

## Community Radio and Gender – Towards an Inclusive Public Sphere<sup>1</sup>

Kanchan K. Malik<sup>a</sup> and Daniela Bandelli<sup>b</sup>

### Abstract

*Community Radio (CR) is a participatory tool for communication and a platform where ordinary and disempowered people, through the engagement in daily media activity, assert their right to active citizenship. Gender is a significant dimension in CR initiatives that are seeking to deploy communication technologies for social change in general and empowerment of women in particular. CR not only provides an opportunity for women's access to information, but, more significantly, also allows them to challenge the culturally disempowering gender norms and come out of a condition of silence.*

*By examining the opportunities for and challenges facing women who participate in CR, this paper offers insights into how CR has the potential to recast the dominant and gendered public sphere. The authors look at the CR movement, policy and practice in India and how it is endeavouring to shape the mediascape. Examples of women's participation in two CR stations – Sangham Radio and Radio Namaskar – is analyzed to foreground their gaining a 'voice' that matters in the public sphere. Obstacles that hinder the empowerment process are outlined and recommendations to enhance the inclusion of women in CR are proposed.*

**Key words:** *Community Radio, Gender, Women Empowerment, Public Sphere, Voice Poverty, Civil Society, NGOization*

### Gender, Development, and Voice

“Gender Equality and Empowerment of Women” is one of the core Millennium Development Goals agreed on by all member states of the UN General Assembly. Several conventions and

declarations before this, including the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the 1985 Nairobi Forward looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women, the 1993 Declaration on the

<sup>1</sup> This chapter is a reprint [with permission of the authors] of: Malik, Kanchan K. and Bandelli, D. (2012); “Community Radio and Gender – Towards an Inclusive Public Sphere” paper presented at the *India Media Symposium: Public Spheres, the Media & Social Change*, University of Queensland, Brisbane, Nov 21-23.

<sup>a</sup> An Associate Professor in the Dept. of Communication, University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad India.

<sup>b</sup> A PhD scholar at the University of Queensland, School of Journalism and Communication, Australia

Elimination of Violence against Women, the 1995 Fourth UN World Conference on Women in Beijing, the 1995 Platform for Action, and the 1995 Commonwealth Plan of Action on Gender and Development have called for redefining the existing approaches to development and making them inclusive and gender responsive. The insights from development frameworks and feminist theorizing especially around mid-1980s have also questioned the prevailing structures that generate and underpin a disadvantageous status for women relative to men and affects women's options to intervene in decision-making procedures that affect their lives.

Feminist activists and theorists have argued that the conventional ideology of male superiority (patriarchal ideology) and the control of productive resources by men have influenced women's opportunities for a better life. A sustained effort by women's movements and poor women's grassroots organizations to mainstream gender in development discourses has contributed significantly to challenging oppressive structures of patriarchy, introducing alternative practices and redefining the goals of development. However, there still exist major barriers of inequality that hinder women's participation in the development procedure, their access to key resources, and sharing of power. Many of the factors determining women's status are culturally specific and related to their 'traditional' work roles (Abbot, 1997; Bhasin, 2000; Blumberg, 1989; Connelly et al., 2000; Humble, 1998; Kabeer, 1994; Knobloch, 2002; Pavarala & Malik 2010; Singha Roy, 2001; Verma, 2004).

In India's public debate, gender equality is a major issue and elimination of discrimination is an "accepted social goal of the country" (Joseph & Sharma, 1994, p.17). Since independence, several programmes have been promoted to improve the condition of poor rural women (Sharma, 2008). Ending poverty and achieving equal rights through awareness and self-help strategies, as well as anti-dowry abuse and violence, have been key struggles of the contemporary Women's movement (Purushothaman, 1998; UNFPA, 2009). As a result, legislative achievements such as the 'rape law' in 1983 and Dowry Prohibition Act have been introduced (UNFPA, 2009). More recently, in 2005, the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act was passed (UNFPA, 2009). Furthermore, women have gradually been granted political entitlements, such as the reservation of one-third of *Panchayat* seats for women and disadvantaged groups such as Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Kotwal, 2008).

Nevertheless, in practice, the status of women in India remains problematic. Discrimination in access to healthcare and nutrition, sex-selective abortions and female infanticide are causes of death for 42 million of women per year (Kapur, 2010). Also, election of women representatives in *Panchayat* is often not translated into active participation (Sharma, 2008). Thus, women remain excluded from the public sphere; politics is still male-dominated, both at national and local levels, and "informal networks

of males are the real sites of power” (Kotwal, 2008, p. 220).

The development frameworks that have emerged from the grassroots experiences and writings of Third World feminists emphasize the need to create a cultural shift in how development is understood. They stress the need to ground solutions to women’s problems in regionally and culturally specific realities and lived experiences of women and to espouse an empowerment agenda that would not focus on women alone, but on relationships between women and men. Third World scholars stress the need to focus on recovering women’s silenced voices and knowledge and to use women’s experience as a resource for any programmes or policies that fundamentally affect their lives. Unless a feminist, class and caste perspective is unambiguously integrated in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of all existing and prospective development initiatives, their outcome will rarely accomplish gender equality or lead to empowerment of women (Pavarala & Malik, 2010; Guijt and Shah, 1998; Connelly et al, 2000; Riano, 1994; Kabeer, 1994).

Using a broad definition of voice, to incorporate “inclusion and participation in social, political, and economic processes, meaning making, autonomy, and expression,” Jo Tacchi and M.S.Kiran (2008, p. 31) consider the denial of the right of people to influence the decisions that affect their lives as “voice poverty.” They quote Ruth Lister (2004) to identify the need to provide access as well as skills

required to the disempowered to be full participants in decision-making about development:

One of the most striking developments in the contemporary politics of poverty is the growing demands for poverty to be understood as powerlessness and a denial of fundamental rights and for the voices of those in poverty to be heard in the public debates. (Lister, 2004, p. 10).

Nick Couldry (2010) considers ‘voice’ to be more than just the act of speaking. He considers that voice includes the practice of paying attention which makes it an effective as a value and sustained as a process leading to outcome. For him, to deny someone the potential of an effective ‘voice’ i.e. “the process of giving an account of one’s life and its conditions... is to deny a basic dimension of human life” (2010, p.7).

### **Community Radio and its Empowerment Potential for Women**

For those who have customarily been unacknowledged and silenced, socially and culturally, the opportunity to have one’s voice heard can be an imposing experience of self-worth.

In bell hooks’s (1989, p. 9) words:

Moving from silence into speech is for the oppressed, the colonized, the exploited, and those who stand and struggle side by side a gesture of defiance that heals, that makes life and new growth possible. It is that act of speech of “talking back,” that is no mere gesture of empty words; that is the expression of our movement from object to subject - the liberated voice.

There is a growing consensus amongst communication activists, feminist scholars and development practitioners that media and new technologies of communication informed by a gender perspective can play a central role in the advancement and empowerment of women. They can be harnessed as tools for reversal of women's marginalisation by generating spaces for: expression of women's issues; enhancing women's equal participation in civil and public life; dissemination and exchange of authentic information and images about women; activating women's representation in development; facilitating women's alternatives for designing solidarity campaigns; and empowering them with skills and confidence to have a say in decision-making over their circumstances (Pavarala & Malik, 2007).

Access to media, communication, and ICTs has been found to be crucial for nurturing participatory democracy and reducing poverty (Unwin, 2009). The role of media in the promotion of gender equality and equity has been backed by the 1995 Fourth World Conference of Women held in Beijing, which advocated for the enhancement of women's skill and access to information and technology to encourage greater involvement of women in the technical, decision-making, and agenda-setting activities of communication and media (United Nations, 1995). The World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS) held in 2003 in Geneva affirmed the potential of ICTs in gender equality and empowerment of women (Gurumurthy, 2008).

During the past two decades, concepts such as 'participation', 'community-based action', and 'empowerment' have transformed the discourse and practices of development. Scholars and practitioners are recognizing the involvement of those who have traditionally been socio-culturally marginalized as well as economically and politically disenfranchised as 'partners' in development. At the same time, the paradigmatic shift in communication for development with aims of building democratised and decentralized communication alternatives at the grassroots level appears to offer the prospect of giving all the stakeholders a voice and a choice (Pavarala & Malik, 2010; Chambers, 1997; Guijt & Shah, 1998; Cornwall, 2000; Connelly et al., 2000). However, in most countries, media are overpoweringly male-dominated and women still lack the power to determine the nature and shape of media content or to influence media policy. Pilar Riano (1994) argues that feminist works in communication studies have confirmed that women's role as communicative subjects and producers of communication is still being disregarded, especially in mainstream media.

Globally, women are the most disadvantaged in terms of access to media, both as receivers and producers of information (WACC, 2010a). There are various causes: women are poorer than men; they are discriminated against in the right to education and thus hindered in using the media; in several patriarchal societies women are essentially confined

to domestic roles and childcare; their mobility is more limited as are their prospects for establishing inter-personal communication (Balakrishnan, 2002; Balit, 1999; Gurumurthy, 2008; Primo, 2003). Furthermore, like ethnic minorities, poor segments of society and the disabled, women have to fight to be heard and whenever they are granted visibility, they are often at the centre of sensationalist and stereotyped news (Gallagher, 2001). Those who are poor go even more unheard (Gallagher, 2001). Finally, women are also discriminated against in recruitment to decision-making positions in the media sector.

As a result, media content lacks a female perspective and women's information needs appear not to be addressed by a male-dominated industry (United Nations, 1995). The patterns outlined above occur in the Indian media landscape as well. Since women are traditionally excluded from institutions and power positions, their chances of appearing in the news result even lower (Joseph & Sharma, 1994). The 2010 Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) country report shows that only 22% of news subjects are women (WACC, 2010b). This data decreases to 13% in radio (WACC, 2010b). Furthermore, ordinary and disadvantaged women's views are almost absent, and whereas male sources are likely to appear as experts, women tend to represent popular opinion (WACC, 2010b). Finally, in terms of access to journalistic profession, women seem to be mostly hindered by their domestic responsibilities. Marriage marks

the critical point beyond which even the most motivated female reporters leave the newsroom or shift to less demanding departments (Akhileshwari, 2006).

Thus, strengthening of women's access to the media appears to be a critical issue for attaining the goal of women empowerment. Women and gender workers at the first-ever international conference on women and communication held in Bangkok in 1994 categorically affirmed their commitment "to communication that is enriched by women's perspectives, and whose structures are responsive to women's participation" (WACC, 2005). The Bangkok Declaration outlines their vision:

It is essential to promote forms of communication that not only challenge the patriarchal nature of media but strive to decentralise and democratise them; to create media that encourage dialogue and debate, media that advance women's and peoples' creativity, media that reaffirm women's wisdom and knowledge, and that make people into subjects rather than objects or targets of communication, media which are responsive to peoples' needs (WACC et al., 1994).

Women, who, as we have seen above, are disadvantaged in terms of access to and participation in media, find in CR a possibility to access information relevant to them and produce communicative acts to be heard by the larger community. The acquisition of information, through listening and content production, is the driving force in the process that Freire (1972) called 'conscientization': through

horizontal dialogue, powerless reflect on their condition and act to free themselves from oppression and empower.

Community Radio (CR), also called 'grassroots', 'alternative' and 'rural' media, is a means of communication that is operated in and by the community which produces context specific content in local language to address communication needs that otherwise remain unaddressed by mainstream media (Bonin & Opoku-Mensah, 1998; Carpentier et al., 2008; Tabing, 2002). Ordinary people, through participation in management, content production and organization, are given the possibility to obtain information relevant to them and at the same time to choose their own messages, express their voice and define their identity. CR is considered crucial for the democratization process (Wasco & Mosco, 1992). According to Rodriguez, who conceive this kind of communication initiatives as "citizen media", CR is a micro public sphere where subjects learn to speak, exert their active citizenship and are offered the possibility to empower themselves when confronted with multiple streams of powers (Rodriguez, 2001). CR represents the major source of information for marginalised communities in the developing world where it plays the role of a mediating structure between individual's lives and the public sphere (Howley, 2010).

CR stations have been established for a variety of purposes, which can be grouped according to Manyonzo's classification (2006): participatory development and participatory democracy.

The two functions are not mutually exclusive. As "tool for diagnosis", CR encourages ordinary people to reflect on social and development problems (Bordenave, 1994, p. 44). As a result, improved awareness and communication skills encourage community discussions on development strategies, growth of mutual understanding and solidarity bonds as well as civic engagement and political empowerment (Atton, 2002; Pavarala, 2003; Pavarala & Malik, 2007). Finally, a further critical role should not be neglected: CR as a watchdog of local institutions (Fraser & Restrepo-Estrada, 2002). Social needs, poverty and discrimination are heavily affected by the political and institutional environment. Having said that, as the press acts as the fourth estate in national politics, so CR does so at a local level by encouraging local bureaucrats to toe the line (Mookerjea, 2010).

Studies of CR in India (Bandelli, 2012a; Kar, 2010; Pavarala & Malik, 2007; Pavarala & Malik, 2010; Tacchi & Kiran, 2008) show that new information enables women to acquire awareness on their rights and on the condition of other women, make informative choices, develop imaginative capacity about their future life, and plan group action. Through CR they also get new skills, such as computer literacy, ICTs and reporting techniques, and the opportunity to establish new interpersonal relations. They enhance their self-perception, become confident in public speaking, interact with male officials, discuss their problems in public meetings and sometimes, even

challenge traditional norms such as the social un-acceptance of women riding a bicycle or unveiling their face (Bandelli, 2012a; Pavarala & Malik, 2007; Pavarala & Malik, 2010). By engaging in media activity they endeavour to challenge gender roles and reverse the cultural discourse according to which part of the population cannot be considered credible because of their biological sex. Women's position is enhanced within the family as long as relatives understand the value of their work and within the community their role as an agent of change is gradually being recognised. Also, as a result of improved knowledge of social texture and dialogue with the community, women develop the desire to work as agents of change and promote different forms of solidarity and civic engagement. Thus CR provides to women an autonomous space for discursive interaction, deliberations and negotiations leading gradually to political participation and collective action (Bandelli, 2012a; Pavarala & Malik, 2007; Pavarala & Malik, 2010).

According to Nancy Fraser (1990, p. 67), if we were to go by revisionist historiography, it records that “members of subordinated social groups – women, workers, peoples of colour, and gays and lesbians – have repeatedly found it advantageous to constitute alternative publics.” Fraser calls these “subaltern counterpublics” and describes them as “parallel discursive arenas where members of subordinated social groups invent and circulate counter-discourses, which in turn permit them to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests,

and needs” (1990, p. 67). She argues that these counterpublics, which emerge in stratified societies as a response to exclusions within dominant publics, function as spaces of “withdrawal and regroupment” on the one hand and “on the other hand, they also function as bases and training grounds for agitational activities directed toward wider publics” (Fraser, 1990, p. 68). As our analysis of CR stations suggests, they are an important venue for articulating the views, aspirations, and entitlements of non-elite groups and to set counter-hegemonic agendas. Such crucial sites of solidarity and collective agency facilitate the creation of Fraser's subaltern counterpublics, or perhaps more appropriately, what Gitlin (1998) terms as smaller and more viable counterpublic “sphericules.” Gitlin (1998) conceived these numerous public “sphericules” as a subset of civil society competing with the dominant public sphere to promote democratic citizenship and the ideal of participatory parity by offsetting the participatory privileges enjoyed by members of dominant social groups (Fraser, 1990; Gitlin, 1998; Groshek & Han, 2011).

### **Community Radio in India: Policy and Practice**

CR is a relatively young sector in India. The CR Policy that enables not-for-profit organizations to apply for licence was not enacted by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting (MIB) until 2006 (Community Radio India, n.d.). The Policy was as an outcome of the longstanding demands of the CR movement, which developed from 1995 when the Supreme

Court of India ruled that, “airwaves constitute public property and must be utilized for advancing public good,” (Supreme Court of India, 1995). The movement, which in 2007 was institutionalised with the establishment of Community Radio Forum (CRF), has shed light on the necessity to develop a third alternative to the State-owned and private media to cater to local audiences’ and grassroots development needs, which were absent in public broadcasting and commercial stations (Parthasarathi & Chotani, 2010; Pavarala & Malik, 2007). Indeed, although state-owned All India Radio (AIR), through a capillary network of local stations, has been traditionally used as a tool in support of the national development effort, its top-down approach and centralised editorial system hinder it from addressing communities’ communication needs (Pavarala & Malik, 2007).

It is worth noting that, although CR Policy was ratified only recently in India, the use of radio as a tool of participatory development has a longer history. The first evidence dates back to 1956, when 150 villages in Maharashtra were invited to discuss about AIR local radio content through the UNESCO-facilitated Farm Radio Forum (Kumar, 2003). Also, some grassroots NGOs – Kutch Mahila Vikas Sangathan (KMVS) in Gujarat; Alternative for India Development (AID) in Jharkhand, Deccan Development Society (DDS) in Andhra Pradesh and Mysore Resettlement and Development Agency (MYRADA) in partnership with VOICES in Karnataka – pioneered CR initiatives

in the 1990s with the production of radio programmes, which were either broadcast through local AIR frequencies or distributed through alternative methods such as cable and narrow-casting (Pavarala & Malik, 2007).

However, since 2006, the CR sector in India is expanding with hundreds of non-profit organizations applying for licences. Around 132 CR radio stations are currently operating and 267 applications are being processed (data from MIB, Government of India website <http://mib.nic.in>). CRF, in association with its members, other media organisations and various funding agencies have so far conducted over 30 ‘awareness’ as well as ‘capacity building’ workshops throughout the country.

Across India, several CR stations are tapping the potential of women for their programming and also involving them in decision-making making roles. Many NGOs – such as DDS, Andhra Pradesh; KMVS, Gujarat; Self Employment Women’s Association SEWA, Gujarat; and Mann Deshi Foundation, Maharashtra have set up CR stations that are run exclusively by women. These stations have helped in amplifying the voice of marginalised rural women, and many women caught up within feudal social structures are beginning, albeit slowly, to find a voice of their own. However, there still exist social hierarchies along the lines of caste, class and other oppressions that inhibit women to negotiate fair representations and equal participation in CR. This is especially true in gender-mixed stations. Ideally, CR should offer

the possibility “to any member of the community to initiate communication and participate in programme making and evaluation” and “facilitate full interaction between the producers and receivers of messages” (Pavarala & Malik, 2007, p.18). However, if one looks at the practices of participatory communication initiatives such as CR, pre-existing power structures hinder an egalitarian involvement of all components of the society (Thomas, 1994).

From a qualitative study conducted on Radio Namaskar and Radio Dhadkan it emerges that causes of women’s exclusion mostly pertain to discriminatory socio-cultural norms and rigid gender roles, which put them in a subordinate position, hinder their freedom of movement and relegate them to the private sphere (Bandelli, 2012a). The everyday possibilities for women to freely engage in programs production is affected first of all by the fact that women are discriminated against even as listeners because radio devices are monopolised by men whereas women are expected to be busy with domestic duties and children. Participation is hindered also by the submission to parents and in-laws, by the fact that it is not culturally acceptable for women to stay out late at night and interact with male outsiders such as reporters. Although being a women radio reporter is per se a challenge to the cultural belief that technologies are man’s domain and to traditional gender norms, these are not fully questioned by reporters themselves.

For instance, they do not question that their engagement in CR is to be subordinated to housework. Also, younger radio volunteers seem to accept that they, once married and relocated to the husband’s village, might have to renounce to their wish to continue working as activists and as media professionals because of the opposition of their new in-laws. Interesting is to note that, according to this study, it exists a gap between women reporters who regularly engage in CR activity and listeners in the village who contribute with feedback as listeners and occasionally by taking part into program development. Whereas the former are usually supported by their families, the latter encounter more obstacles or even prohibitions.

During another qualitative study titled “Community Radio for Social Change: Evaluating *ChalaHoGaon Mein* in Jharkhand” (Pavarala & Malik, 2009<sup>2</sup>) people closely connected with this project at the field level admitted that three areas in which women’s involvement in *ChalaHoGaon Mein* (CHGM) is still unsatisfactory are: women do not listen as much or as attentively as men; their participation in programme production is minimal; and, women’s issues are not covered adequately in the programme. This has at best remained the same in many CR initiatives, and in some cases gone from bad to worse because in the long-term men gradually outnumber or replace women in certain roles that are traditionally gender-defined – such as field-based work – with the ostensible

---

<sup>2</sup> Study commission by and Report submitted to National Foundation for India New Delhi July 2009.

intention of protecting them. E.g. it was found that, where initially (2002) four out of the 12 reporters of CHGM were women, there was not a single woman working as field reporter now (2008-9). The reasons provided were that the “scope of work has widened,” “women cannot travel in difficult places to do interviews late in the evening,” and “socio-economic conditions of the region do not permit independent work by women reporters.” This is a typical case of ‘NGOisation’ of a CR station where the pressure to reflect the NGO’s programmatic agenda in broadcasts as well as the anxiety to ‘scale up’ operations leads to the un-viability of having women reporters and also takes away the intimate, local spirit of community radio.

With a view to advocate and promote the involvement of women in CR as agents of social change and to create concrete opportunities for women to get information and produce communicative acts that are relevant to their lives, the CRF adopted the Gender Policy promulgated by AMARC (World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters) in its annual general body meeting held in New Delhi on March 11, 2011.<sup>3</sup>

The preamble of the AMARC *Gender Policy for Community Radio Policy* states among other things that, “Community radio has an obligation to redress the

imbalance; facilitate women’s involvement at all levels of decision-making and programming; ensure that women’s voices and concerns are part of the daily news agenda; ensure that women are portrayed positively as active members of society; and support women acquire the technical skills and confidence to control their communications” (AMARC-WIN, 2008, p.2)

It is the belief of the authors that, if the recommendations of this policy (discussed in the recommendations section) are implemented in word and spirit by the CR stations in India, it will go a long way in building meaningful democratic spaces within villages where the voices of women will not go unheard.

### **Women’s Participation CR Stations: Two Case Studies**

#### **Sangham Radio**

Sangham Radio<sup>4</sup>, India’s first community radio station in rural India, completed four years of broadcasting on October 15, 2012. It was on this day in the year 2008 that the radio station, supported by the Deccan Development Society (DDS) and located in Machnoor village of the Zaheerabad mandal in Medak district of Andhra Pradesh, went on air. Sangham Radio (SR) is being run exclusively by poor dalit women from rural background. Director of DDS, P.V.

<sup>3</sup>The Gender Policy document of AMARC-WIN is available online: [http://www.amarc.org/documents/Gender\\_Policy/GP4CR\\_English.pdf](http://www.amarc.org/documents/Gender_Policy/GP4CR_English.pdf) and [http://www.amarc.org/index.php?p=Gender\\_Policy\\_entrance\\_page](http://www.amarc.org/index.php?p=Gender_Policy_entrance_page).

<sup>4</sup>This profile has been synthesized from reports and articles based on field visits, interviews, and research done by Pavarala & Malik between 2001-2012.

Satheesh was quoted in a daily news paper<sup>5</sup> as saying that, “The poor and marginalised, especially rural dalit women, are excluded by traditional media. The issues that impact their lives are hardly covered by anyone. The Sangham Radio is an attempt to give such women a voice and a platform to share views. The women are happy that they can listen to programmes in their own lingo and which are made keeping in mind their specific needs”.

DDS is a grassroots organization working since 1983 with about 100 poor and dalit women’s ‘sanghams’(voluntary village level groups/ collectives) consisting of nearly 5,000 members in 75 villages. DDS has a vision of “consolidating these village groups into vibrant organs of primary local governance and federate them into a strong pressure lobby for women, the poor and dalits” (DDS, n.d.). For the poor, dalit women members of sanghams, it was a long wait before they got the licence to broadcast on a radio of their own. A couple of young women trained themselves in audio production and a radio station was also established with assistance from UNESCO in 1998. However, for about 10 years, without a Government policy permitting CR, they had to be content with narrowcasting at sangham meetings through audio cassette recorders. ‘General’ Narsamma and Algole Narsamma, the two dynamic SR managers, have been with the station from day One even as DDS experimented with

narrowcasting during the years of waiting for the CR policy.

The intense desire and aspirations of thousands of women in the DDS villages for a technological medium of expression of their own to talk to each other about their problems and concerns, articulate their identities and common history, take pride in their own language, and promote fundamental issues of agriculture and food, found an exciting outlet in this radio station. Broadcast on 90.4 FM, Sangham Radio goes on air every day from 7 pm-9 pm. Initially broadcast for only 90 minutes, the duration was increased within a couple of months of the inauguration because of public demand.

With good production and post-production equipment, the station transmits over a 50W transmitter, as per government regulations. According to the station managers, listeners in villages about 30-40 km away from the station have also reported picking up the broadcast. The production hub is the radio station located in Machnoor village, with ‘General’ and Algole taking on the roles of reporters, programme producers and RJs along with being station managers. About 16 sangham supervisors, each covering about 4 villages on the average, also double up as community radio reporters and motivators at the level of their respective villages. These 18 women have been creating content for SR on a wide range of issues. The women were provided training on the intricacies of broadcasting and running a CR station by DDS and they

---

<sup>5</sup>The Hindu, Hyderabad (India), August 3, 2011

now serve as the eyes and ears of the radio station, giving access to the needs of the villagers and providing feedback.

People from the villages also participate enthusiastically in a range of programmes, including interviews, discussions, songs, folk tales, and plays. In an informal interview, the station managers revealed that in SR, 95% of participation is by women. They also disclosed that the women are happy that their voice is being recognised, “One major difference that has come about is that if radio wasn’t there, women wouldn’t go about telling people what they know, their knowledge wouldn’t be recognised. But now, they have got a voice. We also have the knowledge of older people now, who might be gone. But we have recorded their knowledge, which is a priceless asset”.

According to Algole, the programming content of the DDS station seeks to serve the information, education, and cultural needs of the women in the region and to communicate their problems, raise their issues and find solutions through the medium of radio. It is an extension of their sangham activities that have benefited the women immensely. General informed that women call us up the station to seek suggestions regarding various health issues and also ask for repeating of programmes. Domestic violence has considerably gone down in recent times, with radio playing a contributing role, she said. Other than health, SR has programmes on community issues,

languages, songs, environment etc. where the participation of women is growing.

One of the DDS supervisors, who is also a member of the radio committee since 1998, felt that participating in DDS activities, including making radio programmes, have made women more confident. They now discuss matters in sanghams, make radio programmes and even talk to any higher officials. Because of the involvement of women in collective developmental activities, of which SR has also been a part, it has been observed in DDS villages that women participate in Panchayat meetings. Earlier, there were no women in Gram Panchayat. Nowadays women are *Sarpanchs* also and Ward members. These women are no longer just dummies and know how to get their work is done. Because of the sangham activity and discussions on radio, the women feel that they can talk now, “Otherwise we used to sit silent. Government officials will come and we let them talk. Now we question them.” Some of the women members of the sanghams reveal that there was a time in DDS villages, when men would not allow their wives to go out for sangham meetings in the night. They would beat them up if women would wish to go for a radio station meeting and order them to sit at home. Now they are gradually recognizing the potential of women and giving respect. “Today men even come forward to facilitate our work”.

The content of Sangham Radio includes: information specific to agricultural needs of semi-arid regions; education and literacy - both formal and

non-formal; old crops; ecological agriculture; local healing systems/ herbal medicines; violence against women; community care of natural resources; biodiversity and food security; gender justice; local/indigenous knowledge systems; local cultures, with emphasis on the narrative traditions of song and drama.

The programme that begins with the vibrant signature song, “akkachellelu koodipodame” (come sisters, let us go to the sangham radio), includes a variety of segments. Among the regular features are: “Manaoori pantalu” (Crops of our Village), “Mana Bhasha” (Our language), “Chavidikatta” (a sort of a village chaupal), “Yarandla Muchatlu” (literally, the gossip of the sisters-in-law), “Mee Lettarlu” (literally, your letters, but this actually a request segment). The programme also promotes indigenous herbal medicine through a segment called “Darwazala Dawakhana” (Medicine at your Doorstep), discusses the participatory development work being taken up by the collectives in a feature called “Sanghalu”, and offers a bi-weekly children’s feature called “Balanandam”.

A preliminary analysis of the programmes shows that in keeping with the philosophy of DDS, the radio station treats individuals, especially women and the groups within the community as repositories of tremendous amount of local knowledge on crops, soil, agriculture, foods, health, etc. Professional experts

such as doctors, agriculture scientists, and bureaucrats are rarely featured on SR. This is a clear reversal of the top-down communication (from professional expert to ‘ignorant masses’) practised in the mainstream media. The station provides culturally vibrant and locally prevalent expressions such as “bichapollakathalu” (storytelling and singing by itinerant beggars). Many of these are not only in the local idiom, but also reflect the local social, economic, political and cultural milieu of the region.

A unique feature of the economics of Sangham Radio is that every one of the approximately 5000 members of the 75 sanghams contribute about Rs. 50 per year towards the maintenance of the station (total of about Rs.2.5 lakh per annum), making it a community shareholder model that has few parallels in the country. More than the financial sustainability of this model, this offers very significantly social sustainability for the station, with the community developing a strong sense of ownership and identification with the radio station. Programmes made in the Telugu spoken in the Telangana region and the songs and folk tales of the area have begun to evoke a sense of pride among the women.

### **Radio Namaskar<sup>6</sup>**

On air since February 2010, Radio Namaskar(RN) is the first CR in Orissa. It is based in Konark (Puri district) and

---

<sup>6</sup>This section is based on field research (interviews and focus groups with the radio team and listener group’s member) conducted by Daniela Bandelli in March 2011 for her thesis of Master of Communication for Social Change, The university of Queensland.

run by Young India, an NGO. UNESCO provided the transmitter. Potential listeners are approximately 250,000. They earn their living mainly from agriculture, which is affected by drought, flood and cyclones. Lack of knowledge on *Panchayat* system and Government development schemes as well as low awareness of rights are major issues that affect the condition of women. The core radio team comprises eight reporters, plus four more programme advisors. Of the eight reporters, five are women, between the ages of 17 and 27, all unmarried and from different castes, including Scheduled Castes. RN broadcasts six hours per day, programmes are 30-minute long and include health and welfare schemes, interactive sessions with farmers, gender and women's rights, local happenings, children, youth, sport and volunteerism, interviews with locally known figures, programmes recorded at villages, letters and phone-calls from listeners. There are 72 listeners' groups that meet on a weekly basis and, through their leaders, are consulted once a month on programme production. RN also interacts with about 300 Self Help Groups and also networks with schools, activists and professionals.

Women participants in RN, as reporters, listeners and programmes contributors, enhance their possibility to enter the public sphere by addressing their communication needs on both directions

of the communication flow: receiving information meaningful to their daily life and producing communicative acts.

Received messages encompass the following topics:

- *Rights*: to education, to information (RTI) and to access public services and Governmental schemes; Women's rights, Dowry Prohibition Act, Prenatal Diagnosis Techniques Act, Domestic violence Law, Equal Remuneration Act and Commission for Empowerment of Women. Young India's right-based approach and its recent engagement in awareness campaign for the RTI Act is reflected in the emphasis that was given to this topic by listeners in Kunanga village, where a focus group were conducted in April 2011. Women passionately expressed the need for information about public services, social schemes and entitlements. Furthermore, they showed awareness of their 'right to know'.

- *Employment*: emphasis is given to Below Poverty Line (BPL) Card<sup>7</sup> and the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA)<sup>8</sup>;

- *Education*: it is approached according to three meanings. First, as a tool for empowerment for girls and women, through discussions with students and teachers on the importance of

---

The radio's website: <http://www.radionamaskar.org/>

<sup>7</sup>Below Poverty Line (BPL) card provides BPL population with facilitated access to small credit and Government schemes, such as self-employment and housing.

<sup>8</sup>Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) guarantees hundred days of wage-employment in a year to rural households.

education in women's life. The *Chala School Ku Jiba* (Let's go to school) programme broadcasts announcements explicitly targeting parents of those girls who are not sent to school. As a result, fifteen villages became 'No Dropout'. Second, as a right that women are to be aware and exert in favour of their children. Third, as a public service to be provided at a certain standard and freed from teachers' absenteeism.

- *Health*: programmes are often scripted by doctors according to listeners' questions.

- *Traditional knowledge, local culture and entertainment*. Communicative acts that women produce through participation in RN encompass the following functions, which in turns are catalysts of their participation in public sphere:

- *Speaking out on social problems and local governance*: this happens through three channels. First, phone-calls to the *Janata Darbar* programme, about irregularities in *Anganwadicentres*, teachers who arrive late to school, health issues, local livelihood opportunities, personal and family's problems. Second channel is field reporters: they are seen as a personification of the radio itself, and perceived by the most disadvantaged as a point of reference to address demands. Third is listeners groups' leaders: their role is to collect comments and requests among the group.

- *Expressing skills and artistic inclinations*, such as writing poems and singing.

- *Engaging in social activism*: through interaction with the radio team, they develop the wish to "do something for people", and especially to support other women within the community.

- *Establishing relations and dialogue*: opportunity for dialogue is expanded through the establishment of new relations. Radio is indeed a meeting point where reporters interact with activists, doctors, *Panchayat's* representatives, students and teachers. By going to the studio to record a song or simply to visit, listeners groups' women break their isolation, meet new people and thus get access to a wide range of information. Also, radio activity itself constitutes a subject of dialogue within the family. Reporters share ideas and feedbacks with their relatives, who also are willing to be involved in some programmes.

- *Practicing communication skills*: learning how to speak in public is one of the most important of women's communication needs. Through daily interactions with colleagues, listener groups and interviewees, they strengthen their interpersonal communication skills. Reporters stress the importance of learning technical aspects, such as the improvement of speaking style and voice modulation.

- *Familiarization with the media*: reporters already had some interest in the media before joining the radio and since their engagement in RN they became familiar with media dynamics, use of sources and production of programmes.

Also, awareness of the role of media as an agent of change has been gained.

In conclusion of this case study, it is worth reporting the following story<sup>9</sup>, which conveys the role of CR in facilitating the penetration of women voices into the public sphere and their canalization in to social change:

“Radio Namaskar broadcast some programmes and jingles informing its listeners

about the right to receive proper services at *Anganwadi* centres as provided for under the Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS). Afterwards, a group of listeners went to the radio and denounced irregularities in the quantity of *dal* (lentils) provided. A debate with citizens and public officers was initiated and later on, a group of women from Kunanga reported that the quality of food was very low. They brought a sample of *dal* to the studio and the radio management committee’s Chair sent it to the Prime Minister of India and to the Chief Minister of Orissa. A quality analysis report found the sample was insect-infested and not suitable for human consumption. Following Radio Namaskar’s early mobilisation, the issue was also covered heavily in the local press where cases of corruption among local government officials were reported. The tangible results are that more than 50 centres have started to supply the right quantity of *dal* and a committee composed

of local mothers is now in charge of purchasing the *dal* to be distributed to their children directly from local farmers”.(Bandelli, 2012b, p. 3-4).

### **Recommendations to enhance the inclusion of women in CR**

There is no doubt that CR is an effective means for women to access information which is relevant to their lives and situations, and in most cases is normally denied or unavailable. Also, CR constitutes an opportunity for women to acquire a voice, which otherwise remains unheard. However, in order to ensure women’s progressive involvement in all elements and stages of a CR station with a view to strengthen its empowerment potential, there are several challenges that need to be addressed.

**Women as listeners:** The ownership and control of a radio set (now mobile phones that receive FM) clearly rests in the hands of men or children and women seldom have direct or uninterrupted access to radio receivers. Also, women, who are busy with household chores and domestic duties, do not listen as much or as attentively to radio programmes as men. AMARC gender policy recommends that women’s access to the airwaves must be enhanced “by ensuring a supportive, secure environment in and around the station to produce programmes” (2008, p.3). Indeed, one possible way to enlarge the listeners’ base among women could be to encourage them to make their own

---

<sup>9</sup> This is an extract from a published article on *Media Development* 1/2012.

programmes on the radio, especially those that deal with their issues and their perspectives on issues. This cannot be achieved overnight, but if women are involved as equal partners in different development initiatives of the organization that is facilitating the CR station, this habit of participation would build their involvement with the radio, thereby making them keen listeners of programmes. Special listening sessions exclusively for women could also go a long way in redressing the listenership imbalance, and allow women to discuss issues as well as to network with other women. Having more women CR reporters who engage in mobilising women to participate would also be a step forward in this direction.

***Women as producers of media content:*** One among the recommendations of the AMARC gender policy states that, “capacity-building is a key component for achieving gender parity” (p. 6). According to Rodriguez (2001), Community Media’s *raison d’être* is to enable ordinary people to engage in media activity. Through specialised, context-specific training efforts, the capacities of women to produce radio programmes must be enhanced so that they acquire the technical skills and confidence to control their communications. Indeed, any CR training is not just about skills, but about sharing and confidence building. It may be difficult to expect that women, who have been deprived of opportunities to voice their concerns for ages, would swiftly start expressing their views without hesitation and faltering. Only when the women

would be sure that their point of view is respected, their voice has a value and a major role to play in any initiative, would they gradually come out and participate and exercise their freedom of expression. Also, the training as well as the radio programme production must accommodate a woman’s daily agenda and provide spaces where they may leave their children safely when they are busy in the studios. Hence as the AMARC gender policy explains, any capacity building for CR station must be “for both men and women so that they can work together to build a safe, nurturing and supportive environment where all feel able to contribute their best to all aspects of the station’s success” (2008, p. 6)

***Women as decision-makers:*** It must be the mandate of the CR stations to facilitate women’s involvement at all stages of decision-making. The AMARC gender policy endorses that there must be women’s representation at all levels of station management, particularly in areas of decision-making and technical skills. “In order for women to be meaningfully represented at all levels of the community radio station, quotas for participation need to be set for ownership, management and production, including women’s participation in technical management” (2008, p. 5). The authors feel that it would be productive for CR stations to have a policy in place that embraces respect for women and equality as one of its core principles.

***Portrayal of Women on air:*** While gender-specific programming that

challenges gender stereotypes and promotes attitude and behaviour change is imperative, it is also important to incorporate women's perspective into all content, no matter what issue is covered. Having women as experts, transmitting messages around women's rights and gender justice, and having a no-tolerance policy for objectification of men/women are some steps that could be adopted to encourage fair and balanced representation of women on air. AMARC gender policy recommends that women must be represented "in their diversity, instead of emphasising stereotyped roles, such as within the family" (2008, p. 3). For this purpose, it is also necessary to conduct gender sensitivity training that would "enable men and women to recognise patriarchal behaviour and discriminatory portrayals; and eventually develop egalitarian gender relations, and non-discriminatory and gender fair reporting" (2008, p. 7).

## References

- Abbot, D. (1997). Who Else Will Support Us? How Poor Women Organise the Unorganisable in India. *Community Development Journal*, 32(3), 199-209. doi: 10.1093/cdj/32.3.199
- Akhileshwari, R. (2006). Women in Journalism in India. In K. Shetty (Ed.), *Women in Newspaper in South Asia. Changes and Challenges* (pp. 42-61). Singapore: Asian Media Information and Communication Centre.
- AMARC-WIN. (2008). *Gender Policy for Community Radio*. AMARC-WIN. Retrieved from [http://www.amarc.org/documents/Gender\\_Policy/GP4CR\\_English.pdf](http://www.amarc.org/documents/Gender_Policy/GP4CR_English.pdf) (2 March 2011).
- Atton, C. (2002). *Alternative Media*. London: Sage Publications.
- Balakrishnan, R. (2002). *Harnessing ICTs for Advancement of Rural Women: FAO Perspectives and Strategic Actions*. Retrieved from <http://www.fao.org/sd/ruralradio/en/24555/index.html> (21 February 2011).
- Balit, S. (1999). *Voices for Change. Rural Women and Communication*. Retrieved from <http://www.fao.org/docrep/X2550E/X2550E00.htm> (20 May 2011).
- Bandelli, D. (2012a). Indian Women in Community Radio: The Case Studies of Radio Namaskar in Orissa and Radio Dhadkan in Madhya Pradesh. *Journal of South Asia Women Studies* (forthcoming).
- Bandelli, D. (2012b). Radio Namaskar: a catalyser of Change. *Media Development*, 1/ 2012, 48-50.
- Bhasin, K. (2000). *Understanding Gender*. New Delhi: Kali for Women.

- Blumberg, R. L. (1989). Toward a Feminist Theory of Development. In R.A. Wallace (Ed.), *Feminism and Sociological Theory* (pp.161-199). Newbury Park: Sage Publications.
- Bonin, M. H., &Opoku-Mensah, A. (1998). *What is Community Radio?*. Retrieved from [http://www.amarc.org/documents/manuals/What\\_is\\_CR\\_english.pdf](http://www.amarc.org/documents/manuals/What_is_CR_english.pdf) (21 May 2011).
- Bordenave, J. D. (1994). Participative Communication as a Part of Building the participative Society. In S. White, K. S. Nair, & J. Ashcroft (Eds.), *Participatory Communication. Working for Change and Development* (pp. 35-48). New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Carpentier, N., Lie, R., &Servaes, J. (2008). Making Community Media Work: Community Media Identities and their Articulation in an Antwerp neighborhood Development Project. In J. Servaes (Ed.), *Communication for Development and Social Change* (pp. 247-373). Paris: UNESCO.
- Chambers, R. (1997). *Whose Reality Counts? Putting the first last*. London: Immediate Technology Publications.
- Community Radio India. (n.d.). *Policy Guidelines as Released by the Government of India 2006*. Retrieved from <http://www.communityradioindia.org/cr%20policy/45.html> (20 May 2011).
- Connelly, M. P., Murray Li, T., MacDonald, M., &Parpart, J. L. (2000).Feminism and Development: Theoretical Perspectives. In J. Parpart, M. P. Connelly, & E. Barriteau (Eds.), *Theoretical Perspectives On Gender And Development* (pp. 51-159). Ottawa, Canada: International Development Research Centre (IDRC).
- Cornwall, A. (2000). *Making a Difference? Gender and Participatory Development*. Discussion Paper 378. University of Sussex: Institute of Development Studies. Retrieved from <http://www.eldis.org/vfile/upload/1/document/0708/DOC8652.pdf> (28 September 2012).
- Couldry, N. (2010). *Why Voice Matters: Culture and Politics after Neoliberalism*. London: Sage Publications.
- DDS – Deccan Development Society. (n.d.). *About Us*. Retrieved from <http://www.ddsindia.com/www/default.asp> (28 September 2012).
- Fraser, N. (1990). Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy Author(s). *Social Text*, 25/26, 56-80.
- Fraser, C., &Restrepo-Estrada, S. (2002). Community Radio for Change and Development, *Development*, 45(4), 69-73.doi: 10.1057/palgrave.development.1110408.
- Freire, P. (1972). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*.Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Gallagher, M. (2001). *Gender setting: New agendas for Media Monitoring and Advocacy*. London: Zed Books.

Gitlin, T. (1998). Public sphere or public sphericules?. In T. Liebes, & J. Curran (Eds.), *Media, ritual, identity* (pp. 168-175). London: Routledge.

Groshek, J., & Han, Y. (2011). Negotiated Hegemony and Reconstructed Boundaries in Alternative Media Coverage of Globalization. *International Journal of Communication*, (5) (1523-1544). Retrieved from

<http://ijoc.org/ojs/index.php/ijoc/article/download/1073/626> (28 September 2012).

Guijt, I., & Shah, M. K. (1998). Waking up to power, conflict and process. In I. Guijt, & M. K. Shah (Eds.), *The Myth of Community: Gender Issues in Participatory Development* (pp. 1-23). London: Intermediate Technology Publications.

Gurumurthy, A. (2008). *Gender Equality through ICT Access and Appropriation: Taking a Rights-Based Approach*. Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/10625/41793> (21 February 2011).

hooks, b. (1989). *Talking Back: Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black*. Boston, MA: South End Press.

Howley, K. (2010). Notes on a Theory of Community Radio. In K. Howley (Ed.), *Understanding Community Media* (pp. 63-86). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Humble, M. (1998). Assessing PRA for implementing Gender and Development. In I. Guijt, & M. K. Shah (Eds.), *The Myth of Community: Gender Issues in Participatory Development* (pp. 35-45). London: Intermediate Technology Publications.

Joseph, A., & Sharma K. (Eds.). (1994). *Whose News? The Media and Women's Issues*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Kabeer, N. (1994). *Reversed Realities: Gender Hierarchies in Development Thought*. London: Verso.

Kapur, N. (2010). *Everyday Equality*. South Asia: UNIFEM/UNWOMEN.

Kar, E. S. (2010). *Social Impact of Community Radio Stations in India. Enhancing Participatory Development and Women Empowerment* (Post Graduate Programme in Public Policy and Management Dissertation, Indian Institute of Management Bangalore, 2010).

Knobloch, U. (2002, September). *The Contribution of Martha Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach to Feminist Economics: Questioning the Gender-Based Division of Labour*. Paper delivered at the 2nd Capabilities Approach Conference, St Edmund's College, University of Cambridge.

Kotwal, L. M. (2008). Contesting Power in Panchayats. In V. Kalpagam, & J. Arunachalam (Eds.), *Rural Women and Development in India. Issues and Challenges* (pp. 219-237). New Delhi: Rawat Publications.

Kumar, K. (2003). Mixed Signals: Radio Broadcasting Policy in India, *Economic and Political Weekly*, May 31.

Lister, R. (2004). *Poverty*. Cambridge, Polity Press.

Manyonzo, L. (2006). Concept and Practice of Rural Broadcasting in Malawi: Dzimwe Community Radio. In FAO (Ed.), *Report of the Sensitisation workshop on Rural Radio for Policy and Decision Makers in East and Southern Africa* (pp. 49-56). Retrieved from <http://www.fao.org/sd/ruralradio/en/24555/index.html> (21 February 2011).

Mookerjee, S. (2010). Dalitbahujan Women's Autonomous Video. In K. Howley (Ed.), *Understanding Community Media* (pp. 200-209). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Parthasarathi, V., & Chotani, S. (2010). *A Tale of Two Radios: Tracing Advocacy in a Deregulatory Milieu*. Working paper. New York: The Donald McGannon Communication Research Centre.

Pavarala, V. (2003). Building Solidarities: A Case of Community Radio in Jharkhand. *Economic and Political Weekly*, May 31.

Pavarala, V., & Malik, K. K. (2007). *Other Voices: the Struggle for Community Radio in India*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Pavarala, V., & Malik, K. K. (2010). Community Radio and Women: Forging Subaltern Counterpublics. In C. Rodriguez, D. Kidd, & L. Stein (Eds.), *Making Our Media. Creating New Communication Spaces* (pp. 95-113). New York: Hampton Press.

Primo, N. (2003). *Gender Issue in the Information Society*, Paris: UNESCO.

Purushothaman, S. (1998). *The empowerment of women in India. Grassroots Women's Network and the State*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Riano, P. (Ed.). (1994). *Women in Grassroots Communication*. Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Rodriguez, C. (2001). *Fissures in the Mediascape: An International Study of Citizens Media*. Cresskill: Hampton Press.

Sharma, K. (2008). (Re)negotiating Power and Spaces. In V. Kalpagam, & J. Arunachalam (Eds.), *Rural Women and Development in India. Issues and Challenges* (pp. 264-280). New Delhi: Rawat Publications.

Singha Roy, D. K. (Ed.). (2001). *Social Development and the Empowerment of Marginalised Groups: Perspectives and Strategies*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Supreme Court of India. (1995). *Supreme Court Judgement on airwaves. Operative part*. Retrieved from [http://mib.nic.in/writereaddata/html\\_en\\_files/Codes/codes\\_others/supreme.htm](http://mib.nic.in/writereaddata/html_en_files/Codes/codes_others/supreme.htm) (21 May 2011).

Tabing, L. (2002). *How to do Community Radio: A primer for Community Radio Operators*. New Delhi: UNESCO.

Tacchi, Jo, & Kiran, M. S. (Eds.). (2008). *Finding a Voice: Themes and Discussions*. New Delhi. UNESCO.

Thomas, P. (1994). Participatory Development Communication. Philosophical premises. In S. White, K. S. Nair, & J. Ascroft (Eds.), *Participatory Communication. Working for Change and Development* (pp. 49-59). New Delhi: Sage Publications.

UNFPA. (2009). *Programming to End Violence Against Women. 8 Case Studies* (Vol.2). Retrieved from <http://unfpa.org/webdav/site/global/shared/documents/publications/2009/violence.pdf> (21 May 2011).

United Nations. (1995). *Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. The United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women*. Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/pdf/BDPfA%20E.pdf> (18 March 2011).

Unwin, T. (2009). *ICT4D. Information and Communication Technology for Development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Verma, V. (2004). Engendering Development. Limits of Feminist Theories and Justice. *Economic and Political Weekly*, December 4.

WACC. (2005). Women Empowering Communication and Bangkok10. *Media and Gender Monitor*, (15). <http://www.waccglobal.org/es/resources/media-and-gender-monitor/95-issue-15.html?layout=blog> (28 September 2012).

WACC. (2010a). *Global Media Monitoring Project 2010*. Retrieved from [http://www.whomakesthenews.org/images/stories/restricted/global/global\\_en.pdf](http://www.whomakesthenews.org/images/stories/restricted/global/global_en.pdf) (19 May 2011).

WACC. (2010b). *Gender Media Monitoring Project. Country Report India*. Retrieved from [http://www.whomakesthenews.org/images/stories/website/gmmp\\_reports/2010/highlights/highlights\\_en.pdf](http://www.whomakesthenews.org/images/stories/website/gmmp_reports/2010/highlights/highlights_en.pdf) (19 May 2011).

WACC, Isis Manila, & IWTC. (February 1994). *The Bangkok Declaration: Women Empowering Communication Conference*. Retrieved from <http://www.whomakesthenews.org/bangkok%20declaration.pdf> (28 September 2012).

Wasco, J., & Mosco, V. (Eds.). (1992). *Democratic Communications in the Information Age*. Toronto and Norwood: Garamond Press & Ablex.