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NOVEMBER 2022

From
Outrage to
Opportunity:

How to Include The Missing Perspectives of Women of All Colors in News Leadership and Coverage

The third in the series of Missing Perspectives reports

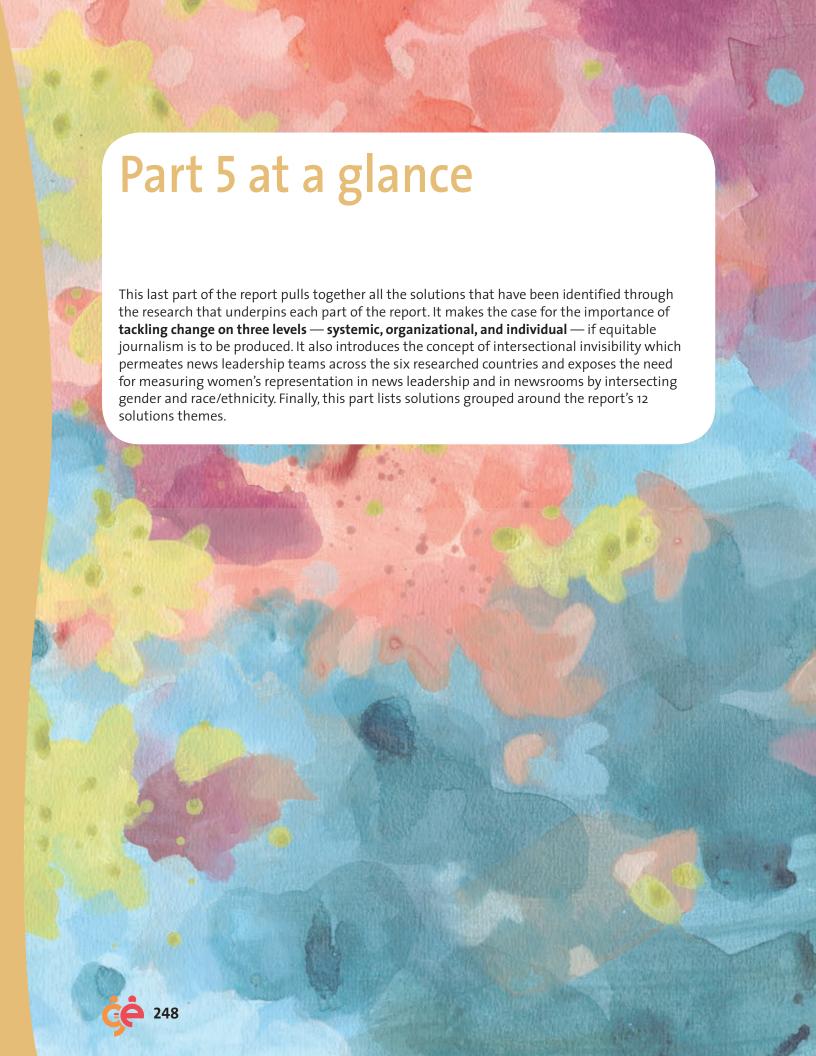


Part 5

Proposed strategic and operational solutions

Report Navigation

At a glance & Introduction **Report parts** Part 1 Part 2 Part 4 Gender diversity and **Proposed strategic** News initiatives • Background and Women's Gender equity objectives business opportunity inclusion gap in news representation, addressing gender and operational portrayal and stories • Executive summary leadership equality for newspapers solutions Summary of in news coverage solutions themes · Summary of key findings Acknowledgements Introduction • What has happened since 2019 **Case studies** Times Lahariya **Nation Media** Mint The Fuller Project African Women in Media **Bibliography &** Bibliography **Appendices** Appendix 1 and 2 Links to news value chain



I Why change needs to be tackled on three levels: systemic, organizational, and individual

How to tackle the underrepresentation of women and minority ethnic groups in news is one of those divisive topics which seems to leave us at the mercy of the ferocious current in the river of news. We lurch from one riverbank to the other, rarely able to find the mid-stream balance that is equitable journalism. Those on the left bank argue that the inequality of representation and perspectives in news leadership, newsrooms, and news coverage is a systemic problem that affects society and the news industry through osmosis. At one extreme of their viewpoints is the belief that no individual leader or even the industry as a whole can resolve the problem until society has dealt with its dysfunctions e.g. until societal systems, structures, and procedures have been gender- and racially de-biased and social norms have become equally embracing of all genders and races. On the opposite bank are those who defend the view that inequality in news is a direct consequence of there being a bunch of privileged individuals, more specifically men or white men in the global north, who have usurped power for centuries and are projecting their perspectives onto news coverage. Or indeed that modern day inequality is the consequence of women's timidity in society or in journalism; that until they "fix" their lack of confidence in leading, or expressing their opinions, or sharing their expertise in an authoritative way, change will stall. The work that AKAS team members have carried out in news in the last twenty years has unearthed that neither of these positions is entirely true or completely false.

The Missing Perspectives of Women in News provided conclusive evidence that across all the studied countries, at the heart of the issue of women's underrepresentation along the whole news value chain reside pro-male social norms, that have crystalized in the form of systems, stereotypes, processes, overt beliefs or covert biases. Importantly, these norms have been embraced by men and women in almost equal measure. To shift these norms, which power behaviors in every industry including

journalism, change needs to happen at three levels (see Figure 60): the societal/systemic, the organizational, and the individual. The shift is required on each of these three levels because the pro-male norms permeate them all. At an individual level the norms are often locked in a form of unconscious human bias, which manifests in men's over-confidence and women's under-confidence. At an organizational level they are locked in the male-dominated news ownership, governance, and executive leadership teams we witness; in the male-dominated newsrooms; malefavoring company processes; stories featuring more men and appealing more to men; and male protagonists who are portrayed as more powerful than women.

The quantitative and qualitative insights that were generated for this report point to a very similar picture of severe underrepresentation for racial and ethnic minorities along the whole news value chain, that particularly affects women of color, and require a similar three-level approach to tackling the problem. The problem has been encapsulated powerfully in the reflection of a female news leader of color from the global north, shared earlier in this report:

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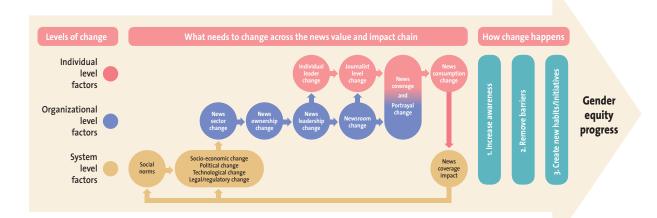
"There's so much inherent, implicit, and explicit bias against people of color in this business, it never ends. As the most senior person of color in our newsroom, I am constantly dealing with issues related to people of color not feeling respected...We're much better than a lot of places, but I've seen that in my career, it's just not being heard."

99

Add to this the gender dimension and the problem becomes even more pernicious.

To produce more gender- and racially/ ethnically-balanced news coverage, which is sustained over time, social norms must be

Figure 60: How change happens: the three levels of change (updated from *The Missing Perspectives of Women in News*)



Source: AKAS research (2022)

supportive of gender and racial/ethnic equality. If norms are not supportive of equality, it will be hard to sustain progress, as recent research²⁸³ has shown. A fascinating and deeply under-evidenced relationship which has been highlighted in Figure 60 is that between social norms, the socio-economic and political status quo, and news coverage. The relationship between norms/the status quo and news is interdependent. As we have seen from the evidence presented in this report, the socioeconomic and political status quo influences news editing and coverage. However, although it is not the focus of this report, there is much academic (e.g. sociological) and quantitative evidence to show that news coverage also influences socio-economic, political, technological, and/or regulatory change.²⁸⁴ Research into the impact of women-centered news coverage has demonstrated positive change in the lives of women on the ground in Kenya, as well as change at a macro policy level, as a direct result of news coverage.285 Figure 60 illustrates that to produce more genderbalanced and transformative news coverage at an organizational level, change must happen at a news management and newsroom level with the composition of leaders and the nature of

processes becoming more gender and racially/ ethnically balanced.

Finally, to enable change at systemic and organizational levels, it is important to trigger change at the individual level. This can only be achieved by firstly accepting that we all have biases, which are an intrinsic part of being human, and becoming aware of the strength of our pro-male and pro-white biases. Secondly, instead of aiming to eradicate these biases, which behavioral scientists tell us is very hard if not impossible, we must instead aim to circumvent or interrupt them, thus removing barriers to change. This is best achieved through training that aims to encourage and foster new journalistic behavioral habits. Examples of such behavioral habits include substituting the most senior sources with slightly less senior sources who are more likely to be from a diverse background; using databases of women experts in different fields; conducting portrayal analyses of news outputs; exploring the difference between the realities and perspectives of men and women in news stories; being more inclusive of different perspectives in editorial decisions; or simply counting the sources quoted in one's articles.

^{285.} AKAS, 2022



^{283.} Turban et al., 2019

^{284.} This part of the relationship has not been explored in this report.

II Why it is critical to measure women's representation by intersecting gender with race

The extraordinarily high levels of marginalization, dismissal, isolation, and even gaslighting of women of color in news leadership and in newsrooms, as well as their under-use in news coverage as contributors or protagonists, have been among the most onerous insights unearthed in this report. What makes the situation of women of color significantly more challenging is the reality that news organizations in the UK, the US, and South Africa do not track the representation of women intersectionally by overlaying the impact of race/ethnicity on their experiences, career progression, and cultural inclusion. The news industry in these countries has also not established or publicly announced a baseline for what the current representation of women of color should be. In published company reports, the diversity narratives are often anchored around either women or people of color. AKAS analyzed the diversity reports of 45 news organizations across the UK (19), the US (23), and South Africa (3) and found that only one organization had reported gender and ethnicity intersectionally. Furthermore, in the UK, only 37% of the news organizations had reported ethnicity at all vs. 100% in the US.286 This leaves women of color falling through the cracks of organizational awareness. They

Academic research²⁸⁷ in the US has introduced the concept of intersectional invisibility, which provides a framework for understanding how women of color, such as Black women, experience unique adverse realities when their race interlocks with their gender. This research focuses on how women of color, in particular Black women, fall out of societal focus, by not being significantly differentiated from Black men on the one hand, and not being associated strongly enough with women in general on the other.

The challenge associated with the lack of measurement of the realities of women of color goes far back in history. In the 1930s in the US, Black, Hispanic/Latinx, and Asian respondents were left out of the notion of a nationally representative sample.²⁸⁸ Since then, market research has treated whiteness as the default in American consumer culture. In contrast, 'intersectionally-equitable' research actively centers on notions of different power categories such as race, class, gender, and sexuality. According to the author of the quoted article, despite its value, this intersectionally-equitable approach continues to be overlooked in most market research companies and their outputs.

286. Due to the low number of news organizations which had published diversity reports in South Africa, this analysis would not be reliable or meaningful

remain invisible.

287. Coles and Pasek,

288. Pico, 2022



While conducting the audit of 168 initiatives that directly or indirectly aim to reduce gender inequality in news across the globe, AKAS found only one organization which was tracking data intersectionally by gender and race. In 2022, the BBC launched a new digital 50:50 tracker, developed in partnership with Stanford University, aiming to digitalize the counting of sources by gender, ethnicity, and disability. However, its current version does not allow for intersectional analysis. In the interview with Joannides, which preceded the launch of the tracker, she emphasized a data protection barrier that the organization faces when it comes to reporting intersectionally.

"So that [intersectional reporting] is something that we've been talking about doing but, because of data protection, it's been quite tricky, because every team will have their own data that they submit, and the more intersectional you go, the lower the numbers of the contributors in each subgroup. So whereas before, we can say, 'Right, out of 12 contributors in a programme, you might have maybe one or two Black people, maybe one or two Asian people, and then you will, hopefully, have a few disabled contributors as well', and then, already, that level of anonymity is being lost with that level of numbers. So then if we were to go intersectional, that would be difficult. So that's not something that we're doing at the moment."

To avoid data protection considerations becoming a barrier to women of color, news organizations should consider reporting intersectional data at aggregate level

Aggregate level reporting would allow trends to be detected while still protecting the privacy of specific individuals. Unless news organizations start to systematically measure gender representation intersectionally, women of color will remain unseen and their situation

is unlikely to improve considerably or in a sustainable way. We cannot change what we do not measure, particularly when the biases surrounding change are so deep and prevalent. Measuring proportions, tracking portrayal, and highlighting challenges as well as opportunities at a systemic, organizational, and individual level represents the only sustainable path to progress.

III Full list of proposed solutions

This section summarizes all the solutions which emerged in the process of writing this report. The vast majority of them have been generated either by the 41 senior news editors who were interviewed for this project or in the process of analyzing multiple quantitative and qualitative sources, and conducting extensive news coverage analyses and a statistical forecast. The solutions are grouped around the 12 themes that emerged from the report and delve into how news organizations can improve their representation and inclusion of women of all colors in news leadership and in the highest-profile news beats. They also focus on how to improve women's visibility and portrayal in news coverage, as well as what organizations will need to do to generate incremental revenue through attracting new female audiences. The recommendations build on, rather than duplicate, those generated in The Missing Perspectives of Women in News and The Missing Perspectives of Women in COVID-19 News. Very occasionally, we have repeated some fundamental recommendations in this report, guided by their centrality to success. The recommendations are centered around insights gained about women in India, Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa, the UK, and the US, and women of color in the latter three countries. As such, the recommendations have not zoned in on any other socio-demographic characteristics such as class, sexuality, age, level of affluence, or education.

Solutions theme 1: Consolidate effort at an industry level to enhance progress

At an industry level

Raise awareness

Remove barriers

Create new habits

Raise awareness of the existing gap in sector-wide collaborative initiatives that aim to improve women's position in news.

Launch a cross-industry gender (and where relevant ethnicity) diversity tracker as a vehicle for the industry to hold itself to account and facilitate muchneeded knowledge sharing.

Raise awareness of the limited global understanding of female news audiences that results from the existing male bias in news consumption.

Consolidate effort at an industry level to enhance progress. Non-profits and associations working to improve women's position in news should collaborate more and compete less.

Set up a body that unifies all working in this area under the umbrella of the gender equity cause.

Solutions theme 2: Conduct a comprehensive gender diversity audit across all elements of the news operation

How to carry out a comprehensive gender diversity audit across all elements of the news operation

Raise awareness

Remove barriers

Create new habits

Undertake a gender gaps audit across the whole news value chain

Raise awareness within your organization of the deficit in news initiatives aimed at improving women's inclusion in decision-making and their sense of belonging within the news culture.

Solutions theme 3: Make the gender diversity strategy explicit

How to make the gender diversity strategy explicit

Raise awareness

Be intentional about change at all levels within your news organization. Measure representation continuously to build an understanding of how underrepresented women are along the whole value chain in your organization (proportion of women in newsrooms, news leadership, newsgathering, news outputs, and news consumption).

Be explicit and intentional about your endorsement of gender and racial/ethnic diversity in the organization's strategy, mission, and values.

Remove barriers

Communicate and discuss the gender/diversity strategy and goals.

Link the gender/diversity strategy to the overall news strategy and potential revenue opportunities.

Create new habits

Develop workshops to work through priority solutions themes.

Solutions theme 4: Improve the representation of all women in news leadership

How to improve representation of all women in news leadership

Raise awareness

Raise awareness that malefavoring norms, underpinning inequity in news, have not gone away either in the global south or the global north. For example, research found that the belief that men make better leaders than women goes deeper in the UK and US than previously thought.

Remove barriers

Challenge the persistent soft vs. hard news gender stereotyping and the long-standing gender segregation of editorial roles that results from it, which is keeping women out of editorial roles in high-profile beats such as politics, economics, and foreign affairs.

Develop and put in place equitable policies which will attract and retain more women of all colors. As outlined in *The Missing Perspectives of Women in News*, focus on policies in seven areas to counteract gender inequity in your news organization:

- overall gender equality including equal pay
- parental leave and childcare assistance
- flexible working
- recruitment
- return to work after a career break
- sexual harassment
- · career development and training.

You can even have a policy against manels. This has proved successful.

Introduce a **policy of transparency on pay gap reporting**, which is seen as critical among news leaders globally.

Create new habits

Set up representation targets for women in your newsroom, in news leadership, and across high-profile news beats (i.e., politics, economics/business, foreign affairs).

Ensure that representation targets for women in the news organization/leadership are supported by the **social norms in the country**. (Perhaps parity is too much of a stretch for some countries and could therefore be an offputting target).

Develop **talent retention programs**. Launch initiatives that support the promotion of middle managers e.g., launch senior editor careerenhancing workshops.

Hold your organization accountable in the same way you hold protagonist organizations in your news coverage accountable.

Ensure that all **initiatives are endorsed both by the senior leadership** and at **grassroots level.**

Solutions theme 5: Improve specifically the representation of women of color in news leadership

How to improve representation of women of color in news leadership

Raise awareness

Think of **diversity intersectionally**. Measure
representation of women
intersectionally to understand
the role of race when overlaid
onto gender.

Raise awareness of the fact that women of color are completely locked out of most senior editorial decision-making roles in the highest-profile beats in the UK, severely marginalized in the US, and underrepresented in South Africa.

Remove barriers

Review recruitment and retention processes to accommodate diverse talent e.g., audit how you recruit, develop, and promote at all levels within the organization, to ensure fairness and foster diversity and inclusive decisionmaking.

Create new habits

Establish targets for women of color in newsrooms and news leadership in line with their proportion in the working population.

Measure the diversity and inclusion baseline in your organization (e.g., the proportion of women of color), and track progress. Consider quotas temporarily if you find that women of color are completely locked out of your news leadership and across editorial roles in key news beats.

Solutions theme 6: Improve the inclusion of all women in decision-making in news leadership

How to improve inclusion of all women in decision-making in news leadership

Raise awareness

Sensitize the news leadership in your organization through gender and racial sensitivity training, including a focus on unconscious bias.

Raise awareness of the fact that having a more diverse team does not automatically translate into inclusive decision-making.

Be aware that changing culture takes time and requires tenacity and multiple perspectives. Celebrate every little shift.

Remove barriers

Consciously tone down the competitive "win-lose" journalistic values inside the newsroom to create a more empathetic/caring culture.

Champion and share responsibility for change, regardless of your gender or skin color.

If you are from the majority group in your news leadership/ newsroom, lean forward.

Be proactive, not reactive.

Champion the career progression of women of all colors.

Interrupt bias by securing individual training across all levels of the organizational structure. Training should target changing behavior rather than eliminating unconscious biases/stereotypes.

Create new habits

Launch mentorship and bursary programs, media and confidence-building training, and initiatives that aim to increase a sense of belonging for women of all colors.

Allyship is key. Encourage/ launch support groups for women, with men, and beyond the newsroom e.g.

- external industry support groups
- internal cross-departmental support groups
- in-department groups
- individual leaders supporting women
- · peer supporting groups

Roll out **employee engagement surveys** to measure employees' and leaders' perceived inclusion and sense of cultural belonging.

Consider making cultural expectations of inclusive behaviors (tracked through employee surveys) part of the formal assessment of leaders and journalists.

Launch initiatives that support individual women's psychological and physical safety and wellbeing.

Solutions theme 7: Improve specifically the inclusion of women of color in decision-making in news leadership

How to improve specifically inclusion of women of color in decision-making in news leadership

Raise awareness

Raise awareness of the five key gender and racial biases at play in organizations:

- prove-it-again bias
- tightrope bias
- tug-of-war bias
- racial stereotyping
- maternal wall bias

Beware of knee-jerk reactions to external trigger events which lead to superficial, unsustainable, and therefore cost-ineffective solutions. Accept fear and guilt as part of

the journey towards change.

Educate yourself about the challenging position of minority groups in the newsroom or news leadership. Don't expect your colleagues/ staff from these groups to educate you.

Remove barriers

Challenge the misconception that racial diversity translates into inclusion in decisionmaking. There can be a hierarchy of power within leadership based on the leader's gender and skin color.

If you are a woman/person of color, take on DEI initiatives for a finite period (if at all). Work in a "relay" manner to avoid burnout or do not take on DEI initiatives if this is too emotionally taxing.

If you are a leader in a news organization considering a DEI initiative, bring in external experts to run it, rather than allocating it to ethnically diverse journalists/leaders who have rich lived experiences, but busy jobs, and no formalized expertise in diversity and inclusion.

Do not expect women or ethnic minority groups to lead and resolve their own underrepresentation or exclusion. Offer to support. Take initiative.

Create new habits

Interrupt bias by implementing small, systemic, incremental, measurable changes to work processes, aiming to change systems and processes rather than how people adapt to them.

Measure and track the success of DEI initiatives. Establish baselines before the initiatives start.

Set up informal check-ins/ mentoring sessions with people who are not direct reports.

Develop a **reverse mentoring program** on a voluntary basis.

Solutions theme 8: Improve representation and inclusion of women in newsrooms

(See "Gender diversity in the workplace" in the "Gender Parity in News Checklist" in The Missing Perspectives of Women in News report, p. 166)

How to improve representation and inclusion of women in newsrooms

Raise awareness

Track progress in attracting, retaining, and developing women journalists.

Remove barriers

Tackle gender blindness through a comprehensive gender sensitivity training program for men and women at all organizational levels (governance structure, senior leadership and journalists) by

- increasing awareness of existing social norms that represent an obstacle
- encouraging journalists to see themselves as change agents for the advancement of gender parity in news

Create new habits

Put in place a comprehensive suite of policies addressing gender equality. Ensure that its implementation is the responsibility of a nominated senior leader. Policies should cover:

- gender equality including equal pay
- parental leave & childcare assistance (proven high impact)
- flexible working (proven high impact)
- addressing gender bias in recruitment
- return to work after career break
- sexual harassment
- career development and training

Solutions theme 9: Improve the representation of all women in news coverage

How to improve women of all colors' representation in news coverage

Raise awareness

Raise awareness of existing gender and racial biases in representation and storytelling, as well as in portrayal. Portrayal is a blind spot in the news industry.

As an editor or journalist, take time periodically to assess your own use of contributors and protagonists in storytelling/within your beat. Examine your storytelling for biases from three perspectives:

- representation
- story angles
- · portrayal of women

Remove barriers

Focus on circumventing the following biases in journalism which slow down positive change:

- status quo bias
- male bias leading to gender blindness
- short-term outlook
- reductive journalism (oversimplifying stories)
- organizations' unwillingness to report on themselves

Measure impact of your women-centric journalism to improve understanding of the role of journalism in triggering societal change and thus in securing more funding.

As a news organization, make your newsroom more accessible to women sources and experts through offering independently run outreach training by external organizations.

Give more advance notice of interviews to women experts to maximize the chance of them participating.

Create new habits

Ensure that initiatives you launch that aim to improve women's presence in news are sustainable. To be sustainable, they need to be designed with the end user (i.e., busy journalists) in mind, which means the methodology needs to be simple. For best results, initiatives need to be championed from the top, embraced at grassroots level and, ideally, be voluntary in nature.

Celebrate the small steps forward. Expecting a rapid and sweeping step change is unrealistic.

To achieve more gender and racial diversity among your contributors, don't always target the most senior expert or protagonist. Less senior experts are more likely to be women and as likely to understand the work. Use databases of women expert contributors.

In business stories, use more protagonists from smaller and medium-sized companies. These are more likely to be women than those in top 500 companies.

Solutions theme 10: Improve the storytelling about women of all colors

How to improve storytelling about women of all colors in news coverage

Raise awareness

Raise awareness among your news editorial leadership of the fact that 99% of online news coverage globally does not contain a gender lens.

Be aware that because of the missing gender lens, the news fails to cover sufficiently, or indeed misses out altogether, the various gender gaps in:

- pay
- power
- safety
- authority
- confidence
- health
- ageism

Raise awareness of the ageism gap as it is under the radar of almost all interviewed news leaders. It is a problem amplified for women that exacerbates gender inequality in news throughout the value chain.

Increase awareness of the fact that the gender gaps widen when race/ ethnicity is overlaid onto gender. This tough reality is rarely reflected in news coverage.

Remove barriers

Editors' lived experiences inform their decisions about what to cover in the news. Therefore, to cover more perspectives, **bring in more editors with different perspectives**. Hire editors with lived experiences from underrepresented groups to mitigate the risk of homogenous storytelling.

Look for gender angles that do not alienate men. All stories have story angles relevant to men and angles relevant to women. The best ones appeal to both.

Use more micro angles, including human stories, in storytelling. Combine these with global angles highlighting the universality of women's problems across the globe.

Create new habits

Increase news coverage that aims to shed light on the existing gaps between women and men, which are deepened among people of color. These are the gaps in pay, power, safety, authority, confidence, health, and ageism.

Prioritize covering the pay gap in news more **extensively**, as this is easy to evidence quantitatively across many industries and is of relatively higher importance to news leaders globally. Also prioritize covering the power gap between men and women, which is recognized by many news editors interviewed for this project and can be evidenced across many areas of society (e.g., business and politics).

Apply an intersectional lens when covering the existing gender gaps.

Appoint newsroom inclusion champions to drive the broadening of storytelling perspectives from grassroots level.

Consider rolling out weekly editorial meetings involving different diversity groups to identify new story angles.

Introduce inclusive storytelling/**360 degree editing** which encompasses the perspectives of different communities and audience groups in terms of how a particular story affects them.

Launch **Gender or Race Desks** if the newsroom culture is open to it.

Introduce newsletters/publication sections/newspaper pull-outs focusing on stories relevant to women and targeting women audiences as these have proven successful in attracting new audiences.

Solutions themes 11: Improve the portrayal of all women in news coverage

How to improve women's portrayal in news coverage

Raise awareness

Become aware of existing biases/stereotypes related to how women and people of color are typically viewed by society. Put in place behavioral tips for journalists for how to circumvent them in coverage.

Recognize that the portrayal of women and people of color in the news is an industry blind spot.

Remove barriers

Watch out for stereotypes in your news coverage, such as:

- women being seen as less competent once they have children
- women being seen primarily as victims or in care-giving roles
- men being judged more on potential, and women more on performance
- being authoritative and ambitious being seen as a positive for men, but not for women
- Asian minorities in the UK/ US being seen as a match for technical work but not for leadership
- Black professionals being seen as more aggressive than other groups
- Black women being seen more as angry where other groups are seen as assertive

Focus on expertise, rather than on identity when interviewing female contributors. Ask questions about their area of expertise rather than related to their experiences of their gender or race.

Ask more open-ended (rather than closed) questions which draw more out of female sources. Protect the sources: ensure their safety before the scoop to encourage women to speak out.

Create new habits

Conduct cost-effective deep dives to understand how news contributors/protagonists are portrayed. Count the proportion of women/men who are portrayed as:

- · power brokers
- victims
- perpetrators
- sexual objects
- · sources of knowledge
- primary care givers
- family members

In addition, record the gender of the contributors broken down by news categories

(e.g., experts, vox pops, case studies, sources, etc.) to monitor whether you/your team reinforce stereotypes in your coverage of men being in charge/more authoritative and women being less authoritative, sidekicks, or victims.

To counteract these stereotypes use more empowered female contributors and protagonists. Actively seek to break the stereotypes associated with Asian and Black minority groups.

Audit the gender and race of people in photo images used in your news output to redress any likely imbalance. Solutions theme 12: Reframe the case for change to include the business opportunity of targeting women audiences

How to size the business opportunity and strategic actions required to successfully increase revenues from women audiences

Raise awareness

Remove barriers

Create new habits

According to the interviewed news editors, by fulfilling their duty to give equitable voice to women/minority groups and being relevant to all audiences, news organizations will increase their revenues and improve their volatile business models. **Use these narrative frames to make the case for change**.

Make your news leadership team aware that reaching new women audiences means incremental revenue. According to AKAS' forecast, if the addressable gender consumption gap is closed by one percentage point each year over the next decade as a result of news organizations taking targeted strategic, editorial, creative, and tracking actions across the whole news value chain, then global revenues in the newspaper industry would increase by a cumulative \$11bn by 2027 and \$38 billion by 2032.

Understand what progress has been made and how audiences are reacting to the actions. This is key to keeping initiatives on track.

Assess the gender component of all stories.

Shift a percentage of stories to a wider range of womenfriendly genres.

Research and develop women-friendly news products and formats.

Increase your presence on platforms where women are.

Track engagement and consumption by women.

Track impacts (on finance, brand, individuals, influencers, and decision-makers).