigger share at the position of media outlet manager (out of three televisions, two have female managers). When it comes to chief editorial positions, as well as positions of general managers, there are no differences - one female editor is followed by two male editors, and there are no women at the position of general managers.

## Share of women - PBSs & commercial TVs with national frequency



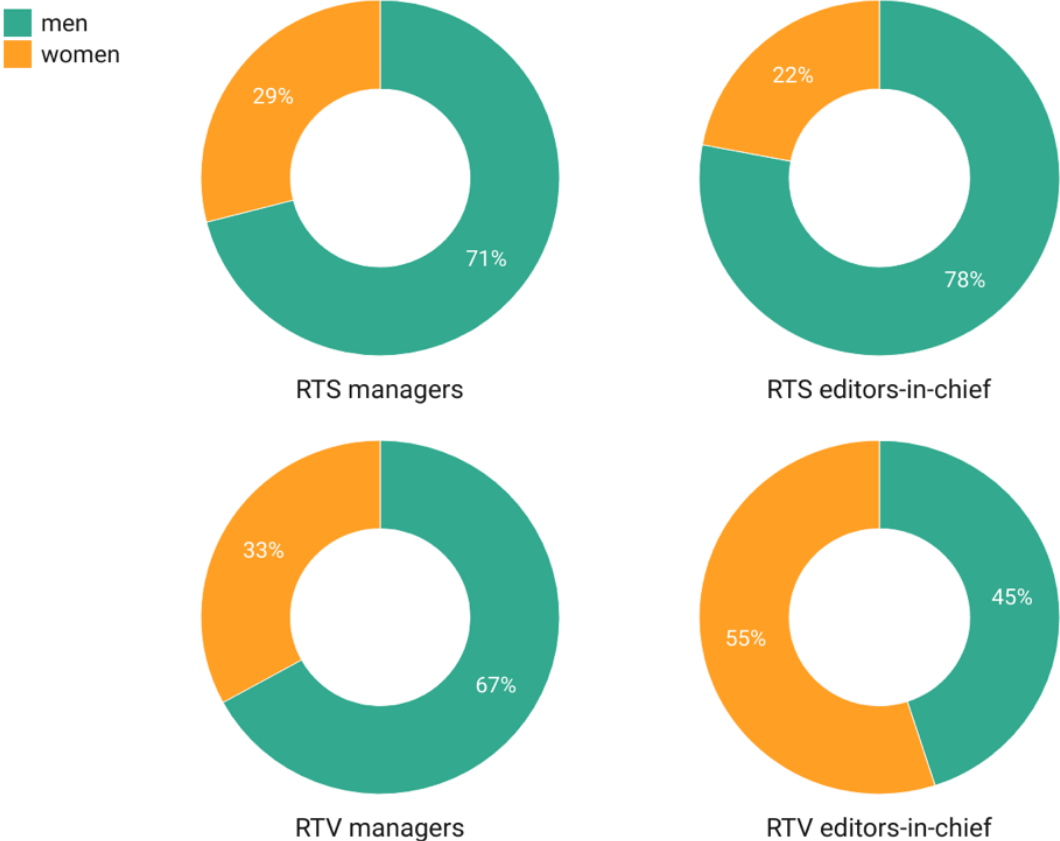
**graph 7:** Share of women in the public broadcasting services and national commercial TV channels

Despite the fact that the focus of this research is on mapping gender relations in the structures and in the positions mostly participating in the production of daily knowledge about the society and the world we live in, a somewhat broader insight into the organisation of these broadcasting services reveals two things. When one observes managerial and editorial top, which also includes positions not strictly related to the news content, such a team counts 30 people in both public services,

while 10 of them are at the managerial (including production manager, technology manager and the similar), and 20 are at chief editorial positions (including also editors-in-chief of entertainment programmes or individual radio programmes and their deputies, if any). The first conclusion is that there are more women in this structure than when only the news programme is observed, and the other is that there is a difference between regional and national public service, in the internal openness when it comes to gender.

To determine the reason why it is easier for women to get promoted in the new than in the traditional media outlets, why they are the least represented in the key position in the print media outlets and why they are more often managers than editors-in-chief, all remain the task for a subsequent research.

**Broader managerial and editorial structure in the PBSs**



**graph 8:** Gender structure in the public broadcasting services - RTS and RTV

# CONCLUSIONS

According to the international media research data, men occupy three quarters of the highest managerial and chief editorial positions, and perform around two thirds of journalistic jobs (IWMF, 2011). Longitudinal research, such as GMMP, shows that promotion of women in the media world, both in the field of media content and in professional roles, is slow and uneven. In the first decade after the Beijing UN Conference (1995-2005) a slight increase was observed, but stagnation occurred again in the following decade (2005-21%, 2010-28%, 2015-22%). The 2020 research in Serbia confirms that this trend continues (2005- 21%, 2020- 20%), and that significant global movements such as #MeToo and strong protests against domestic sexual harassment cases, or COVID-19 pandemic and the way the crisis changes everyday life and professional lives of both men and women, for the time being are not indicating any faster changes.

Journalism and the media professions as a whole are undergoing strong transformative changes caused by the digital revolution. Media professions are changing, new ones are emerging, power relations, responsibilities and competencies within journalism are strongly challenged, and so far there is little data on how these changes are reflected in gender relations. Therefore, there is a greater need for systematic research and for encouraging both applied and scientific research that would provide a solid empirical basis for critical reflection and formulation of effective public policies that will drive change.

This research has covered a smaller number of media outlets, a total of 40 within 22 larger media organizations, and therefore the obtained results are not representative. However, they provide an insight into the organisational structure and professional culture of the largest, most widely circulated and even the most influential national media outlets, and thereby they are a good indicator of gender relations that are typical in the national news production.

Women make up the majority of employees in the news media, and in the TV journalism that number reaches 70%. This is much higher than the European average.

Such a highly feminized profession is a characteristic of the Scandinavian countries (with a social consensus on equality and a long history of legal and political instruments that support it). For other reasons this percentage is also high in the former communist/socialist countries, where the media outlets were not rich industries with well-paid jobs, and journalism was not an attractive occupation due to political pressure and censorship. Due to that the area was not attractive, so it was mostly filled by women, and such proportions have remained to this day (Djerf-Perre & Edstrom, 2020: 194).

But despite such a large number of journalists, only one-fifth of women perform the functions of editors-in-chief. In a similar research conducted in 12 different countries where women make up about 40% of employees, there are an average of 22% of editors-in-chief, which means that the gender gap in Serbia is far more pronounced (Craig, Maara, Kleis Nielsen, 2012). A large number of women manage to reach positions of deputies or section editors in their careers, but it is obviously very difficult to overcome the barrier above that level and move from lower editorial positions to the level of the most important ones. Since no daily newspaper, weekly or news agency from our sample has women as editors-in-chief, it can be assumed that 'hard news' is much more traditional and that gender scissors are more pronounced at the point where 'symbolic influence is exchanged for legitimacy' and where the working environment is marked by more patriarchal relations.

The structural disparity between the majority of women in the journalistic workforce and the clear pyramid structure at higher levels of the professional hierarchy, indicate the existence of 'structural segregation' because the main editorial positions are key in controlling media content. The large number of women in the wider editorial staff (deputies and editors of sections or individual shows) but smaller in the editorial boards and especially among the editors-in-chief, shows that the 'glass ceilings' are set quite high and that advancement within the profession collides with them at the point where the decision-making of the most important professional roles is concentrated. The largest daily newspaper Politika has had a woman editor-in-chief only once in almost 120 years, while it has never been the case with the weekly NIN, which is 85 years old. The public broadcasting service RTS has had only two women editors-in-chief in the past 30 years, both since 2000, and neither of them remained in office for the entire term.

Directorial (managerial) positions in the news media outlets are not directly related to programme decision-making and are governed by different selection and promotion rules similar to the business world and corporate culture. On average, women are in various managerial positions in more than a third of them, and this applies to both strategic management (general managers 37.3%) and operational levels. Depending on the media outlet, these positions are distributed differently: although the sample is small, it seems that women are more often general managers in large international corporations (United Media, Ringier Axel Springer) or where managerial work is clearly separated from the ownership. In domestic media companies, the owners usually keep the general director position (RTV PINK, Adria Media Group).

The research also shows that there are slightly more women directors and editors-in-chief in the new media outlets, those created as digital (*digital born, or digital only*) and digital editions or media outlets within larger media companies (TV Prva, RTV Digital). This may indicate a greater openness of the new media that do not have traditional hierarchical relationships, but it may also be an indicator of greater propensity of the new media outlets towards 'softer news', i.e. entertainment and informal content in which women have always been more represented. It is also possible that in this type of media outlets external pressures are lower which relaxes the competition to come to these positions.

In domestic public broadcasters, the chief editorial and managerial positions are mostly held by men. In both public broadcasting services, women make up more than 70% of editorial staff in television, over 60% in radio and more than 50% in on-line editions, but the ratio between editorial and managerial roles is just the opposite. On the RTS all key editorial and managerial functions related to the news programmes are performed by men, while on the RTV the general manager is a man, a woman is the programme manager for all media outlets, and two of the three editors are women - radio and internet editors, while the television editor is a man. Neither of the two public broadcasting services has ever had a female general manager. Out of nine members of the RTS Management Board only two are women, and for the RTV all eight members are men.



The situation in public broadcasting services shows the biggest difference compared to the European practice where public media outlets have a smaller share of employed women (one third compared to one quarter in commercial media), but there are up to 60% of women in the most important positions there (considerably more than in commercial televisions - 40%). Their public media broadcasting services have a more developed culture of respect for diversity including gender equality, greater accountability to the public and act as standard setting institutions in every sense. In recent years, public broadcasters have been leaders in the promotion of equal professional opportunities for men and women with developed policies and instruments for their promotion.

Domestic public broadcasting services do not have developed gender equality plans, their codes of conduct do not recognize obstacles, characterised by non-enabling environment, nor do they have instruments for monitoring this area and encouraging a better and more equal working environment for all employees.

# RECOMMENDATIONS

1. As part of the implementation of the Media Strategy, it is necessary to identify and critically consider the factors that hinder the advancement of women on the hierarchical ladder in the journalistic profession. The Ministry of Culture and Information and the Gender Equality Administration should encourage research and set the frameworks for the discussion on systemic barriers to it and identify bottlenecks and 'glass ceilings' that make it difficult for women to have equal access to the highest positions in the professional hierarchy.
2. Appropriate state institutions should keep gender-sensitive statistics, facilitate public access to well-processed and presented data that enable further research and new initiatives to create a better working environment.
3. Professional associations should encourage research and public debate on the correlation between the position of women in the professional hierarchy and the representation of women in the media contents. Permanent analysis of professional roles, conditions for advancement, editorial culture and decision-making processes should identify obstacles that exclude or disfavour the advancement of women (professional networks, working hours, working conditions).
4. The public broadcasting services must include standards of equal opportunities for men and women at all levels of the professional hierarchy. It is necessary to analyse the distribution of managerial and editorial roles from a gender perspective as an element of inclusive decision-making and equality. Public broadcasting services should consider and apply some of the models of affirmative action towards the promotion of more equal relations, such as the BBC 50-50 initiative, and exchange experiences and practices with public broadcasting services that are more successful in this area.
5. Public broadcasting services should organize public debates on this topic and all aspects of inequality, recognizing that the "gender gap", as well as the greater concentration of women in certain areas of reporting, is also a form of horizontal segregation and professional exclusion in journalism.
6. Gender inequality issues at the professional and managerial level should be part of the media literacy programs for both journalists (editorial offices and professional associations) and the general public. Vertical/structural segre-

gation and difficult advancement should be documented and identified as barriers to professional development and measures to remove them should be proposed.

7. International media corporations operating in Serbia should ensure the same standards in the local media that apply in their countries and should facilitate the transfer and popularization of positive experiences and better practices.
8. Commercial media outlets should take over the good practices of public broadcasting services and promote a culture of equality both in their programming and in professional relations in this area. Regulatory Authority for Electronic Media (REM) should organize discussions and exchange of experiences between media outlets, which would help commercial media outlets to improve professional standards and editorial environment in the field of equality.
9. The Ministry of Culture and Information, the Gender Equality Administration, and the Commissioner for Gender Equality should help public broadcasting services and all other media outlets to develop gender equality plans, codes of conduct and employee awareness programs for these areas. From the available data, publicly accessible databases should be formed that would enable the media, NGOs and the interested public to understand and follow the advancements in gender equality in the media.
10. Professional associations should initiate expert discussions on the importance of affirmation of diversity, professional and ethical standards in work, and on unfavourable and sexist culture in working environment which prevent advancement of female journalists and even cause their withdrawal from certain areas as a serious impediment to freedom of expression.
11. The Ministry of Information should launch an initiative for Serbia to join global efforts to stop sexism in the media and media professions and initiate public, professional and political talks on the effects of implementing the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, and on what has been achieved in the past 25 years in improving the conditions for promotion of women in the media.
12. The Ministry of Culture and Information should initiate a broad action to promote the provisions of the Law on Gender Equality, especially the use of gender-sensitive language, and thus encourage public support for greater visibility of women in all professions, including the media ones.

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