

DIFFERENT FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE AND THE ROLE OF MEDIA: An Overview**Prof. G.P. Pandey* & Payel Das*****Abstract**

The women are unique creation of the world and constitute half of the population of the country. No Society can socially, economically, politically and culturally progress without the active participation of women as stated by the great philosopher and emancipator of Indian Women, Swami Vivekananda "There is no chance of the welfare of the world unless the condition of women is improved. It is not possible for a bird to fly on one wing." In spite of the fact, women are the most deprived and socially discriminated in the society in the name of gender and treated as sex object and commodity. Such perception also prevails in the media and it shows a step-motherly attitude towards women issues. As a result, the negative projection of the portrayal of women, their poor participation in the media and also an insignificant role in the women issues related to gender bias are common features of the media industry. It helps not only in nourishing these differences but also showing the ideology of male supremacy. Therefore, in this paper an attempt has been made to study the role of media towards the portrayal of women and their representation in media from different feminist point of view. The paper is a substantial effort to examine the exploitive, derogatory, distorted and negative image of the women portrayed by the male biased media.

Introduction

Indian women in the ancient Rig Vedic age were held in a very respectable position in the society and public life. They were even allowed to perform and participate in religious activities and get hold over the decisions in the family. Women had right to education and also the right to inherit properties. Widows were also allowed to remarry (Altekar: 1959; Upadhyay: 1991; R.C.Mishra: 2006; Ahmed: 2007). According to Upadhyay (1991) with the passage of time after Vedic period the condition and status of women deteriorated with the arrival of Muslim leaders and British. Sati, Purdah system, Polygamy, Child marriage, Dowry, Prostitution, etc. were the evils that grew up in this medieval period. During the British rule social reforms were initiated for the upliftment, betterment of the women by some of the great leaders and thinkers of the time such as Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Dayanand Saraswati, Ram Krishna Paramahansa, Kabir, Sri Chaitanya, etc. (Ahmed: 2007). Eventually, many women's organisations came up and participated in the freedom struggle. Upadhyay further explored though the constitution has granted equality of the sexes but still there is good number of crimes and violence against women. Constitutional laws formed to give justice to women, has benefited a small portion of women only. Similar to the above, R.C.Mishra (2006) reveals that in spite of women's immense and equal participation in the field of income generation; they are still neglected and deprived of her social status. Though different constitutional initiatives has been undertaken to safeguard women freedom and socio-economic-gender equality in the Indian society but still the social injustices such as sexual harassment, rape, gender discrimination, prostitution, violence and such other related crimes faced by the women are immense. Besides these, in the modern era there are many women who have earned glory to the country such as: Indira Gandhi, the most powerful and second woman politician

ever to become Prime Minister in the world on 24th January, 1966 after Sirimavo Bandaranaike of Srilanka world's first Female Prime Minister; Dr. Vijaylakhmi Pandit, first woman President of UN General Assembly, Ms. Sarojini Naidu to become first lady governor of Uttar Pradesh in India, M.Fatima Beevi (1989) the first women Judge of Supreme Court of India; Anne George Malhotra (1950), the first IAS officer; Kiran Bedi (1972), the first IPS officer (Ahmed: 2007), Meera Kumar (2009) became the first women Lok Sabha Speaker in India. One of the most relevant examples is our President and head of the constitution, Mrs. Pratibha Patil is also a woman and first lady President of India. Though the recent decades have seen many achievements of women still they are neglected, exploited and humiliated. Violence against women is common in the annals of the century in the form of female foeticide, female infanticide, girl-child neglect, physical and sexual abuse, child marriage, eve-teasing, sexual harassment in the work place, domestic violence and even dowry death. The Committee on the Status of Women (1975) stated that the content of communication at any given time reflects the pattern of values of the society. Compared to men, women are underprivileged in many ways and suffer from serious disabilities. Since formal education is a costly and long term process it is essential to harness the mass media. However, incidental studies on the impact of the mass media indicate that women's exposure to the media is often marginal and unsatisfactory. It appears that the mass media have not been effective instrument to inform and prepare women to play their new role in society. The committee's investigations indicate a general lack of awareness about the rights, problems, opportunities and responsibilities among both men and women. Since government controls a significant section of the mass media it should set the pace. According to Dagar (2004) it is not only femininity but the dominant notions of masculinity that are portrayed through the media. The media has well-documented the portrayal of gender as a product and as a complementary body politic. Women's representation has moved beyond female images of the family and home to personal care as dictated by the market agenda in a predominant patriarchy.

Media has represented women as docile, helpless, victims of crime and violence such as rape, pornography, sex tourism, human trafficking or as a sex object and commodity to sale a product. Therefore women are great attraction for the social researchers for the study from various perspectives of women study related to gender biasness for welfare of the women. The paper confronts the patriarchal hierarchy of media where women are under-represented from the different feminist perspective.

Feminist Perspective:

Over the last century significant voices has been raised on feminist issues in the form of various researches, books, seminars, conferences, etc. by different feminist theorists at different point of time. The feminist studies commenced with the concern on the issues of the women differences based on the race and class. Many feminists studies has been conducted and academic journals of feminist media studies has been published such as Communication: 1986; Dervin: 1987; Foss and Foss: 1983; Journal of Communication Enquiry: 1987; Mc Cormack: 1978; Rakow: 1986; Smith: 1983; Steeves: 1987; Van Zoonen: 1988. Freidan's (1963) The Feminine

Mystique, gave rouse to revival of women's movement which has been dormant in the struggle of women's suffrage. This book can be considered as the first work to have given importance to feminism. The 20th century, probably, is one which has experienced the most trouble in defining the role of a person as male or female. Judith Butler has completely changed the direction of women's study through her most influential book, *Gender Trouble* (1990). In early Women Studies scholars tended to think of the differences between men and women as being innate and immutable. The new theory argues that a person's role was specified under a patriarchal framework where scope of gender (masculine or feminine) was limited within the understanding of biological, understanding of sex (male and female). The Theories of 1990s emphasized that the concept of gender was fluid over time and social situations. These modern theories give enough space to create a person's own identity by having equal opportunity for both men and women. Approaches in general studies, like the theories in general study have shown changes over time. Moser (1993), however, has trust the approaches in understanding the women's position in development plans and processes in the third world over the decades. Moser's analysis includes five approaches in a sequence of welfare, equity, anti-poverty, efficiency and empowerment. All the approaches identified by Moser have distinctive origin and purposes. The purposes of the approaches are different; the planning for the women in the society makes up different approaches in different ways. Therefore, considering the roles and actions of men and women in development process are taken to bring them on an equitable platform. Since the past decade onwards there has been growing acceptance of gender- focus approach to development. Gender equity was emphasized on Programmes of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development in 1994 and the fourth World Conference on Women in 1995. As a result two consecutive programmes have initiated the process of gender sensitive planning. India too as a part of these programmes of action, is making an effort to do gender justice through planning. According to Valdiva (1995: 9) most of the books and research articles focus primarily on the white, middle-class, heterosexual, western woman. Numerous innovative studies based on feminist approach are initiated on "women's genres" such as soap operas, romance novels and women's magazines and their audiences (e.g. Hobson: 1982, Modleski: 1982, Radway: 1984, Winship: 1987). Tuchman (1978:5) interpreted in many ways women were misrepresented (symbolic annihilation) in the media in the mid and late 1970s and 'woman' was not a subject of interest because these stereotype characters of women represented in the media was considered natural before the advent of women's movement. Few questioned how they developed, how they reinforced, or how they are maintained. Certainly the media's role in this process was not questioned. But in the 1980s, the feminist intrusions in the media have gained more attention in the field of cultural studies with the Women's Studies group of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural studies (CCCS) at Birmingham with the confirmation that "We found it extremely difficult to participate in the CCCS groups and felt, without being able to articulate it, that it was a case of the masculine domination of both intellectual work and the environment in which it was being carried out" (Women Take Issue, 1978:11). The feminist scholars recognised the importance of gender, questioned the naturalization of masculinity and masculine discourse in media studies and argued for "feminine" as a new philosophy of study (McMillin: 2007).

Further, feminist issues gained more importance in the media, especially after the UN Fourth World Conference on Women held at Beijing in 1995. "The Strategic objectives of the Beijing platform for Action were - Increase the participation and access of women to expression and decision making in and through the media and new technologies of communication; promote a balanced and non-stereotyped portrayal of women in the media". Thereafter, many women's organisations began to voice their concerns against the negative portrayal of women as a commodity and as second-class citizens through both private- and government-controlled print and electronic media, and the need for encouraging women to join the profession. According to Van Zoonen, Feminist media studies differ from the other studies such as post modernism, pluralism, neo- marxism because of its absolute focus on analysing gender as a mechanism that structures material and symbolic worlds and our experiences of them. A feminist is someone who reigns the thought that, the reason behind the suffering of discrimination by women is due to their sex, they have explicit needs which are hardly noticed, annulled and unsatisfied but for the satisfaction of these needs would require a radical change (some would say a revolution even) in the social, economic and political order. Feminism is a position adopted by or ascribed to particular women groups. The words 'feminist' or 'feminism' are all political brand names emerged in the late 1960s aiming the support of the new Women's Movement. 'Feminist criticism' was then a critical and theoretical practice committed to the struggle against patriarchy and sexism, not simply a concern for gender in literature. For Millet, the 'essence of politics is power', and the task of feminist critics and theorists is to expose the way in which male dominance over females which constitutes perhaps the most pervasive ideology of our culture and provides its most fundamental concept of power. According to Millet's approach, feminists have politicized existing critical methods (in much the same sort of way that Marxists have), and it is on this basis that feminist criticism has grown to become a new branch of literary studies. Feminist reader looks towards politics of gender. French version of 'feminine' refers to femaleness or femininity. With the development of industrial societies in the 18th and 19th centuries, the structuring of gender relation has been clearly visible in the division of labour between the sexes. Women were meant for domestic chores and raising children and the men were meant for working outside and earn money (Mehta: 2008). Feminization of the labour force is also forming an important part of this discourse. The concept of "feminization of the labour force" has opened up two drastically different dimensions. Firstly, the concept indicates an increasing participation of females in wage employment. Secondly, the term is used to describe the flexibilization of labour for women and men, a fall out of the changing nature of employment wherein irregular conditions once thought to be the hallmark of women's secondary employment, has become wide spread for both the sexes (Kanji and Menon -Sen: 2001). Role of Media and Feminist Going through the study of different feminist approaches and theories related to the subject. It is apparent that the media is the main instrument passing on respective stereotypical, patriarchal and hegemonic values about women and femininity and they also work as mechanisms for social control.

Liberal Feminist Perspective:

In liberal feminist discourse media essentially pass on a reformist approach to the society that tends to see more equal gender relations being brought about by equal opportunities policies and affirmative action programmes. It does not appear to question the power dimensions in society that maintain male superiority of status and female inferiority. Instead it concentrates on sex role stereotypes, prescriptions of sex-appropriate behaviour, appearance, interests, skills and self-perceptions (Tuchman, 1978:5; Van Zoonen, 1991: 121). According to Projansky (1998: 1), this has already occurred. She makes comparisons between perceptions of women and the media at the start of the 20th century and that of today. For example, a popular fictional female character at the turn of the century was the 'vamp' that appeared to represent 'danger, sexuality and the possibility of independence'. Towards the end of the century, movies such as 'Thelma and Louise' showed women acting 'independently, doing things they were not supposed to do, and celebrating women's bonding'. Van Zoonen (1991: 130) calls these latter women, 'superwomen', and makes mention of the many ways in which 'glossy magazines' for example, have introduced the superwoman who adeptly juggles her family and her successful work life. Numerous quantitative content analysis have shown that women hardly appear in the mass media, be depicted as wife, mother, daughter, girlfriend; as working traditionally female jobs such as of secretary, nurse, receptionist or as sex object Van Zoonen (1991). For example: Indian media has always represented woman in popular stereotypes such as either clad in heavy sari with full make up and ornaments, good housewife performing the households chores, respecting elders and spreading love or as a vamp but in the end truth takes over evil and unsatisfied mother-in-laws always subduing their daughter-in-laws. This is not the true picture as shown in media; the patriarchy has redefined itself in the present society where there is depiction of freedom of the woman. The picture that is portrayed in the media does not portray the true picture of the Indian woman. Thousands of years back in the mythological story of Ramayana Goddess Sita had to give Agni Pariksha (a test for truth by burning oneself in the fire), to prove her loyalty towards her husband. Similarly in this 21st century also a woman with minimum qualification of 10th standard, in the city of Indore had to give Agni Pariksha to prove her loyalty. This story was highly exaggerated in media, which shows the poor representation of women in the Indian media (Parmar and Sharma: 2009). The soap operas present both essentialist and deconstructionist meanings of women by portraying the images of women's life consisting of pre-marital sex and pregnancy, extra-marital affairs, divorce, rape cases etc.

Radical Feminist Perspective

Radical feminism, on the other hand, argues that patriarchal media serve the needs of patriarchal society by suppressing and distorting women's experiences which would seriously disturb the patriarchal set up whereby all men directly or indirectly dominate and oppress all women. They are particularly concerned about the media's role in the construction of consciousness and gender identities instead of specific stereotypes. The analysis of male dominance in the media and other social institutions identified the need for women to separate themselves from male-controlled systems and create their own organisations and structures (Van Zoonen: 1991; Donovan, 1985: 24). Radical feminists confronts on the exposing of female abuse by

male and politicizing issues considered as private such as sexual violence, wife battering, incest pornography, women trafficking and sex tourism, etc. lesbianism is also an example of the radical politicization of the personal (Zoonen:1991). The media is to some extent generating sexual meaning of woman's body through cinema, music videos, soap operas, etc. The sensuous scenes, combined with songs create erotic meaning of the woman's body which heightens further with the male gazing or selective exposure of certain body parts. This creates market forces which generate and supply demands of people for articles which make body expose in the image of media representation. The representation of woman in the advertisement of perfume, deodorants, toothpaste, inner wears such as in ads of Axe Deo effect, Colgate toothpaste has reduced woman to a mere commodity. The sexual presentation of woman reinforces the negative aspects of women's role, status and relationship. The depiction of women as sex objects in literature, films, advertisements, television and the glamorization of movies titillate and excite the male thinking. It is not always lust that motivates rape but custody rapes are also adopted by males to mark their superiority and women her place. Other than rape, divorce, dowry, wife beating are also sorts of violence against women, this mark the inequality between the sexes. But the masculine point of view is, it is prevalent simply because men control the industry. Pornography exists because men despise women and men despise women because pornography exists – the focus is on pornography (Dworkin, 1980:289). The process of globalization and liberalisation with the help of information technology have further lowered the image and status of women, though it has created new opportunities for role mobility and role reversal and changed traditional gender based role hierarchies. For example: the programmes such as Mtv Roadies and Splitsvilla where boys and girls abuse one another, use slang languages, fight and quarrel among themselves. Sometimes the scenario peaks to an extent where boys and girls flirt and seduce one another with the most indecent, vulgar and over explosive outfits. This is not the reality of our Indian society which is rich in values and morals but is the impact of globalization and liberalisation which has lowered the status and image of woman. Sexualization of content is on an increasing note. The American Academy of Pediatrics reports that of the approximately 14,000 references to sex a teen will see each year in the media, only 165 will contain any reference to delaying sex, using contraceptives, or avoiding sexually transmitted diseases. Music videos that contain unflattering and aggressive lyrics about women are also of concern to women's and children's advocates, many of whom see this gender baiting filtering its way down to sexual harassment of girls in schools. (http://worldsavvy.org/monitor/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=603&Itemid=1050 -->)

Radical feminism opts for media strategies where women should create their own means of communication. Radical feminist does not allow hierarchies rather distortion of masculine hierarchy (Zoonen: 1991). Hartsock (1987/1990) fought for the transformation of power relations through a revised and reconstructed theory of five steps: first, women have to recognize themselves as the makers of history, as through whom the male self is constructed; second, their work should be developed as an important philosophical piece of work to show that systematic knowledge of the world of the marginalized is possible; third, a theory is needed that acknowledges that within women's daily activities is embedded an

understanding of the world, fourth, women should understand the difficulty of creating alternatives and lastly, women need to envision where they actively participate in changing power relations. According to Riano (1994) feminist communication goes beyond development communication to bring around all round development of the women with respect to ownership, inclusion and accountability for women in the development process. It aims at naming oppressions of race, gender, sexual orientation and disability; negotiate fair representation and equality of access, construct individual and collective identities and produce alternate. The mass media could contribute significantly to the advancement of women and the promotion of gender equality. Unfortunately, the print, visual, audio and electronic media in many countries do not provide balanced pictures of the diversity of women and men's lives and their complementary roles in society. To take just two examples, pornographic and violent media products degrade women while the mainstream programming often reinforces perceptions of women's and men's traditional roles (Gallagher Margaret: 2005). Similar to the above views, Jones and Jones (1999: 66) revealed that women's lives were only partially reflected and represented by the media. More often which is published is distorted and misleading. For example, Coward (1984: 64-66) points out, images and articles in popular magazines such as 'Better Homes and Garden' relate to home-improvements. They have a definite style of writing of which any idea of domestic labour is repressed. Labour is there but it is the labour of decorating, designing and painting which leads to the 'house ending up in the perfect state'. Turner (1997: 330-331) suggests that this misrepresentation of the 'real home environment' not only represses women's labour but women are made to believe that they are, for the most part, responsible for domestic life. Any deviation from this 'norm' connotes 'inadequacy'.

Socialist Feminist Perspective

Socialist feminism unlike the previous approaches does not concentrate exclusively upon gender but assumes that media present the capitalist, patriarchal scheme of things as the most attractive system available. It incorporates analyses of social class, ethnicity, sexual preference, age and disability into the discourse (Van Zoonen: 1991). Socialist feminists concentrate on the ways in which gender is constructed through language and imagery. It is based within a Marxist framework of reference, namely Gramsci's (1971) theory of hegemony also known as 'the manipulative model' (Jones and Jones: 1999: 68). For example, news might serve as the means by which a dominant class, such as white male elites, could condition a population of subordinate classes (women, minorities) to adopt prevailing values and behaviours, thereby perpetuating an inherently unequal system of power (Byerly, 1990a: 80). Rakow (1992: 9) supports this claim by suggesting that the 'news is essentially a masculine narrative in which women function not as speaking subjects but as signs'. Moritz (1995: 127) says that 'news media practices continue to be deeply implicated in the perpetuation as a sexist, heterosexual, homophobic, and class-driven culture that privileges elite, white, conservative, male voices. According to Kray (1995: 225), media personnel may appoint as newsmakers and or salespersons, individuals they feel to be representative of marginal groups however most are males while females of any type are 'symbolically annihilated'. Producers and owners (powerful elite) believe this representation, although minimal, will clear them of any discrimination and place them in a favourable position with their public. The media has ignored the women's is-

sue and movement, it has failed to give due importance to women coverage. Bathla (1998) in her study on five English Dailies of India comprising of a sample from the years 1981, 1985, 1989, 1993 found that fifty seven percent of the stories about women are on crime and violence. Of the 584 editorials in her sample only eight (1.4%) were women issues. Research tends to show that women are still largely oppressed. Dominick and Rauch (1972: 76-79) conducted a systematic study of gender stereotyping on American television in 1972 and found that seven-five percent of advertisements used women for kitchen and bathroom products, over fifty-six percent of women were portrayed as housewives while men were portrayed in authoritative roles and eighty-seven percent of voice-overs used a male voice. In 1990, Cumberbatch (1990: 11-14) showed that men still outnumbered women on screen by the ratio of nearly 2:1 and over eighty-nine percent of voice-overs were male. Women were still portrayed far more commonly in decorative roles than men were and far more as attractive and slim. Thus, it is concluded that women remain in what is essentially a man's world. According to Dow (1996: xi-xii) 'in the 1990s patriarchy is still alive and well while women's attempts at self-definition and self-determination continues to be marginalised and silenced. Popular culture and media play key roles in that process'. The problematic representation of woman prostitution, child marriage, rape, purdah system gets into media as seductive sensuality rather than concerned issues. The issues get marginalized as media person quarrel on the issue of who should be interviewed for which channel. Media has always shown women to be helpless, docile, orthodox, and vulnerable and as sex objects (Mehta: 2008). Media also projects woman in politics but those in politics are required to keep public face of decency as vote catching device. For example: few days back, a serial named 'Sarkar' appeared in Zee TV which was based on the story of Indira Gandhi as a Prime minister and her two son. Again in a recent film "Rajneeti" where Katrina kaif played the role of Indu Sakseria who takes over the seat of the party to get the sympathy vote when her father-in-law and husband die. The depiction of violence against women and stereotyping sex role is the major problem in the portrayal of women in media. Whether it is print media or audio visual media the concerns for women problems are always deficient but are alarming preponderance of issues sensationalising women. Another instance where a fifteen year old British tourist girl named Scarlett Eden was found dead on the Goa sea beach due to gang rape on 18th February, 2008. The story hit the media with the photo of the victim for many days. This story marks the downfall of the society and disgrace towards the woman, but the media houses were no less behind in sensationalizing the story for high rated TRPs. (Parmar and Sharma: 2009). This is the true picture of Indian media after many years of independence. Van Zoonen, hits the notion that that the media project only sexist stereotypes and denies the true nature of women and state female audiences into passive acceptance of patriarchy. Alternately, she argues the essentialist conception of femininity underlying this approach should be replaced by a culturalist understanding of the socially constructed nature of feminine subjectivities. Women's pleasure in the media should not be seen as a process of passive victimization and indoctrination but as a way in which women actively express something about themselves as women, and the media itself should be viewed as a site of negotiation between conflicting definitions of gender rather than as an unproblematic agency of patriarchy. Similarly, Christine Geraghty (1996:4) shows how sweeping indictments of the 'reactionary' images of the women in the media,

advanced by some radical feminist critics, gave rise to misgivings among other feminists. These indictments seemed to privilege one type of women over others and involve rejecting more feminine traditional roles in a way which seemed to collude with male denigration of them. From these misgivings emerged redemptive readings of TV soap operas and prime time melodrama which both took seriously women in 'traditional' roles and yet offered scope for female audience rejection of patriarchal values. Madhok (2005) on her study on "Women and Media" found that media coverage on crimes and violence on women issues are detailed, often sensational and voyeuristic. By the mid 1990s popular stereotypes most common in average Hindi movies were rape, dowry deaths, sati, etc with the ultimate transformation of the victim to the image of Goddess Kali and these clichés often became the news stories on local dailies and at times in the front page of the dailies. Feminism has become a major shift of contemporary Indian Thought the media spotlighted a handful of savviest activists and turned them into stars. The data suggests that the present situation of Indian women is far better than the 1970s. During the pre-independence period many women played an imperative role by emerging out of their home and participating in the freedom struggle of movement which made them experience the real empowerment. Valdiva (1995: 8) believes, 'the reasons why feminism has been broadly misunderstood and changes have 'not been successful' is that of women's differences not being acknowledged within the media or fully explored within past feminist theories'. Instead, the media and most feminist theories have concentrated on women as stereotypically white, middle-class, heterosexual and existing within Western cultural beliefs and values. Women have been discussed and treated collectively, as though they possess the same cultural identities and desires. She, along with other feminist writers such as Guzman believe that a perspective in which women of colour, sexual preference, ethnic background, religious beliefs, economic position and geography are inclusive would provide a greater force in combating the oppression of all women (Guzman, 1995: 30-31). Usha Rai (1999:171) concluded "to bring women's issues to the front pages, women's organizations will have to work closely with journalists covering these issues. Just a chat on the phone every second day would do: this should give the journalist an idea of what women's organization are involved with currently and by the same token, give the women's organization an idea of what the journalist considers news." Citing Elaine Marks and Isabella de Courtivron (1980), Teresa de Lauretis (1988b:138) suggests that "A new feminist theory begins when the feminist critique of ideologies becomes conscious of itself and turns to question its own body of writing and critical interpretations, its basic assumptions and terms, and the practices which they enable and from which they emerge." Riano (1994) made the argument that if connections between the media and women's participation in public arenas to be understood, feminist media scholarships must go beyond consideration of problems in the content and structures of mainstream industries and instead (or at least as well as) also consider women-generated media.

Conclusion:

Thus, from the above, it is clear that there is a disparity and discrimination against the women and their projection in the media and it is a matter of future consideration to provide equal weightage and importance to women and related issues in the media. The potential for overcoming discrimination against women in media

is there only when women have complete access to the media for self-expression and mass communication, when women would really share their control over the means of production with the men and equally establish 'female gaze' as a part of popular culture and present their point of view in all intriguing dimension, when women would believe in their own self and consider themselves as the makers of the history and an individual at par with man. Similarly, the issue of empowerment of women is only possible with her active participation in Indian polity, economic affairs and every walk of life as emphasized by Mahatma Gandhi and other social activists and theoretician as well as media -professionals.

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