

**WHO
MAKES THE
NEWS?**



Europe

Global Media Monitoring Project 2015 Regional Report



GMMP
Global Media
Monitoring Project
WACC

Acknowledgements



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GMMP 2015 is co-ordinated by the World Association for Christian Communication (WACC), an international NGO which promotes communication for social change, in collaboration with data analyst, Media Monitoring Africa (MMA), South Africa.

The data for GMMP 2015 was collected through the collective voluntary effort of hundreds of organizations including gender and media activists, grassroots communication groups, academics and students of communication, media professionals, journalists associations, alternative media networks and church groups.



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Global Context

- As newsroom staff around the world went about their day on 25 March 2015, hundreds of volunteers located in over 100 countries gathered to monitor their news media as part of the Fifth Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP).
- The Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) is the world's longest-running and most extensive research on gender in the news media. It began in 1995 when volunteers in 71 countries around the world monitored women's presence in their national radio, television and print news. The research revealed that only 17% of news subjects – the people who are interviewed or whom the news is about – were women. It found that gender parity was 'a distant prospect in any region of the world. News [was] more often being presented by women but it [was] still rarely about women.'¹
- Seventy countries participated in the Second GMMP in 2000. This and all subsequent GMMPs were coordinated by the World Association for Christian Communication (WACC). The research found a relatively static picture: only 18% of news subjects were women, a statistically insignificant change over the 5-year period.²
- The first statistically significant change in women's overall presence in the news was registered in 2005 in the third iteration of the research.³ Women comprised 21% of news subjects, a three percentage point increase over the period 2000 to 2005. Their near invisibility continued however, with only 10% of stories focussing centrally on women, underrepresentation in the major news topics and as voices in the news. The third GMMP made an important discovery: the sex of the journalist mattered for the gender dimensions of a story. For instance, the likelihood of female news subjects appearing in stories was higher in the case of stories by women journalists (25%) than in those by male journalists (20%).
- A second statistically significant change was noted in the results of the Fourth GMMP in 2010. In data collected from 108 countries, some progress in women's presence in the news was evident.⁴ Women made up 24% of the people in the news, up three percentage points from the 2005 finding. However women's underrepresentation and near lack of voice remained. Only 13% of all stories focussed specifically on women. Women were rarely central in stories that comprised the bulk of the news agenda such as politics, government and the economy. Women were outnumbered by men as newsmakers in every major news topic. Encouragingly, 44% of people providing popular opinion in the news were women – a percentage point increase from 2005. As newsmakers, women were under-represented in professional categories. Similar to the Third GMMP, the Fourth in the series confirmed the finding on differences between female and male journalists in the gender dimensions of stories they

¹ *Global Media Monitoring Project, Women's participation in the new (1995) National Watch on Images of Women in the Media (MediaWatch) Inc.*

² Spears, George and Kasia Seydegart, Erin Research (2000) With additional analysis by Margaret Gallagher. *Who makes the news? Global Media Monitoring Project.*

³ Gallagher, Margaret (2005) *Who makes the news? Global Media Monitoring Project, 2005.* World Association for Christian Communication.

⁴ Macharia, Sarah, Dermot O'Connor and Lilian Ndangam (2010) *Who makes the news? Global Media Monitoring Project, 2010.* World Association for Christian Communication

reported. The likelihood of selection of female news subjects was higher for female journalists (28%) than for male journalists (22%). Stories by female reporters were more likely to challenge gender stereotypes (7%) than those by male reporters (4%). In pilot research on news online, 76 news websites in 16 countries and 8 international news websites were monitored. The results showed that women comprised only 23% of online news subjects – indicating that women’s underrepresentation in traditional media had crossed over into the digital news world.

- The First GMMP and, as will be seen, the Fifth GMMP reveal that the world reported in the news is mostly male. Twenty years since the first GMMP, the challenges of news media sexism, gender stereotyping and gender bias are proving to be intractable across time, space and content delivery platforms. At the same time, there exist a few examples of successes towards gender-just, gender-fair media – see later for an example of good practice.

Regional context

- News media remain the major and most influential source of information, ideas and opinion for most people around the world. It is a key element of the public and private space in which people, nations and societies live. A nation or society that does not fully know itself cannot respond to its citizens’ aspirations. Who and what appears in the news and how people and events are portrayed matters. Who is left out and what is not covered are equally important. Across the world, the cultural underpinnings of gender inequality and discrimination against women are reinforced through the media.

Executive Summary

The news agenda

Across the European region, we coded a total of 8223 news items, disaggregated as follows: print 2386; radio 1133; TV 1300; internet 1455 and twitter 1949. Although the volume of items across the five media are varied, there is a remarkable consistency when we consider the most frequent story topic with politics/government and social/legal both making it into the top three for all five media, with economy and crime/media also making into the top three for two media (print and radio for economy and crime/violence for TV and the internet). Only twitter articles saw the more entertainment-focused category of celebrity/arts/media and sports featuring highly, in that case as the second most popular story topic.

News subjects and sources

Overall, we coded 16,532 individual sources (11,720 from print/radio and TV and 4,812 from the internet/twitter stories, of which 26% of the former and 25% of the latter were women. Overall, then, women comprise just over a quarter of all news sources but they are significantly under-represented in the story categories which have most prestige and prominence, those about politics/government and the economy. When we look at the occupation of news sources, nearly 60% of individuals coded as students or pupils are female as are 58% of homemakers, 49% of health, social and childcare workers, 47% of sex workers and 44% of retired people. This means that women are significantly over-represented in those occupational groups with the least status and under-represented in occupations with high social standing such as academic expert (24%), politician (21%) or business person (14%). In terms of the function which women perform in news as sources and subjects, they are mostly asked to provide popular opinion (41%) or personal experience (38%): they were only quoted as ‘experts’ in 17% of stories.

The news writers and announcers

When we look at who is writing those news articles, we see a familiar pattern in terms of gendered news beats, with more than a third of women reporters writing social and legal news. We coded a total of 5708 reporters and announcers of whom 43% women, disaggregated by media as follows: print 35%; radio 44%; and TV 48%. Given that women comprise 37% of all reporters we coded, they are disproportionately represented in the categories of science/health (44%) and celebrity/arts/media/sport (42%). In other words, in arguably the most prestigious category of news, certainly in terms of front page stories (notwithstanding large-scale tragedies), they write just 30% of such news.

New media

Across the digital landscape, we coded 1455 internet stories and 1949 stories on Twitter. There were relatively few differences between traditional and new media in terms of women's visibility as sources and subjects, both in terms of proportions (in relation to men), in the types of story in which they featured and their function. Women's overall presence in new media was 25%, one% less than in the combined media of print/radio/television. There were differences in terms of the balance between different topic types but this did not make a difference to women's relatively visibility in stories about politics or stories about disaster. The same gendered journalism was seen in online news and Twitter feeds as we saw in traditional news, so that women are much more likely to write stories with a social/legal slant than politics or crime.

A DAY IN THE NEWS IN EUROPE

March 25 2015. Across Europe the news was dominated by the Germanwings plane which crashed in the French Alps, killing all 144 passengers and six crew. Because of where it took off (Barcelona), where it was headed (Dusseldorf) and where the tragedy occurred, it was the key news item for the majority of Europe's media. One other major story which was widely reported was Angelina Jolie's elective surgery to have her ovaries removed in an effort to prevent her developing cancer. These two stories play into two of the most newsworthy categories, disaster and celebrity. Across the region, a variety of other top stories were noted, spanning the usual gamut of crime and sensation.

THE CONTEXT

While this report is on the 'European' region, Europe is a highly diverse and differentiated region with a range of sub-regions within in, with different media systems, different forms of public and private media and very different geo-political contexts. It is not therefore possible to describe the region's media – to get a sense of that, the reader would need to read the individual national reports. Table 1 also shows the high degree of variation between the volume of material coded in each of the participating countries in the European region.

Table 1 – media monitored by nation

COUNTRY	PRINT	RADIO	TELEVISION		INTERNET	TWITTER	
	%	%	%	n	%	%	n
Austria	81%	12%	7%	73	100%	0%	40
Belarus	37%	33%	30%	63	14%	86%	151
Belgium - Flemish	47%	10%	43%	70	39%	61%	49
Belgium - French	39%	24%	37%	75	30%	70%	81
Bosnia and Herzegovina	60%	19%	21%	108	4%	96%	148
Bulgaria	64%	36%	0%	14			

COUNTRY	PRINT	RADIO	TELEVISION		INTERNET	TWITTER	
	%	%	%	n	%	%	n
Croatia	51%	29%	20%	70	29%	71%	14
Cyprus	29%	29%	43%	21	5%	95%	61
Denmark	81%	10%	9%	109	100%	0%	56
England	75%	12%	13%	304	61%	39%	137
Estonia	25%	44%	31%	32	48%	52%	62
Finland	10%	40%	50%	30	23%	77%	136
France	25%	59%	16%	658	22%	78%	211
Georgia	51%	16%	32%	170	43%	57%	61
Germany	75%	12%	13%	372	59%	41%	289
Hungary	13%	25%	62%	60	100%	0%	19
Iceland	46%	31%	23%	13	100%	0%	14
Ireland	14%	77%	9%	88	20%	80%	120
Italy	52%	13%	35%	245	53%	47%	304
Luxembourg	74%	16%	11%	19	59%	41%	29
Malta	24%	24%	51%	45			
Montenegro	0%	40%	60%	5	100%	0%	2
Netherlands	0%	74%	26%	38	100%	0%	49
Norway	69%	8%	23%	78	70%	30%	54
Poland	62%	22%	16%	169	32%	68%	221
Portugal	47%	14%	39%	64	65%	35%	20
Romania	28%	17%	55%	145	25%	75%	97
Scotland	74%	7%	19%	248	0%	100%	13
Serbia	50%	18%	32%	114	46%	54%	37
Spain	34%	28%	38%	262	36%	64%	270
Sweden	73%	8%	20%	225	44%	56%	78
Switzerland	87%	5%	8%	238	34%	66%	125
Turkey	20%	13%	67%	403	49%	51%	327
Wales	43%	30%	27%	195	90%	10%	130

TOPICS IN THE NEWS

Across the European region, we coded a total of 8223 news items, disaggregated as follows: print 2386; radio 1133; TV 1300; internet 1455 and twitter 1949. Although the volume of items across the five media are varied, there is a remarkable consistency when we consider the most frequent story topic with politics/government and social/legal both making it into the top three for all five media, with economy and crime/media also making into the top three for two media (print and radio for economy and crime/violence for TV and the internet).

Table 2 – main news topics by medium

TOPIC	PRINT		RADIO		TELEVISION		INTERNET		TWITTER	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Politics and Government	25%	598	16%	180	19%	247	27%	398	17%	338
Economy	13%	313	18%	207	11%	144	12%	179	11%	224
Science and Health	8%	193	6%	63	7%	95	5%	74	6%	121

TOPIC	PRINT		RADIO		TELEVISION		INTERNET		TWITTER	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Social and Legal	32%	768	33%	372	34%	447	29%	426	29%	570
Crime and Violence	11%	263	11%	129	15%	199	17%	254	14%	270
Celebrity, Arts and Media, Sports	10%	240	14%	157	11%	138	8%	112	20%	387
Other	0%	11	2%	25	2%	30	1%	12	2%	39

Only twitter articles saw the more entertainment-focused category of celebrity/arts/media and sports featuring highly, in that case as the second most popular story topic. Interestingly, when compared with the 2010 data, the proportions of news topic was broadly similar for four out of the six named categories, but for politics/government and social/legal, the proportions were more or less exactly reversed. One contributing factor to this shift is likely to be the widespread reporting of the Germanwings plane crash which, because of where it crashed, where it was supposed to land and the nationality of the passengers, meant that most of Europe’s media reported the disaster as a major story. In the UK, for example, it made the front page of every newspaper monitored. The volume of articles was also higher in 2015 but that’s because we included internet and twitter news for the first time this year. If we exclude these two media, then the 2015 monitoring exercise actually coded far fewer news articles (4819 compared with 6367 in 2010).

Table 3 – sex of reporters by main story topic (TV, print, radio)

TOPIC	WOMEN		MEN	
	%	n	%	n
Politics and Government	17%	203	23%	473
Economy	14%	165	11%	229
Science and Health	9%	104	6%	133
Social and Legal	39%	472	38%	775
Crime and Violence	9%	114	11%	227
Celebrity, Arts and Media, Sports	12%	141	10%	197
Other	1%	12	1%	14
TOTAL	100%	1211	100%	2048

When we look at who is writing those news articles, we see a familiar pattern in terms of gendered news beats, with more than a third of women reporters writing the social and legal news. Given that women comprise 37% of all reporters we coded, they are disproportionately represented in the categories of science/health (44%) and celebrity/arts/media/sport (42%). In other words, in arguably the most prestigious category of news, certainly in terms of front page stories (notwithstanding large-scale tragedies), they write just 30% of such news stories. However, this is a slight improvement on the 2010 data which showed that women wrote 26% of articles in this category, although there were few differences in the proportion of stories women wrote in other major news categories over the past 5 years. When we compare the region’s findings with the rest of the world, we see some interesting differences. For internet stories, Europe lags behind the global average for women reporters in all story topic categories.

NEWS SOURCES

Fig. 1 - overall presence of women as news subjects by medium

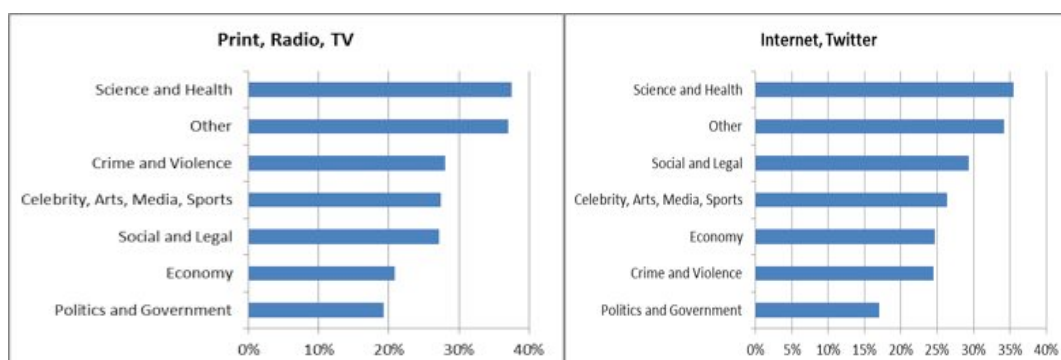


Fig. 1 demonstrates, similarly to the gendered nature of women's professional practice we noted in Table 3, that women who are used as sources in news stories are considerably under-represented in stories in the category of politics/government and the economy, and over-represented in the category science/health, both in legacy media and in the online and twitter stories. There is almost no change in either volume or proportion of women sources since 2010. Overall, we coded 16,532 individual sources (11,720 from print/radio and TV and 4,812 from the internet/twitter stories, of which 26% of the former and 25% of the latter were women. In 2010, women comprised 26% of all sources which means that there has been absolutely no change in women's visibility as news sources over the past five years, despite their increasing prominence in many areas of public, social and cultural life. Although the category politics/government was the most popular news category, it produced half as many (2632) sources as the category social/legal (4665).

As already mentioned, this latter category included all the articles on the Germanwings plane crash, and in a number of articles on the tragedy, multiple commentators were included. Across the three media of print, radio and TV, women's visibility was respectively 26, 22 and 28 per cent and they were slightly more likely to be sourced in stories with a local inflection (30 per cent) rather than a national focus (24%): their visibility as sources in international/foreign news was 26% which was also the second largest category of news scope (4197, 36%) after national news (5220, 45%). Overall, then, women comprise just over a quarter of all news sources but they are significantly under-represented in the story categories which have most prestige and prominence, those about politics/government (19%) and the economy (21%).

When compared with the other regions monitored, Europe does slightly better (+1.5%) than the average for politics/government stories (17.5%) and slightly worse (-3%) on the European average (24%) on stories about the economy. As far as internet stories are concerned, when compared with the other regions covered by the study, Europe was below the average (-4%) for women's visibility in stories on politics and government (20%) but significantly higher than the average (+8%) on stories about the economy (15%). What this brief comparison suggests is that there are no discernible trends in relation to the European data, with improvements on the average in some areas being balanced by declines elsewhere. Interestingly, European media included five times more women politicians sourced ($n = 276$) than the next highest region, Latin America ($n = 66$), most likely because of the Germanwings plane crash and the number of stories which featured Angela Merkel.

When we take a longitudinal approach, seven out of the eight regions monitored have seen improvements in women's presence across the five iterations of the GMMP from 1995, varying from the

most progress (Latin America, +13%) to the least (Middle East, +4%), with Europe coming joint second with North America, at +9%). Africa saw no overall change over the 20 years.

If we drill down to identify more detailed story topics, we see from Table 4, that women are mostly used as sources in stories which are stereotypically of interest to women such as fashion, beauty, women’s activism, fertility, human/women’s rights, health and gender relations. However, the total number of sources in these 10 story categories was 595 which constituted 5% of all sources.

Table 4 – top 10 story topics for women’s visibility (TV, radio, print only)

TOP 10 TOPICS	% WOMEN	n
Beauty contests, models, fashion, cosmetic surgery	81%	52
Women’s movement, activism, demonstrations, etc.	57%	7
Family relations, inter-generational conflict, parents	56%	16
Birth control, fertility, sterilization, termination...	50%	18
Other epidemics, viruses, contagions, Influenza, BSE, SARS	50%	40
Human rights, women’s rights, rights of sexual minorities, rights of religious minorities, etc.	45%	88
Other stories on science (specify in comments)	45%	87
Medicine, health, hygiene, safety, (not EBOLA or HIV/AIDS)	45%	248
Changing gender relations (outside the home)	44%	9
Family law, family codes, property law, inheritance...	43%	30

On the other hand, Table 5 shows women’s visibility in the story topics which had the most sources where they rarely constitute more than 30% in any story type and in half of them constituted 20% or fewer sources. These 10 story topics attracted 68% of all sources, so women are doubly marginalised, both in terms of absolute visibility across the news agenda but also in terms of being excluded from the more important, ‘hard’ news categories.

Table 5 – top 10 stories for producing the most sources (TV, radio and print only)

TOP 10 STORIES	% WOMEN	n
Celebrity news, births, marriages, royalty, etc.	35%	366
Arts, entertainment, leisure, cinema, books, dance	32%	379
Violent crime, murder, abduction, assault, etc.	30%	423
Non-violent crime, bribery, theft, drugs, corruption	29%	473
Disaster, accident, famine, flood, plane crash, etc.	27%	3521
Legal system, judiciary, legislation apart from family	20%	313
Other stories on politics (specify in comments)	19%	277
Other domestic politics, government, etc.	19%	1582
Economic policies, strategies, modules, indicators, stock markets	16%	392
Sports, events, players, facilities, training, funding	5%	315
		8041

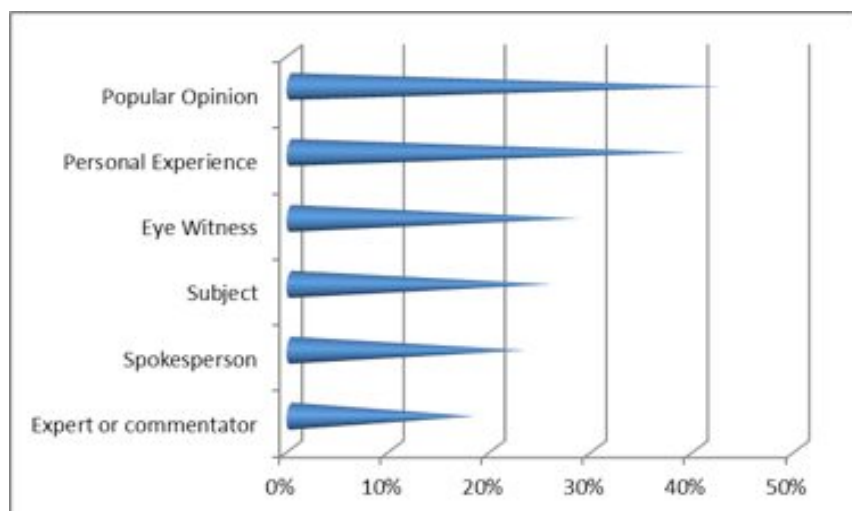
When we look at the occupation of sources, Table 6 shows women’s frequency across 27 occupational groups, in descending order.

Table 6 – occupation by women sources (TV, radio and print only)

OCCUPATION	%	n
Student, pupil, schoolchild	59%	236
Homemaker, parent (male or female)) only if no other occupation is given	58%	153
Health worker, social worker, childcare worker	49%	89
Sex worker	47%	15
OCCUPATION	%	n
Retired person, pensioner no other occupation given	44%	52
Villager or resident no other occupation given	40%	238
Office or service worker, non-management worker	38%	173
Unemployed no other occupation given	35%	34
Celebrity, artist, actor, writer, singer, TV personality	35%	598
Activist or worker in civil society org., NGO, trade union	35%	332
Child, young person no other occupation given	33%	112
Royalty, monarch, deposed monarch, etc.	32%	112
Doctor, dentist, health specialist	29%	181
Lawyer, judge, magistrate, legal advocate, etc.	24%	327
Academic expert, lecturer, teacher	24%	443
Government employee, public servant, etc.	22%	603
Media professional, journalist, film-maker, etc.	21%	303
Government, politician, minister, spokesperson...	21%	4184
Tradesperson, artisan, labourer, truck driver, etc.	16%	174
Criminal, suspect no other occupation given	15%	240
Business person, exec, manager, stock broker...	14%	755
Police, military, para-military, militia, fire officer	12%	384
Agriculture, mining, fishing, forestry	11%	84
Sportsperson, athlete, player, coach, referee	9%	401
Science/ technology professional, engineer, etc.	6%	317
Religious figure, priest, monk, rabbi, mullah, nun	4%	102
Other (only as last resort)	37%	97
TOTAL		11722

What is clear from Table 6 is that women are under-represented in almost all the authoritative, expert and professional categories and instead, are over-represented in the categories of private person, parent, child and office worker. Once again, women’s experiences and points of view as professional people, as politicians, even as athletes are eschewed in favour of men and this marginalisation is reinforced when we look at the function which sources perform in the stories in which they feature, Fig 2.

Fig. 2 – function of women sources – TV, radio and print only



The most frequent function was expert/commentator, comprising 41%, followed by spokesperson (29%) and subject (17%). Fig. 2 shows the function which women perform in stories, showing that they are most frequently used to provide popular opinion, personal experience or eye witness testimony. In other words, they are asked to speak as private people not because of their expertise and professional background, once again pushing women into the sphere of the private with men dominating the more prestigious and 'important' public sphere of experts and spokespeople. Related to this, women were three times more likely to have their family status included in the story (18%) than men, suggesting that this was seen as a relevant part of their story, as if they required some kind of corroboration in terms of their purpose as a legitimate source. Interestingly, male reporters were much more likely to include family status in their stories than women colleagues. These findings are more or less the same as in 2010, demonstrating once again, that women's visibility has remained more or less static over the past five years. Comparing Europe with the rest of the world, women's functions were broadly similar to the average elsewhere. Given the occupation and function of women in news, it is not surprising that they are over-represented in the younger age categories, for example, comprising 46 per cent of 13-18 year olds in TV news, and at the other end of the age spectrum comprise merely 19% of people in the 50-64 year age group from which are arguably where most of the expert and professional sources are drawn

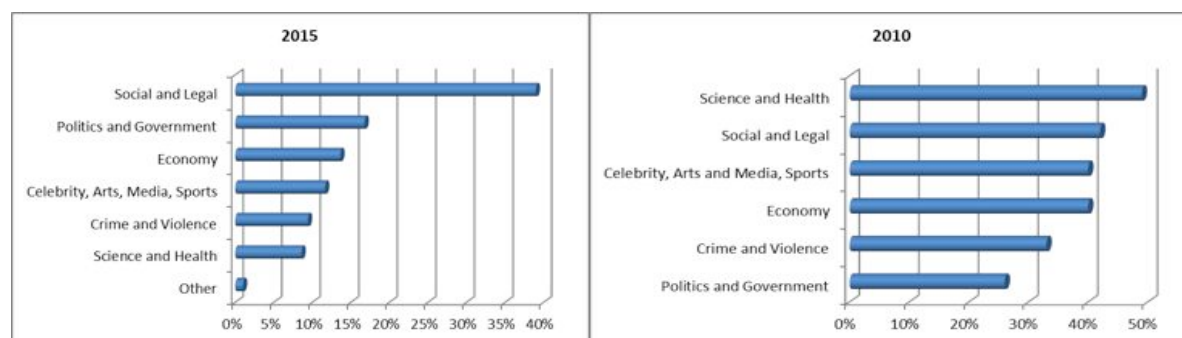
We looked at the extent to which women and men were described as either victims or survivors and the types of activities associated with the status of victim or survivor and the two most frequent types of victim were of accidents, natural disasters and poverty, or of domestic violence. While the top 'category' of victim was the former, likely because of the Germanwings plane crash (45% of all women and 37% of all men victims were in this category). However, somewhat counter-intuitively, a larger proportion of men were coded as victims of domestic violence both absolutely (66%) and as a proportion of all male victims (35% compared with 24% of all women). There was a similar ratio of men to women in relation to being described as 'survivors'. Without undertaking a qualitative analysis of those stories, it is not possible to determine the reasons behind this finding which is significantly different to the 2010 data which showed that women comprised 66% of everyone described as being a victim of domestic violence.

WHO DELIVERS THE NEWS? TV, RADIO and PRINT

Having discussed the focus of news stories, story type and sources used in items, we now look at who writes and presents the news. We coded a total of 5708 reporters and announcers of whom

43% were women, disaggregated by media as follows: print 35%; radio 44%; and TV 48%. This is an overall increase for women, at least in terms of proportion, up by 2% on 2010. What Fig. 3 shows is that the marginalisation of women as sources in particular categories of news is repeated for the *reporters* who write the articles in those categories, with women clustered in the social/legal category which is where stories of human interest and disaster are contained. This is quite a different profile compared with 2010

Fig. 3 – main story topic by sex of reporter, 2015 and 2010



Looking at other aspects of journalistic practice, there was no difference between women and men reporters in terms of including more or fewer women as sources. Nor were there any significant differences in terms of reporting local, national or international news. Where there were very obvious differences was when we look at the age of TV announcers, where we recorded nearly one-third of all women in the age category 19-34 years, compared with 5% men and conversely, 3% of all women in the 50-64 years age band compared with 30% of men, although women actually comprised 12% of all announcers in this age category. This reinforces the findings from all the research which looks at age and TV broadcasting which shows women are 'disappeared' from the screens once they get to a certain age. Over the past 15 years, women's visibility as presenters is up by 2% and up by 3% for reporters. Comparing Europe with the rest of the world, the improvement in announcers is around the global average but the improvement in women reporter numbers is the third lowest, with the African region leading the way with + 11%.

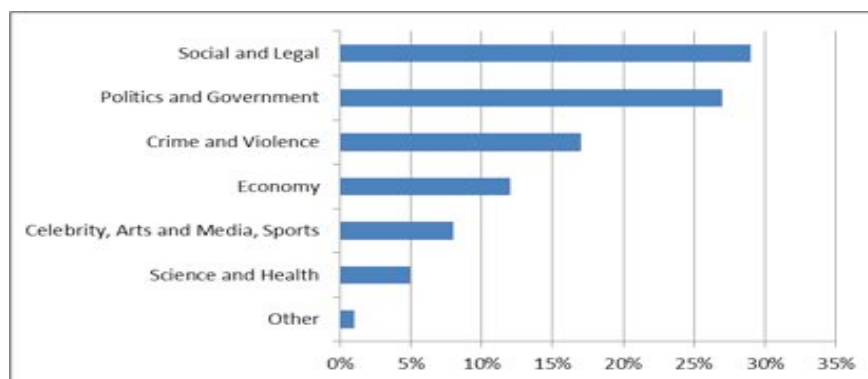
GENDER AND THE NEWS

Women reporters were only slightly more likely to write stories with a female focus than men, mostly those concerning women's rights or activism. However, the majority of stories did not have a female focus but the categories which were most likely to do so were celebrity/arts/media and sport (18%), science/health (16%) and crime/violence (15%). Most stories (95%) did *not* engage with issues of gender equality, but where they did, they were in stories about domestic politics (17%), human/women's rights (11%), war/terrorism (6%) and gender-based violence (5%). Similarly, we coded an average of 3% of stories which challenged gender stereotypes, with such stories spread across the major news topic categories. When compared with 2010, gender equality stories have fallen by 4% and Europe has the second lowest number after the Pacific region (1%), with Africa again leading the way with an increase of 7 per cent on the 2010 data (13%).

GENDER TRENDS IN INTERNET AND TWITTER NEWS

Turning now to internet news, we recorded 1455 internet stories and Figure 4 gives a breakdown of articles against the main news topics, from which we can see that the general shape of internet news is very similar to that of mainstream news in terms of frequency of topic types.

Fig. 4 – major news categories



If we look at news sources and their visibility across the six major news topic categories and consider the 32 countries which comprise the sample, we identify women's presence by looking at which countries show that women comprise at least 20% of sources, where the total number of sources exceeds 20. For social/legal, we find six countries, ranging from Italy (32%, 211 sources), to England (28%, 198 sources), to Belarus (21%, 24 sources). For politics/government, we find four countries which meet these two criteria: Spain (33%, 112 sources); Finland (26%, 35 sources); Belarus (24%, 25 sources) and Romania (21%, 24 reporters). For crime/violence, no countries fulfilled the criteria. For economy, we find two countries: England (40%, 40 sources) and Spain (25%, 32 sources). For science/health we also find two countries: Italy (50%, 30 sources) and England (27%, 52 sources). In a number of countries, the numbers of sources are too small to make analysis practicable but the trend is very similar to what we see in mainstream media, but with some interesting differences both in terms of nation and topic frequency.

When we consider the function which sources perform, there are very large variations across the region in terms of the proportion of function types, but this would appear to be associated as much with the application of the methodology in different countries as anything else. For example, in Romania, 98% of (a total of 45) sources are given 'subject' status, compared with Germany (43% of 224 sources) and Norway (14% of 155 sources). Slightly less extreme variations were found for the other categories although most source functions were clustered around the subject/spokesperson/expert-commentator categories with no countries allocating more than 10% of functions to popular opinion or eye witness and only Belgium (10%), Finland (14%) and Norway (20%) allocating more than 10% to personal experience.

If we look at who is writing internet news, we see the same gendered beats in online news as in the mainstream. Taking the three most popular news categories as identified in Figure 4 above, we looked at the data from the different countries in the region (n = 32) to identify where women wrote at least 20% of the stories in those three categories, while only looking at those countries where at least 10 women were identified as reporters in those three categories. For the social/legal category, 10 countries fulfilled both criteria, ranging from Norway (44%, 27 reporters), to France (36%, 22 reporters) to Poland (22%, 18 reporters). Looking at politics and government and applying the same criteria, we have only four countries: Romania (70%, 10 reporters), France (56%, 18 reporters), Spain (32%, 19 reporters) and England (20%, 20 reporters). Finally, looking at crime/violence, we have only two countries: Poland (38%, 13 reporters) and Norway (36%, 11 reporters).

Very few stories actively engaged with issues of gender in/equality but the stories most likely to do that were War/terrorism, gender violence, legal system, human/women's rights. Similarly, very few

stories directly challenged stereotypes but those which did so more frequently were those focused on women politicians and violent crime. There were rather more stories which had women as their focus and the topics most likely to feature women were women politicians, domestic and foreign politics, women's participation in the economy, human/women's rights, education/childcare, legal system, disaster, violent crime, gender violence and celebrity news. These findings suggest that women and gender issues are mostly confined to stories which are overtly about such issues.

The number of women as sources that we recorded on twitter was 148 which, when considered across the 32 countries in the region, was too small to make any meaningful analysis. We recorded 133 women journalists across the twitter sample but again, the sample is too small to be able to undertake a meaningful analysis. In addition, there were no discernible trends for either sources of journalists within the European region in terms of being more likely to be sourced or write in particular story topics as the variation across the constituent nations was significant.

GENDER AND JOURNALISTIC PRACTICE

Blatant stereotyping 1: BELGIUM

The item of the television news that was selected focussed on the theme of human rights, women's rights of sexual minorities and was broadcast by the public service broadcaster on channel One (Een) in the main evening news. The television news item focused on a new system of registration for sex workers by using a tablet. The reporter says that digital registration enables the police to have an overview of who is working with the idea of helping to prevent human trafficking. A news reporter follows a policeman walking through the red light district and explains how the system works. The policeman refers to the sex workers as "ladies" and the reporter refers to them as "girls". The way images are used to support the news items are examples of blatant stereotypical representation as we see the sex workers only as anonymous and fragmented representations of legs and feet in high heels. The male police officer is portrayed as the 'hero' in the story who is there to 'save' the women. The way the item is structured, the use of the language, the fact that only men are speaking subjects and the visual images which are used construct sex-workers is an example of blatant gender stereotyping.

Subtle stereotyping 1: BELGIUM

The title of the article that was selected is 'Vreselijk, maar het leven gaat door' [Terrible, but life goes on]. We found this article in the Flemish quality newspaper *De Morgen*. The article focused on the crash of Germanwings flight 409925. The story about this plane crash dominated the news on the day of the media monitoring. The journalist in the article was writing from Düsseldorf airport, which was the destination of the crashed plane. He reports on the general atmosphere in the airport. He describes, for example, how police officers and employees of the Flughafen Care Team are taking care of the relatives of the victims of the plane crash. The reporter witnesses a very emotional scene. He describes how two women arrive at the airport and begin to cry in public. He gives a detailed outline of this scene and uses words such as "hartverscheurend" [heartbreaking]. The article is accompanied by a large picture which fills half the newspaper page. The picture shows the two women crying. Although the story is not really about them and their names are not even mentioned in the article, they are the central point of attention in the picture. This reinforces the stereotype of women being very emotional and incapable of containing their emotions. The story



and the picture of these women are used to increase the emotional involvement of the reader in the article. The picture also shows four employees of the Flughafen Care Team. They can be recognised by their blue coats. All of them are women. This reinforces the stereotype that taking care of people is typically a female task.



Note: the framing of individuals in this article was repeated across the European media: in the UK, for example, the primary visual of the main article concerning this tragedy was the grief of an unnamed woman described as a “distraught relative in Barcelona” (*Daily Mirror*, UK)

Subtle stereotyping 2: AUSTRIA

“Bio-Produkte und frische Lebensmittel trotzen dem Trend zu Fertigprodukten” [Organic products and fresh food brave the trend to readymade products, *Oberösterreichische Nachrichten*] is a newspaper article which deals with the results of a survey on expenditure on food and the volume of sales of groceries conducted by an Austrian agriculture institution. It says among other things that more people are spending money on fresh foods, and the groceries are increasing their revenues. The story itself is not stereotyped because it is almost entirely about numbers with only one source cited. The picture related to the story is subtle stereotypical, though. It shows a young woman with a full shopping cart in front of her, looking at her shopping list. The image reinforces notions of women’s domestic role as the one who is responsible for buying groceries and cooking for her family.

Subtle stereotyping 3: UK

This article is headlined “PM meets his match as he is heckled by elderly over NHS” (*Daily Telegraph*). It describes Prime Minister David Cameron speaking at a conference organised by the charity Age Concern which is a campaigning and advocacy NGO run by and for older people. First of all, describing older people as “elderly” is patronising and insensitive, as if older people are an homogenous mass and the term itself connotes weakness and the need to be cared for. There are two visuals which accompany the article, one of an open-mouthed older woman holding a mic (obviously asking a question) and one shot from the back of the room, so only the backs of people’s heads are visible, although a person holding up his walk stick is clearly identified as male. The front-facing woman is not named but in the body of the text, an older man is named, his previous occupation given and he is quoted at four separate points in the story. This is both an example of subtle stereotyping but also of a missed opportunity, given that women live longer than men and are likely to use the NHS more frequently and have thus even more interest in the continuation of a good service. Why is the woman not named? As she clearly asked a question during the conference, why use her picture and then not interview her afterwards as happened with the male source.



Subtle stereotyping 3: BELARUS

В Минске задержали организованную группу сутенеров [An organized group of pimps was detained in Minsk] http://naviny.by/rubrics/disaster/2015/03/25/ic_news_124_455991. The article is about an organised group of pimps detained in Minsk. The article describes this situation as a criminal law issue and stays silent about the issue of sex work and the exploitation of women. The article rhetorically just mentions that women work illegally and does not raise the issue that women more often became victims in such situations when they are involved in sex work. Moreover, the article includes a photo that supports the negative representation of women sex workers: in it, there is a woman-sex worker sitting on a sofa and a (presumed) male client is standing near her and giving her money. We can see all the woman's body but only part of the man's body and we do not see his face. He is standing higher than the woman and she is shown in a subordinated position, objectified.

Missed opportunity 1: BELGIUM

One of the most striking examples was a television news item on the abduction of four hundred women and children by the terrorist group Boko Haram in Nigeria. The item was broadcast by the commercial television broadcaster VTM. Although the abduction of women and children was central to this story, the news item starts by referring to a Nigerian village that was captured by Boko Haram, but was recaptured by the Nigerian army. Then the reporter states that, while retreating, Boko Haram was able to abduct four hundred 'people' (not women and children) from the village. However, the item continues with an interview with a male Nigerian army officer that does not focus on the abduction. It is only at the end of the item that the abduction is mentioned again, but this time as a general problem in Nigeria. No woman's perspective was heard in this story, that hereby reinforces the notion of the passive, victimized women who need to be rescued by strong masculine heroes (from the army).

Missed opportunity 2: BELARUS

Ермошина констатирует «сумеречное молчание» перед выборами президента [Ermoshyna states a "twilight silence" before the presidential election] <http://news.tut.by/politics/441204.html>. The article is about the opinion of the (female) chief of the presidential election committee, Ermoshina, about the activity of politicians before future presidential elections. It is interesting that this woman is among just a few women who are involved in political processes. Therefore, it is essential to raise awareness in public about gender segregation in political sphere. However, in her comments, Ermoshina did not even mention this or regard it as a problem: she is talking about politicians who are all men who remain insensitive to the fact that there are no women candidates for future elections. It is a well-known problem that has already been widely discussed, that women politicians who are already working at senior political level are not always sensitive or interested in gender issues. The reporter also ignores the problem of insufficient women candidates and instead, simply reports what Ermoshina says, without any gender-focused comment.

Missed opportunity 3: AUSTRIA

One of the very few stories which deal with gender specific issues on March 25th is the newspaper article "Auch für Frauen" (For women as well, Kleine Zeitung). It focuses on the introduction of a special part pension system in Austria, which was originally planned for men from an age of 62 onward only (the legal retirement age for men is 65 in Austria). Due to protests this regulation will now be available for women as well. Unfortunately, the very short article doesn't mention who protested against the exclusion of women of this part pension opportunity and why. It also fails to put the information in a wider context, e.g. by explaining in how far it might be important to include women or why gender equality is important.

Challenging stereotypes: BELGIUM

The article 'Nadenken of we binnen defensie nog alle taken moeten doen' (Consider whether defence should still do all tasks) was published on the internet news website www.deredactie.be

and **challenges gender stereotypes**. The topic is categorized as ‘other domestic politics, government, etc.’, and the news story focuses on the criticism, given by a female politician, on the policy on Defense and Energy. She states that the organization of defense and the management of energy in Belgium should be reevaluated. She criticizes the plans of the male minister of Defense and his male colleagues, concerning the tasks of the air force, the marine and the land forces. Within this news item the female politician is portrayed as a strong, competent woman, with expertise in ‘male’ topics such as defense and energy, while she rationally critiques her male colleagues.

Challenging stereotypes: BELARUS

В Великобритании появилась вторая женщина-епископ [The second female bishop has been appointed in Great Britain] https://twitter.com/by_Interfax/status/580718809658585088 This twitter story conveys the news about the second female bishop in Great Britain. The institution of religion is very conservative and traditional in Belarus. For a long time, taking up a religious office was forbidden for women. So the news represent the changes in this institution, according to which women are allowed to participate. The story tell us that ordaining a woman bishop has only happened once before in the history of the church in Great Britain. It is important for Belarus because the institution of religion is still completely ignorant to the possibilities of women’s participation, an attitude based on the idea that a woman cannot be a ‘spiritual leader’.

GOOD PRACTICE EXAMPLES

BELGIUM



Title: ‘Verenigd in verdriet’ [United in grief]

Short description: This newspaper article concerns the plane crash in the French Alps and therefore the subject can be categorised as a ‘disaster, accident, famine, flood, plane crash’. The article was published in the newspaper *Het Nieuwsblad*.

Background:

The article focuses on the grief in Germany, because 67 victims of the plane crash were German. Amongst the deceased passengers were a large number of pupils from the Joseph König-Gymnasium. Most of them were inhabitants of the town Haltern am See.

Objective/Purpose:

The article extensively describes the emotional reactions to this event from the male school principal and the male mayor of the town. In contrast, the reaction of the female Chancellor of Germany, Angela Merkel, is described rationally if rather briefly.

Summary:

The descriptions of the reactions to this dramatic event subtly challenge the stereotypes concerning men and women when it comes to expressing emotion.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In general terms, the visibility of women as both subjects of news and reporters of news, has changed hardly at all over the past five years and over the 20 years of the GMMP has increased slightly but certainly does not mirror the great strides that women have made in all aspects of social life, from politics to science to entertainment. While there was some variation in women's visibility so that some countries have seen increases in women working as journalists, while other countries have seen a reduction or at the very least, a standstill. The same plus and minus trends can be seen across European media, with gains in some areas in some countries being countered by losses in others: there are no consistent patterns so that slight improvements and slight reductions balance each other out to produce a more or less steady-state.

Women continue to be marginalised from the news agenda, mostly not even reaching one-third of news sources or reporters, although they have made improvements in terms of reading the news as announcers: this is, arguably, a consequence of the 'feminisation' and 'intimisation' of news, where women's softer voice and eye appeal (TV announcers are rarely over 35 years and mostly attractive women) conforms more readily to news-as-infotainment. Women's views are mostly sought as members of the public or in their domestic role as mothers, daughters and wives: they are much less likely to contribute to stories as experts, as professionals, as politicians or as business people. The news is still dominated by men's voices talking about things in which they have the starring role, voices of authority. Citizen voices, in general terms, are heard much less frequently.

On the other hand, the traditional stereotype of women as victim no longer holds quite so true and there are decreasing stories of women as victim of gender-based violence although women still comprise the majority of sources who speak in that role. In some countries, Germany for example, stories about gender discrimination are seen as 'old-fashioned' because women are regarded as being able to have it all, so victims are much more likely to be men in contexts of war and accidents. Disappointingly, we cannot look to new media to provide a more welcoming environment for women either as sources/subjects or writers of news and in most countries where online and twitter feeds were coded, women were generally less visible than in the more traditional media outlets.

In summary, the ongoing problem for women's relationship to media is twofold, we are rendered invisible from large parts of the media agenda and when we *are* allowed to speak, it is within a narrow repertoire of story types and from an equally narrow range of role positions. We are marginalised from many areas of political and economic life (decision-making) because our voices and views are mainly invited to contribute to the less important areas of the social and the cultural (infotainment), thus perpetuating notions of men's occupation of the public and rational sphere and women's side-lining to the domain of the private. These gender-based allocations are reinforced by the frequency with which women speak as the voice of popular opinion, in their familial or relationship role (wives, mothers and girlfriends), as victim and eye witness. Men, on the other hand,

speak as politicians, experts and professionals: they are the voice of authority while women are the voice of the populace. This is not the reality of women and men's lives in the real world but given the painfully slow rate of 'progress' we have seen over the past 20 years, it is hard to see how the media will begin to reflect the lived reality of its citizens without a concerted effort on the industry's part to change the picture. We offer a few thoughts below on how that change could be encouraged.

ACTIONS IN THE POST-2015 ERA: SOME ACTIONS

When we asked national coordinators to suggest actions which could be undertaken to improve women's inclusion in the media's news agenda, many made very similar comments and we have composited some of them below.

- Redefine what and who counts as news – so-called 'news values' which determines newsworthiness needs to be re-evaluated and made fit for purpose for the 2010s.
- Managers should be sensitised to gender biases and stereotypical thinking. They should be encouraged by grants and publicity if they promote non-stereotypical journalistic practices and writing. For example, for several years there has been a prize awarded in Romania, for young journalists who publish stories on racial, ethnic and gender discrimination. Civil society, for instance the Centre for Independent Journalism, organises national and regional debates on men and women in the media, debates to which journalists, researchers and students are invited.
- Media organisations should initiate training programmes to improve media professionals' understanding of current and emerging gender issues and their various manifestations. Raising the awareness and strengthening the capacities of media professionals through offering regular educational and vocational training programs geared to the acquisition of in-depth knowledge of gender equality and its crucial role in a democratic society.
- Issues of gender in/equality should be included in the syllabus of journalism education and training courses.
- Debate and discussion on the GMMP as well as other research and studies should be encouraged: it is obviously useful to engage women *and men* working in the media, in universities, unions and associations of civil society with the aim of promoting a pluri-vocal conversation, based on respect for different professional perspectives and competences, but focused on common objectives and concrete goals.
- A gender policy for all media companies should be established and gender quotas should be introduced for the composition of teams who produce the news.
- Language and terms which misrepresent, exclude or offend women should be eliminated. Instead, neutral terms that are gender-inclusive should be used.
- The representation of female experts in the news could be increased by using the expertise and database of existing organisations such as VIDM and Zij spreekt.
- Media organisations should be more pro-active in sourcing male voices in non-traditional areas and roles. Men and women should be portrayed in a wide range of roles, both traditional and non-traditional, in paid work, social, family and leisure activities. Men and women should both be seen as taking decisions to support the family and in household tasks and home management.

Annex 1. Methodology

Each participating country was assigned a specific number of newspapers, radio and television newscasts, online news sites and twitter feeds to monitor based on the national media density. This was done to ensure global results represented the distribution of the world's news media, while respecting the need to balance results from smaller countries with those of larger countries. The number and selection of media outlets monitored in each country reflects the density and diversity – audience, ownership, language – of media in each country.

Efforts were made to ensure a uniform understanding and application of the methodology was practiced across the world. Clear instructions on how to code were provided. Some regional and national coordinators benefited from face-to-face or virtual training while others and the broader global teams of volunteers developed skills in monitoring through online self-administered tutorials.

In each country monitors coded the most important television and radio newscasts of the day in their entirety. For newspapers, 12 to 14 stories appearing on the main news pages – defined as the pages devoted to national, international and, in some cases, regional news – were coded. Country teams could opt into the online and twitter news monitoring based on their knowledge of the importance of these channels for news delivery to local audiences.

The quantitative research captured statistical data on news topics, women and men in the news, the types of news stories in which they appeared, and their function in the news. Media Monitoring Africa (MMA) in South Africa was responsible for managing and processing the monitoring data.

An in-depth and more nuanced analysis of selected news stories examined the means, themes and patterns of gender in the news. This qualitative analysis took into account the role of story angle, language and visual representations in constructing and sustaining or challenging gender stereotypes.

A full discussion of the methodology, including considerations on reliability, accuracy and limitations, is contained in the global report *Who Makes the News? The Global Media Monitoring Project 2015*.

Annex 2. List of Countries

Austria
Belarus
Belgium - Flemish
Belgium - French
Bosnia and Herzegovina
Bulgaria
Croatia
Cyprus
Denmark
England
Estonia
Finland
France
Georgia
Germany
Hungary
Iceland
Ireland
Italy
Luxembourg
Malta
Montenegro
Netherlands
Norway
Poland
Portugal
Romania
Scotland
Serbia
Spain
Sweden
Switzerland
Turkey
Wales

WACC



WACC
308 Main Street
Toronto
ON M4C 4X7
Canada

Tel: +1 416 691 1999
Fax: +1 416 691 1997
gmp@waccglobal.org;
www.whomakesthenews.org
www.waccglobal.org

Northumbria University
Ellison Place
Newcastle
NE1 8ST, England

+44 07798 884110
www.northumbria.ac.uk