The Missing Perspectives of Women in COVID-19 News

A special report on women's under-representation in news media

Author: Luba Kassova

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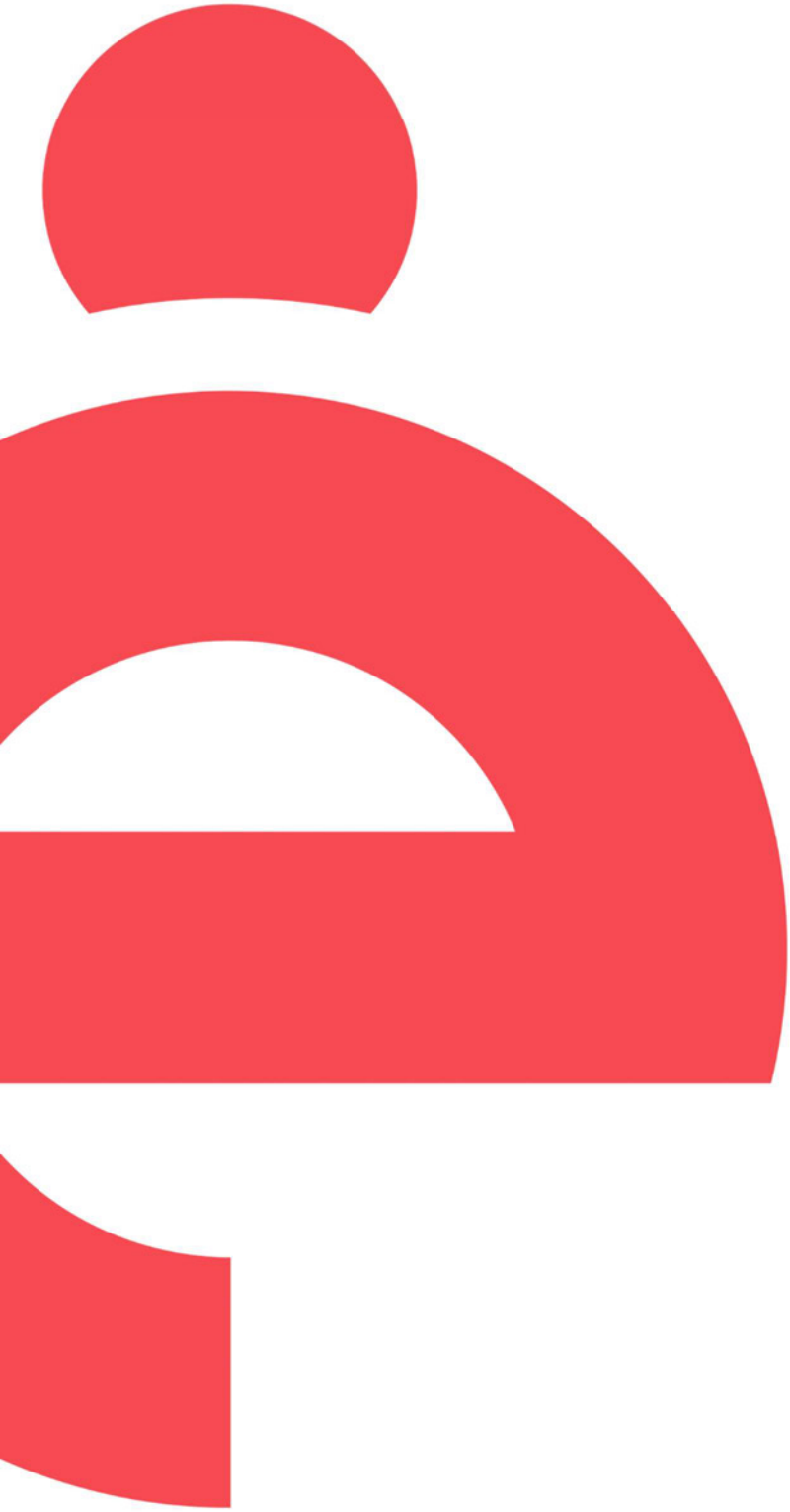
Contents



Report background, objectives and approach

The Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation commissioned Luba Kassova, director of international audience strategy consultancy AKAS Ltd, to research the representation and portrayal of women in the specific context of news relating to coronavirus/COVID-19, in order to identify how well women's news needs are being met in the existing news coverage.

The **three key gender equality indicators** that the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation tasked Luba Kassova to examine were:

1. Women as sources of **news expertise** (newsgathering)
2. News stories leading with **women protagonists** (news outputs)
3. **Coverage of gender equality issues** in coronavirus/COVID-19 news stories (news outputs)

In addition to these, in order to understand women's behaviors and needs, the author evaluated women's (and men's) consumption of COVID-related news.

Drawing on their experience gained across a wide range of sectors including news, media, communications, international development, strategy and market research, Luba Kassova and the AKAS team adopted a multi-disciplinary and multi-perspective research approach to address the business objective. The research and insights have been focused on six countries: **India, Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa, the UK and the US.**

In addressing the business objective, the author relied on the **research methods set out below, which are summarized in Figure 1**:

a. **News content analysis** of 11,913 publications and 1.9 million stories between 1st March 2020 and 15th April 2020 for the gender equality coverage indicator, and of 80 publications between the same dates for the protagonists and experts indicators. This content analysis was delivered by Media Ecosystems Analysis Group, a non-profit media analysis research group out of the MIT Media Lab.

b. A **portrayal analysis** of 175 COVID-19 and coronavirus news stories from between 1st March and 15th April 2020, published by the five most viewed online news providers in each of the six countries. These stories were identified by AKAS using Google's news search engine as the three highest ranked COVID-19 and the three highest ranked coronavirus stories between the given dates.

c. Analysis of eight public-facing surveys commissioned by AKAS using **Google Surveys** during May 2020.

d. Analysis of **multi-country and single surveys** of the public including from the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, Ipsos, YouGov, GeoPoll and NOI Polls.

e. A **pronoun analysis** of COVID-19 story headlines, to capture the ratio of headlines with "she" versus "he".

f. **Frames analyses** using Google's news search engine, separately using the Internet TV News Archive in 2020 and finally using the GDELT project global online news archive for 2017 to 2020.

g. Interrogation of UN, WHO, OECD, World Bank Group and ILO **statistical databases.**

h. A **rapid literature review** of over 500 academic papers since 2000 which mentioned both "media framing" and "pandemics" in their text, identified using Google Scholar. These were then reduced down to the 34 most relevant papers.

For more detailed information on methodology, please see Appendix 1.

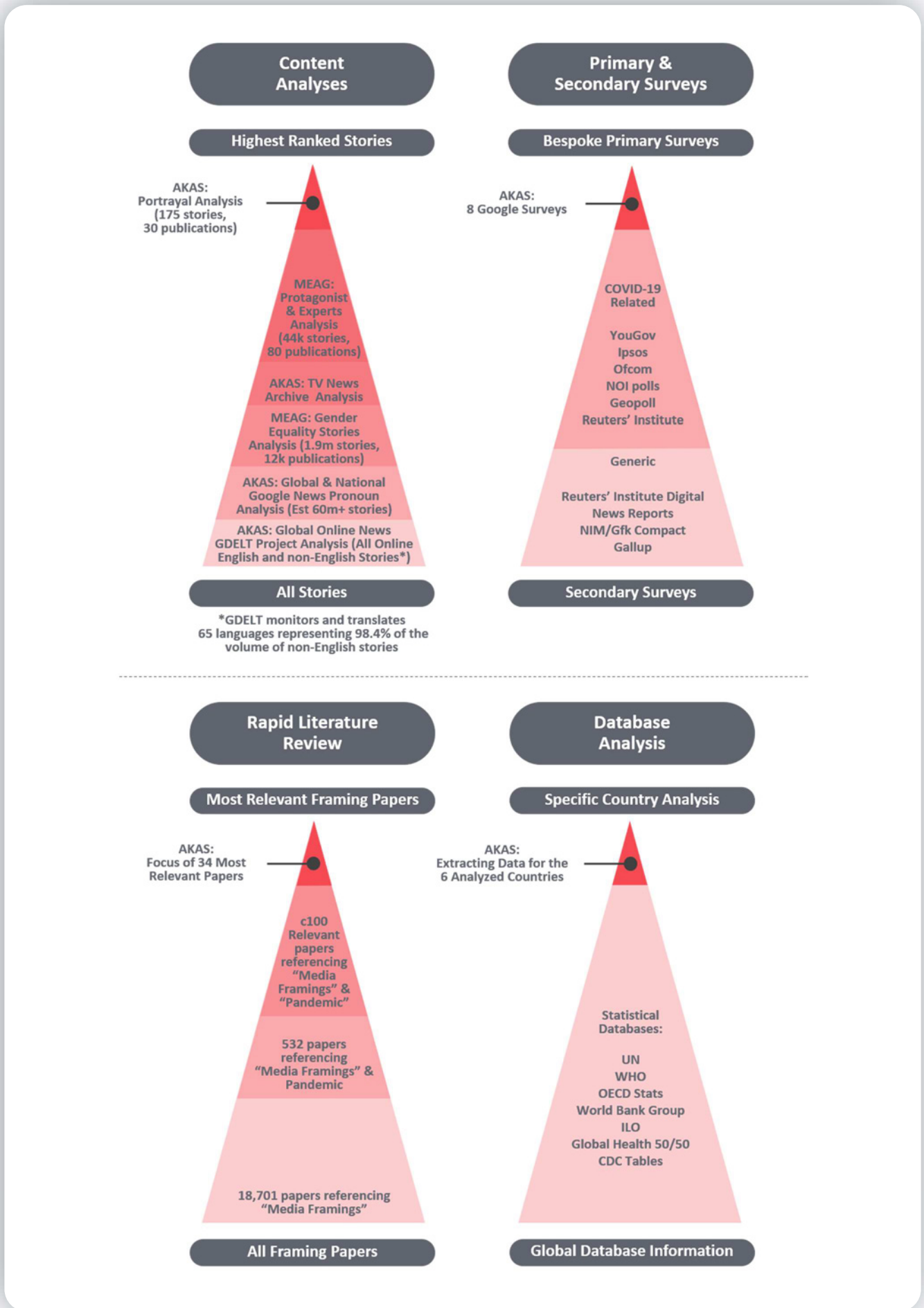
This report is the precursor of a much more expansive report titled ***"The Missing Perspectives of Women in News"*** which the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation commissioned Luba Kassova to produce in support of UN Women's Generation Equality Forum and to raise the profile of the issue of gender equality in news. While the current report builds a picture of women's representation in (and needs from) news coverage of coronavirus/COVID-19, the forthcoming report will take a much more forensic look across the whole news value chain into the causes driving the severe under-representation of women in news. In addition, it will also offer **tactical and strategic recommendations** and a **gender parity checklist for news providers** across the globe who aspire to improve the representation of women in their news organizations and to amplify women's muted voices in news.

Note:

For the purposes of this report, The Missing Perspectives of Women in COVID-19 News, the term 'gender balance' is used to refer to the balance between women and men. Luba Kassova and AKAS, however, understand that gender is non-binary, but is a spectrum. While this document focuses on the balance between women and men only, elements of the findings can be applied to the news' representation and portrayal of trans people and the LGBTQIA+ community more broadly. However, the representation and portrayal of trans people and the LGBTQIA+ community has been outside the scope of this report.

Throughout this report we have chosen to use the descriptor 'women' in place of the adjective 'female'. Only in cases where this would be inaccurate e.g. where both women and girls are being described have we used the term 'female'. We recognize this as a stylistic choice.

Figure 1: Research methods used in the report



Contributors

Luba Kassova is the main author of the report. She is a director and co-founder of AKAS, an international audience strategy consultancy (www.akas.london). Throughout her 20-year career to date, Luba has concentrated on unearthing insights into people and translating these into strategic solutions for organizations. Luba headed up market research, audience insight and strategic planning teams in media (BBC Journalism), telecommunications (BT Television) and not-for-profit organizations (CRUK) prior to setting up AKAS. In her work over the last two decades she has continuously analyzed the gender differences of audiences internationally, including key differences in their media and news consumption. She has also consulted for news providers on the development of their audience strategies for women. Luba holds an MA in Sociology from Sofia University, Bulgaria and an MA in Contemporary European Studies from Sussex University in the UK. She has also completed Behavioral Science modules at Warwick University and the London School of Economics (LSE).

Richard Addy is the primary quantitative research design and analysis lead as well as a key advisor on the frames explored in the report. He is also a director and co-founder of AKAS. Richard has nearly 30 years' experience working as a strategist and has advised CEOs, organizational leaders, and previously government ministers in his role as a government economist. Prior to setting up AKAS, Richard was the chief adviser on strategic and audience issues to the BBC's Deputy Director General who headed up BBC News locally, nationally and internationally. He is a Trustee at Mind, the UK's leading mental health charity. Richard has a BSc in Economics from Warwick University and an MSc in Economics from Birkbeck College, University of London.

Claire Cogan is a key contributor to AKAS' portrayal analysis. Claire holds an Executive MSc in Behavioral Science from the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), with distinctions in research methods and in behavioral decision science. She has many years of experience in generating insights into human behavior in everyday contexts and in different countries, with an emphasis on consumer behavior. Claire is also experienced in leading successful organizational behavior change programs in corporate environments both in the UK and internationally.

Peter Todorov has made a contribution to the sourcing and analysis of the freely available secondary research referenced in the report. In his 20-year career Peter has held various analytical positions in telecommunications, consulting and other sectors in the USA, UK and Bulgaria. Peter holds an MBA from George Washington University and a Master's degree in Finance from London Business School.

Judy Nagle is the proofreader and copy editor of the report. She holds an MA in Modern Languages from Cambridge University, and has a broad-based experience in cultural sponsorship, creative education and business development built up over a 20-year career across the public, private and charitable sectors. Since establishing herself as a freelance proofreader and copy editor in 2015, Judy has developed a client base among European academics at universities in Italy, Switzerland and Spain as well as in the commercial sector.

AKAS is also indebted to the project team from **Media Ecosystems Analysis Group (MEAG) and in particular** Emily Boardman Ndulue, whose content analysis has been critical to the narrative developed in this report. Media Ecosystems Analysis Group Project Team:

- Project Lead: Emily Boardman Ndulue, MEAG's senior researcher
- Research Advisor: Fernando Bermejo, PhD., Executive Director of MEAG
- Technical Advisor: Rahul Bhargava, Researcher and technologist specializing in civic technology and data literacy
- Project Support: Aashka Dave,

  Researcher/community manager with MEAG.

AKAS is also grateful to Ipsos and the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism for providing disaggregated versions of their survey datasets that we analyzed and report on in this study.

Executive summary

The objectives and essence of the report

This report was commissioned by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation to examine women's representation in COVID-19/coronavirus newsgathering and news coverage in India, Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa, the UK, and the US[1]. It is rooted in a computational news content analysis of 11,913 publications and 1.9 million stories between 1st March and 15th April 2020 undertaken by Media Ecosystems Analysis Group; an in-depth qualitative portrayal analysis of 175 highly ranked[2] COVID-19/coronavirus stories across the six countries; quantitative analysis of eight public-facing bespoke Google surveys, as well as multi-country secondary surveys; a pronoun content analysis of COVID-19 headlines; story frames analyses using Google's news search engine, the Internet TV News Archive in 2020 and the GDELT Project global online news archive for 2017 to 2020; and interrogation of a number of global statistical databases. This mix of quantitative and qualitative methodologies, including computational and manual content analyses, as well as survey and database analyses, has resulted in nuanced findings about women's representation in COVID-19/coronavirus newsgathering and news coverage, revealing not just how many women are represented in the news about COVID-19 but also how they are portrayed in the story.

The report has examined the news coverage of the COVID-19/coronavirus story through the lenses of three indicators of gender equality: *women as sources of news expertise; news stories leading with women protagonists;* and *coverage of gender equality issues*. The insights from the report have led to the creation of 21 recommendations which aim to support news providers who wish to amplify the substantially muted voices of women in news coverage of the COVID-19/coronavirus story.

The report has uncovered a substantial bias towards men's perspectives in the newsgathering and news coverage of this pandemic across both the global north (the UK and US) and the global south (India, Kenya, Nigeria and South Africa). This bias operates against a backdrop of women's effective political invisibility within the COVID-19-related decision-making process in the countries analyzed and the unique socio-economic, health and psychological challenges that women face globally.

Every individual woman's voice in the news on COVID-19 is drowned out by the voices of at least three, four, or five men. The women who are given a platform in the COVID-19/coronavirus story are rarely portrayed as authoritative experts or as empowered individuals but more frequently as sources of personal opinion or as victims/people affected by the disease. The news coverage of COVID-19/coronavirus is mostly framed in hard factual terms, leaving little space for the human-centered journalistic approach that reflects women's news needs more closely. Given the deeply political nature of the COVID-19 crisis, women's structural marginalization in the political leadership roles established in response to the crisis locks in the suppression of women's voices in the story. This in turn is reflected in a smaller news share for women, which may be exacerbated by journalists' tendency in a time of crisis to revert back to 'established sources' who are significantly more likely to be men.

The absence of women's perspectives in COVID-19-related news coverage means that women have limited influence over the framing of the crisis in the news and consequently, limited influence over policy-making directions. As a result, women are at ever-greater risk of being further marginalized within different societies amid the most significant global health crisis of our lifetimes.

[1] It is the precursor of a much more substantial report titled "**The Missing Perspectives of Women in News**" commissioned by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation to quantify and explain the issue of the lack of gender equality in the news.

[2] 175 articles with coronavirus or COVID-19 in the title, that were ranked in the top three Google news search engine returns for each term. The analysis was carried out for the 30 most consumed online news providers across the six countries.

Summary of Key Findings Evidenced in the Report

Part 1: The context

The burden of COVID-19/coronavirus on women

1. **Political challenges:** Women in five of the six analyzed countries are largely locked out of COVID-19/coronavirus-related decision making at a national level (100% of the COVID-19 response decision-making group in England are men, 93% in the US, 92% in Nigeria, 86% in India, 80% in Kenya and 50% in South Africa).
2. **Women face unique health-related challenges:** While men are more likely to die of COVID-19, women in some countries (such as the four nations of the UK, South Africa and 18 out of the 28 states in the US who have released COVID-cases data) have been found to be more likely to fall ill. Reports also suggest that in some socially conservative countries in Africa and Asia, women may be left out of testing, leading to a substantial under-reporting of COVID-19 cases among women. 69% of health professionals globally are women, therefore they are more exposed to the virus. Women's reproductive and sexual health are at heightened risk due to key services being scaled back and resources previously used to support women's reproductive and sexual health being redirected to the containment of COVID-19.
3. **Socio-economic and psychological challenges linked to patriarchal social norms**: Women face unique socio-economic pressures resulting from patriarchal social norms - for example as victims of growing gender-based violence, as primary care-givers, as spouses of deceased men in control of family finances and property; as homemakers with informal jobs, as part-time employees with less secure jobs, as lower income earners, and as parents more likely to live in single-parent households with higher numbers of dependents. Women are more likely than men to feel worried, but they are also very resilient. They are more likely to see unity whereas men see division and to find meaning in the hardship of the COVID-19 story.

Women's differing consumption of news on COVID-19/coronavirus

4. **Women have become heavier news consumers during the pandemic** while enduring higher than usual levels of anxiety and worry. TV and social media are the biggest platforms for the consumption of COVID-related news by women.

Part 2: The unheard and under-reported voices of women in news about COVID-19/coronavirus

5. **Women's expert voices in COVID-19/coronavirus stories are worryingly marginalized (even more so than in non-COVID news stories):** Content analysis of 2,100 sampled quotes from 80 publications across six countries showed that men were quoted nearly three times more frequently in the news about COVID-19 than women in the UK, nearly four times more frequently in Kenya, more than four times more frequently in the US, nearly five times more frequently in South Africa and Nigeria and five times more frequently in India. In times of crisis, journalists may be falling back on well-established sources who tend to be men. Women were four times less likely to feature as experts and commentators in the 175 most highly ranked COVID-19 and coronavirus stories from the top five providers in each of the six countries, identified using Google's news search engine.
6. **Women are more likely to be used as sources sharing subjective views than experts sharing authoritative expertise**. Women constituted 19% of experts vs. 77% men (4% were unidentified) in the 175 most highly ranked COVID-19 and coronavirus articles across the six countries, identified via Google's news search. While just under a quarter (23%) of all people quoted in these articles were politicians, only 13% of these were women which partly reflects women's disproportionate marginalization in COVID-related political decision-making and partly the extent to which they are overlooked as experts.
7. **Women have been crowded out as protagonists in COVID-19/coronavirus news coverage (even more so than in non-COVID news coverage):** The computational content analysis of 44,164 sampled stories across the six countries showed that women were nearly five times less likely to feature

as protagonists in news coverage headlines than men in the US, nearly four times less likely to do so in South Africa and Nigeria, three times less likely in India and Kenya and nearly three times less likely in the UK. Politicians, who are significantly more likely to be men in all of the analyzed countries, are leading the coverage of COVID-19. This has resulted in the coverage of women protagonists in COVID-19/coronavirus stories being extruded. Women were less likely to feature as protagonists in COVID-19/coronavirus than in non-COVID-19 news coverage (26% vs. 33% in the UK; 19% vs. 24% in India; 15% vs. 25% in Kenya; 15% vs. 24% in South Africa; 15% vs. 27% in Nigeria and 14% vs. 21% in the US).

8. **The coverage of people is much more sporadic than the coverage of facts in COVID-19/coronavirus news.** Only 25% of the 175 most highly ranked COVID-19 and coronavirus stories across the six countries, identified via Google's news search, centered around people; 74% of the stories were centered around hard facts and only 9% contained an element of a human interest story which is more likely to draw women in, as evidenced in Part 4 of the report.
9. **Under one in four protagonists (23%) in the 175 stories analyzed in the six analyzed countries were women.** Moreover, of the protagonists portrayed as empowered in the COVID-19 news stories, only 17% were women while 83% were men.
10. **The gender equality dimension has been lacking from news coverage during the COVID-19 pandemic** with more than 99% of the coverage missing this dimension entirely in all analyzed countries.
11. **Unfortunately, even in the minimal gender equality coverage that does exist men feature more prominently than women** in all countries bar South Africa, where 56% of the 25 most frequently featured people were women. In Nigeria, only 24% of the 25 most frequently featured protagonists in gender equality stories were women, while in India and the US it was 28%, increasing to 32% in Kenya and 44% in the UK. On average across the six countries, women made up only approximately one-third (35%) of the 25 most frequently mentioned people in gender equality stories.

Part 3: Reflections on the dominant and emerging frames about coronavirus in the news

12. **The framing of the pandemic in the news has been shown by academics to be critical because it influences policy decision-making with respect to the COVID-19 response**

    The dominant frames in the news focus on the COVID-19/coronavirus problem or its causes and are obscuring women's unique challenges. The most commonly used frames are the health severity, economic consequences, medical/scientific, globalization, attribution of responsibility and public action frames. Within these, there is little space for women's specific needs or for gender equality issues.

13. **The frames that are more likely to support policy making which is responsive to women's needs and are more focused on solutions are less dominant in the news**

    The frames that are more likely to support women's needs in public policies are the human interest frame, the cooperation/solidarity frame, and the structural inequalities frame. All three remain niche.

Part 4: Amplifying women's voices in the COVID-19 news coverage: recommendations

14. **Cover the topics within the COVID-19 story that women are most worried about** such as unemployment/jobs, healthcare and poverty, as well as crime/gender violence (especially in the global south). Cover the local dimensions of the story to engage women further. Offer micro-angles anchored in human interest stories emphasizing the humanity in this crisis.
15. **Give voice to women protagonists and experts that most people in different countries trust:** doctors, scientists, nurses, schoolteachers and paramedics

PART 1: THE CONTEXT

This section focuses on the heavy toll that the COVID-19/coronavirus pandemic has taken on women globally and in the six analyzed countries. It also examines women's consumption of COVID-19/coronavirus news and how this compares to that of men. All this is important contextual information that will help news providers first and foremost to understand how hard they need to work to convey women's perspectives in relation to this story, as they are often hidden and remain unreported. It will also help news providers to broaden their COVID-19/coronavirus story angles that have relevance to women. Similarly, it will help them understand how best to reach women when communicating the COVID-19/coronavirus story.

A key challenge in pulling this part together has been the lack of consistent data disaggregated by sex in all the analyzed countries across a range of measures. This challenge has been exacerbated by the short time that has elapsed since the COVID-19/coronavirus pandemic emerged. The information and data deficit has meant that different sources have had to be used to craft an overarching picture. Critically, more datasets disaggregated by sex are available in the UK and US, and considerably fewer in South Africa, Kenya, Nigeria and India. Hence in some cases, the conclusions reached have relied on data from the UK and the US, and may therefore not always be applicable to the global south.

A glance ahead to "The Missing Perspectives of Women in News":

"The Missing Perspectives of Women in News", the forthcoming report by Luba Kassova from AKAS, commissioned by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, which will be published later this year, will examine in detail women's under-representation and marginalization in news across the whole news value chain, exploring the tapestry of factors that contribute to this situation. Specifically, the report will assess the political, economic, regulatory and socio-cultural contexts in six countries from across the global north and south (India, Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa, the UK and the US) in order to consider the extent to which context influences or indeed drives women's invisibility in news. In addition, the report will evaluate levels of gender equality sensitivity and existing biases among key target audience groups, such as the public, decision makers and opinion formers (including journalists), globally and in each of these analyzed countries. The report will identify women's lighter news consumption compared to men's as important contextual information and will investigate the positive and negative impacts of technological advancements on gender (in)equality in news.

PART 1: THE CONTEXT

Chapter 1

The burden of COVID-19/coronavirus on women

There are multiple factors that impact women severely, often more severely than men, in relation to the COVID-19/coronavirus pandemic. This section touches on some of the key factors e.g. political, educational, health and healthcare-related, socio-economic, demographic and psychological factors, as well as those related to social norms. Collectively, they have a compounding effect on women's ability to remain healthy and well during and after the pandemic. Many of these factors are rarely touched upon in the news media, which contributes to women's marginalization in the COVID-19 story.

The political lockout of women from the COVID-19 story

In five of the six analyzed countries, women have been largely locked out of COVID-19/coronavirus-related decision-making at a national level. Globally, men were found to be overwhelmingly in charge of the response to COVID-19 and of policy making in relation to it. Women, therefore, although more likely to be frontline health workers (as shown later in this chapter), were much less likely to have the agency to act strategically on matters related to COVID-19. AKAS' research revealed that the vast majority of the members of COVID-19 decision-making committees or taskforces in all analyzed countries except South Africa were men (see Figure 2). In England, 100% of the members of the Daily C-19 meeting were men[3]; 93% of the Coronavirus Response Team in the US[4] (see Figure 3) were men; in Nigeria 92% of the Presidential Task Force for the Control of the Coronavirus-19 Disease were men[5]; while men constituted 86% of the COVID-19 Task Force in India[6], and 80% of the National Emergency Response Committee on Coronavirus in Kenya[7]. Across the six analyzed countries, only South Africa enjoyed gender parity in its National Coronavirus Command Council[8].

[3] https://www.gov.uk/government/news/new-government-structures-to-coordinate-response-to-coronavirus. This refers to the C-19 daily meetings, rather than the UK COBR meetings. The gender balance assessment is based on the Prime Minister, the Chancellor, the Health Secretary, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and the Foreign Secretary attending the C-19 meetings. Wales, Northern Ireland & Scotland have different decision-making bodies.

[4] Where The Women Aren't: On Coronavirus Task Forces: https://www.npr.org/sections/goatsandsoda/2020/06/24/882109538/where-the-women-arent-on-coronavirus-task-forces

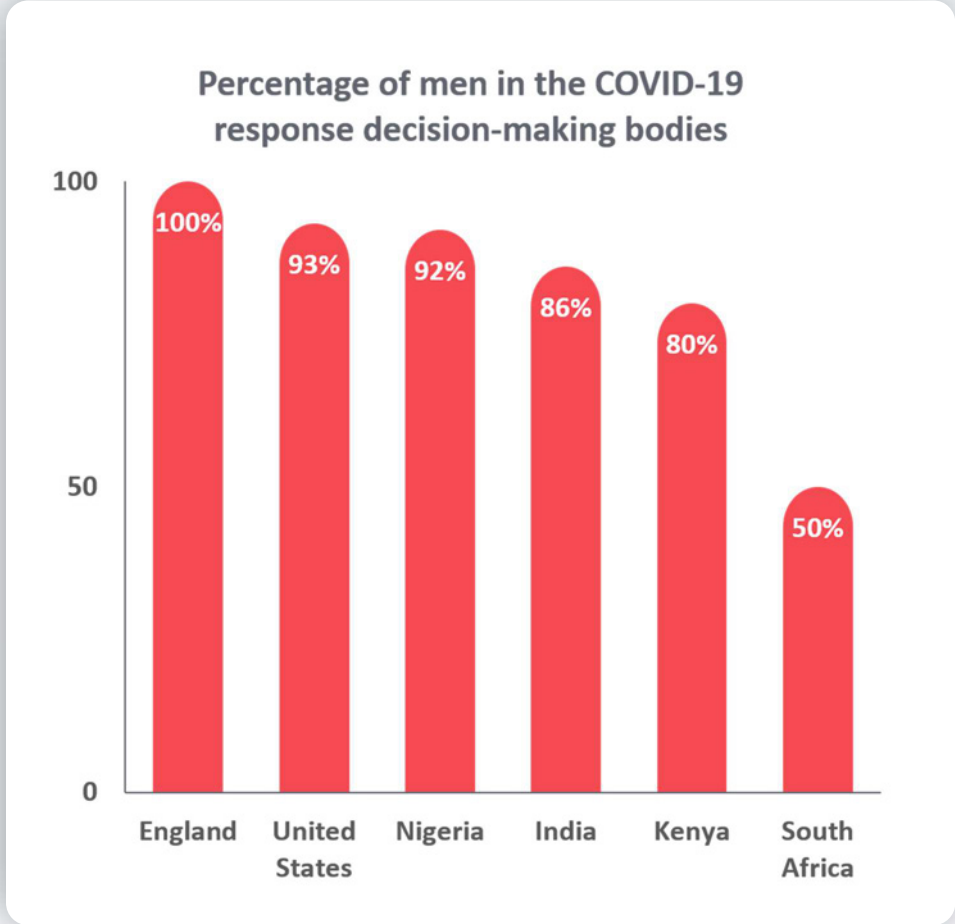
[5] https://businessday.ng/coronavirus/article/coronavirus-nigeria-enhances-coordinated-response-mechanism-inaugurates-presidential-task-force/

[6] https://www.indiatoday.in/india-today-insight/story/inside-pm-modi-s-covid-19-task-force-1665239-2020-04-09

[7] https://www.scribd.com/document/449313340/EXECUTIVE-ORDER-No-2-of-2020-NATIONAL-EMERGENCY-RESPONSE-COMMITTEE-ON-CORONAVIRUS?fbclid=IwAR363pQQBLR42g9VmrMWm2RGJQRuh0v-ofemYKgX0k4utBZ3QARVtDqLlH

[8] https://www.news24.com/news24/southafrica/news/govts-coronavirus-command-council-not-established-in-terms-of-any-act-ramaphosas-answers-reveal-20200610

Figure 2: Percentage of men in COVID-19 response decision-making bodies in the six countries



Source: *AKAS analysis (People in decision making bodies) = England (5)[9], Nigeria (12)[10], India (7)[11], USA (27)[12], Kenya (20)[13], South Africa (30)[14]*

In addition to political marginalization, women's voices are also muted in global health leadership roles. NPR Goats and Soda recently reported that ten of the 31 members and advisers of the WHO's Emergency Committee on COVID-19 are women[15], whilst Global Health's 50/50 report on the gender policies of global organizations active in health and health policy found that only 30% of CEOs and 32% of Board Chairs were women[16]. The same NPR report pointed to resistance to addressing the gender disparity with a sense of now is not the time as, in the words of a senior member of a global agency leading on the COVID-19 response, *"We're in a wartime, and we have to prioritize what's the most urgent"*. **Evidence from AKAS' frames analysis of the GDELT Project global online news archive pointed towards a collapse in the reference to women and men in online news at the height of the news coverage of the pandemic. While references to men have enjoyed a bounce back since, references to women, unfortunately, have not** (see Figure 31 in Appendix 3).

[9] https://www.gov.uk/government/news/new-government-structures-to-coordinate-response-to-coronavirus.
[10] https://businessday.ng/coronavirus/article/coronavirus-nigeria-enhances-coordinated-response-mechanism-inaugurates-presidential-task-force/
[11] https://www.indiatoday.in/india-today-insight/story/inside-pm-modi-s-covid-19-task-force-1665239-2020-04-09
[12] Where The Women Aren't: On Coronavirus Task Forces: https://www.npr.org/sections/goatsandsoda/2020/06/24/882109538/where-the-women-arent-on-coronavirus-task-forces
[13] https://www.scribd.com/document/449313340/EXECUTIVE-ORDER-No-2-of-2020-NATIONAL-EMERGENCY-RESPONSE-COMMITTEE-ON-CORONAVIRUS?fbclid=IwAR363pQQBLR42g9VmrMWm2RGJQRuh0v-ofemYKgX0k4utBZ3QARVtDqLlH
[14] https://www.news24.com/news24/southafrica/news/govts-coronavirus-command-council-not-established-in-terms-of-any-act-ramaphosas-answers-reveal-20200610
[15] https://www.npr.org/sections/goatsandsoda/2020/06/24/882109538/where-the-women-arent-on-coronavirus-task-forces
[16] https://globalhealth5050.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/Power-Privilege-and-Priorities-2020-Global-Health-5050-Report.pdf

Figure 3: Representatives from the US' Coronavirus Task Force (25 men and two women)

Educational constraints for women in the global south

Women are marginally less likely to be aware of COVID-19, possibly due to their lower literacy/education levels in the global south. However, they claim to be better at recognizing the symptoms, their primary care-giving roles possibly giving them confidence in this regard.

When asked whether they were aware of the recent global coronavirus outbreak, 97% of men in South Africa vs. 92% of women responded affirmatively[17]. 96% of men in Nigeria stated that they were aware of coronavirus, which was slightly higher than for women at 93%. In Kenya, the proportion was the same for men and women alike (91%). However, perhaps linked to their enhanced experience as primary care givers, women were more likely to feel confident in recognizing the symptoms than men. When asked whether they knew what the symptoms of coronavirus were, 81% of women in both South Africa and Nigeria responded positively, compared to only 73% of men in South Africa and 75% of men in Nigeria.

The figure for Kenya was lower for both women and men at 69%[18].

Health-related challenges that women face

While men are more likely (in varying degrees) to die of COVID-19, **in many countries women are more likely than men to become ill** and so bear the brunt of adverse effects in terms of their health, wellbeing, primary care-giving roles and work, in the short and medium term[19]. Women who are widowed also often face serious socio-economic hardships, with the roof over their heads at risk (especially in the global south) as is outlined below in the section relating to socio-economic and demographic challenges.

Men are at highest risk of death from COVID-19 in Kenya[20] (76% vs. 24% of women), followed by India (64% vs. 36%[21] - although more recent reports are claiming a higher mortality rate for women than men[22]), England (57% vs. 43%)[23], the United States[24]

[17] GeoPoll surveys of Nigeria, Kenya and South Africa, March 2020

[18] GeoPoll surveys of Nigeria, Kenya and South Africa, March 2020

[19] https://www.oecd.org/coronavirus/policy-responses/women-at-the-core-of-the-fight-against-covid-19-crisis-553a8269/

[20] https://www.health.go.ke/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/Kenya-SITREP-085-10-Jun-2020.pdf

[21] Joe et al, 2020

[22] Women May Have Higher COVID-19 Death Risk Than Men In India: Study, 13 June 2020, NDTV - https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/coronavirus-women-may-have-higher-covid-19-death-risk-than-men-in-india-study-2245761; Are more women dying of Covid-19 in India? - https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-india-53104634

[23] No data was found for the whole of the UK, hence the reported data is disaggregated.

[24] https://data.cdc.gov/NCHS/Provisional-COVID-19-Death-Counts-by-Sex-Age-and-S/9bhg-hcku

(54% vs. 46%), Northern Ireland[25] (52% vs. 48%), and South Africa[26] (52% vs. 48%). In Scotland[27] an equal proportion of men and women have died from COVID-19 (50%). Further investigation of the US' Center For Disease Control (CDC) tables[28] by AKAS has unearthed an under-reported story, namely that the demographic group that has suffered the largest number of COVID-19 deaths in the US is women aged over 85. Figure 4 sets out the deaths in the US to 20 June 2020, broken down by age and sex.

However, data from 92 countries[29] suggests that while men are more likely to die of COVID-19 in the six analyzed countries, **in some countries it is women who are more likely to contract the disease.**

Figure 4: COVID-19 deaths in the US (to the week ending 20 June 2020)

Source: *CDC (2020). Provisional COVID-19 Death Counts by Sex and Age*[30]

[25] http://globalhealth5050.org/covid19/sex-disaggregated-data-tracker/

[26] https://www.nicd.ac.za/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/NICD-COVID-19-Weekly-Sentinel-Hospital-Surveillnace-update-Week-22-2020-003.pdf

[27] http://globalhealth5050.org/covid19/sex-disaggregated-data-tracker/

[28] https://data.cdc.gov/NCHS/Provisional-COVID-19-Death-Counts-by-Sex-Age-and-S/9bhg-hcku

[29] http://globalhealth5050.org/covid19/sex-disaggregated-data-tracker/, The only analyzed countries to feature among the 92 countries examined were South Africa, Nigeria, Kenya and England/Northern Ireland/Scotland/Wales.

[30] https://data.cdc.gov/NCHS/Provisional-COVID-19-Death-Counts-by-Sex-Age-and-S/9bhg-hcku

According to sex disaggregated data in the Global Health 50/50 database[31] women have been significantly more likely to fall ill in Wales (64% vs. 36%), Scotland and Northern Ireland (62% vs. 38%), followed by England and South Africa where 57% of those reported ill have been women and 43% men. In Nigeria and Kenya, the gender profile of the reported cases has been the reverse, with 69% of Kenya's reported cases being men vs. 31% women and 67% of cases in Nigeria being among men vs. 33% among women. However, recent news reports have rung alarm bells that women may be being dramatically under-represented in COVID-19 statistics in some of the most socially conservative countries in Africa and Asia[32] due to "*potentially being left out of testing*[33]". In addition, one US investigation found that of the 28 US states that made data for cases and deaths available by sex, 18 reported that more women than men were infected by COVID-19[34]. Appendix 2 (Figures 29 and 30) provides detailed breakdowns of the sex-disaggregated cases (for 92 countries) and deaths (for 62 countries).

Women's and girls' **reproductive and sexual health are at increased risk** globally due to large sums of public funds being diverted away from critical maternity and reproductive care services and redirected towards managing the COVID-19 outbreak. This contraction of vital services may lead to a surge in mortalities among pregnant women and in unwanted pregnancies[35].

Socio-economic and demographic challenges that women face

Women are more likely to be exposed to COVID-19 for the following three reasons:

1. **Women represent a higher proportion of health/frontline workers than men**

   Women globally are significantly more likely to have frontline jobs and therefore be more exposed to the virus (see Figure 5). Globally, 88% of personal care workers, 69% of health professionals and 60% of food preparation assistants are women[36].

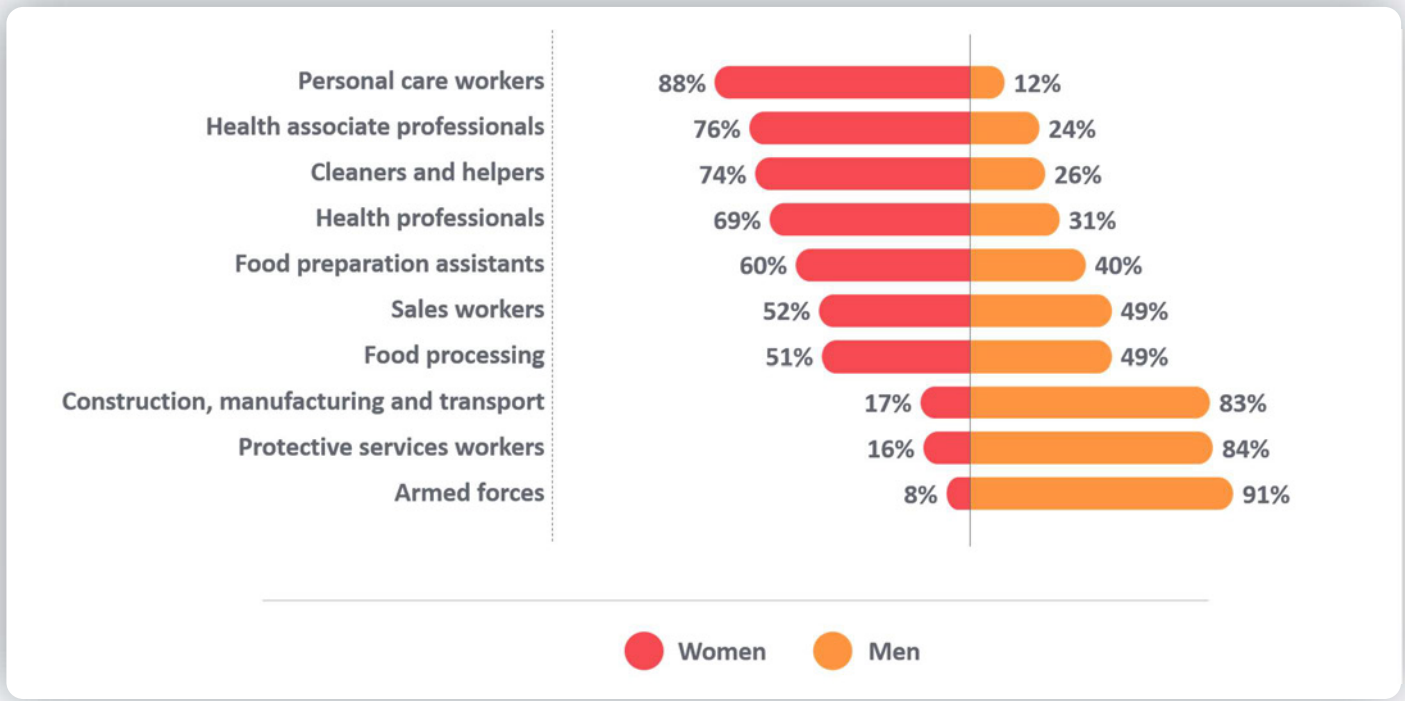
2. Globally, and in all the analyzed countries bar Nigeria, women are more likely to live longer than men and therefore are **more likely to be in the 65+ age category**. This age group is known to be more vulnerable to contracting COVID-19.

   Women constitute 55% of the 65+ population globally and 62% of the 80+ population[37]. More than half of all 65-year olds in five of the key analyzed countries are women. Their proportion is highest in South Africa where they constitute 58% of all 65+ year olds[38], followed by Kenya where women constitute 56%[39], the US (55%)[40], UK (54%)[41] and India (52%)[42]. Nigeria[43] is an outlier where men who are 65 years old or more constitute 56% while women represent only 44%[44].

3. As well as being more likely to be frontline workers, a higher proportion of women than men are homemakers. They are consequently more likely to be the primary care givers looking after the ill, be it their children, their husbands, or elderly parents, and are thus more exposed to the virus[45].

[31] http://globalhealth5050.org/covid19/sex-disaggregated-data-tracker/
[32] No specific mention has been made of any of the analyzed countries
[33] Dr Stacey Mearns, leading IRC's coronavirus response unit quoted in The Telegraph on 24th June 2020
[34] Fink, J. (2020, May 6). How Coronavirus Cases, Deaths Differ Between Men and Women by State. Newsweek. Retrieved from https://www.newsweek.com/how-coronavirus-cases-deaths-differ-between-men-women-state-1502107
[35] "Gender dimensions of the COVID-19 pandemic" World Bank Group, Policy Note, 26th April 2020
[36] International Labour Organization statistic in "Gender dimensions of the COVID-19 pandemic" World Bank Group, Policy Note, 26th April 2020
[37] "Gender dimensions of the COVID-19 pandemic" World Bank Group, Policy Note, 26th April 2020
[38] https://www.indexmundi.com/south_africa/age_structure.html
[39] https://www.knbs.or.ke/?wpdmpro=2019-kenya-population-and-housing-census-volume-iii-distribution-of-population-by-age-sex-and-administrative-units
[40] https://www.census.gov/topics/population/age-and-sex/data/tables.html
[41] Office for National Statistics. (2019). Principal projection - UK population in age groups – 2018-based: https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationprojections/datasets/tablea21principalprojectionukpopulationinagegroups
[42] https://data.worldbank.org/
[43] https://covid19.ncdc.gov.ng/
[44] Nigeria National Bureau of Statistics (2019). Statistical report on women and men in Nigeria 2018, Retrieved from https://open.africa/dataset/2018-statistical-report-on-women-and-men-in-nigeria
[45] "Gender dimensions of the COVID-19 pandemic" World Bank Group, Policy Note, 26th April 2020

Figure 5: Gender split across frontline industries



Source: *'Gender dimensions of the COVID-19 pandemic', World Bank Group, Policy Note, 26th April 2020*

Women are more vulnerable to the economic impact of COVID-19. Below is a summary of some of the key reasons for this.

1. Women are more likely to have lost their job during the COVID-19 crisis because they are more likely to work in industries hugely affected by the lockdown such as retail, leisure and hospitality. For example, McKinsey Global Institute's analysis concluded that in the US part-time jobs held by women constituted more than half of the total vulnerable jobs in leisure, hospitality, education and health services[46]. The two most vulnerable industries in terms of potential job losses were leisure and hospitality and retail trade. Women held a higher proportion of the jobs in both of these industries, with the majority of them being employed part-time. In the UK, the Institute for Fiscal Studies has shown that women in all age groups are more likely to be employees in sectors experiencing a slowdown as a result of the pandemic. Women under 25 are deemed particularly vulnerable with 36% of this demographic working in shutdown sectors, compared to 25% of young men[47].

2. Women's average income is lower than that of men. Globally they are paid approximately 20% less than men[48]. Women are more likely to live in single-parent households with higher numbers of people in them[49].

3. When in employment, women's jobs tend to be of lower quality as well as in vulnerable conditions[50], and are more likely to be part-time[51] and, in lower or middle income countries, more informal [52]. Globally, women are more likely to be engaged in informal work which leaves them outside of employers' social protection measures[53].

[46] McKinsey Global Institute: COVID-19 and jobs: Monitoring the US impact on people and places: https://www.mckinsey.com/industries/public-sector/our-insights/covid-19-and-jobs-monitoring-the-us-impact-on-people-and-places

[47] https://www.ifs.org.uk/publications/14791

[48] https://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/newsroom/features/WCMS_650551/lang--en/index.htm

[49] "Gender dimensions of the COVID-19 pandemic" World Bank Group, Policy Note, 26th April 2020

[50] https://www.ilo.org/infostories/en-GB/Stories/Employment/barriers-women#intro

[51] World Bank Group (2020). World Bank Databank. Retrieved from - Part time employment, male (% of total male employment (https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.TLF.PART.MA.ZS) & Part time employment, female (% of total female employment (https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.TLF.PART.FE.ZS)

[52] https://interactive.unwomen.org/multimedia/explainer/covid19/en/index.html

[53] "Gender dimensions of the COVID-19 pandemic" World Bank Group, Policy Note, 26th April 2020

4. In some countries in the global south, women's properties are tied to their marriages and if they become widowed, they are more vulnerable to losing their homes[54].

Women tend to be more pessimistic about the economic situation

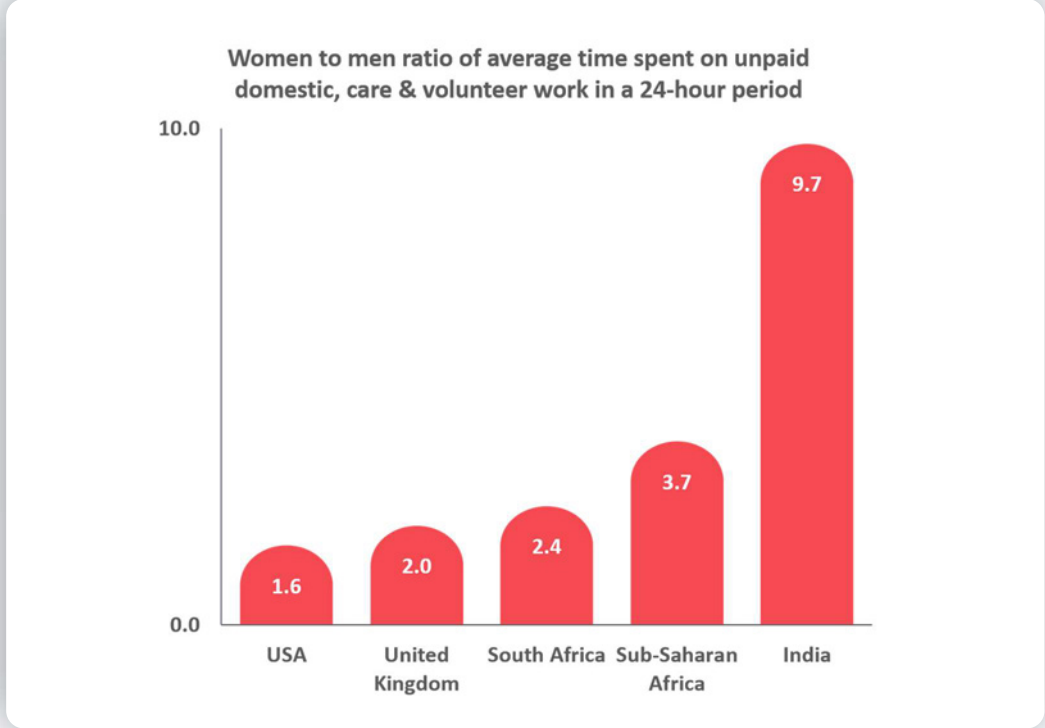
When asked how they would describe the current economic situation, women tended to be more pessimistic than men in countries from both the global north and the global south. In South Africa, 88% of women vs. 80% of men assessed the situation as "all bad"; 72% of women vs. 64% of men made the same assessment in Great Britain; while 71% vs. 56% did so in the US and 47% vs. 43% in India[55]. The gap between women and men was most pronounced in the US, where women were also more pessimistic about the future economic outlook. Women were less likely than men (26% vs. 33%) to think that the economy would bounce back somewhat quickly in the future[56].

Psychological challenges related to social norms that women face

Women were found to be more likely to experience higher levels of worry, loneliness and stress than men, possibly because they were more likely to have taken on the additional burden of housework and home-schooling linked to the lockdown, and consequently felt the pressure and exhaustion more acutely.

Past time use surveys have shown that women historically spend more time on domestic, care and volunteer work than men. The latest available data shows that in the US women spent 1.6 times more hours per day than men on domestic, care and volunteer work. In the UK, the ratio was 2:1 for women vs. men; in South Africa it was 2.4:1; in Sub Saharan Africa the ratio was 3.7:1; and in India it was 9.7:1. However, it should be noted that the Indian data is particularly old as it is based on a time use survey from 1998-99 (see Figure 6).

Figure 6: Women to men ratio of average time spent on unpaid domestic, care and volunteer work in a 24-hour period[57]



Source: *World Bank Group (2020) for Sub-Saharan Africa; AKAS analysis of UN statistics for other countries*

[54] "Gender dimensions of the COVID-19 pandemic" World Bank Group, Policy Note, 26th April 2020

[55] Ipsos, "What worries the world", March 2020

[56] YouGov online survey 25 March – 02 April 2020

[57] Sub-Saharan data (various dates) from OECD stats in "Gender dimensions of the COVID-19 pandemic" World Bank Group, Policy Note, 26th April 2020; USA (2015), UK (2005), South Africa (2010) and India (1999-98) from Time Use Survey data extracted by AKAS from UN Stats (https://unstats.un.org/unsd/gender/timeuse/)

According to research in the US, women are more likely to *have felt lonely* than men (27% vs. 21%)[58] during the pandemic. Women in both the global north (the UK and US) and the global south (South Africa and India) are more likely to have felt worried about the coronavirus pandemic than men[59]. They placed the coronavirus crisis as their top worry in the UK, US and India and their second biggest worry in South Africa.

In the field of journalism, an industry which already struggles, coronavirus represents an existential commercial threat despite the increased interest in news.[60] In this context, an International Federation of Journalists' (IFJ) global survey found that women journalists were suffering higher levels of stress. When asked how their work had been affected by the outbreak, 63% of women cited increased anxiety and stress compared to 55% of men[61].

Women are more likely to be victims of increased gender-based violence

Gender-based violence has been on the rise across countries generally. According to a policy note produced by the World Bank Group on the gender dimension of the COVID-19 pandemic[62], this is a function of the confinement the pandemic has entailed, coupled with a stronger sense of impunity among perpetrators, resulting from the reduced responsiveness of hugely stretched support services for women and children victims of gender-based violence. There is evidence that in the UK[63], the US[64], India[65], Nigeria[66], Kenya[67], and South Africa[68] there have been surges in domestic and sexual violence.

Despite the multiple burdens that women face, they remain very resilient

Despite the multiple hardships falling disproportionately on women's shoulders during the pandemic, they are more likely than men to feel optimistic about some positive byproducts arising from the response to the COVID-19 crisis[69].

1. **Women are more likely to see unity, whereas men are more likely to see division (in the global north)**
   When asked whether they saw the pandemic situation as mainly dividing society or unifying it, more women in the US saw it as unifying while more men saw it as dividing: 30% of women believed that the situation was mainly unifying society vs. 25% who thought it was mainly dividing it. By contrast, 31% of men thought the situation was mainly dividing society and 23% thought it was mainly unifying it[70]. Similar findings have emerged from the UK, where women were more likely to see positive outcomes from the crisis than men. When asked whether the crisis was showing some positive sides of society, 37% of women agreed strongly that this was the case vs. 32% of men. In total 84% of women agreed with this statement vs. 80% of men[71].

2. **Women are more likely to see growth through hardship than men (in the global north)**
   When asked whether they thought the crisis would make the US nation stronger or weaker, women were more likely than men to think that it would make it stronger. 40% of women believed that the crisis would result in a stronger nation vs. 35% of men. Conversely, 21% of women thought that the outcome from the crisis would be a weaker nation vs. 29% of men[72].

[58] YouGov survey, 25 March – 02 April 2020
[59] Ipsos "What worries the world", March 2020
[60] 'Coronavirus rips a hole in newspapers' business model' https://www.ft.com/content/b6fdec4c-e3e7-43b9-a804-03c435de65bb
[61] https://www.ifj.org/media-centre/news/detail/category/press-releases/article/women-journalists-are-suffering-greater-stress-due-to-covid-19-ifj-study-says.html
[62] "Gender dimensions of the COVID-19 pandemic" World Bank Group, Policy Note, 26th April 2020
[63] https://www.theguardian.com/society/2020/apr/24/charges-and-cautions-for-domestic-violence-rise-by-24-in-london
[64] https://www.economist.com/graphic-detail/2020/04/22/domestic-violence-has-increased-during-coronavirus-lockdowns
[65] https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/04/locked-abusers-india-domestic-violence-surge-200415092014621.html
[66] https://covid19data.com/2020/06/15/nigeria-reports-surge-in-domestic-abuse-during-virus-lockdown/
[67] https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/04/08/tackling-kenyas-domestic-violence-amid-covid-19-crisis
[68] https://allafrica.com/stories/202005110285.html
[69] This conclusion has been based on data available for the global north
[70] YouGov survey, 25 March – 02 April 2020
[71] Ofcom coronavirus survey, 07-10 May 2020
[72] YouGov Economist survey, 12-14 April 2020

PART 1: THE CONTEXT

Chapter 2

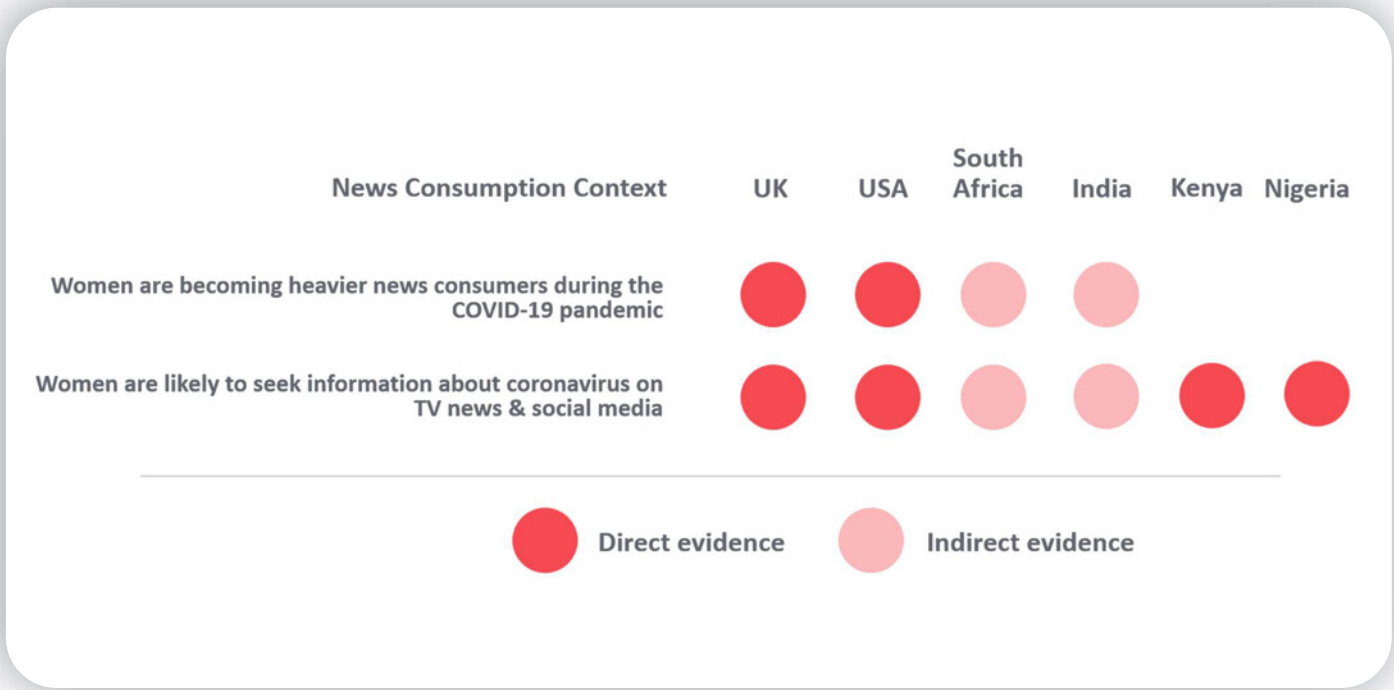
Women's differing consumption of news about COVID-19/coronavirus

A key challenge in pulling this chapter together has been the lack of consistent data disaggregated by sex in all the analyzed countries across a range of measures. As in the previous chapter, the greater availability of datasets disaggregated by sex in the UK and US, and their relative scarcity in South Africa, Kenya, Nigeria and India has meant that the conclusions reached in this chapter have relied more heavily on data from the UK and the US, and may therefore not always be applicable to the global south (see Figure 7) .

Women became heavier consumers of news at the start of the COVID-19 pandemic, pro-actively seeking out news about COVID-19

Although women are typically lighter news consumers than men i.e. they are less likely to be "news lovers"[73] than men and they consume news less frequently than men[74], **a proportion of women have become heavier news consumers during this pandemic period, making their news consumption more aligned to that of men**. In April 2020 in the US, 54% of women vs. 40% of men evaluated their news consumption as higher than usual (see Figure 8). Similarly, in the same month in the UK, 56% of women vs. 51% of men evaluated their media consumption as higher than usual (see Figure 8). In both countries, women were more likely to have increased their news consumption than men. Interestingly, when analyzing women's and men's self-evaluation of how closely they had followed the news weekly in the US between March and July 2020, it becomes evident that women fell behind men in how closely they followed the news in May 2020 (see Figure 8). It is plausible to hypothesize that the existing news offers did not meet women's news needs as well as they met men's.

Figure 7: Summary of news consumption context

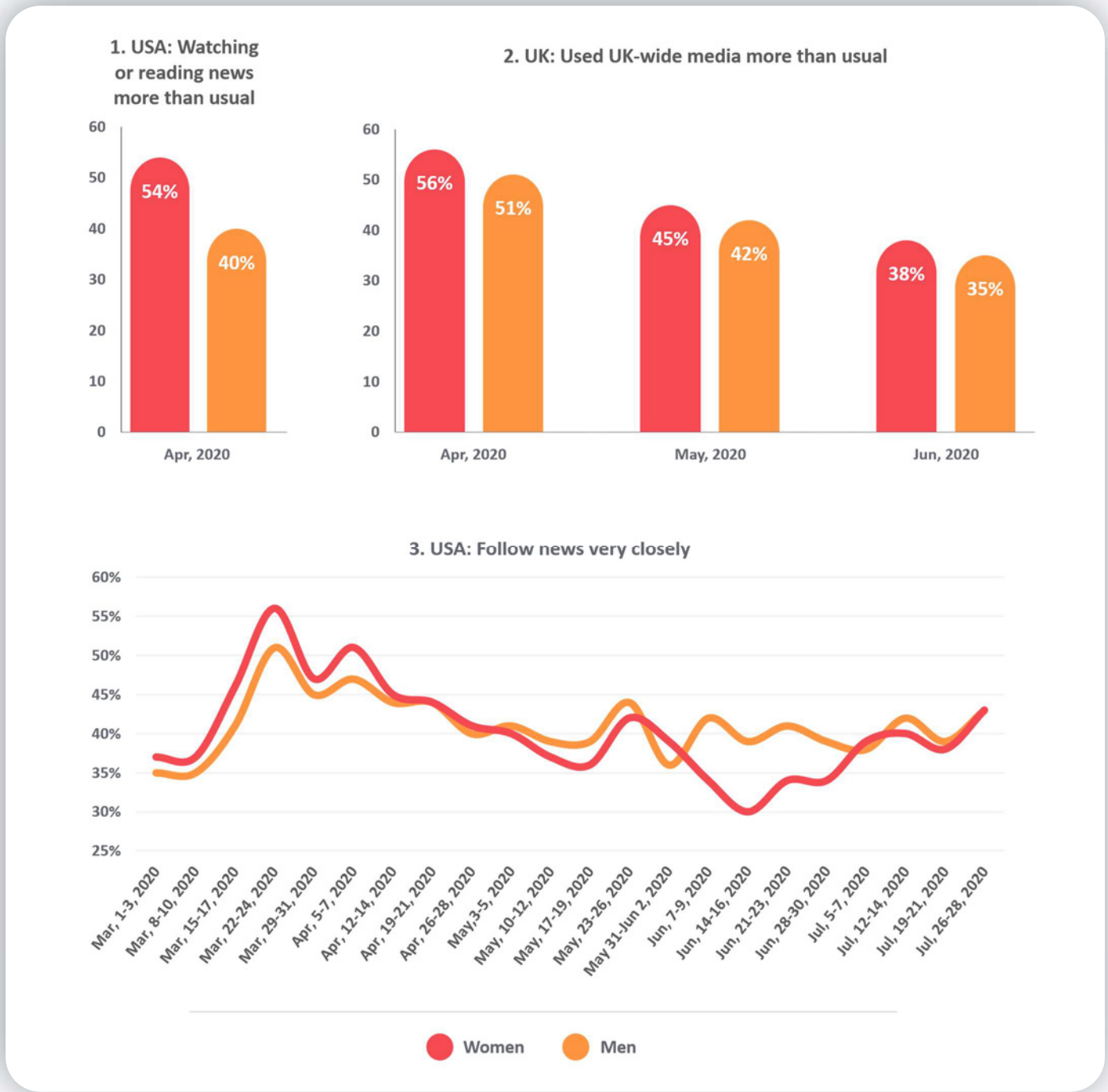


Source: *AKAS analysis*

[73] Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism's definition of news lovers is "those who have high interest and high frequency of access to news". Newman et al., 2020

[74] This phenomenon will be discussed in some detail in "The Missing Perspectives of Women in News"

Figure 8: Change in news consumption during the pandemic



Source and Questions:

1.YouGov/Economist weekly surveys (3 weeks), 5-17 April 2020, 12-14 April 2020 & 19-21 April 2020. N = c1,500 US adults. Question = Change in Activities - Watching or reading the news. Answer charted = More often than usual

2. Ofcom coronavirus weekly surveys (13 weeks), 3-5 Apr 2020 to 26-28 June 2020. N= 900 to c1500, All UK adults who were getting information/news about the coronavirus outbreak. Question = Thinking about each of the following types of media organizations across TV, press, radio and online, would you say that in the LAST WEEK you have used them more than before the coronavirus outbreak? Answer charted = A little more or a lot more

3. YouGov/Economist weekly surveys (22 weeks), 1-3 Mar 2020 to 26-28 July 2020. N = c1,500 US adults. Question = How closely are you following the news about coronavirus? Answer charted = Very closely

The increased news consumption of women during the pandemic may be attributable to the following factors:

- **Women are reporting a higher need for safety and security than men**. According to survey findings, women in the UK (40% vs. 31% of men) and in the US (32% vs. 26% of men) were more likely to agree with the framing of COVID-19 as a disease "which we need to be protected from."[75]
- **Women experience heightened levels of stress and concern in relation to the global pandemic in comparison to men** (although slightly less so in the global south than in the global north). According to a survey commissioned across the global south and the global north identifying the public's top three worries out of a list of 18 issues, coronavirus came out as the top worry for women in India, Great Britain and the US and the second biggest worry in South Africa[76]. 78% of women in Great Britain and 71% of women in the US identified coronavirus as their top worry vs. 63% in India and 51% in South Africa, suggesting a heightened concern in the global north at the time of the survey. Interestingly, more women than men were worried about coronavirus in all four countries, although the difference in India was negligible (63% vs. 62%). While the gap between women's and men's concerns about the pandemic was most pronounced in South Africa (51% vs. 44%), the issue of greatest concern there for both groups was unemployment and jobs (61% vs. 55%).
- **Women show lower levels of satisfaction with the situation in their country than men.** When asked during the pandemic how satisfied or dissatisfied people were with the way "things were going in their country today", women were significantly less likely to be satisfied than men in Great Britain (42% vs. 52%), the US (34% vs. 44%) and less satisfied than men in South Africa (15% vs. 19%) and India (59% vs. 66%)[77]. Women were most likely to be dissatisfied with the situation in South Africa (85% vs. 81% of men), followed by the US (66% vs. 56%), Great Britain (58% vs. 48%) and India (41% vs. 34% men).

Women are most likely to seek information about coronavirus on TV news and on social media

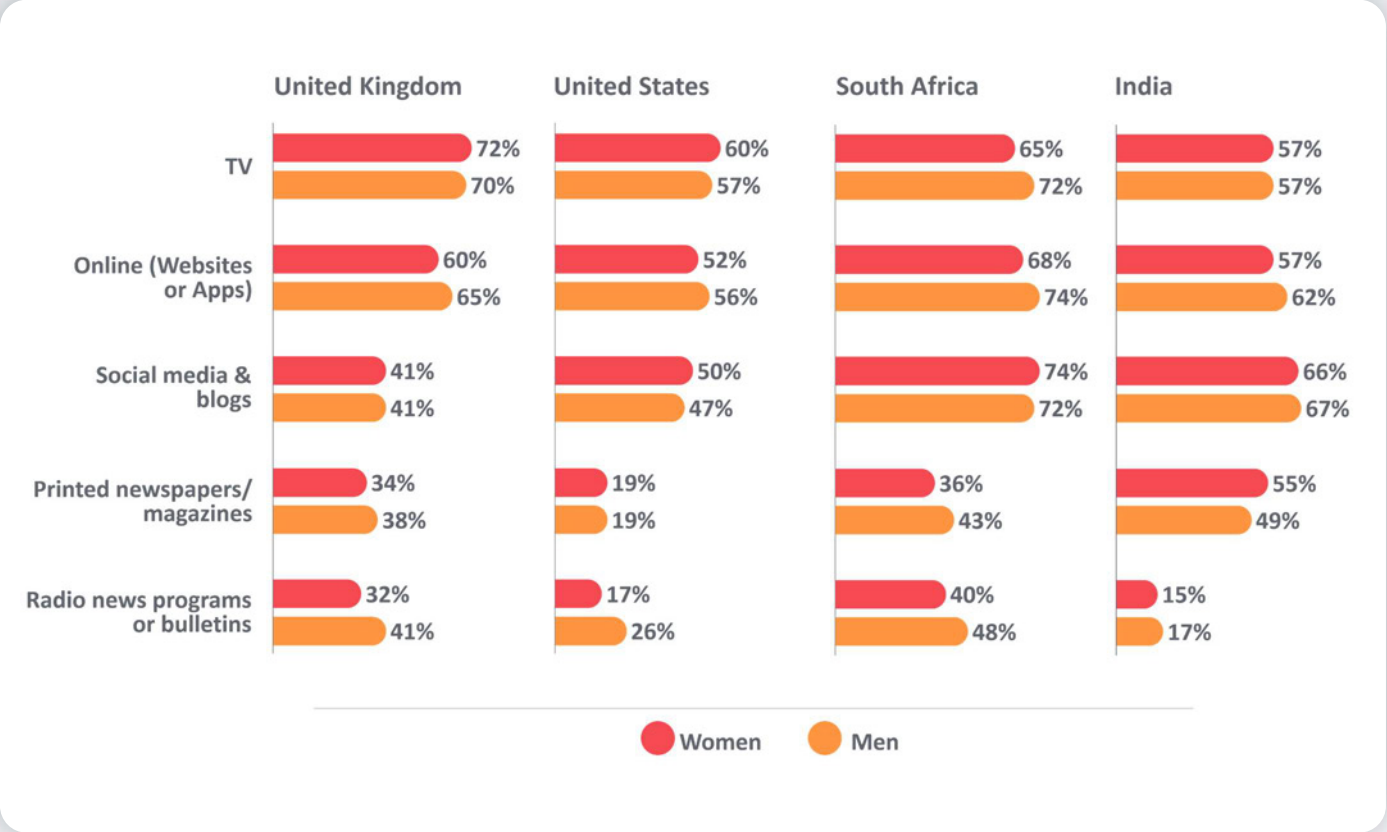
Women in Kenya were most likely to seek information on television, followed by social media (43% and 39%)[78]. Women in the UK and the US were also more likely to use TV as a main source of news with 44% of women (vs. 38% of men) in the UK claiming to use TV as their main news source in the preceding week and 46% of women vs. 37% of men in the US[79].

By contrast, women (and men) in Nigeria were most likely to use social media as a source of information (56%), with television the second most popular source (26% for women and 22% for men)[80]. In the UK, women were more likely than men to use social media and specifically Facebook as sources of information on COVID-19/coronavirus. 40% of women vs. 34% of men claimed to get their news on the topic from social media (31% vs. 22% chose specifically Facebook)[81]. The popularity of social media as a source of news about coronavirus was corroborated in another survey which found that 54% of women in the UK (vs. 51% of men) and 55% of women in the US (vs. 61% of men) claimed to have used social media as a source of news about coronavirus "in the last week"[82].

Women's consumption of COVID-19 news is similar to their consumption of news overall. In 2019, TV was the most used platform for news consumption for women in the UK and in the US, followed by online (websites and apps) and social media (see Figure 9). In South Africa and India women consumed their news mostly on social media, followed by TV and online (see Figure 9).

[75] AKAS, 2020c
[76] Ipsos "What worries the world" survey, 2020 Q: Which three of the following topics do you find the most worrying in your country?
[77] Ipsos "What worries the world" survey, March 2020
[78] GeoPoll survey of Nigeria, Kenya and South Africa, March 2020
[79] Reuters Institute/YouGov survey, March-April 2020
[80] GeoPoll survey of Nigeria, Kenya and South Africa, March 2020
[81] Ofcom coronavirus survey, 07-10 May 2020
[82] Reuters Institute/YouGov survey, March-April 2020

Figure 9: News consumption by platform (2019)



Source: *Newman, N., Fletcher, R., Kalogeropoulos, A., & Nielsen, R. (2019). Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2019 (Vol. 2019). Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism. N=2,009 (South Africa) 2,023 (UK) and 2,012 (USA). Fieldwork carried out Jan-Feb 2019. Aneez, Z., Neyazi, T. A., Kalogeropoulos, A., & Nielsen, R. K. (2019). Reuters Institute India Digital News Report. Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism/India Digital News Report. N=1,013 (India)*

Question: *Which, if any, of the following have you used in the last week as a source of news? Please select all that apply.*

PART 2: THE UNHEARD AND UNDER-REPORTED VOICES OF WOMEN IN NEWS ABOUT COVID-19/CORONAVIRUS

Chapter 1

The missing women experts in COVID-19/coronavirus news

Part 2 of this report focuses on understanding women's representation and visibility in COVID-19/coronavirus newsgathering and news outputs in India, Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa, the UK and the US. This chapter examines newsgathering in particular, by exploring the use of women as experts and sources[83] in COVID-19/coronavirus news coverage.

A glance ahead to "The Missing Perspectives of Women in News"

The historical and current gender balance in news globally, as exemplified in India, Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa, the UK and the US, will be analyzed in detail in the forthcoming report[84] through the lens of the proportion of experts and sources in the news who are women vs. those who are men. The report will synthesize the available academic research into this gender equality indicator from the last few decades, as well as present women's share of voice (as experts, sources or protagonists) in online news in 2019.

Presenting a historical snapshot, the report will reveal that in the last two decades, women's expertise in the news has been considerably curtailed in comparison to men's which, by contrast, has been amplified. Between 2005 and 2015 fewer than one in five experts globally in the news were women. For instance, in the UK and US, half of those who had obtained master's degrees were women[85], but in 2015 women only made up 20% of the experts or commentators in the news in the UK and 36% in the US[86]. Similarly, in Nigeria a third of master's degrees' graduates were women[87] but only 17% of the experts or commentators in the news were women[88]. Research found that in terms of sources, men were associated more with knowledge and authority while women were associated more with personal testimony or interesting anecdotes[89]. Globally, in 2015 women accounted for as much as 38% of those providing personal experience and 30% of those giving testimony based on direct observation[90]. By contrast, only 19% of news experts or contributors were women. The report will compare the historical snapshot with the situation in 2019, drawing upon the findings from innovative content analysis conducted by Media Eco-Systems Analysis Group, as well as other sources.

[83] Women as experts: age was not factored in. When manually coded, Media Ecosystems Analysis Group marked as female any female pronoun and no distinction was made between girls and women.
[84] The Missing Perspectives of Women in News, AKAS, 2020
[85] World Bank Group Data Educational Attainment (2006 – 2018) UK: 2017, USA: 2018
[86] Macharia, 2015
[87] World Bank Group Data Educational Attainment (2006 – 2018), Nigeria: 2006,
[88] Macharia, 2015
[89] Ross & Carter, 2011
[90] Macharia, 2015

A note on the definitions used in this report

This report draws on many of the definitions first introduced by the Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP), which was established in 1995 to track progress on achieving gender equality in the news by collecting data from across the world on a variety of gender indicators on a five yearly basis. To date the GMMP remains the only global source providing historical data, albeit only every five years, and it has identified and tracked a number of indicators specifically designed to measure gender representation and balance in the news[91]. This report has encapsulated the GMMP's indicators in the following terms: *news experts* (which includes experts and commentators [92]), *story protagonists* (which includes subjects [93]) and *sources of news* (which includes spokespeople [94] , eyewitnesses [95] , people expressing popular opinion [96] and people with a personal experience of a story[97]). GMMP uses the term *people in the news* as a catch-all term capturing all these groups of indicators added together as a proportion for women vs. men.

In this report we shall refer to the aggregated proportion of news experts and commentators, story protagonists and sources of news who are women as 'women's share of quoted voice in the news'. This term is similar to the term 'people in the news' described above.

Measuring women's representation in COVID-19/coronavirus news stories

In order to build a picture of the gender balance in COVID-19/coronavirus news reporting in relation to expertise, this report has focused on two dimensions. The first is quantitative and looks at *women's share* of quoted voices in the news compared to men's. The second is more qualitative and assesses *how* women are portrayed. The portrayal analysis of women in the news has provided insights into whether women are used more as news experts (a role that relies more on authoritative knowledge) or as news sources (a role that relies more on personal views).

Media Ecosystems Analysis Group[98] have been able to calculate ***the share of quoted voice*** which women experts/commentators, sources and protagonists generated out of all the quoted voices in COVID-19/coronavirus-related online news coverage (vs. non-COVID coverage) for the period between 01 March 2020 and 15 April 2020 [99] . (For further details on methodology, please see Appendix 1).

AKAS also conducted a ***portrayal analysis*** of the 175 most highly ranked COVID-19 and coronavirus stories from the five most-consumed online news providers in each of the six analyzed countries, identified using Google's news search engine. The period of analysis was 01 March 2020 to 15 April 2020[100].

[91] Macharia, 2015

[92] These provide additional angles on the news story based on their specialist expertise

[93] A subject is typically the person who is the protagonist in the story

[94] A spokesperson is someone who speaks on behalf of another person or group of people on a particular issue

[95] An eyewitness is someone who can provide a first-person account of the story

[96] A person expressing popular opinion is someone who is chosen as representative of the opinion of a specific group of people (e.g. in a street interview or vox pop)

[97] A person with a personal experience is someone who expresses their own view of a story, but is not necessarily representative of a larger group of people

[98] Note: the analysis commissioned by AKAS covered 80 key publications across the six countries. These were selected on the basis of the volume of web traffic to their publication homepage as identified through SimilarWeb data and on the number of stories in the Media Cloud system. One key limitation of the computational content analysis methodology is that it does not provide qualitative assessment. It would therefore be unclear whether a female source it captured portrayed an empowered woman, a victim of crime, or a survivor.

[99] Media Ecosystems Analysis Group did this by evaluating the percentage of times that quoted speech in news articles was attributed to a woman vs. to a man

[100] See Appendix 1 on Methodology for more details.

Women's expert voices in COVID-19/coronavirus stories are worryingly marginalized

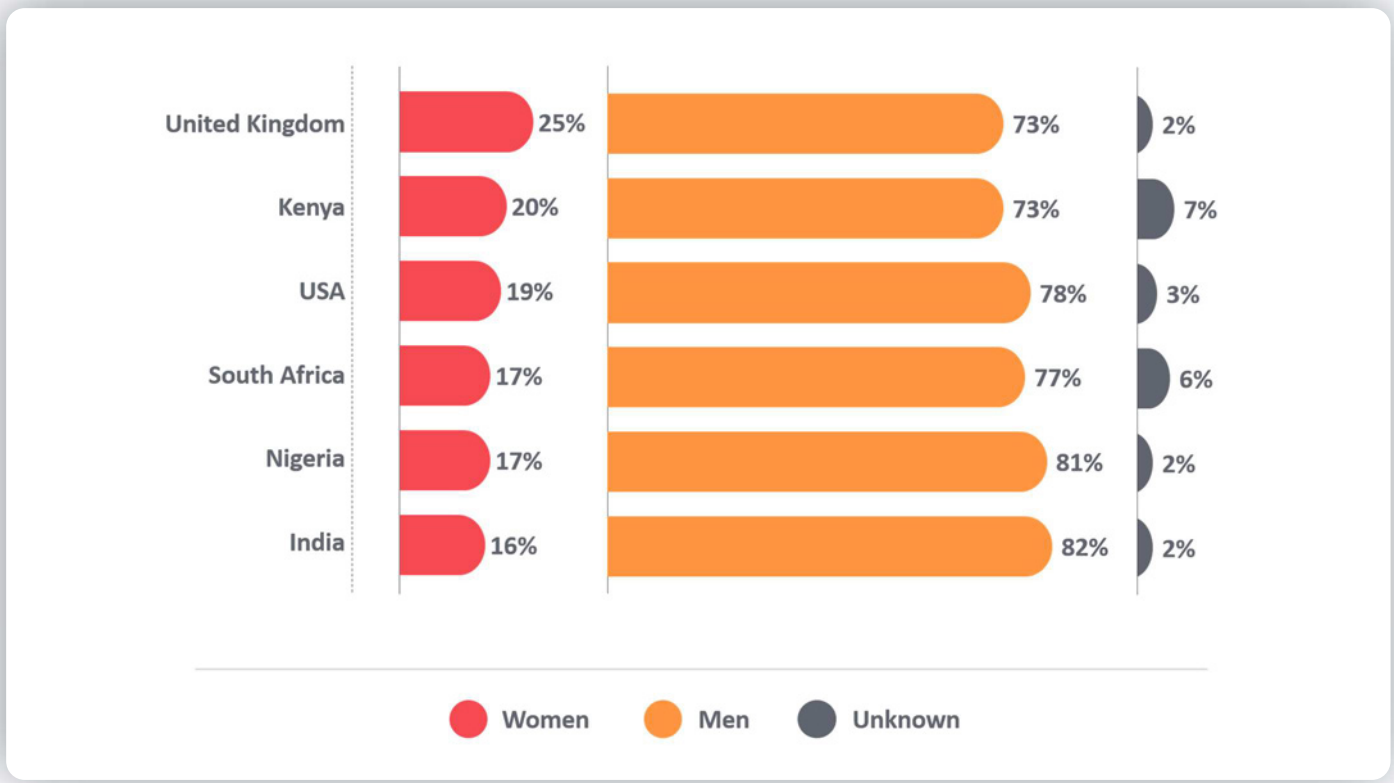
Women's share of quoted voice in COVID-19/ coronavirus news stories was greater in the UK than in any of the other countries examined (See Figure 10). Nevertheless, men were still quoted nearly three times as frequently as women[101]. Women's share of quoted voice in COVID (and non-COVID) news stories was significantly smaller than that of men in all six countries examined.

In the UK, 25% of people quoted in COVID-19/ coronavirus articles were women. This was followed by Kenya and the US, where women were quoted a fifth of the time (20% and 19% respectively), then by South Africa, Nigeria and India where women's share of voice in COVID-19/coronavirus stories was 17%, 17% and 16% respectively.

In summary, men were quoted between 2.9 (UK) and 5.1 (India) times more frequently than women in COVID-19/coronavirus stories in the six analyzed countries.

US and European women scientists have recently voiced their desperation about battling the patriarchy in science as well as their marginalization in the COVID-19 story: *"As women who are deeply involved in COVID-19 science, it has become clear to us that our expertise means little when it comes to real decision-making in this public health emergency. We are frustrated that our work is being overlooked and misrepresented in the media. We're exhausted knowing that after this is all over, we will have a powerful fight on our hands to reclaim the professional ground that is slipping away from us during this emergency."*[102]

Figure 10: Overall gender breakdown of quoted individuals in COVID-19 news stories as experts, sources or protagonists (% of all quoted individuals, 2020)



Source: *Media Ecosystems Analysis Group (2020); N (Publications) = 80; N (Total Quotes Coded) = 2,100; Period = 01 March 2020 to 15 April 2020*

[101] Media Ecosystems Analysis Group, 2020

[102] https://www.timeshighereducation.com/blog/women-science-are-battling-both-covid-19-and-patriarchy

Women's share of quoted voice in online news (both in COVID-19/ coronavirus news and other news stories) in the period between 1st March and 15th April 2020 has been most marginalized in India, Nigeria and South Africa

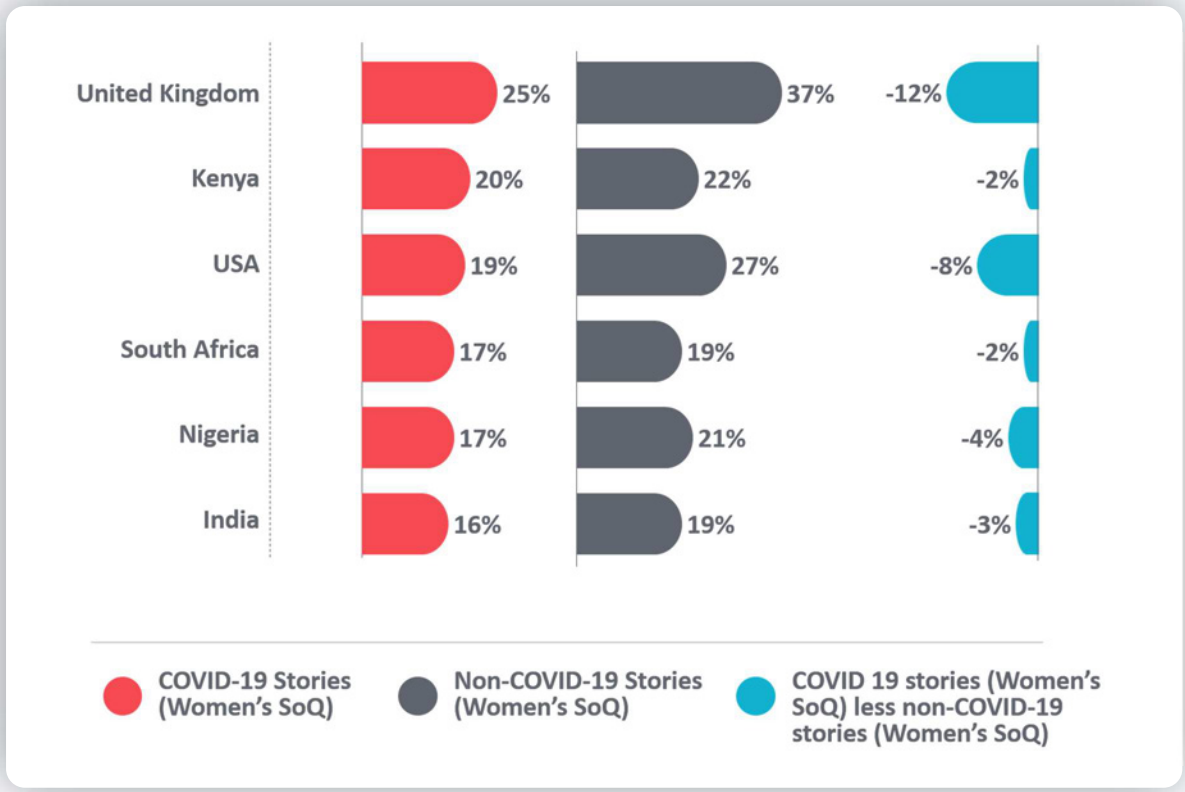
With 17%, Indian online news performed worst in terms of women's share of quoted voice in all stories, followed very closely by Nigeria and South Africa where women's share of quoted voice in that period remained under a fifth (18%)[103]. The situation was found to be marginally better in Kenya, where 21% of quoted voices belonged to women.

Women's share of quoted voice was found to be highest in the UK during the period under examination, reaching 31%, followed by the US (22%)[104].

In all countries, women's visibility in non-coronavirus news stories is greater than in coronavirus news stories, particularly in the UK and the US

Although still far off parity, women's share of voices was higher for non-COVID stories than it was for COVID stories across all analyzed countries (see Figure 11). In the UK, COVID stories were 12 percentage points (pts) less likely to contain quotes from women than non-COVID stories. The equivalent figure for the US was 8 percentage points. The difference was less pronounced for countries in the global south. In Nigeria COVID stories were 4 pts less likely to contain quotes from women, in India 3 pts less likely, and in South Africa and Kenya 2 pts less likely.

Figure 11: Women's share of quoted voice (SoQ) out of all voices in COVID and non-COVID stories



Source: *Media Ecosystems Analysis Group, 2020; N (Publications) = 80; N (Quotes coded for stories with coronavirus) = 1,292; N (Quotes coded for stories without coronavirus) = 808; N (Stories with coronavirus) = 22,384; N (Stories without coronavirus) = 21,780; Period = 01 March 2020 to 15 April 2020*

[103] Media Ecosystems Analysis Group, 2020

[104] Media Ecosystems Analysis Group, 2020

Media Ecosystems Analysis Group hypothesize that women's increased share of quotes for non-COVID stories is partly linked to the nature of the stories which do not reference coronavirus in any way. These stories are more likely to cluster around entertainment, crime and other lower profile genres, where women tend to have a greater presence in terms of share of quoted voice[105].

A likely reason behind the marginalization of women's share of voice in COVID-related news stories may lie in the story sourcing choices that journalists make. **Typically, in times of crisis, "status quo bias" tends to cause journalists to revert back to "established sources" who are significantly more likely to be men[106].**

The portrayal of women's voices in the news is skewed towards men's perspectives

AKAS' portrayal analysis of the 175 most highly ranked[107] COVID-19 and coronavirus stories across the six countries, identified via Google news search, also uncovered a significant bias towards experts being men - **men were four times more likely to feature as experts and commentators** in these news stories than women (77% men vs. 19% women – see Figure 12)[108]. Women made up 22% of people quoted in the news in the six countries (vs. 61% of men). Hence women were quoted 2.8 times less frequently than men in the top ranked articles across the six countries.

As an illustration, one of the five most highly ranked articles from a top news provider in the UK during the research period was an extensive update on COVID-19 quoting a number of sources. However, of the 13 sources quoted, only one was a woman. The article briefly mentioned the death of two NHS (the UK's health service) nurses, both women, and gave their names and ages. Another example, this time from the global south, was an article from one of the most popular news providers in South Africa which focused on life assurers and their ability to offer cover to businesspeople impacted by COVID-19, with a particular emphasis on small businesses. While it quoted experts in the field, all were men. This represented a missed opportunity, given that the South African minister for small business development is a woman, and women constitute an important cohort among small business owners in South Africa.

COVID-19/coronavirus news stories overwhelmingly amplify men's expertise and dial down women's

Women were much less likely to be used as sources of authoritative objective expertise than men but were more likely to be used as sources of subjective personal views. These, however, carry less weight in terms of volume of coverage but also in terms of the strength of the discourse. According to AKAS' portrayal analysis, half of the people quoted in the news were experts and commentators while only 6% were sources (see Figure 12). Women constituted only 19% of all experts but 53% of sources (vs. 35% men).

Politicians are the most frequently appearing group in news stories about COVID-19/coronavirus. Unfortunately, only a small minority of these are women

AKAS' portrayal analysis revealed that there were eight key occupations which appeared in the 175 news stories analyzed (see Figure 13). These were: politicians (23% of all people quoted in the news), academic experts (14%), government employees (13%), businesspeople (7%), medical doctors (6%), journalists/media professionals (2%), police/military (2%), nurses (1%) and science/technical professions (1%). Women who were quoted in the news formed a minority in all these groups except nurses, where they constituted 64%. Only 13% of the politicians who were quoted in COVID-19/coronavirus news were women; a similarly unbalanced portrayal was found among government employees and businesspeople, where 18% were women, doctors (21% women) and academic experts (22% women).

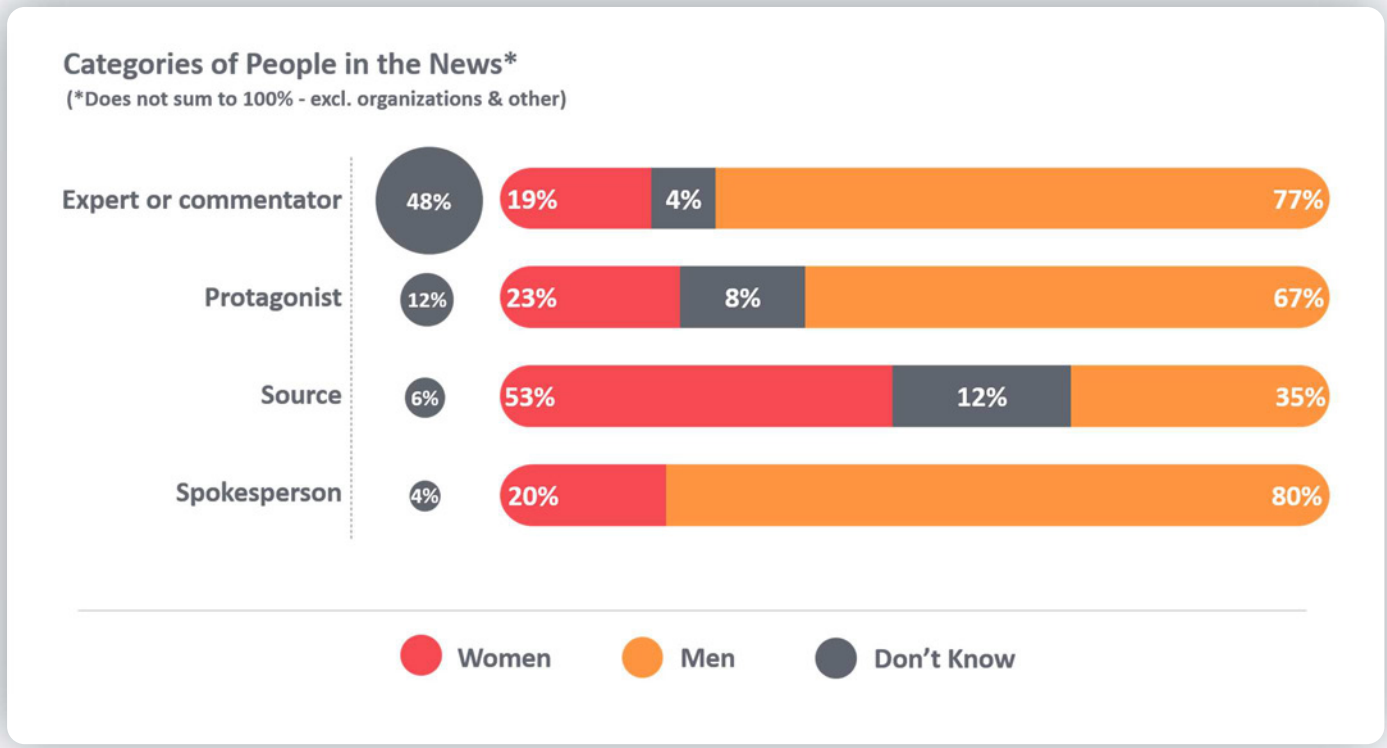
[105] The AKAS report "The Missing Perspectives of Women in News" will reveal more detail on this topic

[106] Goncalves, 2017

[107] 175 stories with coronavirus/COVID-19 in the title, that were ranked in the top three Google news search engine returns for the 30 most viewed online news providers across the six countries

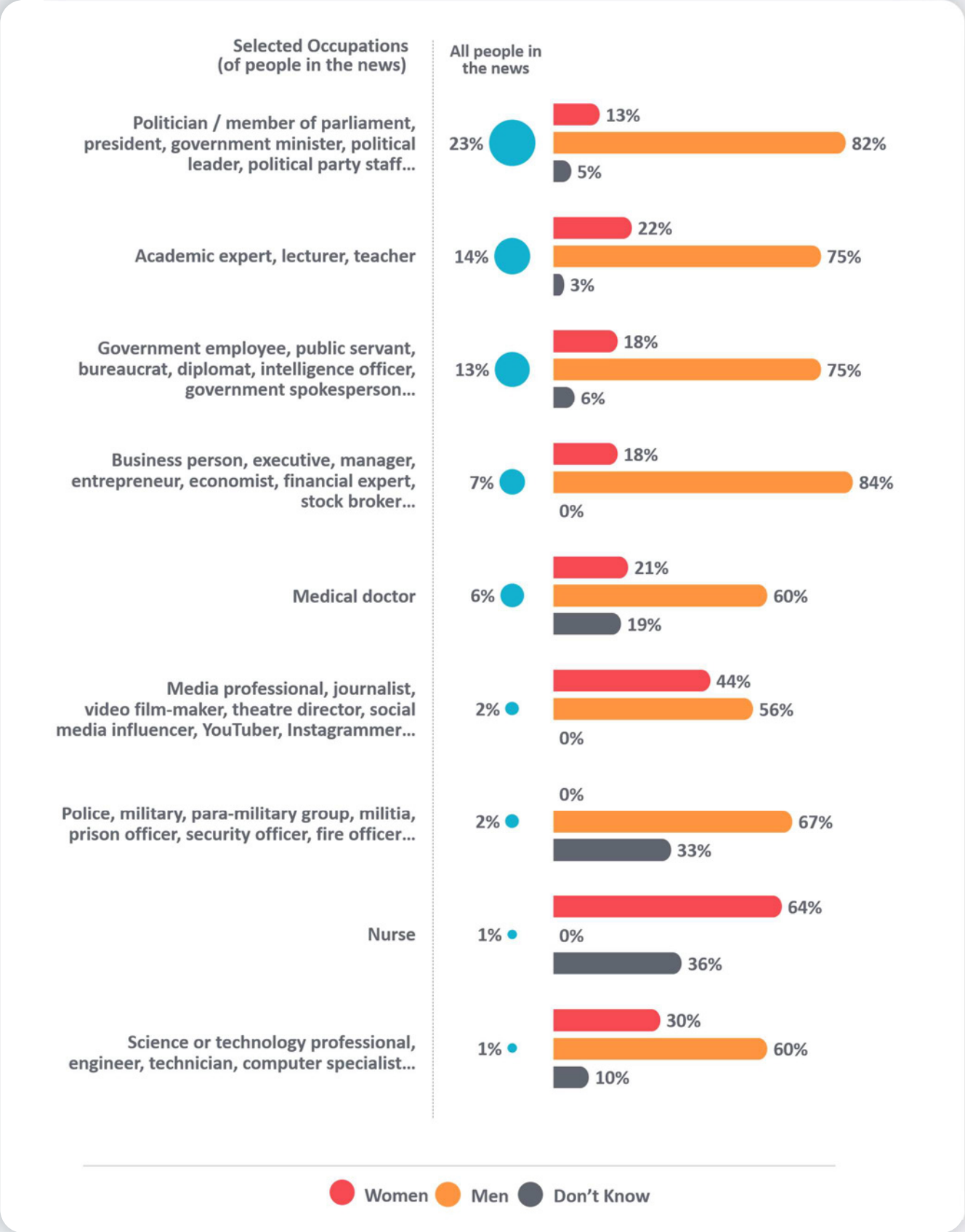
[108] AKAS, 2020a

Figure 12: The function and gender of people in the news



Source: *AKAS, 2020a; N (People in news) = 739; N (Stories) = 175 top 3 ranked coronavirus stories and top 3 ranked COVID stories using Google's news search engine; N (Publications) = 30 - top 5 most viewed online news providers in each of the 6 countries ; N (Countries) = 6 - Nigeria, South Africa, Kenya, India, USA, UK; Period: 01 March 2020 to 15 April 2020*

Figure 13: Selected occupations of people in the news



Source: *AKAS, 2020a; N (People in news) = 739; N (Stories) = 175 three highest ranked coronavirus stories and three highest ranked COVID stories using Google's news search engine; N (Publications) = 30 - five most viewed online news providers in each of the six countries; N (Countries) = 6 - Nigeria, South Africa, Kenya, India, USA, UK; Period - 01 March 2020 to 15 April 2020*

In summary, the results from the content and portrayal analyses of news coverage in March and April 2020 exposed a substantial bias towards men in the newsgathering of the COVID-19/coronavirus story across both the global north (the UK and US) and the global south (India, Kenya, Nigeria and South Africa). This means that women are failing to shape the health-related, political, economic or social news frames used in developing the COVID-19/coronavirus story and are therefore likely to have little influence over crafting the social policies put forward by governments in response to it.

PART 2: THE UNHEARD AND UNDER-REPORTED VOICES OF WOMEN IN NEWS ABOUT COVID-19/CORONAVIRUS

Chapter 2

The invisible women protagonists in the COVID-19/coronavirus news coverage

A glance ahead to "The Missing Perspectives of Women in News"

The historical and current gender balance in news globally, as exemplified in India, Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa, the UK and the US, has been analyzed in some detail for the forthcoming report "The Missing Perspectives of Women in News", through the lens of the proportion of protagonists in the news who are women vs. those who are men. The report will synthesize the available academic research into this gender equality indicator from the last few decades and examine women's share of voice (as experts, sources or protagonists) in online news in 2019.

Given that women constitute slightly more than half of the world's population (51%), a fair representation would be for women to constitute 51% of the protagonists in news stories. However, in reality this is far from the case. Analysis into protagonists in the news from the last few decades has uncovered that globally women stand on the periphery as story protagonists compared to men. In 2015, women were five times less likely than men to appear as protagonists in the news (at 19%)[109]. Another study examined the ratio of men's to women's names across approximately 2,000 English-language newspapers and online news websites over a five-year period and also found that it stood at nearly 5:1. The study described women's visibility in news media as 'a stalled revolution'[110]. This under-representation of women as protagonists suggests that men's voices, experiences and expertise are regarded by news media, whether consciously or unconsciously, as more important than those of women[111]. Where women protagonists did play a more central role (although far from achieving gender parity) was in lower profile news genres such as arts and crime but not in higher profile, agenda-setting ones.

Definitions used to measure women protagonists in this report

This report uses a combination of definitions, the first being new and the other two having been carried over from the Global Media Monitoring Project.

Media Ecosystems Analysis Group, in their computational analysis of 44,164 online stories from 80 carefully selected publications across six countries [113], defined *a story protagonist* as the *individual(s) whose name appeared in the story headline*. If no name appeared in the headline, then the story was not analyzed on the protagonist dimension.

The GMMP uses the following two definitions for measuring protagonists[114], both of which have been used in AKAS' portrayal analysis[115]. The first is based on how central a character is to a news story. It measures *women's centrality in the news* by applying a qualitative assessment of whether the story has been constructed around a woman or groups of women. This type of assessment was not completed for stories which had men as central characters by the GMMP, but has been by AKAS in the portrayal analysis presented in this report. The second definition used in the GMMP report is that of a *subject*[116]. A subject is the protagonist of a story – someone, whether a woman or group of women or a man or group of men – who has said or done something that the story focuses on.

This chapter focuses on understanding women's representation and visibility in COVID-19/coronavirus news outputs in India, Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa, the UK and the US by exploring the proportion and portrayal of women as protagonists [112] in COVID-19/coronavirus news coverage.

Women journalists have proved marginally more likely to select women as protagonists than men. According to the Global Media Monitoring Project in 2015, 29% of the news subjects in stories reported by women journalists were women, compared to 26% in stories reported by men[117].

[109] Macharia, 2015
[110] Shor et al., 2015
[111] Ross & Carter, 2011
[112] Women as protagonists: age was not factored in during analysis and no distinction was made between girls and women.
[113] For a full description of methodology, see Appendix 1
[114] Macharia, 2015
[115] AKAS, 2020a
[116] Macharia, 2015
[117] Macharia, 2015

The crowding out of women protagonists in COVID-19/ coronavirus news coverage

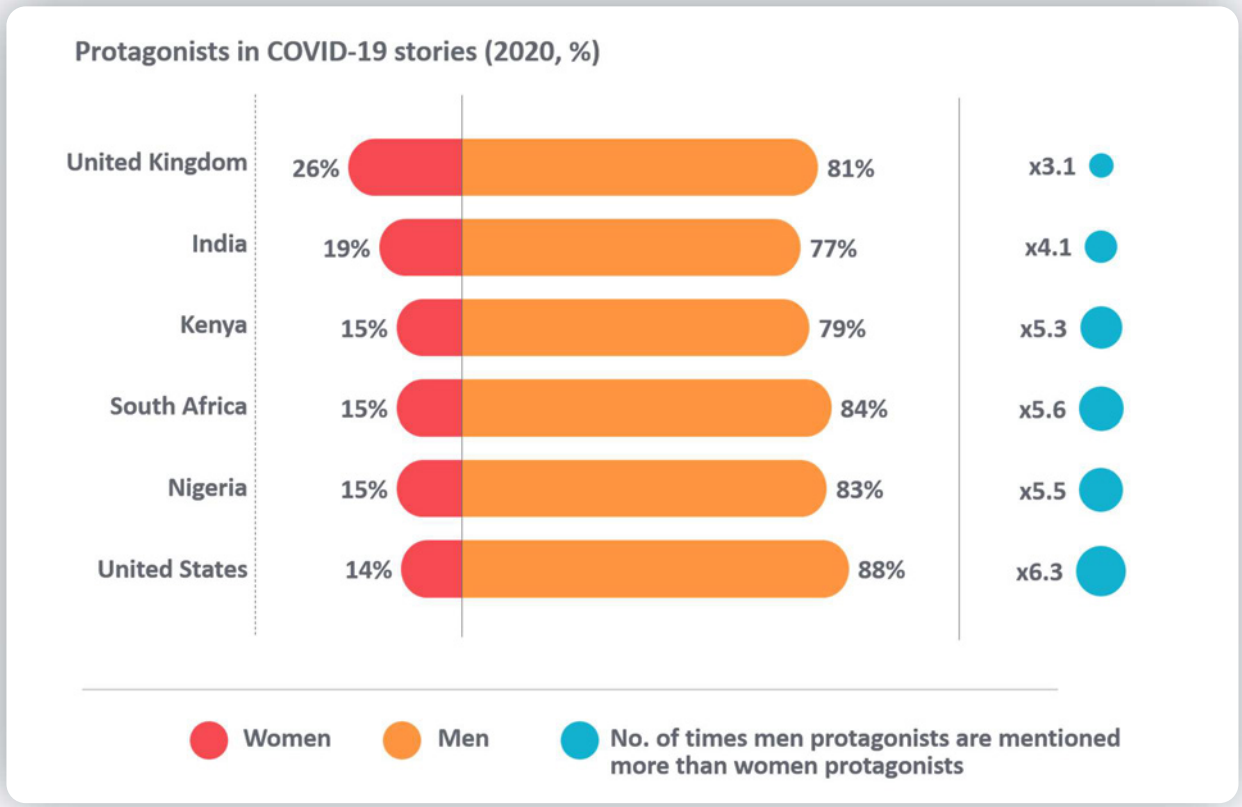
All the analyses commissioned or completed for this report, including Media Ecosystems Analysis Group's content analysis[118], and AKAS's portrayal analysis[119] and pronoun headline analysis[120] have converged on the same conclusion – that women are substantially crowded out by men in their visibility as story protagonists in COVID-19/coronavirus news coverage in all the analyzed countries.

According to Media Ecosystems Analysis Group's digital content analysis of stories between 1st March 2020 and 15th April 2020, women featured as protagonists in 30% of the news stories in the UK, in 22% of stories in India and Nigeria, in 21% of stories in Kenya, in 20% of stories in South Africa and in 18% of stories in the US. To put this in relative terms, during that period, **women were 4.7 times less likely to feature as protagonists in news coverage headlines than men in the US, 3.9 times less likely to do so in South Africa, 3.5 times less likely in Nigeria, 3.4 times less likely in Kenya, 3.3 times less likely in India and 2.6 times less likely in the UK**[121].

Worryingly, men are even more likely to crowd out women as protagonists in COVID-19 stories compared to non-COVID-19 stories

The gap between the proportion of men and women protagonists was even wider in stories that focused solely on COVID-19/coronavirus. As much as 88% of protagonists in these stories in the US were men vs. 14% women, 84% vs. 15% in South Africa, 83% vs. 15% in Nigeria, 79% vs. 15% in Kenya, 77% vs. 19% in India and 81% vs. 26% in the UK (see Figure 14 below).

Figure 14: % of women vs. men in news headlines as protagonists in COVID-19/coronavirus stories. Gap between men and women (x times men more than women)



Source: *Media Ecosystems Analysis Group, 2020; N (Publications) = 80; N (Stories with coronavirus) = 22,384; Period = 01 March 2020 to 15 April 2020*

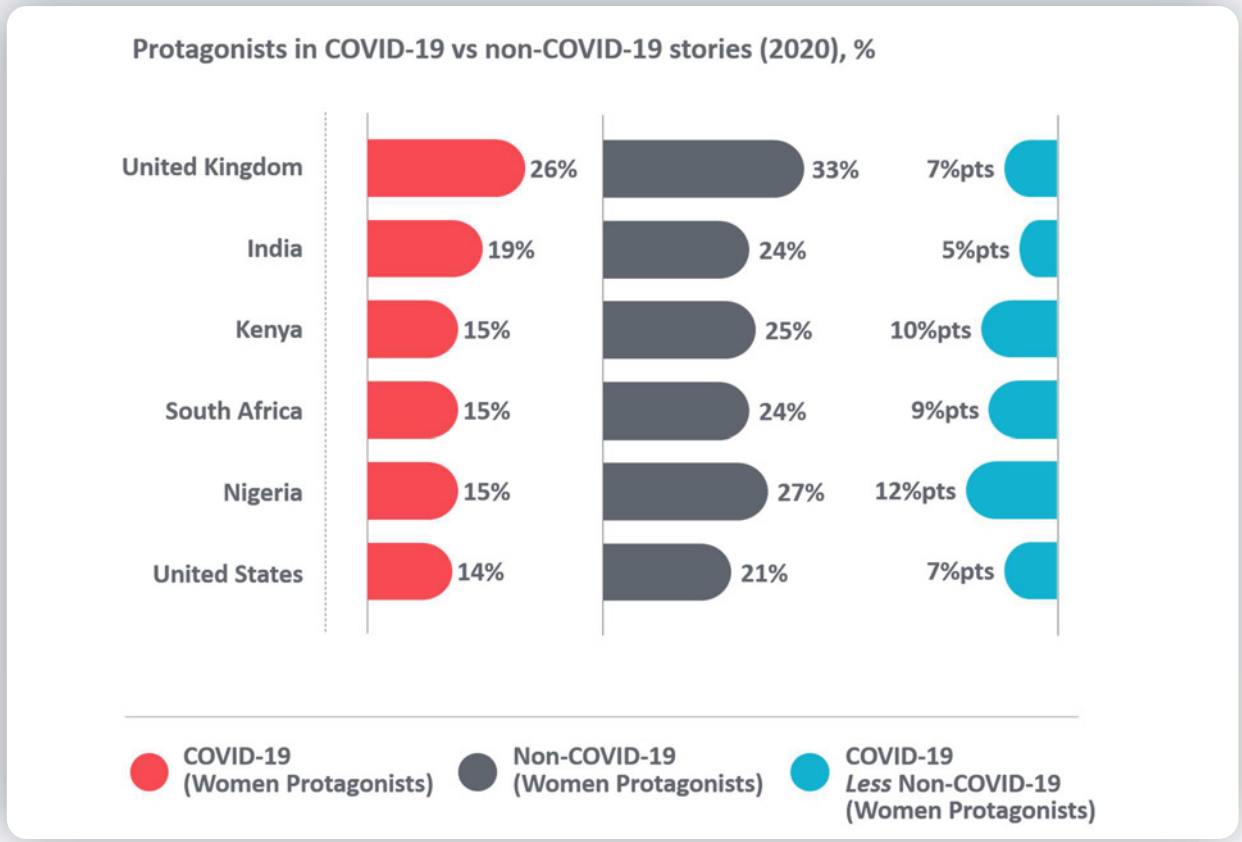
[118] Media Ecosystems Analysis Group, 2020
[119] AKAS, 2020a
[120] AKAS, 2020b
[121] Media Ecosystems Analysis Group, 2020

Women's visibility as protagonists was marginalized even further if we compare COVID-19/coronavirus stories to non-COVID stories. 26% of protagonists featured in COVID-19 stories in the UK were women, 19% in India, 15% in Kenya, South Africa and Nigeria and as low as 14% in the US (see Figure 15). **Women were 12 percentage points less likely to feature in COVID-19 news stories than in non-COVID stories in Nigeria, 10 pts less likely in Kenya, 9 pts less likely in South Africa, 7 pts less likely in the US and the UK and 5 pts less likely in India** (see Figure 15).

The ten most mentioned protagonists in COVID-19/ coronavirus news coverage are between four (in the UK) and 11 (in the US) times more likely to be men

In their content analysis of COVID-19/coronavirus stories, Media Ecosystems Analysis Group found that the ten most mentioned men were mentioned significantly more frequently than the ten most mentioned women (see Figure 16) [122]. This was particularly pronounced in the US where every women's voice was drowned out by 11 men's voices and the most mentioned man, President Trump, alone accounted for 37% of all mentioned protagonists. **This heavy featuring of President Trump as a story protagonist in the US partly explains why women protagonists in US news coverage of COVID-19/ coronavirus fared worse in percentage terms compared to other countries.**

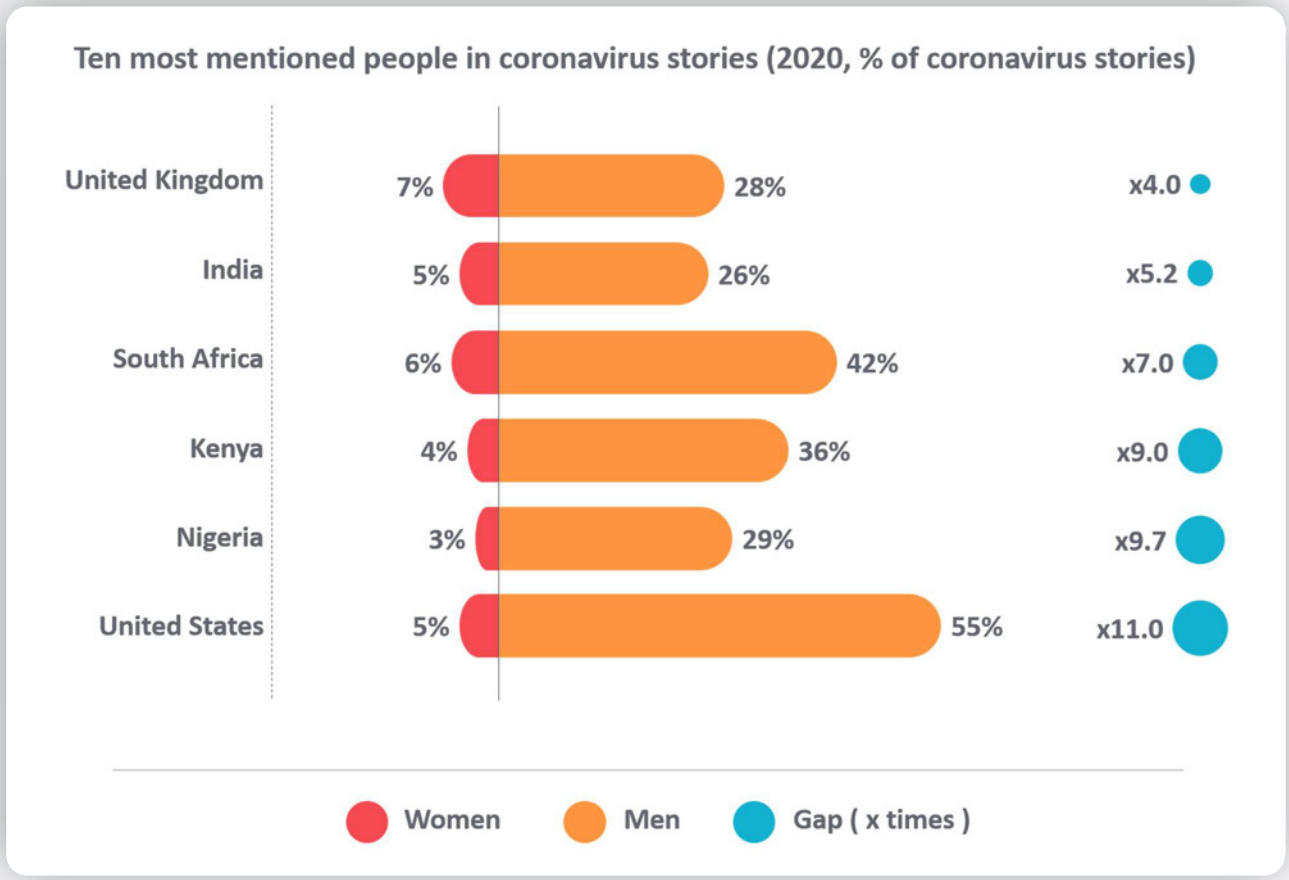
Figure 15: % women in headlines (protagonists) in COVID-19 vs. non-COVID-19 stories.



Source: *Media Ecosystems Analysis Group, 2020; N (Publications) = 80; N (Stories with coronavirus) = 22,384; N (Stories without coronavirus) = 21,780; Period = 01 March 2020 to 15 April 2020*

[122] Media Ecosystems Analysis Group, 2020

Figure 16: Ten most mentioned women and ten most mentioned men in coronavirus stories



Source: *Media Ecosystems Analysis Group, 2020; N (Publications) = 80; N (Stories with coronavirus) = 22,384; Period = 01 March 2020 to 15 April 2020*

However, while President Trump's high profile in the news may be a contributing factor, another factor is also in play. AKAS' portrayal analysis of the highest ranked articles on COVID-19 revealed examples of striking gender imbalance in the chosen protagonists in articles from top publications in the US. For example, analysis of one such article, which was dedicated to the impact of COVID-19 on a rural tourist area, revealed that all seven people quoted in it, providing a mixture of personal experience and expert opinion, were men. Given that the focus of the article was on highlighting the impact of COVID-19 on the local community, it is striking that no woman's voice was reflected in it. Similarly, in another article from a different top-rated US publication, which focused on the stories of six patients suffering from COVID-19, five of the six protagonists were men, with the woman protagonist's story featuring last in order. This low gender ratio does not reflect either the relative incidence or death rate of men vs. women from the disease. Although the death rate is higher among men, the disparity is not to this degree.

A further example of male bias was found in a highly rated article in a top Nigerian publication. This article was about extremely wealthy philanthropists who had pledged donations to help combat COVID-19. Of the 11 wealthy Nigerian donors listed, there was one businesswoman. However, the title of the article led readers to believe that the list was exclusively male.

Politicians in all analyzed countries are leading the coverage of COVID-19. They are significantly more likely to be men, which results in the coverage of women protagonists in COVID-19/coronavirus stories being squeezed out

Analysis of the ten most frequently mentioned men protagonists across the six analyzed countries [123] revealed that eight were politicians in Kenya and South Africa, seven were politicians in India, Nigeria and the US, while five were politicians in the UK. By contrast, out of the ten most frequently mentioned women protagonists in COVID-19 stories, one was a politician in Kenya, two were politicians in Nigeria and in the UK, three were politicians in South Africa and India, and six were politicians in the US. This provides further evidence that women politicians are marginalized from the debate in news about gender equality during the COVID-19 pandemic.

However, even when women politicians were the focus of an article, there was no guarantee that their portrayal was fair or advanced the gender equality agenda. For example, one of the highest rated articles in Nigeria[124] was dedicated to spreading gossip about four politicians/government officials - one man, two women MPs and one person of unspecified gender. What was striking was the derogatory nature of the gossip in relation to the two women, referencing their body odor and sexual behavior. By contrast, the language used towards the man, although unkind, was not derogatory to the same degree. More generally, the phenomenon of more attention being given to the appearance of leaders who are women compared to men, has been highlighted by news providers[125].

The COVID-19 news coverage of the five most consumed news providers in each of the analyzed countries is also skewed towards men, although less severely than that of less consumed news providers

AKAS completed content analysis of the use of "he" and "she" pronouns in the COVID-related news headlines among the five most consumed news providers in each analyzed country (for more details on methodology, please see Appendix 1). The findings revealed the UK to have better representation of women protagonists, with 42% of headlines containing a feminine pronoun and 58% containing a masculine pronoun. It was followed by the US with 38% feminine pronouns in the headlines, and South Africa and Kenya with 35% and 30%, respectively. India and Nigeria fared worst with 28% and 23% of all pronouns featuring in COVID-related news headlines being feminine [126]. Nevertheless, these proportions of women protagonists compared favorably to those reported globally for all news outlets analyzed by Media Ecosystems Analysis Group in the same period. This suggests that the top five publications in each analyzed country are likely to have a better gender balance in their representation of protagonists than other news publications.

Portrayal: The coverage of people is much more sporadic than the coverage of facts in COVID-19/ coronavirus news.

Only a tenth of COVID-19/ coronavirus top-ranked stories in the news center around women as protagonists

AKAS's portrayal analysis analyzed 175 stories quantitatively and qualitatively in order to gauge the portrayal of the people reported in them[127]. Firstly, the analysis found that **only 25% of all stories centered around people. Moreover, 10% of all stories centered around women while 21% centered around men across the six countries**[128].

[123] Media Ecosystems Analysis Group, 2020. This figure may include a minimal amount of duplicative counts where more than one individual was named in the headline; however, this was found to affect overall less than 1% of stories.

[124] AKAS, 2020a

[125] "Gender Bias: why appearance focus fuels sexism in media" https://theconversation.com/amp/gender-bias-why-appearance-focus-fuels-sexism-in-media-13325; "Style or Sexism? Female leaders face focus on appearance" https://www.voanews.com/europe/style-or-sexism-female-leaders-face-focus-appearance?amp; "Media's obsession with appearance putting young women off going into politics, study finds" https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/the-medias-obsession-with-appearance-is-putting-women-off-politics-a7717141.html?amp; "America's sexist obsession with what women politicians wear, explained" https://www.vox.com/platform/amp/identities/2018/12/3/18107151/alexandria-ocasio-cortez-eddie-scarry-women-politics; "We still have a problem with female authority: how politics sets a trap for American women" https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/mar/05/elizabeth-warren-drops-out-women-politics-sexism-analysis

[126] AKAS, 2020b

[127] AKAS, 2020a

[128] With a crossover of 6% which were stories that centered on both men and women

According to the GMMP's 2015 report, globally women occupied a position of centrality in traditional media in 10% of news stories (static since 2010) and in 19% of stories in digital media[129]. While it is methodologically inaccurate to compare directly two analyses relying on different sampling methodologies, the reported levels of the centrality of women suggest that not much progress has been made in the representation of women in the last five years. Indeed there is tentative evidence that points toward women's declining representation as the GMMP 2015 report showed that in the 525 stories covering medicine, health, hygiene, safety, Ebola treatment and response, HIV/AIDS policy and treatment, other epidemics, viruses, contagions, influenza, BSE, and SARS, women were central in 18% of the stories.

Under one in four protagonists (23%) in the top-ranked COVID-19/ coronavirus news stories across the top news providers in the six analyzed countries were women. A small minority were depicted as empowered individuals or survivors

AKAS' portrayal analysis of COVID-19 stories came to similar conclusions to the content analysis produced by Media Ecosystems Group Analysis. 23% of protagonists across the 175 most highly ranked[130] COVID-19 and coronavirus stories which AKAS analyzed were women. This proportion was comparable to the proportion reported by Media Ecosystems Analysis Group in the six countries (see Figure 15). In terms of historical parallel, according to the GMMP, 26% of all protagonists[131] in the news globally were women in 2015 (vs. 74% men).

When analyzing the portrayal of protagonists, the AKAS analysis[132] uncovered that 41% of all protagonists were portrayed as empowered and 26% were portrayed as survivors. The individuals portrayed as empowered in COVID-19/coronavirus news coverage were significantly more likely to be men than women (83% vs. 17%). The individuals portrayed as survivors were also more likely to be men than women (73% vs. 27% women).

COVID-19/coronavirus news coverage across the six analyzed countries reflects more masculine news production styles and is less likely to engage women

Masculine vs. feminine journalistic approaches to storytelling

Some academic research into gender differences among journalists has found that there tends to be some differences in the way in which women and men journalists write, which is detectable through content analysis more than through surveys of journalists[133]. This suggests that these differences are often nuanced and unconscious, rather than explicit and conscious.

Journalistic approaches categorized as more feminine have been found to place greater emphasis on personalization and foregrounding of personal standpoints while those deemed more masculine have been observed to focus more on foregrounding professional standpoints and less on personalization[134]. Feminine storytelling approaches are characterized by more story background and consequences, and by a greater focus on humanity/emotions while masculine approaches feature a greater focus on hard facts[135] and on detached objectivity[136]. Finally, research has found that more feminine journalistic approaches typically feature a greater tendency to focus on positive angles[137] while masculine approaches are more likely to focus on negative story angles[138].

From a newsroom management perspective, research has found that women newsroom managers place higher value on teamwork, collaboration and work-life

[129] Macharia, 2015
[130] See Appendix 1 on Methodology for more details
[131] Subjects; GMMP, 2015
[132] AKAS, 2020a
[133] Hanitzsch & Hanusch, 2012
[134] Chambers et al., 2004
[135] Steiner, 2012, Van Zoonen, 1998
[136] Van Zoonen, 1998
[137] Story angles refer to the perspective taken by the journalist when framing a story. Positive story angles emphasize the positives of a story whilst negative story angles do the opposite. At the extremes, a purely positive story will exclude any negative references. Positive story angles can also include solutions to the problem in focus in the report, while negative story angles include emphasis of the scope of the problem.
[138] Craft & Wanta, 2004

balance[139] while men newsroom managers encourage assertiveness and toughness[140]. Since newsrooms have historically been dominated by journalists who are men, they have traditionally had a more masculine culture which favors a more masculine journalistic approach.

AKAS' portrayal analysis provided a strong indication that the news coverage of the COVID-19/coronavirus stories is heavily masculine in nature. 74% of stories were centered around facts and only 9% contained an element of a human story within them. In addition, 19% of the stories had an overtly negative angle and only 11% a positive angle.

The portrayal analysis which AKAS completed did uncover rare exemplars of gender balance and masterful focus on human stories in articles from the analyzed countries. For example, one of the most highly ranked[141] articles in South Africa gave a human perspective on lockdowns in China. There was a gender-balance in the people quoted: two out of four directly quoted protagonists, including an immigrant, were women. In another example from the UK, one of the top ranked articles was dedicated to how to protect one's mental health during COVID-19. A variety of sources and protagonists had been used including those with personal experience, mental health charities, the author of a book on mental health and sources of expertise (WHO). The style combined more negative and positive angles, blending facts with a human interest element. Unusually, of the five individuals quoted in the article, four were women.

Another article, this time from Kenya, focused on the importance of behaving in a socially responsible way, including the need to wear a mask where advised. The main protagonist was a woman from a poor background who had fashioned her own protective masks, one for herself and one for her young daughter, from a plastic bottle. She had been praised and rewarded for her efforts. She had also been held up as a role model.

Finally, another excellent example of gender-balanced journalism came from a highly ranked article in a popular Indian online publication. It focused on the impact that COVID-19 has had on people's lifestyles, both professional and personal. It stood out for the number and variety of people it had consulted, and the very unusual weighting towards women: of the 18 people referred to in the article, 11 were women and six were men. The quoted women had diverse professional backgrounds: a Chief Marketing Officer of a travel company, a media consultant, a Google employee, a travel writer, a director of an interior design company, a psychiatrist, an actor and an entrepreneur.

Nevertheless, in summary, women's voices as news protagonists were considerably muted and under-reported in the news about COVID-19/coronavirus compared to men's. This was found to be the case across all analyzed countries, both in the global north and the global south. The US lagged behind other countries in terms of its coverage of women protagonists in the COVID-19 story. A potential reason for this was the powerful voice of President Trump who was the most mentioned protagonist in COVID-19-related news. His extremely high profile in the news domestically may have crowded out women protagonists disproportionately in the US. Men protagonists across the six countries were more likely than women to be portrayed as empowered individuals in the news about COVID-19, reinforcing existing patriarchal stereotypes about men being more powerful than women. Lastly, the coverage of news about COVID-19 was skewed towards a masculine reporting style and was therefore less likely to appeal to women or to meet women's news needs.

[139] Everbach, 2006
[140] Elmore, 2007

[141] 175 top three ranked stories in Google's news engine with coronavirus and COVID-19 in the title, for the 30 most viewed online news providers across the six countries

PART 2: THE UNHEARD AND UNDER-REPORTED VOICES OF WOMEN IN NEWS ABOUT COVID-19/CORONAVIRUS

Chapter 3

The absent gender equality coverage in the COVID-19 story

This chapter focuses on an important output-facing indicator: the proportion of and priority given to gender equality[142] issues in news coverage in India, Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa, the UK and the US during the COVID-19/coronavirus pandemic. It will help news providers understand to what extent gender inequality concerns are considered in the context of the pandemic in the news coverage of the six analyzed countries and how the existing gender equality coverage proportions compare to those from the same period in 2019.

A glance ahead to "The Missing Perspectives of Women in News"

This detailed forthcoming report on women's position in news media will synthesize the scarce amount of academic literature that has focused on the issue of gender equality in news in the last few decades. It will expose the low salience of this issue in the minds of different target groups, namely opinion formers (including journalists), decision makers and the public in the analyzed countries. It will reveal how journalists report on gender inequality issues and will offer benchmarks for the proportion of gender equality coverage within the total news coverage in 2019.

The report will uncover that journalists do not understand well the gender equality topic and therefore report on it in a fragmented manner with limited impact. It will reveal that themes such as gender roles and health inequality have been written about particularly sparsely, which has represented a barrier to covering the gender equality dimension in relation to the COVID-19/coronavirus pandemic today.

Historically, the 2015 GMMP report found that the proportion of news stories covering gender equality issues represented 9%[143] of the total volume of stories. However, this figure included stories about human rights issues and policy as well as those about gender equality[144], making the proportion that specifically covered gender equality stories much smaller. The proportion of news stories that challenged gender stereotypes[145] globally in 2015 was reported at 4%, unchanged since 2005[146].

[142] Coverage of gender equality: the word 'girls' was included in the query.

[143] Macharia, 2015

[144] The 2020 GMMP content analysis guide shows the underlying question to gather this data is: "Reference to gender equality/ human rights legislation/ policy: Yes=1, No=2".

[145] GMMP 2020 Methodology Guide's definition: "Stories that challenge stereotypes include those that overturn common assumptions about women and men in relation to their attributes, their expertise of competence, their interests, etc. For example, a story in which women experts are discussing economic policy, or a story about male nurses. Some stories may challenge stereotypes in more complex ways. For example, a story on voting preferences may dispel the perception that women are politically uninformed. Stories that challenge stereotypes will often introduce new ways of thinking about an issue, new angles and fresh perspectives" https://cdn.agilitycms.com/who-makes-the-news/gmmp6/GMMP%202020%20Methodology%20Guide.pdf

[146] Macharia, 2015

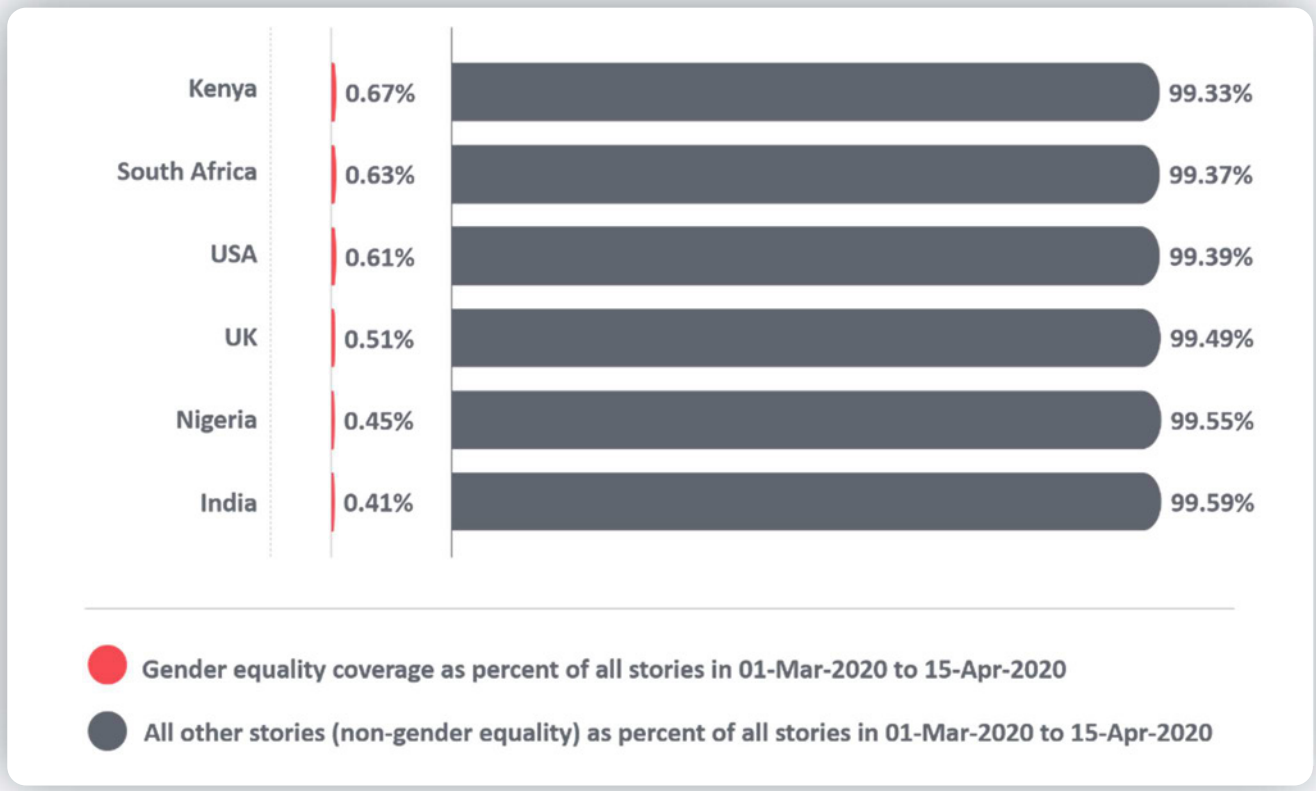
The lack of gender equality dimension in news coverage during the COVID-19 pandemic

Media Ecosystems Analysis Group conducted an extensive content analysis of 11,913 publications from the six analyzed countries, containing 1.9 million stories published between 1st March and 15th April 2020. Their computational analysis scanned this vast volume of content for matches against a complex keyword query designed to capture news stories touching upon gender equality issues (for more details on the methodology, please see Appendix 1). This robust content analysis revealed that **the gender equality dimension was all but absent, with more than 99% of the coverage missing this dimension entirely in all analyzed countries (see Figure 17).** This proportion was marginally lower than that of 2019 news coverage. It is therefore hard to compare countries in search of success (or failure) stories due to the overall failure of news to convey the gender inequality impacting women adversely across the global north and the global south.

The gender equality dimension has sunk further below journalists' radar during the COVID-19 pandemic compared to the news coverage in the same period in 2019

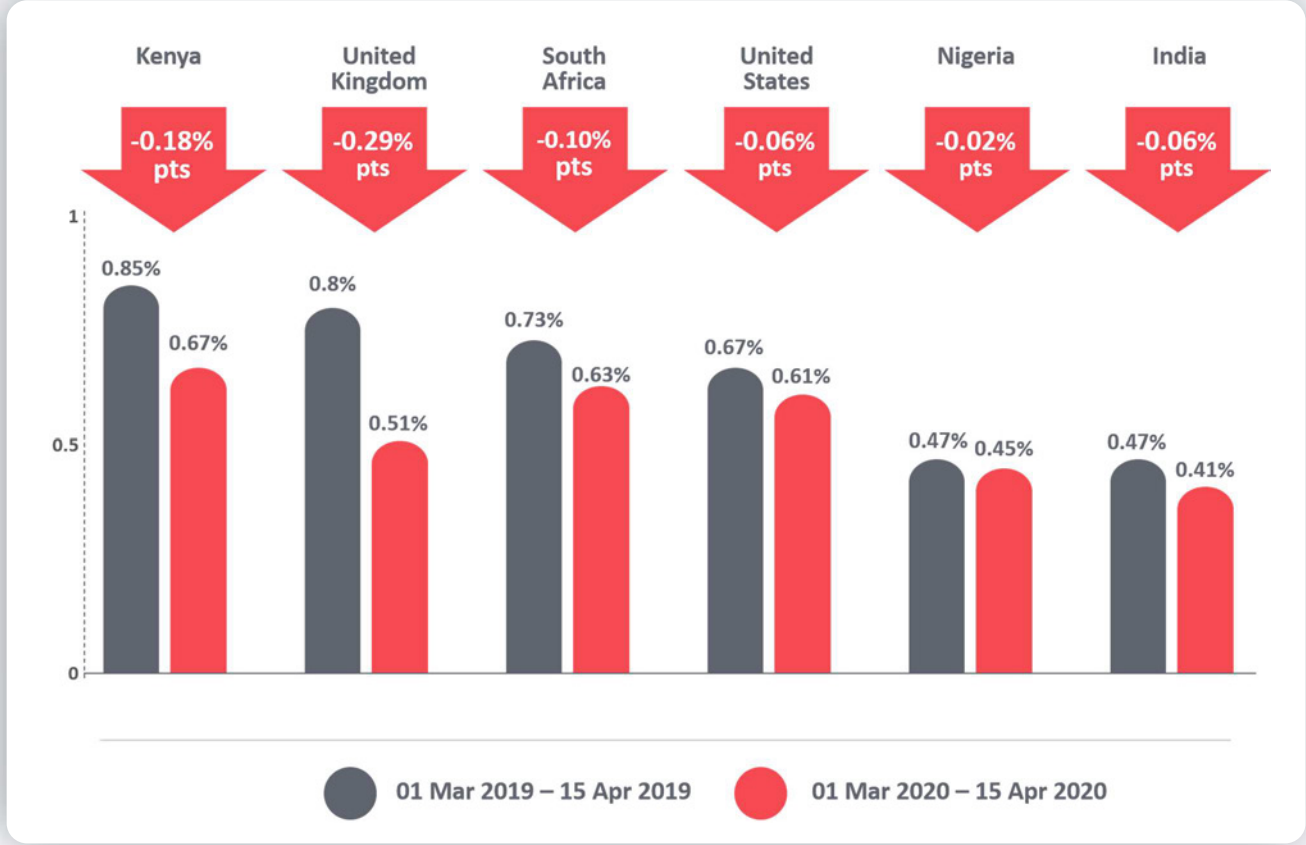
When comparing the news coverage during the pandemic with the same period in 2019, Media Ecosystems Analysis Group's content analysis revealed that there had been a decline in gender equality reporting (see Figure 18). From an already very low base, the gender equality coverage had declined most noticeably in the UK (-0.29 pts), followed by Kenya (-0.18 pts), South Africa (-0.1 pts), India (-0.06 pts), the US (-0.06 pts) and Nigeria where the coverage had declined only marginally (-0.02 pts). It is fair to hypothesize that the decline is directly linked to the COVID-19/coronavirus story not focusing on any gender equality dimensions.

Figure 17: Gender equality coverage within the total news coverage between 01 Mar – 15 Apr 2020



Source: *Media Ecosystems Analysis Group, 2020; N (Publications) = 11,913; N (Stories) = 1,856,099; Period = 01 March 2020 to 15 April 2020*

Figure 18: Gender equality coverage as proportion of overall stories (YoY analysis)



Source: *Media Ecosystems Analysis Group, 2020; For 2020 - N (Publications) = 11,913; N (Stories) = 1,856,099; Period = 01 March 2020 to 15 April 2020; For 2019 - N (Publications) = 11,913; N (Stories) = 105,555; Period = 01 March 2019 to 15 April 2019*

Men feature more prominently in gender equality coverage in all countries except South Africa

Ironically, men were more likely to be quoted as experts, sources and protagonists in gender equality news stories in all countries except South Africa, where women constituted 56% of total quoted voices (see Figure 19). The news coverage in South Africa highlighted the improved pay terms of four women cricketers during the Women's Cricket World Cup in an effort to improve gender equality in cricket. Women's voices were least likely to feature in gender equality news stories in Nigeria (24%), India (28%) and the US (28%), followed by Kenya (32%) and the UK (44%). In the UK, three of the 11 women featured on the list of the 25 most mentioned people were activists in the March4Women event in London on International Women's Day on 8th March 2020.

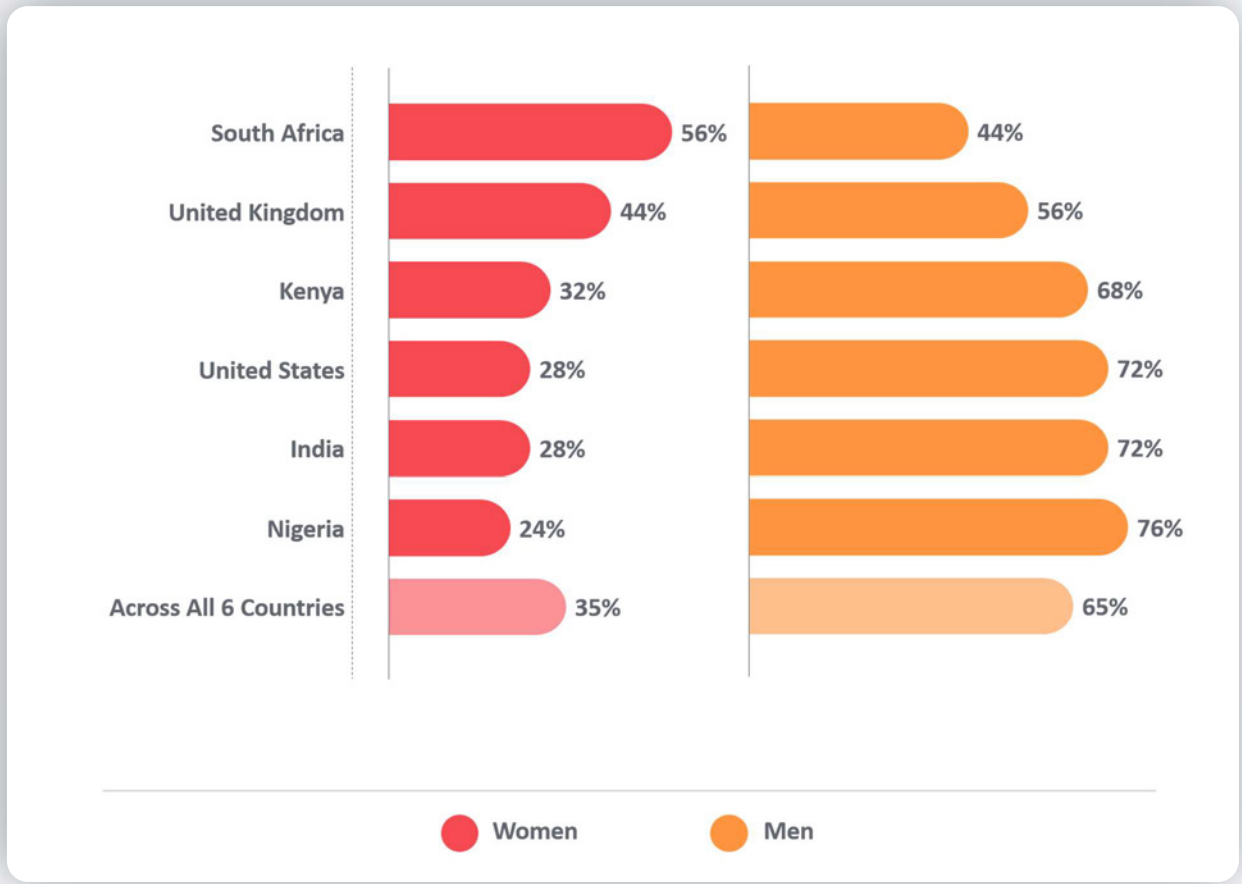
The majority of images in the news have reinforced gender stereotypes rather than challenged them

The European Regional GMMP Report assessed whether the stories including images reinforced or challenged gender stereotypes. In a few relevant story areas (medicine, health, hygiene, safety, disability, medical research, funding (apart from HIV-AIDS), HIV and AIDS (incidence, policy, treatment, people affected) & other epidemics, viruses, contagions, Influenza, BSE, SARS) it found that between only 2% and 7% of the stories challenged gender stereotypes, 52% of the stories reinforced stereotypes and the remainder neither reinforced nor challenged stereotypes[147].

[147] GMMP, 2010: http://youcantbewhatyoucantsee.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/GMMP-Europe-2010.pdf

In summary, gender equality coverage was barely detectable in the six analyzed countries during the period from 1st March to 15th April 2020. This suggests that the COVID-19/coronavirus story was not examined through the gender equality lens at that time. The gender equality angle had been further reduced in comparison to the same period in 2019. Ironically, women's presence was significantly less visible than men's in gender equality stories even though their proportion may have been inflated from the normal lower level across a year due to International Women's Day falling in that period.

Figure 19: Gender profile of the 25 most mentioned people in gender equality coverage for each country and in aggregate between 01 Mar – 15 Apr 2020



Source: *Media Ecosystems Analysis Group, 2020: (Publications) = 11,913; N (Stories) = 1,856,099; Period = 01 March 2020 to 15 April 2020*

PART 3: REFLECTIONS ON DOMINANT AND EMERGING FRAMES ABOUT COVID-19/CORONAVIRUS IN THE NEWS

An essay by Luba Kassova and Richard Addy

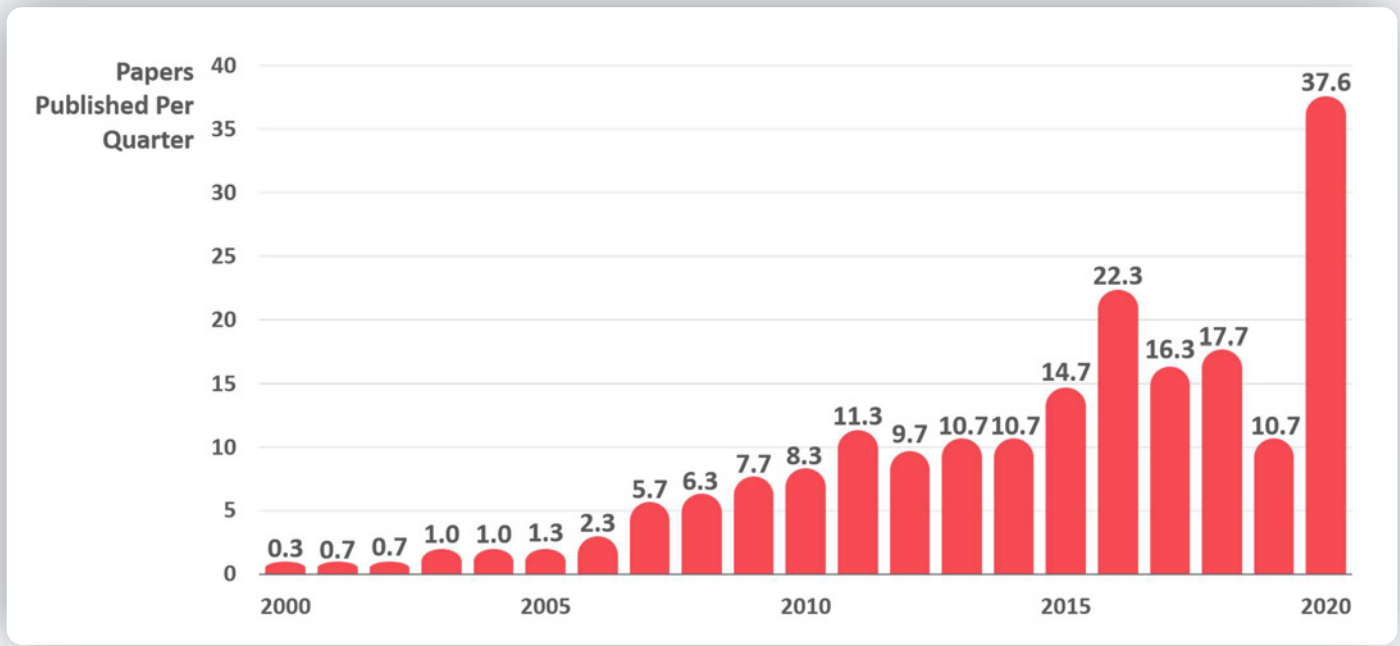
Powerful news media frames lie at the heart of what propels stakeholders to act on important matters. News frames influence and, in some cases, drive policy making in response to any pandemic. It is an area which has received increased interest in academic literature, with publications referencing "media frames" and "pandemics" rising sharply in 2020 (see Figure 20). It is these two important insights that have given rise to this exploration, which is a preliminary investigation based on strong theoretical underpinning. Further research is needed in this area to validate the initial findings in this piece.

Part 1 and Part 2 of this report exposed some deeply concerning truths about women's reduced agency in crafting news frames in relation to the coronavirus pandemic, with two factors standing out. First, women in five of the six analyzed countries (all bar South Africa) are even more marginalized in political decision-making related to COVID-19 than they have previously been in national politics. This reduces their visibility in news. Second, women's voices are substantially under-represented as experts and protagonists in COVID-19/coronavirus news stories which reduces their ability to draw attention to the impact of the disease on women or to highlight their unique socio-economic, physical and mental health needs (which were the focus of Part 1, The Context). These two factors act as disproportionate inhibitors to women crafting women-centered news frames on COVID-19/coronavirus that would lead to public policies that meet women's unique needs in response to the pandemic.

Defining frames

An important part of any narrative is its *frame*, which takes a thin slice of reality and focuses in on it[148]. At the center of every COVID-19/coronavirus news story resides an underlying frame that tends to offer a positive or negative, a short or long-term angle around an aspect of the story. The power of these frames lies in how they define the problem; identify its causes; provide solutions; and evaluate these solutions[149]. A frame's potency lies not only in what it focuses on but also on what it chooses to leave out[150]. This exploration examines different frames which have emerged or are emerging in relation to COVID-19/coronavirus in the news. It is important to note that the frames highlighted in this essay are by no means exhaustive. In addition, as the story matures, and more data/evidence becomes available, new frames will emerge, competing frames will morph into new variations and dormant frames might reignite.

Figure 20: Academic papers published containing the terms "Media Framing" and "Pandemic" (using Google Scholar, Quarterly publish rate per year, 2000-2020)



Source: *AKAS, 2020f*

[148] Entman, 1993 in Dan & Raupp, 2018
[149] Dan & Raupp, 2018
[150] Entman, 1993; Gamson and Modigliani, 1989 in Ribeiro et al., 2018

Research has found that some frames related to pandemic threats remain stable and recurrent, while others shift through the course of a pandemic or are indeed unique to a particular crisis[151].

The importance of frames in the news

The way a story is framed in the news is of vital importance to how it is perceived by audiences. According to research on the media framing of the threats of global pandemics[152], despite the growing role of social media, newspaper news coverage (in print and online) was key to the framing of Ebola in the news in the UK. **Audiences interact with stories based on a combination of their own personal experiences and frames that have either been initially developed by journalists or that are pushed out by political leaders and amplified by journalists[153]. In addition, news frames are socio-cultural constructs[154] which influence[155], if not shape, the public's and decision-makers' views[156]**. In the case of COVID-19, frames offer constructs about the nature of the disease (the problem), its causes and the possible solutions to tackling it. A frame can zone in on a particular enemy (e.g. the virus itself); on the social groups that are most likely to be impacted; on the sphere of public life it is most likely to affect; on the actors who are seen as knowledgeable (e.g. scientists, experts or people on the ground); and, importantly, on the key actor that is able to resolve it (e.g. the public, the government, public health institutions, etc.). **Frames are therefore critically important in providing the platform that drives the political and social policies which aim to address the pandemic threat[157].** In summary, frames increase the salience of certain aspects of the pandemic threat and ignore others[158], by shining light on some actors while casting shadow on others; by examining the adverse effect on some areas of public space, but not on others; and by shifting blame and responsibility from some actors onto others.

Metaphors used to express the problem, such as war, plague, killer, enemy, disaster, combat and others, are powerful engines for story frames and carry great potential to inspire people to act, and they are being used extensively in the COVID-19 story[159]. Metaphors make the abstract and unfamiliar understandable and memorable. With their simplicity, metaphors "stick", which often makes them more powerful than pages of prose.

Dominant and emerging COVID-19/ coronavirus frames focused around defining the problem

AKAS conducted four analyses of the prevalence of certain frames (see Appendix 1 for more details on methodology). The first analysis used Google's news search engine to count the number of coronavirus-related articles that included a particular framing word such as "war", "battle", "virus", "economic", etc. The second analysis used the Internet TV News Archive to count the proportion of TV news reports (mainly from the US) that used a framing word alongside all coronavirus mentions. The third analysis was based on the GDELT Project's global online news archive – a comprehensive database which enables the interrogation of all global online news since 2017 (English and non-English[160]). Finally, AKAS carried out a rapid literature review of over 500 academic papers since 2000 which mentioned both "media framing" and "pandemics" in their text. These were then reduced down to the 34 most relevant papers for this piece. This frames' exploration also examined the analysis of the 100 most frequently used words in gender equality coverage in the six analyzed countries, generated by Media Ecosystems Analysis Group[161].

In this reflection, we will examine 12 news frames through the lens of how beneficial they are in providing a foundation for policies that support women. Figure 21 summarizes the frames that we will examine.

[151] Pieri, 2019
[152] Pieri, 2019
[153] Vellek, 2016
[154] Reese, 2001 in Dan & Raupp, 2018
[155] Beck, 2007; Leiss, 2001 in Dan & Raupp, 2018
[156] Yanovitzky 2002 in Dan & Raupp, 2018
[157] Ribeiro et al., 2018
[158] Ribeiro et al., 2018
[159] https://blogs.nottingham.ac.uk/makingsciencepublic/2020/03/17/metaphors-in-the-time-of-coronavirus/; https://publicinterest.org.uk/part-4-metaphors/
[160] GDELT monitors and translates 65 languages representing 98.4% of the non-English monitoring volumes: https://www.gdeltproject.org
[161] Media Ecosystems Analysis Group, 2020

Figure 21: COVID-19/coronavirus news frames, frames function, prevalence and relative impact on women compared to men

Example Keywords	COVID-19 / Coronavirus News Media Frames	Frame function			Frame:	Frame impact:
		Problem Centered	Causes Centered	Solutions Centered	Est. Prevalence (References as a % of all global online stories)	Likelihood to support policies relatively beneficial to women
Health Severity: Plague sub-frame	Plague, Pandemic, Epidemic	YES			High *(c16%)*	Low
Health Severity: War sub-frame	War, Battle, Combat, Enemy, Conquer	YES			Medium/Low *(c6%)*	
Health Severity: Killer sub-frame	Killer, Kill, Murderer, Deadly, Raging	YES			Low *(c2%)*	
Medical/Scientific frame	Scientific, Science, Medicine, Medical	YES	YES	YES	Medium *(c11%)*	Low
Globalization frame	Global, Globe, World, International	YES			High *(c15%)*	Low
"Attribution of responsibility" or "blame"	Blame, Fault, Responsible, Responsibility, Responsibilities, Guilt, Guilty		YES		Medium/Low *(c5%)*	Low
Othering or "Somewhere Else" frame	China, Wuhan		YES		Medium/Low *(c6%)*	Low
Action/Public level of responsibility frame	Social Distancing, Social Distance, Wear A Mask, Wearing A Mask, Washing Hands, Wash Hands, Self Isolating, Self Isolate, Stay At Home		YES		Medium *(c9%)*	Low
Economic consequences frame	Economy, Economic, Business, Businesses, Employment, Unemployment, Recession, Jobs	YES		YES	High *(c13%)*	Medium/Low
Cooperation/solidarity frame	Solidarity, Cooperation, Hope			YES	Medium/Low *(c5%)*	Medium
Human interest frame	Wife, Mother, Daughter, Sister, Husband, Father, Son, Brother, Friend	YES	YES	YES	Medium/Low *(c7%)*	High
Thematic/structural inequalities frame	Inequality, Inequalities, Fair, Fairness, Unfair, Unfairness	YES	YES	YES	Low *(c1%)*	High

Source: *AKAS analysis*

Health Severity Frame [162] ***(aka Mutation contagion frame*** [163]**)**

Similar to how Ebola and SARS were framed by news media[164], this dominant frame was among the earliest used in the news in relation to COVID-19/coronavirus. The health severity frame focuses on the health problem and presents it from the perspective of the risk it carries to human life[165]. It can contain many different sub frames. This investigation focuses on three metaphorical sub-frames: *war, plague and killer*[166]. The coronavirus is illustrated in the context of an increasing crisis, evoking fear and leading to death on an industrial scale, knowing no boundaries due to its highly contagious nature. The *killer* metaphor depicts a killer virus on the rampage, attacking numerous victims.

The AKAS framing analyses found that the *health severity* frame was one of the two most prevalent frames overall. Figures 31.1, 31.2 and 31.3 in Appendix 3 on Frames Analyses shows how the *war, plague and killer frames* evolved in 2020. The most dominant sub-frame was the plague sub-frame.

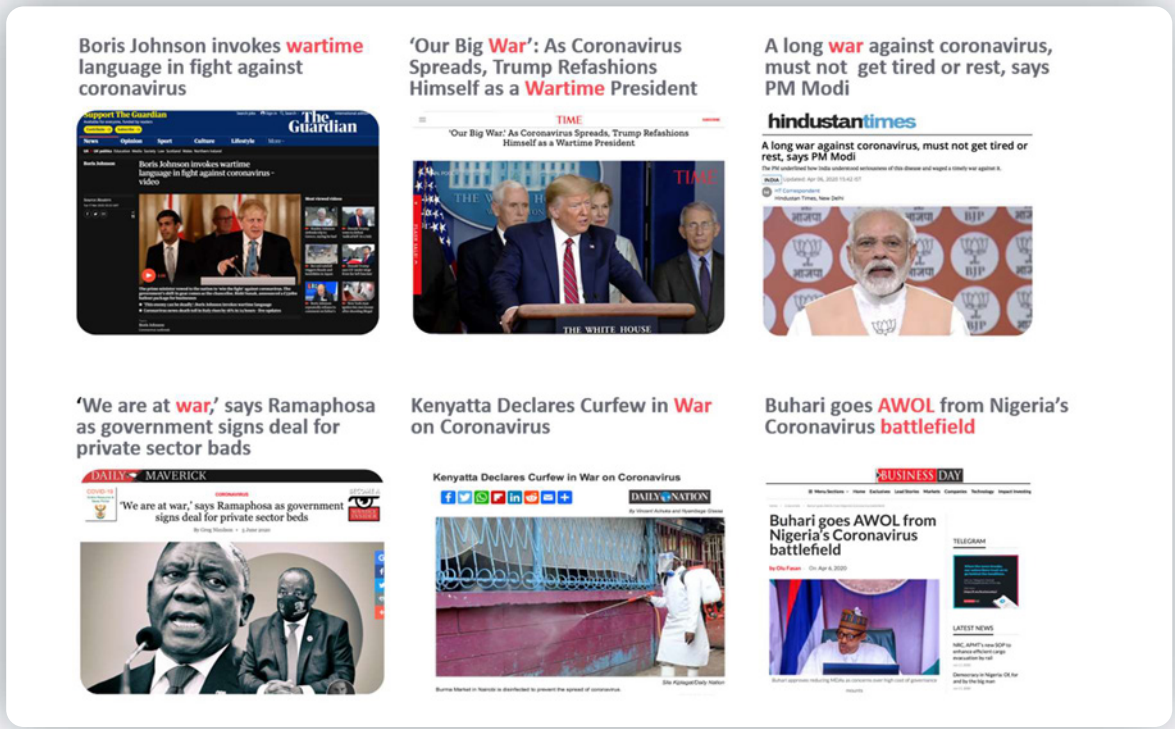
Although the *war* sub-frame appears to have a small number of references, it is important to note that it is particularly powerful: it is commonly used by political leaders and there is extensive evidence that it has been pushed by many politicians worldwide, including the Presidents and Prime Ministers of all the six analyzed countries (see Figure 22). This frame also has significant policy implications.

[162] Dan & Raupp, 2018
[163] Vellek, 2016
[164] Vellek, 2016
[165] Dan & Raupp, 2018
[166] Vellek, 2016

The *war* frame is seen as an "off-the-shelf" disease management outline which emerges at an early stage of a disease's cycle when it is surrounded by a high level of uncertainty with regards to its origin, transmission and potential cure[167]. **It leaves women out of focus** for two main reasons. Firstly, this metaphor is excluding of women because wars traditionally are perceived as a male domain and are masculine in nature. Secondly, the war frame places coronavirus as the central enemy of the narrative, which leaves women (and other specific groups) outside of the policy-making limelight. It pushes the message that *we are all in the same boat* and are affected by the virus in the same way. The focus falls squarely on eradicating the virus rather than also on helping particularly vulnerable groups.

A potential reason for many politicians latching onto the war sub-frame is the fact that it assumes that responsibility for the situation is shared by many actors, including the government, but also the scientific community as well as the national and international health authorities - all fighting against the common enemy in the war which is the coronavirus. **The war frame masks social and economic inequalities** [168] thus failing to protect the most vulnerable groups impacted by the disease. Militarizing health crises using frames and metaphors such as killers, plagues, combatants and wars can lead to feelings of shame and guilt among those who are ill[169]. **They also encourage massive public resource expenditure**[170]. In addition, the war framing during the COVID-19/coronavirus pandemic has been criticized as being ineffective because, among other things, the enemy is portrayed as an abstraction and invisible, and because militarized language creates an atmosphere of division and blame, as discussed in the BBC interview reproduced in Figure 34 in Appendix 3. It has been argued that war frames lead to greater anxiety for patients and the public, a more demoralized healthcare workforce, and that they minimize the need for collaboration and lack precision and clarity in defining the problem[171].

Figure 22: The war frame embraced in reports about Presidents and Prime Ministers in India, Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa, the UK, and the US



Source: *AKAS, 2020d*

[167] Osorio-de-Castro et al., 2017 in Ribeiro et al., 2018
[168] Ribeiro, 2018
[169] Vellek, 2016
[170] Wallis & Nerlich, 2005 in Vellek, 2016
[171] "COVID 19: why we need to ditch the military terms" https://rcni.com/nursing-standard/opinion/comment/covid-19-why-we-need-to-ditch-military-terms-160071; & "The Case Against Waging 'War' on the Coronavirus" https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2020/03/war-metaphor-coronavirus/609049/

Some news providers [172] have criticized the *'toxic masculinity'* displayed by overly macho male political cultures (e.g. the US, Brazil and Russia who often use war frames in their communications). During the COVID-19 pandemic these leaderships have experienced declines in public approval (see Figure 23). By contrast, in countries where a more empathetic political leadership approach has been adopted by women leaders (e.g. Germany, Norway and New Zealand) public approval of their crisis management has increased significantly (see Figure 23). Even more importantly, **academic research shows that having women represented in government leads to significant differences in public policy[173]. For example, where women are well represented in parliaments, countries spend more on healthcare[174] and develop stronger welfare states[175].**

Economic consequences frame[176]

The economic consequences frame focuses on the problem: the far-reaching short-term, medium and/or long-term financial and economic implications of COVID-19/coronavirus on a country, region, group and individuals[177]. Figure 31.9 in Appendix 3 on Frames Analyses presents evidence highlighting the proportion of references to "economy", "economic" and "business" in coronavirus-related stories in TV news. It shows that the economic consequences frame gained momentum just after the health severity frame and even surpassed it shortly after. The economic consequences frame is often intertwined with other frames. The AKAS Google news search-based framing analysis showed that references to "business", "money", "industry", "economy", "market" and "economic" were among the most common framing words globally, implying that the economic consequences frame has been among the most used frames in news media worldwide.

Medical/scientific frame

This frame focuses on the medical and scientific dimension of the COVID-19 story by first understanding the nature of the problem through understanding the nature of transmission and objectively modelling the likely trajectory of the outbreak. This frame is heavily reliant on facts and figures emerging from scientific analyses and appeals to the rational brain and to macro-thinking. Understanding the cause of the pandemic is a practical need in the frame, as it may assist the production of solutions and mitigating actions such as vaccines, therapeutics, protective behaviors and concepts such as herd immunity. According to AKAS' news framing analysis using Google's news search engine, the medical/scientific modelling frame was one of the most prevalent, as set out in Figure 31.4 in Appendix 3.

Globalization frame[178]

This frame focuses on the global spread and global impact of COVID-19/coronavirus. It sets up COVID-19/coronavirus as a global problem which can be resolved with global efforts. There is great focus on the role of long-distance travel and on the impact for tourism and air travel. According to the results from AKAS' Google news search-based framing analysis, the globalization frame was among the four most prevalent frames in news globally. AKAS' TV news analysis [179] shows that references to "global" rose relatively early in the pandemic but peaked in February 2020, subsequently tailing off, as set out in Figure 31.5 in Appendix 3 on Frames Analyses.

COVID-19/coronavirus frames more likely to support policies benefiting women

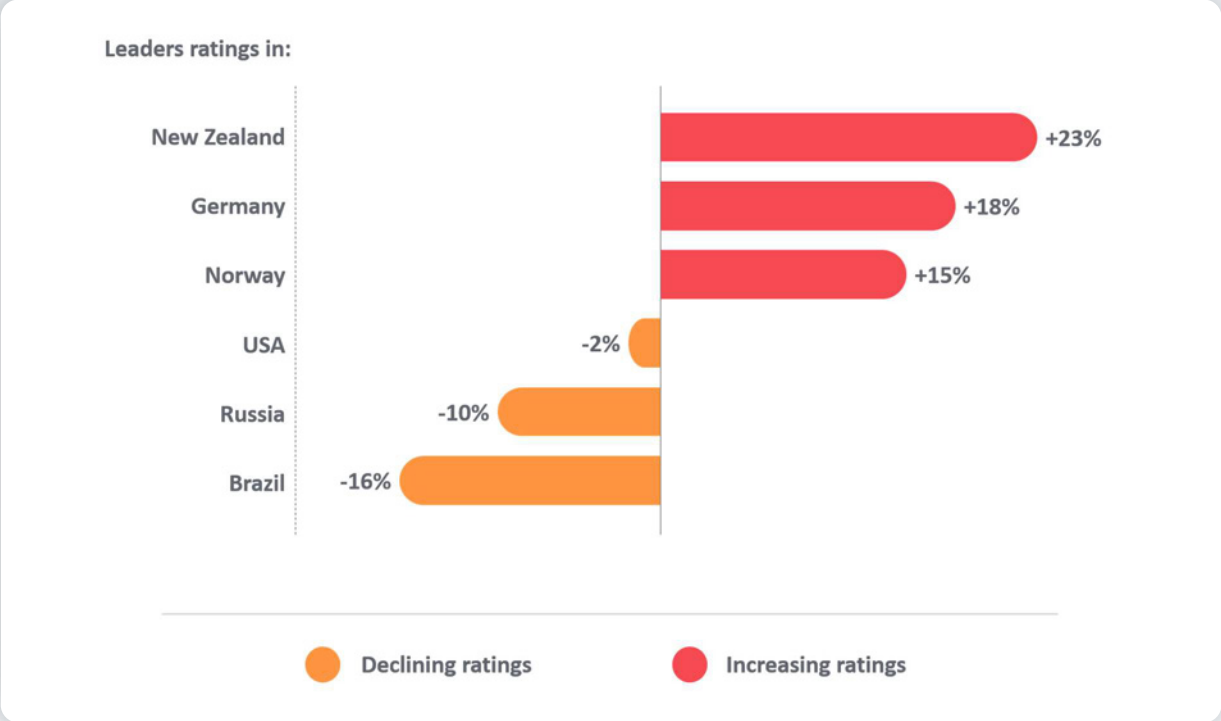
The architecture of the three frames described below relies on specific groups to hold the narrative together, be they women, ethnic minorities, communities, people generally or some other group. These frames therefore hold the potential to zone in on women as a key group that faces unique challenges which require unique policy solutions in this time of global pandemic.

Human interest frame[180]

This frame[181] uses personal stories to *illustrate* the impact of the COVID-19/coronavirus story and has been used in the coverage of Ebola, SARS and other pandemics. It focuses on particular audience groups such as the elderly, women, single mothers, BAME/ethnic minorities in the UK and the US, victims of gender violence, people living in extreme poverty,

[172] The Guardian, Dembroff, 2020
[173] Davidson-Schmich, 2020
[174] Clayton and Zetterberg, 2018
[175] Bolzendahl and Brooks, 2007
[176] Vellek, 2016; Dan & Raupp, 2018.
[177] Dan & Raupp 2018
[178] Vellek, 2016
[179] AKAS, 2020e
[180] Vellek, 2016; Bird & Dardenne in Dan & Raupp, 2018
[181] In journalism, a human interest story is a feature story that discusses a person, or people, or a pet in an emotive manner. It presents people and their problems, concerns, or achievements in a way that brings about interest, sympathy, empathy or motivation in the reader, listener or viewer.

Figure 23: Changes in political leadership ratings/approval during the coronavirus/COVID-19 pandemic (Feb 2020 to May/June 2020)



Sources: *Various*[182]

vulnerable individuals who suffer from auto-immune diseases, etc. The human interest frame holds strong potential for women to become the center of news frames and therefore to impact policy making. According to AKAS' Google news search-based framing analysis, three frequently written-about groups within this frame in the news were "mother", "son" and "friend" (for a list of tested word categories, please see Appendix 3 and for their prevalence see Figure 31.11).

Human interest frames humanize the COVID-19/coronavirus story. With devastating statistics being reported daily worldwide, they stop coverage from becoming desensitized. They serve as "*scripts and provide the 'skeleton' on which 'the flesh of the news story' is hung*"[183]. Part 4 of this report reveals that women have identified human interest news stories[184] as a gap in the news on COVID-19.

Cooperation/solidarity frame

This emerging frame focuses on the solution to the crisis. It brings cooperation, solidarity, unity and hope into the limelight during the time of the COVID-19/coronavirus pandemic. It sets up cooperation and unity as hopeful byproducts of COVID-19/coronavirus which hold potential to accelerate the solution. This frame emphasizes the power that communities – be they local, scientific, national or global – and people hold when they stand together, are supportive of each other, and act 'as one'. According to Ditchley Foundation's research into coronavirus narratives[185]: "*Solidarity has been a recurring idea in our stories about pandemic response. It was, for some, valid and meaningful. The virus has been a common fate; a pandemic such as this has been a long-standing risk and there is no obvious moral hazard (other than lack of preparedness). Participants asked whether the more*

[182] For **Norway** – "More than 1 in 3 Norwegians want Solberg as prime minister", Norway Today, 30 May 2020. May 2020 (36%) rating as best suited to be prime minister compared to February 2020 rating (21%); For **Russia** – "Putin's Approval Ratings", Levada Center, retrieved from https://www.levada.ru/en/ratings/ on 19 June 2020. May 2020 (59%) approval rating for the President of Russia compared to February 2020 rating (69%) For **USA, Germany and Brazil** – "Approval Ratings for a Number of World Leaders Have Fallen in Recent Weeks", Morning Consult, retrieved on 19 June 2020. USA Approval rating for head of state on 15 June 2020 (40%) vs approval rating on 24 Feb 2020 (42%). German approval rating for head of state on 15 June 2020 (58%) vs approval rating on 24 Feb 2020 (40%). Brazilian approval rating for head of state on 15 June 2020 (58%) vs approval rating on 24 Feb 2020 (42%). For **New Zealand**. – Preferred prime minister rating for current leader 65% on 1 June 2020 (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Opinion_polling_for_the_2020_New_Zealand_general_election) compared to 42% on 13 Feb 2020 (https://static.colmarbrunton.co.nz/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/8-12-Feb-2020_1-NEWS-Colmar-Brunton-Poll-report-.pdf_)

[183] Bird & Dardenne, 1988, p. 73 in Dan & Raupp, 2018.

[184] AKAS, 2020c

[185] Ditchley Foundation, 2020

humanizing impulses continue, such as the tradition begun in WW1 to memorialize ordinary soldiers and offer posthumous recognition of the individual after the trauma of mass death. Solidarity is expressed in the memorializing of those who have died. The New York Times (May 24, 2020) ran a cover memorializing the 100,000 who have lost their lives with the names of 1,000 dead (1%) and some details on each person." The cooperation frame encourages politicians to examine and put forward policies that aim to strengthen communities and that rely on cooperation at their core. In addition, this frame is more likely to appeal to women, due to women's increased likelihood to align with a narrative that seeks meaning in suffering, as shown in survey results from the US and UK in Part 1 of this report. For the prevalence of this frame, see Figure 31.10 in Appendix 3.

Thematic[186]/structural inequalities frame[187]

Thematic frames focus on social and political solutions, because they assume that larger forces and issues have caused health conditions[188]. The structural inequalities frame is an emerging frame which has surfaced as more data has become available revealing that in the UK and the US, ethnic minorities (particularly people of black African, black Caribbean and South Asian heritage) are up to four times more likely to fall ill and to die from COVID-19, while in the global south people in extreme poverty tend to be hardest hit. The frame exposes systemic socio-economic, political, racial and cultural inequalities which act as a catalyst for increased transmission of the disease. By its very nature this frame holds great potential for placing women at the heart of policy-making, particularly when news framing relies on sex-disaggregated data highlighting inequalities between women and men. For the prevalence of this frame, see Figure 31.12 in Appendix 3.

Other frames focusing on the causes of or on solutions to COVID-19

"Attribution of responsibility" or "blame" frame[189]

This frame was first used in news coverage of SARS and has now been used in covering the COVID-19/ coronavirus story. It links the causes of a health crisis with someone's actions[190] and introduces *blame* and assigns responsibility for the genesis and spread of coronavirus to an actor e.g. China or WHO or experts, in its attempt to simplify what is otherwise a rather complex picture (see Figure 31.6 in Appendix 3 on Frames Analyses). This frame is also related to the "**othering" or "somewhere else" frame**, which frames the COVID-19/coronavirus as a virus that only affects others. In this case, the initial "somewhere else" framing focused on Wuhan, China as the localized place where the virus spread, as shown in Figure 31.7 in Appendix 3 and evidenced by recently published academic research[191]. However, later in 2020, frames about China's responsibility for the global spread have emerged.

Action[192]/ Public level of responsibility frame

The action frame, also known as the level of responsibility frame[193] aims to identify whether the level of responsibility for the solution of a health crisis rests with an individual or with the government. This frame in relation to COVID-19 finds the solution with the public: it focuses on the tools and behaviors that the public should use to control the spread of COVID-19 e.g. washing hands, social distancing, staying at home, or wearing a mask. It places the public in the role of the main actor responsible for any positive outcome, which is defined as slowing the spread of the disease to give the health services time to respond or the scientific community time to search for a vaccine (see Figure 31.8 in Appendix 3 on Frames Analyses).

[186] Buus and Olsson, 2006; Dudo, Michael and Dominique (2007); Higgins et al. 2006; Lee and Basnyat 2012, Strekalova 2015 in Dan & Raupp, 2018
[187] Human Rights Watch, 2020
[188] Dan & Raupp, 2018
[189] Vellek, 2016; Dan & Raupp, 2018.
[190] Dan & Raupp, 2018
[191] Gozzi et al., 2020
[192] Krishnatray and Gadekar, 2014; Oh et al. 2012; Shih et al. 2008 in Dan & Raupp, 2018
[193] An & Gower, 2009

There is some evidence to suggest that the health severity frame, the economic consequences frame and the globalization frame may have been some of the dominant frames in gender equality news coverage

A word frequency analysis of gender equality news coverage between 1st March and 15th April 2020[194] revealed the top 20 and the top 100 most frequently used words in each of the analyzed countries (see Figure 24). Unsurprisingly, *COVID* and *coronavirus* came highest in all countries, providing further evidence that news coverage was dominated by the COVID-19/ coronavirus pandemic story in that period.

Figure 24: 20 most frequently used words in news coverage of Gender Equality-related stories between 1 Mar – 15 Apr 2020

UK	South Africa	United States	Kenya	India	Nigeria
coronavirus	covid	coronavirus	coronavirus	coronavirus	covid
covid	coronavirus	covid	covid	covid	coronavirus
uk	economic	pandemic	pandemic	india	nigeria
virus	africa	hospitals	economic	lockdown	lagos
crisis	lockdown	trump	gender	pandemic	pandemic
hospital	african	crisis	global	rs	nigerians
lockdown	global	virus	women's	economic	economic
workforce	pandemic	economic	violence	crore	virus
economic	gender	american	lockdown	outbreak	lockdown
pandemic	children	outbreak	virus	minister	gender
outbreak	violence	infected	kenya	hospital	centre
nursing	virus	congress	informal	migrant	hospital
children	economy	democrats	economy	indian	global
london	organizations	children	sector	virus	minister
healthcare	crisis	workforce	infections	ministry	africa
nhs	vulnerable	economy	children	infection	abuja
women's	inequality	global	crisis	sector	economy
economy	ensure	families	united	global	donated
infected	sa	ceo	africa	delhi	outbreak
global	minister	unemployment	equality	crisis	sector
britain					

Health severity mutation contagion frame
Economic consequences frame
Healthcare-related frame
Violence
Globalization frame
Families, children, women, migrant and vulnerable groups

Source: *AKAS analysis of Media Ecosystems Analysis Group, 2020: (Publications) = 11,913; N (Stories) = 1,856,099; Period = 01 March 2020 to 15 April 2020*

[194] Based on the analysis of a sample of 1000 stories from each country. Source: Media Ecosystems Analysis Group, 2020

Somewhat discouragingly, the term *gender* featured in the top 20 words in only three of the six countries: in South Africa, Kenya and Nigeria but not in the UK, the US or India. The word *women* only featured in the 20 most frequently mentioned words within gender equality coverage in the UK and Kenya. There were no words related to gender or to women featuring in the 20 most frequently used words in the US and India.

Predictably, the **health severity frame**, characterized by words such as *virus, pandemic, outbreak, infected, lockdown, crisis* and *victim*[195] was a prevalent frame in gender equality stories in all countries. The **economic consequences frame** was gaining momentum in all countries except India, where no economy-related terms featured in the 20 most frequently used words. The most recurrent words associated with this frame were *economic, economy, workforce* and *unemployment*. The **globalization frame** was also noticeable in the news coverage in that period across all the countries with the word *global* appearing in the 20 most frequently used words in all six countries (see Figure 24).

There is evidence of a strong **health-care related frame** uniquely present in the **UK** where the words *hospital, nursing, healthcare* and *NHS (National Health Service)* all featured in the 20 most frequently used words (see Figure 24).

The US news coverage in that period revealed the existence of a unique **political/partisan story angle** with words such as *congress* and *democrats* being included among the 20 most frequently used words. In addition, President Trump's high profile in domestic politics was evident from the word *Trump* being the fifth most frequently mentioned word in gender equality news coverage in the US in that period. No other politician in any of the six countries was included in the 20 most frequently used words in gender equality news coverage.

Families, children, women, migrants and vulnerable groups were particular social groups who also featured in the 20 words most frequently used by journalists covering gender equality issues in some countries in that period.

When analyzing the top 20 as well as the top 100 most frequently used words in gender equality coverage**, violence** was a detectable theme in South Africa (*domestic violence, gender-based violence, intimate partner violence*) and Kenya, where the word appeared in 11th and 8th place respectively in the 20 most frequently used words (see Figure 24). *Violence* (*domestic violence, sexual violence, violence against women, gender violence, spousal violence*) and *abuse* (*sexual abuse, domestic abuse, power abuse, discrimination and abuse*) featured as key words in the 100 most frequently used words in the UK and in India during the period analyzed. In Nigeria the word *victims* (*victims of rape, victims of sexual violence*) also featured in the 100 most frequently used words with the term *gender-based violence* appearing for the first time in 2020. It is important to note that in recent weeks in a number of countries, such as the UK[196], Nigeria[197] and South Africa[198], politicians have acted on the dominant gender-based violence (under the rising structural inequalities theme) by passing legislation or declaring a national emergency against gender-based violence during the pandemic.

To conclude, journalists (and politicians) have prioritized frames focusing on defining the problem (health severity, globalization, economic consequences and medical problem frames) and its causes (attribution of responsibility and public action frames) rather than the solutions (structural inequalities, human interest, cooperation/solidarity and medical solutions frames). This bias may lead to reduced public self-efficacy and lack of public engagement with potential solutions. There is a notable spike in interest in media framing of the COVID-19 pandemic among the academic community. Actively appreciating the impact of news media frames on policy making is critical for any news provider or movements such as ones advocating for gender equality. Without this awareness, news frames will continue not to provide a platform supportive of gender equality or policies beneficial to women. This exploration has already shown that frames that obscure women's specific concerns dominate the framing landscape. Even more perniciously, such frames will saturate the policy and resource space and

[195] Note that the word "victim" may have also related to gender violence-focused stories

[196] https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/2020-06-17/debates/56d8cf25-5197-4301-b4f3-e872ae712acb/DomesticAbuseBill(EleventhSitting)

[197] https://www.globalcitizen.org/en/content/nigeria-state-of-emergency-gender-violence-rape/?utm_source=facebook&utm_medium=social&utm_content=uk&utm_campaign=general-content&linkId=91063363

[198] https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/av/world-africa-53096766/south-africa-s-battle-to-protect-women-against-violence

to quote one leading newspaper, this will result in the *"coronavirus crisis taking women back to the 1950s"*[199]. To counter this real danger, powerful human interest and structural inequalities frames need to be crafted. They would be deeply anchored in data but not leading with data facts which tend to be less emotionally engaging than powerful human stories which make the facts memorable. These frames would lean on arresting metaphors; they would center around trusted messengers to directly engage the wider audiences and politicians with the importance of addressing women's unique and deepening gender-based challenges amid the most punishing global crisis since the Second World War.

[199] Is the coronavirus crisis taking women back to the 1950s? https://www.ft.com/content/7e147d57-050e-405c-a334-75a5ea748e2a

PART 4: AMPLIFYING WOMEN'S VOICES IN THE COVID-19 NEWS COVERAGE. RECOMMENDATIONS REDRESSING THE DOMINANT MALE BIAS

This final part of the report is crafted in response to the findings from the previous parts which revealed in convincing detail that women have received as little as a fifth of the attention in COVID-19/coronavirus news stories across most of the analyzed countries. For every one woman's voice, there have been at least three, four or five men's voices drowning them out, whether as experts or protagonists. News coverage has been missing women's perspectives, and has been unresponsive to women's needs, their hopes, and their worries. The gender equality discourse has been largely missing from COVID-19/coronavirus news coverage. And all of this stands against the backdrop of immeasurable hardship that the pandemic has created for women in every aspect of their lives e.g. health and healthcare, economic, political, psychological, socio-cultural and personal. This chapter aims to help news providers to find COVID-19/coronavirus story angles that are more relevant to women, that reflect their worries and their needs. It also identifies 21 practical and immediately implementable recommendations for news providers who are determined to amplify the voices of women as experts, sources and protagonists. The recommendations have been created based on the insights and evidence generated in this report.

News angles within the COVID-19/coronavirus story which are important to women

Link the COVID-19/coronavirus story with other stories that keep women awake at night, such as unemployment/jobs, healthcare and poverty, as well as gender-based crime, especially in countries from the global south.

In their latest global survey "What Worries the World" [200], Ipsos asked women and men from the global south (South Africa and India), as well as the global north (the UK and US) what their three biggest worries were (see Figure 25). Unsurprisingly, as covered in Part 1 of this report, coronavirus was the top worry for women and men in all countries bar South Africa, where it ranked in second place behind concerns related to unemployment and jobs.

Women's second biggest worry in the UK and US was healthcare while in India it was unemployment and jobs. Poverty was the third biggest worry for women in the UK, while unemployment and jobs were women's third biggest worry in the US. In South Africa, the third biggest worry for women was crime and violence while in India it was corruption and finance (see Figure 25).

Women were noticeably more worried than men about the three biggest worries in all four countries. Women in the US were slightly more worried than men about coronavirus (71% vs. 67%) but much more worried about unemployment/jobs than men (30% vs. 18%). In the UK, women were slightly more worried about coronavirus, poverty and unemployment than men, but much more worried about healthcare (47% vs. 38%). In South Africa, women were more worried than men about all top concerns bar corruption and finance, which men tended to worry about more than women (47% vs. 42% of women). Women were also less likely to worry about corruption and finances in India. However, women in India were significantly more likely to worry about crime and violence than men (27% vs. 20%). They were also slightly more worried about unemployment and jobs than men (41% vs. 36%).

No comparable data was available for Nigeria and Kenya in this Ipsos survey. However, an earlier Nigerian survey in 2019 by NOI Polls[201] showed that poverty was the second biggest challenge for women at 35%, just behind lack of financial empowerment at 42% and ahead of access to quality education at 33%. Gender equality, domestic violence, sexual abuse/harassment and cultural discrimination were all notable challenges at 19%, with many of these challenges likely to have been exacerbated as a result of the pandemic. In Kenya, a mobile phone survey[202] carried out in five urban slums in Nairobi found that the top two socio-economic concerns for women were also related to unemployment and poverty: loss of job/income/closing business and food shortages.

[200] Ipsos "What worries the world" March 2020 Q: Which of the following three topics do you find the most worrying in your country?

[201] NOI Polls, 2019

[202] Austrian et al., 2020

Figure 25: The three topics audiences find the most worrying in their country, April 2020

Metric - Detail	Global / Average / Ranking		UK		United States		South Africa		India	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Coronavirus (COVID-19)	63%	59%	78%	75%	71%	67%	51%	44%	63%	62%
Unemployment and jobs	37%	33%	17%	15%	30%	18%	61%	55%	41%	36%
Healthcare	30%	25%	47%	38%	41%	39%	20%	18%	18%	14%
Poverty and social inequality	29%	24%	26%	22%	16%	12%	33%	25%	24%	22%
Crime and violence	21%	18%	19%	22%	10%	12%	51%	44%	27%	20%
Financial/political corruption	19%	25%	5%	8%	17%	20%	42%	47%	30%	36%
Education	14%	14%	6%	8%	11%	7%	13%	12%	16%	13%
Climate change	12%	12%	18%	19%	18%	17%	2%	2%	12%	11%
Threats against the environment	10%	8%	10%	11%	10%	5%	2%	4%	15%	9%
Taxes	9%	12%	5%	5%	6%	10%	3%	8%	7%	11%
Immigration control	9%	11%	14%	15%	16%	27%	5%	8%	3%	7%
Moral decline	9%	11%	10%	11%	16%	15%	6%	7%	7%	6%
Inflation	8%	10%	2%	3%	4%	4%	3%	6%	8%	9%
Terrorism	6%	7%	11%	14%	9%	14%	0%	1%	10%	16%
Maintaining social programs	6%	7%	9%	10%	5%	5%	1%	3%	1%	3%
Rise of extremism	5%	7%	8%	9%	8%	12%		3%	8%	11%
Access to credit	2%	2%	2%	0%	1%	1%	1%	3%	1%	3%
Childhood obesity	2%	2%	2%	3%	1%	1%	0%	0%	2%	1%
Refused	1%	2%	3%	3%	2%	2%	0%	1%	1%	2%

Source: *Ipsos, 2020; N= c19,000 adults aged 16-64 in 28 participating countries. Period = April 2020.*

There were some differences evident in the concerns between countries from the global south and those from the global north.

In particular, unemployment and jobs, crime and violence as well as corruption/finance were of significantly higher concern to women in the global south than the global north. On the other hand, healthcare seemed to be a larger concern for women in the global north than those in the global south.

Cover the local dimension of COVID-19/coronavirus news stories to engage women further

AKAS commissioned a survey in May 2020 aiming to gauge what women's needs from COVID-19/ coronavirus news coverage were in the UK and US[203]. It was not possible to gain a representative sample for the public in countries in the global south in the short time available using the chosen survey platform. The aspect which generated the greatest interest among women (and men) for additional news coverage was

[203] AKAS 2020c Q: Which of the following aspects of the coronavirus story would you like to see more coverage of in the news? The impact of coronavirus/COVID-19 story on…

understanding the impact of coronavirus on one's local area (see Figure 26).

Offer more micro-angles anchored in human interest stories for women

Women in both the UK and the US were significantly more interested in micro story angles than men. For example, women in the UK and the US were more interested than men in understanding the impact of COVID-19/coronavirus on people's general wellbeing, on people's mental health and on children's lives (see Figure 26). Women in the UK were also more interested in understanding the impact of COVID-19/ coronavirus on the lives of elderly people.

Men were significantly more interested in understanding the macro aspect of the economy than women (25% of men in the UK and US vs. 17% of women in the UK and 15% of women in the US). Interestingly, there was less appetite among both women and men for understanding the impact of COVID-19/coronavirus on the micro economy (e.g. individual jobs and micro finances). This last finding is unlikely to be replicated in the global south, given the high concern for unemployment and jobs.

Figure 26: Aspects audiences would like to see more coverage of in the news. The impact of coronavirus/COVID-19 on….

Metric - Detail	UK		United States	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
Your local area	41%	37%	31%	26%
People's general wellbeing	21%	16%	19%	12%
People's mental health	20%	14%	16%	14%
Elderly people's lives	19%	13%	12%	15%
Children's lives	18%	10%	16%	12%
The UK's economy	17%	25%	15%	25%
People's physical health	13%	11%	15%	12%
Carers' lives	12%	8%	11%	10%
Nurses	12%	12%	11%	13%
Women's lives	11%	7%	10%	8%
Parents' lives	10%	6%	7%	10%
Doctors	9%	11%	12%	10%
The UK's/USA's national politics	9%	9%	7%	6%
People's relationships	8%	4%	7%	6%
The life of someone like you	8%	7%	13%	8%
Men's lives	6%	4%	4%	6%
The jobs for someone like you	6%	6%	7%	8%
The finances of someone like you	5%	5%	8%	8%

Source: *AKAS, 2020c; Based on three UK & three US surveys; N=c1000 for each survey; Period = May 2020*

Give voice to women protagonists and experts who are highly trusted by many: doctors, scientists and paramedics, who typically tend to be men, as well as nurses and schoolteachers, who tend to be women.

According to a worldwide trust in professionals survey[204], firefighters, nurses, teachers and doctors are the most trusted professionals globally. 89% of adults globally trusted nurses and teachers while 88% trusted doctors, 86% trusted pharmacists and 85% trusted paramedics. According to a Gallup survey[205], adults in the US rate nurses, engineers, doctors and pharmacists higher for honesty and ethics than other professions. 85% in 2019 rated nurses very high or high in honesty and ethics, followed by 66% who rated engineers highly, and 65% and 64% who rated doctors and pharmacists highly on honesty and trust. When asked how much audiences trusted representatives from 16 professions, the vast majority of adults in the UK chose doctors, nurses and schoolteachers as the most trustworthy professionals[206]. 87% of women and 86% of men in the UK stated that they trusted doctors *a great deal or a fair amount*. Schoolteachers followed, generating trust among 75% of women and men. These professionals would make for very engaging protagonists, experts and sources in news coverage of COVID-19/coronavirus. Similarly, high levels of trust in doctors and teachers were also reported in South Africa and India just before the outbreak of the 2020 pandemic[207]. Another trust survey[208] found that adults in 12 out of the 23 countries surveyed (which included India, the UK and the US from the analyzed countries) considered scientists to be most trustworthy, while eight countries considered doctors and three countries considered teachers to be most trustworthy.

[204] https://www.nim.org/en/compact/focustopics/worldwide-ranking-trust-professions
[205] https://news.gallup.com/poll/274673/nurses-continue-rate-highest-honesty-ethics.aspx.
[206] YouGov Trust Survey 26-27 April 2020 Q: How much do you trust the following to tell the truth? (Total trust = Great deal/Fair amount)
[207] Ipsos, 2019
[208] Ipsos Mori, Veracity Index 2019 survey source

Report Recommendations

Aimed at news organizations who wish to provide a more gender-balanced platform that uncovers women's perspectives and experiences of the COVID-19/ coronavirus crisis

The 21 recommendations generated in this report are immediately actionable within news organizations and provide tactical ideas for redressing the existing substantive bias towards men's perspectives in the coverage of the COVID-19/coronavirus pandemic story. They are evidence-based and focus on improving the representation of women in newsgathering (as experts) and in news outputs (as protagonists). The recommendations also offer suggestions on how to kick-start a gender equality polemic within the COVID-19 news story, an element largely missing at present, as well as how to ensure that the story coverage is relevant to women.

Recommendations focusing on newsgathering: Women as sources of news expertise

1. **Raise awareness** among the leadership of your organization and the journalists in the newsroom of the **existing significant male bias when quoting experts in COVID-19 stories**.
   - ☐ Encourage journalists to **track the gender of the experts they quote** within a COVID-19 piece and across all their pieces.
   - ☐ If a piece is about a man/men dying of COVID-19, include an angle about the impact this would have on the women in their lives (e.g. wives/partners, daughters, mothers).
2. Put together **lists of women experts** on health crises/medicine/research for journalists to use to offset the tendency of journalists to revert to established male experts in times of crisis.
3. Give voice to women protagonists and experts that many trust highly: **doctors, scientists and paramedics**, who typically tend to be men, as well as **nurses and schoolteachers**, who tend to be women**.**
4. Use more **health correspondents** (who are more likely to be women) to cover the story rather than more **political, economics or business correspondents** (who are more likely to be men).
5. Consider publishing **more images of women experts** to accompany their expert views, thus challenging gender stereotypes and visually rebalancing the strong male bias in news coverage

Recommendations focusing on news outputs: Women protagonists

6. Make the leadership of your organization and the journalists in the newsroom **aware of the existing significant male bias when choosing protagonists.**
7. Launch more **COVID-related features centered around women as protagonists.**
8. **Amplify the views of women who are political, healthcare and business leaders** when reporting on COVID-19 to offset women's absence in the national crisis committees responsible for driving policy-making decisions.
9. Produce a **series of pieces/programs** across different platforms that examine the impact of the pandemic on women.
10. Ensure that a healthy proportion of women protagonists are portrayed as **empowered (rather than side-kicks or victims).**

Recommendations focusing on news outputs: Coverage of gender equality

11. Ensure that the leadership of your organization and the journalists in the newsroom are **aware of the existing absence of the gender equality angle** within COVID-19 news coverage.
12. Seek a **gender angle in every COVID-19 story** you write/publish/present
    - ☐ Ask yourself what the **women's perspectives** are in every story

- ☐ **Hold those in power to account for their male-dominated perspectives** in relation to the COVID-19 crisis. Report on the gender imbalance in: COVID-19 response committees at a country level (bar in South Africa); in political leadership and parties; in leaders of global health organizations; and in the scientific community.

13. When covering the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic across countries, look at treatments that focus on **areas of concern to women** across the global south and the global north

- ☐ **Solutions** that are likely to contain the virus and end the pandemic
- ☐ The impact of the pandemic on **jobs/ unemployment**
- ☐ The impact of the pandemic on **healthcare provision** (especially in the global north)
- ☐ The impact of the pandemic on women's **reproductive and health rights**
- ☐ The impact of the pandemic on **education and children**
- ☐ The impact of the pandemic on **girls and young women** (many of whom are classified as NEETS – Not in Education, Employment, or Training)
- ☐ The impact of the pandemic on **poverty** levels (domestic, regional and global)
- ☐ The impact of the pandemic on **crime and gender-based domestic and sexual violence**
- ☐ If you are a multiplatform news provider, ensure that you create **multi-platform packages** tailored to women audiences for social media and TV.

14. When covering the impact of the pandemic **within a country** explore the following **story angles:**

- ☐ The **political and power-related challenges** that women face in relation to COVID-19 – is anyone championing their cause?
- ☐ Are there any **educational challenges** in the countries from the global south, that act as barriers for women's effective response to COVID-19?
- ☐ What are the **health-related challenges** that women face (mental, physical, or related to their reproductive and sexual health)?
- ☐ What are the **socio-economic pressures** that **women face uniquely as a result of patriarchal social norms**? (e.g. as victims of gender-based violence, as primary care-givers, as spouses of deceased men in control of family finances and property, as homemakers with informal jobs, as part-time employees with less secure jobs, as lower income earners, as parents more likely to live in single households with higher numbers of dependents)
- ☐ What are the **micro angles that can be explored** in the story? (e.g. about individuals, wellbeing, community, local dimensions rather than global or national angles)
- ☐ What is the **local dimension** of the story? What is the impact on specific municipalities, rural areas, cities and towns?

15. Ensure that your **photo-journalism and imagery on your website is gender balanced.** In addition, ensure that your images **challenge rather than reinforce existing (patriarchal) stereotypes** about women's role in society.

Recommendations focusing on the framing and treatments of the COVID-19/coronavirus story:

16. When writing about COVID-19/coronavirus, be mindful of commonly used **exaggerated and overly-aggressive language** found in **war frames** reliant on war metaphors, such as *"weapon", "killer", "battle", "fight", "crash", "destroy" "merciless",* which induce fear and anxiety or guilt and helplessness. This is often the dominant framing of political leaders and so can set the agenda.

17. Consider using other frames as an alternative. The **structural inequalities frame** holds enormous potential to shine a light on women's unique gender struggles. The **cooperation/solidarity frame,** which reflects a more unifying perspective of the pandemic could, for example, focus on how local communities have supported each other, or a **human interest frame** would explore the personal impacts of any aspect of the pandemic on people.

18. In line with the alternative frames, choose more **inclusive and equanimous language** emphasizing *togetherness, cooperation* and *solidarity,* using metaphors such as that of an "*uninvited guest in a house*". Use adjectives and phrases that are empowering and infused with some level of

optimism such as "*growth*", "*healing*", "*support*", "*escort away*", "*bring together*", "*light at the end of the tunnel*".

19. Find more **positive story angles** which activate hope, to encourage women to engage more deeply with the news rather than turn away from it, and to counteract women's heightened feelings of anxiety compared to men.

20. Provide more **personal context** within a COVID-19/coronavirus news story, as well as **objective background**:

- ☐ Balance facts with stories highlighting the real emotional impacts, through personal accounts to draw women in and humanize the immeasurable loss caused by the virus
- ☐ Combine different formats such as features with data journalism.

Recommendations focusing on news consumption and impacts: Understand who is consuming your stories and what they think

21. Actively seek out the views of your audiences who are women through surveys, interviews, discussion groups and direct engagement. Attempt to understand what impact your journalism is having on their lives.

- ☐ Seek data disaggregated by sex when reporting evidence. Ensure that your data journalism is based on data disaggregated by sex.

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APPENDIX 1: METHODOLOGY AND BACKGROUND OF KEY SOURCES AND ANALYSES

Introduction

This appendix covers in detail the methodology and background of eight key sources and analyses used in this report:

1. Media Ecosystems Analysis Group. (2020). *Women in the News in the Age of Coronavirus: Content Analysis*
2. AKAS. (2020a). COVID-19/coronavirus Portrayal Analysis.
3. AKAS. (2020b). COVID-19 Headlines Pronouns Analysis.
4. AKAS. (2020c). Google Surveys on COVID-19/ coronavirus News Needs.
5. AKAS. (2020d). COVID-19 Narratives and Frames Analysis using Google's News Search Engine.
6. AKAS (2020e). Coronavirus Narratives and Frames Analysis using the Internet TV News Archive.
7. AKAS (2020f). Rapid Literature Review of Papers Referencing Media Framing and Pandemics using Google Scholar.
8. AKAS (2020g). Coronavirus Frames Analysis using the GDELT Project Global Online News Archive.

1. Media Ecosystems Analysis Group. (2020). Women in the News in the Age of Coronavirus: Content Analysis

Media Cloud, an open source database and analysis platform containing over 60,000 news media publications and over 1 billion news stories from around the globe, was the core research tool for this project. The platform allows for large-scale evaluation of news media coverage and ecosystems. Documentation on the various computational and analytical models contained within Media Cloud can be found on GitHub. Automated methods through Media Cloud were the primary data collection and analysis approach, supplemented with manual coding and researcher insight.

Analytical approaches varied based on gender equality indicators:

- The analysis approach for **Indicator 1: Use of women as sources of news expertise**, was to evaluate the percentage of times that quoted speech in news articles could be attributed to a woman speaker; notably, while a quote represents having a voice in a news story, it may not be the same as being denoted an expert. This indicator required more significant manual coding than other indicators. For this indicator, age was not factored in. When manually coded, any female pronoun was marked as female. When names are run through Genderize.io, there is no distinction between girls and women.
- To evaluate **Indicator 2: News stories leading with women protagonists,** researchers analyzed the percentage of headlines that featured women's names. Age was not factored in. When the names are run through Genderize.io, there is no distinction between girls and women.
- To evaluate **Indicator 3: Coverage of gender equality issues**, a complex keyword-based query was developed to capture coverage that touched on gender equality issues. The word 'girl' was included in the query. Various descriptive analyses were then run on the resulting coverage corpus.

The corpus of analysis for Indicators 1 and 2 was comprised of 80 total key publications from the six countries of focus, as set out in Figure 27, for coronavirus and non-coronavirus stories. These publications were selected based on web traffic to the publication homepage per SimilarWeb data, and number of stories in the Media Cloud system.

The corpus of analysis for Indicator 3 was comprised of all news publications contained in Media Cloud for each of the six countries of focus; this totaled 350 publications from India, 69 publications from Kenya, 246 publications from Nigeria, 136 publications from South Africa, 444 publications from the United Kingdom, and 10,668 publications from the United States. Figure 28 sets this out as well as the number of stories covered. The period 01 March 2020 to 15 April 2020 was the timeframe of analysis across all indicators.

The most frequently used words analysis for **Indicator 3: Gender equality news coverage** was done through word clouds which generated a count of the top words used in a sample of 1,000 stories (or all stories, if less than 1,000). Words were sized by prevalence and ordered in descending order.

Figure 27. Number of key publications for each country

Country	Indicator 1: 1 & 2: Number of Key Publications	Indicator 1: Quotes from Stories With Coronavirus	Indicator 1: Quotes from Stories Without Coronavirus	Indicator 1: Total Quotes Coded	Indicator 2: Stories With Coronavirus	Indicator 2: Stories Without Coronavirus	Indicator 2: Total Stories Sampled
India	16	230	120	350	4,020	3,947	7,967
Kenya	10	203	147	350	2,887	2,804	5,691
Nigeria	10	222	128	350	3,959	3,996	7,955
South Africa	10	232	118	350	3,677	3,370	7,047
United Kingdom	14	190	160	350	3,868	3,772	7,640
United States	20	215	135	350	3,973	3,891	7,864
Total	**80**	**1,292**	**808**	**2,100**	**22,384**	**21,780**	**44,164**

Figure 28. Publications and stories analyzed

Country	Indicator 3: Number of Publications	Indicator 3: Number of Stories (2019)
India	350	415,990
Kenya	69	48,168
Nigeria	246	316,501
South Africa	136	202,667
United Kingdom	444	299,113
United States	10,668	573,660
Total	**11,913**	**1,856,099**

2. AKAS. (2020a). COVID-19/Coronavirus Portrayal Analysis

AKAS used Google's news search engine to find the most highly ranked stories with COVID-19 or coronavirus in the headlines for the top five online news providers (ranked by SimilarWeb visitor data) in each of the six countries.

The search period was constrained to the period 01 March 2020 to 15 April 2020.

Specifically, AKAS carried out the following approach:

Firstly the URLs for each of the top five online news providers (ranked by SimilarWeb visitors) were identified for Nigeria, South Africa, Kenya, India, UK and the US.

Then for each news provider's URL, two separate search terms were entered into Google's news search engine in the following formats:

site:[News provider url) intitle: "Coronavirus;" and

site:[News provider url) intitle: "COVID".

The highest three returns for each of the two search queries were then entered into a database, meaning that six highly ranked story URLs were entered for each provider.

In some cases, only five URLs were entered if the same story was returned by the two search queries.

To minimise the impact of a "personalization effect" on Google's search results, the search engine's geographic location was set for each country before the searches commenced. In addition, tests were carried out to see whether the same story URLs appeared when Google's personalization function was turned off to ensure the results were valid.

In total, the 175 most highly ranked stories were analyzed equating to 28-30 for each country. Each of the top news providers had five to six of their most highly ranked newspaper articles analyzed.

The 175 stories were then coded to capture the following metrics:

- Subject area
- All people who were mentioned or quoted in the story
- Who the story was about
- Occupation/position of the people in the news
- Number of protagonists, spokespeople, experts, commentators and sources
- Whether the protagonists were identified as a victim, survivor or empowered
- Whether the story angles were positive, negative or neutral
- Impact of COVID-19/coronavirus on specific groups.

Where relevant the sex of the person in the news was recorded.

3. AKAS. (2020b). COVID-19 Headlines Pronoun Analysis

AKAS used Google's news search engine to analyze headlines for the top five online news providers (ranked by SimilarWeb visitor data) in the six analyzed countries.

In total 30 top online news providers were analyzed.

The number of headlines which included "COVID" and "she", and then the headlines which included "COVID" and "he" were recorded for each of the 30 news providers. An underlying assumption was made that headlines with "she" were likely to refer to a protagonist who was a woman and headlines with "he" were likely to refer to a protagonist who was a man.

Country figures were then calculated by aggregating the recorded number for the top five online news providers in each country for headlines with "she" and with "he".

The ratio of headlines with "she" to "he" was then calculated as a proxy of gender inequality in the use of protagonists.

4. AKAS. (2020c). Google Surveys on COVID-19/Coronavirus News Needs.

AKAS used the Google Surveys platform to ask a number of single questions in the UK and US of a representative sample of the populations in each

country (by age, sex, and geography) with a sample N=1,000. Questions were not asked in India, South Africa, Nigeria and Kenya due to the sample composition not being representative of the general population. The four questions asked are listed below:

1. Which of the following aspects of the coronavirus story would you like to see more coverage of in the news? The impact of coronavirus/COVID-19 on:
   - Your local area; the UK's/US's economy; people's general wellbeing; people's mental health; elderly people's lives; children's lives; people's physical health; nurses; doctors; carers' lives; the UK's/US's national politics; women's lives; parents' lives; the life of someone like you; people's relationships; the jobs for someone like you; the finances of someone like you; men's lives.

2. Which of the following ways in which coronavirus/COVID-19 is talked about in the news resonates with you? Coronavirus is…
   - A disease which we need to be protected from; a tragedy we'll all learn from; a test of humanity
   - An external threat pulling us all together; a curse brought to us by globalization; the enemy that needs to be beaten in a war; none of the above.

3. What words first come to mind when you reflect on the current coronavirus pandemic?

4. What feelings do you personally have in relation to the current coronavirus pandemic?

For more details of the methodology used to conduct Google Surveys see:

https://support.google.com/surveys/answer/6189786?hl=en

5. AKAS. (2020d). COVID-19 Narratives and Frames Analysis using Google's News Search Engine.

AKAS used Google's news search engine to count the number of times articles have included the term "COVID" and a series of framing words.

The nearly 250 words analyzed were categorized under nine of the 12 narratives frames including: health severity (plague, killer, war); other health severity; othering; globalization; human interest; solidarity/cooperation; economic consequences; and attribution of responsibility. The medical/scientific, action and structural inequalities frames were not carried out in these analyses.

6. AKAS (2020e). Coronavirus Narratives and Frames Analysis using the Internet TV News Archive

AKAS used the Internet TV News Archive to search US and international TV news captions to count the number of times in each week in 2020 news broadcasts had the terms "coronavirus" and a series of framing words referenced within 15 second slots.

The framing words analyzed with "coronavirus" were: "pandemic"; "death"; "war"; "global"; "China"; "economic"; "economy"; and "business". These covered six of the 12 identified narrative frames.

For more details of the Internet Archive see: https://archive.org/about/

7. AKAS (2020f). Rapid Literature Review of Papers Referencing Media Framing and Pandemics using Google Scholar

The methodology behind this literature review consisted of three stages:

Stage 1: Understanding the volume of literature referencing "Media Framing"

- AKAS assessed the volume of academic papers referencing **"media framing"** in Google Scholar. 18,701 articles were found since 1979.

Stage 2: Creating a database of nearly 532 academic papers and articles

- AKAS then compiled a database of 532 academic papers relating to "media framing" and "pandemic" which had been published since 2000

- The academic papers were sourced on the basis of the following terms appearing in their text **("Media Framing" AND "Pandemic")** in Google Scholar
- Each paper's entry in the database included: the paper title; author; date of publication; the abstract/summary; and "cited by" numbers

Stage 3: Screening of the papers for relevance

- Finally, AKAS highlighted the 34 most relevant academic papers in the database, based on the number of citations and relevance to this report
- These papers were reviewed and, where available, the frames used in the papers were recorded in the database

8. AKAS (2020g). Coronavirus Frames Analysis using the GDELT Project Global Online News Archive

AKAS used the GDELT Project global online news archive to search all English and non-English online news stories in 2020 to count the number of times "coronavirus" and a series of framing keywords appeared in articles, across the 12 identified frames. The keywords used under each frame are set out below:

- Plague frame (Peak = 16.4%)
  Keywords: Plague, Pandemic, Epidemic
- War frame (Peak = 5.8%)
  Keywords: War, Battle, Combat, Enemy, Conquer
- Killer frame (Peak = 2.3%)
  Keywords: Killer, Kill, Murderer, Deadly, Raging
- Medical/scientific frame (Peak = 11.4%)
  Keywords: Scientific, Science, Medicine, Medical
- Globalization frame (Peak = 14.7%)
  Keywords: Global, Globe, World, International
- Blame frame (Peak = 4.8%)
  Keywords: Blame, Fault, Responsible, Responsibility, Responsibilities, Guilt, Guilty
- Othering frame (Peak = 5.6%)
  Keywords: China, Wuhan
- Action frame (Peak = 9.1%)
  Keywords: Social Distancing, Social Distance, Wear A Mask, Wearing A Mask, Washing Hands, Wash Hands, Self Isolating, Self Isolate, Stay At Home
- Economic consequences frame (Peak = 12.6%)
  Keywords: Economy, Economic, Business, Businesses, Employment, Unemployment, Recession, Jobs
- Solidarity frame (Peak = 5.4%)
  Keywords: Solidarity, Cooperation, Hope
- Human interest frame (Peak = 6.6%)
  Keywords: Wife, Mother, Daughter, Sister, Husband, Father, Son, Brother, Friend
- Structural inequality frame (Peak = 1.1%)
  Keywords: Inequality, Inequalities, Fair, Fairness, Unfair, Unfairness

Additional analyses were also carried out to understand:

- The volume of coronavirus stories
- The volume of any stories that mentioned man/men's/male/males vs woman/women's/female/females

For more details of the GDELT Project see: https://www.gdeltproject.org

APPENDIX 2: STATISTICAL TABLES

Figure 29: Sex-disaggregated COVID-19 cases retrieved on 26 June 2020
https://globalhealth5050.org/covid19/sex-disaggregated-data-tracker/

Ranked by % Women Cases	Country	Date in 2020	Cases where sex-disaggregated data is available	Cases (% male)	Cases (% female)	Source
1	Wales	8-Jun	14448	36%	64%	https://public.tableau.com/profile/public.health.wales.health.protection#!/vizhome/RapidCOVID-19virology-Public/Headlinesummary
2	Belgium	19-Jun	60,567	37%	63%	https://epistat.wiv-isp.be/Covid/covid-19.html
3	The Netherlands	23-Jun	49631	38%	62%	https://www.rivm.nl/documenten/dagelijkse-update-epidemiologische-situatie-covid-19-in-nederland
4	Scotland	22-Jun	18038	38%	62%	https://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/files//statistics/covid19/covid-deaths-report-week-14.pdf
5	Northern Ireland	23-Jun	4861	38%	62%	https://app.powerbi.com/view?r=eyJrIjoiZGYxNjYzNmUtOTlmZS00ODAxLWE1YTEtMjA0NjZhMzlmN2JmIiwidCI6IjljOWEzMGRlLWQ4ZDctNGFhNC05NjAwLTRiZTc2MjVmZjZjNSIsImMiOjh9
6	Sweden	23-Jun	60837	41%	59%	https://fohm.maps.arcgis.com/apps/opsdashboard/index.html#/68d4537bf2714e63b646c37f152f1392
7	Moldova	24-Jun	14714	41%	59%	http://gismoldova.maps.arcgis.com/apps/opsdashboard/index.html#/d274da857ed345efa66e1fbc959b021b
8	Lithuania	23-Jun	1803	42%	58%	https://registrucentras.maps.arcgis.com/apps/opsdashboard/index.html#/becd01f2fade4149ba7a9e5baaddcd8d
9	Denmark	23-Jun	12561	43%	57%	https://www.ssi.dk/sygdomme-beredskab-og-forskning/sygdomsovervaagning/c/covid19-overvaagning
10	South Korea	23-Jun	12484	43%	57%	http://ncov.mohw.go.kr/bdBoardList_Real.do?brdId=1&brdGubun=11&ncvContSeq=&contSeq=&board_id=&gubun=
11	Republic of Ireland	20-Jun	25349	43%	57%	https://www.hpsc.ie/a-z/respiratory/coronavirus/novelcoronavirus/casesinireland/epidemiologyofcovid-19inireland/COVID-19%20Daily_epidemiology_report_(NPHET)_02062020_website_v1.pdf
12	South Africa	23-Jun	105308	43%	57%	https://www.nicd.ac.za/diseases-a-z-index/covid-19/surveillance-reports/
13	Spain	21-May	248335	43%	57%	https://www.mscbs.gob.es/profesionales/saludPublica/ccayes/alertasActual/nCov-China/documentos/Actualizacion_68_COVID-19.pdf
14	England	17-Jun	228742	43%	57%	https://www.gov.uk/government/news/weekly-covid-19-surveillance-report-published
15	Portugal	22-Jun	39392	44%	56%	https://covid19.min-saude.pt/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/112_DGS_boletim_20200622.pdf
16	Canada	23-Jun	101,276	44%	56%	https://health-infobase.canada.ca/covid-19/epidemiological-summary-covid-19-cases.html#a7
17	Ukraine	28-Apr	9410	44%	56%	https://moz.gov.ua/article/news/operativna-informacija-pro-poshirennja-koronavirusnoi-infekcii-2019-ncov-1
18	Estonia	24-Jun	1978	44%	56%	https://koroonakaart.ee/en
19	New Zealand	24-Jun	1515	44%	56%	https://www.health.govt.nz/our-work/diseases-and-conditions/covid-19-novel-coronavirus/covid-19-current-situation/covid-19-current-cases#gender
20	Romania	14-Jun	22160	45%	55%	https://www.cnscbt.ro/index.php/analiza-cazuri-confirmate-covid19/1789-raport-saptamanal-episaptamana22/file
21	Slovenia	22-Jun	1534	45%	55%	https://www.nijz.si/sl/dnevno-spremljanje-okuzb-s-sars-cov-2-covid-19
22	Bhutan	22-Jun	69	45%	55%	http://www.moh.gov.bt/national-situational-update-on-covid-19-as-of-22nd-june-2020/

Figure 29(continued)**:** Sex-disaggregated COVID-19 cases retrieved on 26 June 2020
https://globalhealth5050.org/covid19/sex-disaggregated-data-tracker/

Ranked by % Women Cases	Country	Date in 2020	Cases where sex-disaggregated data is available	Cases (% male)	Cases (% female)	Source
23	Italy	16-Jun	238,050	46%	54%	https://www.epicentro.iss.it/coronavirus/bollettino/Bollettino-sorveglianza-integrata-COVID-19_16-giugno-2020.pdf
24	Switzerland	23-Jun	31306	46%	54%	https://www.bag.admin.ch/bag/fr/home/krankheiten/ausbrueche-epidemien-pandemien/aktuelle-ausbrueche-epidemien/novel-cov/situation-schweiz-und-international.html#1164290551
25	Azerbaijan	21-Jun	13207	46%	54%	https://koronavirusinfo.az/az/page/statistika/azerbaycanda-cari-veziyyet
26	Bosnia and Herzegovina	15-Jun	1676	46%	54%	https://covid-19.ba/
27	Cabo Verde	22-Jun	944	47%	53%	https://covid19.cv/
28	Croatia	22-Jun	2336	47%	53%	https://koronavirus.hr/podaci/489
29	Albania	22-Jun	2047	47%	53%	https://coronavirus.al/statistika/
30	Kyrgyzstan	19-Jun	2789	48%	52%	http://www.med.kg/en/informatsii-2/1803-epidemiological-situation-with-covid-19-in-kyrgyzstan-as-of-june-8-2020.html
31	Germany	22-Jun	190,431	48%	52%	https://www.rki.de/DE/Content/InfAZ/N/Neuartiges_Coronavirus/Situationsberichte/2020-06-22-en.pdf?__blob=publicationFile
32	North Macedonia	24-Jun	3363	49%	51%	https://koronavirus.gov.mk/stat
33	Austria	23-Jun	17328	49%	51%	https://www.sozialministerium.at/Informationen-zum-Coronavirus/Neuartiges-Coronavirus-(2019-nCov).html
34	Bulgaria	25-May	2443	49%	51%	sex disaggregated data for deaths : https://coronavirus.bg/bg/briefings/117 sex disaggregated data for cases: https://coronavirus.bg/bg/briefings/120
35	Finland	23-Jun	7167	50%	50%	https://thl.fi/fi/web/infektiotaudit-ja-rokotukset/ajankohtaista/ajankohtaista-koronaviruksesta-covid-19/tilannekatsaus-koronaviruksesta
36	Norway	23-Jun	8751	50%	50%	https://www.fhi.no/en/id/infectious-diseases/coronavirus/daily-reports/daily-reports-COVID19/
37	Iceland	21-Jun	1823	50%	50%	https://www.covid.is/data
38	Slovakia	28-May	1491	50%	50%	https://korona.gov.sk/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/analyza_covid_28052020_final.pdf
39	Czech Republic	23-Jun	10182	50%	50%	https://onemocneni-aktualne.mzcr.cz/covid-19
40	Cyprus	23-Jun	990	50%	50%	https://covid19.ucy.ac.cy/
41	Argentina	22-Jun	42785	51%	49%	https://www.argentina.gob.ar/coronavirus/informe-diario
42	China	28-Feb	55924	51%	49%	https://www.who.int/docs/default-source/coronaviruse/who-china-joint-mission-on-covid-19-final-report.pdf
43	Cuba	24-Jun	2319	51%	49%	https://covid19cubadata.github.io/#cuba
44	Australia	23-Jun	7,613	51%	49%	https://www.health.gov.au/news/health-alerts/novel-coronavirus-2019-ncov-health-alert/coronavirus-covid-19-current-situation-and-case-numbers#cases-and-deaths-by-age-and-sex http://www9.health.gov.au/cda/source/rpt_5.cfm
45	Luxembourg	22-Jun	4133	52%	48%	https://msan.gouvernement.lu/en/dossiers/2020/corona-virus.html

Figure 29(continued)**:** Sex-disaggregated COVID-19 cases retrieved on 26 June 2020
https://globalhealth5050.org/covid19/sex-disaggregated-data-tracker/

Ranked by % Women Cases	Country	Date in 2020	Cases where sex-disaggregated data is available	Cases (% male)	Cases (% female)	Source
46	Sierra Leone	24-Jun	1354	52%	48%	https://www.facebook.com/mic.gov.sl/photos/a.310063372915015/651894335398582
47	Chile	19-Jun	231352	52%	48%	https://www.minsal.cl/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/informe_epi_27_RA.pdf
48	Latvia	24-Jun	1111	52%	48%	https://spkc.gov.lv/lv/tavai-veselibai/aktualitate-par-jauno-koronavi
49	Senegal	20-May	736	52%	48%	http://www.sante.gouv.sn/publication
50	Indonesia	23-Jun	47,896	53%	47%	https://www.covid19.go.id
51	Hong Kong	23-Jun	1178	54%	46%	https://chp-dashboard.geodata.gov.hk/covid-19/en.html
52	Dominican Republic	21-Jun	27370	54%	46%	https://www.msp.gob.do/web/?page_id=6948#1586785071781-f0e8c057-f5f4
53	Israel	23-Jun	15860	54%	46%	https://t.me/MOHreport/4606http://www9.health.gov.au/cda/source/rpt_5.cfm
54	Algeria	22-Jun	11920	55%	45%	https://covid19.cdta.dz/dashboard/production/index.php
55	Greece	23-Jun	3085	55%	45%	https://eody.gov.gr/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/covid-gr-daily-report-20200623.pdf
56	Mexico	22-Jun	185122	55%	45%	https://coronavirus.gob.mx/datos/
57	Japan	21-Jun	17256	55%	45%	https://mhlw-gis.maps.arcgis.com/apps/opsdashboard/index.html#/0c5d0502bbb54f9a8dddebca003631b8
58	Thailand	21-Jun	3148	55%	45%	https://ddc.moph.go.th/viralpneumonia/eng/
59	Colombia	8-Jun	40719	55%	45%	https://www.ins.gov.co/Noticias/Paginas/Coronavirus.aspx
60	Ecuador	29-May	29615	56%	44%	https://coronavirusecuador.com/data/
61	Venezuela	22-Jun	4048	56%	44%	https://covid19.patria.org.ve/estadisticas-venezuela/
62	Costa Rica	22-Jun	2277	56%	44%	https://www.ministeriodesalud.go.cr/index.php/centro-de-prensa/noticias/741-noticias-2020/1725-situacion-nacional-covid-19
63	Philippines	23-Jun	30682	56%	44%	https://ncovtracker.doh.gov.ph/
64	Honduras	22-Jun	13355	56%	44%	https://covid19honduras.org/
65	Panama	22-Jun	26752	57%	43%	http://minsa.gob.pa/coronavirus-covid19
66	Ghana	23-Jun	14568	57%	43%	https://ghanahealthservice.org/covid19/
67	Iran	17-Mar	14,991	57%	43%	https://twitter.com/drjahanpur/status/1239837848175439874
68	Lebanon	23-Jun	1621	57%	43%	https://www.moph.gov.lb/maps/covid19.php
69	Peru	22-Jun	257447	58%	42%	https://covid19.minsa.gob.pe/sala_situacional.asp
70	Haiti	21-Jun	5211	60%	40%	https://www.mspp.gouv.ht/
71	Kazakhstan	8-Jun	9452	61%	39%	https://hls.kz/
72	Guatemala	22-Jun	13769	61%	39%	https://www.mspas.gob.gt/index.php/noticias/covid-19/casos
73	Ethiopia	22-Jun	4848	62%	38%	https://tena.et/update
74	El Salvador	22-Jun	4973	64%	36%	https://covid19.gob.sv/
75	Burkina Faso	25-Jun	934	64%	36%	https://www.sante.gov.bf/accueil
76	Nigeria	23-Jun	21371	67%	33%	https://ncdc.gov.ng/diseases/sitreps/?cat=14&name=An%20update%20of%20COVID-19%20outbreak%20in%20Nigeria
77	Paraguay	22-Jun	1392	67%	33%	https://www.mspbs.gov.py/reporte-covid19.html

Figure 29(continued)**:** Sex-disaggregated COVID-19 cases retrieved on 26 June 2020
https://globalhealth5050.org/covid19/sex-disaggregated-data-tracker/

Ranked by % Women Cases	Country	Date in 2020	Cases where sex-disaggregated data is available	Cases (% male)	Cases (% female)	Source
78	Djibouti	2-Jun	3779	68%	32%	https://reliefweb.int/report/djibouti/republic-djibouti-covid-19-situation-report-9-17-may-2-june-2020
79	Kenya	21-Jun	4738	69%	31%	https://www.health.go.ke/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/Kenya-COVID-19-SITREP-096-21-Jun-2020-1.pdf
80	Bangladesh	22-Jun	115786	71%	29%	https://www.iedcr.gov.bd/index.php/component/content/article/73-ncov-2019
81	Somalia	23-Jun	2812	73%	27%	http://moh.gov.so/en/covid19/
82	Afghanistan	23-Jun	25987	73%	27%	http://covid.moph-dw.org/#/
83	Central Africal Republic	21-Jun	2963	74%	26%	https://twitter.com/MSPCentrafrique/status/1275127633538400256/photo/2
84	Pakistan	22-Jun	185034	74%	26%	http://covid.gov.pk/stats/pakistan
85	Saudi Arabia	26-May	76726	75%	25%	https://twitter.com/SaudiMOH/status/1262429066931646464/photo/1
86	Yemen	23-Jun	996	75%	25%	https://app.powerbi.com/view?r=eyJrIjoiZjE2NzJjZDItNDgyZi00NDFkLWFlMjItNjA2MjIwMWYzODJkIiwidCI6ImY2MTBjMGI3LWJkMjQtNGIzOS04MTBiLTNkYzI4MGFmYjU5MCIsImMiOjh9
87	Rwanda	23-Jun	798	77%	23%	https://www.rbc.gov.rw/index.php?id=707
88	Maldives	23-Jun	2206	85%	15%	https://covid19.health.gov.mv/dashboard/
89	Bahrain	10-Jun	5873	88%	12%	https://www.moh.gov.bh/Covid19/ContactsTracing
90	Singapore	5-May	6530	89%	11%	https://co.vid19.sg/singapore/
91	Qatar	28-Apr	12156	91%	9%	https://www.wgoqatar.com/2020/04/daily-covid-19-stats-by-qatar-cdc/
92	Nepal	22-Jun	9561	91%	9%	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1nfUbDAWL9ZIYnbSk69yUwFWlrDxJSUFw; http://edcd.gov.np/news/download/epidemiological-update-on-covid-19-12-june-2020

Figure 30: Sex-disaggregated COVID-19 deaths retrieved on 26 June 2020
https://globalhealth5050.org/covid19/sex-disaggregated-data-tracker/

Ranked by % Women deaths	Country	Date	Deaths where sex-disaggregated data is available	deaths (% male)	deaths (% female)	Source
1	Slovenia	22-Jun	111	41.44%	58.56%	https://www.nijz.si/sl/dnevno-spremljanje-okuzb-s-sars-cov-2-covid-19
2	Canada	23-Jun	8412	45.65%	54.35%	https://health-infobase.canada.ca/covid-19/epidemiological-summary-covid-19-cases.html#a7
3	Estonia	24-Jun	69	46.38%	53.62%	https://koroonakaart.ee/en
4	Finland	23-Jun	323	48.00%	52.00%	https://thl.fi/fi/web/infektiotaudit-ja-rokotukset/ajankohtaista/ajankohtaista-koronaviruksesta-covid-19/tilannekatsaus-koronaviruksesta
5	Hungary	24-Jun	573	49.39%	50.61%	https://koronavirus.gov.hu/elhunytak
6	Republic of Ireland	20-Jun	1717	49.50%	50.50%	https://www.hpsc.ie/a-z/respiratory/coronavirus/novelcoronavirus/casesinireland/epidemiologyofcovid-19inireland/COVID-19%20Daily_epidemiology_report_(NPHET)_02062020_website_v1.pdf
7	Portugal	22-Jun	1534	49.74%	50.26%	https://covid19.min-saude.pt/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/112_DGS_boletim_20200622.pdf
8	Scotland	22-Jun	4,119	49.79%	50.21%	https://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/files//statistics/covid19/covid-deaths-report-week-14.pdf
9	Belgium	19-Jun	7016	50.50%	49.50%	https://epistat.wiv-isp.be/Covid/covid-19.html
10	Poland	24-Jun	1395	51.47%	48.53%	https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1ierEhD6gcq51HAm433knjnVwey4ZE5DCnu1bW7PRG3E/htmlview?fbclid=IwAR3diFvPqpkq0Kam18jvA9Y2uxq8ihE0DGeynwPJSlwtOeTCcWgGHgK47AM#
11	South Africa	23-Jun	2,100	51.76%	48.24%	https://www.nicd.ac.za/diseases-a-z-index/covid-19/surveillance-reports/
12	Northern Ireland	23-Jun	545	52.29%	47.71%	https://app.powerbi.com/view?r=eyJrIjoiZGYxNjYzNmUtOTlmZS00ODAxLWE1YTEtMjA0NjZhMzlmN2JmIiwidCI6IjljOWEzMGRlLWQ4ZDctNGFhNC05NjAwLTRiZTc2MjVmZjZjNSIsImMiOjh9
13	Kyrgyzstan	19-Jun	10	52.63%	47.37%	http://www.med.kg/en/informatsii-2/1803-epidemiological-situation-with-covid-19-in-kyrgyzstan-as-of-june-8-2020.html
14	South Korea	23-Jun	281	53.38%	46.62%	http://ncov.mohw.go.kr/bdBoardList_Real.do?brdId=1&brdGubun=11&ncvContSeq=&contSeq=&board_id=&gubun=
15	USA	17-Jun	103,337	53.55%	46.45%	https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/nvss/vsrr/COVID19/
16	Israel	23-Jun	303	53.80%	46.20%	https://t.me/MOHreport/4606http://www9.health.gov.au/cda/source/rpt_5.cfm
17	Norway	23-Jun	248	54.03%	45.97%	https://www.fhi.no/en/id/infectious-diseases/coronavirus/daily-reports/daily-reports-COVID19/
18	Sweden	23-Jun	5161	54.76%	45.24%	https://fohm.maps.arcgis.com/apps/opsdashboard/index.html#/68d4537bf2714e63b646c37f152f1392
19	The Netherlands	23-Jun	6095	55.03%	44.97%	https://www.rivm.nl/documenten/dagelijkse-update-epidemiologische-situatie-covid-19-in-nederland
20	Ukraine	28-Apr	239	55.23%	44.77%	https://moz.gov.ua/article/news/operativna-informacija-pro-poshirennja-koronavirusnoi-infekcii-2019-ncov-1
21	Germany	22-Jun	8880	55.38%	44.62%	https://www.rki.de/DE/Content/InfAZ/N/Neuartiges_Coronavirus/Situationsberichte/2020-06-22-en.pdf?__blob=publicationFile
22	Australia	23-Jun	102	55.88%	44.12%	https://www.health.gov.au/news/health-alerts/novel-coronavirus-2019-ncov-health-alert/coronavirus-covid-19-current-situation-and-case-numbers#cases-and-deaths-by-age-and-sex http://www9.health.gov.au/cda/source/rpt_5.cfm
23	Austria	23-Jun	693	56.00%	44.00%	https://www.sozialministerium.at/Informationen-zum-Coronavirus/Neuartiges-Coronavirus-(2019-nCov).html
24	Luxembourg	22-Jun	110	56.00%	44.00%	https://msan.gouvernement.lu/en/dossiers/2020/corona-virus.html

Figure 30(continued)**:** Sex-disaggregated COVID-19 deaths retrieved on 26 June 2020
https://globalhealth5050.org/covid19/sex-disaggregated-data-tracker/

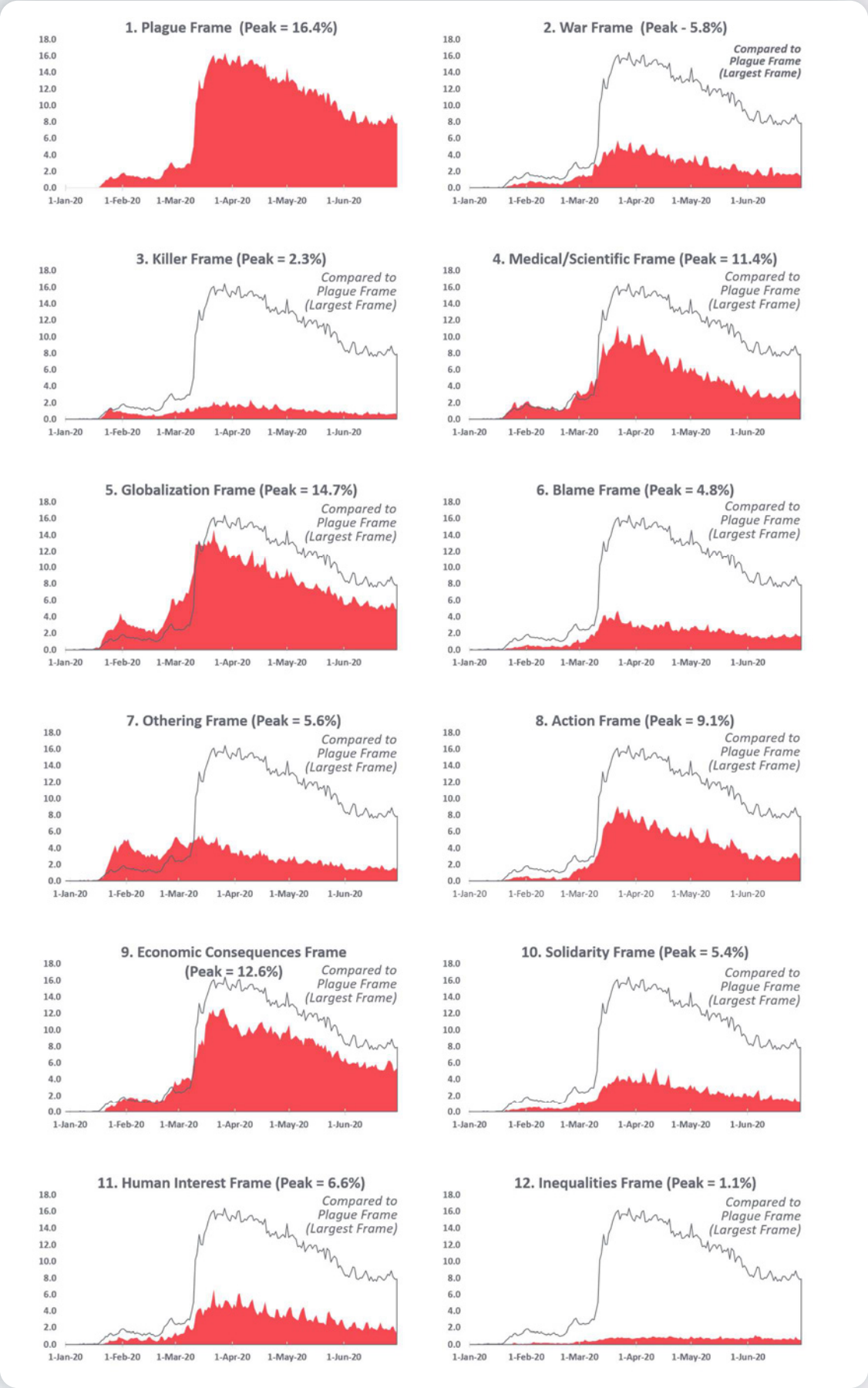
Ranked by % Women deaths	Country	Date	Deaths where sex-disaggregated data is available	deaths (% male)	deaths (% female)	Source
25	Spain	21-May	20527	56.53%	43.43%	https://www.mscbs.gob.es/profesionales/saludPublica/ccayes/alertasActual/nCov-China/documentos/Actualizacion_68_COVID-19.pdf
26	Denmark	23-Jun	603	56.72%	43.28%	https://www.ssi.dk/sygdomme-beredskab-og-forskning/sygdomsovervaagning/c/covid19-overvaagning
27	Argentina	22-Jun	1016	57.00%	42.90%	https://www.argentina.gob.ar/coronavirus/informe-diario
28	England	17-Jun	37,664	57.13%	42.87%	https://www.gov.uk/government/news/weekly-covid-19-surveillance-report-published
29	Switzerland	23-Jun	1680	57.56%	42.44%	https://www.bag.admin.ch/bag/fr/home/krankheiten/ausbruche-epidemien-pandemien/aktuelle-ausbrueche-epidemien/novel-cov/situation-schweiz-und-international.html#1164290551
30	Czech Republic	23-Jun	339	58.11%	41.89%	https://onemocneni-aktualne.mzcr.cz/covid-19
31	Italy	16-Jun	33209	58.25%	41.75%	https://www.epicentro.iss.it/coronavirus/bollettino/Bollettino-sorveglianza-integrata-COVID-19_16-giugno-2020.pdf
32	Brazil	13-Jun	39417	58.81%	41.16%	http://saude.gov.br/images/pdf/2020/June/18/Boletim-epidemiologico-COVID-2.pdf
33	Armenia	23-Jun	372	59.00%	41.00%	https://ampop.am/covid19-coronavirus-dynamic-statistics-in-armenia/
34	Iran	17-Mar	853	59.00%	41.00%	https://twitter.com/drjahanpur/status/1239837848175439874
35	Romania	14-Jun	1427	59.00%	41.00%	https://www.cnscbt.ro/index.php/analiza-cazuri-confirmate-covid19/1789-raport-saptamanal-episaptamana22/file
36	France	21-Jun	19114	59.02%	40.98%	https://dc-covid.site.ined.fr/en/data/france/
37	Indonesia	23-Jun	2535	60.60%	39.40%	https://www.covid19.go.id
38	Colombia	8-Jun	1308	61.24%	38.76%	https://www.ins.gov.co/Noticias/Paginas/Coronavirus.aspx
39	Serbia	6-May	193	61.66%	38.34%	https://covid19.data.gov.rs/
40	Bosnia and Herzegovina	15-Jun	47	61.70%	38.30%	https://covid-19.ba/
41	Philippines	23-Jun	1177	62.79%	37.21%	https://ncovtracker.doh.gov.ph/
42	China	28-Feb	2114	63.53%	36.23%	https://www.who.int/docs/default-source/coronaviruse/who-china-joint-mission-on-covid-19-final-report.pdf
43	India	30-Apr	1,075	64.00%	36.00%	https://twitter.com/PIB_India/status/1255816572305731584?s=20
44	North Macedonia	24-Jun	259	64.09%	35.91%	https://koronavirus.gov.mk/stat
45	Mexico	22-Jun	22584	66.09%	33.91%	https://coronavirus.gob.mx/datos/
46	Ecuador	29-May	3334	66.41%	33.59%	https://coronavirusecuador.com/data/
47	Albania	22-Jun	30	67.00%	33.00%	https://coronavirus.al/statistika/
48	Latvia	24-Jun	20	67.00%	33.00%	https://spkc.gov.lv/lv/tavai-veselibai/aktualitate-par-jauno-koronavi
49	Dominican Republic	21-Jun	669	68.16%	31.84%	https://www.msp.gob.do/web/?page_id=6948#1586785071781-f0e8c057-f5f4
50	Greece	23-Jun	190	68.42%	31.58%	https://eody.gov.gr/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/covid-gr-daily-report-20200623.pdf
51	Peru	22-Jun	8223	70.84%	29.16%	https://covid19.minsa.gob.pe/sala_situacional.asp
52	Yemen	23-Jun	186	71.00%	29.00%	https://app.powerbi.com/view?r=eyJrIjoiZjE2NzJjZDItNDgyZi00NDFkLWFlMjItNjA2MjIwMWYzODJkIiwidCI6ImY2MTBjMGI3LWJkMjQtNGIzOS04MTBiLTNkYzI4MGFmYjU5MCIsImMiOjh9
53	Pakistan	22-Jun	3695	71.39%	28.61%	http://covid.gov.pk/stats/pakistan
54	Haiti	21-Jun	65	73.86%	26.14%	https://www.mspp.gouv.ht/
55	Burkina Faso	25-Jun	38	74.51%	25.49%	https://www.sante.gov.bf/accueil
56	Costa Rica	22-Jun	9	75.00%	25.00%	https://www.ministeriodesalud.go.cr/index.php/centro-de-prensa/noticias/741-noticias-2020/1725-situacion-nacional-covid-19
57	Maldives	23-Jun	8	75.00%	25.00%	https://covid19.health.gov.mv/dashboard/

Figure 30(continued)**:** Sex-disaggregated COVID-19 deaths retrieved on 26 June 2020
https://globalhealth5050.org/covid19/sex-disaggregated-data-tracker/

Ranked by % Women deaths	Country	Date	Deaths where sex-disaggregated data is available	deaths (% male)	deaths (% female)	Source
58	Kenya	21-Jun	123	76.00%	24.00%	https://www.health.go.ke/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/Kenya-COVID-19-SITREP-096-21-Jun-2020-1.pdf
59	Thailand	21-Jun	58	76.00%	24.00%	https://ddc.moph.go.th/viralpneumonia/eng/
60	Malaysia	22-Jun	121	76.03%	23.97%	https://ukkdosm.github.io/covid-19
61	Bangladesh	22-Jun	1502	77.03%	22.97%	https://www.iedcr.gov.bd/index.php/component/content/article/73-ncov-2019
62	Afghanistan	23-Jun	423	79.43%	20.57%	http://covid.moph-dw.org/#/

APPENDIX 3: FRAMES ANALYSES

Figure 31: Coronavirus Frames Analysis using the GDELT Project Global Online News Archive (Jan 20 to Jun 20), showing the percentage of all stories that reference a keyword for the 12 frames. The keywords used are set out in Appendix 1 on the Methodology.



Source: *AKAS, 2020g*

Figure 32: Internet TV News Archive Frames for Coronavirus (Jan 20 to Jun 20), showing the % of all stories which reference coronavirus in 15 second captions that also mentioned a specific reference in 2020

Source: *AKAS, 2020e*

Figure 33: COVID-19 Narratives and Frames Analysis using Google's News Search Engine.

Frame	Search Term	Returns from Google (www.google.com/ncr) News search engine on 21 May 2020
Plague	COVID "Virus"	818,000,000
Plague	COVID "Pandemic"	479,000,000
Plague	COVID "Spread"	375,000,000
Plague	COVID "Viral"	296,000,000
Plague	COVID "Disease"	249,000,000
Plague	COVID "Outbreak"	235,000,000
Plague	COVID "Infection"	141,000,000
Plague	COVID "Sick"	102,000,000
Plague	COVID "Infectious"	56,800,000
Plague	COVID "Epidemic"	54,300,000
Plague	COVID "Transmission"	53,200,000
Plague	COVID "Cure"	51,400,000
Plague	COVID "Mortality"	16,000,000
Plague	COVID "Symptom"	11,900,000
Plague	COVID "Death Rate"	11,100,000
Plague	COVID "Asymptomatic"	10,800,000
Plague	COVID "Plague"	7,740,000
Plague	COVID "Transmit"	3,850,000
Plague	COVID "Symptomatic"	258,000
Plague	COVID "Patient zero"	132,000
Plague	COVID "Morbidity"	125,000
Plague	COVID "Mutate"	67,200
Plague	COVID "Virulence"	33,900
Killer	COVID "Kill"	111,000,000
Killer	COVID "Deadly"	90,300,000
Killer	COVID "Victim"	76,400,000
Killer	COVID "Hurt"	71,700,000
Killer	COVID "Mystery"	64,400,000
Killer	COVID "Killer"	50,300,000
Killer	COVID "Hunt"	38,200,000
Killer	COVID "Lethal"	12,700,000
Killer	COVID "Rampage"	2,360,000
Killer	COVID "Raging"	1,060,000
Killer	COVID "Stalk"	61,800
War	COVID "Fight"	312,000,000
War	COVID "Security"	269,000,000
War	COVID "War"	217,000,000
War	COVID "Win"	199,000,000
War	COVID "Winning"	142,000,000
War	COVID "Attack"	134,000,000
War	COVID "Battle"	133,000,000
War	COVID "Combat"	91,600,000
War	COVID "Army"	87,800,000
War	COVID "Heroes"	83,100,000
War	COVID "Hero"	76,300,000

Figure 33 (continued): COVID-19 Narratives and Frames Analysis using Google's News Search Engine.

Frame	Search Term	Returns from Google (www.google.com/ncr) News search engine on 21 May 2020
War	COVID "Frontline"	66,400,000
War	COVID "Victory"	53,300,000
War	COVID "Tackle"	40,300,000
War	COVID "Conflict"	36,700,000
War	COVID "Defend"	29,200,000
War	COVID "Defeat"	23,400,000
War	COVID "Terrorism"	18,600,000
War	COVID "Fighter"	14,500,000
War	COVID "Enemy"	13,200,000
War	COVID "Sacrifice"	12,900,000
War	COVID "Terrorist"	12,100,000
War	COVID "Harbour"	7,070,000
War	COVID "Triumph"	6,750,000
War	COVID "Casualty"	3,490,000
War	COVID "Detain"	293,000
War	COVID "Conquer"	284,000
War	COVID "Ravage"	195,000
War	COVID "Vanquish"	47,200
War	COVID "Soldiers"	34,100,000
Health Severty	COVID "Crisis"	618,000,000
Health Severty	COVID "Death"	513,000,000
Health Severty	COVID "Die"	223,000,000
Health Severty	COVID "Fear"	141,000,000
Health Severty	COVID "Threat"	106,000,000
Health Severty	COVID "Danger"	66,400,000
Health Severty	COVID "Fatal"	55,000,000
Health Severty	COVID "Panic"	50,400,000
Health Severty	COVID "Extensive"	41,200,000
Health Severty	COVID "Suffer"	36,100,000
Health Severty	COVID "Devastating"	24,400,000
Health Severty	COVID "Horrific"	15,500,000
Health Severty	COVID "Contagious"	9,680,000
Health Severty	COVID "Terrifying"	6,010,000
Health Severty	COVID "Untreatable"	21,500
Health Severty	COVID "Horrify"	10,700
Othering	COVID "Foreign"	135,000,000
Othering	COVID "Migrants"	64,500,000
Othering	COVID "Alien"	5,830,000
Othering	COVID "Wuhan Flu"	5,400
Globilization	COVID "Global"	719,000,000
Globilization	COVID "Trade"	211,000,000
Globilization	COVID "Visitors"	186,000,000
Globilization	COVID "Border"	143,000,000
Globilization	COVID "Flight"	94,200,000
Globilization	COVID "Tourism"	86,100,000

Figure 33 (continued): COVID-19 Narratives and Frames Analysis using Google's News Search Engine.

Frame	Search Term	Returns from Google (www.google.com/ncr) News search engine on 21 May 2020
Globilization	COVID "Port"	83,400,000
Globilization	COVID "Globe"	77,700,000
Globilization	COVID "Airport"	67,000,000
Globilization	COVID "Entry"	65,200,000
Globilization	COVID "Plane"	56,400,000
Globilization	COVID "Passenger"	53,800,000
Globilization	COVID "Visa"	45,600,000
Globilization	COVID "Visitor"	42,700,000
Globilization	COVID "Ship"	39,000,000
Globilization	COVID "Tourists"	38,800,000
Globilization	COVID "Tourist"	28,300,000
Globilization	COVID "Airplane"	5,540,000
Human Interest	COVID "Family" -Planning	655,000,000
Human Interest	COVID "Son"	646,000,000
Human Interest	COVID "Man"	605,000,000
Human Interest	COVID "Women"	462,000,000
Human Interest	COVID "Friends"	399,000,000
Human Interest	COVID "Woman"	341,000,000
Human Interest	Covid "Hope"	298,000,000
Human Interest	COVID "Men"	283,000,000
Human Interest	COVID "Children"	282,000,000
Human Interest	COVID "Mother"	282,000,000
Human Interest	COVID "Child"	230,000,000
Human Interest	COVID "Daughter"	209,000,000
Human Interest	COVID "Father"	194,000,000
Human Interest	COVID "Girl"	175,000,000
Human Interest	COVID "Individual"	152,000,000
Human Interest	COVID "Boy"	117,000,000
Human Interest	COVID "Individuals"	116,000,000
Human Interest	COVID "Brother"	95,000,000
Human Interest	COVID "Sister"	91,800,000
Human Interest	COVID "Worried"	72,200,000
Human Interest	COVID "Sad"	69,600,000
Human Interest	COVID "Colleagues"	63,200,000
Human Interest	COVID "Caring"	23,500,000
Human Interest	COVID "Healing"	14,600,000
Human Interest	Covid "Heal"	10,100,000
Human Interest	COVID "Emotion"	6,090,000
Human Interest	COVID "Co-workers"	1,700,000
Solidarity/ Cooperation	Covid "Hope"	298,000,000
Solidarity/ Cooperation	Covid "Growth"	175,000,000
Solidarity/ Cooperation	Covid "Grow"	125,000,000
Solidarity/ Cooperation	Covid "Confidence"	67,800,000
Solidarity/ Cooperation	Covid "Solidarity"	46,700,000
Solidarity/ Cooperation	Covid "Unity"	23,100,000
Solidarity/ Cooperation	Covid "Consideration"	16,800,000

Figure 33 (continued): COVID-19 Narratives and Frames Analysis using Google's News Search Engine.

Frame	Search Term	Returns from Google (www.google.com/ncr) News search engine on 21 May 2020
Solidarity/ Cooperation	COVID "Healing"	14,600,000
Solidarity/ Cooperation	Covid "Heal"	10,100,000
Solidarity/ Cooperation	Covid "Come out stronger"	37,600
Solidarity/ Cooperation	Covid "Test of humanity"	93
Solidarity/ Cooperation	Covid "Come out healthier"	44
Solidarity/ Cooperation	Covid "Come out strong and healthy"	6
Solidarity/ Cooperation	Covid "Come out stronger and healthier"	6
Economic Consequences	COVID "Business"	1,320,000,000
Economic Consequences	COVID "Money"	772,000,000
Economic Consequences	COVID "Jobs"	623,000,000
Economic Consequences	COVID "Industry"	505,000,000
Economic Consequences	COVID "Economy"	464,000,000
Economic Consequences	COVID "Market"	430,000,000
Economic Consequences	COVID "Economic"	390,000,000
Economic Consequences	COVID "Pay"	386,000,000
Economic Consequences	COVID "Financial"	373,000,000
Economic Consequences	COVID "Finance"	365,000,000
Economic Consequences	COVID "Buy"	320,000,000
Economic Consequences	COVID "Businesses"	320,000,000
Economic Consequences	COVID "Price"	253,000,000
Economic Consequences	COVID "Fund"	226,000,000
Economic Consequences	COVID "Cost"	219,000,000
Economic Consequences	COVID "Retail"	212,000,000
Economic Consequences	COVID "Commercial"	179,000,000
Economic Consequences	COVID "Budget"	168,000,000
Economic Consequences	COVID "Euro"	165,000,000
Economic Consequences	COVID "investment"	146,000,000
Economic Consequences	COVID "Commerce"	108,000,000
Economic Consequences	COVID "Employment"	89,600,000
Economic Consequences	COVID "Fiscal"	81,700,000
Economic Consequences	COVID "Bought"	74,500,000
Economic Consequences	COVID "Dollar"	71,300,000
Economic Consequences	COVID "Payment"	65,800,000
Economic Consequences	COVID "Stock market"	33,500,000
Economic Consequences	COVID "Wages"	21,000,000
Economic Consequences	COVID "Layoffs"	19,500,000
Economic Consequences	COVID "Interest rates"	12,500,000
Economic Consequences	COVID "Furlough"	10,200,000
Economic Consequences	COVID "Monetary"	8,420,000
Economic Consequences	COVID "Exchange rates"	5,310,000
Attribution of Responsibility	COVID "Secret"	164,000,000
Attribution of Responsibility	COVID "Trust"	154,000,000
Attribution of Responsibility	COVID "Responsible"	128,000,000
Attribution of Responsibility	COVID "Responsibility"	75,600,000
Attribution of Responsibility	COVID "Guilty"	48,400,000
Attribution of Responsibility	COVID "Delay"	48,300,000

Figure 33 (continued): COVID-19 Narratives and Frames Analysis using Google's News Search Engine.

Frame	Search Term	Returns from Google (www.google.com/ncr) News search engine on 21 May 2020
Attribution of Responsibility	COVID "Fraud"	43,100,000
Attribution of Responsibility	COVID "Blame"	38,300,000
Attribution of Responsibility	COVID "Chaos"	35,600,000
Attribution of Responsibility	COVID "Conspiracy"	33,300,000
Attribution of Responsibility	COVID "Corruption"	24,400,000
Attribution of Responsibility	COVID "Fault"	19,900,000
Attribution of Responsibility	COVID "Responsibilities"	13,500,000
Attribution of Responsibility	COVID "Accountable"	12,200,000
Attribution of Responsibility	COVID "Secretly"	12,200,000
Attribution of Responsibility	COVID "Chaotic"	10,900,000
Attribution of Responsibility	COVID "Accountability"	10,800,000
Attribution of Responsibility	COVID "Guilt"	7,630,000
Attribution of Responsibility	COVID "Liable"	6,420,000
Attribution of Responsibility	COVID "Incompetent"	2,480,000
Attribution of Responsibility	COVID "Incompetence"	2,360,000
Attribution of Responsibility	COVID "Passive"	1,710,000
Attribution of Responsibility	COVID "Inaction"	880,000
Attribution of Responsibility	COVID "Secrecy"	366,000
Attribution of Responsibility	COVID "Shortcomings"	358,000
Attribution of Responsibility	COVID "Skepticism"	294,000
Attribution of Responsibility	COVID "Secretive"	253,000
Attribution of Responsibility	COVID "Complacency"	241,000
Attribution of Responsibility	COVID "Scepticism"	137,000
Attribution of Responsibility	COVID "Inept"	135,000
Attribution of Responsibility	COVID "Ineptitude"	62,400
Attribution of Responsibility	COVID "Inattention"	54,400
Attribution of Responsibility	COVID "Overconfidence"	28,500
Attribution of Responsibility	COVID "Procrastination"	27,900

Source: *AKAS, 2020d*

Figure 34: BBC News interview with Yasmeen Serhan, staff writer at The Atlantic on 12 April 2020

James Reynolds, BBC News Anchor: When people die of cancer, it is common to hear they have lost their "battle with the disease". With coronavirus, we're currently being encouraged to battle for victory. The US President and the British Prime Minister have both said they are "Wartime leaders". In some ways, using such military language might help to signal how serious the situation is, but is this kind of phrasing having a negative effect? Let's hear from Atlantic staff writer Yasmeen Sheehan in London. Yasmin we've used the images of war in national campaigns for decades and decades, I'm thinking of "War on poverty", "War on cancer", would a "War on Coronavirus" be so bad.

Yasmeen Serhan, The Atlantic: Even the "War on Terror" is another example. I think the reason we latch onto this terminology is because they want to communicate the seriousness of the issue they are facing, particularly when it's one such as this, where it galvanises the type of unprecedented government response and public sacrifice that a normal war would ask for. I think it's a way of communicating the seriousness of an issue, and it's the way that leaders see as potentially getting people's attention.

James Reynolds, BBC News Anchor: Does it work?

Yasmeen Serhan, The Atlantic: Good question. I think the metaphors have fallen short in this particular crisis for a number of reasons. The first is that war is a scary concept, and I think we saw that panic and fear that it caused manifesting itself in grocery stores with empty shelves… people stocking up on supplies such as hand sanitiser and toilet paper. War is also inherently divisive. Typically, us versus them. We have seen that division manifest itself, particularly against people who have faced rising xenophobia, particularly in the Asian community, and those are seen as likely carriers of the virus. The fundamental reason that the metaphor doesn't work is because invoking war is a call to action, trying to get people to mobilise, when in fact governments are asking people to do the exact opposite right now, asking people to do nothing and stay at home

James Reynolds, BBC News Anchor: Interesting you say that, because there is an argument that staying at home is not doing nothing. Almost every single person is mobilising in their own way, talking to elderly people, organising deliveries, making sure children are schooled. There is a mobilisation even if it's invisible.

Yasmeen Serhan, The Atlantic: Absolutely, yes, and that's not to downplay the seriousness and importance of people staying at home. I think governments are able to communicate that and to level with people about what is needed without necessarily invoking wartime metaphors, which I don't think always offer

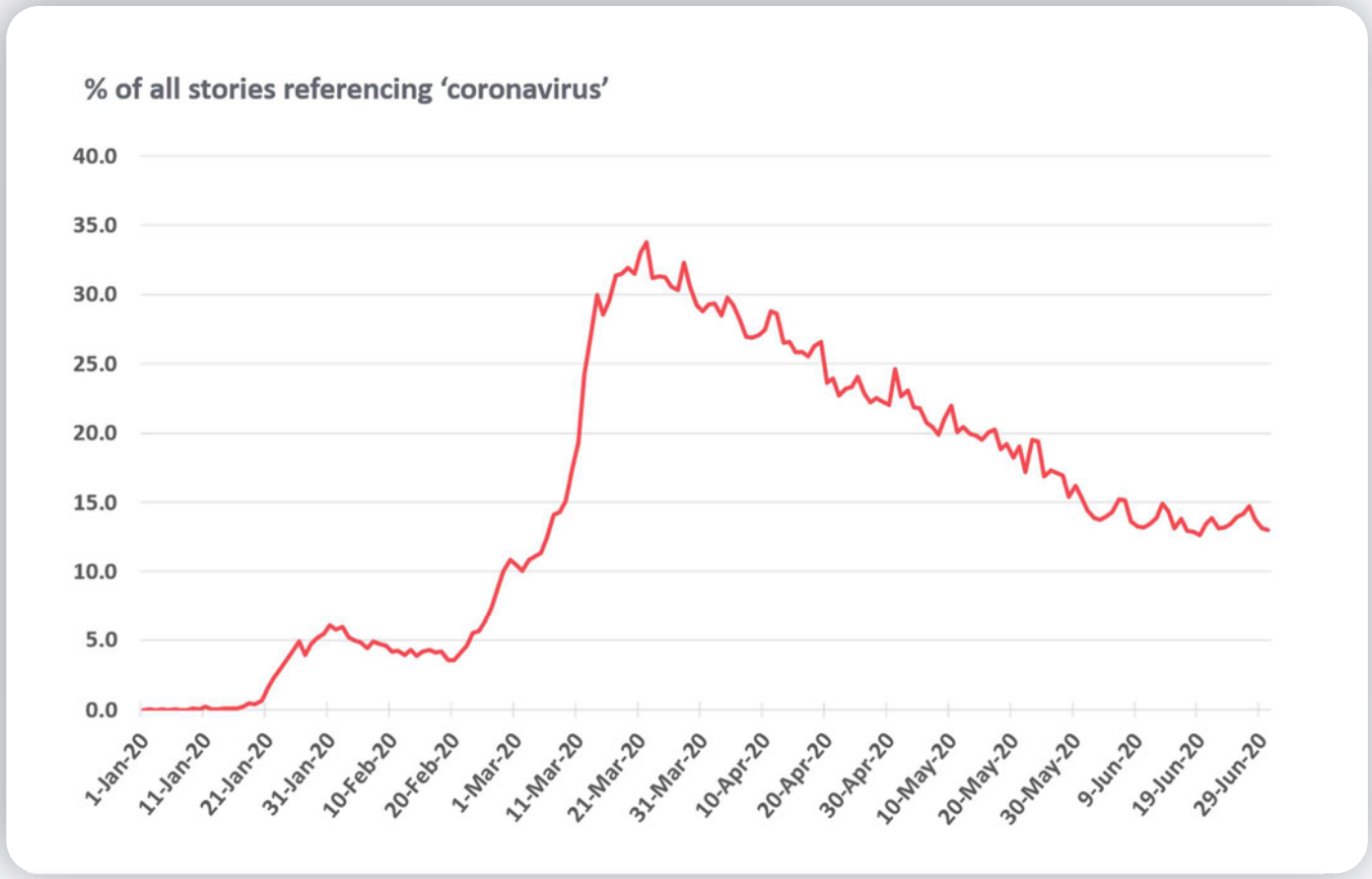
Figure 34 (continued): BBC News interview with Yasmeen Serhan, staff writer at The Atlantic on 12 April 2020

clarity. We are at war but with whom? This is an enemy that is invisible, is indiscriminate, doesn't recognise borders, and often, its victims may not even know they've been attacked, so I think that's part of the criticism, that this requires a national effort, a global effort indeed… it may not necessarily fit the sort of parameters of wartime thinking.

James Reynolds, BBC News Anchor: Just jumping in, if war doesn't work what about sport… the New Zealand Prime Minister said, "We go hard, we go early", making it sound like a tactic used by a successful rugby team.

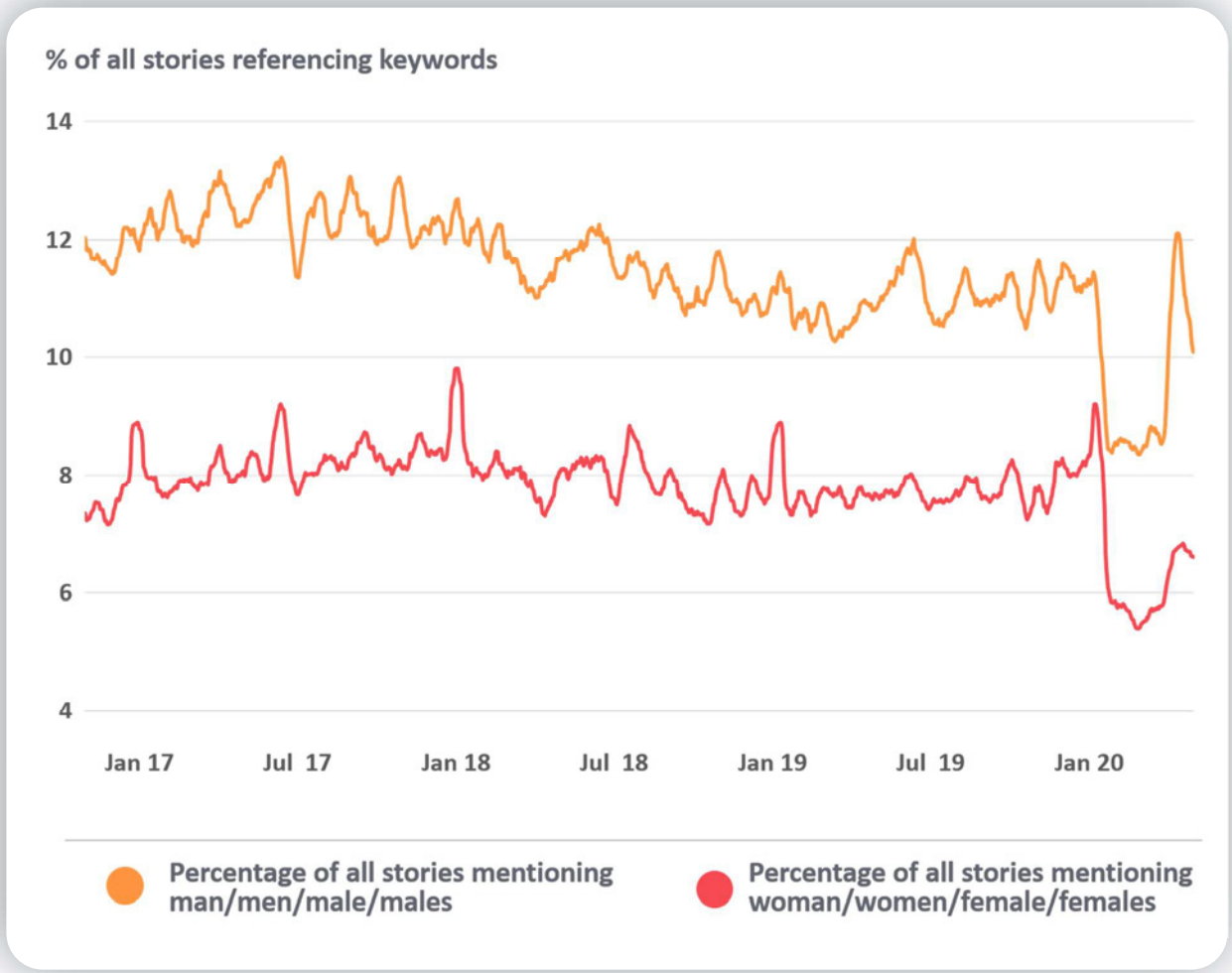
Yasmeen Serhan, The Atlantic: Indeed yes, and we've seen sport being invoked, even by the WHO Governor General. He talked about being on the offensive, that it's not enough to be on the defensive… in Denmark, the coronavirus was framed as an unwelcome house guest that needed to be shown the door, and that effectively we need to show our togetherness by being apart . So, there are a number of ways to frame this, that I think will be understood and communicated to people clearly that don't necessarily invoke wartime imagery

Figure 35: The volume of stories mentioning coronavirus vs all stories, using the GDELT Project Global Online News Archive (Jan 20 to Jun 20)



Source: *AKAS, 2020*

Figure 36: The volume of stories mentioning man/men/male/males vs. woman/women/female/females using the GDELT Project Global Online News Archive (Jan 17 to Jun 20)



Source: *AKAS, 2020g*

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Author

Luba Kassova

Copy Editor

Judy Nagle

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