

**WHO
MAKES THE
NEWS?**



Germany

Global Media Monitoring Project 2010 National Report



Acknowledgements



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GMMP 2010 is co-ordinated by the World Association for Christian Communication (WACC), an international NGO which promotes communication for social change, in collaboration with data analyst, Media Monitoring Africa (MMA), South Africa.

The data for GMMP 2010 was collected through the collective voluntary effort of hundreds of organizations including gender and media activists, grassroots communication groups, academics and students of communication, media professionals, journalists associations, alternative media networks and church groups.



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Global Context

- 10 November 2009 was an ordinary day at work for newsroom staff around the world. It was however a special day for groups in over 100 countries who gathered to monitor their news media. After months of planning, preparations and training, they brought the Fourth Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) to life.
- The Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) is the world's longest-running and most extensive research on gender in the news media. It began in 1995 when volunteers in 71 countries around the world monitored women's presence in their national radio, television and print news. The research revealed that only 17% of news subjects – the people who are interviewed or whom the news is about – were women. It found that gender parity was 'a distant prospect in any region of the world. News [was] more often being presented by women but it [was] still rarely about women.'¹
- Seventy countries participated in the Second GMMP in 2000. This and all subsequent GMMPs were coordinated by the World Association for Christian Communication (WACC). The research found a relatively static picture: only 18% of news subject were women, a statistically insignificant change over the 5-year period.²
- The Third GMMP in 2005 attracted the participation of 76 countries. Some progress in women's presence in the news was evident. 21% of news subjects were female. This 3% increase in the preceding five years was statistically significant. However, the overwhelming finding was women's continued near invisibility in the news. Very little news – just under 10% of all stories – focussed specifically on women. Women were rarely central in stories that comprised the bulk of the news agenda. Women were outnumbered by men as newsmakers in every major news topic. Expert opinion was overwhelmingly male with women comprising only 17% of experts who appeared in news stories. As newsmakers, women were under-represented in professional categories. The third GMMP found that the sex of the journalist made a difference in whether or not women made the news: there were more female news subjects in stories reported by female journalists (25%) than in stories reported by male journalists (20%).
- The First GMMP, and as will be seen, the Fourth GMMP reveal that the world reported in the news is mostly male. Overall, news stories were twice as likely to reinforce gender stereotypes rather than challenge them. News stories on gender (in)equality were almost non-existent.

National context

- Journalists in Germany often remark that the media features more men than women simply because there are more men than women in positions of power and decision-making. This is not the whole story. In German federal politics, women make up around one third of the cabinet ministers, the Chancellor Angela Merkel is a woman and there are even female prime ministers in the Lander (regional or provincial states). In 2006, Germany passed national legislation against gender discrimination in labour and civil law. Nevertheless, stories on politics in the media are still dominated by reference to men. The media features far fewer women in politics than in reality.
- News media remain the major and most influential source of information, ideas and opinion for most people around the world. It is a key element of the public and private space in which people, nations and societies live. A nation or society that does not fully know itself cannot respond to its citizens' aspirations. Who and what appears in the news and how people and events are portrayed matters. Who is left out and what

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

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

is not covered are equally important. Across the world, the cultural underpinnings of gender inequality and discrimination against women are reinforced through the media.

- The League of Women Journalists/Journalistinnenbund (jb) has coordinated German participation in the GMMP since the project began in 1995. The GMMP has served as an excellent starting point for analysing German media content. The results provide a solid basis for campaigns against gender-discrimination through raising awareness and training journalists. In the very first years “Gender counting” – looking at the relative numbers of males and females in news stories – was impetus enough for activism. Today, the ways of discrimination have become more subtle and often a trained eye is required to spot it. The aim of the League of Women Journalists’ has always been to explain what happens behind the numbers. We always look to provide analysis. In this vein, we have partnered with communication scientists in order to perform both qualitative and quantitative analyses of the GMMP data.

Executive Summary

- 21% of the people interviewed, heard, seen or read about in German mainstream broadcast and print news are female. Women are still underrepresented in the news even though women make up 50% of the population. Nevertheless the figures show a slow change: from 15% in 1995 to 22% in 2005 and 21% in 2010. With 137 stories out of 320 total stories coded in the German GMMP, politics and government was by far the most prevalent topic on the day of the GMMP. 57% of newspaper stories, 44% of radio and 17% of television news stories were about politics. The largest numbers of female (96) subjects appeared in politics stories out of the total of 800 news subjects in the German GMMP. Nevertheless, these women represent only 22% of the subjects of stories specifically on politics. As there is a woman chancellor and many female ministers, this paltry presence of women in politics in the media compared to men is troubling. Women are thus not the principle subjects of the German news, even when their functions in real life are highly important.

A DAY IN THE NEWS IN GERMANY

10 November 2009. It was an atypical day: The newly elected German Chancellor, Angela Merkel, held her inaugural address. This was the first news item in most media. Had this event not taken place, the number of women represented in the German media on the global media monitoring day would have been even less than the 21% observed overall and far fewer than the 22% of subjects of stories on politics. Just consider that some radio news did not mention any women at all.

Another special political event reported that day was the 20th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall.

A controversial news event receiving publicity that day was the debate over “Vertriebenenverband”. This organization demands reparations for Ethnic Germans who fled from parts of Eastern Europe during the Second World War or were expelled shortly after the close of the war. The Polish government in particular objects to the claims of this group as they did not accept the Oder-Neiße-Line and the German politics of reconciliation. The chairwoman of “Vertriebenenverband” is Erika Steinbach who is also a Member of the Bundestag. She voted against Poland to become member of the European Union. The discussion raged in the media over whether she should participate in a state commission to organize German remembrance ceremonies.

THE CONTEXT

Country background: The Federal Republic of Germany consists of 13 Federal Lands, most of which have their own television and radio stations. Together these stations form Channel One: ARD, Television and Radio. Channel Two is the ZDF, which is a television station only. There are two national radio stations (DLF and DeutschlandRadio). These are independent, watched by a broadcasting commission, and financed by a fee paid by users. Fee increases must be authorized by the state. In this way they are “public”. There are some more public channels, but most TV-stations are private and financed by commercials. Public stations have more importance than private stations as sources of sophisticated news, the private stations mostly don’t broadcast

news. When they do it is sort of infotainment. The private stations are commercially successful and their reach is quite expansive because of their soaps, talks and entertaining films, but they are still not regarded as serious media.

1. Number of TV-stations: 222 (209 private, 13 public)
2. Number of radio channels: 228 (216 private, 12 public)
3. Number of daily newspapers: 375

Media monitored:

1. Nine television stations (eight public, one private)
(ARD Tagesschau, 20.00h; ARD Tagesthemen 21.45h; ZDF heute 19.00h; ZDF heute-journal 21.45h; MDR aktuell 19.30h; NDR N3 15.00h; RB Abendschau 19.30h; WDR3 18.40h, RTL 18.45h)
2. Eight Radio stations (seven public, one private)
MDR info 8.00h; rbb, antenne brandenburg 6.00h, hr4 12.00h; swr1 12.00h; DLF 13.00h, WDR5 9.00h,; WDR2 19.00h; Radio Köln 18.00h
3. Twelve nation-wide newspapers.
the biggest boulevardpress: BILD-ZEITUNG, two right wing (FAZ, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung; Welt), a liberal (SZ, Sueddeutsche Zeitung), a more left wing (FR, Frankfurter Rundschau), a left wing (taz, Tageszeitung) newspaper of nation-wide red circulation, an economic journal, five important regional newspapers (Kölner Stadtanzeiger, Leipziger Volkszeitung, Berliner Tagesspiegel, Stuttgarter Zeitung, WAZ= Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung)

- **The monitors:** More than 30 monitors offered their time, most of them members of The League of Women Journalists and some members of the women's section of Deutscher Journalistenverband. 153 stories in newspapers, 117 TV-news, and 50 radio-news stories/items were monitored. 63 online-news stories were monitored as part of the GMMP internet pilot project. In this 321 news items (compared to 324 in 2005), 592 males (in 2005 it was 524) and 149 females (in 2005: 147) were identified as subjects of the news.

TOPICS IN THE NEWS

- **Topics in the news:** The festivities 20 years after the fall of the Berlin Wall on November 9th 1989 were the main topic in newspapers on November 10, 2009. The list of male politicians taking part was long, but Angela Merkel, Chancellor and head of the German Government, was mentioned first. For the broadcasting stations the news situation had changed on November 10, 2010. Their main topic was the inaugural speech of Angela Merkel, who was reelected. In radio and TV she was mentioned 17 times, 8 times in online-media. She was the far most named woman, followed by Hilary Clinton (11 times).
- **Female reporters in topics:** Still very typically in Germany, female reporters are assigned to health and social topics as these are the fields in which women are said to be "natural" experts. As more young women become journalists, and they look out for their personal interests, they are increasingly dealing with politics and economics. Today there are German female war correspondents and there are evermore female sport reporters. Nevertheless, only 30 percent of reporters in stories on politics and economics on GMMP day were women, compared to more than 50 percent of reporters in science and health and social and legal topics. These figures reflect both incremental changes in newsrooms, but also the persistence of dominant gender-stereotypical reporting patterns. Women are allowed into the male domains, but they have to be extremely good.

THE NEWS

- **Presence of female and male news subjects in your country by medium – radio, TV and newspapers:**
On TV in Germany on the day of the GMMP 28% of subjects were women, almost all politicians. In the print media, women were 21% of the subjects and on Radio news, women made up only 14% of the subjects. The higher portion of female subjects on TV might be due to the optics of television: women make for nice viewing.
- **News Sources:** There were relatively more women present as subjects in local news (31%) than in national news (21%) or international news (12%). Perhaps this reflects a bias toward portraying women more as heroes of domestic life.

- More than in the years before women made the primary focus of news stories, partly because of the prevalence of special events in the news featuring Angela Merkel as head of government, from the festivities marking the fall of the Berlin Wall to preparations for Merkel's first post-election speech. In 10 out of 38 news items, the media's interest concentrated on Angela Merkel's speech. Three stories in the news concentrated on whether Erika Steinbach should participate in German state remembrance ceremonies. Steinbach is chairwoman of the controversial "Vertriebenenverband", the organization fighting for reparations for Ethnic Germans who fled German-Occupied areas of Eastern Europe following World War II. Other stories that made women the primary focus included tabloid portrayal of the grand child of Germany's former president Richard von Weizsäcker as pretty (and prominent) and stories that claimed model Heidi Klum to be the victim of adhesion contracts. Stories focused on Natascha Kampus a victim of kidnapping and the Egyptian pharmacist and witness in a court case, Marwa El-Sherbini, who was the victim of an anti-Islamic, xenophobic murder. The insolvency of two big chains of supermarkets was cited by several news stations as being a big blow to most women.
- **Who are the newsmakers?** Male government officials and politicians were the big newsmakers! Of the news subjects labelled as having this profession, 323 were men and only 81 were women. Only five of the public servants or diplomats mentioned in the news were women diplomats and only five of the health care or social service professionals mentioned were women. In the ranking of news topics by number of stories, politics came first. Politicians are therefore the people in the news who are most talked about, or most prevalent. As mentioned above, the head of the German government is a woman, Merkel, and Hillary Clinton, minister of foreign affairs of the USA, was her guest on November 10th, 2009. These prominent politicians in the German news that day, together with female ministers and female political analysts such as Renate Künast, head of the parliamentary group "Die Grünen", Marianne Birthler, Stasi-Beauftragte, and Birgit Homburger, spokesperson of the parliamentary group "FDP" along with two other women, accounted for only 21 % of the politicians and government experts mentioned. Despite many of the top politicians in the country being women, women nevertheless accounted for only about 1 in 5 of the politicians in the news that day. This is a very astonishing result and perhaps one of the most important findings of this year's GMMP. Further, this finding supports that of a study by University of Lüneburg, Prof. Jutta Röser 2009 and Prof. Margreth Lünenborg, FU Berlin, covering 23 media from January 4 to September 30, 2008 (<http://www.spitzenfrauenindenmedien.de/>). The study reported a content analysis of 5 newspapers, 8 magazines, and 4 TV-news-broadcastings for a period of 6 months in 2008. The findings were that Angela Merkel was the most mentioned person, being named in news content more often than other female politicians or even male politicians. But on the whole women in top-functions comprised only 30% of those spoken of in the news. Of these, Angela Merkel accounted for 18 % of the people/positions mentioned and other women top-politicians only 12%. Angela Merkel was followed by 7 male ministers. 5 female ministers made up the last levels of the ranking. Women were not newsworthy even if the function they held is socially or politically very important. Thus the scientists give the interpretation that an office is mentioned more often in the news if it is held by a man.
- **Function of female and male news subjects:** Of the principal subjects of the news stories in the German GMMP, only 24 % were female while 76% were male. Of those named as spokespersons in the news, only 18% were women while 82% were men. Of expert commentators who gave further information on complex subjects, only 12% were women, while 88% of experts were men. Thus, women are overwhelmingly under-represented as experts or as authority figures. However, of the people in the news who gave comments based on personal experience, 39% were women and 61% men. Of people who were supposed to represent popular opinion, 33% were women and 67% men. "Women make news lively" is the cliché in German Boulevard and online- newsrooms.
- **Constructing 'victims' in the news:** Out of the people in the news characterized as victims of domestic violence, there were only 3, all were women. 12 out of 16 victims of illness and disease were women. Five men and three women were reported as victims of crime and six men and only one woman were reported as victims of war.
- **Identity and family status in the news:** A classical pattern of women's discrimination is fading away; Once upon a time, women were identified primarily by marital status or by their husband's name. This practice of identifying women by their relational identity is disappearing. Nevertheless, 7% of women, but only 4% of men were identified in the news by family status. Women are no longer only newsworthy as subjects of their husbands, but nevertheless, women are almost twice as likely to be mentioned by family status as men.

- Surprisingly, the gender of the reporter seemed to suggest a difference in reporting patterns of the family status of subjects, but not in the way one might expect if one assumed patriarchal tendencies were primarily the domain of men. Female reporters identified female subjects by family status 10% of the time, but identified male subjects by family status only 3% of the time. Male reporters identified both female and male subjects by family status 4 and 5 % of the time respectively, showing little distinction. If this finding, from a one day snapshot of gender in the German media is anything to go by, and perhaps it is not as it is from one single day's news, it is female reporters who pay more attention to the relational-gender identity of female subjects, in this case in terms of their identity within family relationships, compared to male reporters.
- **Images in the news:** Of the news subjects identified in the GMMP, 15% of men and 20% women were photographed. This is likely due to the special content of the news on this particular day - studies of University of Lüneburg and FU Berlin suggest that 75% men and 25% of women among authorities on politics, economics and science are photographed. Nevertheless the study states big differences in the different professions. Concerning the personal of politics 41% women and 59 % men were photographed whereas 94% male topmanagers and only 6% female topmanagers were shown by pictures and 86% male scientists and only 14 % female scientists. The percentage of women politicians photographed at 41% is due to the prominence of the female head of government (<http://www.spitzenfrauenindenmedien.de/>).

WHO DELIVERS THE NEWS?

- **Overall Presenters in broadcasting.** Of the stories presented on television and on radio combined, 31% of were presented by women and 69% by men.
- 32% of printed stories were reported by women, while 68% were reported by men. The print media featured more female reporters both in relative terms compared to men and in absolute terms. 30 newspaper stories were reported by women and 64 by men, whereas 2 stories on radio were presented by women and 12 by men. Only 29% of TV stories were reported by women while 71% were reported by men.
- **Reporters and news sources.** Are more female news sources found in stories reported by women in our country? The answer to this question is difficult to determine in German, since the male sex is used to refer to subjects whose gender is unspecified. While feminist journalists fight to make women visible in language, to remove gender-bias in the language of the news, most journalists do not.

GENDER AND THE NEWS

- **Sex of reporters in stories with women as a central focus:** Only 11 out of 120 stories by male reporters had women as a central focus, while 11 out of 39 stories by women featured women as the central focus.
- **Stories that highlight issues of gender equality or inequality issues:** There was only one story topic, gender-based violence, in which gender equality/inequality was raised. In this category, five stories dealt with inequality in gender-based violence, four reported by male reporters and one by a female reporter. But the female victim was not discriminated, the case was complicated.
- **Challenging or reinforcing stereotypes?** In terms of challenging stereotypes, 10% of stories reinforced gender-stereotypes, 1 % challenged stereotypes, and 89% neither challenged nor reinforced gender stereotypes. There appears to be thus little development toward a gender sensitive and therefore stereotype-challenging reporting.
- Around half the people mentioned in the news were politicians (323 out of 611 men and 81 out of 171 women). Of the politicians though, 81% were male and only 19% female. Whereas men still are associated with strength, authority and power, perhaps the image of women is changing as female politicians did represent about half of the women in the news. Nonetheless, women were far less present in the news than men, and among politicians and government officials, men were far more present than women.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

21% of the people interviewed, heard, seen or read about in German mainstream broadcast and print news are female. Considering that they are around 50% of the population, women in the news are still very much underrepresented. Nevertheless the figures show a slow change: from 15% in 1995 to 22% in 2005 and 21% in 2010. As politics is the most highly covered section of the news, we find the highest number of female subjects here compared to other topics however these are still only a fraction of the numbers of men presented in stories on politics – 18% versus 82%. This is even more discouraging considering the prominent women in German politics at present. Women are still not considered valued as subjects of the news even if the functions/offices they hold are of increasingly high importance.

THE NEXT FIVE YEARS

- The League of Women Journalists in Germany will offer training for journalists of all media and in all institutions in gender-sensitive language use.
- We consider a launching of an awareness-raising campaign on the portrayal and representation of gender in the media.
- As we have been doing since 1995, when we initiated the discussion in the national broadcasting stations, we will continue to push for gender-just news.
- We will keep close contact to women's organisations in other countries like Luxemburg.

Annex 1. Methodology

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

Efforts were made to ensure a uniform understanding and application of the methodology across the world. Clear instructions on how to code were provided. Some regional and national coordinators benefited from face-to-face or virtual training while others and the broader global teams of volunteers developed skills in monitoring through online self-administered tutorials. In one region, national coordinators were trained by the regional coordinator via teleconference. In some countries, national coordinators provided advance training to volunteer monitoring groups.

In each country monitors coded the most important television and radio newscasts of the day in their entirety. For newspapers, 12 to 14 stories appearing on the main news pages – defined as the pages devoted to national, international and, in some cases, regional news – were coded. Internet news was included for the first time in the global monitoring on a pilot basis in a few countries selected on the basis of the importance of the Internet as a news source for local news consumers.

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

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

A full discussion of the methodology, including considerations on reliability, accuracy and limitations, is contained in the global report *Who Makes the News? The Global Media Monitoring Project 2010*.

Annex 2. Media Monitors

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2. Marlies Hesse, Koordinatorin
3. Annika Noffke , Referentin
4. Eva Kohlrusch, Jb-Vorsitzende
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6. Ina Krauß, RG-Berlin
7. Andrea Reischies, RG Köln/Bonn
8. Sibylle Plogstedt, RG Köln/Bonn
9. Dagmar Penzlin, RG Nord
10. Monika Hoffmann , ZDF-Frauenbeauftragte
11. weitere Kollegin vom ZDF
12. Isabel Rohner, RG Ruhr
13. Judith Rauch, RG Stuttgart
14. Heidrun Wulf-Frick, RG Baden-Elsass
15. Inge von Bönninghausen, RG Köln/Bonn
16. Regina Voelz, RG Ruhr
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