

Gender in economic journalism

Impeccably accurate or smoke and mirrors?

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8.1 The news media and the material lives of women and men

Economic issues historically occupy a prominent place on the daily news agenda. On average, one out of every six articles in print, broadcast, and digital news concerns a topic related to the economy.¹ The issues have implications for women and men in similar and different ways, whether tides in the stock market, company mergers, inflation, employment, or food price trends. Bailouts by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), structural adjustment conditionalities, and rising debt to GDP ratios are just as important for women as economic actors as they are for men. Women participate equally with men in the economy – if not more – as the majority of workers at the periphery of the system working in the informal sector, in part-time and less lucrative jobs, as well as in unpaid social reproductive work caring for children, the sick, and the elderly. News media narratives on the economy are important to the extent that they enter into the economic discourses that people engage in, following Vujnovic (2009), to make sense of their everyday lives; gender angles in the stories inform and influence interpretations of gender difference in the lived experience.

The extent to which news content reflects women's equal engagement in the economic system is still unknown. This chapter explores the veracity of the symbolic annihilation thesis – defined in Gaye Tuchman's seminal essay as the under-representation and trivialisation of women in media content (Tuchman et al., 1978) – at a global level, examining business and economic news specifically and corresponding indicators in the physical, material world. Applying the comparative method, this chapter contributes insights derived through a cor-

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relation analysis of longitudinal media data from the Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) and socioeconomic statistical data gathered in 134 countries across the period 2005–2015.

My interest in this theme comes from a preoccupation with questions about women's lives as workers. Women's economic activity has been found to be a significant determinant of their agency and achievements, performing "far more consistently than education in predicting outcomes that are positive by both welfare and empowerment criteria" (Kabeer, 1999: 48). How is women's economic participation reflected in the news media? Beyond the principles of fair, balanced, and accurate reporting required in journalistic professional practice, this question is also important to the extent that media discourses have implications for lived experience. Are the gender gaps in various dimensions of workers' lives similarly represented in media content? An exploration of the relationship between gender-disaggregated data on employment, wages, occupations, and informal sector activity and gender indicators in news reporting on business and economy is a necessary starting point for a deeper exploration of media's place in gender equality struggles on economic concerns such as gender pay equity, job segregation, or women's over-representation in precarious work. Insights on news media treatment of those most marginalised in the economic system would unearth the ways in which the mainstream news media industry contributes to the mission of maintaining, producing, and reproducing the relationship between women (and feminised others) and patriarchal capitalism.

In this chapter, I explore if gender inequality is more acute in the media than in the version of reality presented in institutional data – that is, if media extend the underreporting of women's economic participation seen in data published in mainstream statistical databases. A key question is whether the invisibilisation of women's participation in the system of production is not just carried over but exaggerated in the symbolic realm, rooting even more firmly women's subordination to capital and reinforcing their material oppression. Do media present women as equally or less active, less numerous, less authoritative, and less involved in business and economy than the extent acknowledged in real-world data?

In the first section, I review the literature on economic journalism, followed by a description of the key variables, methods, and the sample. Findings and discussion on the correlation and linear mixed models analyses are then discussed. The final section concludes with suggestions of directions for further study.

8.2 Communication research, gender, and economic reporting

There seems to be a dearth in gender-focused academic research on business and economic journalism, with the handful of published works retrievable being based on American studies. One explanation offered by Baker and colleagues (1997) is scholars' disinterest in women's business – considered small and inconsequential – and few documented differences between women and men business owners. Beyond business news, the androcentric bias pervades the broader body of scholarship on economic journalism, with research interests spanning the relationship between reporting and consumer behaviour and expectations (Boomgaarden et al., 2011; Doms & Morin, 2004; Goidel et al., 2010; Goidel & Langley, 1995; Hester & Gibson, 2003; Ju, 2008), to reporting and public evaluation of corporations (Carroll & McCombs, 2003), gendered language (Koller, 2008), and whether economic news reporting reflects or shapes reality (Goidel & Langley, 1995; Scheufele et al., 2011; Thompson, 2009). Other studies explore the links between economic reporting and politics, for instance, on the effect of economic journalism on voter behaviour (Shah et al., 1999) and media tendency to focus less on bad news in election years (Harrington, 1989).

The androcentric bias mirrors patterns in most policy-oriented economic research as exemplified by the paucity of data on women as economic agents. While some progress has been made towards recognising feminised occupations and workers through the International Labour Organization's (ILO) key indicators of the labour market database, for instance, gender biases in the UN System of National Accounts (Waring, 1988) have historically excluded the work that women do from assessments of national economic performance. In fact, women's position in the economic circuit is clear; several researchers discuss women's significant economic activity, as traders and producers across sub-Saharan Africa (Brenton et al., 2013), and as informal sector workers in much of the Global South (WIEGO, 2010–2018).

Turning to the scant gender-focused academic literature, almost three decades ago, Greenwald (1990) analysed content of the business sections of two American newspapers and discovered little attention paid to women as subjects, stereotypical representation or portrayal in useless roles, severe underrepresentation as experts despite their strong presence in the workforce, as well as an overwhelming presence of female business reporters in the newsroom. Possible explanations for these findings, she posits, may be an assumption of a male readership of the business section that has conscious or unconscious bias towards women as business news subjects or experts, or, that ignoring women is simply a structural feature of business coverage. Closer scrutiny of North American business magazines found little change in a 20-year period (1991/1992 to 2011/2012) in the gap between women sources in the articles and the real

occupational presence reported in labour force data (Grandy, 2014). A study on economic news in two influential American newspapers – the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* – during the country’s 2008 election period found a general lack of interest in covering women’s relationship to the economy (Byerly, 2009). According to Byerly (2009: 401), the papers “shut women’s voices out of such participation in their pages with respect to the issue” women had expressed to be their topmost concern in opinion polls that year.

The GMMP study of news gender patterns in five-year cycles since 1995 reveals large gender gaps in economic news reporting that have persisted across time and world regions. The 2015 edition found that women constituted only 21 per cent of sources and subjects in economic news stories, being most visible in North American news at 41 per cent of sources, and least in Asia at 15 per cent. Progress towards news representation that acknowledges women’s participation in economic life had remained elusive: Despite being 40 per cent of workers in paid employment globally, and the majority of informal sector workers in Global South contexts especially, women were only 20 per cent of sources identified as participants in the formal labour force, and almost 70 per cent of those depicted as unemployed and stay-at-home parents. Further, out of all major topics, economic news items were least likely to focus on women, at only 5 per cent of the stories (Macharia, 2015).

8.3 Method and data

The analysis draws from data gathered across 134 countries and three time points: 2005, 2010, and 2015. The media data are retrieved from the GMMP in the GEM dataset (Färdigh et al., 2020). The choice of comparative years is guided by the GMMP method that captures snapshots of media performance on gender equality and by the years in which data for the specific variables under consideration are available. Data availability for countries differs across the years, depending on whether or not a media monitoring team was in place in the specific country during the GMMP year.

Teams of GMMP media monitors apply a uniform methodology and coding instruments to record the people appearing in their local print, broadcast, and digital news. Applying standard coding protocols, the teams capture gender disaggregated data on the journalists as well as the people (subjects and sources) in news content, recording the roles in which they appear, how they are portrayed, and other characteristics of representation. The sample reflects the diversity of print, radio, and television news media present in participating countries – private and state-controlled, leftist, right-leaning, and centrist, tabloid and professional, of national scope, and publishing or broadcasting in various languages.

The GMMP's sampling method is informed by the research objective to provide a one-day snapshot of the representation and portrayal of women and men in the world news media and to ensure an adequate and representative sample for global-level analysis. By purpose and design, data collection is limited to a single day, and boundaries for country sample sizes are set according to media densities, which vary by country and by medium. Use of GMMP data for secondary country-level analysis must carefully review the individual constituent country datasets for adequate sample sizes, here defined as 30 or more news items coded. The country-level analyses in this chapter use unweighted data from print, radio, and television sources, while the regional analyses apply weighted data with calculations based on population and media density adjusted for sample size (see the methodological notes section, Annex 1 in Macharia, 2015 for a detailed explanation of the weighting system).

The dependent variables are four GMMP measures specific to business and economic news: 1) women's share as subjects or sources in this major topic, 2) women's share as experts and spokespersons, 3) as persons directly quoted in this topic, and 4) as subjects and sources in the labour, employment, and poverty sub-topics. I use all the data collected across countries and years between 2005 and 2015 while excluding cases (country-year) with small samples (defined as those with less than 30 news items coded) and outliers whose results lie beyond three standard deviations from the mean. The final sample contains 284 cases (defined as country-year) from 134 countries in Africa (35), Asia (19), the Caribbean (13), Europe (36), Latin America (15), the Middle East (8), North America (2), and the Pacific (6).

In order to allow for proper identification across studies and to link each variable to its original source, each variable name has been assigned a prefix that contains a reference to the original dataset followed by the original variable name (for further information, see Appendix 8.1). The dependent variables are listed below:

- Women's share as subjects or sources in business and economic news (gmmp_gonseb_f): The proportion of women as people who the news are about – those who are seen, read about, or interviewed in stories on business and the economy.
- Women's share as experts and spokespersons in business and economic news (gmmp_fonsespeb_f): In stories on business and the economy, women's share as 1) experts – persons who provide additional information, opinion, or comment, based on specialist knowledge or expertise – and 2) spokespersons – persons appearing in the news as representatives speaking on behalf of another person, a group, or an organisation.

- Women's share as subjects or sources quoted in business and economic news (gmmp_nsqeb_f): Women as the persons who are directly quoted in business and economic news.
- Women's share as subjects or sources in labour, work, employment, and poverty stories within the business and economic news major topic (gmmp_gonsebsub_f): Women as persons seen, read about, or interviewed in stories on poverty, housing, social welfare, labour issues, unemployment, employment, informal economy, rural economy, agriculture, land rights, and similar topics or sub-topics under the broad topic of economy.

The main independent variables selected are those that measure key dimensions of women's economic participation, namely, factors relevant to participation in the labour market. These variables are collated from the ILO's key indicators of the labour market (1996–2018) and the World Bank's world development indicators (2016). Three- to five-year mean values closest to each GMMP year are applied to overcome data gaps for some countries and years. The data are subsequently matched to each GMMP year. The independent variables are as follows:

- Women's share of labour force participation: Retrieved from the ILO variable, labour force participation, female as a percentage of total labour force. This refers to "the extent to which women are active in the labour force, where 'labour force' comprises people ages 15 and older who meet the ILO's definition of the economically active population" (ILO, 1996–2018), using World Bank population estimates.
- Women's labour force participation rate: Retrieved from the variable, labour force participation rate, female (% of female population ages 15+) (modelled estimate). Defined as "the proportion of a country's working-age population that engages actively in the labour market, either by working or looking for work" (World Bank, 2016), using data from ILO's key indicators of the labour market.
- Women in wage employment: Retrieved from the ILO variable, share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector (% of total non-agricultural employment). This is the share of women in wage employment in industry and services, expressed as a percentage of total employment in the sector (ILO, 1996–2018), using data from ILO's key indicators of the labour market.
- Women's employment in middle and senior management: Retrieved from the ILO variable, female share of employment in middle and senior management. This is the "proportion of women who are employed in decision-making and management roles in government, large enterprises

and institutions” (ILO, 1996–2018). Data on this variable are available for the years 2003–2015 and primarily for countries in the Global North. The mean values matched to the closest GMMP years yield 93 country-years for this variable, which, while low, is included in order to test whether the gender gaps in news coverage may in fact be linked to the gaps in tenure of management positions.

- Women’s employment in professional, technical, and managerial occupations: This is based on ILO data for female and male employment by occupation according to “broad skill levels aggregate categories of occupation ISCO-08 ISCO-88 skill levels 3 and 4 (high) managers, professionals, and technicians” (ILO, 1996–2018; variable, female per cent, employees in professional, technical, and managerial occupations).
- Gender difference in vulnerable employment: Retrieved from the World Bank (2016) and computed from data on vulnerable employment, female (per cent of female employment) less vulnerable employment, male (per cent of male employment). The mean values matched to the closest GMMP years yield a dataset covering 68 countries largely in the Global South and 123 country-years. Despite the data paucity, the variable is retained in view of the important role informal sector work plays in the economic lives of women in the Global South.

The countries are diverse in terms of performance on gender equality, from countries with significant achievements in bridging equality gaps, to those in which gross disparities remain intact. Drawing from the Gender Inequality Index (GII) (UNDP, 2015), the sample ranges from the consistently high performing Scandinavian countries up to the African and Asian countries on the tail end of the GII ranking. Countries rated as either high or very high on United Nations Development Programme’s (UNDP) Human Development Index (HDI) are over-represented (59%) in the sample. I take into account these variations in economic development and conduct a country cluster comparison based on the level of human development following the 2016 HDI results to examine whether the results differ for high/very high human development and low/medium human development nations, located largely in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East. Hence, the variable:

- Human Development Index (HDI) (`undp_hdi`) that measures the average achievements in a country in three basic dimensions of human development: a long and healthy life, knowledge, and a decent standard of living (UNDP, 2016).

The final set of variables measure economy-related rights and liberties for women which I include as possible alternative explanatory factors to gender media disparities.

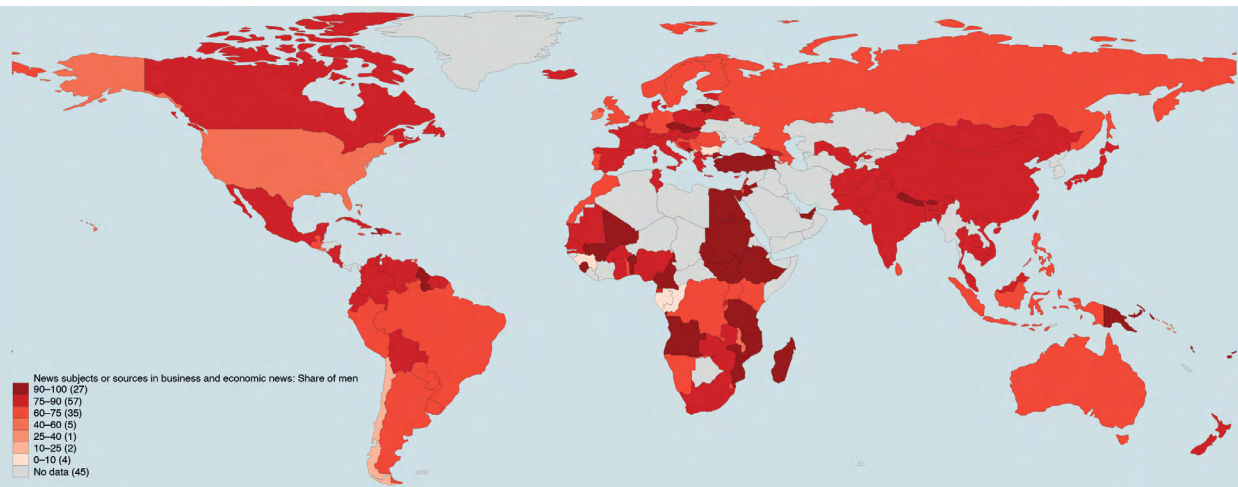
- Women's civil liberties index (*vdem_genc1*) measures to which extent women have the ability to make meaningful decisions in key areas of their lives and includes freedom of domestic movement, the right to private property, freedom from forced labour, and access to justice (retrieved from V-dem, Coppedge et al., 2017).
- Women's property rights (*vdem_clprptyw*) captures responses to the question of whether women enjoy the right to private property, including the right to acquire, possess, inherit, and sell private property (retrieved from V-dem, Coppedge et al., 2017).
- Women's economic rights (*qog_ciri_wecon*) include rights such as equal pay for equal work, free choice of profession or employment, the right to gainful employment, equality in hiring and promotion practices, job security, non-discrimination by employers, the right to be free from sexual harassment in the workplace, the right to work at night, and the right to work in occupations classified as dangerous (CIRI data retrieved from QoG, Cingranelli et al., 2014; Teorell et al., 2017).

I begin with a description of the data followed by bivariate correlation analysis to understand the relationship between the gender dimensions of economic news and gender in economic participation. Finally, I test the relationship between gender in media content and gender gaps in economic participation as well as economy-related rights and liberties for women. I apply linear mixed models to explore to what extent the realities of women's economic participation could explain the variability in gender equality in business and economic news across countries and time.

8.3 Women and men in economic news across the world

To compare women's presence in the media world with indicators from the physical world, I select labour force participation as the broadest indicator of women's economic activity, and gender parity in subjects or sources in business and economic news as a general measure of gender inequality in news on this topic. Men dominate heavily as subjects or sources in business and economic news, and women generally lack visibility, but there are substantial variations across countries and regions (see Figure 8.1). Women are at least 40 per cent of the counted economically active population in all world regions, with the exception of the Middle East, but they are present in economic news content as only 20 per cent of subjects or sources (see Figure 8.2).

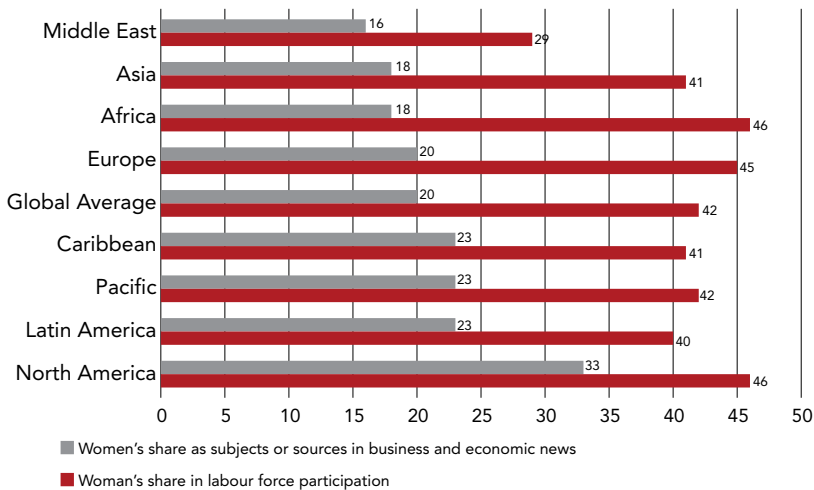
Figure 8.1 Men's share as subjects or sources in business and economic news, 2005, 2010, 2015 (average per cent)



Comments: The scale of the share of men varies from 0 (no men) – 100 (all men).

Source: GMMP (1995–2015)

Figure 8.2 Women's share of labour force participation, 2005–2015, and their share as subjects or sources in business and economic news, 2005, 2010, 2015 (average per cent)



Comments: Number of country-year observations = 267. Women's share as subjects or sources in business and economic news is retrieved from the GMMP and measured on a scale ranging from 0 (no women) to 100 (all women). The regional aggregates are weighted using a double square root weighting method based on a country's population and media density (see the methodological notes, Annex 1 in Macharia, 2015 for an explanation of the weighting system). Women's share of labour force participation is retrieved from the ILO dataset and measured on a scale from 0 (no women in the labour force) to 100 (all labour force participants are women).

Source: GMMP; ILO (1996–2018)

The patterns of under-representation are repeated in varying degrees across geo-political zones and media systems. There is a substantial gap between women's real-world economic activity and their presence in news about the economy in all regions of the world. The global average gap is 21 points, smallest in the Middle East and North America (difference = 13 percentage points for both regions) and largest in Africa (difference = 29 percentage points).

A detailed country comparison uncovers a pattern of under-representation of women as part of the economically active population as measured by the labour force participation metric (see Figure 8.3). Women's presence as news subjects or sources lags between 10 to 48 percentage points behind their labour force participation in 84 per cent of the countries.

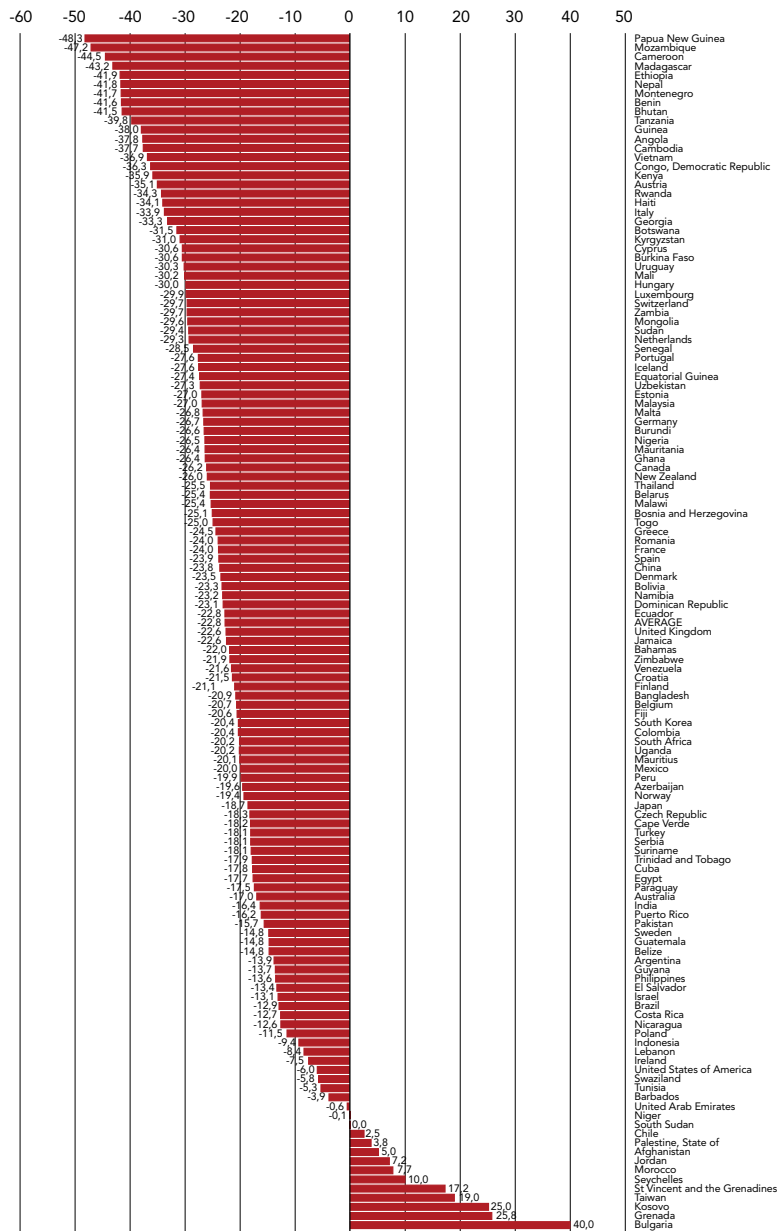
We observe a global phenomenon of large gender gaps in sources providing authority opinion as experts and spokespersons in business and economic news (see Figure 8.4). Contrasting the proportion of female expert voices (as a percentage of total expert sources) with women's share of professional, technical, and managerial employees – the segment of the workforce ordinarily interviewed for expert opinion – we find a pattern of media under-representation: women's expert voices fall 10 to 55 percentage points below their share of skilled employment in 67 per cent of the countries. Further, the female voice has not been heard in expert capacity on economic news stories in ten years in 14 per cent of the countries in the sample.²

Globally, across the period 2005–2015, change in women's visibility in economic news appears to match that of their labour market participation rate (see Figure 8.5), a broader measure that includes all women aged 15 years and older who are working or looking for work. As labour force participation rates have risen in the Pacific, Latin America, Europe, and the Caribbean, so has women's visibility in economic news content. In North America, women's presence in the news rose dramatically, even as their labour force participation rate seemed to slightly decline, with similar patterns in the Middle East and Africa. In Asia, women's presence in economic news has declined in tandem with the female labour force participation rate. Overall, the link between women's active economic participation as workers or jobseekers, and their presence in business and economic news, is inconsistent.

Media representations and women's actual economic participation: Examining relationships

In this section, I apply correlational analyses to examine the relationship between key economic participation indicators and women's visibility in business and economic news, as measured by the variable, women's share as subjects and sources.

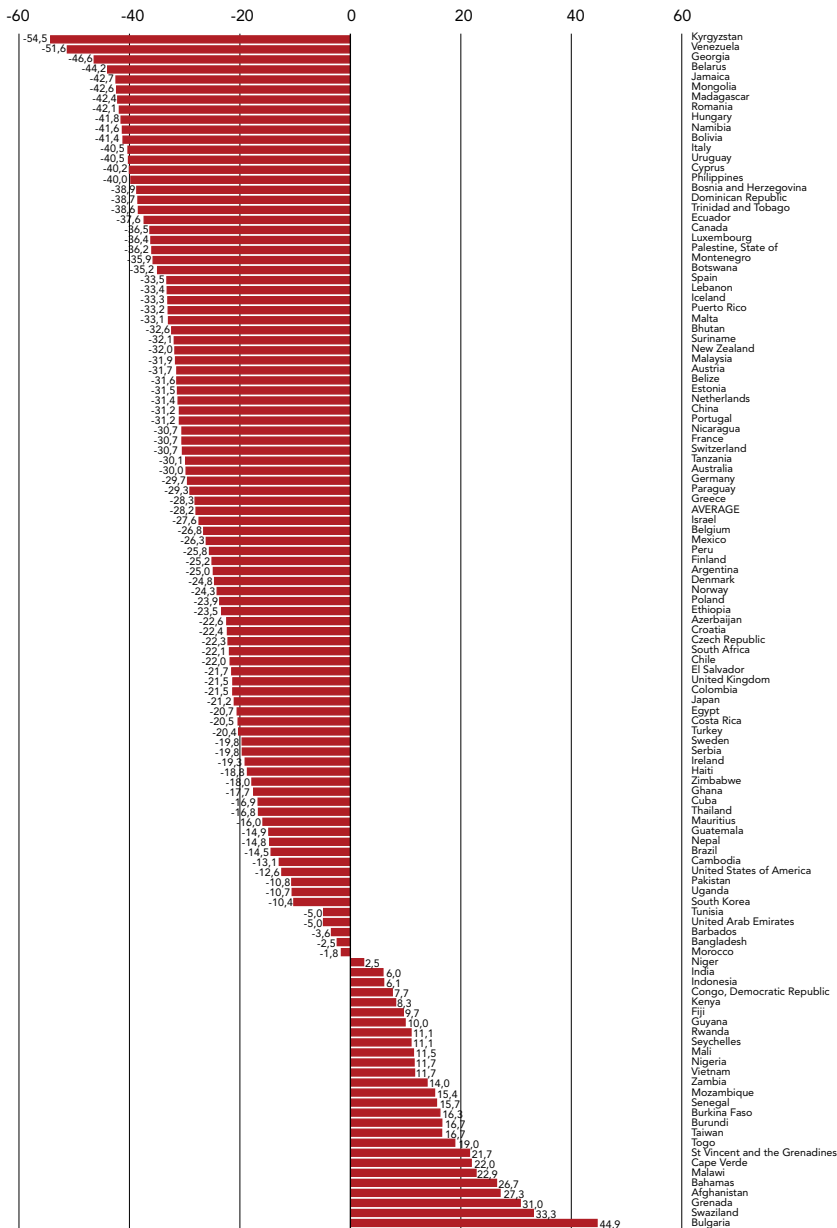
Figure 8.3 The difference between women's share of labour force participation and their share as subjects or sources in business and economic news, 2005–2015 (average per cent)



Comments: Negative bars indicate the extent of under-representation of women in economic news relative to their participation in the labour force. This graph excludes countries with small samples (≤ 30) in more than one GMMP year and outliers whose results are likely due to problematic coding, namely, Antigua and Barbuda, Chad, Gabon, Lesotho, Saint Lucia, Solomon Islands, and Tonga. Data tables are provided in Appendix 8.8.

Source: ILOSTAT; GMMP

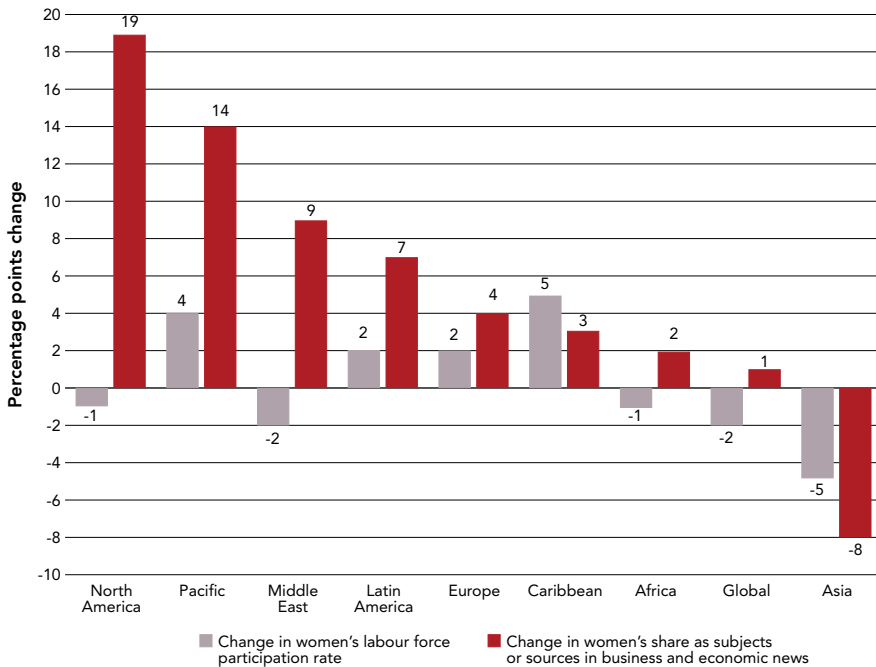
Figure 8.4 *The difference between women's share of employment in professional, technical, and managerial occupations and their share as authority sources (experts and spokespersons) in business and economic news, 2005–2015 (average per cent)*



Comments: Negative bars indicate the extent of under-representation of women as experts and spokespersons relative to their share in professional, technical, and managerial occupations. This graph excludes: countries with small samples (≤ 30) in more than one GMMP year; outliers whose results are likely due to problematic coding, namely, Antigua and Barbuda, Chad, Gabon, Lesotho, Saint Lucia, Solomon Islands, and Tonga; and countries for which data on women's employment in professional, technical, and managerial occupations are not available. Data tables are provided in Appendix 8.9.

Source: ILOSTAT; GMMP

Figure 8.5 *The change in women's labour force participation rate and the share of women as subjects or sources in business and economic news, 2005–2015*



Comments: Number of country-year observations = 293. Women's share as subjects or sources in business and economic news retrieved from the GMMP and measured on a scale ranging from 0 (no women) – 100 (all women). The regional aggregates are weighted using a double square root weighting method based on a country's population and media density (see the methodological notes, Annex 1 in Macharia, 2015 for an explanation of the weighting system). Women's labour force participation rate is measured on a scale from 0 (no women aged 15 and older are economically active) to 100 (all women aged 15 and older are economically active). It is retrieved from the World Bank's (2016) world development indicators, modelled estimate using the ILO's key indicators of the labour market (1990–2014).

Source: GMMP; World Bank (2016)

The relationship between the key economic participation indicator on women's share of labour force participation and women's share of people (subjects or sources) in economic and business news is positive but fairly weak (see Table 8.1). This means that women's visibility in business and economic news is somewhat higher in countries where women's actual participation in the wage economy is higher, particularly with regard to women's employment in middle- and senior-management positions. However, the relationship is not very strong. The result remains stable when the media variable is substituted with women's share of people in the subset of economic news stories concerning labour, employment, and poverty.

Table 8.1 Correlations between gender equality in economic participation and gender equality indicators in economic news content (Pearson's r)

	Women's share as news sub- jects or sources in business & economic news	Women's share as experts and spokespersons in business & economic news	Women's share as news sub- jects or sources in labour, employment, & poverty news	Women's share as news sub- jects quoted in business & economic news
Women's share of labour force participation (% women)	.151* (267)	0.095 (260)	.151* (254)	-.001 (250)
Women's employment in professional, technical, & managerial occupations (% women)	.321** (181)	.284** (178)	.356** (174)	.204** (168)
Women's employment in middle & senior management (% women)	.392** (91)	.378** (90)	.215* (86)	.244* (85)
Wage employment (% women)	.299** (175)	.291** (172)	.267** (167)	.131 (163)
Gender difference in vulnerable employ- ment difference (women – men)	-.180* (121)	-.201* (120)	-0.087 (114)	.072 (109)

Comments: n = number of country-year observations (in parentheses). * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. Cases with small GMMP data samples (< 30 news items) are excluded (2005: Georgia, Indonesia, Lesotho, Suriname, Swaziland. 2010: Egypt, Ireland, Lesotho, Montenegro, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Togo. 2015: Antigua, Chad, Ethiopia, Haiti, Lesotho, Mauritania, Niger, St. Lucia). Outliers whose results are likely due to problematic coding are excluded (Gabon 2015, Solomon Islands 2015, and Tonga 2015). The correlation procedure is run on aggregated data for the 2005–2015 period because of the by-year grouping results in small country-year subsets. Correlation and a robustness test on by-year groups yield results that are not significant for 2005, but almost all significant and stronger for 2010 and 2015.

Source: Measures on gender in business and economic news from GMMP; economic participation variables from Varieties of Democracy dataset (Coppedge et al., 2017), ILO (1996–2018), and the world development indicators (World Bank, 2016)

The lack of difference between high/very high human development and low/medium human development nations – largely in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East (country cluster comparison based on the level of human development following UNDP's HDI 2016 ranking) – implies that a country's wealth is inconsequential for the strength of the relationship between women's labour force participation and media gender (in)equality patterns.³ Women's relative erasure from the faces and voices in business and economic news reports is structural and more acute than their underrepresentation in the labour market captured in institutional data. Women's increased insertion in the counted workforce and declining male participation rates have partially closed the gender gap on average (World Bank, 2011), albeit the cross-regional differences of high gaps in the Middle East and North Africa and narrower disparities in OECD countries, and Eastern and Central Africa (Elborgh-Woytek et al.,

2013). This tendency towards narrowing the gender gap is not reflected in corresponding journalistic content as far as the representation of economic actors is concerned. As was shown earlier in Figure 8.5, almost no increase in the global share of women as subjects or sources in business and economic news was documented between 2005 and 2015.

Do the people in the news reflect, then, perhaps those in waged employment only, considering the possibility that workers in informal, vulnerable, or precarious labour may be as invisible to the news media as they are to the mainstream economic system? The analysis reveals a positive though weak correlation between the women's share in wage employment and as subjects or sources in business and economic news (see Figure 8.6). The similarity in slopes between low/medium HDI and high/very high HDI country clusters when only those stories specific to poverty, employment, labour issues, and rural economy are considered is a surprising finding, given the stark disparities in labour market characteristics between both groups; a markedly higher proportion of waged labour in high/very high HDI countries is female (46%) compared to low/medium HDI countries, where women are only 33 per cent of formally employed workers.⁴

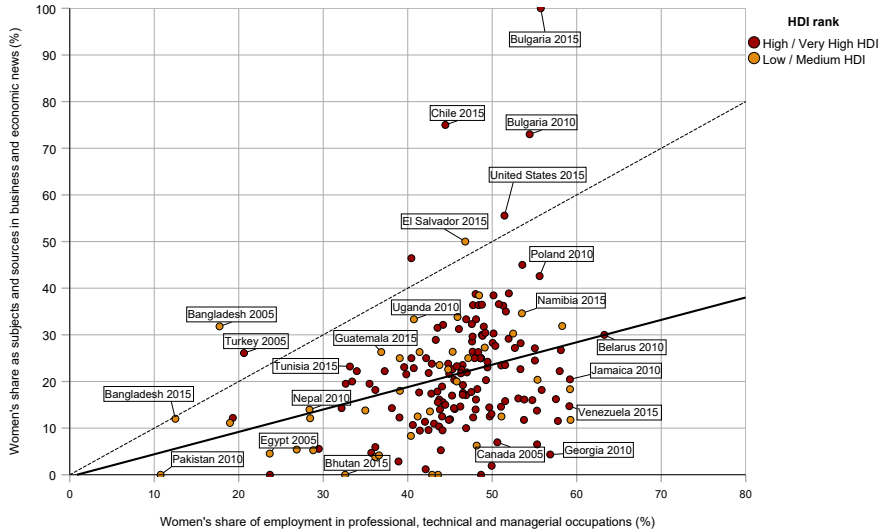
The correlation between the women's share as people (subjects or sources) in business and economic news and the gender difference in vulnerable employment is negative and weak. Again, there is no significant difference when the lens zooms in to only those people in the news appearing in authoritative roles as experts and spokespersons. The scatterplots are similar for low/medium HDI countries on the one hand, and high/very high HDI countries on the other hand. This result is interesting, given that the gender difference (women – men) in vulnerable employment (as a percentage of total employment by sex) is much lower for high/very high HDI countries (mean = -2.214, men being slightly over-represented) than for low/medium HDI countries (mean = 8.311) where women are relatively more numerous than men. The patterns of women's relative under-representation in the stories remain, despite context.

Perhaps the distribution of news subjects by gender reflects the gender distribution in senior and middle management. The test shows a positive and weak correlation between women's share as people (subjects or sources) in business and economic news and their share of senior- and middle-level managerial positions, as well as between women's share as experts and spokespersons in economic news and their tenure of senior- and middle-management jobs. The number of observations on the managerial role variable for low/medium HDI countries is too small here for meaningful comparison on the basis of human development level clusters.

Does the distribution of news subjects by gender then reflect the disparities in skilled work? All four media gender equality indicators are positively correlated with women's share of employment in professional, technical, and

managerial jobs; Figure 8.6 shows a scatterplot of the relationship. In all the cases, the relationship is similar when low/medium HDI countries and high/very high HDI countries are compared.

Figure 8.6 *The relationship between women's share of skilled jobs and their share as subjects or sources in business and economic news, comparing high/very high HDI countries to low/medium HDI countries*



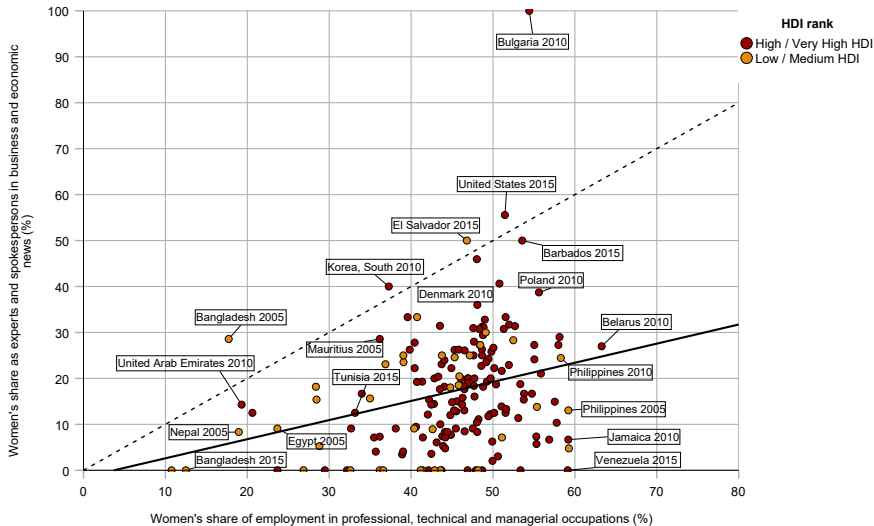
Comments: $n = 276$ country-year observations. Women's share as sources or subjects in business and economic news is from the GMMP. The scale ranges from 0 (no women) to 100 (all subjects and sources are women). Women's share of employment in professional, technical, and managerial occupations is from ILO (1996–2018). The scale ranges from 0 (no women) to 100 (all women). The HDI data are from the UNDP (2016), recoded here into two clusters: low/medium HDI and high/very high HDI. Cases with small GMMP data samples (< 30 news items) are excluded (2005: Georgia, Indonesia, Lesotho, Suriname, Swaziland. 2010: Egypt, Ireland, Lesotho, Montenegro, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Togo. 2015: Antigua, Chad, Ethiopia, Haiti, Lesotho, Mauritania, Niger, St. Lucia). Outliers whose results are likely due to problematic coding are excluded (Gabon 2015, Solomon Islands 2015, Tonga 2015). Regression equation for the fitted line: $y = 0.41 + 0.48 \times x$; $R^2 = .103$; $p < .000$. The red dotted line shows what the relationship would be if women's share of persons seen, interviewed, or read about in business and economic news matched perfectly their share of employment in the specialised occupations.

Source: GMMP; ILO (1996–2018); UNDP (2016)

Overall, the relationship between the degree of gender equality in economic news and women's actual participation in economic life is either weak or non-existent. And even if there is a positive relationship, it is hardly proportional. On a global level, an increase in women's share in professional occupations by 1 per cent only corresponds to an increase in women's visibility in business and economic news by 0.48 percentage points (see Figure 8.6) and by even less (0.42 percentage points) in the case of their presence as experts and spokespersons in this topic (see Figure 8.7). Figures 8.6 and 8.7 also show the limited explanative power of the real-world indicators: Only 10 and 8 per cent of the variation in women's visibility in economic and business news are explained by

the corresponding indicators of women's participation in real-world economic life (see also Appendix 8.2).

Figure 8.7 *The relationship between women's share of skilled jobs and their share as experts and spokespersons in business and economic news, comparing high/very high HDI countries to low/medium HDI countries*



Comments: $n = 269$ country-years. Women's share as experts and spokespersons in business and economic news is from the GMMP. The scale ranges from 0 (no women) to 100 (all experts and spokespersons are women). Women's share of employment in professional, technical, and managerial occupations is from the ILO (1996–2018). The scale ranges from 0 (no women) to 100 (all women). The HDI data are from the UNDP (2016), recoded here into two clusters: low/medium HDI and high/very high HDI. Cases with small GMMP data samples (< 30 news items) are excluded (2005: Georgia, Indonesia, Lesotho, Suriname, Swaziland. 2010: Egypt, Ireland, Lesotho, Montenegro, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Togo. 2015: Antigua, Chad, Ethiopia, Haiti, Lesotho, Mauritania, Niger, St. Lucia). Outliers whose results are likely due to problematic coding are excluded (Gabon 2015, Solomon Islands 2015, and Tonga 2015). Regression for the fitted line: $y = -1.55 + 0.42 \times x$; $R^2 = .081$; $p < .000$. The red dotted line shows what the relationship would be if women's share of experts and spokespersons in business and economic news matched perfectly their share of employment in the specialised occupations.

Source: GMMP; ILO (1996–2018); UNDP (2016)

So far, the analyses have focused on the (weak) relationship between gender representation in economic news and women's participation the labour market. In the next step, I examine if their visibility in business and economic news relates to women's rights and freedoms in economic life, taken as indicators of the legal framework that sustains opportunities for women's economic participation. Three key factors are considered: women's civil liberties, women's property rights, and women's economic rights.

The women's civil liberties measure is a composite measure that includes women's freedom of movement, right to property, freedom from forced labour, and access to justice. It correlates significantly and positively with three of the gender-media variables (see Table 8.2), suggesting a reliable albeit still weak

relationship between gender equality in presence and voice in economic news content. Likewise, women's property rights and women's economic rights are positively correlated with the four gender-media variables at low levels. Further investigation of the relationship between rights and economic participation finds moderate correlations,⁵ underlining a faint thread connecting legal guarantees, actual experience, and media output. Overall, the relationships between women's economic rights is even weaker than the relationships with women's economic participation examined previously. The results beg the question of the extent to which variations in media gender equality are due to gender equality policies in the national context.

Table 8.2 *Correlating women's economy-related rights and gender indicators in business and economic news content (Spearman's r)*

	Women's share as news subjects or sources in business & economic news	Women's share as experts and spokespersons in business & economic news	Women's share as news subjects or sources in labour, employment, & poverty news	Women's share as news subjects quoted in business & economic news
Women's civil liberties index	.255** (194)	.211** (193)	.209** (189)	0.116 (183)
Women's economic rights	.308** (166)	.298** (163)	.217** (161)	.209** (154)
Women's property rights	.245** (259)	.237** (255)	.259** (250)	0.113 (246)

Comments: n = country-years (in parentheses). **Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). Nonparametric test applied due to the levels of measurement used for the economic and property rights variables: the economic rights variable ranges between 0–3, where 0 = no economic rights for women in law, and 3 = all or nearly all of women's economic rights are guaranteed by law; the property rights variable is measured on a scale of 0–5, where 0 = virtually no women enjoy private property rights of any kind, and 5 = virtually all women enjoy all, or almost all, property rights. Cases with small GMMP data samples (< 30 news items) are excluded (2005: Georgia, Indonesia, Lesotho, Suriname, Swaziland. 2010: Egypt, Ireland, Lesotho, Montenegro, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Togo. 2015: Antigua, Chad, Ethiopia, Haiti, Lesotho, Mauritania, Niger, St. Lucia). Outliers whose results are likely due to problematic coding are also omitted (Gabon 2015, Solomon Islands 2015, and Tonga 2015). The correlation procedure is run on aggregated data for the 2005–2015 period because the by-year grouping results in small country-year subsets. Correlation and a robustness test on by-year groups yield results that are not significant for 2005, almost all significant and stronger for 2010, and one (source in poverty news/women's property rights) significant for 2015.

Source: Indicators of gender equality in the news from GMMP; women's civil liberties index and women's property rights from the Varieties of Democracy dataset (Coppedge et al., 2017); women's economic rights from CIRI, retrieved from the QoG dataset (Cingranelli et al., 2014; Teorell et al., 2017)

8.4 Conclusion and discussion

This chapter has examined the relationship between the gender gaps in economic and business news content and the gender gaps in the lived economic experience. The analyses suggest that women are marginalised as subjects or sources in economic news content across the globe, that there is some association between the variations and women's economic rights and freedoms, but largely, there are patterns of a disconnect between media content and women's equal participation in economic life.

Clearly, the gender (in)equality indicators in news media content reflect something other than gender inequality in broad labour force participation, tenure of waged jobs, skilled employment, or management positions. The analysis confirms that gender inequality is much more acute in the news media than in the version of reality presented in institutional data, extending the conclusions reached in US-based studies reviewed earlier to the global level; severe under-representation of women is a structural feature of business and economic journalism worldwide. The world captured in the stories diverges sharply from the physical world; the gender gaps in subjects, sources, or authoritative voices match neither the gender gap in labour force participation, nor in waged occupations, nor even in professional and skilled jobs.

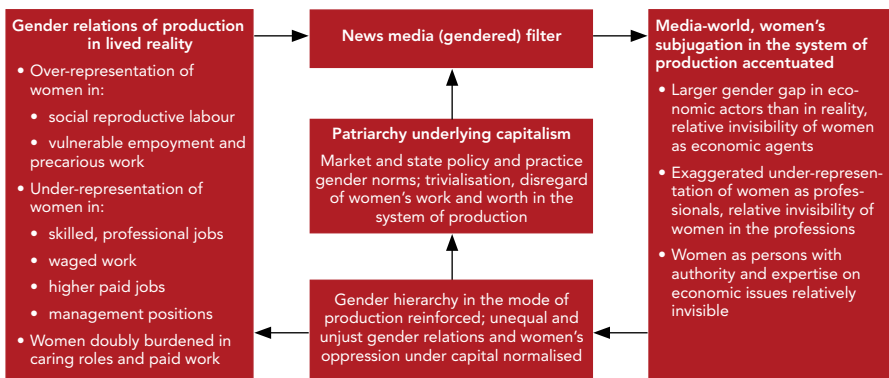
The temporal and spatial character of the data explored in this chapter reveals a symbolic annihilation of women in business and economic news that is systemic and unconstrained by state boundaries or human development levels. The patterns of nil or feeble correlations point to dissonance between the symbolic and the real; the linear mixed models are unable to explain the gaps between media presence and presence in the economy.

Marxist media theory suggests some explanations for the dissonance between the symbolic and the real. According to the theory, media institutions are locked into the power structure and consequently act largely in tandem with the dominant institutions in society. The media reproduce the viewpoints of dominant institutions, not as one among a number of alternative perspectives, but as the central and "obvious" or "natural" perspective. (Gurevitch et al., 1982: 21). The mass media conceal the economic basis of class struggle, rendering ideology the route through which struggle is obliterated rather than the site of struggle' (Gurevitch et al., 1982). Taking into account the gendered nature of mediated ideology, following Lee (2011), the mass media stabilise and legitimise skewed gender power relations not only through ownership and economic control (Murdock, 1982; Murdock & Golding, 1977), but also through messaging and selection of sources.

Following this logic, we may conclude that the "something else" interacting with women's real participation in the economy to accentuate under-representation of their presence and voice in news content is a product of the

patriarchy underlying capitalism that infuses with media to produce a gendered filter through which to present the economic world. Hartmann (1979) defines patriarchy as a set of social relations between men, which have a material base and which, though hierarchical, establish or create interdependence and solidarity among men that enable them to dominate women. Though patriarchy is hierarchical and men of different classes, races, or ethnic groups have different places in the patriarchy, they also are united in their shared relationship of dominance over women.

Figure 8.8 *Circuit of gender inequalities in business and economic news and in the lived economic experience*



The gendered news media filter stabilises unequal gender relations and annihilates struggles of workers at the periphery of the mainstream economic system, complicating the oppressions that women and feminised others face. Workers here refers to most women as participants in waged production and as providers of the unwaged social reproductive labour needed to sustain the system of capitalist production. The empirical evidence points to media's participation in reinforcing a gender ideology of work and workers and the gender hierarchy in the mode of production. The oppression of feminised labour, most of who are women, is thus informed and firmly rooted, illustrative of Barrett's (1988) argument on the reproduction of gender ideology to sustain capital. This argument echoes an earlier one by Hartmann (1979: 12), that central to the process of reproducing patriarchal social relations essential for maintaining the gender power hierarchy in the system of production are the areas "where patriarchal behaviours are taught and the inferior position of women enforced and reinforced: churches, schools, sports, clubs, unions, armies, factories, offices, health centers, the media, etc".

Gender ideology shapes newsroom cultures that subordinate women in the news-making process and enters into journalistic routines, informing the values of editorial staff, reporters, and other journalists responsible for developing content. This ideology mediates the relationship between media and audiences, journalists, and economic actors. Data insufficiency⁶ hinders analysis of the interaction effects of gendered newsroom cultures and would be a direction for further exploration.

Patterns of media under- and mis-representation of women contribute to stereotypes about the gender division of labour and economic effort, presenting most women as less productive and less engaged in the economic system than they really are, in contrast to most men. Kelly and colleagues (2015: 46) discuss how stereotyping is a “pernicious means by which gender hierarchies, whether in the labour market or in day-to-day life, are held in place and reinforced”. The narratives enter into public discourse that in turn props up unequal gender relations of production and normalises discrimination against women in the economic sphere. The result is a subversion of struggles for the recognition of women’s economic engagement and for equal treatment of women workers. Future analysis could explore the contribution of gendered media representation to discrimination or to patriarchal media culture, a concept that still needs statistical unpacking.

Business and economic news journalism calls for high journalistic standards in view of the personal, immediate relevance of the topics to ordinary people for everyday decision-making on issues such as jobs, medical costs, housing, food, and wages. Rather than the impeccable accuracy and impartiality prescribed for this genre of news journalism (Hayes, 2014), what appears instead is a relative erasure, undervaluing, and trivialisation of women.

Investigating news media depiction, and invariably the construction, of women’s relation to men in the economic sphere and women’s relation to the economy, enables understanding of the links between gendered media discourse and gendered lived experience. Ultimately, analyses that integrate multiple measures of gender and media including ownership, control, decision-making, content, culture, and audience would shed light on the causes of gender inequality in media more comprehensively, and the linkages and feedbacks with women’s subordination in the economic sphere. While there are obviously other influences on gender inequality in the lived experience that are more important than the news, future analysis could help understand the capacity of media to produce change, illuminate openings for worker agency, and reveal under what conditions gendered media treatment may be disrupted to open up productive space to advance gender equality objectives.

Notes

1. Findings from the GMMP, 10-year average 2005, 2010, 2015 (see Macharia, 2015: 28–29).
2. The GMMP sampling methodology is designed to collect data that is sufficient for global and regional level analyses. The constituent country datasets analysed separately may not produce exact results but are indicative of the general patterns.
3. A *t*-test reveals the slopes not to be significantly different from each other.
4. My calculation based on the ILO dataset variable, share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector (% of total non-agricultural employment).
5. Correlations significant at the .01 level between women's economic rights and women's share in wage employment ($rs = .554, n = 118$); gender difference in vulnerable employment ($rs = -.501, n = 96$). Also significant, ($p < .01$) between women's property rights and women's share in wage employment ($rs = .628, n = 177$); women's share in professional, technical, and managerial occupations ($rs = .332, n = 181$); gender difference in vulnerable employment ($rs = -.499, n = 121$).
6. The glass ceilings survey (Byerly, 2011) collected data indicative of gender in newsroom culture in responses to the question: On a scale of 1–5, to what extent does gender matter when story assignments are made? (iwmf_gend) in the GEM dataset (Färdigh et al., 2020); however, it is a single wave study and covers only 44 nations of the sample in this chapter.

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Appendix 8.1 Variables and data sources

The variables used in this chapter are retrieved from several different sources. The summary table following the descriptions shows the count of countries and country-year observations.

Dependent variables

The dependent variables are retrieved from the Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) 2005, 2010, and 2015. The GMMP measures selected indicators on gender equality in news media content in five-year intervals. The below variables measure the share of women in the news and vary between 0 (no women) and 100 (all women):

- Women's share as subjects or sources in business and economic news: This variable reflects the proportion of women as people who the news is about – those who are seen, read about, or interviewed in stories on business and the economy. Business and economic stories are those regarding economic policies, trade, stock markets, poverty, housing, social welfare, labour issues, employment, the informal sector, the rural economy, consumer issues, transport, and other stories specific to the economy. Data are available for 1995, 2000, 2005, 2010, and 2015; however, the analysis omits 1995 and 2000 due to either lack or thinness of data on the key independent variables for comparable years.
- Women's share as experts and spokespersons in business and economic news: This measure is computed from two GMMP variables: 1) the female portion of experts – persons who provide additional information, opinion, or comment, based on specialist knowledge or expertise, and 2) the female portion of spokespersons – persons appearing in the news as representatives speaking on behalf of another person, a group, or an organisation. Both indicators were first introduced into the GMMP in 2005. This chapter focuses only on those experts and spokespersons coded under the business and economic news major topic.

- Women's share, subjects/sources quoted in business and economic news: This variable pertains to the female portion of people who are directly quoted in business and economic news, in their own words. It excludes people whose opinions are paraphrased. Data are available for 2005, 2010, and 2015.
- Women's share, subjects/sources in labour, work, employment, and poverty stories: This is the proportion of women as persons seen, read about, or interviewed in stories on poverty, housing, social welfare, labour issues, unemployment, employment, informal economy, rural economy, agriculture, land rights, and similar sub-topics under the major topic of economy. Excluded from this cluster are stories classified under sub-topics such as economic policies, economic statistics, trade, economic crises, stock markets, consumer issues, and transport. This variable covers the years 2005, 2010, and 2015.

Independent variables

- Labour force participation, female as a percentage of total labour force (retrieved from ILO): This indicator measures "the extent to which women are active in the labour force, where 'labour force' comprises people ages 15 and older who meet the ILO's definition of the economically active population" (ILO, 1996–2018). This population is limited to people who furnish the supply of labour for the production of economic goods and services. The data exclude workers located outside the transactional economic circuit (in caring and volunteer work) and the uncounted invisible (informal) economy.
- Labour force participation rate, female (% of female population ages 15+) (modelled ILO estimate): This is defined as "the proportion of a country's working-age population that engages actively in the labour market, either by working or looking for work" (World Bank, 2016), with data from ILO's key indicators of the labour market database. The variable covers the years 1990–2014.
- Share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector (% of total non-agricultural employment) (retrieved from ILO): This variable pertains to the "share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector (industry and services), expressed as a percentage of total employment in the non-agricultural sector" (World Bank, 2016). The variable covers the years 2001–2013.
- Female share of employment in middle and senior management (retrieved from ILO): This indicator is defined as "the proportion of women who are employed in decision-making and management roles in government, large enterprises and institutions (World Bank, 2016). It covers the years 2003–2015.

- Female per cent, employees in professional, technical, and managerial occupations (retrieved from ILO): This variable is calculated based on ILO data for female and male employment by occupation according to broad skill levels aggregate categories of occupation ISCO-08 ISCO-88 skill levels 3 and 4 (high) managers, professionals, and technicians. These categories cover managers, legislators, senior officials, professionals, technicians, and associate professionals (World Bank, 2016). It covers the years 2000–2015.
- Gender difference in vulnerable employment: This variable is computed from the World Bank's (2016) world development indicators database (vulnerable employment, female [% of female employment] minus vulnerable employment, male [% of male employment]). Vulnerable employment is defined as “contributing family workers and own-account workers as a percentage of total employment” (World Bank, 2016).
- Human Development Index (qog_undp_hdi): A composite index that measures the average achievements in a country in three basic dimensions of human development: 1) a long and healthy life, as measured by life expectancy at birth; 2) knowledge, as measured by the adult literacy rate and the combined gross enrolment ratio for primary, secondary, and tertiary schools; and 3) a decent standard of living, as measured by GDP per capita in purchasing power parity USD. The variable covers observations from 2000–2014 (UNDP, 2016).
- Women civil liberties index (vdem_gencl) is retrieved from the Varieties of Democracy (V-dem) data (Coppedge et al., 2017; Sundström et al., 2017). The index measures to which extent women have the ability to make meaningful decisions in key areas of their lives. Women's civil liberties are understood to include freedom of domestic movement, the right to private property, freedom from forced labour, and access to justice. The variable is available for the years 2005–2015.
- Women's property rights (vdem_clprptyw) is also retrieved from V-dem (Coppedge et al., 2017; Pemstein et al., 2018). This variable captures responses to the question of whether women enjoy the right to private property, including the right to acquire, possess, inherit, and sell private property. It does not concern actual ownership of property. Responses: 0 = virtually no men/women enjoy private property rights of any kind; 1 = Some men/women enjoy some private property rights, but most have none; 2 = Many men/women enjoy many private property rights, but a smaller proportion enjoys few or none; 3 = More than half of men/women enjoy most private property rights, yet a smaller share of men/women have much more restricted rights; 4 = Most men/women enjoy most private property rights but a small minority does not; 5 = Virtually

all men/women enjoy all, or almost all, property rights. It is available for the years 2005–2015.

- Women's economic rights (qog_ciri_wecon) is retrieved from the Quality of Government dataset (Teorell et al., 2016) and originally collected from the human rights dataset (Cingranelli et al., 2014). These include rights such as equal pay for equal work, free choice of profession or employment, the right to gainful employment, equality in hiring and promotion practices, job security, non-discrimination by employers, the right to be free from sexual harassment in the workplace, the right to work at night, and the right to work in occupations classified as dangerous. The variable is available for the years 2005–2011 and ranges from 0–3: 0 = there were no economic rights for women in law and that systematic discrimination based on sex may have been built into law; 1 = women had some economic rights under law, but these rights were not effectively enforced; 2 = women had some economic rights under law, and the government effectively enforced these rights in practice while still allowing a low level of discrimination against women in economic matters; and 3 = all or nearly all of women's economic rights were guaranteed by law and the government fully and vigorously enforces these laws in practice.

Table 8.3 *Gender in economic journalism – variables and sample size*

	Country valid <i>n</i>	Country- year valid <i>n</i>	Min	Max	Mean	Std Dev
Women's share as subjects or sources in business & economic news	131	275	0	100	19.93	12.704
Women's share as experts and spokespersons in business & economic news	132	271	0	100	16.5	13.633
Women's share as subjects or sources in labour, work, employment, & poverty stories	130	263	0	75	22.55	18.896
Women's share as subjects or sources quoted in business & economic news	129	260	0	80	20.93	21.896
Wage employment (% women)	88	179	16	55	42.58	8.555
Middle and senior management (% women)	48	93	14	53	30.6	7.211
Professional, technical, & managerial occupations (% women)	94	185	11	63	45.06	8.918
Labour force participation rate (% women)	132	283	16	89	53.94	14.751
Labour force participation (% women)	127	275	13	54	42.58	6.9
Vulnerable employment as percentage of employment by sex (difference women–men)	68	123	-26.6	27	-0.026	7.44074
Women's economic rights	114	172	0	3	1.5	0.869
Women's property rights	125	268	-2	3.06	1.416	1.00653
Women's civil liberties index	113	202	0.199	0.976	0.75467	0.184853

Appendix 8.2 Predicting gender inequality in business and economic news content: Linear mixed models

I apply linear mixed modelling to further examine the relationship between gender equality in business and economic news, and gender inequality in economic realities. The analysis excludes country-year cases with small samples (≤ 30): for 2005, Georgia, Indonesia, Lesotho, Suriname, and Swaziland; for 2010, Egypt, Ireland, Lesotho, Montenegro, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, and Togo; and for 2015, Antigua, Chad, Ethiopia, Haiti, Lesotho, Mauritania, Niger, and St. Lucia. It also excludes outliers whose results are likely due to problematic coding: Gabon 2015, Solomon Islands 2015, and Tonga 2015.

The model (Table 8.4) explores the contribution of the gender gap in labour force participation to the gender gap in business and economic news, specifically, whether women's share of the labour force (IV) explains their share as sources and subjects in economic news (DV). A one percentage point change in women's share of participation in the labour force corresponds to a fractional increase ($b = 0.266$, $p < .05$) in women's presence as subjects or sources in business and economic news.

Table 8.4 *Estimate of fixed effects for women's share as sources or subjects in business and economic news when labour force participation is entered in the model*

	Estimate
Women's participation in the labour force (% women)	0.266* (0.129)
Intercept	8.481 (5.535)
<i>n</i>	267

Comments: Dependent variable: women's share as subjects or sources in business and economic news (%). $n = 267$ country-year observations. $*p < .05$. Linear mixed model procedure run in SPSS ver.25. Repeated measure: year. Covariance type: scaled identity. Maximum likelihood estimation method applied to address missing data, a method generally applied to obtain estimates of unknown parameters by optimising a likelihood function given the distributional assumptions (SPSS, 2005). The maximum likelihood method does not reject cases where one or more data items are missing, as is the case across the variables and years analysed here (see Schafer, 1997; Seltman, 2018 for further discussion on the ML estimation). Women's share as subjects or sources in business and economic news from GMMP. The scale ranges from 0 (no women) to 100 (all sources and subjects are women). Women's participation in the labour force is from the ILO (1996–2018) using World Bank population estimates. The scale ranges from 0 (no women) to 100 (all women). This variable measures the extent to which women are active in the labour force, where "labour force" comprises people aged 15 and older who meet the ILO's definition of the economically active population. Cases with small GMMP data samples (< 30 news items) are excluded (2005: Georgia, Indonesia, Lesotho, Suriname, Swaziland. 2010: Egypt, Ireland, Lesotho, Montenegro, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Togo. 2015: Antigua, Chad, Ethiopia, Haiti, Lesotho, Mauritania, Niger, and St. Lucia). Outliers whose results are likely due to problematic coding are excluded (Gabon 2015, Solomon Islands 2015, and Tonga 2015).

Source: GMMP; ILO

Labour force participation loses importance when women's share of professional, technical, and managerial jobs is introduced into the model (see Table 8.5). A one-point change in women's share of specialised employment corresponds to almost half a point change ($b = 0.429$, $p < .01$) in their share as sources or subjects in economic and business news.

Table 8.5 *Estimates of fixed effects for women's share as subjects or sources in business and economic news when labour force participation and employment in professional, technical, and managerial jobs are entered in the model*

	Estimate
Employees in professional, technical, & managerial occupations (% women)	0.423** (.136)
Labour force participation (women as a percentage of total labour force)	0.124 (0.205)
Intercept	-3.18 (7.832)
<i>n</i>	180

Comments: Dependent variable: women's share as subjects or sources in business and economic news (%). $n = 180$ country-year observations. $**p < .01$. Linear mixed model procedure run in SPSS ver.25. Repeated measure: year. Covariance type: scaled identity. Maximum likelihood estimation method applied to address missing data, a method generally applied to obtain estimates of unknown parameters by optimising a likelihood function given the distributional assumptions (SPSS, 2005; see Schafer, 1997; Seltman, 2018 for further discussion on the ML estimation). Women's share as subjects or sources in business and economic news is from the GMMP. The scale ranges from 0 (no women) to 100 (all sources and subjects are women). Employees in professional, technical, and managerial occupations (% women) is from the ILO (1996–2018). The scale ranges from 0 (no women) to 100 (all women) expressed as a decimal. This indicator is based on ILO data for female and male employment by occupation according to broad skill levels aggregate categories of occupation ISCO-08 ISCO-88 skill levels 3 and 4 (high) managers, professionals, and technicians. Labour force participation, women as a percentage of total labour force is from the ILO (1996–2018), using World Bank population estimates. The scale ranges from 0 (no women) to 100 (all women) expressed as a decimal. This variable measures the extent to which women are active in the labour force, where "labour force" comprises people aged 15 and older who meet the ILO's definition of the economically active population. Cases with small GMMP data samples (< 30 news items) are excluded (2005: Georgia, Indonesia, Lesotho, Suriname, Swaziland. 2010: Egypt, Ireland, Lesotho, Montenegro, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Togo. 2015: Antigua, Chad, Ethiopia, Haiti, Lesotho, Mauritania, Niger, St. Lucia). Outliers whose results are likely due to problematic coding are also omitted (Gabon 2015, Solomon Islands 2015, and Tonga 2015).

Source: GMMP; ILO

The third model (see Table 8.6) explores the contribution of gender disparities in specialised occupations to gender disparities in expert sources in business and economic news. This model employs women's share as experts and spokespersons in economic news as the dependent variable, their share in professional, technical, and managerial jobs as the predictor, and the year as the repeated measure.

Table 8.6 *Estimates of fixed effects for women's share as experts and spokespersons in business and economic news when their share in professional, technical, and managerial jobs is entered in the model*

	Estimate
Employees in professional, technical, & managerial occupations (% women)	0.427*** (.116)
Intercept	-1.974 (5.317)
<i>n</i>	178

Comments: Dependent variable: women's share as experts and spokespersons in business and economic news (%). $n = 178$ country-year observations. *** $p < .001$. Linear mixed model procedure run in SPSS ver.25. Repeated measure: year. Covariance type: scaled identity. Maximum likelihood estimation method applied to address missing data, a method generally applied to obtain estimates of unknown parameters by optimising a likelihood function given the distributional assumptions (SPSS, 2005) (see Schafer, 1997; Seltman, 2018 for further discussion on the ML estimation). Women's share as experts and spokespersons in business and economic news is from the GMMP. The scale ranges from 0 (no women) to 100 (all experts and spokespersons are women). Employees in professional, technical, and managerial occupations (% women) is from the ILO (1996–2018). The scale ranges from 0 (no women) to 100 (all women) expressed as a decimal. This indicator is based on ILO data for female and male employment by occupation according to broad skill levels aggregate categories of occupation ISCO-08 ISCO-88 skill levels 3 and 4 (high) managers, professionals, and technicians. Cases with small GMMP data samples (< 30 news items) are excluded (2005: Georgia, Indonesia, Lesotho, Suriname, Swaziland. 2010: Egypt, Ireland, Lesotho, Montenegro, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Togo. 2015: Antigua, Chad, Ethiopia, Haiti, Lesotho, Mauritania, Niger, St. Lucia). Outliers whose results are likely due to problematic coding are excluded (Gabon 2015, Solomon Islands 2015, Tonga 2015).

Source: GMMP; ILO

A one-point rise in women's share of specialised occupations predicts almost half a percentage point increase ($b = 0.427$, $p < .001$) in their share as authority voices in economic and business news. This analysis would need to be repeated in a larger sample collected over a longer period of time.

The final model (see Table 8.7) explores the contribution of women's share of specialised occupations to their comparative presence in labour-related news stories. Women's share as subjects or sources in labour, work, employment, and poverty sub-topics under the business and economy major topic is the dependent variable, their share in professional, technical, and managerial jobs is the predictor, and year is included as the repeated measure. Scaled identity is selected as the covariance type and maximum likelihood as the estimation method.

Table 8.7 Estimates of fixed effects for women's share as subjects or sources in labour, employment, and poverty stories when their share in professional, technical, and managerial jobs is entered in the model

	Estimate
Employees in professional, technical, & managerial occupations (% women)	0.729*** (.145)
Intercept	-9.752 (6.65)
<i>n</i>	172

Comments: Dependent variable: women's share as subjects or sources in labour, work, employment, and poverty stories within the business and economic news major topic (%). $n = 172$ country-year observations *** $p < .001$. Linear mixed model procedure run in SPSS ver.25. Repeated measure: year. Covariance type: scaled identity. Maximum likelihood estimation method applied to address missing data, a method generally applied to obtain estimates of unknown parameters by optimising a likelihood function given the distributional assumptions (SPSS, 2005; see Schafer, 1997; Seltman, 2018 for further discussion on the ML estimation). Women's share as subjects or sources in labour, work, employment, and poverty stories within the business and economic news major topic is from the GMMP. The scale ranges from 0 (no women) to 100 (all subjects and sources are women). Employees in professional, technical, and managerial occupations (% women) is from the ILO (1996–2018). The scale ranges from 0 (no women) to 100 (all women). This indicator is based on ILO data for female and male employment by occupation according to broad skill levels aggregate categories of occupation ISCO-08 ISCO-88 skill levels 3 and 4 (high) managers, professionals, and technicians. Cases with small GMMP data samples (< 30 news items) are excluded (2005: Georgia, Indonesia, Lesotho, Suriname, Swaziland. 2010: Egypt, Ireland, Lesotho, Montenegro, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Togo. 2015: Antigua, Chad, Ethiopia, Haiti, Lesotho, Mauritania, Niger, St. Lucia). Outliers whose results are likely due to problematic coding are excluded (Gabon 2015, Solomon Islands 2015, and Tonga 2015).

Source: GMMP; ILO

Women's share of employment in skilled occupations is strongly associated with their share as subjects or sources in stories on labour, work, and poverty ($b = 0.729$, $p < .001$). This is an interesting finding in itself; that this sub-set of stories constitutes only a quarter of the volume of the stories classified under business and economy suggests that the gender gap in skilled work is important in explaining gender disparities in stories located at the periphery of the economic news agenda, indicated by the variable, women's share as subjects and sources in stories on labour, work, and poverty. When the variables for female per cent of waged employment and female per cent of labour force participation are introduced into the model, no association of the additional measures to women's share in the labour-related topics emerges, while the skilled occupations indicator remains significant.

Appendix 8.3 Additional tables

Table 8.8 *Women's share of labour force participation and their share as subjects or sources in business and economic news, by country (average 2005–2015, per cent)*

Country	Women's share of labour force participation	Women as subjects or sources in business & economic news	Difference between women's share of labour force participation and women as subjects or sources in business & economic news
Bulgaria	46.4	86.4	40.0
Grenada	–	25.8	–
Kosovo	–	25.0	–
Taiwan	–	19.0	–
St Vincent and the Grenadines	17.2	–	–
Seychelles	–	10.0	–
Morocco	27.3	35.0	7.7
Jordan	17.8	25.0	7.2
Afghanistan	16.1	21.1	5.0
Palestine, State of	0.0	3.8	3.8
Chile	38.6	41.1	2.5
South Sudan	0.0	0.0	0.0
Niger	30.9	30.8	-0.1
United Arab Emirates	12.8	12.2	-0.6
Barbados	48.9	45.0	-3.9
Tunisia	26.9	21.6	-5.3
Swaziland	39.1	33.3	-5.8
United States of America	45.9	39.9	-6.0
Ireland	43.3	35.7	-7.5
Lebanon	23.7	15.3	-8.4
Indonesia	38.0	28.6	-9.4
Poland	45.1	33.5	-11.5
Nicaragua	38.4	25.8	-12.6
Costa Rica	37.1	24.4	-12.7
Brazil	43.3	30.3	-12.9

Table 8.8 Cont.

Country	Women's share of labour force participation	Women as subjects or sources in business & economic news	Difference between women's share of labour force participation and women as subjects or sources in business & economic news
Israel	46.8	33.7	-13.1
El Salvador	41.3	27.9	-13.4
Philippines	38.7	25.1	-13.6
Guyana	34.5	20.8	-13.7
Argentina	40.4	26.5	-13.9
Belize	37.7	22.9	-14.8
Guatemala	37.5	22.7	-14.8
Sweden	47.2	32.4	-14.8
Pakistan	21.9	6.3	-15.7
Puerto Rico	42.0	25.8	-16.2
India	26.2	9.8	-16.4
Australia	45.2	28.2	-17.0
Paraguay	38.8	21.3	-17.5
Egypt	22.7	5.0	-17.7
Cuba	37.4	19.6	-17.8
Trinidad and Tobago	42.0	24.2	-17.9
Suriname	37.2	19.1	-18.1
Serbia	43.5	25.4	-18.1
Turkey	28.7	10.5	-18.1
Cape Verde	39.2	21.1	-18.2
Czech Republic	43.3	25.0	-18.3
Japan	42.2	23.5	-18.7
Norway	47.0	27.7	-19.4
Azerbaijan	48.2	28.6	-19.6
Peru	44.3	24.4	-19.9
Mexico	36.8	16.8	-20.0
Mauritius	37.0	16.9	-20.1
Uganda	49.3	29.2	-20.2
South Africa	44.4	24.2	-20.2
Colombia	41.7	21.3	-20.4

Table 8.8 Cont.

Country	Women's share of labour force participation	Women as subjects or sources in business & economic news	Difference between women's share of labour force participation and women as subjects or sources in business & economic news
South Korea	41.3	20.9	-20.4
Fiji	33.5	12.9	-20.6
Belgium	45.1	24.4	-20.7
Bangladesh	39.6	18.8	-20.9
Finland	47.8	26.8	-21.1
Croatia	45.7	24.2	-21.5
Venezuela	39.5	17.9	-21.6
Zimbabwe	49.2	27.2	-21.9
Bahamas	48.3	26.3	-22.0
Jamaica	44.6	22.0	-22.6
United Kingdom	45.9	23.3	-22.6
AVERAGE	42.1	19.3	-22.8
Ecuador	40.0	17.2	-22.8
Dominican Republic	39.9	16.8	-23.1
Namibia	48.0	24.8	-23.2
Bolivia	44.5	21.2	-23.3
Denmark	47.4	23.9	-23.5
China	44.2	20.5	-23.8
Spain	43.7	19.8	-23.9
France	47.0	23.0	-24.0
Romania	44.9	20.9	-24.0
Greece	41.9	17.4	-24.5
Togo	50.9	25.9	-25.0
Bosnia and Herzegovina	37.6	12.5	-25.1
Malawi	50.5	25.2	-25.4
Belarus	48.8	23.3	-25.4
Thailand	45.7	20.2	-25.5
New Zealand	46.8	20.7	-26.0
Canada	46.9	20.7	-26.2
Ghana	49.7	23.3	-26.4
Mauritania	26.4	0.0	-26.4

Table 8.8 Cont.

Country	Women's share of labour force participation	Women as subjects or sources in business & economic news	Difference between women's share of labour force participation and women as subjects or sources in business & economic news
Nigeria	42.6	16.2	-26.5
Burundi	51.5	24.8	-26.6
Germany	45.4	18.7	-26.7
Malta	34.1	7.3	-26.8
Malaysia	36.1	9.1	-27.0
Estonia	49.4	22.4	-27.0
Uzbekistan	41.0	13.6	-27.3
Equatorial Guinea	44.8	17.4	-27.4
Iceland	47.4	19.8	-27.6
Portugal	47.6	20.0	-27.6
Senegal	44.8	16.3	-28.5
Netherlands	45.6	16.2	-29.3
Sudan	29.4	0.0	-29.4
Mongolia	45.8	16.2	-29.6
Zambia	46.5	16.9	-29.7
Switzerland	45.9	16.2	-29.7
Luxembourg	44.2	14.3	-29.9
Hungary	45.8	15.8	-30.0
Mali	38.5	8.3	-30.2
Uruguay	44.4	14.1	-30.3
Burkina Faso	47.4	16.9	-30.6
Cyprus	43.4	12.8	-30.6
Kyrgyzstan	42.7	11.8	-31.0
Botswana	47.2	15.6	-31.5
Georgia	46.5	13.2	-33.3
Italy	40.9	7.0	-33.9
Haiti	47.2	13.1	-34.1
Rwanda	54.3	20.0	-34.3
Austria	45.7	10.6	-35.1
Kenya	46.5	10.6	-35.9
Congo, Democratic Republic	49.8	13.5	-36.3

Table 8.8 Cont.

Country	Women's share of labour force participation	Women as subjects or sources in business & economic news	Difference between women's share of labour force participation and women as subjects or sources in business & economic news
Vietnam	48.4	11.5	-36.9
Cambodia	49.8	12.1	-37.7
Angola	46.9	9.1	-37.8
Guinea	45.7	7.7	-38.0
Tanzania	50.1	10.3	-39.8
Bhutan	41.5	0.0	-41.5
Benin	47.0	5.3	-41.6
Montenegro	43.6	1.9	-41.7
Nepal	50.1	8.4	-41.8
Ethiopia	47.2	5.3	-41.9
Madagascar	49.4	6.3	-43.2
Cameroon	45.6	1.1	-44.5
Mozambique	54.3	7.1	-47.2
Papua New Guinea	48.3	0.0	-48.3

Table 8.9 *Women's share as authority voices (experts and spokespersons) in business and economic news and their share of employment in professional, technical, and managerial occupations, by country (average 2005–2015, per cent)*

Country	Women's share as authority voices (experts & spokespersons) in business & economic news	Women's employment in professional, technical, & managerial occupations	Difference between women's share as authority voices (experts & spokespersons) in business & economic news and their share of employment in professional, technical, & managerial occupations
Jordan	50.0	–	–
Bulgaria	100.0	55.1	44.9
Swaziland	33.3	–	–
Grenada	31.0	–	–
Afghanistan	27.3	–	–
Bahamas	26.7	–	–
Malawi	22.9	–	–
Cape Verde	22.0	–	–
St Vincent and the Grenadines	21.7	–	–
Togo	19.0	–	–
Burundi	16.7	–	–
Taiwan	16.7	–	–
Burkina Faso	16.3	–	–
Senegal	15.7	–	–
Mozambique	15.4	–	–
Zambia	14.0	–	–
Vietnam	11.7	–	–
Nigeria	11.7	–	–
Mali	11.5	–	–
Rwanda	11.1	–	–
Seychelles	11.1	–	–
Guyana	10.0	–	–
Fiji	9.7	–	–
Kenya	8.3	–	–
Congo, Democratic Republic	7.7	–	–
Indonesia	50.0	43.9	6.1

Table 8.9 Cont.

Country	Women's share as authority voices (experts & spokespersons) in business & economic news	Women's employment in professional, technical, & managerial occupations	Difference between women's share as authority voices (experts & spokespersons) in business & economic news and their share of employment in professional, technical, & managerial occupations
India	6.0	–	–
Niger	2.5	–	–
Angola	0.0	–	–
Benin	0.0	–	–
Cameroon	0.0	–	–
Equatorial Guinea	0.0	–	–
Guinea	0.0	–	–
Kosovo	0.0	–	–
Papua New Guinea	0.0	–	–
Sierra Leone	0.0	–	–
South Sudan	0.0	–	–
Sudan	0.0	–	–
Uzbekistan	0.0	–	–
Morocco	30.0	31.8	-1.8
Bangladesh	12.6	15.1	-2.5
Barbados	50.0	53.6	-3.6
United Arab Emirates	14.3	19.3	-5.0
Tunisia	28.1	33.2	-5.0
South Korea	24.5	35.0	-10.4
Uganda	29.2	39.9	-10.7
Pakistan	0.0	10.8	-10.8
United States of America	38.3	50.9	-12.6
Cambodia	15.4	28.5	-13.1
Brazil	33.0	47.5	-14.5
Nepal	8.8	23.7	-14.8
Guatemala	21.9	36.9	-14.9
Mauritius	23.0	39.1	-16.0
Thailand	25.1	41.9	-16.8

Table 8.9 Cont.

Country	Women's share as authority voices (experts & spokespersons) in business & economic news	Women's employment in professional, technical, & managerial occupations	Difference between women's share as authority voices (experts & spokespersons) in business & economic news and their share of employment in professional, technical, & managerial occupations
Cuba	21.2	38.1	-16.9
Ghana	21.3	39.1	-17.7
Zimbabwe	24.6	42.6	-18.0
Haiti	16.1	35.0	-18.8
Ireland	25.3	44.5	-19.3
Serbia	32.4	52.1	-19.8
Sweden	29.0	48.8	-19.8
Turkey	4.2	24.6	-20.4
Costa Rica	21.1	41.6	-20.5
Egypt	4.5	25.3	-20.7
Japan	13.5	34.7	-21.2
Colombia	23.8	45.3	-21.5
United Kingdom	22.0	43.5	-21.5
El Salvador	23.5	45.2	-21.7
Chile	22.0	44.0	-22.0
South Africa	22.5	44.6	-22.1
Czech Republic	26.3	48.6	-22.3
Croatia	24.9	47.3	-22.4
Azerbaijan	25.0	47.6	-22.6
Ethiopia	5.3	28.8	-23.5
Poland	31.4	55.3	-23.9
Norway	22.8	47.1	-24.3
Denmark	24.1	48.9	-24.8
Argentina	24.4	49.4	-25.0
Finland	24.2	49.4	-25.2
Peru	17.6	43.4	-25.8
Mexico	14.3	40.7	-26.3
Belgium	18.4	45.1	-26.8

Table 8.9 Cont.

Country	Women's share as authority voices (experts & spokespersons) in business & economic news	Women's employment in professional, technical, & managerial occupations	Difference between women's share as authority voices (experts & spokespersons) in business & economic news and their share of employment in professional, technical, & managerial occupations
Israel	21.1	48.7	-27.6
AVERAGE	16.3	44.5	-28.2
Greece	14.4	42.8	-28.3
Paraguay	17.8	47.1	-29.3
Germany	18.2	47.9	-29.7
Australia	18.3	48.2	-30.0
Tanzania	8.4	38.5	-30.1
Switzerland	13.0	43.7	-30.7
France	15.7	46.4	-30.7
Nicaragua	18.4	49.1	-30.7
Portugal	15.4	46.6	-31.2
China	12.6	43.8	-31.2
Netherlands	12.6	44.0	-31.4
Estonia	25.8	57.3	-31.5
Belize	16.9	48.5	-31.6
Austria	12.8	44.5	-31.7
Malaysia	5.7	37.6	-31.9
New Zealand	16.7	48.8	-32.0
Suriname	22.6	54.7	-32.1
Bhutan	0.0	32.6	-32.6
Malta	2.5	35.6	-33.1
Puerto Rico	20.7	53.9	-33.2
Iceland	19.1	52.4	-33.3
Lebanon	0.0	33.4	-33.4
Spain	11.3	44.8	-33.5
Botswana	12.5	47.7	-35.2
Montenegro	13.9	49.9	-35.9
Palestine, State of	0.0	36.2	-36.2

Table 8.9 Cont.

Country	Women's share as authority voices (experts & spokespersons) in business & economic news	Women's employment in professional, technical, & managerial occupations	Difference between women's share as authority voices (experts & spokespersons) in business & economic news and their share of employment in professional, technical, & managerial occupations
Luxembourg	9.1	45.5	-36.4
Canada	15.4	51.9	-36.5
Ecuador	8.8	46.4	-37.6
Trinidad and Tobago	11.1	49.7	-38.6
Dominican Republic	10.8	49.5	-38.7
Bosnia and Herzegovina	8.8	47.7	-38.9
Philippines	18.7	58.7	-40.0
Cyprus	5.0	45.2	-40.2
Uruguay	9.7	50.2	-40.5
Italy	2.8	43.3	-40.5
Bolivia	0.0	41.4	-41.4
Namibia	10.7	52.3	-41.6
Hungary	13.4	55.2	-41.8
Romania	11.4	53.5	-42.1
Madagascar	0.0	42.4	-42.4
Mongolia	14.9	57.5	-42.6
Jamaica	15.8	58.5	-42.7
Belarus	19.0	63.3	-44.2
Georgia	10.2	56.9	-46.6
Venezuela	7.6	59.1	-51.6
Kyrgyzstan	4.8	59.3	-54.5

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