

# GENDER REPRESENTATION IN COMMONWEALTH GAMES 2010 IN INDIAN PRINT MEDIA

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*The study explains how selected major Indian newspapers have treated women and men sports person's visuals on the front page during the Commonwealth Games 2010. Content analysis method was used for the study. The results indicated that seven out of nine selected newspapers published men player's visuals more as compared to women players. While maximum space was given to women visuals as out of nine newspapers, five gave maximum space (visual area) to women players. The findings show that seven newspapers used women player's visuals as a lead. The Hindu newspaper used maximum visuals (40%) of women player's visuals as lead. Dainik Tribune published maximum (41.4%) women's visuals and Times of India published maximum (52.6%) men's visuals on the front page. The Indian Express gave maximum space (973.06 sq cm) to men's visuals of CWG 2010 and Dainik Tribune gave maximum space (1193.34 sq cm) to women's visuals. The Hindu used 100% photographs with caption and The Tribune used maximum (98%) captions in the women visuals, while all other seven newspapers used captions for visuals of men. The Times of India used maximum CWG visuals as a cartoon and Punjab Kesri was the only newspaper which used cutout (14%) and graph (22%).*

**Key Words—** Commonwealth Games, front page, The Tribune, The Hindu, The Times of India, Indian Express, Dainik Tribune, Dainik Bhaskar, Punjab Kesri, Punjabi Tribune, Ajit and Photojournalism.

There is an old saying that “one good photograph speaks a thousand words”. In today's age of information technology, visuals have taken the centre stage. Rowe (1999), readers like photographic coverage in the sports page of the newspapers than textual coverage.

If we go by the way print media emphasized on visuals during the Commonwealth Games held in New Delhi in October 2010, first time in India, we can surely say that visuals were treated more important than printed word as they not only have an editorial value, but also play an important part in design arena by giving the newspaper/magazine a more appealing look.

There was a time when most of the newspapers/magazines had static visuals. But now action visuals are in vogue telling volumes about the event to the reader before he/she actually reads the story. By and large, all the Indian daily newspapers carried rare pictures of the Games. The visuals will stand as a record for years to come, which is why since ages focus is on visuals. What happened during the 1936 Berlin Olympics? Many of us have come to learn about them is through visuals.

## I. Review of Literature

A number of studies have been done regarding the gender representation of sports coverage in the newspapers. Research have shown that women sports person get less coverage than men in both the print and broadcast media

(i.e., Bishop, 2003; Bryant, 1980; Fink & Kensicki, 2002; Fullerton, 2006; Lumpkin & Williams, 1991; Billings & Angelini, 2007; Billings & Eastman, 2002; Billings & Eastman, 2003). Many scholars have also studied the photo coverage of male and female players (i.e., Bishop, 2003; Duncan & Sayaovong, 1990; Fink & Kensicki, 2002; Pedersen, 2002; Rintala & Birrell, 1984; Salwen & Wood, 1994).

Visual coverage of sports events of men and women vary in print media. In print media, men's sports photographs have been found to outnumber women's 13 to 1, as men's photographs constituted 92.3% of all photographs (Duncan et al., 1991). Similarly, in a study about the photographs appearing in Sports Illustrated for Kids, it was found that men were given space three times more than women (Hardin et al., 2002).

Jo Ann M. Buysse of School of Kinesiology, University of Minnesota did research on “Construction of gender in sports, An Analysis of Intercollegiate Media Guide Cover Photographs”. A sample was collected from 1989-1990 (hereafter 1990) and 1996-1997 (hereafter 1997) academic years. 307 cover page were analyzed from 1989-1990, 47 percent portrayed women sports, and 53 percent men's sports. During the 1996-1997 the total 314 covers were studied in which 51 percent published women visuals, and

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49 percent showed men's. As per the study in 1990, 59 percent visuals of men were in action compared to 43 percent for women during 1997, 62 percent of men's visuals and 41 percent of women in action were published.

Richard Pringle of University of Western Australia did a study of the two important newspapers of Western Australia, the Daily News and The West Australian, to find out whether sportswomen and sportsmen received disparity dealing during the 1990 Commonwealth Games. As per the study coverage of men and women sports was not equal, sportsmen received 1.6 times more coverage than sportswomen.

Amateur Athletic Foundation of Los Angeles sponsored a study of women in sports titled "Coverage of Women's Sports in Four Daily Newspapers" done by experts Margaret Carlisle Duncan, Ph.D., Michael Messner, Ph.D., Linda Williams, Ph.D. Edited by Wayne Wilson, Ph.D. They examined four newspapers: USA Today, the Boston Globe, the Orange County Register, and the Dallas Morning News. As per the findings 92.3 percent of all visuals were pictures of men and male athletes and outnumbered those of female athletes 13 to 1. The USA Today published higher number of women stories and photographs than any of the other newspapers. Stories exclusively on men sports outnumbered stories addressing only women sports by a ratio of 23 to 1. Study also shows that some photographs in the sports sections were not related to any story. The majority of stories with photographs were stories about male sports persons. Almost half of all the women sports news-only stories had pictures compared to less than a third of the men.

Katherine N. Kinnick did a study of 1996 summer Olympic games title "Gender Bias in Newspaper Profiles of 1996 Olympic Athletes: A Content Analysis of Five Major Dailies". Five important newspapers of United States were studied to know the gender bias in reporting and photography. No evidences of gender bias was found in this study in terms of quantitative representation of female athletes, or in the placement and prominence of stories. While profiles of athletes in this study found evidence of gender bias for a number of criteria; however, for other items, female athletes received similar or more favorable treatment than male athletes.

A study by Hardin et al. (2002) found that women were presented as inferior to men in Sports Illustrated for Kids' photographic coverage. The study found a 3:1 ratio in number of male to female photos, a greater disparity than Duncan and Sayaovong's (1990) findings from a decade before, when the ratio was 2:1. In addition, Hardin et al.

(2002) found that female athletes were "underrepresented in all editorial photographs, overrepresented in aesthetic sports, and framed more often than men in inferior ways" (p. 355). Duncan (1990) argues that media outlets focus on sexual difference as a mechanism to put women in a position of powerlessness. Along with sexual differences, some researchers have also studied the sexual suggestiveness of photographs.

Shaun Kohn of University of Oregon studied Men vs. Women in newspapers sports section photographs under the supervision of Kim Sheehan in 2000. The study examined photographs of males and females in newspaper sports sections. Content analysis of sports section photographs from four newspapers over 20-year span, starting in 1978, found that gatekeepers attached more salience to male athletes, and presented female athletes in a higher percentage of photos indicating dominance, indicating being dominated, and indicating emotion, when compared to males. Additionally, it was found that the presence of female athletes is increasing in the sports section, though there is still existed a large gender gap in 1998.

Jane Crossman of Lakehead University, Canada, John Vincent of University of Alabama, USA and Harriet Speed of Victoria University, Australia have compared how selected broadsheet newspapers from three countries covered female and male tennis players competing in the 2004 Wimbledon Championships. For this study they choose important newspapers of each country, UK, The Times; US, The New York Times and from Canada, The Globe & Mail. Content analysis method was used to compare the amount and prominence of the coverage devoted to female and male tennis players in all articles and photographs during the Wimbledon Championships fortnight (20 June—5 July 2004). As per the study male players had significantly more total coverage than female players and significantly more articles/photographs. But, the size of the articles/photographs was not significantly different.

A Comparative Study of Photojournalism in American and Korean Newspapers was conducted by the Yung Soo Kim and James D. Kelly, Southern Illinois. The content of 628 news and feature photographs in ten elite American and Korean newspapers was analyzed for differences in composition, subject number, and subject identification. The Korean approach to photojournalism was purely descriptive while the American approach was more interpretive. Koreans presented far more news, emphasized the group, and maintained a consistent composition.

Americans ran more features, emphasized the individual and varied composition. Differences were explained by culture, normative protocols, and differing media philosophies.

## II. Research Design & Method

Content analysis method was used to analyse the difference of sports coverage in relation to gender in context of the use of visuals/pictures on the front page. Nine newspapers from both English and Vernacular newspapers were chosen for the study. Of these four were from English, three from Hindi and two from Punjabi; The Tribune, The Indian Express, The Hindu, Times of India, Dainik Tribune, Punjab Kesri, Dainik Bhaskar, Punjabi Tribune, Ajit.

The newspapers were selected on the basis of their national prominence. For the purpose of the study, front page of the newspapers one day before the inauguration of games and one day after the closing ceremony of CWG 2010 were analysed. Visuals on front page were examined in terms of size, gender, positioning, photograph with or without caption, space given. How many visuals were of men, women or both?

## III. Results & Discussion

During Commonwealth Games 2010 (CWG 2010) total numbers of visuals were 1112 out of which 426 were of CWG and 686 were on other subjects/issues. As per table number 1, Dainik Tribune published maximum number 41.4% visuals of women during XIX Commonwealth Games 2010 Delhi, while 34.5% visuals were of men and 24.1% were joint of both men and women followed by its parent publication, an English newspaper, The Tribune published 41.3% visuals of women, 32.6% of men and 26.1% were joint. The Times of India published 39.5% visuals of women, 52.6% of men and 7.9% joint. Punjabi Tribune published 33.3% visuals of women, 36.4% of men and 30.3% were of both. Dainik Bhaskar published 31% women visuals, 51.7% of men and 17.2% joint. The Hindu published only 26.4% visuals of women, 36.8% of men and 36.8% were joint. Punjab Kesri published 22.9% women visuals, 47.9% of men and 29.2% were joint visuals. Indian Express published 20% visuals of women, 26% of men and 54% were joint, while Daily Ajit published only 17.9% women visuals, 43.6% of men and 38.5% were joint.

As per table number 2, The Tribune have given maximum space (1444.02 sq cm) to joint visuals while women's visuals got 1035.38 sq cm space and men got only 842.72 sq cm. The Times of India gave maximum space (760.13

sq cm) to women visuals and 677.16 sq cm to men's visuals, 435.66 sq cm to joint visuals. The Indian Express have given 1422.34 sq cm space to joint visuals, 973.06 sq cm to men's and 704.5 sq cm space to women's visuals. The Hindu gave 1422.34 sq cm space to joint visuals, 494.9 sq cm for women's visuals and 363.9 sq cm space to men's visuals. Dainik Bhaskar gave 1842.93 sq cm space to joint visuals, 786.26 sq cm for women's visuals and 535.07 sq cm space to men's visuals. Dainik Tribune have given 1193.34 sq cm space to women's visuals while 1168.2 sq cm to joint visuals and 859.97 sq cm to men's visuals. Punjab Kesri gave 2481.96 sq cm space to joint visuals, 289.2 sq cm for women's visuals and 819.36 sq cm space to men's visuals. Punjabi Tribune have given 463.66 sq cm, 416.93 sq cm and 356.47 sq cm space to joint, men and women visuals respectively. Daily Ajit gave 617.4 sq cm space to joint visuals, 221.46 sq cm for women visuals and 351.44 sq cm space to men visuals.

As per the table number 3 The Tribune published maximum women visuals 98 % with caption and 2% without caption, whereas 80% men visuals were published with caption and 20% without caption. Maximum 62% Joint visuals of the tribune were published without caption and 38% with caption. The Times of India published 60% men visuals with caption and 40% without the caption, 45% women visuals were published with caption and 55% without the caption, while 50% visuals were published with and without caption. The Indian Express published 96% joint visuals without caption and only 4% with the caption, 62% men visuals were used with caption and 38% without the caption, 50% women's visuals were used with caption and 50% without caption. The Hindu have used all the genders photographs with caption. Dainik Bhaskar has used 50% men's visuals with the caption and 50% women's visuals without the caption, 37% women's visuals used with the caption and 63% visuals without the caption, while 61% joint visuals were used with caption and 39% without the caption. 85% men's visuals were used with caption in Dainik Tribune and 15% without the caption, 84% women's visuals with caption and 16% without the caption, while 71% joint visuals in Dainik Tribune were with caption and 29% were without caption. Punjab Kesri used 79% men's visuals with caption and 21% without the caption, 72% women's visuals were used with caption and 28% without caption, 29% joint visuals in Punjab Kesri were with caption and 71% without caption. Punjabi Tribune published 75% men's visuals with caption and 25% without caption, 54% women's visuals were with caption and 46% without the caption, 60% joint visuals in Punjabi Tribune were published with caption and 40% were without the caption. Daily Ajit

published 88% men's visuals with caption and 12% without the caption, 86% women's visuals were used with caption and 14% without caption, 60% joint visuals in daily Ajit were with caption and 40% were without the caption.

As per table number 4, The Tribune published 53% men's visuals in horizontal, 33% in vertical and 14% in square shape. Whereas 63% women's visuals used as horizontal, 27% vertical and 5% square and cutout, They used 92% joint visuals in horizontal and 8% in vertical shape. The Times of India published 25% men's visuals in horizontal, 28% in vertical, 2% in square shape and 52% were cartoons.

While 34% women visuals were horizontal, 14% vertical and 52% cartoons, they also published 50% joint visuals as horizontal and 50% in vertical shape. The Indian Express published 77% horizontal visuals of men, 23% vertical. While 90% women visuals were horizontal, 10% vertical, and 63% joint visuals were horizontal, 18% were vertical, 15% square shape and 4% were cartoons.

The Hindu published 68% horizontal visuals of men, 16% vertical and 16% as square. While 40% women visuals were horizontal, 40% vertical and 20% as square and published 100% joint visuals as horizontal. Dainik Bhaskar published 33% horizontal visuals of men, 67% vertical. Whereas 33% women visuals were horizontal, 61% vertical and 6% cartoon, they published 20% joint visuals as horizontal, 20% as vertical and 60% as cartoon. Dainik Tribune published 45% horizontal visuals, 55% vertical of men. While 63% women's visuals used as horizontal, 37% vertical, they have used 64% joint visuals as horizontal, 22% as vertical, 7% as square shape and 7% as cartoon. Punjab Kesri published 64% horizontal visuals, 26% vertical of men. Whereas 72% women visuals were horizontal, 28% vertical and 43% joint visuals were horizontal, 14% vertical, 7% as cartoon, 14% cutout and 22% in graphs. Punjabi Tribune published 50% horizontal and 50% vertical visuals of men. Whereas 27% women visuals were horizontal, 73% vertical and 30% joint visuals as horizontal and 70% as vertical shape. Daily Ajit published 30% horizontal and 70% visuals vertical of men. While 43% women visuals were horizontal, 57% vertical where as 30% joint visuals were horizontal and 70% were in vertical shape.

Table number 5 presents position of Men, Women and joint visuals in selected newspapers in percentage. The Tribune published 27% visuals of men as lead, 7% as second lead, middle and anchor and 52% were used as supporting visuals. Whereas 21% women's visuals were

used as lead, 11% as second lead and 68% as supporting visuals. They also used 25% joint visuals as lead, 17% middle and 58% as supporting visuals. The Times of India have used 10% men's visuals as lead, 2% as middle, 20% as supporting, 2% as right ear, 26% highlight visuals and 40% were used under the masthead. Whereas 14% women visuals were used as lead, 3% as second lead, 21% as supporting, 3% right ear, 7% left ear, 21% highlight visuals and 38% were used as under the masthead and 33% visuals were used as joint visuals 67% as supporting visuals. The Indian Express used 39% men's visuals as lead, 8% as second lead, 15% as middle, 23% were used under the masthead. Whereas 30% women's visuals used as lead, 10% as second lead, 20% as supporting, 10% right ear and 30% were used under the masthead and 11% joint visuals used as lead, 11% as supporting visuals and 78% visuals used under the masthead. The Hindu used 33% men's visuals as lead, 17% as anchor and 50 as supporting visuals, they used 40% women's visuals as lead and 20% middle, anchor and supporting each. 57% joint visuals used as a lead, 28% were used as middle and 15% as supporting. Dainik Bhaskar used men's visuals 33% lead and supporting each, 17% as a 2<sup>nd</sup> lead and middle each. They used 28% women visuals as lead, 11%, 56% and 5% as 2<sup>nd</sup> lead, supporting and left ear respectively.

Dainik Bhaskar used 50% joint visuals as a supporting, 20% as a lead and 10% as a 2<sup>nd</sup> lead, middle and right ear each. Dainik Tribune has used 50% women visuals as a supporting, 30% as middle, 5% as a 2<sup>nd</sup> lead and 15% as a lead, while 25% men visuals used as lead, 17% 2<sup>nd</sup> lead, 4% middle and anchor each and 50% as supporting visuals. They used 29% joint visuals as lead and supporting each and 21% as 2<sup>nd</sup> lead and middle each. Punjab Kesri has used 58% men visuals as supporting, 26% as a lead, 11% as a 2<sup>nd</sup> lead and 5% as a left ear, whereas 55% women visuals used as a supporting visuals, 27% as a lead, 9% as a 2<sup>nd</sup> lead and 9% as a left ear. In term of joint visuals they used 29% as a lead, 14% as a 2<sup>nd</sup> lead and anchor each, 22% as a supporting, 14% as a left ear and 7% as a highlight visuals. Punjab Tribune used 8% men's visuals as a lead, 34% as a 2<sup>nd</sup> lead and anchor each and 24% as a supporting. They used 28% women visuals as lead, 27% and 45% as 2<sup>nd</sup> lead and supporting visuals respectively. 40% joint visuals as a lead and supporting each and 20% as a 2<sup>nd</sup> lead. Daily Ajit have used 6% men's visuals as lead and 2<sup>nd</sup> lead each, 23% as middle and 65% as supporting, whereas 14% women's visuals used as lead, 2<sup>nd</sup> lead and middle each and 58% as supporting, in the joint visuals they used 47% as a lead and 53% as a supporting.

## IV. Conclusion

The findings of the study show significant difference between men and women sports persons visual presentation during the XIX Commonwealth Games 2010 Delhi. Seven newspapers out of nine published men sports person's visuals more than women. The Times of India used (52.6%) men sports persons visuals on the front page and maximum women's visuals (41.4%) used by the Dainik Tribune. Maximum space (visual area) was given to female players as compared to male sports persons. Five newspapers have given more space to women visuals out of the nine. Dainik Tribune gave maximum 1193.34 sq cm area to women visuals as compared to 859.97 sq cm to men visuals. Visuals showing men and women (joint visuals) in one frame got maximum space in Punjab Kesri newspaper. It gave 2481.96 sq cm areas to joint visuals. They gave less space (289.2 sq cm) to women visuals as compared to men (819.36 sq cm). The Hindu is the only newspaper which publishes 100% visuals with caption. Except The Tribune have used maximum women visuals (98%) with caption while all other newspapers have used maximum men visuals with caption. Five newspapers out of the nine have used maximum women visuals as horizontal and six newspapers have used maximum men visuals as a vertical frame. The Tribune, The Hindu, Punjabi Tribune and Daily Ajit have not used any cartoon of CWG visuals, while The Times of India have used maximum CWG visuals as cartoon 45% men and 52% as women. Punjab Kesri was the only newspaper which have used cartoon (14%) and graph (22%). The study shows that seven newspapers published women player's visuals as lead. The Hindu newspaper published maximum visuals (40%) of women player's visuals as lead. The Indian Express and The Times of India published visuals under the masthead. Dainik Bhaskar published maximum (83%) supporting visuals of men sports persons. Punjabi Tribune published maximum men (34%) visuals as a 2<sup>nd</sup> lead, while The Hindu published maximum visuals as an anchor.

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**Table 1: Men, Women and Joint visuals in XIX Commonwealth Games 2010 Delhi on front page of Leading Indian News Papers**

News Papers	<i>The Tribune</i>	<i>TheTimes ofIndia</i>	<i>The Indian Express</i>	<i>The Hindu</i>	<i>Dainik Bhaskar</i>	<i>Dainik Tribune</i>	<i>Punjab Kesri</i>	<i>Punjabi Tribune</i>	<i>Daily Ajit</i>
Men	32.6%	52.6%	26%	36.8%	51.7%	34.5%	47.9%	36.4%	43.6%
Women	41.3%	39.5%	20%	26.4%	31%	41.4%	22.9%	33.3%	17.9%
Joint	26.1%	7.9%	54%	36.8%	17.2%	24.1%	29.2%	30.3%	38.5%

**Table 2: Space (area) of Men, Women and Joint visuals in XIX Commonwealth Games 2010 Delhi on front page of leading Indian News Papers**

News Papers	<i>The Tribune</i>	<i>TheTimes ofIndia</i>	<i>The Indian Express</i>	<i>The Hindu</i>	<i>Dainik Bhaskar</i>	<i>Dainik Tribune</i>	<i>Punjab Kesri</i>	<i>Punjabi Tribune</i>	<i>Daily Ajit</i>
Men	842.72	677.16	973.06	363.9	535.07	859.97	819.36	416.93	351.44
Women	1035.38	760.13	704.5	494.9	786.26	1193.34	289.2	356.47	221.46
Joint	1444.02	435.66	1035.1	1422.34	1842.93	1168.2	2481.96	463.66	617.4

**Table 3: Caption in Men, Women and Joint visuals in selected newspapers in percentage**

News Papers	<i>The Tribune</i>		<i>TheTimes ofIndia</i>		<i>The Indian Express</i>		<i>The Hindu</i>		<i>Dainik Bhaskar</i>		<i>Dainik Tribune</i>		<i>Punjab Kesri</i>		<i>Punjabi Tribune</i>		<i>Daily Ajit</i>	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Men	80	20	60	40	62	38	100	-	50	50	85	15	79	21	75	25	88	12
Women	98	2	45	55	50	50	100	-	37	63	84	16	72	28	54	46	86	14
Joint	38	62	50	50	4	96	100	-	61	39	71	29	29	71	60	40	60	40

Table 4: Shape of Men, Women and Joint visuals in selected newspapers in percentage

News Papers	The Tribune			The Times of India			The Indian Express			The Hindu			Dainik Bhaskar			Dainik Tribune			Punjab Kesri			Punjab Tribune			Daily Ajit		
	M	W	J	M	W	J	M	W	J	M	W	J	M	W	J	M	W	J	M	W	J	M	W	J	M	W	J
Gender	53	63	92	25	34	50	77	90	63	100	100	100	33	33	20	45	63	64	63	72	43	50	27	30	30	43	30
Horizontal	33	27	8	28	14	50	23	10	18	16	40	-	67	61	20	55	37	22	26	28	14	50	73	70	70	57	70
Square	14	5	-	2	-	-	-	-	15	16	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
cartoon	-	-	-	45	52	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	6	60	-	-	-	7	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cutout	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	-	14	-	-	-	-	-	-
Graph	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22	-	-	-	-	-	-

(M= Men, W= Women, J= Joint visuals)

Table 5: Position of Men, Women and Joint visuals in selected newspapers in percentage

News Papers	The Tribune			The Times of India			The Indian Express			The Hindu			Dainik Bhaskar			Dainik Tribune			Punjab Kesri			Punjab Tribune			Daily Ajit		
	M	W	J	M	W	J	M	W	J	M	W	J	M	W	J	M	W	J	M	W	J	M	W	J	M	W	J
Gender	27	21	25	10	14	33	39	30	11	33	40	57	3	28	20	15	25	29	26	27	29	8	28	40	6	14	47
Lead	7	11	-	-	3	-	8	10	-	-	-	-	7	11	10	5	17	21	11	9	14	34	27	20	6	14	-
2nd Lead	7	-	17	2	-	-	15	-	-	20	28	7	7	-	10	30	4	21	-	-	-	34	-	-	23	14	-
Middle	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17	20	15	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	14	-	-	-	-	-	-
Anchor	52	68	58	20	21	67	15	20	11	50	20	20	83	56	50	50	29	50	58	55	22	24	45	40	65	58	53
Supporting	-	-	-	2	3	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
R.Ear	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	5	9	14	-	-	-	-	-	-
Left Ear	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-
H. Visuals	-	-	-	26	21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
U.Masthead	-	-	-	40	38	-	23	30	78	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

(M= Men, W= Women, J= Joint visuals)